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Experiencing the Past: Interpreting the Past Through the Senses

Jeffrey Scott Meyer
Indiana University of Pennsylvania

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EXPERIENCING THE PAST:

INTERPRETING THE PAST THROUGH THE SENSES

A Thesis

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies and Research
in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

Jeffrey Scott Meyer

Indiana University of Pennsylvania

May 2011
Indiana University of Pennsylvania
The School of Graduate Studies and Research
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This thesis examines aspects of historical interpretation. An interpretive style, called “experiential interpretation,” is presented, tested, and analyzed. Experiential interpretation attempts to present tangible details about the past by appealing to the human senses of taste, touch, sight, smell, and hearing. The main objectives of this interpretive style are to present intimate histories of past individuals, to foster emotional or relational connections between the learner and the material, and to also utilize creative aspects of learning. The author’s work in historical interpretation at Fort Necessity National Battlefield is analyzed.
I wish to thank the staff of Fort Necessity National Battlefield for the wonderful opportunities and learning experiences attained there. I thank (in alphabetical order) Rangers Jane Clark, Amber French, Chastity Halfhill, Jessie Jack, Brandi Little, Mary Jane McFadden, Thomas Markwardt, Brian Mast, Hilary Miller, Chip Nelson, Brian Reedy, Kitty Seifert, Kyle Shomin, Mary Ellen Snyder, James Tomasek, and other rangers and staff members that I so regretfully neglected to mention. I especially want to thank Teacher-Rangers Sarah Fischer and John Svokos. I thank Dr. Ford for being exceptionally patient with my strange and peculiar writing habits, styles, and eccentricities. Without the support of these people, this work would never have come to fruition.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| I One   | BEGINNINGS ........................................ 1  
Prologue ........................................ 1  
An Unveiling ..................................... 6 |
| II Two  | INTERPRETING THE PAST THROUGH THE SENSES .......... 11  
A Sensory Context ................................. 11  
To See the Past, To Know the Past ............. 15  
To Hear the Past ................................ 23  
To Taste and Smell the Past .................... 27  
To Touch the Past ................................ 30  
Shining a Lamp upon Dark Corners ............. 33  
An Empathetic Past ............................... 35 |
| III Three| INTERPRETING THE PAST AT FORT NECESSITY ............. 41  
Introduction .................................... 41  
A Battlefield .................................... 41  
The First Interpretive Talk of the Summer Season ............. 43  
Public Programs .................................. 47  
The First Pennsylvanians Program ............... 48  
The Archaeology Program ......................... 53  
Tavern Life Program .............................. 55  
A Public Archaeology Walk ....................... 57 |
| IV Four | VISITOR RESPONSES .................................... 59  
Introduction ..................................... 59  
Before and After Group Responses ............. 60  
The First Pennsylvanians Program, Before and  
After Responses .................................. 60  
Archaeology Program, Before and After Responses ............. 68  
Tavern Life Program, Before and After Responses ............. 74  
Before and After Responses Conclusion .......... 77 |
| Five    | VISITOR COMMENTS ...................................... 79  
Visitor Comments Methods ....................... 79  
Visitor Comments about the First Pennsylvanians  
Program .......................................... 80  
Visitor Comments the Archaeology Program ............. 85  
Visitor Comments about the Tavern Life Program ......... 91  
Visitor Response and Comment Summary .......... 96 |
<p>| V Six   | INTERPRETING THE PAST AS A CREATIVE ART ........... 99 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V (cont.)</td>
<td>Weaving the Loom of History</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Literature and Writing</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Drawing and Painting</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Character Portraits and Historical Collages</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seven</td>
<td>A THREE-DIMENSIONAL INTERPRETIVE ENVIRONMENT</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Roundtable</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Laboratory</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Studio</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Additional Notes</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Section Introduction</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eight</td>
<td>EXPERIENTIAL NARRATIVE EXAMPLE I</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nine</td>
<td>EXPERIENTIAL NARRATIVE EXAMPLE II</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>Ten</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FULL CIRCLE</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>An Experiential Past</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

WORKS CITED, ................................................................. 184

APPENDICES, ................................................................. 201
Appendix A - Comments about the First Pennsylvanians Program,
Transcribed as Respondents Wrote Them .................. 201
Appendix B - Comments about the First Pennsylvanians Program,
Arranged by Qualitative Components .................... 203
Appendix C - Comments about the Archaeology Program,
Transcribed as Respondents Wrote Them .................. 206
Appendix D - Comments about the Archaeology Program,
Arranged by Qualitative Components .................... 209
Appendix E - Comments about the Tavern Life Program,
Transcribed as Respondents Wrote Them .................. 212
Appendix F - Comments about the Archaeology Program,
Arranged by Qualitative Components .................... 215
# List of Tables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Attendance at Formal Interpretive Programs during the Summer of 2010yny.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Program Length (in Hours) for Formal Interpretive Programs during the Summer of 2010.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>The First Pennsylvanians Program Offered These Activities and Sensory-Based Interpretive Experiences.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>The Archaeology Program Offered These Activities and Sensory-Based Interpretive Experiences.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>The Tavern Life Program Offered These Sensory-Based Interpretive Experiences.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>The Archaeology Walk Offered These Activities and Sensory-Based Interpretive Experiences.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>First Pennsylvanians Program, Before and After Responses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>First Pennsylvanians Program, Before and After Responses, Categorized.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Archaeology Program, Before and After Responses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Archaeology Program, Before and After Responses, Categorized.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Tavern Life Program, Before and After Responses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Tavern Life, Before and After Responses, Categorized.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Verbs used in comments from the First Pennsylvanians Program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Frequency of Nouns and Adjectives in Comments from the First Pennsylvanians Program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Nouns and Adjectives in Commentaries from the First Pennsylvanians Program, Categorized.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Verbs used in comments from the Archaeology Program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Frequency of Nouns and Adjectives in Comments from the Archaeology Program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Nouns and Adjectives in Commentaries from the Archaeology Program, Categorized.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Verbs used in comments from the Tavern Life Program.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Nouns and Adjectives in Commentaries from the Tavern Life Program, Categorized.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Frequency of Nouns and Adjectives in Comments from the Tavern Life Program.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of Figures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>A friend, Henry Phelps, composed this portrait of my grandfather while the two men were on</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the European front. Only a short time after Henry’s skillful hands had completed this</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>portrait, his life was abruptly and violently taken from him.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Meadowcroft Rockshelter is a deeply stratified archaeological site.</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>A museum display at Fortress Louisbourg reveals the timber and plaster construction materials</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>employed in colonial France. Image by the author.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Eighteenth-century French colonial architecture stands along the paths at Fortress Louisbourg.</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Bodies prepared for burial at Antietam, Maryland. 1862. The visual realization of violence—</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>manifested in photographs—changed the way in which many people viewed the Civil War.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Photograph by Alexander Gardner, an assistant of Mathew Brady (see Horan 1955:26).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Museum visitors pass through the rocky outcroppings reminiscent of Jumonville Glen.</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Visitors enter a panoramic painting of the Fort battle. Image by the author.</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Fish, carrots, and rice (left) and salt and pepper (right) are served on faience dishes.</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Local pelts relevant to the eighteenth-century fur trade can be touched; various European</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>trade items can also be examined. Image by the author.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>A reconstructed Woodland village reveals the craftsmanship employed in Native American</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>construction. Image by the author.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>The reconstructed Fort stands in the Meadow, within sight of the shaded benches.</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Four postholes are placed in a perpendicular fashion. Image by the author.</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Saplings are placed vertically in opposing postholes. Image by the author.</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Opposing saplings are gently drawn towards one another, the builders carefully pulling the</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>saplings together. Image by the author.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Opposing vertical posts are lashed together. Image by the author.</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>All four vertical posts are lashed together. Image by the author.</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Saplings are woven horizontally around the standing posts. Image by the author.</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Reed mats are lashed to the saplings. Image by the author.</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>A completed wigwam. Image by the author.</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## List of Figures (cont.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>These objects are some of the artifacts that I passed around during the First Pennsylvanians Program. In a clockwise fashion, there are beads made from a shell, projectile points, and ceramic sherds. Image by the author.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The wep-i-chi-gan or tom-a-haw-key in traditional Native form (below) and In European form (above). The metal axe head is covered with linen for safety. Image by the author.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Tavern’s kitchen provides an opportunity to discuss material culture And domestic lifeways. Image by the author.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The jar butter churner used during the Tavern Life Program. Image by the author.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refined ceramics (upper left), stoneware (lower left), a comb (center left), replica Spanish silver (center right), a key and thimble (lower center), and a fork and table knife (right) are some of the artifacts passed out (or displayed at a safe distance if sharp) during the Archaeology Walk.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A participant’s drawing of Fort Necessity includes the earthworks, pales, and wooden supply house, all surrounded by tall grass and trees.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This drawing of the Fort from an aerial perspective shows the diamond shape of the trenches and the circular nature of the palisade.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This participant’s drawing depicts concepts of stratigraphy.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>A Slave Auction at the South.</em> From an original sketch by Theodore R. Davis. 1861. LOC Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-2582.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Five Generations on Smith’s Plantation, Beaufort, South Carolina.</em> 1862. Photograph by Timothy H. O’Sullivan. LOC Prints and Photographs Division, LC-B8171-152-A.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Slave Quarters on a Plantation, Possibly in Beaufort, South Carolina.</em> 1862. Photograph by Mathew B. Brady. LOC Prints and Photographs Division, LC-DIG-ppmsca-10964.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
SECTION I: INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER ONE:
BEGINNINGS

Prologue
I had the opportunity to serve as a National Park Service Ranger during the summer of 2010, conducting historical interpretation for the public. I lived in a cabin in the woods at Fort Necessity National Battlefield, a site tucked away in southwestern Pennsylvania, along the western slopes of the Appalachian Mountains in Fayette County. Many nights I walked along the Park’s various trails, paths, and streams, imagining the countless lives that previously occupied or passed along these wooded slopes.

The first Pennsylvanians endured the harshness of a Pleistocene wilderness composed of grasslands and spruce trees. During this distant time, commonly called “The Ice Age,” when the mammoth roamed North America, lake waters covered what is now the Great Meadows, a clearing in the Park where the reconstructed Fort stands. Not a two-hour drive from Fort Necessity rests Meadowcroft Rockshelter, where Pennsylvanians took refuge from the elements sixteen thousand years ago (Adovasio et al 1978:632). With the retreat of the great glaciers came the oak, hickory, and chestnut trees, and Pennsylvania’s foragers and hunters adapted to a diversifying woodland environment (Milner 2004:86-87). These forests became the home of a growing population; after thousands of years of expanding plant cultivation and horticulture, the palisaded villages of the Monongahela people developed along the nearby Youghiogheny River. Fields of corn, beans, and squash spread over much of the landscape for centuries (Means 2007:14-15).

But grey clouds loomed. In the seventeenth century, these Monongahelian villages suddenly fell silent, their fields no longer cultivated, their circular villages vacant. The distant
rumblings from the East had finally brought violence and disease to this region (Wallace 1989:14-15). A century after this cataclysm, a young George Washington led a rag-tag regiment into this very location, the white men following a previous native path, known as Nemacolin’s Trail, toward the mouth of the Ohio River. Colonel Washington found the Great Meadows—a marshy opening amidst the towering old-growth forest—an opportune location for a camp. Here he constructed a Fort of Necessity, only to be defeated by the French and their native allies in July of 1754 (Anderson 2000:65). However, Washington returned to this region during the following summer under the direction of Edward Braddock, a much larger Redcoat army clearing the way through these woods, developing a road past the Great Meadows toward the French stronghold Fort Duquesne at the mouth of the Ohio River. This expedition, in spite of its great numbers and materials, was likewise doomed (Anderson 2000:94-105). However, Braddock’s Road served as a major artery over the Appalachians, used for decades by later farmers, wagonmen, merchants, and travelers (Resnick, Orrence, and Cremeens 1998:17). Portions of the road are still used in contemporary times.

In less than a century, a new social structure replaced the turmoil and violence that had marked this region for so long. The young United States Government constructed its first federal highway at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the route—present-day US Route 40—passing near this site. The surviving brick-and-mortar Mount Washington Tavern, situated along this busy highway, serviced stagecoach travelers (Crosby and Cody 1997:23-70). The American Republic was expanding.

The National Park Service offered me employment during the summer of 2010 to interpret these stories to the public. I provided tours, held classroom sessions and lectures, led
guided hikes, answered questions, and engaged in conversation with thousands of people from all over the United States and beyond.

This thesis explains the interpretive method that I developed to create historical narratives for the public, and it also qualitatively tests the effectiveness of this method. The material presented here expands on the existing corpus of work on interpretation. It is important to relate that “interpretation” is distinct from “information” (Grater 1976:4; Tilden 1977:9). Interpretation “conveys the meaning of something, through exposition or explanation” (Grater 1976:4); “interpretation is revelation based upon information” (Tilden 1977:9). Freeman Tilden (1977:3-4), a writer whose work has influenced certain aspects of interpretation in the National Park Service, argued:

Thousands of naturalists, historians, archeologists and other specialists are engaged in the work of revealing, to such visitors as desire the service, something of the beauty and wonder, the inspiration and spiritual meaning that lie behind what the visitor can with his senses perceive. This function of the custodians of our treasures is called Interpretation.

In addition, Tilden (1977:8) states that interpretation must attempt “to reveal meanings and relationships through the use of original objects, by firsthand experience, and by illustrative media, rather than simply to communicate factual information.” Thus, an interpretive, as opposed to a purely informational, approach was necessary to relate these past times.

In order to reveal the individuals behind these historical events, I attempted to relate the participant to the past time. I have called the ensuing interpretive style “experiential” for two purposes: first, I attempted to connect the visitor to historical individuals by appealing to the common human senses of taste, touch, sight, smell, and hearing, as such sensory information relates specific, tangible detail about a past time; second, I attempted to create interpretive environments that allowed the visitors to learn by actively participating in certain programs. This
experiential method aims to link the past to the present by encouraging the learner to perceive historical individuals—both known and anonymous—in an intimate manner, utilizing sensory details to convey tangible information about previous times.

The method described here is a pliable interface by which one may utilize to a benefit agreeable or plausible to a given situation. Interpreters may find other methods more appropriate for certain circumstances. The most appropriate context for this method occurs when there is a need or desire to a) intimately examine the histories of known or anonymous individuals, to b) examine specific historical or contemporary circumstances at a “ground level” perspective, or to c) develop a relational or emotional\(^1\) connection between the learner and the past. I have found this method most useful when exploring the ambiance of a past time or when attempting to reconstruct the anonymous histories of the past (see Chapters Two, Eight, and Nine).

During the creation of this interpretive method, I utilized data and information from three general areas. First, I studied appropriate literature regarding historical interpretation from the National Park Service, as well as resources from the fields of public history, education studies, public archaeology, and psychology. Second, I examined relevant archaeological data and primary historical documentation. Third, I considered the interactions I had with Park visitors during the course of this work. Foremost among the latter are responses and comments from the public regarding my interpretive programs, as analyzed in Chapters Four and Five and in Appendices A through F.

\(^1\) Throughout this text, I use the word “emotion” or “emotional” in reference to the development of a meaningful connection between the learner and the past. By use of the word “emotional,” I in no way promote the development of an irrational or sensationalized response. Rather, by “emotion” or “emotional,” I refer to an informed yet personal relationship between the learner and the information, a relationship that is empowered with individualized meaning for the learner. I use the word “relational” to connote this same understanding.
I begin this work with an explanation of experiential interpretation (Chapter Two). I then discuss the programs and methods that I employed while I presented programs at Fort Necessity (Chapter Three). I also analyze the efficacy of my programs by examining visitor responses and comments (Chapters Four and Five). The latter sections of this work include how such a method of interpretation, which actively utilizes the creative arts to employ the fullness of the senses (Chapter Six), might be applied in conventional learning environments (Chapter Seven). I conclude with two examples of experiential historical interpretations (Chapters Eight and Nine).

In many instances throughout this thesis, I use primary historical documentation and contemporary interactions as interpretive examples; the process of considering these “voices,” both historical and contemporary, is not only consistent with the philosophy of this experiential interpretation, but it also has considerable precedent in related scholarship. For instance, archaeologist Ian Hodder states that interpretation must “listen to and incorporate the local voice” (Hodder 2003:63); likewise, archaeologists at Quseir, Egypt include local community input and oral tradition into the interpretive processes (Moser et al. 2002); indeed, anthropologist Paul Radin studied the personal lives of individuals, leading to language-centered studies that are biographical in nature (Blowsnake and Radin 1926); in addition, Davis (2005:11-12,18-19) includes personal reflections from her public archaeological work to communicate important concepts related to the understanding of the past.

Finally, readers might notice that cited primary documents are derived from not only historical accounts but also from literature. Literary references are useful and appropriate for many reasons. Such references are primary documents from their respective eras, yet they are also widely accessible to the public. When utilized with an informed interpretive eye, literary documents are of exceptional importance in historical interpretation, as they include vivid
description of ordinary affairs often inaccessible through archaeological investigation or other primary media. They also convey specific perceptions and feelings from a specific time. In addition, such literary resources lend themselves to creative processes that are integral to the participatory and artistic nature of this interpretive style (see Chapter Six).

An Unveiling

The most important conversation I ever had was an interpretive talk. My grandfather was the interpreter, and I, his audience, just a boy of thirteen years. His words have remained with me long since he passed from this Earth.

I sat in the living room of his modest home, a brick house on Ferguson Road in Allison Park, Pennsylvania; I gently rocked in a wooden chair. And on this day when he approached me, my grandfather—born in 1909—had personally experienced one-third of the entire history of the United States.

“Do you like John Wayne?” he asked, sitting beside me on a blue couch.

I found myself intensely fascinated with my grandfather. I knew he had been in the war. The Big One. This event, unlike any other, evoked the youthful imagination: adventure, danger, glory—all for a good cause. And my culture had reinforced this perception. This war was indeed a good war; everything about it. The good guys had heroically defeated the forces of evil. I even remember seeing a book—a thick one—entitled, The Good War.

“Do you like John Wayne?” the man, nearly a century old, asked again.

I shrugged my shoulders, uncertain how to answer.

“John Wayne was the biggest faker there ever was,” he said.
Grandpa had always kept quiet about the war. He never talked much about it. And when he did, it usually concerned superficial events: laughing with the funny Scotsman he met in Britain or watching *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs* in newly-liberated Paris.

But on this day the silence came to an end. I was about to hear something new. Something that was of grave importance. Something that was intensely personal. I can only reason that he believed it was time for me to know.

“Ever hear of the Hürtgen Forest?” he asked.

I timidly shook my head.

“No many have,” he continued. “They keep that quiet. It was a screw up. Both sides.”

He began to tell the story. It happened during a November. The canopy of the evergreens loomed overhead, so dense that the forest floor remained ever dark.

“There was frost and rain,” grandpa said. “It was cold. But it wasn’t snowing yet. Not like in the Bulge.”

His short phrases—followed by deep breaths—painted the gritty canvas. Explosions. Gunfire. Trees bursting, the evergreens creaking and groaning, those wooden giants crashing to the forest floor. Bodies crushed.

“The Germans all put their names on the insides of their helmets,” grandpa said. “The first dead German I saw had ‘Lipke’ written in it.”

My grandfather’s mother was a Lipke.

What followed was a description of “The Good War” unlike any I had ever heard before. Frost bite. Prisoners shot. Machine guns bursting. Broken bodies. Shrapnel. This battlefield was a different battlefield than the one I had encountered in school books, movies, television, or any other media.
“It was very hot,” grandpa said, pointing to the place where the shrapnel had entered his neck. “That’s all I remember about it. It was hot.”

Someone placed my grandfather into a truck with other mangled bodies.

“They were worse than I was,” he insisted.

Then there was an injection.

“It felt so good,” he said. “I don’t know what it was. But it felt so good.” Probably morphine, I later reflected.

The truck of the nearly-dead drove off. I imagined my grandfather bouncing up and down in that rickety, mud-spattered Army truck. Cold metal. Junk clattering along the floor.

Then, in an instant, everything changed...

The truck flipped.

The driver had thrown the wheel, the vehicle rolling off the road, its tires in the air; German tanks approached down the road, the Third Reich’s mechanized death machines clanking past.

Grandpa spent this cold, November night upside-down, hanging on the edge of death.

“The whole outfit was wiped out,” he said. “Nobody talks about it; it was a screw-up.”

More details emerged during the following years. Mostly from my grandmother. In one instance, she took me aside and pulled a small, acidified card from a hidden nook. The text was only a few lines. It informed her that grandpa had been seriously wounded. Then she told me about his nightmares. She told me that he could not look at anything that reminded him of the war. Not even black and white photographs. The terror still came in the night, creeping into his home, intruding into his nocturnal thoughts, half a century later. More recently, my mother
recalled that the man—during her childhood—would on occasion shake his head and softly mutter, “You have no idea how good you have it.”

A few years before his passing, my quiet grandfather confided to me that he was “crazy” upon his return to the United States. Never would I have imagined this man in a condition other than calm serenity. But my grandfather had finally become, in my mind, a real person. And this real person was ever more heroic than the legendary figure previously conjured up by my adolescent imagination.

A lifetime of socialization had, for me, been forever altered. My grandfather had transformed my fundamental perceptions about this momentous historical event; the abstractions, which I had known so well, including the lines on maps, the dates, the troop numbers, and the names of generals had been replaced with concrete feelings, sounds, and images of the November cold, the dark forests, the dead bodies, the collapsing trees, the rubble, the clinking tank treads, the hot shrapnel, the terror. The participants had received faces and feelings. Indeed, real people had experienced real horror during “The Good War.” More importantly, my understanding of this event had thus developed from a childish interest in battles and hero-stories into an emotional appreciation for the suffering endured by those individuals. Thus, the words of an experiencer had related a very intimate and emotional dimension of this past event. It is this perspective that would later inform my understanding of a different conflict when I conducted public interpretation programs at Fort Necessity.

But there remained an unsettling realization after this conversation: these profoundly traumatic experiences had been romanticized, glorified, whitewashed, or ignored. The secret pain of an entire generation had been turned into a clean, bloodless, Hollywood feature film starring John Wayne. To present the past as a series of dates, statistics, hagiographies, and
generalizations runs the greatest risk of all: forgetting that these circumstances involved real people (Figure 1).

The purpose of this thesis is to present my findings from a season of historical interpretation.

Figure 1. A friend, Henry Phelps, composed this portrait of my grandfather while the two men were on the European front. Only a short time after Henry’s skillful hands had completed this portrait, his life was abruptly and violently taken from him.
SECTION II: THEORY

CHAPTER TWO:
INTERPRETING THE PAST THROUGH THE SENSES

A Sensory Context

Midvinternattens köld är hård,
stjärnorna gnistra och glimma.
Alla sova i enslig gård
djupt under midnattstimma.
Månen vandrar sin tysta ban,
snön lyser vit på fur och gran,

Harsh is the cold of Midwinter’s night,
stars glimmer and glisten.
All sleep deeply on the lonely farm
at the hour of midnight.
Moon wanders its quiet path,
snow shines white on pine and spruce,
snow shines white on the roof.

-From Viktor Rydberg’s poem, *Tomten*, 1881 (Rydberg 1914:106)

The Swedish writer Viktor Rydberg does not merely describe a Scandinavian midwinter; he breathes it alive, providing a rich “sensory context” for his audience. The moon wanders overhead, the stars flickering in the clear northern sky. Snow shines white upon the barn roof—the one just over there—near the spruce trees. Rydberg describes a Nordic farm at midwinter, while also translating perceptions and feelings associated with that time and place. It is as National Park Service Naturalist Russell Grater stated, a “feature in nature acquires distinct character when experienced by as many of the senses as are possible to use” (Grater 1976:97).

Historical interpretation might also embrace multiple sensory elements in this same manner, illuminating a single moment in time, allowing a learner to enter a specific setting, even if that setting is many years distant. I find the above example additionally meaningful because it illustrates that each individual perceives the world through his or her own language, time, and culture, whether that setting belongs to a nineteenth-century Swede (as above) or to a seventeenth-century Englishman or to a person living today in suburban Pittsburgh. A single moment, even a seemingly uneventful one, such as a quiet barn on a winter’s night in nineteenth-century Sweden, contains important cultural and historical information worth ruminating upon.
Such a world is worth entering into and considering on its own terms, instead of that barn becoming lost in a broader, less-intimate interpretation of Swedish history.

Humans are sensitive creatures, experiencing life through senses. Our eyes see the world through sight; our ears hear the world through sound; our tongue tastes the substances of this world; through touch we feel the texture of this world; while our nose perceives various fragrances and scents. It is only natural that humans should relate information to one another through these same mechanisms, all given to us by nature. Indeed, Psychologist Lionel Standing (1973:207) states, “Human memory can store both abstract information (letters, words, numbers) and concrete stimuli (objects, scenes, sounds).”

Indeed, since human history involves the actions and behaviors of humans, a human history presented through the senses is only logical. Presenting the past as a world populated by living, breathing, feeling people who individually thought, acted, felt, and endured historical episodes allows the learner to perceive these past times as actual moments, not merely as abstractions or generalizations. “[F]eelings are a powerful influence on reason,” begins Neuroscientist Antonio Damasio, “that the brain systems required by the former are enmeshed in those needed by the latter, and that such specific systems are interwoven with those which regulate the body” (Damasio as quoted in Archibald 1997:62-63). Similarly, teachers McIntosh and Peck (2005:8) advocate a multisensory learning approach as “no two children learn in exactly the same way. Some children learn best by listening, some by seeing, and some by touching.”

A multi-sensory interpretive method has the potential to not only foster a more intimate understanding of past peoples, but it may even cultivate a relational or emotional connection to
these peoples. I have produced two short interpretive narratives, each concerning a shared setting and context, to illustrate this point. The first narrative in this comparison states:

Ice hockey was an important spectator sport in early twenty-first-century Pittsburgh. Oftentimes, athletics like hockey provided a social outlet for peers to gather, share food, and enjoy the company of friends.

This narrative presents facts. There is a date and scene: Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in the early twenty-first century. There are people: the citizens of the Pittsburgh area. And there is a theme: many Pittsburghers enjoy ice hockey.

But now let us take another glance at this scene, incorporating a “sensory context” into this hypothetical interpretation. This sensory context, which utilizes the human senses, is in many ways similar to certain museum exhibits or living history productions; in such museum or living history environments, the learner sees, hears, tastes, smells, and touches various historical elements. With this sensory context, we can move the history from a distant vantage point and draw it into a more intimate environment.

A bag of tortilla chips sits next to a bowl of salsa and cheese; wrinkled paper towels are strewn over the coffee table. A Styrofoam box holds the remnants of chicken wings, only pieces of scrappy fat remaining on the ends of the bones. Aluminum cans of Dr. Pepper rest in the hands of the teenagers, the spectators intensely focused on the black and gold uniforms on the flat, digital television screen. Behind the television, on the planked basement wall, is a large poster of a Pittsburgh Penguin clad in hockey gear. “Sid the Kid takes the biscuit down the ice,” the television speaker sounds, as one of the boys crunches on a potato chip.

This second narrative presents the same “data” as the previous example. Again we have the relationship between Pittsburgh and ice hockey. In the second narrative, the basic information, the popularity of ice hockey in Pittsburgh, is conveyed implicitly; yet the interpretation attempts to go beyond that information, revealing a moment in time from the perspective of individuals.
Instead of examining this concept from a distance, the interpretation has attempted to enter the household of individuals.

The first narrative contains facts. Yet the potential questions about this episode are quite limited and somewhat superficial. “When did this event take place?” Answer: the early twenty-first century. “Where does this event take place?” Answer: Pittsburgh. “Why did people watch sports?” Answer: to gather with friends and share food. These questions and answers are indicative of simple rote memorization. The first narrative contains only the silhouettes of people, the individuals of that time and place hidden behind generalized statements.

Sensory details, conversely, present a new understanding of the situation. The avenues in the second narrative go beyond simple memorization. In the second narrative we can see the chips and salsa. A learner interested in business might wonder why the teenagers chose to drink Dr. Pepper, as opposed to Coke, Sprite, or another popular drink. A person interested in social issues might wonder why these teenagers invest so much energy into spectator sports. Others might recognize the scene as familiar to their own lives. Another concerned about the environment might wonder if Pittsburgh recycles aluminum cans, while another might be interested in the colorful language of the sports commentator; the technology of the television might interest another. This interpretation also encourages critical thinking. For instance, participants might decipher clues about this time. The material culture and technology are specific to a time and place; the flat screen television implies a twenty-first century context. Indeed, this second narrative allows for many questions, answers, and differing interests. The second interpretation allows different people to think about this same circumstance in different manners.
Now let us consider that the interpretive theme does not regard teenagers in the early twenty-first century, but rather a farmhouse in seventeenth-century Pennsylvania. The same level of detail is required to envision this setting. The clothing, the technology, the entire ambiance of this colonial world is different. Colonial Pennsylvania, like contemporary times, was occupied by individuals. How does a day pass for this colonial Pennsylvanian? What tools is he using? What kind of a house does this man live in? Does he have his own house, or does he share it with others? How does he stay warm? How cold does it get in Pennsylvania? On and on the questions come.

Experiential interpretation attempts to provide a sensory context that allows the learner to walk (metaphorically, of course) into such a colonial Pennsylvania farmhouse, an interpretive method that goes beyond abstractions and generalizations by drawing out tangible details from archaeology, history, the natural sciences, and the fine arts. This method attempts to lead the reader into the villages and houses of a past time, or recreate a specific moment and place. Indeed, the aim of the experiential method is not to relate a History but rather individual histories, an ideographic\(^2\) vision of the past in the tradition of anthropologist Franz Boas (Langness 2005:70).

To See the Past, To Know the Past

Upon my trouthe I sey you feithfully
That ye ben of my lyf and deeth the quene;
For with my deeth the trouthe shal be sene.

-Geoffrey Chaucer, *Merciles Beaute*, ca.1400 (Skeat 1926:387)

\(^2\) An *ideographic* interpretation examines individuals or specific circumstances, as opposed to surveying large-scale cultures or societies. *Ideographic* is derived from Greek; *ideo* means *individual*, while *graphic* means *writing*. Thus, *ideographic* means to write about individuals.
Over six centuries ago, Geoffrey Chaucer used the word *sene* (or *seen* in modern English) to connote *understood*, a linguistic correlation that continues into the present. To see is to know. To see is to understand. The *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* concludes that the English verb *to see* has been used as a metaphor for *to understand* in texts dating to medieval times. Additionally, the *OED* includes a specific discussion concerning the verb *to see*:

As the sense of sight affords far more complete and definite information respecting external objects than any other of the senses, mental perceptions are in many (perh. in all) languages referred to in visual terms, and often with little or no consciousness of metaphor (*OED*, second edition, 1989).

Indeed, the connection between *seeing* and *understanding* is also found in other languages. Just as an English speaker—after digesting new information—might nod and affirm, “I see,” so will the German say, “Ich verstehe,” translated literally as *I understand* or metaphorically as *I see* (Dudenredaktion and the German Section of the Oxford University Press Dictionary Department 2005:775). In Greek the connection is also manifest. The verb *οἶδα* (“oida” in Erasmian pronunciation), meaning *I know*, looks and sounds like the verb *εἶδον* (“eidon” in Erasmian pronunciation), the aorist or past tense form of the verb *to see*. The English noun *idea* is related to the Greek noun *iðeα*, meaning *a form or a seen thing* (Liddell 2003). Seeing and understanding are intertwined.

Science verifies this linguistic manifestation. Psychological experiments have shown that images are more recognizable in both short term and long term memory than are verbal descriptions (Nelson, Metzler, and Reed 1974:185-186). Although a person’s ability “to repeat a 19-word sentence after a single hearing has been considered to be one indication of superior intelligence” (Nickerson 1965:155), the human capacity is “somewhat more impressive” in recalling “complex meaningful stimulus configurations, as, for example, pictures of people,
places, and things” (Nickerson 1965:156). Standing (1973:219) also contends that “pictorial memory is quantitatively superior to verbal memory.” A study of short-term memory found that participants could correctly recognize 95% of duplicated photographs among a sample of hundreds of photographs (Nickerson 1965:156). Nickerson (1968:58) also discovered that pictorial information is retained over long periods of time. Furthermore, psychological experiments reveal that the colors of an environment are stored in a person’s memory, meaning that color is even more advantageous to recognition memory (Wichmann, Sharpe, and Gegenfurtner 2002).

Visual learning has a long precedent. Educator Anna Verona Dorris argued for greater implementation of visual materials in learning environments in her 1928 work, Visual Instruction in the Public Schools (Johnson 2008:51). The successful application of visual materials in contemporary education is also documented. For example, patent records, which include detailed drawings, create a window for learners to “perceive how the device worked and envision how users operated it” (Guise-Richardson 2010:46). Likewise, Associate Professor Mark F. Taylor implemented visual materials in a classroom to explain complex biological processes to great effect (Taylor 2010). Thus, it is only natural to appeal to the visual sense in interpretation. In outdoor sites or museum settings, this includes utilizing relevant objects, features, mounds, trees, wildlife, or other reference points.

This interplay is apparent at many interpretive sites. People visit Gettysburg to see the battlefield. People go to the Grand Canyon to see the geologic formation. Parents bring their children to the natural history museum to see the dinosaurs. Simply stated, people come to a park or a museum because there is something worth seeing. They have chosen to interact with the knowledge resource in a visual manner. This is also the case in the Visitors Center at Fort
Necessity. A family has stepped into the facility. “How do I get to the Fort?” one of these visitors asks, eager to see the reconstruction. The Fort’s wooden posts, its earthen entrenchments, are the focus of the trip. Indeed, this longing to see the past is evident in a study conducted by history Professors Rosenzweig and Thelen (1998). They studied perceptions about history from various sectors of the American population, finding that museums and historic sites contained more public trust than any other history source, including books and schools. The study’s authors concluded that this sentiment exists because such sites “gave visitors a sense of immediacy—of personal participation—that respondents associated with eyewitnesses” (Rosenzweig and Thelen 1998:105).

Examples abound affirming the unique potential of visual interpretation. At Meadowcroft Rockshelter in Avella, Pennsylvania, visitors can view the archaeology of a site potentially dating to 16,000 years before the present time (Adovasio et al 1978:632) (Figure 2). Guides discuss the archaeological excavations and the context of the prehistory at this magnificently ancient site, covering the archaeological tools, techniques, and methods employed during the excavations, using the open excavation units to illustrate their points.

Figure 2. Meadowcroft Rockshelter is a deeply stratified archaeological site. Image by the author.
Visitors to Fortress Louisbourg in Nova Scotia, Canada have the opportunity to view a reconstructed eighteenth-century town. The colonial-era architecture provides a glimpse into life at the “ground level” (Figures 3 and 4). Living historians populate this site in period dress: a blacksmith in a white-linen shirt, britches, and leggings explains colonial metal-working processes; uniformed soldiers in tri-cornered hats talk to visitors at the fortress citadel; and women with bonnets and aprons answer visitor questions.

Figure 3. A museum display at Fortress Louisbourg reveals the timber and plaster construction materials employed in colonial France. Image by the author.

Figure 4. Eighteenth-century French colonial architecture stands along the paths at Fortress Louisbourg. Image by the author.

Visual interpretation has even affected historical events while they unfolded. In 1862, the photographer Mathew Brady transformed perceptions about the Civil War by preparing an exhibition of battlefield photographs for public viewing (Grant 2004:84). Brady’s photographic
exhibition, “The Dead of Antietam,” interpreted the war in a manner distinct from the printed word (Figure 5).

Figure 5. Bodies being prepared for burial in Antietam, Maryland. 1862. The visual realization of violence—manifested in photographs—changed the way in which many people viewed the Civil War. Photograph by Alexander Gardner, an assistant of Mathew Brady (see Horan 1955:26). Civil War Photographs, Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress, LC-DIG-cwpb-01094.

In 1862, The New York Times described the impact of Brady’s exhibitions. I have transcribed a large section of this newspaper piece, for it addresses the unique effectiveness of visual learning.

The living that throng Broadway care little perhaps for the Dead at Antietam, but we fancy they would jostle less carelessly down the great thoroughfare, saunter less at their ease, were a few dripping bodies, fresh from the field, laid along the pavement. There would be a gathering up of skirts and a careful picking of way; conversation would be less lively, and the general air of pedestrians more subdued. As it is, the dead of the battle-field come up to us very rarely, even in dreams. We see the list in the morning paper at breakfast, but dismiss its recollection with the coffee. There is a confused mass of names, but they are all strangers; we forget the horrible significance that dwells amid the jumble of type. The roll we read is being called over in Eternity, and pale, trembling lips are answering to it. Shadowy fingers point from the page to a field where even imagination is loth to follow. Each of these little names that the printer struck off so lightly last night, whistling over his work, and that we speak with a clip of the tongue, represents a bleeding, mangled corpse. It is a thunderbolt that will crash into some brain—a dull, dead, remorseless weight that will fall upon some heart, straining it to breaking. There is nothing very terrible to us, however, in the list though our sensation might be different if the newspaper carrier left the names on the battle-field and the bodies at our doors instead.
We recognize the battle-field as a reality, but it stands as a remote one. It is like a funeral next door. The crape on the bell-pull tells there is death in the house, and in the close carriage that rolls away with muffled wheels you know there rides a woman to whom the world is very dark now. But you only see the mourners in the last of the long line of carriages—they ride very jollily and at their ease, smoking cigars in a furtive and discursive manner, perhaps, and, were it not for the black gloves they wear, which the deceased was wise and liberal enough to furnish, it might be a wedding for all the world would know. It attracts your attention, but does not enlist your sympathy. But it is very different when the hearse stops at your own door, and the corpse is carried out over your own threshold—you know whether it is a wedding or a funeral then, without looking at the color of gloves worn. Those who lose friends in battle know what battle-fields are, and our Marylanders, with their door-yards strewed with the dead and dying, and their houses turned into hospitals for the wounded, know what battle-field are.

Mr. Brady has done something to bring home to us the terrible reality and earnestness of war. If he has not brought bodies and laid them in our dooryards and along the streets, he has done something very like it. At the door of his gallery hangs a little placard, “The Dead of Antietam.” Crowds of people are constantly going up the stairs; follow them, and you find them bending over photographic views of that fearful battle-field, taken immediately after the action. Of all objects of horror one would think of battle-field should stand preeminent, that it should bear away the palm of repulsiveness. But, on the contrary, there is a terrible fascination about it that draws one near these pictures, and makes him loth to leave them. You will see hushed, reverend groups standing around these weird copies of carnage, bending down to look in the pale faces of the dead, chained by the strange spell that dwells in dead men’s eyes. It seems somewhat singular that the same sun that looked down on the faces of the slain blistering them, blotting out from the bodies all semblance to humanity, and hastening corruption should have thus caught their features upon canvas and given them perpetuity for ever. But so it is (1862:5; emphasis added).

With photographs, Mathew Brady presented the Civil War to non-participating Americans as an event greater than politics or military strategy. In photographs, the war became a human tragedy. The “jumble of type” had missed the “bleeding, mangled corpse” revealed in the images. Barrels of ink had splashed across countless American newspapers, transcribing numbers, figures, place names, and dates—all faceless facts. At times, a myriad of facts and figures had missed the
revelation of a single image or personal experience. A century after the Civil War, photographers and cameramen would again interpret the realities of battlefield carnage, this time in a distant jungle setting. Again, this interpretation came about not with words, but with images; “[t]he startling pictures that came out of Vietnam last week,” the same New York Times reported a century after Mathew Brady, “on television and in the press—evidently had an enormous impact” (Lewis 1968:1).

Of course, interpreters do not always have photographs, paintings, and prints at their disposal. Many times access to historical sites or museum exhibits is limited. However, the interpreter can become a painter of words, avoiding the “jumble of type.” If interpreters think of words as colors, applying an appropriate green here to compliment the red over there, they can, as Victor Rydberg did so eloquently above, paint an interpretive picture. In a similar manner, Tilden (1977:22) recollects a passage from Mark Twain’s Life on the Mississippi to relate an interpretive concept. Twain’s insight into interpretive description is also appropriate here.

To say that De Soto saw [the Mississippi River] in 1542 is a remark which states a fact without interpreting it: it is something like giving the dimensions of a sunset by astronomical measurements and cataloguing the colors by their scientific names—as a result you get the bald fact of the sunset, but you don’t see the sunset (Twain 1944:5).

The experiential interpreter attempts to paint that sunset, the golden orb blurring into the red and purple sky. These visual interpretations carry vivid and transformative interpretive potential for everyday historical affairs. Simply drawing the reader into the household of a past time may illuminate that era, intimately connecting the learner to that place and time. It is as the maxim states, “A picture is worth a thousand words.”

Let us now approach the seventeenth-century Pennsylvania house mentioned in the introduction to this chapter. The grasses nearby are mixed with mud, the mashed prints of horses
and cattle clearest by the puddles. Ahead, there is a tall, two-story house steeply roofed by warped, wooden shingles. The sloping roof stretches downward, casting a shadow around the perimeter of the house. Rough fieldstones and coarse mortar shape the house foundation. Wooden planks run length-wise across the flanks of the structure; crooked mending boards have been fashioned over splintered holes. Just ahead, mud and straw are scattered before a large entryway, in the center of the structure’s broadside. One of the great wooden doors hangs open, the interior of the dwelling shrouded from sight. We will continue toward this house, and enter into it, as we proceed through this chapter.

To Hear the Past

Of the Five Senses, Two are usually and most properly called the Senses of Learning.; And these are Hearing and Seeing.
-William Holder, *Elements of Speech* (1669:1)

Centuries ago William Holder asserted the value of hearing to the learning experience. In historical interpretation, the sense of hearing can enhance a specific cultural activity, such as the clanking of a farmer’s hammer upon a horseshoe or the song of a nineteenth-century hymn in a country church. Hearing may also illuminate a relevant natural occurrence, aiding in the recreation of a historical landscape; the howl of a wolf across a frontier landscape adds not only to the ambience of an interpretive narrative, but it also provides context to the pioneer’s attitude toward nature. Hearing is a vital, yet often neglected, component in the recreation of a historical setting’s ambiance.

Foremost in the implementation of the sense of hearing must be language. “Words well up freely from the breast,” the German teacher and naturalist Wilhelm von Humboldt declared. “For man, as a species, is a singing creature, though the notes, in his case, are also coupled with thought” (1988:60). Linguist Noam Chomsky asserts that a “component of the human mind-
brain, then, is a genetically determined initial configuration, which we may call ‘the initial state of the language faculty’. It is characterized by a theory of principles and parameters and a theory of markedness, which permits the extension of core grammar to a full grammar” (1981:224). Chomsky holds that this innate language component manifests a universal human grammar, a characteristic unique to the species (1981:223). Additionally, Whitney (1867:47) states that the study of language is analogous to geology, with words as the fossils of past times, all ready to be mined:

The remains of ancient speech are like strata deposited in bygone ages, telling of the forms of life then existing, and of the circumstances which determined or affected them; while words are as rolled pebbles, relics of yet more ancient formations, or as fossils, whose grade indicates the progress of organic life, and whose resemblances and relations show the correspondence or sequence of the different strata.

Language, therefore, is a central behavior of mankind. To ignore the actual language of a past culture is to miss what might be the most important part of that culture; it is analogous to the study of a foreign land that neglects any reference to that land’s indigenous thoughts or customs. How can one possibly attempt to understand the colonial Virginian farmer, the Odawa warrior, or the French trader without examining their respective language, their own vocabulary and grammar? The people of the past must be granted the chance to speak for themselves; otherwise, their lives are portrayed only from the outside lens of a foreign people.

Thus, the past must be likened to the study of a foreign nation, that land having its own language and customs. If students of Rome must be familiar with Latin, and if students of Greece must be familiar with ancient Greek—just as students of the Middle Ages might learn Old English, French, Icelandic, or German—students of the American past might also find meaning in the language of the Algonquin or the Iroquois or of the Spanish or French trader or of the
German Pennsylvanian, or they might find meaning with the living oral traditions of those descendent communities.

“The genders in the Delaware,” the eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Moravian David Zeisberger wrote, “are not divided as in our languages into masculine and feminine, but into animate and inanimate. To the former class belong trees and all plants of a large growth; annual plants and grasses to the latter” (Swiggers 2009:335). John Eliot (1666:30) likewise devoted significant energy into learning and teaching the mechanics of Algonquin language; he published educational materials concerning native languages.

*I did keep thee,*
*Koowadchanunup.*
*I did keep him,*
*noowadchanóp.*
*I did keep you,*
*koowadchanunnunmwop.*
*I did keep them,*
*noowadchanópanneg.*

“Kah woshwunum wuttoon,” begins the Beatitudes in Eliot’s 1663 translation of the Bible into the native tongue of the New England Algonkins, “ukkukootomauuh noowau.” To hear the sounds of the actual words of a people gives them life. The act of listening to a different language allows the people of the past to speak for themselves, instead of passively being spoken about by a contemporary onlooker. Such study, in the absence of a written tradition, must consider oral traditions, the voices of the descendant populations. This note harmonizes with the work of anthropologist Paul Radin, who emphasized that the road to understanding a different culture is through the language of that culture (McGee and Warms 2008:120).

A reconstructed nineteenth-century village at Meadowcroft utilizes the language of the time to interpret a schoolhouse. Visitors sit in the desks; the teacher strolls up the aisle in period dress, curtly informing the “students” that “reading, writing, and ‘rithmatic are taught to the tune
of the hickory stick.” Visitors are asked to read—*stand straight!*—from authentic school primers. *Enunciate!* This interpretation, conducted with few bells and whistles—no film, no expensive, digital equipment—translated me into that era and place, all the feelings of such a childhood jarring my nerves. Indeed, this little schoolhouse room, plank boards for a floor, a chalkboard along one wall, ink holes at the desks, allows the visitor to *participate* in the past.

At Fortress Louisbourg, visitors hear the living historians freely switch between the French and English tongues. Groups of children in period attire play colonial games, explaining game rules to visitors, all the while carrying on as children do. Children—a group often neglected in historical interpretation—likely represented a large portion of an eighteenth-century population, the families having numerous children. In addition, historic black powder demonstrations, including musket and canon fire, echo across the landscape. All of these auditory stimuli recreate the past environment.

Indeed, other auditory details relate the ambiance of a past time. The Fort Necessity museum leads the visitor through fabricated rock outcroppings reminiscent of the topography at Jumonville Glen, where the first skirmish of the Fort Necessity campaign occurred. This passage creates a forest ambiance, the sounds of birds interrupted by the sudden burst of musket fire (Figure 6). The battle at Fort Necessity is presented in a circular room, a statue of a wounded man held by a comrade in the room’s center (Figure 7). Around this display is a panoramic painting by Robert Griffing; the British assemble on the field, whilst the French and Native Americans take positions among the trees. The sound of rain adds to the interpretive atmosphere. The museum uses auditory information to connect the visitor to the resource; this history did not happen in a vacuum, but it occurred right here, in these forests.
So we stand before the wooden threshold of the seventeenth-century Pennsylvania house. From within the shrouded interior sounds the raspy puffs of a horse, and then, the pattering of footsteps. The outline of a man manifests beneath the threshold.

“Kommen Sie hier,” sounds the man, motioning with a withered hand for us to draw near, his wrinkled white linen shirt secured with rope round his waist. Wooden buttons run up the sides of his brown breeches; wool stockings extend down to his buckled shoes. It is not until we add the dimension of hearing that we realize this colonial home is a Pennsylvania German home. We enter.

**To Taste and Smell the Past**

They helped themselves to butter, stewed onions, salt, or potatoes, all with their own nasty knives … They are a nasty people, the Americans, at table; there is no denying that fact.

-Margaret Hunter Hall, 1827 (Crosby and Cody 1997:67)

Margaret Hunter Hall sits us down at the nineteenth-century American dinner table. Her observations are not particularly flattering, yet we find ourselves smiling at the frank believability of the scene. Hall’s description populates a nineteenth-century dinner table with real people, “nasty” manners and all. The foods are all mixed together, the knives caked in butter, the onions steaming, the potatoes salted. A man might take a two-pronged fork and another man
brandish a knife, each stabbing potato bits, and then they might “thrust the broad-bladed knives and the two-pronged forks further down their throats than I ever saw the same weapons go before, except in the hands of a skilled juggler,” as Charles Dickens noted during his trip to the country (1972[ca.1824]:203). The dining setting is an excellent opportunity to experience the tastes and smells of a past time.

Fortress Louisbourg transforms dining into an interpretive opportunity. On-site eateries provide opposing eighteenth-century atmospheres; one facility recreates an inn for the common class, while the other recreates an inn for wealthy patrons. Visitors to the common inn enter a space dim even in the afternoon, as candles are too expensive for this establishment. One sits on a bench, brushing up against the adjacent person; brown bread is served on a pewter plate. Beef stew appears before the visitor, a large pewter spoon the prime utensil. A cookie is available for desert.

How very different this experience contrasts from the other eatery. A personal chair, not a bench, is available to the patron in the finer establishment. The scene is lighted by a candle at the table, and the food is served on fine faience dishes (Figure 8). The visitor has many utensils at his or her disposal, including knives, forks, and spoons. Fish, carrots, and rice represent a well-balanced meal for the privileged class. Salt and pepper are available to enrich the flavor. Wine is also served. Ironically, the white bread presented at this fine facility likely contains fewer nutrients than the brown bread partaken at the common inn (McBride 2000). The act of eating and smelling period food and drink has an even more important characteristic; it reminds us that these past times were populated with real people, real people who got hungry, who enjoyed the smell of cooked food, and who gulped water or wine to quench a parched throat.
Taste and smell are intimate senses. The act of tasting requires the placement of a physical object into the body. Taste can delight or repulse. Similarly, the odor of a paper factory contrasts sharply with the fragrance of a bread oven. Different smells produce different emotional responses.

Figure 8. Fish, carrots, and rice (left) and salt and pepper (right) are served on faience dishes. Images by the author.

“Kommen Sie,” says the man in wrinkled linens, welcoming us into his Pennsylvania house. We step through the threshold of the door and enter a wide room. A few threads of dry grass float in the musty air. The light of the sun peaks through the planks, revealing the loose strands of golden wheat strewn along the earthen floor. An iron axe rests against the corner, amidst wooden tools. Dangling nearby are the wooden flails, the ancient tools of the thresher, gently clinking in the subtle draft. Cool air drizzles through the open door, relieving the stale atmosphere.

A wooden ladder leads to a loft. Upon this high place lie the dull stacks and bushels of autumn’s harvest. A few repair planks have been set into the leaky roof, lest the November winds and rain waterlog the stored crop.

We follow the man through an open passage into an adjacent, dim room. It smells like a musty stable. Roughly-cut timbers shape the stalls. A horse crunches oats, a faint light touching the dark waters of its trough. In the adjacent stall there is a shifting, a brown-spotted cow stepping back and forth, a wooden pale at her hooves. A woman appears from the dark corner, a
dirtied apron covering her patch-riddled wool dress; sweat lines her bonnet, her sleeves rolled up to her forearms. She approaches with a pale in hand.

We follow this woman out of the stable, back into the threshing room from whence we first came, and finally into a third room. The house master and I share opposing edges of a squat wooden stool. Along the far wall coals crack in an earthen, stone-lined hearth, bugs buzzing near a half-tipped brass kettle. A course, red jug rests on the earthen floor.

The woman presents a plain, dull-grey pewter plate; thin cabbage slices and milky-white cheese rest on the dish. The house master and I each pull a piece of cheese, and we share a wooden spoon for the cabbage. The cool cheese in hand is drawn to the mouth. The hunk of protein is familiar and comforting. Then we bite down on a mouthful of cabbage, the lukewarm waters bleeding from the cabbage strips, irrigating our dry mouths. The woman takes a piece of white cheese into her worn hands, her fingernails brown with dirt, and she sits on the earthen floor, in the corner, to eat.

To Touch the Past

[The whale spermaceti] had cooled and crystallized to such a degree, that when, with several others, I sat down before a large Constantine’s bath of it, I found it strangely concreted into lumps, here and there rolling about in the liquid part. It was our business to squeeze these lumps back into fluid. A sweet and unctuous duty! No wonder that in old times this sperm was such a favorite cosmetic. Such a clearer! such a sweetener! such a softener! such a delicious mollifier! After having my hands in it for only a few minutes, my fingers felt like eels, and began, as it were, to serpentine and spiralize.

-Moby Dick, Chapter 64 (Melville 1937:600)

Ishmael has an emotional reaction to the touch of the whale’s spermaceti. The substance’s texture conveys feeling; after placing his hands into the semi-liquid, he realizes why people chose spermaceti as a cosmetic in earlier times. Likewise, running one’s hands over a
building’s marble façade relates a cultural aspect of that material: marble is smooth yet immovable. This marble institution endures. In contrast, many churches in the twentieth century adapted a brick and carpet interior, the touch and feel of these materials familiar, domestic, welcoming. Even small things have stories to tell; the weight of an eighteenth-century wool coat upon the shoulders or the pumping motion of a manual butter churner all intimately relate the learner to the past. Culture can be revealed through the sense of touch.

The sense of touch is a common interpretive feature for visitors at Fort Necessity. Visitors can feel the furs and goods exchanged between colonial traders and Native Americans (Figure 9). In addition, I have found that passing out artifacts during programs is also popular (see Chapter Four). The opportunity to hold the actual material culture of a past time or act out a historical lifeway, such as churning butter or grinding corn, offers a tangible connection to past culture.

![Image](image.png)

Figure 9. Local pelts relevant to the eighteenth-century fur trade can be touched; various European trade items can also be examined. Image by the author.

In the fall of 2010 I visited an elementary school to introduce archaeology to several classes. I prepared artifacts, paintings, pictures, and an activity for each class. When I told the
Native American story about the woman who fell from the sky, I showed pictures of the different animals mentioned in the story. The children enjoyed pointing out the turtle, the birds, and other animals. I had also drawn several different pots and cut them into pieces, as to render these paper pots into “sherds.” I then divided the “sherds” into bags, and the children put the paper pieces together again. Additionally, many hands enthusiastically went into the air as I passed out artifacts, the materials drawing out personal stories, observations, and reflections. These responses all occurred because of the introduction of tangible objects. The physical presence of these objects has the power to relate personal feeling. After each presentation, a teacher in each group told me that this had been a nice opportunity to actually touch the artifacts.

In similar fashion, guides at Meadowcroft Rockshelter lead visitors through a Native American village (Figure 10). Children are encouraged to participate in tactile programs, including corn grinding. Visitors also have the opportunity to heave atlatl darts against a foam deer.

![Figure 10. A reconstructed Woodland village reveals the craftsmanship employed in Native American construction. Image by the author.](image)

Let us return to our seventeenth-century Pennsylvania house. We now feel the wear on our joints, the aches and pains mounting from hours of threshing. There is a pulsing sensation in the shoulder. In the mouth a molar pounds angrily, the gums tender and bloated, strings of beef
from a previous night’s stew running between tooth and gum. But we have this food here. To the stone hearth we turn; the coals are turned, and a small flame licks a fresh log. Goosebumps swell as the soothing fire grows, slayer of the November chill. This is a home.

**Shining a Lamp upon Dark Corners**

I had to step out of my “comfort zone” to create the short interpretive narrative about the Pennsylvania house. I thought I had a fair handle of the material, having examined numerous floor plans, articles, artifacts, and books. However, when I had to actually walk into a colonial Pennsylvania house and vividly describe it, I found myself having to learn about technical particulars yet unsought. James G. Gibb (2000b:23) argues that a creative interpretation…

…must reflect careful research and convey aspects of past societies, including the congruities and contradictions that bound together and rent those societies. Storytelling requires critical evaluation of all sources, quantitative and qualitative, scientific (in the narrow sense of the word) and literary. It must be rigorous in method, logical, consistent in plot and narrative, and—above all—engaging.

Thus, in order to walk into the stalls or sit down in the living quarters, I had to consider new details. Gibb (2000a:5) concurs that developing interpretive narratives require “meticulous research and careful writing, and a commitment to creating understanding as well as knowledge.” Indeed, Kenneth E. Lewis (2000:7) agrees that such creative narratives require an attention to “new viewpoints and deal with perspectives previously ignored or unimagined.”

Let us shine a lamp upon these dark corners, the “previously ignored or unimagined.” Would this house be of wood or stone? I settled with wood, having consulted Deetz (1996) and Weaver (1986). Now is the structure a German two-room Schtupp and Kich house, a four-room house, a tri-partite house, a Hallenhouse, or something else? Weaver (1986:249-251) explains that while the tri-partite house—a structure with the living, threshing, and stabling quarters under a single roof—may not have been the most common of the German houses in Pennsylvania,
documentation relates that such structures existed in early colonial Pennsylvania. We must also consider “the language and the idioms as well as the social relationships that govern social settings” (Little 2000:11). So what about the language of this house’s inhabitants? How much language acculturation had occurred in colonial Pennsylvania? Kurath (1945:96) and Becker (1992:198) affirm that Pennsylvania Germans maintained the German language within their communities.

The details become ever more technical, for to walk into a stable requires a physical description of something as common as a cow. However, were seventeenth-century cows spotted as they are today, or is that a more recent development? Fortunately, I located a Borch painting from around the year 1653, a work entitled A Maid Milking a Cow in a Barn. This oil painting shows a woman in a stable, milking a cow with brown spots. This painting, like other paintings from the seventeenth-century—including works by Caravaggio and Rembrandt—often have stark, black backgrounds, the scenes meagerly lit by a dim lamp or candle. As William Manchester (1992) astutely noted, this seventeenth-century world was a world lit only by fire. Indeed, the creation of this experiential narrative required me to learn technical details that I had not previously considered.

Certain readers might take issue with some of the materials or accoutrements that I presented in this Pennsylvania house. Others may have criticisms concerning the presentation of the house’s inhabitants. Such criticisms are welcomed, as they demand a further investigation into these dark corners. Perhaps a reader thinks that I should have placed a butter churner in the stables, because nobody would lug milk from the stable to another room; this criticism is encouraged. If another reader criticizes the German I used, claiming it is not appropriate for seventeenth-century Pennsylvania Germans, this criticism is also welcomed. If somebody thinks
that a log house or a stone house is more appropriate for this setting, as opposed to a plank
house, this criticism is likewise encouraged. Even better would be criticism about the dining
process; would these people share a wooden spoon, or might they have separate knives? Such
criticisms are all welcome and beneficial, as they encourage more precise study of
archaeological, historical, and scientific sources.

Let us compare sources and learn from one another. After all, even though we might
come to a difference in interpretation, we are still discussing people in a concrete manner, a
manner that concerns the ways of their daily lives. We have not reduced the people of the past to
simple abstractions or generalizations. The experiential narrative requires the interpreter to enter
this single household, to point to common objects and explain their placement.

There are innumerable intellectual and artistic possibilities that lie in recreating a
sensory-oriented past, even in Pennsylvania alone: a Seneca longhouse in Tioga County, an Irish
coal town in western Pennsylvania, a seventeenth-century farmstead near Lancaster, an African-
American neighborhood in 1920’s Harrisburg, a nineteenth-century ironworks along the Juniata
River, a wharf in colonial Philadelphia, a frontier trade post near Pittsburgh; the list goes on and
on. Imagine the creativity and scholarship required to present a prehistoric world. Pennsylvania’s
prehistory extends into the Pleistocene, for sixteen thousand years, maybe more. The Pleistocene
world contains all the marvels that enrapture the public’s ceaseless fascination with distant
worlds and fantastic landscapes. The early hunters, the trials of the Pleistocene world, all an
amazing story and a fantastic opportunity to interpret a human past.

An Empathetic Past

[Survey respondents reflecting on history class in school] told us that they felt
excluded from actively engaging the past—either as empathetic reliving or critical
interrogation—because what happened in class was determined by outsiders, by
school boards and school administrators (Rosenzweig and Thelen 1998:111).
To have real meaning for the listener, the subject must in some way touch him or his experience (Grater 1976:29).

This sensory-based, experiential method of interpretation, as briefly introduced in the Pennsylvania German narrative, has tangible and practical applications. The first application concerns an empathetic perspective of past people. When we enter a single household, we are no longer discussing colonial life or seventeenth-century Pennsylvania in abstract terms. Instead, we are talking about somebody’s home. The past is now presented within a hand’s reach.

History educators Ashby and Lee (1987:63) state, “Empathy in history is an achievement: it is where we get to when we have successfully reconstructed other peoples’ beliefs, values, goals, and attendant feelings.” Likewise, some social studies curricula aim to develop in students an “understanding” for “the thinking, purpose, and emotions of the people” (Dilek 2009:667) from past times. Additionally, archaeologist Teresita Majewski (2000:17) considers that her “experience working in public archaeology has taught me that [the human] aspect of studying the past, which is grounded in an intellectual curiosity about the human condition, is certainly what engages nonarchaeologists.” It is this human condition that the experiential interpretation attempts to grasp, touching human senses, experiences, and perceptions.

Experiential interpretation lends itself to an empathetic understanding of past people. Empathy results from a careful consideration of a person’s life and circumstances. For example, James Gibb was asked to develop a creative interpretation of William Brown and his eighteenth-century Chesapeake home for the London Town Foundation. During this process, Gibb stated that he originally had minimal interest in William Brown and his home. Yet as the creative enterprise developed, Gibb recollected (2000b:22):

I found, however, that William Brown provided an entrée into a dynamic social arena, a society as complex and ambiguous for the colonists as it has been for late 20th-century scientists. Developing his character within a particular storyline
allowed me to examine aspects of William Brown’s character and his relationships to members of his household and community that may not be inferred or deduced from archaeological, architectural, and written evidence.

I came to similar conclusions while devising the short Pennsylvania German house narrative, especially after I had come “to examine aspects… that may not be inferred or deduced from archaeological, architectural, and written evidence,” as Gibb also reflected above. Despite having knowledge of the secondary-status of women at this time, I found it troubling and uncomfortable to write “the woman takes a piece of white cheese into her worn hands, the fingernails brown with dirt, and she sits on the earthen floor, in the corner, to eat.” Indeed, in the earlier colonial era, seating and utensils were often insufficient for all to use (Wolf 2000:94), and women were often placed in subordinate positions (Wolf 2000:77). Writing this scene required me to actually visualize this disenfranchisement. The abstraction of disenfranchisement had thus become a concrete visualization in my mind after imagining it.

Experiential interpretation has the potential to overturn stereotypes. For example, Puritan New England is often attributed in popular culture with witch hunts, hysteria, and superstition. However, an application of the experiential method might modify these stereotyped feelings. The National Climate Data Center reports that the average low temperature in the Boston area dips to 22.1 degrees Fahrenheit in January (National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration 2002:7). In addition, Smith and Hacker (1996:372) claim that the median life expectancy in colonial New England might have been only 11.2 years. A New England mother or father might have expected to bury one-third of their children, and in many cases, even more (Stannard 1974:465). Perhaps the first substantive experience of a seventeenth-century child might have been the death of a brother or a sister, or of a mother or a father.

The epitaph of the early New Englander read:
My youthful mates both small and great
Come here and you may see
An awful sight, which is a type
Of which you soon must be (Deetz 1996:98).

Death stood at the door of seventeenth-century homes. Death was not a foreign intruder, as he seems today, but an expected visitor. Perhaps the hardships of daily existence and the omnipresence of death in pre-modern societies (and in many societies today) explain behaviors that seem superstitious or irrational. This understanding might dissuade a learner from simply branding a person from seventeenth-century New England in generalized terms. It might be argued that the most significant benefit of the experiential method is that it requires the interpreter and learner to imagine a past time as a place populated by many individuals, all of whom had a mind and a body all their own.

As experiential interpretation has the potential to sensitize learners to the trials endured by previous peoples, so it might also sensitize learners to the trials endured by contemporary people. For instance, there was much press discussion in 1991 over the United States’ swift military victory in the Persian Gulf. This war was even dubbed the “Nintendo war”; “Clearing Iraqi trenches would be dirty, dangerous work,” Robert Caldwell of the San Diego Union-Tribune explained in 1991, “the very opposite of the surgical-strike, Nintendo war currently being waged in the skies over Iraq and Kuwait” (1991:C-1). “The low casualties of the Gulf war,” explained John Heidenrich in Foreign Policy, “demonstrate that we can wage war without excessive brutality” (1993:124-125). The Gulf War, in all abstract glory, was a bloodless triumph. These interpretations, however, lacked “sensory context,” as they are devoid of any perception of human suffering. The actual individuals affected by this event are lost in a grand portrayal of victory and nationalism.
Devising a sensory context to the Gulf War presents the conflict in a different light. For the soldier who witnessed a friend’s death, an occurrence that doubtlessly happened numerous times in the Gulf War, the conflict was certainly anything but a “Nintendo war.” Thousands of people in the United States lost family members in the war. Parents lost children. Children lost parents. The Gulf War was not easy for these people. It was not a clean, bloodless, surgical strike. The *British Medical Journal* explained:

> The Department of Health has declared that patients with burns greater than 40% are not expected to be returned from the Gulf and, by implication, that they will not be resuscitated. Few appreciate that, unlike those with major head or chest injuries, these young men will walk into the dressing stations talking. They will die only if their fluid losses are not replaced, and it may be days until they die (Mercer 1991:415).

The number of Iraqi people killed—ranging from thousands to hundreds of thousands—remains unknown or censored (Norris 1991). However, what is known is that residential areas were destroyed. There were refugees (Hiltermann 1991:3). A reflection on the concerns of living individuals, envisioning the lives of the actual people at risk, provides a different interpretation of these events. By turning away from the safety of the distant, faceless abstractions and looking upon the living, bustling streets at eyes’ level, political generalizations hold less weight, as do grand portrayals of victory and nationalism.

The empathetic quality of the experiential method encourages a relational or emotional understanding of past people. I will illustrate this point with an account made by a visitor who had walked along the Gettysburg battlefield. Along the way, near some cannons marking a Union battery position, there appeared a small wayside description. The text read:

> …A band of Confederates pour over the wall shouting “Get the Guns.” Cowan orders “double canister” and loads the last rounds. At ten yards distance he shouts “fire.”
It was like a hundred shotguns fired at point blank. When smoke clears, no Confederate stands (Cawood 1986:62).

The visitor relates that he was “instantly affected. I thought about the Battle of Gettysburg; I reflected on the terrible waste of war; I remembered when my father was drafted; I even thought about my own military experience” (Cawood 1986:62). The visitor heard the desperate commands. He imagined the explosion. He felt the loss. A simple park text allowed the visitor to connect an event that happened years ago to his own family and life. His understanding of Gettysburg suddenly migrated from the abstract to the personal. The event had become relational, the senses, the sounds, the feelings of a past time reaching into the current moment.

I would like to complete this chapter with a finding from Professors Rosenzweig and Thelen.

The Americans we interviewed also talked about connecting with pasts outside their intimate worlds. Many told us they wanted to participate in the larger past, to experience it, to reach into history by reaching outward from their own lives. They wanted to personalize the past (1998:115).
SECTION III: METHODS

CHAPTER THREE:
INTERPRETING THE PAST AT FORT NECESSITY

Introduction
I applied, at appropriate times, the theoretical approach of experiential interpretation to the programs I conducted at Fort Necessity as a National Park Service ranger; this approach informs the presentation of this thesis. I developed four programs which were delivered multiple times throughout the summer season of 2010, including a one-half of an hour public archaeology walk and three distinct two-hour programs for Boy Scout groups.

A Battlefield
During my first season at Fort Necessity, in the summer of 2009, I was asked to prepare an interpretive program about the Fort. A ranger historian had set a stack of books in front of me.

“Read these,” he said.

A great assortment sat before me: Harrington’s *A New Light on Fort Necessity* (1957), Noël Hume’s *Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America* (1978), Wallace’s *Indians of Pennsylvania* (1989), and various other texts. I had also withdrawn the following works from the Carnegie Library in Pittsburgh: Anderson’s *The War that Made America* (2005), Means’ *Circular Villages of the Monongahela Tradition* (2007), Richter’s *Native Americans’ Pennsylvania* (2005), and Ward’s *Breaking the Back Country* (2003). This immense amount of information had to be condensed into a twenty-minute presentation.

I sat with a pencil in hand, attempting to outline the most critical points. I aimlessly tried to produce a text, but the words remained elusive. I finally set it aside and went for a walk, down to the battlefield. A stillness lingered through the Meadow, the battlefield quiet. Over the freshly-cut grasses I wandered, eventually finding myself standing behind the earthen trenches, where
Washington’s men had stood, two-hundred and fifty-five years previously. And from this vantage point—in my direct line of vision not sixty yards distance—stood a line of trees, the location of the French and the Native Americans. As Tilden (1977:13-14) relates, the past happened *right here*, not in a distant time and place.

Amidst the stillness of the Meadow, I imagined the turbulence, the panic along these trenches. Explosions of musket fire from the treeline; the barking of commands; the cries of the wounded; the crowded mess of men. While I stood in the actual atmosphere of this place, tangible details emerged. The rain. The mud. The soldiers without shoes. The smell of their rank linens. The desperation. The disorder. The chaos. These gritty sensory details, easily overlooked, provided a window into the human condition of the battle’s anonymous participant.

At this moment the entire meaning of this battlefield transformed. Like a hinge turning, the landscape’s associations with George Washington and the development of American history seemed distant; rather, this place was important because human beings had suffered here. The most meaningful issue for me at this moment was the human condition of these participants, all of whom had walked into the wilderness—many with neither shoes nor socks—only to be shot at in this Meadow. Perhaps the remains of thirty people linger somewhere in this Meadow; but the fate of their bodies is uncertain, as the dead were apparently left with little attention. In similar fashion, Tilden (1977:42-43) argued that the main interpretive element at Vicksburg National Military Park was not the names of the commanders or the positions of the regiments; rather, it was the human condition of the participants, specifically the fratricide of the Civil War, a dimension superseding all other concepts.

Throughout the evening, I stood at various places on the battlefield. Before the sun set a story had taken form, the various pieces molding into place. I found myself pulling away from
the geo-political macrocosm and instead imagining the individuals who were here. Who were they? Why were they here? What did they see and hear? What did they feel? What did these people experience? This interpretive narrative, centered on the anonymous man, attempted to imagine the event through his eyes. The conditions endured by this anonymous man had become my focus. This experiential perspective, based on the tangible details affecting the battle’s anonymous participant, would influence the other interpretive programs that I developed during the following summer.

**The First Interpretive Talk of the Summer Season**

It was a still June evening in the Meadow at Fort Necessity.

The summer season of 2010 was about to begin. I stood before a natural amphitheater; a semicircular series of benches, formed from tree trunks, was arranged before me (Figure 11). At this moment they were empty; yet on the following day, these empty benches would be filled with my supervisors, permanent park employees, and fellow seasonal employees. It would be my first talk of the summer season, an introductory session on local archaeology for new seasonal staff. My presentation needed to be about one-half of an hour.
I set three buckets before me on the nearest bench. Each bucket contained materials from three distinct periods in local archaeology. The first bucket held prehistoric materials, the second colonial materials, and the third nineteenth-century materials. I even included a spruce bough and an oak leaf to aid in the explanation of landscape change. So I delivered my talk to the empty benches, rounding out the presentation’s rough edges, streamlining the transitions between prehistoric and historic eras.

“Sounds interesting,” a voice sounded from across the way.

I turned to see a woman approaching, her long, grey hair falling in locks over her shoulders.

“May I listen?” she asked.

“Of course,” I said, reconfiguring my buckets.

She sat on one of the benches, a warm smile on her face.

I started from the beginning. I produced the evergreen sprig in my hands, explaining how the distant prehistoric landscape differed from the contemporary oak and maple scenery of today.

“Meadowcroft,” I continued, “is among the oldest known archaeological sites in all of North America, and it’s right here in southwestern Pennsylvania. People have been living at Meadowcroft for perhaps sixteen thousand years...”

“But how do you know it’s that old?” she asked.

I stopped to think. “Well,” I began, “archaeologists use many different methods to find out how old a site is. Radiocarbon dating...”

“I’ve read all about radiocarbon dating,” she responded, in a manner authoritative yet gentle, “and how it’s been proven inaccurate.”
It was as if I had stubbed my toe. “Archaeologists, as a profession, use radiocarbon dating,” I clarified. “Archaeology says it’s sixteen thousand years old. You are welcome to believe something different.”

“But tell the children the truth,” she insisted, with a smile. She then informed me that she was a counselor for children at a religious camp. The children, she argued, must not be confused by these contrasting timelines.

Two paths appeared before me. Over the first lane, there loomed dark clouds, the knotted trees twisting over the craggy way. However, there also existed another path. This lane, composed of flat stone, was the path of communication and understanding. Onto this latter path I strode.

I set my planned talk aside and continued with an exchange of ideas that developed into a wonderful conversation. During this exchange the visitor revealed that she was a member of the Delaware Nation. We discussed the history. The colonization. The plight of Native Americans. Our conversation no longer concerned the past. Rather, it concerned our relationship to the past. The past no longer stood at a comfortable distance, a mere abstraction in the mind. Indeed, the past had walked into the present, sitting at the benches with us.

We talked about Native American stories. The sky woman who fell from the clouds and the looming waters below. How she came to land on the island of the turtle shell. How the birds dove into the waters, and how they scooped soil into their beaks, bringing the earth onto the turtle shell. Then the other animals joined, placing soil onto the back of the turtle. The muskrat rose from the depths with a mouthful of sand. Soon the whole shell of the turtle became the earth. The woman from the sky could walk on the earth.
I disclosed to this visitor that I often thought about this story, how the images came to mind when I walked through a moss patch or felt my boots gently sink into damp soil. I thought of the creatures—the birds and the muskrat, and how they made the ground. The very Earth that I walk upon, the great shell of a turtle. This story, I told her, had made an impression on me.

The woman smiled. She said that her ancestors had lived a more harmonious life than we do today. She then expressed disagreement with how Native Americans had been treated throughout history. As our conversation continued, it became clear that she cared very much for the past. I suddenly felt as if the differences in our visions of the past—the numbers, the dates—were somewhat cosmetic.

We both agreed that Native Americans had lived in Pennsylvania for thousands of years. We both agreed that Native Americans had an astonishing past in Pennsylvania. We both agreed that Native Americans had been gravely wronged in Pennsylvania. We agreed on the issues concerning the human dimension. At this moment I realized that we shared much in common, much more than I had originally suspected. This woman obviously thought about the past; she was repulsed by the way people had been treated in past times, and, indeed, how many people are treated in the present time. And the more we conversed, the more I realized that she was actually very keen to the past, even more than many, I presume. Only numbers stood between our interpretations. Only numbers. The emotional dimension of the past manifested on this June evening.

This was only the first talk of the summer.

In this chapter, I will discuss the various interpretive programs that I developed for the summer, all of which I devised in an effort to communicate in a tangible way the many persons present here through the past.
Public Programs

My work during the summer season of 2010 at Fort Necessity included the development of formal interpretive programs for Boys Scout groups and the general public. The Park had received a grant, allowing for local Boy Scout camps to visit the site at no cost during scheduled sessions. After meeting with local Boy Scout leaders, the Park and the Scouts established a schedule: different Scout groups would visit the Park three times a week for seven weeks; each program would last for two hours. These programs incorporated merit badge requirements, including requirements for the Indian Lore Merit Badge, the Archaeology Merit Badge, the American Heritage Merit Badge, and the Citizenship of the Nation Merit Badge. The Boy Scouts in these programs ranged from early adolescence to seniors in high school.

I will refer to the three Scout programs as the “First Pennsylvanians Program,” the “Archaeology Program,” and the “Tavern Life Program.” I delivered 23 programs to the Scouts, totaling 46 program hours. Additionally, I also developed a four-hour interpretive program that covered every requirement for the Archaeology Merit Badge. This program was delivered on two occasions, totaling 8 program hours.

I also developed a guided archaeology walk for the general public. This public archaeology program, approximately one-half of an hour, was delivered 34 times, totaling 17 program hours. In sum, I delivered 59 formal programs, totaling 71 program hours; thus, the average program length was 1.2 hours. I delivered these programs to a total of 860 visitors. The average attendance per program was approximately 15 visitors (Tables 1 and 2).

The remainder of this chapter explains the content and interpretive direction of these programs.
Table 1. Attendance at Formal Interpretive Programs during the Summer of 2010.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program Attendance</th>
<th>Number of Programs</th>
<th>Total Program Attendance</th>
<th>Average Attendance Per Program</th>
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<td>146</td>
<td>16.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archaeology Program</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>16.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tavern Life Program</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>24.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Archaeology Program</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>11.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archaeology Merit Badge</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>59</strong></td>
<td><strong>860</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Averages</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td><strong>14.58</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Program Length (in Hours) for Formal Interpretive Programs during the Summer of 2010.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Program Length (Hours)</th>
<th>Number of Programs</th>
<th>Length of Individual Program (Hours)</th>
<th>Total Program Length (Hours)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indian Lore Program</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archaeology Program</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tavern Life Program</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Archaeology Program</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archaeology Merit Badge Program</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>59</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td><strong>71</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Averages</strong></td>
<td>-</td>
<td><strong>2.1</strong></td>
<td><strong>1.2</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The First Pennsylvanians Program

The First Pennsylvanians Program was the first two-hour program that I developed for Boy Scout visitors. This program satisfied certain requirements for the Indian Lore Merit Badge, including the construction of a native domestic dwelling and the presentation of native material culture.

The Park provided materials for the construction of a small wigwam. These materials included saplings, twine, scissors, and sewn reed mats; the wigwam structure was developed by Park staff from Nabokov and Easton’s Native American Architecture (1989) and from consultation with local Native Americans (Jane Clark, personal communication 2010). Wigwams varied in size and composition, and this activity is meant to reveal one method of its construction. During the course of this activity, I asked the participants what materials Native Americans might have used in place of modern twine and scissors before they traded with
Europeans; the participants were generally very perceptive, realizing that Native Americans would have likely used stone and bone tools.

Several steps were involved in the wigwam’s construction. The first step required the placement of postholes into the ground, a task that I completed before the first group of Scouts arrived. Two perpendicular lines, each about nine paces across, were marked out. A stake and mallet were used to plunge postholes at the four endpoints of these lines (Figure 12).

Once these narrow postholes—protruding into the ground perhaps six inches—had been placed at the four points, the wigwam was ready to be built by the Scouts. “Bendable” saplings were most useful. Two saplings were placed into opposing postholes (Figure 13). Then the saplings were gently lowered toward one another (Figure 14), their ends lashed together with twine (Figure 15). It was important to fasten the saplings in a secure manner, as they were under pressure. The same procedure was undertaken for the other pair of saplings. Both sets were then lashed together (Figure 16).

![Figure 12. Four postholes are placed in a perpendicular fashion. Image by the author.](image12)

![Figure 13. Saplings are placed vertically in opposing postholes. Image by the author.](image13)
Now that the vertical saplings had been fixed into position, additional saplings were laced around the structure in a horizontal fashion. One might imagine the wigwam like a giant basket, and the builder a basket maker. The thick end of each horizontal sapling was fastened under a vertical post and held into place; the sapling was then laced horizontally over the adjacent post; finally, the thin end of the horizontal sapling was nested under a third vertical post. This horizontal sapling was then lashed to the vertical posts. A second horizontal sapling was fastened
around the opposite side of the wigwam. The builder may choose to make a second tier of horizontal saplings. The skeleton of the structure was completed (Figure 17).

This wigwam skeleton now required skin. The Park provided mats of reeds, though Native Americans in Pennsylvania likely used bark mats. I explained to the participants that Pennsylvanian Native Americans would logically use the woodland resources available to them, such as bark from the trees. The mats were tied onto the wooden skeleton (Figure 18). A smoke hole remained at the top, as did an entrance at the side. The wigwam was now finished (Figure 19).

Figure 17. Saplings are woven horizontally around the standing posts. Image by the author.

Figure 18. Reed mats are lashed to the saplings. Image by the author.

Figure 19. A completed wigwam. Image by the author.
This exercise generally took an hour, regardless of the size of the group. In many ways, smaller groups tended to have more cohesion and a more balanced division of labor. Occasionally in larger groups certain Scouts would not participate; however, older participants in smaller groups often delegated objectives to less-enthusiastic participants. In addition, the older participants would often teach the younger participants how to lash the saplings together. I imagine that the cohesion of these Scout groups—in which older, skilled Scouts act as leaders by virtue of their merit—potentially mirrors the social dynamic of past wigwam builders.

I found that little instruction was needed; most of the boys enthusiastically participated, the groups realizing the next phase of construction on their own. I acted as a guide, pointing out safety issues, hinting at the next stage of construction, and answering questions. This method of learning, where the participants learn by doing, is fortuitously called “experiential learning” (Millenbah and Millspaugh 2003:127), an appropriate compliment to “experiential interpretation.”

The second part of the First Pennsylvanians Program began after the completion and disassembly of the wigwam. This portion of the program involved showing and explaining Native American material culture. I led the Scouts through a history of Pennsylvania, displaying artifacts where appropriate (Figure 20). This presentation also included a discussion of the progression of the forest landscape in Pennsylvania, the nearby trees serving as visual guides.

I finished the program by leading the participants into the Fort. There we discussed how European contact affected the culture of native peoples. We examined and compared pre-Contact and Contact-era artifacts. I also passed around laminated prints of Robert Griffing’s artwork; Native American words for certain tools were also presented, including “tom-a-haw-key” and
“wep-i-chi-gan.” During the course of this program, I employed the following sensory-based learning tools (Table 3).

![Image of artifacts](image-url)

Figure 20. These objects are some of the artifacts that I passed around during the First Pennsylvanians Program. In a clockwise fashion, there are beads made from a shell, projectile points, and ceramic sherds. Image by the author.

Table 3. The First Pennsylvanians Program Offered These Activities and Sensory-Based Interpretive Experiences.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Hearing</th>
<th>Sight</th>
<th>Touch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wigwam Construction</td>
<td>Native Words</td>
<td>Artifacts</td>
<td>Artifacts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fort Necessity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Natural Landscape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Robert Griffing Paintings</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Archaeology Program

The second two-hour program that I conducted for Boy Scout visitors concerned the Archaeology Merit Badge. The program covered certain requirements for the badge, including visiting an archaeological site and discussing three archaeological sites in Pennsylvania. The program also incorporated a mock dig site for the Scouts to utilize.

I began the program with a slide presentation discussing three Pennsylvania sites: Meadowcroft Rockshelter, Fort Ligonier, and the Mount Washington Tavern. These three sites include prehistory (Meadowcroft Rockshelter), the colonial era (Fort Ligonier), and the early American Republic (the Mount Washington Tavern). I discussed the differences in material culture between these sites, particularly with respect to the introduction of metal goods into
North America by Europeans (Figure 21). I also included several unlabeled slides that allowed the Scouts to identify the materials themselves.

Following the completion of the slideshow, I guided the Scouts to the Fort and discussed the history and archaeology of Fort Necessity. This presentation involved the use of historic photographs from the 1953 excavation by J.C. Harrington.

![Image](image.png)

Figure 21. The wep-i-chi-gan or tom-a-haw-key in traditional Native form (below) and in European form (above). The metal axe head is covered with linen for safety. Image by the author.

The final portion of this program gave the Scouts the opportunity to participate in a mock dig. I prepared a site for the Scouts to excavate, an area tilled by the Park’s maintenance crew. The Scouts spent approximately forty minutes with trowels, buckets, and shaker screens, finding whiteware sherds, replica coins, and other materials. I prepared catalog sheets for the Scouts, so that they could catalog their finds. At the conclusion of the mock dig, we discussed the recovered materials. During the course of this program, I employed the following sensory-based learning tools (Table 4).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Sight</th>
<th>Touch</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mock Dig</td>
<td>Artifacts</td>
<td>Archaeology Tools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Necessity</td>
<td>Artifacts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historic Photos</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Landscape</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slide Images</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. The Archaeology Program Offered These Activities and Sensory-Based Interpretive Experiences.
**Tavern Life Program**

This program was developed for Boy Scout visitors to fulfill certain requirements for the Citizenship of the Nation and the American Heritage Merit Badges. The requirements include a visit to a place listed on the National Register of Historic Places, an explanation of the National Register of Historic Places, and the creation of a map detailing local areas of historic significance.

I began this program with a tour of the Mount Washington Tavern. Here we walked into each room, observing the various bottles, notices, tools, utensils, dishes, and other material culture present (Figure 22). In the dining room we discussed food and utensils, and I used this opportunity to read primary documents about American eating habits in the nineteenth century. The Scouts had the opportunity to grind coffee beans with a nineteenth-century coffee grinder.

We discussed nineteenth-century hygiene on the second floor of the tavern. I produced a magnified view of a bedbug and read relevant primary materials concerning hygiene. I kept the tour open to questions throughout, encouraging the Scouts to ask questions or to point to objects of interest; this format follows the “drawing out” method as discussed by Grater (1976:45-46), a tour where the visitors are active participants, leading the discussion. At the conclusion of the Tavern tour we descended to the Fort to discuss the battle.

![Figure 22. The Tavern’s kitchen provides an opportunity to discuss material culture and domestic lifeways. Image by the author.](image)
We returned to the Visitor’s Center upon completing the Tavern and Fort tours, discussing the National Register of Historic Places in a traditional classroom environment. I passed out a series of historic photographs of the Mount Washington Tavern. The Scouts used clues in the photographs to place the four different images in chronological order. A second activity involved mapping historical places in Fayette County. Finally, the Scouts had the opportunity to use a hand-cranked butter churner (Figure 23). We discussed how this jar churner differs from the hand churner in the Tavern; I made it clear that the tavern inhabitants of the first-half of the nineteenth century did not have Mason Jars. The Scouts tasted their homemade butter with crackers at the conclusion of the program. During the course of this program, I employed the following sensory-based learning tools (Table 5).

![Figure 23. The jar butter churner used during the Tavern Life Program. Image by the author.](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Hearing</th>
<th>Sight</th>
<th>Smell</th>
<th>Taste</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Butter Churning</td>
<td>Primary Accounts</td>
<td>Artifacts</td>
<td>Coffee Beans</td>
<td>Butter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee Grinding</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fort Necessity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical Photograph Activity</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mount Washington Tavern</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mapping</td>
<td></td>
<td>Natural Landscape</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. The Tavern Life Program Offered These Sensory-Based Interpretive Experiences.
**A Public Archaeology Walk**

The guided archaeology walk that I developed for the general public in many ways resembled elements from the First Pennsylvanians Program, though it included more recent history. In many ways it follows the “telling and showing” walk, as outlined by Russell Grater (1976:44); in such a walk, the guide relates information to the visitors through a combination of discussion and demonstration.

I carried a satchel over my shoulder, a handy bag filled with artifacts. I started each group at the Visitor’s Center and led them toward the Fort, stopping at various locations to discuss different time periods. The first stop occurred at a line of Norway Spruce trees; at this location I discussed the role of the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) at Fort Necessity, the spruces acting as living artifacts of the CCC reforestation project. Beneath these spruce trees we then discussed the last glaciation, the Ice Age landscape, the first Pennsylvanians, and Meadowcroft Rockshelter. I showed laminated images of a mastodon and Clovis points.

From this point we moved further down the path, stopping under the shade of oak and maple trees. The trees served as visual guides for a post-Pleistocene environment in Pennsylvania. We discussed how nut-bearing oaks, hickories, chestnuts, and walnut trees benefitted Pennsylvanians after the Ice Age. I passed around Native American pottery sherds and spear points, and I described the Three Sisters of native agriculture. I then concluded this station with a discussion of the Monongahela people, the society that once lived across southwestern Pennsylvania on the eve of contact. “What happened to these people?” I asked the visitors. Nearly every group, even groups unfamiliar with the Monongahela people, could connect the decline of the native population with the appearance of Europeans in North America. This concept drew us toward our final destination, in plain view of the Fort.
With the Fort as a backdrop, I passed around European metal goods, musketballs, coins, refined pottery sherds, and other items (Figure 24). Visitors seemed to enjoy a discussion about early American table manners, the three-pronged fork and table knife useful for quick demonstrations. In conclusion, I bound all of these periods—from the first Pennsylvanians to the Monongahela to the European colonizers and to the CCC—back to the central importance of the landscape. All of these past people relied on the resources and landscape of this region. During the course of this program, I employed the following sensory-based learning tools (Table 6).

![Figure 24. Refined ceramics (upper left), stoneware (lower left), a comb (center left), replica Spanish silver (center right), a key and thimble (lower center), and a fork and table knife (right) are some of the artifacts passed out (or displayed at a safe distance if sharp) during the Archaeology Walk. Image by the author.](image)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Sight</th>
<th>Touch</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guided Walk</td>
<td>Artifacts</td>
<td>Artifacts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort Necessity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Images</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Landscape</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All of these programs adapted as the summer progressed. I smoothed rough edges, realizing that interpretive programs must evolve as the instructor gains experience and knowledge. Visitor evaluations of these two programs will be discussed in the following two chapters.
SECTION IV: RESULTS AND INTERPRETATIONS

CHAPTER FOUR: VISITOR RESPONSES

Introduction

This chapter considers the Before and After responses of participants in the First Pennsylvanians, Archaeology, and Tavern Life Programs. Two evaluations were developed to quantify visitor perception and understanding. The first evaluation analyzed group understanding before and after each program, an analysis covered in this chapter. The second evaluation analyzed individual comments from visitors, and this second evaluation will be discussed in the following chapter.

The data from these evaluations has been analyzed quantitatively by considering the word frequencies represented in visitor responses and comments. While evaluating interpretation is not an exact science (Kryston 1986:89), word frequency studies provide a quantitative content analysis of visitor responses. Vacc and Loesch (1993:418) state that word frequency analysis is a “well-recognized” quantitative approach where “inferences are made based on the relative frequencies with which specific words or phrases are used.” Word frequency approaches are being used in greater frequency with the advent of computer technology (Bagavandas and Nazreen Begum 2008:221). Word frequency analysis has been used in such diverse settings as identifying lexical differences between narrative and expository reading materials for children (Gardner 2004), quantifying character and word frequencies of the Tamil epic Cilappathikaaram (Bagavandas and Nazreen Begum 2008), the medical analysis of nouns, verbs, adjectives, and pronouns present in adolescents’ dream language (Maggiolini et al. 2003), quantifying the frequency of Greek words presented in the New Testament (Trenchard 1998), developing word frequency databases for the Chinese language based on film and television subtitles (Cai and
Brysbaert 2010), and evaluating the content of responses (Vacc and Loesch 1993), as does this work. Cai and Brysbaert (2010:1) state, “Word frequency is the most important variable in language research.” Word frequency analysis allows for a systematic, quantitative content examination of the actual vocabulary implemented by the visitors.

**Before and After Group Responses**

The *Before* and *After* response evaluations measured the short-term effectiveness of the Boy Scout programs. I conducted this evaluation for each of the 21 Boy Scout groups that I instructed. At the beginning of every program, I asked each group topic-specific questions concerning the day’s program. Then at the conclusion of the program, I asked each group the same question, allowing for open-ended responses, in a similar manner as Vacc and Loesch 1993:419.

The responses were analyzed in two manners. First, the responses were arranged by frequency. Second, the responses were categorized. It is important to state that the process of assigning categories to respondent’s vocabulary is subjective, yet it is another attempt to understand the content of the responses. These described methods are not the only two ways in which these responses might be analyzed, yet they represent a quantitative frequency analysis and a qualitative categorical analysis. The purpose of this exercise was to evaluate if (and how) the participants’ ideas concerning the topic had changed from the beginning to the end of the program.

**The First Pennsylvanians Program, Before and After Responses**

I began and concluded each First Pennsylvanians Program with the simple question, “What do you think about when you think of Native American culture?” I recorded the group responses.
The first step involved arranging the responses by frequency (Table 7). Next I arranged these responses by category, assigning words into the categories “Cultural Activities and Traits,” “Cultural Affiliations,” “Material Culture and Procured Resources,” “Social Concerns and Considerations,” “Value Judgments,” and “Unclassifiable/Ambiguous (Table 8).”

The Before sessions contained a total of 38 responses, or 5.42 responses per program, ranging from the informed to the stereotyped. “Feathers” and “Tee-pees” were the most common Before responses, each occurring in four out of the seven sessions. “Headdress” occurred twice, as did the names “Cherokee” and “Iroquois.” Two out of the seven groups also mentioned that Native Americans were the first inhabitants of North America.

The majority of Before responses (55.26%) concerned material culture and procured resources. Though “Feathers,” “Headdresses,” and “Tee-pees” occurred most frequently, eleven other responses occurred on singular occasions. If all the responses occurring at a singular time were collected together, the participants as a whole would clothe Native Americans in “Animal Skins” and “Moccasins.” They also gave natives “Bows and Arrows,” “Hatchets,” “Spears,” “Tomahawks,” and “Wampum.” “Fire” was utilized by natives, while “Horses” and “Buffalo” were procured for use. Natives also lived in “Wigwams.”

Cultural affiliations—the names of specific peoples—occupy the next most frequent Before response (26.32%). “Cherokee” and “Iroquois” were both mentioned on two occasions. “Aztec,” “Haudenosaunnee,” “Incas,” Indians,” Mayans,” and “People Called ‘Indians’ by Columbus” all appeared on single occasions. Cultural activities and traits appeared in 10.53% of the Before responses; the participants mentioned “Dancing,” “Fighting,” “Scalping,” and “Tribes.” Only one response, “Blood,” eluded classification.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Before (38 Responses; 5.42 per program)</th>
<th>After (52 Responses; 7.42 per program)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feather (s) (x4)</td>
<td>Tomahawk (x5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tee-pees (x4)</td>
<td>Guns (x2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cherokee (x2)</td>
<td>Musketballs (x2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Headdress (x2)</td>
<td>Wampum (x2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iroquois (x2)</td>
<td>Algonquin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People who Lived Here First (x2)</td>
<td>Beads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal Skins</td>
<td>Blood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aztec</td>
<td>Bows and Arrows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blood</td>
<td>Buried Fish for Agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bow and Arrow</td>
<td>Corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buffalo</td>
<td>Creative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dancing</td>
<td>Death</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fighting</td>
<td>Diseases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fire</td>
<td>Fires</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hatchets</td>
<td>Fur Trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haudenosaunee</td>
<td>Great Fighters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horses</td>
<td>Harsh Life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incas</td>
<td>Ice Age</td>
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<tr>
<td>Indians</td>
<td>Inventive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayan</td>
<td>Lacrosse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moccasins</td>
<td>Leather Clothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People called “Indians” by Columbus</td>
<td>Metal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scalping</td>
<td>Mobile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spears</td>
<td>Mohawk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomahawk</td>
<td>Necklaces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribes</td>
<td>Painted Themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wampum</td>
<td>People that Lived in America First</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wigwams</td>
<td>People that Lived without Metal Technology</td>
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<td>Quill Work</td>
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<td>Squirrel-Tail Hat</td>
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<td>Susquehannas</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Tee-pees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tobacco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Transition of Customs and Tools with Arrival of Immigrants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Used Different Currency/Coins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Used Everything</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Used Their Surroundings Wisely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>War</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wigwams</td>
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### Cultural Activities and Traits

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Before (10.53%)</th>
<th>After (13.46%)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dancing</td>
<td>Buried Fish for Agriculture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fighting</td>
<td>Fur Trade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scalping</td>
<td>Lacrosse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribes</td>
<td>Mobile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Painted Themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Transition of Customs and Tools with Arrival of Immigrants</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Used Different Currency/Coins</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

### Cultural Affiliations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Before (26.32%)</th>
<th>After (5.77%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cherokee (x2)</td>
<td>Algonquin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iroquois (x2)</td>
<td>Mohawk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aztec</td>
<td>Susquehannas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haudenosaunee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayans</td>
<td></td>
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<td>People called “Indians” by Columbus</td>
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### Material Culture and Procured Resources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Before (55.26%)</th>
<th>After (53.85%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feather(s) (x4)</td>
<td>Tomahawk (x5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tee-pees (x4)</td>
<td>Guns (x2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Headdress (x2)</td>
<td>Musketballs (x2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal Skins</td>
<td>Wampum (x2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bow and Arrow</td>
<td>Beads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buffalo</td>
<td>Bows and Arrows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fire</td>
<td>Corn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hatchets</td>
<td>Fires</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horses</td>
<td>Leather Clothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moccasins</td>
<td>Metal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spears</td>
<td>Necklaces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomahawk</td>
<td>People that Lived without Metal Technology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wampum</td>
<td>Quill Work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wigwams</td>
<td>Skins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spanish Coins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Spears</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Squirrel-Tail Hat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tee-pees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tobacco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wigwams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wood</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Social Concerns and Considerations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Before (5.26%)</th>
<th>After (5.77%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>People who Lived Here First (x2)</td>
<td>Disease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>People that Lived in America First</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>War</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

Table 8. First Pennsylvanians Program, Before and After Responses, Categorized.
The After responses included a total of 52 responses, 14 more total responses than the Before sessions. The average number of responses increased from 5.42 per program during Before sessions to 7.42 per program during After sessions. “Tomahawk” occurred most frequently in After sessions, the word mentioned during five out of the seven sessions. “Guns,” “Musketballs,” and “Wampum” each occurred twice, the next most frequent responses.

The majority of After responses (53.85%) concerned material culture. “Tomahawk,” “Guns,” “Musketballs,” and “Wampum” were referenced on multiple occasions. In addition, the participants mentioned the following materials on singular occasions: “Beads,” “Bows and Arrows,” “Corn,” “Fires,” “Leather Clothing,” “Metal,” “Necklaces,” “People that Lived without Metal Technology,” “Quill Work,” “Skins,” “Spanish Coins,” “Spears,” “Squirrel-Tailed Hat,” “Tee-pees,” “Tobacco,” “Wigwams,” and “Wood.” The “Spanish Coins” response is likely derived from the Spanish coins I presented to the groups, as Anglo colonists used Spanish silver in transactions. The “Squirrel-Tailed Hat” response is likely a reference to the beaver hats that I discussed, as I make no mention of other hats in my presentation.
Responses that amounted to value judgments, that is, qualitative commentary on culture, appeared in 15.38% of After responses. During After sessions, participants described native peoples as “Creative,” “Great Fighters,” “Inventive,” “Resourceful,” and “Technologically Advanced.” The participants also commented that Natives “Used Everything” and “Used Their Surroundings Wisely”; the Native Americans had also endured a “Harsh Life.”

Cultural activities and traits were present in 13.46% of After responses. Natives “Buried Fish for Agriculture,” engaged in the “Fur Trade,” and played “Lacrosse”; these “Mobile” people “Painted Themselves” and went through a “Transition of Customs and Tools with the Arrival of Immigrants.” Natives also “Used Different Currency/Coins.”

Three After responses (5.77%) referred to cultural affiliations; “Algonquin,” “Mohawk,” and “Susquehanna” were all mentioned a single time. Three more responses connoted social concerns and considerations; “Disease,” “People that Lived in America First,” and “War” received acknowledgment. Finally, three responses were ambiguous or unclassifiable: “Blood,” “Death,” and “Ice Age.”

Differences are evident between the Before and After responses. The First Pennsylvanians program focused on Eastern Woodland Native Americans, specifically those in Pennsylvania; thus, while the Before responses included some stereotypical images associated with Plains Native Americans (“Tee-pees,” “Headdresses,” “Buffalo”), those concepts did not appear during After sessions; “Tee-pee” only appeared one time. The stereotypical “Feather,” which appeared in four out of the seven Before sessions, did not occur a single time in the After session.

The items mentioned in the material culture changed dramatically. There is only a single cultural item from the Before list that indicates metal usage: a hatchet. However, the After results show a more dynamic Native culture, one that used “Tomahawks” and “Bows and Arrows,” as
well as “Guns” and “Musketballs.” These Native Americans also implemented crafts, including “Quill Work,” and they used “Beads” and wore “Necklaces.” Natives also had “Corn” and “Tobacco,” and by association, agriculture. All of these latter material goods are absent from the Before list.

The lifestyles of Native peoples also appeared to be more developed after the program. The Before sessions revealed somewhat stereotyped traits: Indians danced, fought, and scalped, and they were organized into tribes. The After sessions, however, displayed more specific cultural traits, including body-painting and lacrosse-playing; the participants also related Native involvement in the fur trade, and a response noted how there was a “Transition of Customs and Tools with Arrival of Immigrants.” I did not mention the practice of burying fish in cultivated fields; however, the program’s inclusion of native agriculture must have drawn this concept—learned in a different setting—from a participant’s memory.

The cultural affiliations also became more locale-specific after the programs. Students identified a wide variety of Native cultures before the program. Cherokee, Iroquois, and Haudenosaunee refer to peoples who lived in the Eastern Woodlands. The participants could also identify Aztec, Inca, and Mayans as Native Americans. However, the After responses included Pennsylvanian Native Americans, including Susquehannas and the Algonquin, the latter distinct from the Iroquois. Thus, the participants’ vocabulary had become more locale-specific after the program.

In addition, the After sessions included a category of responses that did not occur during Before sessions: value judgments. Most of these value judgments occurred on a single day, the sixth of July. After I opened the session for responses at the conclusion of that day’s program, a participant responded with a derogatory word, “Savages.” The rest of the group immediately
recoiled, and they told me not to include it on the list of responses. So in democratic fashion, I did not include it on the table in this chapter, though I make note of it here. The boys then confronted this derogatory word, explaining to the other participant why this word was unacceptable. These Scouts countered the word “Savage” with “Inventive,” “Creative,” “Technologically Advanced,” “Resourceful,” and “Used Their Surroundings Wisely.” Interestingly, this same group had included “Feathers” during the Before session.

One response in the Before session and three responses in the After session could not be categorized with the other terms. “Blood” appeared in both sessions on the same day, possibly from the same participant. “Death” appeared a single time. I cannot account for the presence of these terms; however, I included them so that the response lists would not be biased. “Ice Age” is also difficult to categorize; however, this response, occurring after the program, relates that Native peoples were present during the end of the Pleistocene, a concept discussed during the program.

The results of this short-term exercise show that ideas concerning Native American culture appear to have adapted over the period of a two-hour program. Before results, though including certain informed associations, tended to suggest stereotypical images: “Feathers” and “Tee-pees” appeared most frequently before the program. “Tomahawk,” though potentially stereotypical, appeared frequently in After sessions, yet the term is derived from the Algonquin language, meaning “to strike,” a concept discussed in the program.

In addition, Native American culture came across in Before sessions as entirely distinct from Europeans, the natives dressed exclusively in animal skins and moccasins. However, After results showed a more dynamic culture, one that changed over time; Natives used metal goods (guns and musketballs), were artistic (body-paint and quill work), and played games (lacrosse).
At least in the short-term, the First Pennsylvanians program, based on participant responses, successfully presented a more complex representation of Native Americans.

**Archaeology Program, Before and After Responses**

I began and concluded each Archaeology Program with the question, “What comes to mind when you think about archaeology?”

I recorded the group responses and arranged the responses by frequency (Table 9). I also arranged these responses into the categories “Concepts Specific to the Discipline of Archaeology,” “Material Culture,” “Misrepresentations of Archaeology,” “Popular Culture Stereotypes and Influences Regarding Archaeology,” “Relevant Associations with Archaeology,” “Value Judgments about Archaeology,” and “Unclassifiable” (Table 10).

I received 34 Before responses, or 4.86 responses per session. As discovered in the First Pennsylvanians Program sessions, the Before responses during the Archaeology Program ranged from the informed to the stereotyped. “Fossils” and “Indiana Jones” were the most frequent Before responses, both occurring in three out of the seven sessions. “Bones,” “Dinosaurs,” “Dirt,” and “Rocks” were the second most frequent Before responses, all occurring in two out of the seven sessions.

Most Before responses (41.18%) concerned general associations that were relevant to archaeology, the most frequent being “Bones,” “Dirt,” and “Rocks,” each occurring on two separate occasions. “Ancient Stuff,” “Archaeologists,” “Dead Stuff,” “History,” “Old Things,” “Soil,” and “Study of Buried Stuff” all occurred on a single occasion. These responses are relevant to archaeology in a general sense; many of these terms—“Bones,” “Dirt,” “Rock,” “Old Things,” “Dead Stuff,” “Ancient Stuff,” “Soil”—might also apply to other fields, including geology, paleontology, and soil science.
More specific than this previous category are concepts more diagnostic of archaeology; such terminology occurred in 23.53% of the Before responses. “Digs,” “Digging,” and “Excavation” show an awareness to certain intrusive archaeological field methods. “Discovery of How People Lived Before Us,” “Old Artifacts,” “Study of Artifacts and How They Were Used,” “Study of Ancient Artifacts,” and the “Study of Artifacts/Culture” show that many participants had knowledge of archaeology as a discipline concerned with human culture and material. Each of these responses occurred a single time.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Before (34 Total Responses; 4.86 Per Session)</th>
<th>After (34 Total Responses; 4.86 Per Session)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fossils (x3)</td>
<td>Sifting (x3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana Jones (x3)</td>
<td>Pottery (x2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bones (x2)</td>
<td>Being Careful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dinosaurs (x2)</td>
<td>Bones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dirt (x2)</td>
<td>Cool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rocks (x2)</td>
<td>Different Jobs for Archaeologists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ancient Stuff</td>
<td>Dig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archaeologists</td>
<td>Digging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrowheads</td>
<td>Dirt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dead Stuff</td>
<td>Dirty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digging</td>
<td>Finding Old Stuff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digs</td>
<td>Fun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dinosaur Bones</td>
<td>Harder than Indiana Jones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discovery of How People Lived Before Us</td>
<td>Learning about Ancient Artifacts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excavating</td>
<td>Learning about the Past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>Many Kinds of Pottery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museums</td>
<td>Metals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nazis</td>
<td>More to It than Originally Thought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Artifacts</td>
<td>Museums</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Things</td>
<td>Old Things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soil</td>
<td>Pieces of Pottery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Study of Ancient Artifacts</td>
<td>Rocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Study of Artifacts and How They Were Used</td>
<td>Stuff [Materials]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Study of Artifacts/Culture</td>
<td>Studying Ancient Artifacts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Study of Buried Stuff</td>
<td>Study of Artifacts and the Past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whips</td>
<td>Sweat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takes Forever</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tedium Work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wars</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working in Mud</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 10. Archaeology Program, Before and After Responses, Categorized.

#### Concepts Specific to the Discipline of Archaeology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Before (23.53%)</th>
<th>After (26.47%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Digs</td>
<td>Sifting (x3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Digging</td>
<td>Different Jobs for Archaeologists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discovery of How People Lived Before Us</td>
<td>Dig</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excavating</td>
<td>Digging</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Artifacts</td>
<td>Learning about Ancient Artifacts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Study of Artifacts and How They Were Used</td>
<td>Studying Ancient Artifacts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Study of Ancient Artifacts</td>
<td>Study of Artifacts and the Past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Study of Artifacts/Culture</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>

#### Material Culture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Before (2.94%)</th>
<th>After (14.71%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arrowheads</td>
<td>Pottery (x2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Metals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Many Kinds of Pottery</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pieces of Pottery</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Misrepresentations of Archaeology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Before (17.65%)</th>
<th>After (0%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fossils (x3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dinosaurs (x2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dinosaur Bones</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Popular Culture Stereotypes and Influences Regarding Archaeology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Before (14.71%)</th>
<th>After (0%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indiana Jones (x3)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nazis</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whips</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Relevant Associations with Archaeology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Before (41.18%)</th>
<th>After (29.41%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bones (x2)</td>
<td>Bones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dirt (x2)</td>
<td>Dirt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rocks (x2)</td>
<td>Finding Old Stuff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ancient Stuff</td>
<td>Learning about the Past</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archaeologists</td>
<td>Museums</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dead Stuff</td>
<td>Old Things</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>Rocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museums</td>
<td>Stuff [Materials]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Things</td>
<td>Sweat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soil</td>
<td>Working in Mud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Study of Buried Stuff</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Value Judgments about Archaeology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Before (0%)</th>
<th>After (26.47%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Being Careful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cool</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dirty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Harder than Indiana Jones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>More to It Than Originally Thought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Takes Forever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tedious Work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Work</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Unclassifiable

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Before (0%)</th>
<th>After (2.94%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wars</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In contrast to these relatively informed *Before* responses, there also tended to exist, to a lesser extent, misrepresentations of archaeology in 17.65% of the *Before* responses. “Dinosaurs” occurred during two out of the seven responses; “Dinosaur Bones” also occurred. “Fossils,” a term that occurred on three separate occasions, is not necessarily incorrect. However, the term may connote paleontology rather than archaeology.

A category involving influences derived from popular media occurred in 14.71% of the *Before* responses. “Indiana Jones” occurred during three of the seven sessions; “Nazis” and “Whips” each occurred on a single occasion. These responses are likely derived from the *Indiana Jones* franchise.

Least common among *Before* responses were terms dealing with the specific material culture that archaeology investigates. “Arrowheads” was the single response for this category, meaning that specific material finds—the actual objects that archaeologists study—accounted for only 2.94% of *Before* responses.

In general, *Before* responses tended toward the accurate in a broad sense. Approximately two-thirds of these responses (67.65%) were specifically or potentially relevant to the discipline of archaeology. Approximately one-third of these responses (32.36%) were based on popular culture or misrepresentations.

I received 34 *After* responses (4.86 per session). The word “Sifting” appeared most frequently during *After* sessions, occurring in three out of the seven sessions. “Pottery” occurred next most frequently, appearing in two out of the seven sessions.

The most common category for *After* responses related to concepts with relevant associations to archaeology, but not necessarily distinct to archaeology (29.41%). “Bones,” “Dirt,” “Finding Old Stuff,” “Learning about the Past,” “Museums,” “Old Things,” “Rocks,”
“Stuff [Materials],” “Sweat,” and “Working in Mud” are all relevant to archaeology, and these terms all appeared on single occasions.

Two categories of After responses occurred with equal frequency; concepts that were specific to the discipline of archaeology and value judgments about archaeology both occurred in 26.47% of responses. Responses specific to the discipline of archaeology included “Different Jobs for Archaeologists,” “Dig,” “Digging,” “Learning about Ancient Artifacts,” “Sifting,” “Studying Ancient Artifacts,” and “Study of Artifacts and the Past.” “Sifting” occurred three times, while the remainder of these responses occurred on single occasions. Interestingly, value judgments occurred in the same frequency, a category that did not occur during Before sessions. After responses that were categorized as value judgments include “Being Careful,” “Cool,” “Dirty,” “Fun,” “Harder than Indiana Jones,” “More to It Than Originally Thought,” “Takes Forever,” “Tedious Work,” and “Work.” These value judgments each occurred on single occasions.

The next most frequent category (14.71%) of After responses concerned specific examples of material culture. “Pottery” occurred during two of the seven occasions, while “Metals,” “Many Kinds of Pottery,” and “Pieces of Pottery” each occurred during single occasions. One term did not fit into these categories; the response “Wars” likely derived from discussion regarding the historical background of the Park.

Thus, After sessions included responses that involved relevant associations with archaeology (29.41%), concepts specific to archaeology (26.47%), and specific references to material culture (14.71%); this resulted in 70.59% of After responses tending toward accurate portrayals of the discipline of archaeology in a broad sense. Over one-fourth (26.47%) of After responses were value judgments about the discipline; a single response was unclassifiable.
Before and After responses both tended toward accurate representations of archaeology, totaling 67.65% of Before responses and 70.59% of After responses.

However, significant differences existed between the Before and After sessions. Before responses included elements of misrepresentation and stereotypes from popular culture, accounting for 32.36% of Before responses. “Fossils,” “Dinosaurs,” and “Indiana Jones” each occurred multiple times during Before sessions. However, not a single After response included a reference to popular culture or misrepresentation, save for a comment that archaeology was “Harder than Indiana Jones” made it appear. Thus, Before and After responses for the Archaeology Program had results analogous to the First Pennsylvanians Program; stereotypes and misrepresentations were limited or nonexistent in the After comments of these programs. “Sifting” was the most common After response, as opposed to the most common Before responses, “Fossils” and “Indiana Jones.” In addition, participants were able to identify more types of the material culture investigated by archaeologists during After sessions.

Another correlation between the First Pennsylvanians Program and the Archaeology Program responses included the presence of value judgments in After responses; this category of response was non-existent during Before responses in both cases. This category contains elements of emotional feeling, including colloquial words like “Fun” and “Cool.” Certain participants seem to have developed an emotional response to archaeology, having just completed a mock dig and finding artifacts. A similar emotional response occurred in this value judgment category during After responses in the First Pennsylvanians Program, as when participants creatively yet passionately rebuked the word “Savages.” I conclude from these comments that the Archaeology Program was successful in dispelling stereotypes and
misrepresentations about archaeology; I also conclude that the program’s interactive aspect, particularly the mock dig, manifested in the After responses.

**Tavern Life Program, Before and After Responses**

I began and concluded each Tavern Life Program with the question, “What comes to mind when you think about tavern life?”

I recorded the group responses and arranged these responses by frequency (Table 11); I also arranged these responses into the categories “Food and Drink,” “Hygiene,” “Tavern Functions,” “Tavern Occupants,” and “Value Judgments” (Table 12).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 11. Tavern Life Program, Before and After Responses.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Before (26 Responses; 3.71 per session)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar (x6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol (x2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotel (x2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whiskey (x2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awesome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Filthy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place to Eat and Get Drunk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place to Stay Safe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rough-Housing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rowdiness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Something from TV Shows</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tequila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncivilized</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>After (21 Responses; 3 per session)</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bed Bugs (x3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol (x2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar (x2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotel (x2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strangers (x2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awesome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bed and Breakfast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Looked Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milestone for Bringing People Together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Center</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symbol of America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terrible Bathrooms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Way Station</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I received 26 Before responses, or 3.71 responses per session. The most common Before response was to correlate a tavern with a “Bar”; this association occurred during six out of the seven Before sessions. “Alcohol” and “Whiskey” each occurred twice, logically derived from the function of the “Bar.” Another common association was “Hotel,” a response that occurred during two out of the seven occasions.
The most common category of Before responses concerned tavern functions (46.15%). “Bar” occurred six times, more than any other response. “Hotel” occurred twice; the tavern was also viewed as a “Party” place, a “Place to Eat and Get Drunk,” a “Place to Stay Safe,” and a “Pub.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Food and Drink</strong></th>
<th>Before (26.92%)</th>
<th>After (14.29%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol</td>
<td>Alcohol (x2)</td>
<td>Food Looked Good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whiskey (x2)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drink</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rum</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tequila</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Hygiene</strong></th>
<th>Before (3.85%)</th>
<th>After (19.05%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Filthy</td>
<td>Bed Bugs (x3)</td>
<td>Terrible Bathrooms</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Tavern Functions</strong></th>
<th>Before (46.15%)</th>
<th>After (42.86%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bar (x6)</td>
<td>Bar (x2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotel (x2)</td>
<td>Hotel (x2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party</td>
<td>Bed and Breakfast</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place to Eat and Get Drunk</td>
<td>Pub</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place to Stay Safe</td>
<td>Shelter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pub</td>
<td>Social Center</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Way Station</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Tavern Occupants</strong></th>
<th>Before (0%)</th>
<th>After (9.52%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Strangers (x2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Value Judgments</strong></th>
<th>Before (23.08%)</th>
<th>After (14.29%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Awesome</td>
<td></td>
<td>Awesome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rough-Housing</td>
<td></td>
<td>Milestone for Bringing People Together</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rowdiness</td>
<td></td>
<td>Symbol of America</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Something from TV Shows</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uncivilized</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12: Tavern Life, Before and After Responses, Categorized.

Value judgments, a category that did not appear in any of the Before sessions for other programs, accounted for 23.08% of Before responses in the Tavern Life Program. “Rough-Housing,” “Rowdiness,” and “Uncivilized” each occurred during single sessions, possibly linked to images from popular culture; indeed, one Before response indicated that taverns were
“Something from TV Shows.” “Awesome” and “Small,” were other value judgments ascribed to taverns during Before sessions.

The remainder of Before responses concerned food and drink (26.92%). “Alcohol” and “Whiskey” both occurred on two separate occasions; “Drink,” “Rum,” and “Tequila” each occurred singularly. Overall, Before responses concerning tavern life directly or indirectly involved alcohol (“Alcohol,” “Bar,” “Drink,” “Place to Eat and Get Drunk,” “Pub,” “Rum,” “Tequila,” and “Whiskey”) in 57.69% of the total instances.

I received 21 After responses, or 3 responses per session. The most common After response was “Bed Bugs,” which occurred during three out of the seven occasions; “Alcohol,” “Bar,” “Hotel,” and “Strangers” each occurred twice.

The most common category for After responses concerned tavern functions (42.86%). “Bar” and “Hotel” both occurred during two occasions. “Bed and Breakfast,” “Pub,” “Shelter,” “Social Center,” and “Way Station” each occurred on singular occasions.

After responses also concerned hygiene in the tavern (19.05%). Students associated “Bed Bugs” with the tavern in three out of the seven sessions; “Bed Bugs” (14.29%) thus accounted for more references in After sessions than “Alcohol” (9.52%). Equal to the number of After responses to “Alcohol” was the number of After responses to the historical presence of “Strangers” in a tavern setting. The total number of After responses that directly or indirectly related to alcohol (“Alcohol,” “Bar,” and “Pub”) was 23.81%.

The Tavern Life Program yielded interesting conclusions. First, the program was effective in demonstrating that there was more to tavern life in historical times than alcohol consumption. While 57.69% of Before responses directly or indirectly related to alcohol, only 23.81% of After responses directly or indirectly related to alcohol. While “Bar” appeared in six
of the seven Before sessions, it only occurred in two of the After sessions. “Bar” was a less common association to taverns than “Bed Bugs” during After sessions, the latter a serious hygienic concern in the nineteenth century. While value judgments in Before sessions included “Rough-Housing,” “Rowdiness,” and “Uncivilized,” After responses included “Social Center,” “Milestone for Bringing People Together,” and “Symbol of America.” These latter three responses likely related to the tour’s discussion of the tavern as a social gathering place among strangers from various social and economic backgrounds, manifestations of American democratic concepts.

However, although the Tavern Life Program had the largest groups (24.14 visitors per session), it yielded the fewest number of responses (3.71 responses per Before session; 3 responses per After session). These figures supported a concept I had suspected: interpretation works better with smaller groups. I found it more difficult to draw participation from large groups than from small groups. It was also more difficult to give visitors the chance to participate in tactile activities in large numbers or give visitors the individual attention necessary for engaging learning. This experience corroborates Çakmak 2009, a study in which a sample of student teachers found more motivation in smaller classrooms. In addition, attendance was higher at the Tavern Life Program because this program fulfilled merit badge requirements for those seeking the Eagle Scout rank; participation via obligation, as opposed to participation via interest—as in the other two programs—may also explain the lower responses for this program.

**Before and After Responses Conclusion**

Short-term analysis of participant responses before and after three distinct programs revealed certain patterns. First, After responses showed fewer stereotyped themes. Stereotypical responses regarding Native Americans decreased after the First Pennsylvanians Program;
stereotypical responses regarding archaeology decreased after the Archaeology Program; and stereotypical responses regarding tavern functions decreased after the Tavern Life Program. In addition, more topic-specific vocabulary was apparent after the programs. Finally, response participation was lowest for the Tavern Life Program, despite the fact that this program had the highest attendance; response participation was higher in groups with less than 20 participants.
CHAPTER FIVE: VISITOR COMMENTS

Visitor Comments Methods

At the conclusion of each Boy Scout program, I passed out pencils and slips of paper. While the Before and After sessions provided group responses regarding the program, the anonymous slips of paper allowed the participants to comment individually on what he or she found interesting or enjoyable during the program.

I analyzed the individual responses in three ways; the first analysis was qualitative and the second and third analyses were quantitative. The purpose of these analyses was to identify content patterns from visitor comments.

The first analysis was qualitative. I arranged the comments into categories that reflected the content of each comment; comments that were multi-component were placed into multiple categories. This categorization revealed the frequency of content themes in the comments.

The subsequent two analyses were quantitative. These evaluations systematically examined each word in every commentary, similar to the method employed by Maggiolini et al. 2003, as opposed to categorizing each comment qualitatively. In the second analysis, I considered all verbs from each commentary. I first collected all transitive verbs, participles, infinitives, and other words with verbal qualities in the written comments (such “verbal” language will be referred to as “verbs”). Verbs relevant to the experience of a participant were included. For instance, on June 22, a participant in the First Pennsylvanians Program stated, “I learned how to make a wigwam.” The verbs “learned” and “to make” were both included, potentially indicating a relationship between “making” and “learning.” Because this study was interested in understanding the experiences of these participants, I excluded verbs that were used to describe a historical episode and forms of the verb “to be.” For example, on August 3, a
participant stated, “I liked where I was albe [sic] to stand where Goorge [sic] Washington’s men stood.” In this example, the verbs “liked” and “stand” related to the experiences of the participant, and they were included for this analysis. However, the verb “stood” related to an experience of George Washington’s men, and not to an experience of the participant; similarly, the verb “was”—the imperfect form of the verb “to be”—did not convey discernable information related to the participant. Thus, these two latter verbs were excluded. In summary, the purpose of this analysis was to examine the concepts and actions described by and related to the participants.

The third analysis involved collecting topically-diagnostic nouns and adjectives, that is, nouns and adjectives that related to topics discussed during the program. This analysis also attempted to identify patterns of interest or learning with respect to people, places, and things. This analysis excluded personal pronouns like “I” or “we,” as well as colloquialisms such as “cool” or “awesome,” as these words do not convey topically-diagnostic information related to the program. However, colloquialisms such as “cool” and “awesome,” though not topically-diagnostic, did connote a relevant emotional response to the program, and such comments were considered in the aforementioned qualitative assessment.

Visitor Comments about the First Pennsylvanians Program

- I enjoyed the Fort and stories. I also liked building the wigwam (Age 14)
- Visiting the actual fort. (Age 14)
- The deer was really cool // All the artifacts we got to feel were cool (Age 15)

-Sample responses from participants regarding the First Pennsylvanians Program

At the conclusion of the First Pennsylvanians Program, I passed out slips of paper and pencils. I informed the participants that they were welcome to use this opportunity to anonymously tell me what they found interesting or enjoyable about the day’s program (Appendix A). I qualitatively analyzed the content of the comments (Appendix B). I also
quantitatively analyzed the comments’ verb frequency (Table 13) and the comments’ noun and adjective frequency (Tables 14 and 15).

**First Pennsylvanians Program Comments: Qualitative Analysis**

I received 75 comments regarding the First Pennsylvanians Program. Content themes were revealed in these comments (see Appendix B). Nearly one-half (46.67%) of participants commented on the wigwam construction. The next most common theme concerned Fort Necessity, a theme mentioned in over one-third (38.67%) of the comments. References to artifacts were found in 17.33% of comments. Nature references occurred in 9.33% of the comments, as did general positive comments; comments that related specific historical information occurred in 5.33% of the comments, while comments about the visitor center and museum (2.67%) and ambiguous comments (1.33%) were less frequent. As realized in the Before and After responses, participants were most likely to comment on the wigwam construction activity.

**First Pennsylvanians Program Comments: Quantitative Verb Analysis**

Verbs associated with construction (“build,” “make,” and “create”) were most frequent (see Table 13); these “construction” verbs occurred on 26 occasions, accounting for approximately one-third of the relevant verbs. Verbs associated with emotional connection (“like” and “enjoy”) occurred on 12 occasions (14.81%); at the same frequency were verbs related to sight (“see” and “look”). Forms of the verb “learn” were counted 10 times (12.35%). Verbs related to movement (“walk,” “hike,” “go,” and “visit”) occurred on 8 occasions (9.88%). Verbs derived from “think” were used on 7 occasions (8.64%). “Stand” occurred on two occasions (2.47%), the same frequency as “talk” verbs (“Talk” and “Discuss”). Finally, the verbs “hear” and “touch” (“Touch” and “Feel”) occurred on single occasions (1.23%).
Table 13. Verbs used in comments from the First Pennsylvanians Program.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs in First Pennsylvanians Program Comments</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Build/ Create/ Make</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>32.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Like/ Enjoy</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14.81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>See/ Look</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14.81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learn</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>12.35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walk/ Hike/ Go/ Visit</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9.88%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Think</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8.64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stand</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talk/ Discuss</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.47%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hear</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Touch/ Feel</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>81</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are observable content patterns. Acts of building, making, and creating were used in greatest frequency, implying that the creative, tactile element of this program had significant meaning to the participants. Interestingly, while the verbs “build,” “make,” and “create” were frequently used in the commentaries, implying a connection to hands-on activities, the verbs “touch” and “feel” only occurred in 1.23% of the comments. However, participants often referred to tactile processes with verbs not associated with the sense of touch. For instance, a participant commented that he enjoyed “Looking at artifacts,” even though these artifacts were passed around; or, a participant might simply comment about “the artifacts,” the short phrase not including a verb. Another interesting interpretation derived from this data concerns the frequency of verbs associated with emotion (“like” and “enjoy”). Participants had a high probability of commenting on concepts that elicited an emotional response. It is possible that this correlation is a function of the question; participants may have responded about their preferences by instinctively using emotional verbs such as “like” and “enjoy.” This possibility also exists for the remainder of these evaluations.
First Pennsylvanians Program Comments: Quantitative Noun and Adjective Analysis

The choice of nouns and adjectives also revealed patterns (Tables 14 and 15). “Fort” and “Fort Necessity” occurred as frequently as “Wigwam,” both appearing on 27 occasions. This statistic is important for multiple reasons. First, the participants were able to correctly identify the structure they built as a “wigwam”; only one participant called it a “Tee Pee.” Second, even though this program included discussion of Fort Necessity and battles, these adolescent male participants commented in a similar frequency about domestic architecture. This latter finding runs counter to certain popular presumptions that adolescent boys might prefer battle history over social history. This interpretation is also supported by other frequencies. Students were as apt to comment on “Wampum” or “beads” as they were to comment on “Cannon” or “War,” all of which occurred twice. “Mammoths” and “Ice Age” were as likely to be commented on as “Musketball,” all occurring on a single occasion. The inclusion of these social-historical elements in participant

| Table 14. Frequency of Nouns and Adjectives in Comments from the First Pennsylvanians Program. |
| Fort/Fort Necessity (27) |
| Wigwam (27) |
| Artifacts (4) |
| History (4) |
| Coins (3) |
| House [Wigwam] (3) |
| American (2) |
| Hut [Wigwam] (2) |
| Beads (2) |
| Cannon (2) |
| Change [Over Time] (2) |
| Deer (2) |
| England/English (2) |
| Museum (2) |
| Spanish (2) |
| Tribe/Tribes (2) |
| Wampum (2) |
| War (2) |
| Battle (1) |
| Battlefield (1) |
| Black [Beads] (1) |
| Braddock Trail (1) |
| Clam Shells (1) |
| Clovis Points (1) |
| Construction (1) |
| Eastern Woodland Indians (1) |
| French and Indian War (1) |
| George Washington (1) |
| Hike (1) |
| Ice Age (1) |
| Indian (1) |
| Jewelry (1) |
| Landscape (1) |
| Mammoths (1) |
| Men (1) |
| Monongahela (1) |
| Musketball (1) |
| Native American (1) |
| Pennsylvania (1) |
| People (1) |
| Prehistoric (1) |
| Rain (1) |
| Red [Beads] (1) |
| Shelter [Wigwam] (1) |
| Stories (1) |
| Supply Room (1) |
| Swamp (1) |
| Tee Pee [Wigwam] (1) |
| Time (1) |
| Tomahawk (1) |
| Trees (1) |
| Trench (1) |
| Weapons (1) |
| Wepijeegun (1) |
| Wildlife (1) |
| Woods (1) |
comments might have resulted from the opportunity for the learners to actually participate in these interpretive elements.

Table 15. Nouns and Adjectives in Commentaries from the First Pennsylvanians Program, Categorized.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Nouns and Adjectives (Percentage)</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wigwam: 34 Nouns and Adjectives (26.15%)</td>
<td>Wigwam (27); House [Wigwam] (3); Hut [Wigwam] (2); Shelter [Wigwam] (1); Tee Pee [Wigwam] (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical Landscape: 33 Nouns and Adjectives (25.38%)</td>
<td>Fort/Fort Necessity (27); Cannon (2); Battlefield (1); Braddock Trail (1); Supply Room (1); Trench (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material Culture: 20 Nouns and Adjectives (15.38%)</td>
<td>Artifacts (4); Coins (3); Beads (2); Wampum (2); Black [Beads] (1); Red [Beads] (1); Clam Shells (1); Clovis Points (1); Jewelry (1); Musketball (1); Tomahawk (1); Weapons (1); wep-i-chi-gan (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Affiliations: 13 Nouns and Adjectives (10%)</td>
<td>Tribe/Tribes (2); England/English (2); Spanish (2); American (2); Eastern Woodland Indians (1); Indian (1); Monongahela (1); Native American (1); Pennsylvania (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Landscape: 10 Nouns and Adjectives (7.69%)</td>
<td>Deer (2); Ice Age (1); Landscape (1); Mammoths (1); Rain (1); Swamp (1); Trees (1); Wildlife (1); Woods (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chronology: 8 Nouns and Adjectives (6.15%)</td>
<td>History (4); Change [Over Time] (2); Prehistoric (1); Time (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical Events and Personages: 5 Nouns and Adjectives (3.85%)</td>
<td>War (2); Battle (1); French and Indian War (1); George Washington (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclassifiable: 3 Nouns and Adjectives (2.31%)</td>
<td>Men (1); People (1); Stories (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activities: 2 Nouns and Adjectives (1.54%)</td>
<td>Hike (1); Construction (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning Environments: 2 Nouns and Adjectives (1.54%)</td>
<td>Museum (2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Students also commented about other concepts. “Deer” occurred twice, as deer routinely scamper past on the wooded trail, while “woods” and “wildlife” occurred on single occasions; on two occasions, participants commented on the Holocene transition from softwood trees to hardwood trees. Thus, a “history” or “archaeology” program has the potential to reach those interested in the natural environment.

Students were able to comment on specific terminology derived from the program. A participant commented about the “Eastern Woodland Indians,” while another wrote about the
“Monongahela” people; a participant even included the Odawa word for tomahawk, “wep-i-chi-gan,” into his comment. “Clovis Points” were also noted on a single occasion. Thus, students demonstrated the ability to incorporate topically-specific vocabulary and communicate important concepts after a single program.

First Pennsylvanians Program Comments: Summary

These three analyses provided important correlations. Qualitative analysis found that the wigwam was the most common theme in the comments; likewise, the most frequent verbs were “build,” “create,” and “make,” aligning with a most frequent noun, “wigwam.” The high frequency of “create” verbs and “wigwam” nouns appeared to be directly proportional, supporting a method of learning by doing.

A relationship was also manifest in the frequency of the Fort Necessity content theme; the nouns “Fort” and “Fort Necessity” occurred 27 times, and they correlated with the relatively high-frequency verbs related to sight and movement. For instance, participants noted that they enjoyed “Visiting the actual fort,” “Seeing the Fort and Walking on the Braddock Trail,” and “Going to the Fort.” Thus, visiting or seeing the “actual” Fort translated enough meaning to the participant to comment on that event, corresponding to Rosenzweig and Thelen’s (1998:105) notion that the “immediacy” and “eyewitness” elements of historical site interpretation have great potential. Finally, although I asked the participants to comment on what they found “interesting” or “enjoyable,” the verb “learn” appeared 10 times (12.35%). Thus, certain participants associated the act of learning with the emotions of “interest” or “enjoyable.”

Visitor Comments about the Archaeology Program

• I liked learning about local history and other near by archaeological sites. I liked getting the chance to see what a dig [dig] would be like. (Age 14)
• I really enjoyed standing in the trench and imagining being a soldier 256 years ago because it helped me to understand the significance of the Fort. (Age 17)
I enjoyed all of it, but I really liked the hands-on digging. (Age 14)

-Sample responses from participants in the Archaeology Program

At the conclusion of the Archaeology Program, I passed out slips of papers and pencils. I informed the participants that they were welcome to use this opportunity to anonymously tell me what they found interesting or enjoyable about the day’s program (Appendix C). I qualitatively analyzed the content of the comments (Appendix D); I also quantitatively analyzed the comments’ verb frequency (Table 16) and the comments’ noun and adjective frequency (Tables 17 and 18).

Archaeology Program Comments: Qualitative Analysis

I received 90 comments from the Archaeology Program. Content themes were revealed in the comments (see Appendix C). The mock dig occurred in over one-half (53.33%) of the comments. Fort Necessity was mentioned in 35.56% of the responses. General positive feedback occurred in 11.11% of the comments, while general comments about archaeology occurred in 7.78% of the comments. Comments concerning nature and comments concerning general information feedback each occurred in 3.33% of the comments. Least common were comments regarding the Mount Washington Tavern, as was a negative comment about the mock dig, each occurring in a single instance (1.11%). The mock dig activity was the most common theme mentioned in the comments, just as the wigwam construction activity was the most common theme mentioned in the First Pennsylvanians comments.

Archaeology Program Comments: Quantitative Verb Analysis

Verbs associated with emotions (“enjoy,” “like,” and “love”) were most prevalent, accounting for 29.32% of verbs in the study (see Table 16). For instance, a participant commented that, “I liked learning about local history and other near by archaeological sites. I liked getting the chance to see what a did [sic, dig] would be like.” Another participant wrote
that he “liked sifting & digging to find Artifacts.” Language derived from “digging” occurred on 23 occasions, accounting for 17.29% of the study. Words derived from the verb “to find” occurred on 14 occasions (10.53%). Thus, “dig” and “find” accounted for 27.82% of the included verbs. Verbs derived from “look” and “see” appeared 12 times (9.02%).

Table 16. Verbs used in comments from the Archaeology Program.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs in Archaeology Program Comments</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Enjoy/Like/Love</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>29.32%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dig</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17.29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Find</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10.53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look/See</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9.02%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learn</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6.77%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Think</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Know</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.01%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go/Visit</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imagine</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sift</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stand</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bring</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bury</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compare</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excite</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discover</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Document</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Help</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hold</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Identify</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listen</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Make</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Understand</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watch</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>133</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Next most common were words derived from the verb “to learn” (6.77%); “think” occurred on 6 occasions (4.51%). Many other words were used in less frequency. Verbs specifically associated with archaeology (“dig,” “find,” “sift,” “discover,” “document,” and “identify”) occurred on 42 occasions, accounting for 31.58% of the examined words. A nearly equal number of words (39) related a sense of emotional connection (“enjoy,” “like,” and
“love”). The participants commented on concepts and activities that elicited an emotional connection.

**Archaeology Program Comments: Quantitative Noun and Adjective Analysis**

Nouns and adjectives from the comments revealed a strong association with the program’s mock excavation and the discussed historical landscapes (see Tables 17 and 18). “Dig,” “artifacts,” “archaeological/archaeology,” “dirt/dirty,” “mock [dig],” “clay [soil],” and “excavation” occurred for a total of 46 times, all associated with the mock dig activity; thus, nouns and adjectives specific to the mock excavation totaled 28.33% of the examined words. The words associated with the mock excavation activity, when combined with the number of terms related to material culture (21), sum to 72 words, meaning that 40% of the total nouns and adjectives in this study were associated with the mock dig and material culture.

The nouns “Fort” and “Fort Necessity” appeared most commonly, occurring on 24 occasions. Students specifically mentioned the “trench/trenches” on three occasions; participants also identified the Fort’s “building,” “replica,” “reproduction,” “storehouse,” and “wall” on singular occasions.

Nouns and adjectives also concerned the learning environment. Such responses, involving 12.22% of the words in study, included the “walk” on three occasions and the “slideshow” on two occasions; “classroom,” “experience,” “hands-on,” “lecture,” “presentation,” “Power Point,” “speech,” “stories,” and “tour” all occurred on single occasions. Nevertheless, “Fort/Fort Necessity,” “dig,” and “artifacts” heavily outweigh references to “classroom,” “lecture,” and “Power Point.” Even the simple act “walk” appears more frequently than these latter terms.
Additional inferences are available from this data set. “Pottery,” occurring on 5 occasions, and “Coins,” occurring on 4 occasions, were the most cited objects of material culture. Both of these objects were materials uncovered in the mock dig. The comments also show that certain participants are adept at understanding chronology, as nearly 10% of the nouns concerned chronological references. The words “80 years,” “256 years,” “1700’s,” “1930’s,” and “1950’s” imply that these respondents could place these relevant historical episodes into a broader chronological framework.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 17. Frequency of Nouns and Adjectives in Comments from the Archaeology Program.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fort/Fort Necessity (24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dig (17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artifacts (13)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical/History (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archaeological/Archaeology (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dirt/Dirty (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pottery (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coins (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Washington/Washington (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mock [Dig] (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Site/Sites (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walk (4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Battle (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rum (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trench/Trenches (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slideshow (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soldier/Soldiers (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supplies/Supply (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trees (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80 Years (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>256 Years (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700’s (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930’s (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950’s (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ammo (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ancient (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Background (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue Marble (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building [at Fort] (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chance [to Dig] (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classroom (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clay [Soil] (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connection [to People in the Past] (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dead (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doe (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excavation (1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Experience (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facts (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Future (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gunpowder (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guns (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hands-On (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indiana [Jones] (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indians (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knives (1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lecture (1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lifestyles (1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Local (1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Meadow (1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Meadowcroft [Rockshelter] (1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mount Washington Tavern (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native Americans (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Necklaces (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oldest (1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Origins (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Past (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piece [Sherd] (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presentation (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pine (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Places (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power Point (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Replica [of the Fort] (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reproduction [Replica] (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Road (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Screws (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sea Shell (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Significance (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Silver (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speech (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Storehouse (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stories (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switch [Transition] (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tour (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Troops (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wall (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Way (1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Woods (1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Archaeology Program Comments: Summary

In conclusion, the mock dig activity was the most common content theme in participant comments. In addition, word choice appeared to link emotional connection to active participation, as exemplified in the abundance of verbs related to emotions (“enjoy,” “like,” and “love”) and activity (“dig” and “find”). While few participants commented on classroom presentations, there was an abundance of nouns and adjectives related to historical landscapes (“Fort/Fort Necessity”), activities (“dig”), and objects (“artifacts”).

Table 18. Nouns and Adjectives in Commentaries from the Archaeology Program, Categorized.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Nouns and Adjectives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mock Excavation</td>
<td>51 Nouns and Adjectives (28.33%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dig (17); Artifacts (13); Archaeological/Archaeology (5); Dirt/Dirty (5); Mock [Dig] (4); Site/Sites (4); Clay [Soil] (1); Excavation (1); Piece [Sherd] (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical Landscape</td>
<td>45 Nouns and Adjectives (25%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort/Fort Necessity (24); Battle (3); Trench/Trenches (3); Men (2); Soldier/Soldiers (2); Supplies/Supply (2); Building [at Fort] (1); Meadowcroft [Rockshelter] (1); Mount Washington Tavern (1); Replica [of the Fort] (1); Reproduction [of the Fort] (1); Road (1); Storehouse (1); Troops (1); Wall [Fort Stockade] (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning Environments and Methods</td>
<td>22 Nouns and Adjectives (12.22%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walk (4); Information (2); Slideshow (2); Background (1); Chance [to Dig] (1); Classroom (1); Connection [to People in the Past] (1); Experience (1); Facts (1); Hands-On (1); Lecture (1); Presentation (1); Power Point (1); Speech (1); Stories (1); Switch [Transition] (1); Tour (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material Culture</td>
<td>21 Nouns and Adjectives (11.67%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pottery (5); Coins (4); Rum (3); Ammo (1); Blue Marble (1); Gunpowder (1); Guns (1); Knives (1); Necklaces (1); Screws (1); Sea Shell (1); Silver (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chronology</td>
<td>17 Nouns and Adjectives (9.44%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical/History (6); 80 Years (1); 256 Years (1); 1700’s (1); 1930’s (1); 1950’s (1); Ancient (1); Future (1); Old (1); Oldest (1); Origins (1); Past (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclassifiable</td>
<td>8 Nouns and Adjectives (4.44%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People (2); Dead (1); Indiana [Jones] (1); Lifestyles (1); Local (1); Places (1); Significance (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Landscape</td>
<td>6 Nouns and Adjectives (3.33%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trees (2); Doe (1); Meadow (1); Pine (1); Woods (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Affiliations</td>
<td>5 Nouns and Adjectives (2.78%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English (1); Indians (1); Native Americans (1); North America (1); Pennsylvania (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical Personages</td>
<td>5 Nouns and Adjectives (2.78%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Washington/Washington (4); General [Rank] (1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Visitor Comments about the Tavern Life Program

- I liked churning butter and seeing Fort Necessity (Age 13)
- I thought the tavern was the most fun and interesting part of your tour. Thank you. (Age 13)
- I liked touring the tavern (Age 14)

-Sample responses from participants in the Tavern Life Program

At the conclusion of the Tavern Life Program, I passed out slips of papers and pencils. I informed the participants that they were welcome to use this opportunity to anonymously tell me what they found interesting or enjoyable about the day’s program (Appendix E). I qualitatively analyzed the content of the comments (Appendix F). I also quantitatively analyzed the comments’ verb frequency (Table 19) and the comments’ noun and adjective frequency (Tables 20 and 21).

Tavern Life Program Comments: Qualitative Analysis

I received 129 comments during the Tavern Life Program (see Appendix E). The most common content category concerned the Mount Washington Tavern, occurring in 41.86% of the comments (see Appendix F). The next most common theme concerned the Fort Necessity campaign, references that occurred in 34.11% of these comments. Tactile activities, including references to using the tavern toys or to making butter, occurred in 20.16% of the responses. General comments about the program occurred in 11.63% of the comments, while general positive comments occurred in 8.53% of the comments. Comments concerning the walk along Braddock’s Road accounted for 7.75% of the comments. General negative comments accounted for 0.08% of the comments.

Tavern Life Program Comments: Quantitative Verb Analysis

An analysis of word choice in these comments revealed that verbs associated with emotional connection (“enjoy” and “like”) occurred most frequently, appearing 33 times or in nearly one-third of the verbs examined (26.19%) (see Table 19).
The verb “to learn” appeared next most frequently, occurring 24 times (19.05%), followed by “to think,” which occurred 14 times (11.11%). Language of movement (“go,” “tour,” “visit”) was present on 12 occasions (9.52%). Language associated with “know,” “make,” and “see” each occurred six times (4.76%). Interestingly, 34.92% of verbs related to cognitive functions (“learn,” “think,” and “know”), distinct from the presence of a physically active process, such as the commonly used words derived from “build,” “make,” and “create” in the First Pennsylvanians Program and “dig” and “find” in the Archaeology Program. The lack of a “tactile” verb in this instance is likely due to the absence of a group activity requiring sustained interaction, such as the wigwam construction in the First Pennsylvanians Program or the mock dig in the Archaeology Program. However, the participants did use emotional verbs (“enjoy” and “like”) in high frequency, consistent with the results from the other programs. It is also important to consider negative emotional comments (“dislike”), a verb that occurred on two occasions
(1.59%); both of these occurrences refer to the walk along the Braddock Road. The presence of these two instances of negative emotions will be examined at the conclusion of this section.

_Tavern Life Program Comments: Quantitative Noun and Adjective Analysis_

The analysis of nouns and adjectives revealed a preference for physical sites (the Mount Washington Tavern and Fort Necessity) and activities (“butter” and “tour”) (see Tables 20 and 21). The Mount Washington Tavern was referenced most frequently, occurring 36 times in the commentaries; nouns and adjectives associated with the Mount Washington Tavern accounted for 25.64% of the examined words.

Nouns and adjectives associated with activities and interactive environments included 24.18% of examined words. The most common noun found in the latter category was “butter,” occurring 16 times; thus, “butter” was more likely to be referenced than “George Washington,” the historical personage appearing 10 times. Importantly, there is no reference to the National Register in these comments, a topic that was discussed in a traditional classroom environment. Fort Necessity was mentioned on 27 occasions; nouns and adjectives associated with Fort Necessity accounted for 20.15% of the words examined.

_Tavern Life Program Comments: Summary_

The Tavern Life Program was the most challenging of the programs to conduct. It required transitions between a nineteenth-century tavern to an eighteenth-century battlefield. It required moving large numbers of participants over long distances of the Park. In addition to regularly being the largest group, the groups often consisted of Scouts just entering or nearing completion of their teenage years; it is often challenging to coordinate and maintain the cohesion of groups composed of teenagers who range from sixth grade to seniors in high school.
I read comments from these groups with great attention. I received two comments after the second session (July 1, 2010) that caused me to change a portion of the program. One participant wrote that “I liked the fort the most. You should let the scouts go closer? [sic],” while another stated, “The tavern tour was nice, but I would like to have gone to the fort.” So from that point on, I spent more time at the Fort.
In addition, I developed a short walk for this program, perhaps eight minutes in length at a regular walking stride, along the Braddock Road, in an effort to incorporate more of the Fort history. However, two comments, occurring on the same day (July 29, 2010), have stayed with me. “I disliked the walk” a participant commented; a second participant wrote a similar comment. I now realize what may be a “short” distance for a 27-year-old may not be a “short” walk for younger participants. At the same time, a participant said, “The nature trail was fun,”
while another stated, “I think the tour through the woods was interesting.” If I did the program again, I would include the walk but cut its distance, shortening it to a walk of approximately five minutes.

Participants in the Tavern Life Program commented about the program in emotional terms, frequently defining their experiences with verbs derived from “enjoy,” “like,” or “dislike.” The participants also commented heavily on the Mount Washington Tavern, the Fort, and the activities in which they participated. They did not comment about the National Register, information that was presented in a traditional classroom environment. Therefore, I conclude that active learning environments, such as site tours, were more meaningful to the participants than information conveyed in a classroom environment.

Visitor Response and Comment Summary
Responses and comments from participants revealed many observable traits relevant to historical interpretation. Responses during the First Pennsylvanians Program displayed a transition away from stereotypical images about Native Americans. Before responses yielded a high number of stereotypical concepts about Native Americans (“feathers” and “tee-pee”). However, After responses had removed stereotypical ideas and replaced them with an understanding of diverse and evolving Native American cultures. The After responses also included positive value judgments, a category that had not existed in Before responses; these responses included “creative,” “technologically advanced,” and “used their surroundings wisely.” Word frequency analyses of participant comments also found content patterns for this program. “Build,” “create,” and “make” were the most frequently cited verbs in comments regarding the First Pennsylvanians Program, followed by verbs related to emotion (“enjoy” and “like”) and sight (“see” and “look”); “wigwam” and “Fort/Fort Necessity” were the most cited
nouns in these comments. Nearly one-half (46.67%) of participants chose to comment on the wigwam, the most commonly referenced element of the First Pennsylvanians Program.

The archaeology program also displayed a movement away from stereotypes. Student attitudes toward archaeology before the program, as revealed in visitor responses, included a high-proportion of stereotyped concepts. “Dinosaurs,” “fossils,” and “Indiana Jones” all occurred in multiple numbers before the program; however, none of these words appeared in responses after the program, excluding a single comment that archaeology is “harder than Indiana Jones” makes it appear. The most common After responses were “sifting” and “pottery.” The Archaeology Program elicited positive value judgments regarding the discipline of archaeology, just as the First Pennsylvanians Program had elicited for Native American culture. Participants stated that archaeology had “more to it than originally thought”; “being careful” was identified as a necessary trait of the archaeologist. Over one-half (53.33%) of these participants chose to comment on the mock dig. In addition, word frequency analyses of participant comments found that verbs associated with emotion (“enjoy,” “like,” and “love”) occurred most frequently, followed by verbs associated with excavation (“dig” and “find”). The mock excavation, based on this analysis, was the most commonly referenced element of the Archaeology Program.

The Tavern Life Program had similar findings. Responses from participants before the program found stereotyped ideas about taverns, as 57.69% of Before responses were directly or indirectly linked to alcohol; however, only 23.81% of After responses were directly or indirectly linked to alcohol. Students had originally ascribed negative value judgments to taverns, characterizing taverns as places of “rowdiness” and “rough-housing.” After responses, however, labeled the tavern as a “milestone for bringing people together” and a “symbol of America.” The largest category of participant comments related to the Mount Washington Tavern (41.86%). As
in the cases of the other programs, verbs of emotional dimension (“enjoy” and “like”) were frequently used in participant comments. The “Mount Washington Tavern” was the most frequent topically-relevant noun in visitor comments, followed by “Fort/Fort Necessity” and “butter.” Nouns and adjectives associated with the Mount Washington Tavern were the most frequently cited category in the comments. The next most frequent category of nouns and adjectives involved words associated with activities, including making butter, playing with historical toys, and hikes. Thus, the tavern tour, combined with interactive activities, was the most cited element of the Tavern Life Program.

In sum, participants commented and responded on activities; there was no significant comment on the traditional classroom portions of these programs. As the guide for each of these programs, I concur with the comments and responses: the wigwam construction, the mock dig, and the Mount Washington Tavern tour were the most successful interpretive experiences in these programs. These three activities allowed the Scouts to participate in the past by creatively engaging the historical, archaeological, and natural resources. These activities required the Scouts to use creative means to understand the past; the fullness of the senses participated in these interpretive activities.
SECTION V: APPLIED EXPERIENTIAL INTERPRETATION

CHAPTER SIX:
INTERPRETING THE PAST AS A CREATIVE ART

Perception is a creative process.

Interpretation is an art, which combines many arts… The chief aim of Interpretation is not instruction, but provocation.
-Writer and Interpreter Freeman Tilden (1977:9)

Archaeology, along with many other disciplines, is now reincorporating humanism, reuniting the left and the right brain… Perhaps storytelling, especially as it creates images of the past, can help.
-Archaeologist Barbara J. Little (2000:11)

Weaving the Loom of History

The study of the past presents many opportunities for the learner to creatively participate in historical interpretation; thus, the fullness of the senses can be employed to interpret the past, attempting to shine lights on those dark, less traveled paths of history. Alas, the word “history” often connotes the formal study of history in school, where the material (not the teacher) is usually described as “irrelevant” or “dull” (Rosenzweig and Thelen 1998:12,109). Formalized “History” has often been presented as a politicized, nationalistic story (Rosenzweig and Thelen 1998:13); the public, however, has generally “rejected the textbook narratives of national greatness that they had been forced to passively consume and regurgitate in school” (Rosenzweig and Thelen 1998:116). In contrast, archaeologists McKee and Galle (2000:14) note that creative historical narratives have the potential to engage the public. Indeed, it is as archaeologists Teresita Majewski (2000:17) and James G. Gibb (2000b:21) affirm: park rangers are given to interpreting the past through story. Naturalist Russell Grater (1976:33) encouraged interpreters to develop a story approach to interpretation. Chapter Two discussed the theoretical framework of experiential interpretation; the following chapters will now discuss its application in practice.
There are many ways to understand the past. The study of the past is not a discipline in itself; rather, it is an interdisciplinary enterprise involving primary documents, the natural sciences, oral stories and personal experiences, traditions and customs, language studies, psychology, landscapes and locations, the archaeological record, and an “informed imagination,” that is, the process of recreating a past landscape (McDaniel 2006:248-249). This latter concept requires traits characteristic of the arts. The study of the past can thus be thought of as a loom, and the different disciplines involved in the interpretive venture—archaeology, the fine arts, folklore, history, language, literature, and the natural sciences—each a different colored strand running across this loom, all intertwined with one another to form a single woven fabric. This multi-colored fabric clothes the past in three-dimensions. Without the contributions from all of these disciplines, the past remains a distant, monochromatic set of dates and names. A site like Fort Necessity becomes a mere political event in grey scale. But let us stand at the loom and give this story color.

Take that green strand. Kelso’s (1994) palynological study found that the Meadow where Fort Necessity stood in 1754 was surrounded by oak trees, the forests sprinkled with chestnut and hickory trees. Wind the green strand through the loom, painting the colors of the great, old-growth forests that once stood in western Pennsylvania; the oak trees tower overhead, their trunks too wide for a man to wrap his arms around. The skyward canopy of these centuries-old trees blanket the sun, the forest floor dim. Now populate these woods with deer; black bear droppings have been spotted, and at night, the call of the wolf resonates through the darkness.

Pull an orange yarn across the loom. Native American custom includes the painting of pictographic images on trees. Such designs communicate tales of successful hunts or raids. The
Native American paintings on that oak tree remind you, Englishman, that you are in someone else’s territory.

Now take a yellow strand of fabric into your hand. Primary documents tell us that Washington’s men derived from an extraordinarily impoverished disposition. He wrote that his men were “loose, Idle Persons, that are quite destitute of House, and Home, and, I may truly say, many of them of Cloaths… There is many of them without Shoes, others want Stockings, some are without Shirts, and not a few that have Scarce a Coat, or Waistcoat to their Backs; in short, they are as illy provided as can well be conceiv’d” (Fitzpatrick 1931:32); Washington’s men were likewise described as “almost naked” (Anderson 2000:65). You are one of these Englishmen. Set the yellow strand into place, for you have walked some two-hundred miles through the mountains and woods without shoes. The mosquitoes have feasted on your neck, and that linen shirt of yours, the one that you have been wearing for the past three months, is crusted with sweat.

The forest thins as we enter the Meadow, the leaky tents staked into the ground. The regiment’s cows and horses meander near the stream banks. Ready the purple strand upon the loom. You have trekked ceaselessly on your calloused feet, the rope from your haversack digging into your shoulder; however, you cannot rest even now. Your life is in danger. They are coming. You take the wooden handle of the iron-nosed shovel and dig in. With the first thrust swells the marshy soil, the stew thick and dark. You thrust the shovel back into the marsh, gradually mounding the soil into an earthwork; this soft mud, your only protection from the hail of bullets that is sure to come. This evening may be your last, and all of this effort, for a pair of clothes and shoes that you were promised, but no such provisions did you ever receive.
I developed this short narrative from an “informed imagination” (see McDaniel 2006:248-249), a re-creation of a past landscape and person (though anonymous) based on existing knowledge. In similar fashion, historian R.G. Collingwood holds that “the historian’s picture of the past is… in every detail an imaginary picture,” as the interpreter must re-imagine events long past, interpolating the gaps (Lemisko 2004). This narrative requires the creative processes of the arts; details must be drawn from parallel sources, in a manner that fosters an emotional or empathetic relationship between the contemporary person and the past person.

The tools of the arts, informed by the knowledge of the sciences, can be utilized as a primary learning method, linking the learner to the people of the past, employing the fullness of the senses. In this chapter, I will discuss how the arts of literature, writing, drawing, painting, and performing permit both creative learning—sometimes called “discovery” or “active” learning in specific situations—and the relational development that are necessary to engage the participant with the past. “Discovery learning” “refers to a form of curriculum in which participants are exposed to particular questions and experiences in such a way that they ‘discover’ for themselves the intended concepts” (Hammer 1997:489). Similarly, “active learning” involves the active role that participants play during the learning process, “by exploring issues and ideas under the guidance of the instructor” (Hamlin and Janssen 1987:45). These creative methods of learning allow the participants to investigate the materials themselves, instead of passively memorizing facts.

**Literature and Writing**

Whatever is written without enthusiasm will be read without interest.

-Interpreter and writer Freeman Tilden (1977:60)

Abominable are the tumblers into which he pours his poison. Though true cylinders without—within, the villainous green goggling glasses deceitfully
tapered downwards to a cheating bottom. Parallel meridians rudely pecked into the glass, surround these footpads’ goblets. Fill to this mark, and your charge is but a penny; to this a penny more; and so on to the full glass—the Cape Horn measure, which you may gulp down for a shilling.

-Moby Dick, Chapter 3 (Melville 1937:19)

Melville’s Moby Dick is more than a story. It is a voice from the nineteenth century, here describing a scene from a coastal New England inn. The subtleties of daily life, the hidden nooks too often uninvestigated in formal study, can be found here. Voices from the past like this one have been handed down through written records and oral testimony. Such records come in various media—written, printed, oral, impressed, and electronic, and they include formal works of history, oral traditions, personal letters and diaries, public records, literary works, and even graffiti. Indeed, Tilden (1977) uses many literary examples to illustrate interpretive points.

All of these records reveal the actual language of a past people, regardless of a work’s style, function, or motivation. George Washington’s diary and Daniel Defoe’s Robinson Crusoe represent different voices from the eighteenth century. One is not necessarily “better” for historical interpretation; they are just different. Washington’s diary is considered “non-fiction,” while Defoe’s Robinson Crusoe is considered “fiction”; nevertheless, the words found within both compositions are similarly derived from the eighteenth century. As archaeologist James G. Gibb (2000a:2) states, “A fictional account, however, can accurately represent the time and place of cultures and events past, even if the details derive from the author’s imagination rather than from direct observations or critical evaluation of documents.” Kenneth E. Lewis (2000:7) also utilizes an era’s “literary material to integrate available archaeological or archival data into a narrative account revolving around the past residents of a site and their interaction.” Thus, both Washington’s diary and Defoe’s Robinson Crusoe contain important information, for they are both voices from the time. A reader may encounter the language, the social structure, the
ideologies, the concerns, the clothing, and the material of a historical era in these voices. Indeed, all of these voices are worth consideration.

In this section, I will focus on the interpretive value of “alternative” primary sources, most notably literature, as this chapter concerns the significance of the arts in historical interpretation; this emphasis in no way implies that probate records, diaries, government documents, and other “traditional” primary resources should be overlooked. The relevancy of these “traditional” resources is obvious, and arguing for the use of such resources would only restate elementary concepts. In addition, literary materials are often the most common and accessible primary documents to the general public. As such, I will focus on these accessible, artistic, yet primary literary sources.

Literature, including oral tradition, might even be thought of as a type of material culture, likened to a pottery sherd or a projectile point. First, like the pottery sherd or projectile point, it is a direct product of a specific time. Second, it began as an idea and was then fashioned into a material form by an individual who lived at a specific historical time. Thus, a literary work or oral transmission not only vividly presents a specific time and place, but the description itself contains the vocabulary of that time and place. Thus, the culture of the time is hewn into the work’s very structure.

There is a long tradition of using literature to more fully interpret the past. Heinrich Schliemann (1875) utilized Homer’s poetry while interpreting his excavations at Troy. Consider the following, a passage from Chapter Ten of the Iliad (lines 255-265). I have included the Greek text to show the characters of the native language.

Τυδείδη μὲν δῶκε μενεπτόλεμος Θρασυμήδης
φάσγανον ἄμφηκες: τὸ δὴ ἐδὲν παρὰ νῃ λέειπτο:
καὶ σάκος: ἂμφὶ δὲ οἱ κυνέην κεφαλῆσιν ἔθηκε
ταυρεῖν, ἄφαλὸν τε καὶ ἄλλοφον, ἢ τε κατατάτες
κέκληται, ῥύεται δὲ κάρῃ θαλερόν αἴζην. Μηρόνης δ’ Ὀδυσῆι δίδου βιόν ἣδε φαρέτρην καὶ ξίφος, ἀμφὶ δὲ οἱ κυνὲν κεφαλῇσιν ἔθηκε ρίνοις ποιητῆς: πολέσιν δ’ ἔντοσθεν ἰμᾶσιν ἐντέτατο στερεῶς: ἐκτοσθέ δὲ λευκοὶ ὀδόντες ἀργιόδοντος ύζες θαμέες ἐχον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα εὔ καὶ ἐπιστημένως (Crane 2011).

This nearly three-thousand year old text translates:

Thrasymedes the determined warrior has given to the son of Tydeus a double-edged sword and a shield, for the man has left his sword on a ship. And he has placed round his head a helmet made of bull skin; the helmet has neither horn nor crest; the helmet has been called a leather helmet, a protector of the heads of valiant youths. And Meriones gave to Odysseus a bow and an arrow-carrier and a sword; and round his head he placed a helmet fashioned from skin; the many cloths firmly stretched on the inside of the helmet. And on the outside of helmet, bright teeth of the white swine tusk are well-bound together, set closely here and there [author’s translation].

This example is interesting for multiple reasons. Archaeologists discovered an ivory profile of a Mycenaean warrior from the time of the Trojan War. The warrior’s head is capped with a helmet of inlaid boar tusks, just as the above description relates. Amazingly, Homer’s poetry vividly recounts these details, despite the fact that such armor was centuries’ out-dated at the time of the poem’s documentation (Biers 1996:92-93). This example serves as a testimony for both written and oral traditions.

These literary voices provide indispensable information, granting an intimate view into past life. For example, the trial of Socrates reveals the inner-workings of Athenian civil society.
Euthyphro.
I may wish, Socrates; nevertheless, I fear that the opposite may happen; for it simply seems to me that the one indicting you begins to harm the citizenry at its own hearth, holding you unjustly. Tell me, what does that man say that you are doing to harm the youth?

Socrates.
The accusations are strange things to hear, wonderful friend. For the man indicting me says that I am a creator of gods, and as I am making new gods and not honoring the old gods he indicts me; for the sake of these things he indicts me, so he says [author’s translation].

From this short dialogue in Plato’s *Euthyphro*, we discover ideas and concepts that might otherwise be lost by the passage of time. Archaeologists will indeed find material evidence of the Athenian legal or belief system; certainly many stone temples attest to the omnipresence of the Pantheon, the marble faces ever-watching. But would we know the actual cultural dimensions of these temples, their relation to the state and society, without such voices? Would we know that persons were brought to trial for transgressing temple custom and tradition? *Euthyphro* reveals the inner-dynamics of this ancient society. Without literature, we would not know the human condition related to these ruins.

The stone ruin itself is but one element of the multi-dimensional cultural functions characteristic of the structure that once stood. Likewise, ruins in North America—mounds in the Midwest, forts along the Great Lakes, abandoned mills in Pittsburgh—are not merely the construction projects of corporate barons, politicians, or chiefs, nor are they simply markers of social “complexity” or “occupational usage,” or delineators between Colonial and Industrial periods. People at many levels of society, many with different beliefs and backgrounds, were affected by these ruins in profound ways; these structures shaped daily lives. These ruins were once social institutions that influenced the lives of real people. Through literature we learn in an
intimate manner how these social institutions affected life. Perhaps a Socrates was drawn before the authorities at Cahokia.

Thus, interpreters must not discount the vast quantity of recorded voices available in literature. Nineteenth-century printing came at an opportune moment for students of the American past, for the explosion of writing at this time described in voluminous fashion the inner lives of this era’s people. Indeed, archaeologist James G. Gibb (2000b:21) has drawn “on the literature of the period for motivations and perspectives. The result: more equivocal characters, not easily pigeon-holed.”

Let us return to Moby Dick. Melville guides the reader down nineteenth-century streets in coastal New England, leading the participant into taverns, bars, and other seaward haunts. Melville—a whaleman himself—provides us with a glimpse of yesterday’s seafaring culture. This record, a literary expression of the nineteenth century, is a helpful voice, a vision of a landscape and culture from generations past. A participant may use Melville’s vivid description of whaling ships to reconstruct the lifeways of nineteenth-century sailors. A careful reading reveals intense description of the vessel and its components.

The try-works are planted between the foremost and mainmast, the most roomy part of the deck. The timbers beneath are of a peculiar strength, fitted to sustain the weight of an almost solid mass of brick and mortar, some ten feet by eight square, and five in height. The foundation does not penetrate the deck, but the masonry is firmly secured to the surface by ponderous knees of iron bracing it on all sides, and screwing it down to the timbers. On the flanks it is cased with wood, and at top completely covered by a large, sloping, battened hatchway. Removing this hatch we expose the great try-pots, two in number, and each of several barrels’ capacity. When not in use, they are kept remarkably clean. Sometimes they are polished with soapstone and sand, till they shine within like silver punch-bowls. During the night-watches some cynical old sailors will crawl into them and coil themselves away there for a nap (Melville 1937:607-608).
The reader may also use this literary work to walk into a smoky, coastal New England tavern and see the food on the table or hear a mariners’ conversation. During tours of the Mount Washington Tavern, when discussing the bed-sharing patterns of nineteenth-century tavern guests, I used the following reference from Melville:

No man prefers to sleep two in a bed. In fact, you would a good deal rather not sleep with your own brother. I don’t know how it is, but people like to be private when they are sleeping. And when it comes to sleeping with an unknown stranger, in a strange inn, in a strange town, and that stranger a harpooneer, then your objections indefinitely multiply (Melville 1937:22).

When Melville takes us to sea, we discover how even the ocean landscape has changed. Today, we think of the whale as a lonely voyager, a creature hauled to the brink of extinction. But see how the leviathans were once hunted in great numbers.

The four whales slain that evening had died wide apart; one, far to windward; one, less distant, to leeward; one ahead; one astern. These last three were brought alongside ere nightfall; but the windward one could not be reached till morning; and the boat that had killed it lay by its side all night (Melville 1937:713).

Likewise, sharks in our contemporary time find themselves ever fewer, documented in such scientific studies entitled “Sharks in Danger” (Cunningham-Day 2002) and “Loss of Large Predatory Sharks from the Mediterranean Sea” (Ferretti et al. 2008). But Melville describes how in his own time the sharks schooled around the vessels, a constant danger.

…numbers of sharks, seemingly rising from out the dark waters beneath the hull, maliciously snapped at the blades of the oars, every time they dipped in the water; and in this way accompanied the boat with their bites. It is a thing not uncommonly happening to the whale-boats in those swarming seas; the sharks at times apparently following them in the same prescient way that vultures hover over the banners of marching regiments in the east (Melville 1937:812).

These examples are simply the surface. One can imagine almost any environment—a farmstead, a residence, a factory, a bar, an office, a dinner table, a frontier outpost, a wedding, a
battlefield—and discover these varied experiences in the collective memory of literature, all waiting for an ear to listen.

Robert Newton Peck was raised on a Vermont farm, the old Shaker ways influencing his life. He brought those experiences to his work, *A Day No Pigs Would Die* (1976). The language of the twentieth-century New England farm, along with its tools, traditions, and worldviews, appear in plain sight.

When I got back outside, Papa was home from butchering. His clothes were a real mess.

“Papa,” I said, “after a whole day at rendering pork, don’t you start to hate your clothes?”

“Like I could burn ‘em and bury ‘em.”

“But you wear a leather apron when you kill pork. How come you still get so dirty?”

“Dying is dirty business. Like getting born.”

“I never thought of it that way. But I’m sure glad that nobody’ll kill Pinky. She’s going to be a brood sow, isn’t she Papa?”

He didn’t answer. He just walked over to the fence and looked at my pig (Peck 1976:112-133).

In a similar fashion, L.M. Montgomery’s *Anne of Green Gables*, originally published in 1908, captures the emotions and feelings of an orphaned child in rural Prince Edward Island. Montgomery, though not an orphan, had never known her mother, the woman having passed away while Montgomery was an infant (Hynes 1992:260). Montgomery describes a turn-of-the-century schoolhouse in pastoral Canada in vivid detail.

The Avonlea school was a whitewashed building low in the eaves and wide in the windows, furnished inside with comfortable substantial old-fashioned desks that opened and shut, and were carved all over their lids with the initials and hieroglyphics of three generations of schoolchildren. The schoolhouse was set back from the road and behind it was a dusky fir wood and a brook where all the children put their bottles of milk in the morning to keep cool and sweet until dinner hour (Montgomery 1992:88-89).

The voices of those who experienced events in their time are more vivid than distant, formalized accounts. Accounts drawn from actual experience, such as the above examples, elicit
an emotion that formalized accounts, developed at a later time by authors who did not personally experience the setting and time, cannot elicit. Allow this comparison between two interpretations of battle from World War One; the first interpretation is from a textbook, while the second interpretation is from an experincer.

**Textbook Interpretation.** Late in August 1914 the Russians battled a German force at the Battle of Tannenberg. The Russian army suffered a humiliating defeat. About half its force was lost, including more than 90,000 prisoners. The German losses were less than 15,000. With this victory, the Germans launched an offensive, moving into Russian Poland (Miller et al. 2005:515).

**Experiencer Interpretation.** We see men living with their skulls blown open; we see soldiers run with their two feet cut off, they stagger on their splintered stumps into the next shell-hole; a lance-corporal crawls a mile and a half on his hands dragging his smashed knee after him; another goes to the dressing-station and over his clasped hands bulge his intestines; we see men without mouths, without jaws, without faces; we find one man who has held the artery of his arm in his teeth for two hours in order not to bleed to death. The sun goes down, night comes, the shells whine, life is at an end.

Still the little piece of convulsive earth in which we lie is held. We have yielded no more than a few hundred yards of it as a prize to the enemy. But on every yard there lies a dead man (Remarque 1983:91).

Both of these texts interpret the same historical content, battle during the First World War. The textbook interpretation is from the high school text *World History: The Human Journey* (2005). It presents dates and numbers. The Russians “suffered a humiliating defeat”; the triumphant Germans, who only had 15,000 casualties, drove the Russians from the field. A map on the same page shows the battle results of the Eastern Front; Germany’s victories are represented by red explosions, while Russia’s victories are represented by blue explosions.

*World History* devotes a chapter to the Great War. There are eight maps (p.508, 512, 515, 516, 517, 520, 527, 528), five images of soldiers in non-combative scenarios (p.507, 510, 511, 522), three images of political leaders (p.509, 521, 524), two images of warships (p.506, 513), two statistical graphs (p.523, 533), one photograph of factory workers (p.514), an image of a
telegram message (p.518), a photograph of urban ruins (p.525), a photograph of refugees from 1920 (p.529), a photograph of the League of Nations (p. 530), and, finally, one photograph of war veterans in a political demonstration (p. 531). Only two photographs—one of ruins and one of refugees from after the war—present images connoting human suffering during the Great War. In a similar light, one might note that the high school history text *The American Pageant* (Bailey, Kennedy, and Cohen 1998) also presents a survey-style political history. There are many ideologies, political movements, philosophies, and theologies, but, some might argue, few individuals beyond the “great names.” Indeed, the content of history textbooks has produced professional discussion (Loewen 1995; Moreau 2004), and education standards have also caused controversy (McKinley 2010a; McKinley 2010b). In addition, studies show that students often have difficulty retaining basic historical information (Hess 2009). Criticisms of textbooks have included the misrepresentation or simplification of past people and events, as well as a tendency to moralize or to render past events in a “patriotic” or nationalistic fashion (Loewen 1995; Moreau 2004).

In contrast, the experincier interpretation recorded above, a voice from an actual participant of this event, presents a very different narrative of the First World War. Erich Maria Remarque was there. “This book is to be neither an accusation nor a confession and least of all an adventure,” Remarque states at the beginning of his book, *All Quiet on the Western Front*, “for death is not an adventure to those who stand face to face with it. I will try simply to tell of a generation of men who, even though they may have escaped its shells, were destroyed by the war.” From Remarque’s perspective, nobody wins battles. The only things remaining in the wake of battles are shattered bodies, the bloodied, traumatized “victors” claiming a few hundred yards of useless, destroyed earth.
Remarque’s interpretation is so much more vivid and haunting than the textbook, because *All Quiet* reveals the obscenity and destruction of that event from the perspective of a participant. Instead of sitting at a comfortable distance—looking at maps, comparing statistics, or debating politics—*All Quiet* throws the reader into the muddy trenches, alongside the broken bodies and ruined souls. Remarque paints a picture, relating intense emotions that a formalized account cannot relate. After reading Remarque’s story, I am left not reflecting statistics or lists of names and places, but I remain pondering more fundamental questions: How could something so horrible go on for so long? What can be done to ensure this tragedy never happens again? Next week I may forget the place name Tannenberg, or stumble over the exact number of thousands killed. However, the images from Remarque’s interpretation will linger for some time. The textbook interpretation lists names and dates; Remarque’s literary interpretation presents the raw human condition.

As voices from the past create a window into those respective times, so can interpretive writing allow a contemporary person to relate to those past times. Professor Dursun Dilek (2009:667) argues that creative writing is an appropriate method for active historical learning. History teacher Michael Fordham (2007:32) of Huntingdon, Cambridgeshire in the United Kingdom maintains that students’ perceptions about the past only progress if they write with a purpose; to simply write in exposition without purpose, without argument, or without challenging the interpretations of others is meaningless. Instead of accepting an interpretation, students should learn to critique it, applying—and not merely displaying—their knowledge about the past. Indeed, creative nonfiction (Gerard 1996) allows the interpreter to go beyond names and dates, the writer reaching for the human condition of a past time. Literature incorporates the
sensory context—the sights, the sounds, the smells, the tastes, the texture, the feeling—of experiential interpretation.

**Drawing and Painting**

During the after-school program… students constructed replicas of indigenous art from inexpensive and commonly found materials. The ecology of learning during this 3-month activity was rich in music, storytelling, and creativity. Elementary students participated in informational pre- and post-activity discussions that indicated an increased level of awareness about African-American history (Stiler and Allen 2006:24).

Through these activities at the Carver Community Center in Evansville, Indiana, students learn and connect with African culture through creative means. Students made African masks from paper maché, effigies from yarn, necklaces from glass, and other artifacts of African design (Stiler and Allen 2006:26). Participants in these creative exercises developed an increased interest in African-American traditions (Stiler and Allen 2006:27).

In similar fashion, students at Bishop Denis J. O’Connell High School in Virginia incorporated multiple fields into a creative project on stained glass. The students utilized French studies, history, and art as they examined stained-glass works from Sainte-Chapelle, a church constructed in thirteenth-century France. With relatively inexpensive materials (black construction paper, cellophane, tissue paper, craft knives, and transparent tape), the students simulated the processes of the medieval artists. In doing so, they learned the cultural contexts of the stained-glass windows, while also expressing themes consistent with the medieval period; they also composed essays in French (Brew 2010). In another example, students created museum exhibits in a classroom, each of the students participating in a specific way (Eakle and Dalesio 2008). Likewise, Turkish school students produced historically-detailed illustrations, developed from a lesson, museum visit, available images, and their own “historical imagination” (Dilek 2009).
Thus, the visual arts serve, like literature, as a sensory-based interpretive medium. Artwork is a primary document. Ivor Noël Hume (1978:38) claims that the painter of previous centuries is analogous to the cameraman of today; archaeologist Barbara Little (2000:12) also advocates for the use of the visual arts in interpretation. The painter must consider particulars otherwise ignored; the painter must consider the dress, the landscape, the climate, and other details (Hubbard 2006:22). A Dutch still-life from the seventeenth century, such Jan Davidsz de Heem’s *Still Life with a Glass and Oysters*, captures the foods and food-wares of a specific moment, the technical sophistication of the Dutch style nearly photographic. Here we see snapshots of past lives: the grapes, the short pile of oysters, the molded glass work, the texture of the green cloth.

Students can examine the lives of past people in these visual documents, recording the material culture, the dress, the manners, the social settings, the building components, and facilities of these times. These primary visual aids may also provide insight into an era’s ideas. For instance, Pablo Picasso’s *Guernica*—though abstract and lacking in the fine details of seventeenth-century Dutch genre painting—reveals the emotions associated with a small village devastated by war in Spain (Hubbard 2006:22). These primary resources are useful in many ways.

Contemporary artwork is also useful as a secondary medium of interpretation. Millward (2002) uses the contemporary paintings of Robert Griffing as an interpretive medium for visualizing the colonial past. Robert Griffing is a contemporary painter well recognized for his renderings of Native American and colonial life, his work displayed at Fort Necessity. I included Griffing’s work in interpretive programs at Fort Necessity, passing around laminated prints of his work. After participants had examined the images, I would ask the participants what they saw in
the paintings. What are the people wearing? What are they carrying? What are they doing? Students can examine and critique these primary and secondary sources, learning in a visual manner.

Creating artwork is also beneficial to historical learning. A student who draws or paints a scene not only learns about the past but he or she internalizes it. These artistic processes require a level of technical knowledge that is otherwise not considered; in this way, the painter or drawer asks the same questions as the experiential interpreter. For instance, an artist intent on depicting a moment from the Pittsburgh Pirates World Series victory in 1909 must consider intricate historical details. What did the uniforms look like? Did the uniforms have pinstripes? Were the socks worn high or low? What stadium did the Pirates play in during their 1909 World Series victory? The Daily Courier of Connellsville, Pennsylvania, dated October 16, 1909, records that the Pittsburg—no “h” in “Pittsburgh”—Pirates won the World Series in Bennett Park in Detroit (United Press Telegram 1909:1). What did Bennett Park look like in 1909? Were there advertisements over the Bullpen? Did the crowd sit on benches or in seats? Are the stands made of wood or steel? What are the people in the crowd eating and drinking? Did Americans in 1909 consume popcorn, hotdogs, and Coca-Cola at ball games, or was food consumption different? Was it a clear, sunny day or overcast with light rain? A student will thus learn various aspects of the early twentieth century in the United States, all by drawing or painting a picture about the 1909 World Series. And the artwork does not have to be a Rembrandt; the point is that the participant learned about past people in a manner that is meaningful to that individual.

At Fort Necessity, I utilized the participants’ innate desire to be creative by allotting time—when available—for them draw what they learned. I was very impressed with their ability to acquire knowledge in a short time and to also communicate this knowledge through art. In one
example (Figure 25), a student recreated a profile of the Fort, the earthworks standing in front of the wooden pales, the latter accurately placed in circular formation. The drawing even includes a swivel gun among the earthworks. The Fort is correctly surrounded by tall grass and trees.

![Figure 25](image)

Figure 25. A participant’s drawing of Fort Necessity includes the earthworks, pales, and wooden supply house, all surrounded by tall grass and trees.

Another student recreated Fort Necessity from an aerial perspective (Figure 26). This student, drawing from memory, accurately portrayed the earthworks in a diamond shape; the wooden palisade is correctly fashioned in circle, while the supply building is in the center of the Fort. The student also included the text “indians [sic] come” with a corresponding directional arrow, reflecting the fact that the Fort was attacked from multiple angles.

![Figure 26](image)

Figure 26. This drawing of the Fort from an aerial perspective shows the diamond shape of the trenches and the circular nature of the palisade.
Another student used drawing to display stratigraphy, the result of soil formation and accretion (Figure 27). During the archaeology program, I had illustrated a common stratigraphic soil profile that archaeologists might encounter in western Pennsylvania. I explained that archaeologists might dig through the top layer of black soil, followed by a brownish layer; finally an orange layer might be discovered before hitting bedrock. In general, the deeper one digs, the older the soil. With some assistance, multiple students illustrated these concepts, labeling the soil colors. Figure 27 even includes the artifacts one might find in the respective layers. More modern artifacts rest closer to the surface, while stone projectile points are found in the deeper “Orange” layer; fossils, the oldest of all, are in the bedrock.

![Figure 27. This participant’s drawing depicts concepts of stratigraphy.](image)

The visual arts of drawing and painting allow participants to actively and creatively reconstruct the past, as opposed to learning about the information in a passive manner. Such creations implement the detail and sensory-centered research of experiential interpretation.
Character Portraits and Historical Collages

But wherever, and whatever, in the places devoted to human history the objective of interpretation remains unchanged; to bring to the eye and understanding of the visitor not just a house, a ruin, or a battlefield, but a house of living people, a prehistoric ruin of real folks, a battlefield where men were only incidentally—even if importantly—in uniform (Tilden 1977:70).

…when writing or reading history we must understand the ideas, beliefs, and values with which different groups of people in the past made sense of the opportunities and constraints that formed the context within which they lived and made decisions about what to do. Thus empathy in the study of history is the understanding of past institutions, social practices, or actions as making sense in light of the way people saw things (Lee 2005:46).

In the second citation above, history educator Peter Lee of the University of London argues that empathy for past people relates a higher understanding of history, an attempt to realize the “ideas, beliefs, and values” of those people. In addition to writing and the visual arts, I hold that interpretation can move closer to this empathetic understanding of past people through creative exercises that I shall refer to as “character portraits” and “historical collages.”

By “character portrait” I refer to the act of taking on the role of a historical personage, regardless if the person is well known (Abraham Lincoln) or anonymous (a nineteenth-century Irish coal miner near Pittsburgh). Character portraits aim to cultivate empathetic histories by encouraging an interpreter to “enter the shoes” of a past person, known or anonymous. Peter Lee (2005:47) emphasizes the importance of empathy in learning about the past; he states, “If [students] treat people in the past as less than fully human and do not respond to those people’s hopes and fears, they have hardly begun to understand what history is about.” Character portraits attempt to imagine life as a different person in a different circumstance, reaching for a greater understanding of that person’s condition.

Character portraits require McDaniel’s (2006:248-249) “informed imagination.” The historian Collingwood suggested that it is possible to “re-think the thoughts” of historical
individuals by examining primary documents, as well as extrapolating further details in a process that is both critical and constructive (Lemisko 2004). Such research involves consultation of relevant archaeology, primary documentation, oral histories, and other resources; in addition, interpreters can draw from any number of disciplines, including ideas from psychology, sociology, anthropology, and many more fields. The culmination of research and introspection can result in a written, illustrated, or performed presentation about this past person.

These character portraits are intended to present the daily lives of specific persons, not to develop fictionalized dramas. The participant uses available information, including that of archaeology, primary documentation, and the natural sciences, to recreate a “day in the life” of a specific person or a specific context. For instance, a person interested in examining the (anonymous) life of a late nineteenth-century Irish miner in western Pennsylvania will consult relevant primary documents and photographs to understand the perspectives, examine historical archaeology papers to envision the technology and material culture of the time, and perhaps read geological literature to understand the nature of coal. This “day in the life” is thus informed by available documentation; however, the creation of this historical interpretation requires a “filling in the blanks” (Dilek 2009:667). For instance, how does this man greet his crewmates? What shade of color and material are his trousers? Does he smoke a pipe? How is his relationship with his boss? With his other crewmates? Extraneous dramatization (i.e., a fictionalized fistfight) does not illuminate the human condition of this past person. Indeed, the narrative, though portrayed in a story format, must not create events beyond a necessary “filling in the blanks”; rather, it must attempt to provide insight into the daily life or human condition of a past person. In sum, the purpose is not to forward a story but to better understand the motivations and conditions of this person.
I developed an interpretive talk during my first season at Fort Necessity. My talk was less about the battle and more about why a person might travel hundreds of miles into the wilderness and certain danger. Thus, I developed a character portrait of an anonymous person, based on my knowledge of the social conditions of the time and an “informed imagination.” I decided to deliver it in the second person. I walked the groups down to the Fort and had them stand in the trenches. “You are an Englishman,” I began. “You are not the firstborn son in your family, and by English custom, you do not inherit your family’s property, nor its farm, nor its business, nor its fortune. You must make it on your own. But Alexandria, Virginia is a crowded place, and there is no vacancy for you. However, you hear that the Governor is to raise a regiment; if you join, you are promised a new pair of clothes and shoes. You might even acquire land.” The point of this talk was to understand why a person might have risked his life to venture into the wilderness frontier. A complete example of a character portrait is provided in Chapter Nine.

Participants may also choose to create what I refer to as a “historical collage,” that is, a combination of primary documents and images arranged in a cohesive manner. This collage consists of an era’s primary voices, while also activating the visual senses with the presentation of images. McKee and Galle (2000:14) hold that information for creative narratives can be drawn from “verbatim written accounts and interviews, woven together with period graphics and photographs of archaeological discoveries.” In many ways, the historical collage takes on the form of a museum display; it is something to be examined and contemplated. A complete example of a historical collage is presented in Chapter Eight.

**Summary**

The arts offer a unique opportunity for experiential interpretation. The writer and the painter share many objectives with the experiential interpreter. These individuals all aim to
present a moment in time. They also seek to translate the emotions of that time through sensory details, sometimes in a subtle manner, sometimes in a dramatic manner. Indeed, the experiential interpreter might imagine himself or herself as an artist of sorts, attempting to paint or narrate a story about the past, conveying tangible details. An experiential interpretation may attempt to illuminate the lesser-traveled portions of the past, acting as a still-life study of an eighteenth-century dinner table, or as a quiet pastoral scene from nineteenth-century Ohio. These interpretations, regardless of the subject, attempt to get at the condition of the past person, even if that person had no voice to speak for himself or herself. Creative processes allow interpreters to cultivate a relational past, a past that reaches beyond lists of names and dates.

I would like to conclude this chapter with an example of effective creative learning. A physics professor tested creative learning in his classroom. In one of his sections, he began each class with a short lecture; the students were then given an opportunity to work in groups to decipher hands-on physics problems. Each session concluded with a brief lecture. Students in this active learning environment retained the same amount of information as those participating in traditional lecture. However, students in the active learning environment enjoyed the introductory physics class, an emotional response that the professor had never received before (Bonwell 1999:550). Thus, active and creative learning yielded the same degree of technical learning as a traditional lecture with the additional benefit of dispensing positive emotional associations.
CHAPTER SEVEN:  
A THREE-DIMENSIONAL INTERPRETIVE ENVIRONMENT

If history were thought of as an activity rather than a profession, then the numbers of its practitioners would be legion.  
-Raphael Samuel, as quoted in Glassberg (2001:203)

Introduction  
This chapter applies the methods and theories explored in previous chapters, developing a framework for the application of experiential interpretation in a traditional learning environment, whether that environment exist in a museum, historical park, school, library, or other setting. The aim of such an environment engages the senses through active, participatory learning, providing an atmosphere where learners can draw relational connections to the past. This learning environment combines a) lecture and discussion (“The Roundtable”), b) tangible materials (“The Laboratory”), and c) creative processes (“The Studio”).

The following concepts can be applied in varying degrees to appropriately fit different settings. Likewise, an instructor may choose to adapt certain elements of this chapter to an existing curriculum or format. This method was not developed in a vacuum; it is derived from my experiences at Fort Necessity, my experience organizing youth programs as a community library director, the consultation of educational case studies (Brew 2010; Dilek 2009; Duraisingh and Mansilla 2007; Eakle and Dalesio 2008; Peck 2005; Sheppard 2000; Ulrich 2003), as well as the experience of having been a student myself. The three “stations” (Roundtable/Laboratory/Studio) will now be examined.

The Roundtable  
The first station is a “Roundtable” station. This station may be a physical roundtable, chairs positioned into a circle, or simply desks or tables that figuratively represent a roundtable. The instructor can use this space to introduce a topic, hand-out primary historical sources,
provide a lecture, or facilitate discussion. The most important element at this station is the incorporation of primary documents. As Peck (2005) argues, learners should be given the “raw materials” of history to examine and interpret. I have provided an example below, a hypothetical interplay between an interpreter and participants of high school age.

**Interpreter:** Let us begin our discussion on slavery. Of course, racial slavery—slavery based on the color of one’s skin—was a central element in the American economy until about 150 years ago. Millions of people were taken from Africa to America as slaves or born into slavery here in America. Cotton, rice, indigo, and other agricultural materials were major trade items from North America, and slaves were used as manual laborers in the fields. These crops grow best where there is a long growing period. Do you think cotton thrives in hot and humid North Carolina or windy and snowy Michigan? [allow for responses] Good. North Carolina has a longer growing season than Michigan. So slave labor was primarily used in the South.

Slavery might seem like it was a long time ago; however, many people who had been slaves were still alive in the 1900’s, after the invention of sound recording technology. So, we actually have the recorded voices of people who had been slaves. I want to start with an audio recording of a former slave named George Johnson, a man from Mississippi. He was interviewed in 1941. I’ll play a part of this interview where he sings “Hallelujah ‘Tis Done” (Johnson et al. 1941), a song he remembers singing as a slave boy [play recording].

What is the tone of this song?
What kind of a song is this?
What did you learn about him from this song?

Now I am going to pass out an ex-slave’s personal memory of slavery, a memory that was recorded in the 1930’s. This man’s name is John Ellis, and he was born in 1852 in Texas (WPA Slave Narrative Project ca.1936-1938). I’ll give you a few minutes to read it [allow ten minutes for reading].

Has everyone finished the reading? Good.
What does John Ellis talk about? Why?

Now I will read you a passage from a book written by a freed-slave, a person who had escaped the slave life, a man named Frederick Douglass. His book is called *My Bondage and My Freedom* (Douglass 2006 [1857]), and it was published in 1857. In this section he talks about how slaves like himself were punished by whipping. [read for five minutes]

What emotions does Frederick Douglass share?
Do you think you would have similar emotions?

What do you make of these memories? What did you learn? How did you feel hearing and reading these memories?
Here, the instructor has provided three primary sources on slavery. All of these materials—the song “Hallelujah ‘Tis Done” sung by George Johnson, the narrative by John Ellis, and the autobiography by Frederick Douglass—are beneficial for multiple reasons. First, participants have the opportunity to read and hear the actual voices of individuals who lived in slavery; slavery is not a distant theme from a distant time. Slaves were individuals with names, memories, songs, and culture. Second, these primary materials, unlike textbooks, do not have beginnings or ends; one primary document leads to another. One slave narrative can be compared to a different narrative.

In a situation where the same participants will meet on multiple occasions with the same interpreter, such as in a school classroom, specific interests can be pursued. For instance, participants may want to hear more music or audio narratives; some participants might want to explore the lives of women slaves or child slaves, while others might want to learn more about the actual work that slaves performed. The interpreter can prepare accordingly. Participants might want to investigate specific questions; for instance, how could people have supported something like slavery for so long? A pro-slavery essay from the nineteenth century can be compared to an anti-slavery document from the same time. Students might then discuss if there are similar arguments for certain institutions in our current society.

The roundtable environment allows participants to discuss and reflect on their impressions derived from the primary material. Participants learn the process of history by examining primary material and using it as evidence to support their understanding about a past time. The roundtable also allows for participants to work through issues and questions on their own terms. The amount of primary material available to participants concerning a topic like
slavery is voluminous; there is no shortage of material. This roundtable engages the auditory senses of experiential interpretation, allowing the voices of the past to speak for themselves.

**The Laboratory**

The second station in this learning environment is the “Laboratory.” The purpose of this station is to provide tactile resources, objects or images that can be touched or viewed, that relate to the material covered at the roundtable. The laboratory will vary for differing environments and facilities. A school classroom may have vastly different resources than a large, urban museum; the former may rely on free materials in the public domain (such as the following images from the Library of Congress’ digital collection), while the latter may have artifact reproductions or actual artifacts to use in hands-on programs. The laboratory in a classroom may be as simple as a table with a shelf or a cabinet to hold materials. However, the collection is something that grows over time, as does the interpreter’s collection of primary resources. A folder of historic photographs or a box for artifact reproductions will grow as the instructor acquires more materials.

History Professor Laurel Thatcher Ulrich (2003:58) encourages the use of objects in the classroom, even ordinary objects like a pair of Nike shoes; she insists that students have the opportunity to examine these materials at their own will, not merely glancing at them from a distance. Indeed, if science class can be centered around specimens and hands-on activities, why not also history or social studies class? Let us return to our hypothetical classroom.

*Instructor:* Okay, follow me to the lab table.

I have four enlarged images for you to examine (Figures 28-31). Let’s break up into four groups of four, so you can all get a chance to examine them. There is information about these materials on the reverse side of the image, including a short description and date. I want you to each write down what you see in each image. What is going on in the image? Are there people in the image? If so, what are they doing? Or is the image of a house? If so, what kind of a house? Spend about three minutes with each image, and then pass it to the group.
beside you. After you’ve seen all the images and taken notes, we’ll discuss what you saw.

Figure 28. *Florida—Ruins of the Slave Cabins—Fort George Island.* Photograph by George Barker. 1886. LOC Prints and Photographs Division Washington, LC-USZ62-25141.

Figure 29. *A Slave Auction at the South.* From an original sketch by Theodore R. Davis. 1861. LOC Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-2582.
Figure 30. *Five Generations on Smith’s Plantation, Beaufort, South Carolina.* 1862.
Photograph by Timothy H. O’Sullivan. LOC Prints and Photographs Division, LC-B8171-152-A.

Figure 31. *Slave Quarters on a Plantation, Possibly in Beaufort, South Carolina.* 1862.
Photograph by Mathew B. Brady. LOC Prints and Photographs Division, LC-DIG-ppmsca-10964.
In sum, the laboratory exists to make the past tangible. This space is designed so that learners can actually feel and see the past. Artifacts as simple as old shoes have interpretive value. In the laboratory, learners can examine artifacts in different ways. This is the visual and tactile portion of experiential interpretation. In some instances, taste and smell can even be incorporated into the laboratory.

The Studio

If the roundtable engages auditory learning, and the laboratory stimulates tactile and visual learning, so the studio facilitates creation and interpretation. The studio can be as grandiose as a large laboratory table or as simple as the desktop space at participants’ chairs. Materials can range from a closet full of art supplies to a coffee can of colored pencils. The possibilities are bounded by budget, yet expanded by individual and group resourcefulness. In the studio, participants create drawings, narratives, paintings, “character portraits” (see Chapters Six and Nine), “historical collages” (see Chapters Six and Eight), and other works to interpret what they have learned in roundtable and laboratory work.

Teachers Duraisingh and Mansilla (2007) have used the arts to interpret the past in the classroom setting. In one exercise, students prepared monuments related to specific historical events. These teachers state:

Quality monuments also depend on students expanding their beliefs about the nature of the visual arts. In this realm students must move beyond a focus on the arts as mastery of technique, to address more interpretive dimensions of the arts such as the power of symbolism and visualization as well as the role of the arts as a tool for cultural critique (Duraisingh and Mansilla 2007:28).

The creation of these memorials required students to interpret the past in a manner that communicates information and meaning.
Teacher David Sheppard (2000) aimed to render mundane artifacts interesting. He used a fragment of brick, a stone tool, a trade token, and other materials to engage students. Students used these materials as drawing studies, examining, scrutinizing, and inferring the function of the materials. Such studies engage the visual and tactile senses, while also fostering a relational connection between the present and the past.

There are many artistic media that aid in historical interpretation. Participants may choose to develop museum exhibits on a particular theme and present them to a class. Writers can develop compelling narratives about a specific time or person. Those inclined to the performing arts can develop a character portrait and present a monologue that demonstrates their understanding of a past individual. Thus, the studio exists so that participants can interpret what they have learned at the roundtable and in the laboratory, an artistic culmination of this three-dimensional process. Indeed, creative interpretive narratives might “convey what is important about the past—to translate what is essential, what is true beyond facts” (Little 2000:11). Our instructor will now lead us into such a studio.

_Instructor:_ You have all been called upon to assist the museum in the creation of an exhibit on slavery in the United States. I have copies of the papers we read earlier, as well as copies of the images we examined in the laboratory. I will pass them out to each group.

We will set up the exhibits on the whiteboard, which means each group has five horizontal feet to work with. Each person will play a different part in your group. One person might be the historian; that person can choose what primary sources to include. Even though we have primary sources and photographs, you might need a writer to link the exhibit together with a narrative, and you might also need an artist to make additional visualizations. Another person might have to be a layout designer, who fits everything together.

Just like in a real museum, you have limited space. Each group gets eight magnets, so you’ll have to decide what gets to go up on the whiteboard. You can use the dry erase markers and write directly on the board or you can use sheets of computer paper—I have some on the desk here—for text and drawings.

You have twenty five minutes. We’ll discuss your exhibits then.
The studio is where learners have the opportunity to creatively engage the historical material. The studio work is the fruition of material learned and examined at the roundtable and at the laboratory.

**Additional Notes**

I was very fortunate to receive input regarding this chapter from two teachers, Mr. John Svokos and Mrs. Sarah Fischer. Mr. John Svokos provided important feedback regarding the needs of students and teachers; his comments improved my hypothetical dialogue.

Mrs. Fischer went so far as to utilize this method in her classroom for a day, developing a lesson on the Underground Railroad for her third-grade classroom. Mrs. Fischer set her class’s desks into a “U”-shape to conduct the roundtable element of her plan. Photographs from the time period were passed around the class, and the students answered questions, such as: Would it have been safe for the slaves to escape? Where would they go?

Mrs. Fischer’s laboratory consisted of file folders containing primary source documents. The primary documents included nineteenth-century maps, photographs of freed slaves, photographs of slaves, newspaper clippings, award notices for captured slaves, and pictures of Underground Railroad “stations.” Mrs. Fischer provided captions for each of the pictures. Students were able to discern from the photographs that the Underground Railroad was not an actual railroad, and that it was not underground. According to Mrs. Fischer, the most meaningful part of the lesson for the students was the opportunity to hear the actual testimony of the persons involved in the Underground Railroad (Sarah Fischer, personal communication 2011). Finally, students created memorials for the slaves and Underground Railroad conductors during the studio component of the lesson, crafting images and texts for the monuments. Perhaps future evaluation might identify further student learning preferences.
SECTION VI: EXPERIENTIAL INTERPRETATION IN PRACTICE

Section Introduction

In addition to the practical study conducted by Mrs. Sarah Fischer in Chapter Seven, I have provided two additional examples of experiential interpretation. Chapter Eight presents a “historical collage” (see Chapter Six) of the Civilian Conservation Corps at Fort Necessity. Chapter Nine presents a “character portrait” (see Chapter Six) of an anonymous traveler to a little-known tavern, now just a ruin, along the Braddock Road within the bounds of Fort Necessity National Battlefield. A reader might notice the similarities between the presentation of material in these chapters and the presentation of materials in museums or at living history productions. I chose these two topics because these subjects represent some of the lesser-known histories at Fort Necessity National Battlefield. These are only two examples of the many different manners in which experiential interpretation might be realized.

Author’s note: in the tavern narrative (Chapter Nine), I utilized the Chicago Manual of Style, as the footnote presentation accommodates additional information without distracting from the narrative.
CHAPTER EIGHT:
EXPERIENTIAL NARRATIVE EXAMPLE I:

THE TREE ARMY MAKES CAMP AT FORT NECESSITY,
A TOUR OF THE ACTIONS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE CIVILIAN
CONSERVATION CORPS AT FORT NECESSITY
The Tree Army Makes Camp at Fort Necessity

A Tour of the Actions and Accomplishments of the Civilian Conservation Corps at Fort Necessity

Jeffrey Meyer
Preface

Welcome to a topic of great interest and grave importance, that of the Great Depression and the Civilian Conservation Corps. The Civilian Conservation Corps—the CCC for short—employed millions of young men during the Great Depression of the 1930s. The CCC were charged with a dual mission: first, to grant employment to the nation’s destitute; and second, to restore the ruined farmlands of this nation.

The stock market crash of 1929 left millions unemployed. To make matters even more desperate, the country’s fields had eroded into dust bowls, the barren fields full of dried-out crops. The population demanded extensive labor reform, electing Franklin Roosevelt into presidential office. The Civilian Conservation Corps was a vital component of this mandate. On April 7th, 1933, just within a month after Roosevelt assumed office, the CCC signed its first enrollee into action. CCC camps cropped up all over the nation, as young men enlisted by the hundreds of thousands to do forestry and agricultural work. This CCC army was a tree army, for tree plantations stabilized the erosion that had ravaged the nation’s farmlands. And to Fort Necessity, in Farmington, Pennsylvania, the CCC came.

I have placed images and texts from various elements of the culture in a side-by-side manner to provide a panoramic view of the society. For example, the page entitled “A Brief Glimpse Into Life Before the Crash” presents a photograph of the Pittsburgh Pirates set beside a drawing from the 1921 cartoon “Gertie on Tour.” On this same page is also presented an article about the Ku Klux Klan, as well as an article discussing unemployment in the 1920’s. As unrelated as these “snapshots” seem, they all relate to various aspects of the culture. My objective is to reveal that these events transpired during relatively modern times and that the culture had many faces; the Pittsburgh Pirates and animated cartoon films were modes of entertainment in this society. The prominence of the Ku Klux Klan seems strange next to these images, yet the Klan was of great influence during the 1920’s. Photographs, paintings, literature, letters, and other media are all primary documents from the time; therefore, most of the information presented is
derived entirely from the words and handwork of the era’s inhabitants. My hand is only responsible for the selection of materials, as well as the headings on each page and certain portions of the captions. So I encourage the reader to examine the images and text through a creative lens. Consider how these people dressed, how they wrote (I maintained the original spelling, grammar, and punctuation), and how they felt. Allow this work to encourage questions. My ultimate intention in presenting the material in this manner is to place primary sources together in a way that allows the reader to think about this era with an open mind. A large percentage of the primary material was retrieved from CCC documentation as well as from camp newsletters. The Fort Necessity CCC camp published three newsletters, *Camp Necessity, The Southern Echo*, and *The Fort*.

All of the presented historical images, to my best knowledge after careful research, exist within the public domain. I found the Library of Congress’ (LOC) digital collection of prints and photographs to be of exceptional use in interpreting this era. The Roosevelt-era Farm Security Administration (FSA) hired photographers to record the events of this time. This collection, freely available and online through the Library of Congress, contains thousands of images of everyday life during the Depression. I recommend this resource for anyone interested in this important historical moment. I would also like to thank the staff at Fort Necessity National Battlefield in Farmington, Pennsylvania for access to the park’s archives.

Finally, I designed the following page after a CCC educational certificate collected in Larry Sypolt’s 1988 work, *Fort Necessity Civilian Conservation Corps, Camp SP-12, 1935–1937*. The eagle is an authentic period image, digitally transferred from the existing document. The text and fonts on that page are my own interpretive formats, modeled after that CCC educational certificate’s typewriter font, an attempt to capture the feeling (and font types) of this era.

I appreciate the time you have taken to examine this work. I hope this study allows you to connect more intimately with those who endured the Great Depression.

-Jeffrey Meyer
A CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS

From the bleakness of the Great Depression a new army was assembled. This was not an army of guns and bombs, but an army devised to combat the social evils of poverty and agricultural ruin. Young unemployed men were pulled from the grips of poverty, provided shelter, given uniforms, and charged with the momentous cause of rebuilding a tired nation. A CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS (CCC) emerged. CCC CAMPS sprouted up the nation over, the men of this army planting trees to halt the soil erosion that had devastated American agriculture. The CCC combated forest fires, improved parks, provided flood assistance, and accomplished all other sorts of good works to protect the nation's farmlands, its economy, its environment, and its national pride. And to this very location, FORT NECESSITY, FAYETTE County, PENNSYLVANIA, the CCC made camp.
**A Brief Glimpse Into Life Before the Crash**

- “Artist and His Wife.”
  Unattributed, c.1880-1920.
  Drawings (Documentary) Collection, Prints & Photographs Division (P&P), Library of Congress (LOC),
  LC-DIG-ppmsca-23030.

Excerpt from the “Current Comment” appearing in Uniontown, Pennsylvania’s *The Daily News Standard* on November 22, 1921.

History does not record a time when there was a greater measure of unemployment in the United States. Its extent is kept hidden for political reasons. The party in power keenly realizes the political dangers which lie in the present situation. But our unemployment is not nearly as acute as it is in Great Britain, where this question is so grave that it transcends every other question in England, not even excluding the Irish question.


Pittsburgh, Oct. 10. Misuse of $15,000,000 allegedly collected by Ku Klux Klan in Pennsylvania was charged against the organization in an amended answer filed in federal court today by defendants in a suit brought by the Klan to prevent five “banished” members from using the name of the organization in their activities.

  Motion Picture, Broadcasting and Recorded Sound Division, LOC.


- Excerpt from Sherwood Anderson’s 1927 poem, “A Vagrant.”

I am become a brightly colored insect.
I am a boy lying by a river on a summer day.
At my back is an orchard.
I look dreamily out over warm stagnant waters. There is reed grows out of the yellow mud. In the orchard at my back a hog grunts.
THE MORNING HERALD
UNIONTOWN, FAYETTE COUNTY, PENN’A. TUESDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1929.

STOCK PRICES COLLAPSE;
DECLINE RUNS FROM $10 TO $60
TOTAL SALES DURING DAY HIT 9 MILLION

The lead headline of Uniontown’s Morning Herald, announcing the crash of the stock market. Uniontown is approximately eleven miles from Fort Necessity (Associated Press 1929:1).

Excerpt from a letter to President Hoover, by a man in Fremont, Ohio, dated Dec. 21, 1930 (McElvaine 1983:38).
During the past 9 months I have encountered poverty, worry and patience. The people endure hard times without evidence of rancor or disloyalty. Many men try daily for employment... I wish they could get employment.

Excerpt from Paul Engle’s 1933 poem, “No Stranger Place.”
There is no stranger place than earth
To bury her whose heart was shaken
By little sparrows on a fence
Whose broken nests the wind had taken.
Earth is too dark a place to dig
A grave for her who loved the quick
Leaping of sunlight from low pools
To shining mud or hickory stick.

In April 1930, 8.2 percent of the normally gainfully employed in those 16 [major U.S.] cities were unemployed. In January, 1931, it was 20.8 percent... The Census Bureau’s present estimate of 6,050,000 unemployed last January may be compared with an estimate of 6,870,000 (excluding office workers and farm laborers) by the American Federation of Labor for that month...
Depression

Excerpt from a letter to the Civil Works Administration, from a man in Latrobe, Pa., dated April 4, 1934 (McElvaine 1983:159).

I had been employed as Patrolman of the Borough until Jan. 8-34, then without any just cause whatsoever, I was let go... I have 10 day to get another house, no job, no means of paying rent. Can you be so kind as to advise me as to which would be the most human way to dispose of my self and family, as this is about the only thing that I see left to do.

Excerpt from a letter to Mr. Walter Gifford of the Hoover Administration from an unemployed man's in Detroit, dated September 29, 1931 (McElvaine 1983:46-47).

You have told us to spend to end the slump, but you did not tell us what to use for money... this is a radical letter but the time is here to be radical. when an average of two a day has to take their own life right in the City of Detroit because they can not see their way out. right in the city where one of the worlds riches men lives who made last year 259 000 000 dollars.


Newsboys admiring sporting goods, Jackson, Ohio. 1936. Photograph and text by Theodor Jung. FSA-OWI Collection, P&P, LOC, LC-DIG-fsa-8a14285.
DEPRESSION


# ERODING COUNTRYSIDE

Excerpt from Frederic Haskin’s “National Defense from the Elements,” appearing in Chester, Pennsylvania’s *Chester Times* on October 7, 1933.

In the Eastern part of the United States the fertile topsoil has been washing away for three centuries.


Fifty million acres of crop-producing land have been destroyed in the United States by wind and water soil erosion. Another 125,000,000 acres have lost the topsoil, and 100,000,000 additional acres are approaching this condition, according to the Department of Agriculture.

Excerpt from an anonymous letter from Pottstown, Pa. to President Hoover, dated October 30, 1930 (McElvaine 1983:42).

I am persuaded to write you, concerning aid to unemployment. I hope this movement will be speeded up so people in Pottstown will feel and know the results before Cold weather comes upon us, the struggling starving working under nourished Men. women. and children... I hope that Wall St will never have the power again to cause such a panic upon the people money tied up hoarded up Is a crime.

![Drought farmers line the shady side of the main street on the town while their crops burn up in the fields. "Hello Bill, when’s it gonna rain?" Photograph and text by Dorothea Lange, 1936(a). FSA/OWI Collection, P&P, LOC, LC-DIG-fsa-8b29739.](image1)

![Corn, drought-stricken and eaten off by grasshoppers. Near Russelville, Arkansas. Photograph and text by Dorothea Lange, 1936(b). FSA/OWI Collection, P&P, LOC, LC-USF34-T01-009658-C.](image2)
Migrant agricultural worker’s family. Seven hungry children. Mother aged thirty-two. Father is a native Californian. Destitute in pea picker's camp, Nipomo, California, because of the failure of the early pea crop. These people had just sold their tent in order to buy food. Of the twenty-five hundred people in this camp most of them were destitute. Photograph and text by Dorothea Lange, 1936(d). FSA/OWI Collection, P&P, LOC, LC-USF34-T01-009093-C.
"We don't want to go where we'll be a nuisance to anybody."

Part of an impoverished family of nine on a New Mexico highway. Depression refugees from Iowa. Left Iowa in 1932 because of father's ill health. Father an auto mechanic laborer, painter by trade, tubercular. Family has been on relief in Arizona but refused entry on relief roles in Iowa to which state they wish to return. Nine children including a sick four-month-old baby. No money at all. About to sell their belongings and trailer for money to buy food.

Photograph and text by Dorothea Lange, 1936(e). FSA/OWI Collection, P&P, LOC, LC-DIG-fsa-8b29797.
A Land Without Trees

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (vicinity). Montour no. 4 mine of the Pittsburgh Coal Company. Photograph and text by John Collier. 1942. FSA/OWI Collection, P&P, LOC, LC-USW3-010418-C.

Roosevelt Asks ‘Direct Attack’ On Unemployment.

President Sends Special Message on Job Problem. Estimates 250,000 Would Be Put To Work By Early Summer If Program For Reforestation And Flood Control Is Accepted—Suggests Three Types of Legislation

The overwhelming majority of unemployed Americans who are now walking the streets and receiving private or public relief would infinitely prefer to work. We can take a vast army of these unemployed out into healthful surroundings.

Destitute farm labor families come to Farm Security Administration distributing depot to apply for food grant. Kern County, California. 1938. Photograph and text by Dorothea Lange. FSA/OWI Collection, P&P, LOC, LC-USF34-018454-E.
A CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS

President Roosevelt speaking to Congress, as recorded by George E. Dumo in Indiana, Pennsylvania’s Indiana Evening Gazette on March 22, 1933.

I propose to create a civilian conservation corps to be used in simple work, not interfering with normal employment, and confining itself to forestry, the prevention of soil erosion, flood control, and similar projects.

More important, however, than the material gains, will be the moral and spiritual value of such work... We can eliminate to some extent at least the threat that enforced idleness brings to spiritual and moral stability. It is not a panacea for all the unemployment, but it is an essential step in this emergency.

A Civilian Conservation Corps

New Castle News
Consolidated Press Association
New Castle, Pa.,
Thursday, June 22, 1933.

Forest Work Brings Credit to
Army as Efficient Force
• Unprecedented Talks
Organized with Speed, Says
Public, And Provision Made
For Great Number of
Unemployed Citizens.
Credit is given to the United
States Army for the efficiency
with which it has organized the
Civilian Conservation Corps
and engaged in the forestry
project that provides work for
large numbers of persons who
were unemployed. The
enterprise is unprecedented,
according to comments, and
involves tremendous
responsibility, which, it is
declared, has been undertaken
as just a part of the days’ work
by the military establishment.

Excerpt from “Senate Move,” appearing in Indiana,
Pennsylvania’s Indiana Evening Gazette
on March 22, 1933.
Washington, March 22. A move to carry out
President Roosevelt’s unemployment relief
recommendations was made in the Senate today
when Senators Robinson (D) of Arkansas and
Wagner (D) of New York, joined in introducing a
bill creating a civilian conservation corps.
The corps would be created by enrolling unemployed
men for one year from every state in the union. They
would be paid $30 a month, given quarters, clothing
and subsistence and use don public conservation
projects. They would not be required to bear arms.

Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) boys working at
Tygart Valley Homesteads, West Virginia. 1939. Text and
Photograph by John Vachon. FSA/OWI Collection,
**Fort Necessity During the Depression**

*The Morning Herald*
Uniontown, Fayette County, Penna., March 5, 1931

**President Hoover Signs Fort Necessity Bill**
**Measure Sets Aside $25,000 for Monument**

> *Morning Herald’s* lead story on March 5, 1931(b), announcing the creation of a federal park at Fort Necessity.

Excerpt from “Fort Necessity Most Popular Site,” appearing in Uniontown, Pennsylvania’s

*The Morning Herald* on November 6, 1937.

With an attendance of 10,535 visitors in the 12-month period ending in October, 1937, Fort Necessity proved the most popular of all the battlefield sites administered by the National Park Service. This number included tourists from every state in the Union and from the principal countries of the world.

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In spite of road construction on the National Pike in the vicinity of Fort Necessity, there were 300 visitors at the fort Sunday. Two of the visitors came from China…

Jacob M. Sheada, ranger-historian, has placed a large map of the world in the museum so that visitors from foreign lands may place a pin in the site of their home towns.

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The CCC Arrives at Fort Necessity

Excerpt from “CCC Camp Site At Farmington,” appearing in Connellsville, Pennsylvania’s Daily Courier on June 20, 1935.
A Civilian Conservation Corps camp will be located at Farmington, Fayette county. It was announced by Major Frank E. Bonney, adjutant of the 99th Division, in Pittsburg, who made public the complete re-districting of the 103 camps in Western Pennsylvania.

Excerpts from “The Camp Necessity, a Day in the C.C.C.’s,” appearing in the January, 1936 issue of Camp Necessity, Company 2326’s newspaper, outlining the daily work schedule.
6:15 A.M. The bugle notes of first C all sounds as a warning to prepare for roll call. Boys are getting out of bed. They are up and dress in haste.
6:30 A.M. The second bugle blows signifying reveille or roll call. All men line up in front of the barracks for roll call and the leader reports the presence of his men.
7:15 A.M. Barracks inspection by Officer of the Day.
8:00 A.M. The whistle is blown for work call and the boys line up. Leaders are assigned to work crews engaged in transplanting trees, building roads, and beautifying the park area.
12:00 Noon Dinner call and again the boys are in for a hearty dinner. Then the boys rest until—12:45 P.M. Then they again line up for mail call. The work details go back to their work and healthful occupations.
3:30 P.M. Boys return to camp and police the entire camp for one half hour. Some in the barracks and some out in company area. When this work is done the boys rush to the wash house for a shower. Then they dress for retreat.
5 P.M. The company stands in formation before the flag and the Leaders salute the colors and they are lowered.
5:05 P.M. Supper is under way. This is the best meal of the day. Everyone eats to his full capacity. After supper the boys are free to do as they please.
10:00 P.M. Taps are blown and all lights go out and the boys rest up in order to begin a new day.
A CCC City at Fort Necessity

Excerpt from Ruth Love’s article, “Small CCC Town Rises Near Fort Necessity; Streets Laid Out; Shower Baths Installed; Community House and Library All Add to Privileges of Nearly 200 Boys,” appearing in Uniontown, Pennsylvania’s The Morning Herald on September 4, 1935.

A beehive of activity at For Necessity CCC camp has, in the last three weeks, converted the hillside opposite Fort Necessity from a pasture field into the semblance of a small city. Hero boys from every point in the state are living, working while profiting from the disciplinarian and educational programs in effect under the close supervision of highly trained army officers… Interesting, too, is the enthusiasm shown by the boys relative to their living quarters. For instance, at a certain hour the lads police the grounds. All scraps of paper, garbage and atoms are gathered and placed in containers… Not a day passes but sees many visitors to the grounds to inspect quarters and view surroundings. Cameras click as men and women, many from far-distant points, take back to their homes some memento of the inspection tour.
Excerpt from Ruth Love’s article, “Small CCC Town Rises Near Fort Necessity; Streets Laid Out; Shower Baths Installed; Community House and Library All Add to Privileges of Nearly 200 Boys,” appearing in Uniontown, Pennsylvania’s The Morning Herald on September 4, 1935.

First buildings to be erected were, of course, the barracks. Each in equipped with cots for 42 men... The mess hall, needing only a few finishing touches, will seat 230 boys. A separate section has been partitioned off for officers. To the rear is the large kitchen, with a huge refrigerator, a washroom and storage room... Nearby is a pumphouse... The boys are anxious to have the well furnish the water for the camp since it will eliminate necessity of trucking water from a considerable distance. Operation of the pump means that 18 showers will be available in the adjacent bathhouse. Here also is a foot bath with chemical solution to prevent athlete’s foot... Electrical Equipment also has been installed and will be turned on, probably this week, through local contact. Lights along the “streets” of the CCC city will make an attractive background at night for the beautiful scenery along the National Pike east and Fort Necessity museum.
A CCC CITY AT FORT NECESSITY

Fort Necessity CCC staff standing before a camp building. Henry C. Brooke, Camp Superintendent, stands on the farthest left. Image from the Fort Necessity archives. ca.1936(b).

Although Camp Necessity no longer stands, an archaeological test pit located a dark post mold left by the camp structure. The posts are visible in the top image, behind the men. Image from the Fort Necessity archives. 2009.
Planting Trees

Fort Necessity CCC Superintendent H.C. Brooke commented in the Civilian Conservation Corps Official Annual for 1936(a).
The chief work of the company is soil conservation and park improvement, and the group of foremen, working with the members of the forestry staff are converting the undeveloped park into a National Shrine of unmatched beauty.

▲ Sunrise service, July 4th, 1939. Rows of saplings, recently planted by the CCC, are visible on the slope in the background. Image from the Fort Necessity archives. 1939.

▲ Tree saplings are visible in the middle ground, all planted by the CCC at Fort Necessity. The bridge in the foreground is also a product of CCC work. Image from the National Park Service. 2008.
Excerpt from Tom Thomas and Margaret DeLaura’s 1996 *Historic Resource Study* at Fort Necessity, page 66.

In addition to establishing the camp in 1935, work for the first company stationed at Fort Necessity focused primarily on reforestation. The land around the Great Meadows, once an imposing climax hardwood forest, had been virtually deforested, and the CCC set out to reforest the landscape.... In two and one-half years at the camp, CCC members planted 60,000 trees, cut a firebreak around the perimeter of the park, and built 2.5 miles of trails.

This Norway Spruce is but one of the many existing trees planted by the CCC at Fort Necessity. Image by the author. 2010.

Rising skyward, this CCC Norway Spruce stands as a reminder of the work accomplished at Fort Necessity nearly a century ago. Image by the author. 2010.
BUILDING INFRASTRUCTURE

Excerpt from Ruth Love’s article “Small CCC Town Rises Near Fort Necessity,” appearing on September 4, 1935 in Uniontown Pennsylvania’s The Morning Herald:

All camera-shyness has disappeared and in many photo albums repose snapshots of boys, unknown to the visitors, but accepted as part of a new plan still in the making. And so goes life in the CCC, one of the many divisions of an alphabet government which, in results desired, has a commendable purpose.

A CCC pavilion stands in the park’s picnic area, the recreational zone also a product of the CCC. Image by the author. 2010.

A Camp Necessity CCC boys construct a new parking lot near the fort. Image from the Fort Necessity archives. c.1936(c).
NORTHERNERS AND SOUTHERNERS AT CAMP NECESSITY

CCC Enrollee Rhodes Clarke described the benefits of the program in the May, 1937 issue of The Southern Echo, a camp newsletter printed when the camp—Company 5462—was largely composed of southern boys.

The advantages of the CCC are many. The enrollee has comfortable quarters, plenty of wholesome food and sufficient clothing. With these necessities of life furnished, he can devote much of his leisure time to social and mental development.

Excerpt from an interview conducted by Larry N. Sypolt on December 4, 1985. The full transcription is available in Sypolt’s 1988 work. Mr. Sypolt interviewed David Maskulka of Fairchance, Pa., a mechanic who served at Camp Necessity.

Larry N. Sypolt: Speaking of the boys from the south, how did they take to some of these Pennsylvania winters?

Maskulka: They didn’t like that too well. There wasn’t much they could do about that. When it came time to work, you worked. That was standard; everybody had to work. You had your job to do and you went out to work. They enjoyed it. If they could get a pair of skies or a sled, they would enjoy that.

Larry N. Sypolt: How did they like snow, since some of them saw it for the first time?

Maskulka: They liked it until they had to go out and work in it. They liked to watch it come down and build up; but, when they had to go out and work and get their hands cold and their feet wet, they didn’t like that too well.
**LEARNING AT CAMP NECESSITY**

A July, 1936 bulletin from the Office of Education and Recreation for Camp Members for Camp Members, listed as the “Dove Sheet” at Fort Necessity.

Fellow Members:
This sheet is to acquaint you with the recent addition of several new educational courses. All of these courses carry with them certificates of merit on satisfactory completion. Each course studied will broaden your chance for success in the future. The majority of these subjects will be handled as individual instruction, each student will be in a class by himself, so that he may progress as rapidly or slowly as his time for study allows.

A message for enrollees, published in the “Chatter” section of the January, 1936 issue of Company 2326’s newsletter Camp Necessity.

There should be more interest in our Educational Program. Give our W.P.A. teachers a run for their money.

A list of new courses available to CCC enrollees, listed by the Office of Education and Recreation for Camp Members, July, 1936.

- Plant Life (10 Credits)
- Introduction to Chemistry (12 Credits)
- Farm Forestry (12 Credits)
- Insect Control (12 Credits)
- Principles of Marketing (17 Credits)

A letter from Enrollee Eddle Kezarski to his mother, appearing in the “News to the Folks Back Home” section of the January, 1936 issue of Company 2326’s Camp Necessity.

Dear Mother:
You’ll get the surprise of your life when you learn that I’m to be a finished guitar player, but nevertheless, it’s true. I’m studying very hard and I enjoy it.

From Frank Hann and Michael Perry’s work *Units of Instruction for Instructors and Students*, prepared for District No. 2 of the CCC.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BLOCK: No.1</th>
<th>Name: Power Tools</th>
<th>Cabinet Making TRADE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>JOB: No. 1</td>
<td>Name: Fundamentals of using the rip saw</td>
<td></td>
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<th>No.</th>
<th>Operations</th>
<th>Auxiliary Knowledge</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Note the saw</td>
<td>A  Trade Terms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Loosen the guide</td>
<td>Rip saw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Set the guide to the measurement wanted</td>
<td>B  Trade Judgment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Adjust the saw blade</td>
<td>1  How to adjust the saw blade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Pull switch</td>
<td>2  How fast to feed the saw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Place the stock against guide</td>
<td>C  Technical Information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Use one hand as the guide</td>
<td>1  The size and shape of the saw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Use the other hand for pushing the stock</td>
<td>2  How and why the teeth are filled as they are</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Run the stock</td>
<td>3  How to use and adjust the machine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Check the cut</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Recreation at Camp Necessity

Excerpt from “Fort Necessity Dance,” appearing in the Morning Herald on Friday, July 10, 1936(b).

Boys at Fort Necessity CCC camp have completed all plans for the first dance of the summer season… A cordial invitation is extended to young women of Uniontown and Fayette county…

From the “Humor” section of Company 2326’s Camp Necessity, February 1936.

“Now, suppose,” said the teacher, “a man working on the river bank suddenly fell in. He could not swim and would be in danger of drowning. Picture the scene. The man’s sudden fall, the cry for help. His wife knows his peril and, hearing his screams, rushes immediately to the bank. Why does she run to the bank?” Whereupon a boy exclaimed, “To draw his insurance money!”

*The Fort Necessity CCC basketball team. From left to right: Coach Miles, West, Kazmersky, Magee, Polk, Ladner, Maskulka, and Stefancin. Photograph from the Fort Necessity Archives. c.1936(d).*

Excerpt from an interview conducted by Larry N. Sypolt on December 4, 1985. The full transcription is available in Sypolt’s 1988 work. Mr. Sypolt interviewed Ringy Stefancin, a man who played on the Fort Necessity CCC basketball team.

Ringy Stefancin: I was real friendly with [Coach] Paul Miles. He was good to me. He picked me up at my home. He took me wherever they went. He let me play with the exception of that one game in Johnstown where someone recognized me as not being a member of the CCC team.

Excerpt from an interview conducted by Larry N. Sypolt on December 4, 1985. The full transcription is available in Sypolt’s 1988 work. Mr. Sypolt interviewed David Maskulka of Fairchance, Pa., a mechanic who served at Camp Necessity.

Larry Sypolt: Did you teach any of them how to drive from scratch?

David Maskulka: No, they all knew how to drive an automobile. I still had another problem with them, too. They were coming to the top of the mountain and kicking the trucks out of gear. They wanted to see who could go past Braddock’s Grave the fastest. They got a surprise one day when the State Police were waiting on them at the bottom of this side of the Summit.
A New Landscape

Fort Necessity Park-SP-12 Master Plan, 1936. This map reveals the extent of the reforestation effort at Fort Necessity. “Plus” signs on the map indicate replanted zones. Image from the Fort Necessity Archives.

Mr. Miles, our Educational Advisor, secured a charter to establish a branch of the National Association of Audubon Societies [sic] in this Camp. Twenty-five members are required to fill a charter and we are proud to say that two days after the charter was received, the required number of members were enrolled.

The Cedar Waxwing is the most beautiful bird found in the United States. These birds are gifted with the marvelous beauty of many colors which blend and mix into each other. The bird is colored like the mixing pots of an artist, and its body looks like a delicate piece of silk or velvet.
These images show the effects of reforestation by the Fort Necessity CCC. Yellow contours mark the areas of the park that had been designated for reforestation, as indicated on the 1936 master plan (see previous page). One can investigate the effects of the CCC plantation over this twenty year period.
Excerpt from President Roosevelt’s address over NBC radio to CCC enrollees in 1936, as reproduced in the Civilian Conservation Corps Official Annual.

To the million and a half young men and war veterans who have been, or are today, enrolled in the Civilian Conservation Corps Camps... Idle through no fault of your own, you were enrolled from city and rural homes and offered an opportunity to engage in healthful, outdoor work on forest, park and soil conservation projects of definite practical value to all the people of the nation. The promptness with which you seized the opportunity to engage in honest work, the willingness with which you have performed your daily tasks and the fine spirit you have shown in winning the respect of the communities in which your camps have been located, merits the admiration of the entire country.

Excerpt from the CCC’s “History and Activities: District No.2” from 1936(b), page 16.

In the beginning, the shadow of the financial depression had eclipsed the hopes of the first CCC contingents. They enrolled in the CCC as jobless, hopeless, and embittered men. But all that has been changed. The enrollees are now a happy, healthy, self-reliant group. They have grown more rapidly than the trees which they have planted.

A CCC spruce planting near the location of the bygone camp. Photograph by the author.
A gravel path leads to the CCC picnic area at Fort Necessity National Battlefield.
Photograph by the author. 2010.

Excerpt from the National Park Service’s *General Management Plan; Development Concept Plan; Interpretive Prospectus* in 1991, page 23.

…most of the trees now in the park are a result of regeneration and plantings by the CCC in the 1930s.

Today, one may travel through the renewed forest at Fort Necessity National Battlefield. Take the CCC pathway, have lunch beneath a CCC picnic pavilion, and enjoy the forest, a conserve in the spirit of the Civilian Conservation Corps.
## A New CCC?

| “Ecosystem Carbon Stock Influenced by Plantation Practice: Implications for Planting Forests as a Measure of Climate Change Mitigation,” appearing in *PLoS One* (2010). By Chengzhang Liao, Yiqi Luo, Changming Fang, and Bo Li |
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Engle, Paul

Fogg, Neeta P., Paul E. Harrington, and Brian T. McMahon

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c.1936(b) CCC Camp Staff at Fort Necessity [photograph]. Farmington, Pennsylvania.
c.1936(c) CCC Boys Constructing a Parking Lot Near the Fort [photograph]. Farmington, Pennsylvania.
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c.1930s(a) A Typical CCC Barracks [photograph]. Farmington, Pennsylvania.
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1936a *Drought farmers line the shady side of the main street on the town while their crops burn up in the fields* [photograph]. Farm Security Administration-Office of War Information Collection, Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress, P&P, LOC, LC-DIG-fsa-8b29739.

1936b *Corn, drought-stricken and eaten off by grasshoppers. Near Russelville, Arkansas* [photograph]. Farm Security Administration-Office of War Information Collection, Prints & Photographs Division, Library of Congress, LC-USF34-T01-009658-C.


1936d *Migrant agricultural worker's family. Seven hungry children. Mother aged thirty-two...*[photograph]. Farm Security Administration-Office of War Information Collection, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, LC-USF34-T01-009093-C.

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Lee, Russell
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Love, Ruth

McCay, Winsor, John McCoy and John Fitzsimmons
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Pennsylvania State University

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CHAPTER NINE:
EXPERIENTIAL NARRATIVE EXAMPLE II:

A LANTERN WESTERWARD:
INK’S TAVERN FROM RUIN TO RECONSTRUCTION
A Lantern Westward:
Inks Tavern, from Ruin to Reconstruction
Out of Rubble

In the wood there is a pile of stone rubble along a faint, nondescript trace of the Braddock Road. If a person were to walk past this ruin—a depression in the earth filled with indiscriminate stone and veiled by encroaching brush within Fort Necessity National Battlefield in Farmington, Pennsylvania—one might easily overlook these voiceless markers, the foundation pieces of a tavern from two centuries ago. But wagons once came here, the horses clicking to a halt. Indeed this faded forest path was once a busy earthen road, travelers stopping at taverns like this one here, resting their horses, warming their bodies near a fire, playing cards, relating stories, discussing politics, and turning in for a night’s rest.

Like most places from the early American story, very little is written about this tavern. The most substantial information that I have found about this structure is derived from Franklin Ellis’ 1882 History of Fayette County and an archaeological report produced by Kenneth Basalik in 1990. Consequently, much uncertainty exists as to the details of these ruins, even beginning with its name. The county history lists a few taverns in the area, with the Freeman Tavern matching the description of this location. However, Basalik identifies this same tavern as Inks Tavern. Perhaps this confusion can be explained by the presence at the Freeman Tavern of an innkeeper named Thomas Inks. For the sake of clarity, I will refer to the tavern as Inks Tavern, as recent documentation uses this designation; it is important to record that the History of Fayette County labels another facility just eastward as “old Inks tavern.” Yet even more uncertain, and more important, are the identities and personages of the actual people who stopped and stayed at this tavern. Shining light upon the otherwise hidden life of this structure is the essential property of this work.

Fortunately, records pertaining to the Braddock Road provide some context to “Inks Tavern.” In 1755, General Edward Braddock led his Redcoat army against the French outpost Fort Duquesne in present-day Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Thus, Braddock’s men were required to cut a path through the old-growth forest, starting at Cumberland, Maryland, so that the army’s wagons might advance against Duquesne. The Braddock Road sliced across the Allegheny Mountains in southwestern Pennsylvania, ultimately ending near Fort Duquesne; Braddock’s fortune ended there, however, as

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3 Wiley, 833.
the French and Indians repelled the Redcoats; Braddock was himself killed and buried beneath the road.

Following the war, the Braddock Road, one of a few substantial roadways across the Allegheny Mountains, came into commercial and civil usage. Thus, the road that once ran red with the blood of Redcoats now bustled with commerce and westward settlers. Log taverns, like Ink’s Tavern, began to spring up along the route, servicing such travelers. However, great portions of the Braddock Road, along with many of its taverns, fell into obscurity after a new path, the National Road, was developed through this region by 1818. This National Road—modern US Route 40—stretched from Cumberland, Maryland to the farmlands of the Midwest, superseding the role of the Braddock Road. This development is why taverns like Inks Tavern became ruins along the largely defunct Braddock Road, now silent remnants in the woods. Inks Tavern served as a residence in the nineteenth century before falling into complete obscurity near the turn of the twentieth century.

The purpose of this work is to reconstruct, from available materials, a moment in time when this pile of rubble functioned as an important station along an important road. I have attempted to present an interpretive narrative around one of the thousands of immigrants that left a home in the East for new grounds in the Midwest. I have based the material culture on information derived from Basalik’s 1990 archaeological excavation and other archaeological investigations in southwestern Pennsylvania that are relevant to this time; my experience as a National Park Service guide at the Mount Washington Tavern, a facility constructed around 1830, also informs my judgment as to the material culture appropriate to this setting. In addition, I have found historical paintings of tavern and domestic scenes, especially those of John Lewis Krimmel, of particular usefulness. I found Harpster’s 1938 work *Cross-Roads: Descriptions of Western Pennsylvania, 1720-1829*, considerably helpful in structuring dialogue.

All dialogue—though not always attributable to Inks Tavern or any of its patrons—has been fashioned from historical sources so as to prevent the creation of inauthentic conversations. In sum, the following narrative is a snapshot of tavern life in southwestern Pennsylvania at the beginning of the nineteenth century. It uses only materials and customs verifiable to the time and region.

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6 Basalik, 2.
that is taken verbatim from primary documentation is set in italics. As not to confuse the historical record, I have left all but known persons anonymous. Research into this tavern opened a doorway into this area’s local folklore, a theme that acquired some prominence in this interpretation.

Let us now return to the Braddock Road of two centuries ago.

**On the Braddock Road, Just a Day’s Journey from Union Town, Pennsylvania, 1810**

*Next morning I set out on my journey hither, on foot. The way was not long; the weather, though cold, was wholesome and serene. My spirits were high, and I saw nothing in the world before me but sunshine and prosperity.*

-Charles Brockden Brown, 1799-1800

In my hand rests the leather reigns of my horses, I walking alongside the chocolate-coated pair. From their meaty shoulders stream the trace straps back to the farm wagon, a vehicle made miniature when the blue-sided Conestoga wagons bluster past, six horses or more to a team, the red wheels spinning. But this traveler is no professional wagoner, just “militia,” as farmers on the road are called. There is no room upon my simple, wood-plank wagon to sit, the vehicle bustling with all the necessities required to start a new life in the Ohio country.

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8 Robert West Howard, *The Wagonmen,* (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1964), 9. Conestoga wagons were painted blue on the body and red on the wheels, while the top covers were white. Thus the Conestoga wagon was red, white, and blue.


10 Joseph Mallord William Turner’s (1775-1851) watercolor *A Farm Wagon* provides a clear visual of such a vehicle.
With my horses I walk this journey from Maryland to longing fields beyond the Allegheny Mountains. A team of bulls, goaded forth by men cracking whips, herd past, the beasts grunting, the mud churning beneath. The landscape along the road is wooded, interrupted here and there by log huts and cultivation. Onward the hooves of my horses grind upon the earthen road, their pulsing muscles mud-ridden on account of the late Spring rain, as are the wheels of the wagon, and the leather of my boots. The sun descends as we pass the Rue England Tavern, a log house along the path. The smell of burning wood, a warm fire, trickles along the road. I have tired from a long day’s journey, as have the horses; the next stop shall be our rest.

Up a gentle slope we pass, the land now turning downward. The grayish twilight runs along the log and plaster structure ahead, the ends of the cut trunks jutting at the corners; smoke gently rises from a brick chimney, beckoning us forward.

I am very fortunate, for Benjamin Freeland, the tavern keeper, greets me at the front door and informs me that there is enough room that I might make my stead here. My two horses are set among the wagon yard for the evening. For twelve and a half cents I have a gallon of oats purchased for the hungry horses. Then the tavern’s wooden threshold opens, the firelight

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12 Crosby and Cody, 24. Livestock herds were common sights on these early roads.
14 Wiley, 833.
15 Wiley, 833-834. Wiley describes the Freeman Tavern as “a log tavern, built about 1800.”
16 Basalik’s 1990 archaeological report does not specify the chimney material, although brick was located at the site. An early home in Brownsville, Pennsylvania had a stone cellar hearth, yet the chimney flue was of brick (Ronald L. Michael, “A Small House in Brownsville,” Pennsylvania Archaeologist 42, no.3: 49). A stone chimney is possible.
17 Wiley, 833-834. Benjamin Freeland and “young Thomas Inks” are recorded as the innkeepers.
18 During the time of the “old taverns,” wagon horses remained on the “wagon yards”; they were not stabled, as recorded by Thomas Searight, The Old Pike (Uniontown, Pennsylvania: T.B. Searight, 1894), 110.
19 John W. Harpster, Crossroads: Descriptions of Western Pennsylvania, 1720-1829 (Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania: University of Pittsburgh, 1938), 261. A traveler through this region in 1816 named Uria Brown includes a journal entry describing his trip “into Fayette County on General Braddock’s old road 14 Miles to Freemans one hundred yards from this General Braddock was Interred. fed & Drank some Elegant Cyder-$0.37 ½ thence 4 Miles to John Slack’s very warm Stops to let Cate [the horse] blow & Cool gives her a gallon of Oats-$0.12 ½ thence 6 Miles on & over Laurel hill to Union Town.”
from within streaming yellow and orange against the darkening sky, the chill of the Spring evening vanishing at the closing of the door.

The sound of the tavern pipes:

Did you ever hear tell of Deacon Haynes,  
Who drank his gin till he lost his brains?  
He sometimes drank four quarts a day,  
And I've often heard his neighbors say,  
That he sometimes drank a gallon!

The Deacon drank, for he loved his gin;  
In drinking, he said, there was no sin;  
He turned to the Bible to prove it right,  
And told how Noah once got tight,  
While carrying on in a vineyard.  

At a wooden table near the fireplace a man beckons for me to sit. Playing cards and clear tumblers of brandy are at his reach. For 37 and one-half cents a cider drink is placed before me. White ceramic pipes are lit, the smell of fresh tobacco mixing with the crack of the warm fire.

“One on my way to Union Town,” says the man, an experienced wagoner. “It’s a Post & Country Town… some good building of Brick in the same, too many wooden houses for the Credit of

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20 The full verse for “A Love Story” or “The Deacon was a Heller,” a popular tavern tune along frontier roads during the nineteenth century, is found in Philip D. Jordan, The National Road (Gloucester, Massachusetts: Peter Smith, 1966), 322-324.

21 Playing cards were used in nineteenth-century taverns. Missing from these cards are numbers, as the populace was largely illiterate.

22 The price for cider [cyder] is provided in Harpster, 261.

23 Clear glass was identified in Basalik’s 1990 archaeological investigation at the tavern. Clear glass tumblers are also pictured in John Lewis Krimmel’s 1814 painting Interior of an American Inn.

24 This dialogue is derived, in many places in verbatim (indicated by italics), from Uria Brown’s 1816 journal as printed in Harpster, 262.
the place. Unfortunately, people are too abominably lazy to repair roads here, Loose Stones & water running on the roads…”

“That water would be easily turned off,” says another, “but it gets liberty to run untill it makes Mires in the middle of the road & a waggon will Swamp or Mire going down a Steep hill as well as going up.”

A third man, standing at the bar, states that the wagonmen still fared better than General Braddock. “Shot by one of his own, old Tom Fossit,” he says. “Old Tom still lives right along this road, a short walk from here; that man’s a century old. He’s a tall, large, grim, savage-looking man, hard drinking too.”

I draw nearer to the brick-lined hearth, gazing upon the crackling fire, imagining the character of a man who boasted of killing his own general. Apparently, Old Tom Fossit sheds tears for those poor men killed because of Braddock’s folly. The story goes that Tom, a militiaman on the 1755 campaign, took cover behind rocks and trees with other Virginians and Pennsylvanians after the French and Indians attacked. But Braddock saw this as nothing but cowardice; the general struck old Tom Fossit’s brother, Joe Fossit, with his sword. Tom Fossit witnessed the harm done to his brother, and, in the heat of the battle, drew his musket upon Braddock, knocking the general to his feet.

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26 Wiley, 831. The History of Fayette County states that in “1783 Tom Fossit was on the old road at the junction of Dunlap’s road and Braddock’s, close to the Great Rock, a few feet west of Fred Hamerer’s house. He kept a house for travel. He was a tall, large, grim, savage-looking man. He died in 1818, at one hundred and six years of age. He came from the South Branch, in Hardy County, W. Va.”

27 Wiley, 831.

28 The brick fireplace is based upon several Krimmel works including Cooking Fireplace and Kitchen Implements, Bonnet (1819), as well as Edwin White’s Thoughts of Liberia: Emancipation (1861). As with the composition of the chimney, this fireplace may have been of stone instead of brick.
death. To this day old Tom Fossit still streams with emotion when retelling the story. And he lives right near here, close to the very grave of the general he claims he killed.

“Braddock had 25,000 pounds with him on this road,” says another man. “Treasure is out there still.”

Argument began as to the fate of the treasure. The French captured it; no, it was buried; it’s out there somewhere; well, nobody’s found it.

And so goes the speculation of the travelers, the men sitting by the fireside, telling tall tales, enjoying some brandy, relaxing their weary bodies. Before long, I rise up from my seat, pass along the plank floor, and approach the red earthenware wash basin set upon a little table at the side wall. Shavings float in the murky water, but this water still cleans the face, readying me for sleep.

Then I roll out a linen, a material drawn from my wagon; I brush off the insects, setting it near the fireplace. The others prepare their linens, all of us lined along the plank floor, as near the cracking flames as possible.

My leather boots require a hardy pull to extract free from my feet. Though I feel companionship with these men, I elect to keep my wallet and clothing on my person. As I throw my legs horizontal, the muscles finally feel the cool sensation of relaxation.

Tomorrow, I shall set out with my little farm cart, to the heights of Laurel hill, the last great ascent in my voyage to a life anew in the Ohio country.

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29 The legend of “Braddock’s Gold” is recounted in White, 17-22. James Veech estimated that Braddock held 25,000 pounds with his caravan. Archival sources report it may have been 2,500 pounds; however, historian Edward G. Williams believes that Braddock would not have carried any substantial funds with him on the expedition.

30 A discussion of frontier tavern sleeping arrangements can be found in Crosby and Cody, 29-30.
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SECTION VII: CONCLUSION

CHAPTER TEN:
FULL CIRCLE

An Experiential Past

I have attempted to explain, devise, and test an interpretive method that relates the past through tangible, sensory details. This experiential interpretation attempts to find histories, not History; households, not nations; persons, not cultures. This interpretation aims to examine these human histories in a creative manner that provides meaning for both the interpreter and the learner.

I would like to conclude with two experiences I had with separate individuals. Both of these individuals had lived very long lives. The first person was a visitor at Fort Necessity. On a clear summer day, I guided this elderly, wheelchair-bound woman across the pavement. She told me that she had been given permission to leave the hospital for this one day. She had many fond childhood memories of Fort Necessity, and she wanted to return.

As we went along the way, this woman told me that she remembered when the Fort was “bigger.” Indeed, the reconstructed palisade was larger before J.C. Harrington’s archaeological discovery in 1953. Then she told me that she was here in 1932, on the very day when the Fort became a National Park. She was just a little girl at the time. I told her that the Park had a picture of that commencement day. So I rushed up to the Park library and pulled a reprint of the picture.

The woman fell into tears when I handed her the picture. Somewhere in this black-and-white photograph, among the hundreds of spectators, was this elderly woman as a young child.

I then pointed to the Norway Spruce trees that rose skyward around us. “The CCC boys planted those trees in 1936,” I told her, those men of a vanishing generation at that time still in their twenties. “They planted this forest.”
“God bless them!” she said, wiping the tears from her eyes. “God bless them!”

This woman had experienced an amazing lifetime. Though her generation begins to pass away, their achievements will remain for centuries to come. The people of the past matter in a tangible way, affecting the very world that living people inhabit. The houses, the workspaces, the central avenues, the corner stores, the theatres, the parks, many of these things the products of the handiwork of past people, the living sharing the same space as those previous generations.

Finally, I am reminded of a comment made by another individual. Despite having nearly been killed in the Second World War, my grandfather never harbored ill-feelings for the individuals on the other side; he always attempted to encounter the human in every situation, no matter the circumstances. “If I’d-a-met that German in the Northside,” my grandfather said, referring to a neighborhood of Pittsburgh, “I’d-a-bought him a beer or something, instead of having a bead on him.”

Indeed, how similar the human experiences of all these people in all these times; the Englishman, hunkered behind Fort Necessity’s trenches, tired, wet, far from home, uncertain, and the Frenchman, hunkered behind the oak tree, tired, wet, far from home, uncertain. Here lies the importance of an experiential past: to see the world through another’s eyes, to imagine a world different.
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Appendix A. Comments about the First Pennsylvanians Program, Transcribed as Respondents Wrote Them.  
Brackets are used to clarify ambiguities.

6/22/2010  
• What I learned in Fort Necessitity was we built a wigwams. We also learned about all different types of jewelry and coins.  
• There was a tribe called Monogehalla.  
• I learned how to make a wigman and that the English traded Spanish coins.  
• Beads were valuable when today they aren’t. Tribes stayed and left I learned how 2 make a wigwam.  
• Mammoths were around when people were around in PA.  
• I learned that the wigwam was used mostly by eastern woodland indians, not southern  
• I learned about clovis points and I had fun building a wigwam  
• Spanish coins could be used in England.  
• I learned how to make a wigwam.

6/29/2010  
• Wigwam components construction but maybe less time on this. Prehistoric descriptions & standing in trees during & after ice age. (42)  
• We went inside Fort Necessity (Age 12)  
• I enjoyed the Fort and stories. I also liked building the wigwam (Age 14)  
• I liked the wigwam (Age 14)  
• I liked the wigwam!! Making the wigwam  
• We made a wigwam (Age 11)  
• Making the wigwam  
• The wigwam was cool (age 13)  
• How to make a wigwam (Age 17)  
• How to make a wigwam (Age 13)  
• I thought the house was fun  
• the fort (Age 12)  
• Visiting the actual fort. (Age 14)  
• Whompe, the beads were made by clam shells. Black and red meant-War! (Age 17)  
• The fort (Age 12)  
• We Built a Wigwam house (Age 16)  
• Building a Wigwam shelter! YEAH! (Age 15)  
• The HOLe thing!!!!!!!!!!!  
• I think that the making of the wigwam was fun.  
• The Fort Nessitie  
• building the wigwam

7/6/2010  
• The fort and making the wigwam  
• The hike and the wigwam building and the Native American artifacts.  
• The Landscape Time change  
• Hiking talking seeing Building wigawam  
• Keep it the same it is awesome  
• Keep it the same it is awesome  
• I liked All of it  
• I thought it was very interesting and fun to learn about the fort, and the battle waged there.

7/13/2010  
• The wigwam was very fun to create even though it was raining (Age 13)  
• It was fun // Making house was the best!!  
• Making the hut thing and going into the meauseam (Age 13)  
• I liked Building the wigwam (Age 12)  
• Looking at artifacts and discussing change was what I though was the most interesting. (Age 13)
• The bilding the wigwam // The artifacts (Age 14)
• I thought the museum was the most fun part. (Age 12)
• all (Age 12)
• 1. The Hut 2. Looking at French & Indian War
• I Thought I wigwam and the rain was the Best Part

7/20/2010
• I really liked the fort. It would be awesome if I learned more and see the inside of the supply room (Age 11)
• American History.
• Seeing the Fort and Walking on the Braddock Trail (Age 11)
• Seeing American history and seeing the fort and battlefield (Age 12)
• had a blast most fun in a while (Age 11)
• The fort neccesity (Age 12)
• Interesting: Seeing the fort and hearing all the history behind it.
• Wam-pum (Age 11)

7/27/2010
• We should go in the Fort but I liked looking at it (Age 13)
• See all of the woods and wildlife. also learning about the war (Age 12)
• about the Fort and Indian wepons
• The deer was really cool // All the artifacts we got to feel were cool (Age 15)
• I liked when we went in the fort.
• The best thing was EVERYTHING
• Going to the Fort (Age 14)

8/3/2010
• I liked every thing. Seeing for nessesatiy, making a weird swamp tepee.
• I liked where I was albe to stand where George Washington’s men stood.
• The Fort (Age 11)
• Going to the Fort
• The Fort’s Cannon and the Tomahawk
• The Fort // weapageun
• Live Deer
• I liked the fort and the musket ball. (Age 12)
• The fort (Age 11)
• Looking in the fort was cool
• Building
• Building the wigwam
• I thot the fort, transh, and cannon
Appendix B. Comments about the First Pennsylvanians Program, Arranged by Qualitative Components.*
*Comments qualifying for multiple categories were placed beneath all respective categories. Category totals were divided by the program’s total number of 75 comments. Brackets are used clarify ambiguities. Participant ages, when provided, are placed in parenthesis.

Comments Concerning Wigwams (46.67% of Comments)
• What I learned in Fort Necessitity was we built a wigwams. We also learned about all different types of jewelry and coins.
  • I learned how to make a wigman and that the English traded Spanish coins.
  • I learned that the wigwam was used mostly by eastern woodland indians, not southern.
  • I learned about clovis points and I had fun building a wigwam.
  • I learned how to make a wigwam.
  • Wigwam components construction but maybe less time on this. Prehistoric descriptions & standing in trees during & after ice age.
  • I enjoyed the Fort and stories. I also liked building the wigwam.
  • Beads were valable when today they arn’t. Tribs stayed and left I learned how 2 make a wigwam.
  • Wigwam components construction but maybe less time on this. Prehistoric descriptions & standing in trees during & after ice age.
  • I enjoyed the Fort and stories. I also liked building the wigwam.
  • I liked the wigwam.
  • I liked the wigwam!! Making the wigwam.
  • We made a wigwam.
  • Making the wigwam.
  • The wigwam was cool.
  • How to make a wigwam.
  • How to make a wigwam.
  • I thought the house was fun.
  • We Built a Wigwam house.
  • Building a Wigwam shelter! YEAH!
  • I think that the making of the wigwam was fun.
  • Building the wigwam.
  • The fort and making the wigwam.
  • The hike and the wigwam building and the Native American artifacts.
  • Hiking talking seeing Building wigwam.
  • The wigwam was very fun to create even though it was raining.
  • It was fun // Making house was the best!!
  • Making the hut thing and going into the meauseam.
  • I liked Building the wigwam.
  • The bilding the wigwam // The artifacts.
  • 1. The Hut 2. Looking at French & Indian War.
  • I Thought I wigwam and the rain was the Best Part.
  • I liked every thing. Seeing for nessesatiy. making a weird swamp tepee.
  • Building.
  • Building the wigwam.

Comments Concerning Fort Necessity (38.67% of Comments)
• We went inside Fort Necessity.
  • I enjoyed the Fort and stories. I also liked building the wigwam.
  • the fort.
  • Visiting the actual fort.
  • The fort.
  • The Fort Nessitie.
  • The fort and making the wigwam.
  • I thought it was very interesting and fun to learn about the fort, and the battle waged there.
• 1. The Hut 2. Looking at French & Indian War
   • I really liked the fort. It would be awesome if I learned more and see the inside of the supply room
   • Seeing the Fort and Walking on the Braddock Trail
   • Seeing American history and seeing the fort and battlefield
   • The fort necesity
   • Interesting: Seeing the fort and hearing all the history behind it.
   • We should go in the Fort but I liked looking at it
   • See all of the woods and wildlife. also learning about the war
   • about the Fort and Indian wepons
   • I liked every thing. Seeing for nesessatiy. making a weird swamp tepee.
   • I liked where I was albe to stand where George Washington’s men stood.
   • The Fort
   • Going to the Fort
   • I liked when we went in the fort.
   • Going to the Fort
   • The Fort’s Cannon and the Tomahawk
   • The Fort // weapagegun
   • I liked the fort and the musket ball.
   • The fort
   • Looking in the fort was cool
   • I thot the fort, transh [trench], and cannon

Comments Concerning Artifacts (17.33% of Comments)
• What I learned in Fort Necessitity was we built a wigwams. We also learned about all different types of jewelry and coins.
  • I learned how to make a wigman and that the English traded Spanish coins.
  • Beads were valable when today they arn’t. Tribs stayed and left I learned how 2 make a wigwam.
  • I learned about clovis points and I had fun building a wigwam
  • Whopem, the beads were made by clam shells. Black and red meant-War!
  • Looking at artifacts and discussing [environmental] change was what I though was the most interesting.
  • The bilding the wigwam // The artifacts
  • Wam-pum
  • about the Fort and Indian wepons
  • The deer was really cool // All the artifacts we got to feel were cool
  • The Fort’s Cannon and the Tomahawk
  • The Fort // weapagegun [wep-i-chi-gan]
  • I liked the fort and the musket ball.

Comments Concerning Nature (9.33% of Comments)
• Wigwam components construction but maybe less time on this. Prehistoric descriptions & standing in trees during & after ice age.
  • The Landscape Time change
  • Looking at artifacts and discussing [environmental] change was what I though was the most interesting.
  • I Thought I wigwam and the rain was the Best Part
  • See all of the woods and wildlife. also learning about the war
  • The deer was really cool // All the artifacts we got to feel were cool
  • Live Deer

General Comments, Positive (9.33% of Comments)
• The HOLe thing!!!!!!!!!!!
• Keep it the same it is awesome
• Keep it the same it is awesome
• I liked All of it
• all
• had a blast most fun in a while
• The best thing was EVERYTHING

**Information Retrieval (6.67% of Comments)**
• There was a tribe called Monogehalla.
• Beads were valuable when today they aren’t. Tribes stayed and left I learned how to make a wigwam.
• Mammoths were around when people were around in PA.
• Spanish coins could be used in England.
• Wigwam components construction but maybe less time on this. Prehistoric descriptions & standing in trees during & after ice age.

**Comments Concerning the Museum and Visitor Center (2.67% of Comments)**
• Making the hut thing and going into the museum
• I thought the museum was the most fun part.

**General Comments, Ambiguous (1.33% of Comments)**
• American History.
Appendix C. Comments about the Archaeology Program, Transcribed as Respondents Wrote Them.*
*Brackets are used to clarify ambiguities. Participant ages, when provided, are placed in parenthesis.

6/23/2010
• Dig (Age 15)
  • I like the Dig (Age 12)
  • I liked learning about local history and other near by archaeological sites. I liked getting the chance to see what a dig [dig] would be like. (Age 14)
  • I saw a doe about 7/12 feet away from me. (Age 13)
  • I liked the sifting (Age 11)
  • I liked the diging and sifting (Age 11)
  • I liked the walk to the fort (Age 12)
  • I enjoyed the the “what hapend” part [about Fort Necessity] (Age 12)
• Enjoyed the Power Point and Dig. Ranger was awesome. (Age 15)
• I enjoyed the dig and our ranger was good and nice. (Age 15)
•Liked facts about the fort (Age 15)
• Really enjoyed the whole experience, great program! (Age-14)
• Digging in the mock dig sidet (Age 13)

6/30/2010
• Finding artifacts was awesome (Age 13)
• Washington built the storehouse to protect his rum and gunpowder from his own men. (Age15)
• Artifacts can be found in the most unlikely places.
• Digging seeing the Fort (Age 12)
• I haven’t seen any tree’s from the 1700’s (Age 15)
• The trenches were a lot different than I thought they would be, which is cool
• The trenches (Age 16)
• The guns going off [during a living history program] (Age 16)
• I really enjoyed standing in the trench and imagining being a soldier 256 years ago because it helped me to understand the significance of the Fort. (Age 17)
• Oldest site in N.A. in PA (Age 17)
• I liked sifting & digging to find Artifacts. (Age 12)
• How out number that the english People. (Age 15)
• I learned Washington built the wall to keep his men out of supplies.
  • That we only knew what Ft. N. was like in the 1950s.
  • That the tall pine trees were planted about 80 yrs. Ago (1930s)
• More artifacts. Liked the potery. (Age 14)
• Digging in the dirt (Age 14)
• The way that they used knives at the Mt. Washington tavern (Age 13)
• I learned that indians wore sea shell necklaces, and this was very fun.
• The mock dig makes my job [seem?] alot easier.
• Fort Necessity was built not to protect soldiers, but rum and supplies.
• How different lifestyles were compared to now.

7/7/2010
• I liked everything and learning about things I didn’t know. (Age 13)
• Finding Pottery.
• I LIKED DIGGING UP STUFF, and i liked the fort.
• I liked the dig and the A/C in the building (Age 14)
• It was very cool digging and fun holding the artifacts in the fort.
• I liked to dig in the dirt and look at the artifacts I found like coins screws and stuff.
• IT WAS VERY INTERESTING. I REALLY ENJOYED IT. ARCHAEOLOGY ROCKS (Age 15)
• I thought that Archeology was fun and an importat part of a young boys history especially for the first time and enjoyed gettin down and dirty digging (Age 12)
• I liked digging and finding artifacts. (Age 14)
• I thought the dig was very fun and interesting. I liked finding the artifacts. (Age 13)
• The dig was fun and so was the day at the fort [smiley face] (Age 16)
• It was fun and it made me think about my future. (Age 14)
• Its fun & cool (Age 11)
• I had fun and found some cool stuff. (Age 11)

7/14/2010
• I enjoyed learning about the fort and the history behind it.
• I found the whole presentation a welcomed change from a hot and primitive classroom in camp. It was good enough that I have no negative criticism.
• I found the historical info very interesting. Digging was also somewhat fun.
• exciting to find a piece of the past & imagine its connection to the people who used it. Seeing fort replica & discovering its use was illuminating // brings stories & history to life // silver coins
• I enjoyed the switch between the classroom for some background information and the Fort for information on it.
• I enjoyed the excavation of pottery, coins, etc. the most.
• I loved digging and the fort.
• The Dig Site- It was interesting to see the artifacts and their origins
• The mock dig and the documating was fun.
• I learned about artifacts and i like learning things [smiley face]
• The Blue Marble. finding coins. Digging up the clay.
• I liked the part where we dug. I loved the whole thing mostly the speech and diging you were cool.
• I thought the pottery was pretty cool to look at all of the different kinds of pottery.
• It was fun to see the artifacts. The fort was beast!
• I liked seeing the fort and learning about the battle. You were funny and cool
• Digging was fun.

7/21/2010
• The fort (Age 14)
• It was all good. [thumbs up]
• The dig is really fun. [smiley face]
• I enjoyed digging up artifacts and identifying them. (Age 15)
• I had fun digging and burying things over and over again.
• It is a lot harder than Indiana does it (Age 12)
• Finding things in the dirt (Age 17)

7/28/2010
• I enjoyed digging for things.
• Good: Bob was here // Bad: Mock Dig
• I liked going through the meadow and looking at the rum/ammo building. (Age 16)
• The most interesting part of this was digging for ancient artifacts. Also I liked visiting the reproduction of Ft. Necessity (Age 16)
• Old dead stuff // most instereting part was listening about battle
• Slideshow / walk to the fort / the fort itself (Age 17)
• The most interesting part of the tour was being able to stand at the same spot that Washington’s troops stood. I could almost imagine the Native Americans charging through the woods. (Age 15)
• Learning about the battle and fort was most interesting to me. I couldn’t find anything in the dirt.
• Enjoyed seeing the Fort. Interested in how it became the fuse for what followed.
• The dig (Age 12)
• I enjoyed watching the slideshows. Most specifically Meadowcroft. (Age 16)
• I enjoyed all of it, but I really liked the hands-on digging. (Age 14)
• My opinion is irrelevant but it was cool. (Age 50)
• Archeology dig (Age 13)
8/4/2010
• The fort
• I didn’t know George Washington had to sign a paper that he killed an important general.
• I did not know anything about Fort Nec. I now know more about the history.
• Everything was interesting! Especially the walk to the fort, the walk to the road, the dig itself, the lecture… all of it was excellent.
• The digging was fun, and I thought the guy who taught was nice and patient
• Archaeological digging is cool // Jeff is awesome
Appendix D. Comments about the Archaeology Program, Arranged by Qualitative Components.*
*Comments qualifying for multiple categories were placed beneath all respective categories. Category totals were divided by the program’s total number of 90 comments. Brackets are used to clarify ambiguities. Participant ages, when provided, are placed in parenthesis.

Comments about the Mock Dig (53.33% of Comments)
• Dig (Age 15)
  • I like the Dig (Age 12)
  • I liked learning about local history and other near by archaeological sites. I liked getting the chance to see what a dig [dig] would be like. (Age 14)
  • I liked the sifting (Age 11)
  • I liked the diging and sifting (Age 11)
  • Enjoyed the Power Point and Dig, Ranger was awesome. (Age 15)
  • I enjoyed the dig and our ranger was good and nice. (Age 15)
  • Digging in the mock dig sidet (Age 13)
  • finding artifacts was awsome (Age 13)
  • Digging seeing the Fort (Age 12)
  • I liked sifting & diging to find Artifacts. (Age 12)
  • more artifacts. Liked the potery. (Age 14)
  • Digging in the dirt (Age 14)
  • The mock dig makes my job alot easier.
  • Finding Pottery.
  • I LIKED DIGGING UP STUFF, and i liked the fort.
  • I liked the dig and the A/C in the building (Age 14)
  • It was very cool digging and fun holding the artifacts in the fort.
  • I liked to dig in the dirt and look at the artifacts I found like coins screws and stuff.
  • I thought that Archeology was fun and an importat part of a young boys history especially for the first time and enjoyed gettin down and dirty digging (Age 12)
  • I liked digging and finding artifacts. (Age 14)
  • I thought the dig was very fun and interesting. I liked finding the artifacts. (Age 13)
  • The dig was fun and so was the day at the fort [smiley face] (Age 16)
  • I had fun and found some cool stuff. (Age 11)
  • I found the historical info very interesting. Digging was also somewhat fun.
  • exciting to find a piece of the past & imagine its connection to the people who used it. Seeing fort replica & discovering its use was illuminating // brings stories & history to life // silver coins
  • I enjoyed the excavation of pottery, coins, etc. the most.
  • I loved digging and the fort.
  • The Dig Site- It was interesting to see the artifacts and their origins
  • The mock dig and the documating was fun.
  • The Blue Marble. finding coins. Digging up the clay.
  • I liked the part where we dug. I loved the whole thing mostly the speech and diging you were cool.
  • I thought the pottery was pretty cool to look at all of the different kinds of pottery.
  • Digging was fun.
  • The dig is really fun.
  • I enjoyed digging up artifacts and identifying them. (Age 15)
  • I had fun digging and burying things over and over again.
  • Finding things in the dirt (Age 17)
  • I enjoyed diggng for things.
  • The most interesting part of this was digging for ancient artifacts. Also I liked visiting the reproduction of Ft. Necessity (Age 16)
  • Slideshow / walk to the fort / the fort itself (Age 17)
  • Learning about the battle and fort was most interesting to me. I couldn’t find anything in the dirt.
  • The dig (Age 12)
  • I enjoyed all of it, but I really liked the hands-on diging. (Age 14)
  • Archeology dig (Age 13)
Everything was interesting! Especially the walk to the fort, the walk to the road, the dig itself, the lecture… all of it was excellent.
The digging was fun, and I thought the guy who taught was nice and patient
Archaeological digging is cool // Jeff is awesome

Comments about Fort Necessity (35.56% of Comments)

- I liked the walk to the fort (Age 12)
- I enjoyed the “what hapend” part [about Fort Necessity] (Age 12)
- liked facts about the fort (Age 15)
- Washington built the storehouse to protect his rum and gunpowder from his own men. (Age15)
- Digging seeing the Fort (Age 12)
- The trenches were a lot different than I thought they would be, which is cool
- The trenches (Age 16)
- The guns going off [during a living history program] (Age 16)
- I really enjoyed standing in the trench and imagining being a soldier 256 years ago because it helped me to understand the significance of the Fort. (Age 17)
- How out number that the english People. (Age 15)

-I learned Washington built the wall to keep his men out of supplies.
- that we only knew what Ft. N. was like in the 1950s.
- That the tall pine trees were planted about 80 yrs. Ago (1930s)
- Fort Necessity was built not to protect soldiers, but rum and supplies.
- LIKED DIGGING UP STUFF, and i liked the fort.
- It was very cool digging and fun holding the artifacts in the fort.
- The dig was fun and so was the day at the fort (Age 16)
- I enjoyed learning about the fort and the history behind it.
- exciting to find a piece of the past & imagine its connection to the people who used it. Seeing fort replica & discovering its use was illuminating // brings stories & history to life // silver coins
- I enjoyed the switch between the classroom for some background information and the Fort for information on it.
- I liked the part where we dug. I loved the whole thing mostly the speech and diging you were cool.
- It was fun to see the artifacts. The fort was beast!
- I liked seeing the fort and learning about the battle. You were funny and cool
- The fort (Age 14)
- I liked going through the meadow and looking at the rum/ammo building. (Age 16)
- The most interesting part of this was digging for ancient artifacts. Also I liked visiting the reproduction of Ft. Necessity (Age 16)
- Old dead stuff // most interesting part was listening about battle
- The most interesting part of the tour was being able to stand at the same spot that Washington’s troops stood. I could almost imagine the Native Americans charging through the woods. (Age 15)
- Learning about the battle and fort was most interesting to me. I couldn’t find anything in the dirt.
- Enjoyed seeing the Fort. Interested in how it became the fuse for what followed.
- The fort
- I didn’t know Goerge Washington had to sine a paper that he killed a important jeneral.
- I did not know anything about Fort Nec. I now know more about the history.
- Everything was interesting! Especially the walk to the fort, the walk to the road, the dig itself, the lecture… all of it was excellent.

General Comments, Positive (11.11% of Comments)

- Really enjoyed the whole experience, great program! (Age 14)
- I liked everything and learning about things I didn’t know. (Age 13)
- IT WAS VERY INTERESTING. I REALLY ENJOYED IT. ARCHAEOLOGY ROCKS (Age 15)
- It was fun and it made me think about my future. (Age 14)
- Its fun & cool (Age 11)
- I found the whole presentation a welcomed change from a hot and primitive classroom in camp. It was good enough that I have no negative criticism.
I learned about artifacts and I like learning things
It was all good. [thumbs up]
My opinion is irrelevant but it was cool. (Age 50)
Everything was interesting! Especially the walk to the fort, the walk to the road, the dig itself, the lecture… all of it was excellent.

General Comments, Archaeology (7.78% of Comments)
- I liked learning about local history and other near by archaeological sites. I liked getting the chance to see what a dig would be like. (Age 14)
- Enjoyed the Power Point [about archaeology] and Dig, Ranger was awesome. (Age 15)
- Artifacts can be found in the most unlikely places.
- It was fun to see the artifacts. The fort was beast!
- It is a lot harder than Indiana does it (Age 12)
- Slideshow [about archaeology] / walk to the fort / the fort itself [Age 17]
- I enjoyed watching the slideshows [about archaeology]. Most specifically Meadowcroft. (Age 16)

Comments about Nature (3.33% of Comments)
- I saw a doe about 7/12 feet away from me. (Age 13)
- I haven’t seen any Tree’s from the 1700’s (Age 15)
- I learned Washington built the wall to keep his men out of supplies.
  - that we only knew what Ft. N. was like in the 1950s.
  - That the tall pine trees were planted about 80 yrs. Ago (1930s)

General Comments, Information Retrieval (3.33% of Comments)
- Oldest site in N.A. in PA (Age 17)
- I learned that indians wore sea shell necklaces, and this was very fun.
- How different lifestyles were compared to now.

Comments about the Mount Washington Tavern (1.11% of Comments)
- The way that they used knives at the Mt. Washington tavern (Age 13)

General Comments, Negative (1.11% of Comments)
- Good: Bob was here // Bad: Mock Dig
Appendix E. Comments about the Tavern Life Program, Transcribed as Respondents Wrote Them.*
*Brackets are used to clarify ambiguities. Participant ages, when provided, are placed in parenthesis.

6/24/2010
• That gogore wataih [George Washington] was in Pittsburgh (Age 12)
• sleep tight don’t let bed bugs bight (Age 13)
• Mount Washington Tavern (Age 13)
• I liked churning butter and seeing Fort Necessity (Age 13)
• going into the tavern (Age 15)
• I liked touring the tavern (Age 14)
• I liked the A/C and water
• I learned Taverns had beds in it.
• I learned people sleeping in the tavern had to sleep with someone they didn’t know (Age 12)
• I learned about the tavern and the national road (Age 16)
• I learned George Washington was 22 when he fought in the war. (Age 12)
• I learned what life was like back then. (Age 12)
• Frank lloyd Wright’s falling water is very close (Age 15)
• I learned that Inns in the 1830s were pretty disgusting and unhygienic (Age 12)
• Taverns are where people stayed on the road. (Age 14)
• I learned that Jumonville Glen died in 1754. (Age 14)
• The tavern was interesting (Age 13)
• fort (Age 13)
• I liked the bar [in the tavern] we went in because it was interesting. (Age 12)
• The Tavern (Age 13)
• May 29th 1754, the start of the skiriish between the french, French Indians, and the British and British, and the British-Indians George Washington is awesome.
• I learned that this road was the first official one in America. (Age 17)
• I learned how to make butter women didn’t go in bars. (Age 14)

7/1/2010
• That children can use old toys during their freetime. (Age 12)
• crackers
• Fort Neccesity/Mount Washington Tavern (Age 13)
• I liked playing old time games. The bar [in the tavern] was very interesting. (Age 14)
• I thought that the kitchen was very interesting. The tavern was very interesting.
• No opinion (Age 17)
• about learning about that other people who had to sleep with other people. (Age 14)
• I liked the fort the most. You should let the scouts go closer?
• The separation of males and females in the house. (Age 13)
• I liked everything
• Learned How they Stayed at the Tavern
• The fort The diferent rooms
• Mt. Washington (Age 15)
• the tavern / to take up to the attic
• Tavern, butter,
• The Tavern tour was interesting
• I thought the tavern was the most Fun and interesting part of your tour. Thank you. (Age 13)
• Learning about the different rooms of the tavern. I learned about the dif. rooms (age 13)
• Tavern Tour
• The tavern tour was nice, but I would like to have gone to the fort.
• It wasn’t that fun. (Age 14)
• Visiting the tavern
• learned: toys were very weak
• -interesting: didn’t know bed bugs were real (Age 12)
• Washington Tavern (Age 15)
• The tavern was awesome

7/8/2010
• Butter!! Fort, Tavern

7/15/2010
• Seeing the fort
• Learning about the past
• Historical re-enactment [living history] of the battle
• The nature trail was fun. // I really liked the tavern tour. // It would have been nice to know more facts about the wildlife there.
• It was ok you should not need to choose anything
• I thought that the fort was very interesting because of how the different accounts told different stories and I wish you would have elaborated more on them
• I liked making butter and going thru the tavern.
• Making butter is fun. (Age 13)
• I thought that when we saw the tavern it was fun in it. I also thought that when we made the butter it was a cool experience.
• I liked making the butter.
• I like getting a view inside the tavern I think that you should let people get on one of those wagons to see what it would be like to travel on one.
• I enjoyed learning about the Battles of Jumanville and Fort Necessity.
• Inside the fort was fun.
• I thought it was really interesting how General Washington fought his battle on the land he would later own, and how the battle was fought on July 4.
• The historical recreation of the battlefield scenario, and the story of Washington’s involvement.
• I liked the “They went through all of that for a set of clothes that they didn’t get” speech.
• I liked it all // It was awesome
• It was cool and very interesting
• Getting to know about the fort
• Going into the trenches
• I thought that the cards that didn’t have numbers on them were Interesting because its the same as the civil war.
• I liked playing with the games and having the tour
• Playing the games // I liked the bar [at the tavern]
• The fort // The tavern tour // churning butter
• Butter & Crackers // The Fort // History
• I thought it was good

7/22/2010
• I liked the tour of the fort
• I don’t participate in surveys!
• Nice use of facts along with interaction with the scouts to keep their attention
• It was very interesting to visit again.
• It was decent
• I was cool
• Interesting overall and I enjoyed the Tavern the best.
• I would like to know more about the fort, and less about the tavern.
• Mention Washington was in command at the beginning. I was not sure until later.
• Let me sleep in beds
• Ball in a cup.
• This was very informative Thank you!
• It was very informative in the case of the Tavern and Battlefield
• Whon
• Battle movements and information about the battle
• I enjoyed the historical background info
• More about the war
• History in the Area was good
• It was interesting that the French said “parle.

7/29/2010
• I thought it was fun but I kind of wanted to see some more of the visitor center.
• Thank you!
• Thank you!
• I think it was good and interesting
• You need more marbles [for the tavern games] // the wine, beer, toys [on display at the tavern] // the Hike // butter // the FOOD!! // bugs
• I liked everything about the park. What I learned was that Fort Necessity took place the French & Indian War
• What I found interesting was learning about life in the 19th century by touring around the tavern. I learned life was a lot tougher back then. We saw fort necessity which was built by George Washington in the 1750s.
• I liked the hike but I would want to farther on the trail
• STATUES // WALKING THE TRAIL // TURKEY // TOYS // BUTTER // beds // Kitchen // game
• I liked how lame fort Necessity was, I t was saposedly a great fort then I wuz like What’s that shack, and were is fort Necessity? // The food was cool
• It was interesting to learn about life back in the day. // I didn’t know that a tavern had so much going on in it.
• I liked it wen we went to the fort.
• I enjoyed it all, but I did like the tour of the tavern. I also learned several new historical facts about pennsylvania.
• I liked that you took us to the trenches for the british and took us to the french and indian grounds and how you told us a lot about it.
• I think the tour through the woods was interesting. // I did not know that there were canons at the fort. // I didn’t like mostly talking about Braddock, I would have liked to learn more about George Washington.
• Like: -Toys -Making butter // Dislike: -Walking up the hill to discuss Braddock
• Old Toys // Butter // Tavern
• I liked how they buried Braddock under the trail so they could walk over him. I disliked the walk.
• Interesting: The Separation of Genders, the wagons, the trenches, Braddock’s road // Suggestion: Talk about George Washington more
• Bed bugs // indians // butter // seeing the fort // Fighting // seeing stuff
• I really enjoyed Fort Necessity. Very good tour and thank you for your professionalism.
• I found it interesting how you put us in the shoes of the historic people that we were learning about. You might consider showing a documentary as part of this merit badge tour.

8/8/2010
• George Washington himself pulled off an assassination
• The soldier stories // Churning butter (Age 18)
• I though the butter turner was fun.
• The whole tour was fun
• Braddock story
• When you explained the way they fought in the trenches. You really did a good job setting the scene and explaining what really went down. Made me feel like I was I part of it.
• I liked the fort
• It was interesting to know that General Bradock was buried on the trail (Age 13)
• I had never heard of Ft. Necessity, but now I realize its importance in American History (Age 19)
• I thought the tour was great! (Age 12)
• Stories // the drugs [pharmaceuticals] in the building (Age 15)
• I liked going to see the actual Fort Necessity
• Something I learned How to use a butter maker and got to use it.
Appendix F. Comments about the Archaeology Program, Arranged by Qualitative Components.*

*Comments qualifying for multiple categories were placed beneath all respective categories. Category totals were divided by the program’s total number of 129 comments. Brackets are used clarify ambiguities. Participant ages, when provided, are placed in parenthesis.

Comments Concerning the Mount Washington Tavern (41.86% of Comments)
- sleep tight don’t let bed bugs bight (Age 13)
- Mount Washington Tavern (Age 13)
- going into the tavern (Age 15)
- I liked touring the tavern (Age 14)
- I learned Taverns had beds in it.
- I learned people sleeping in the tavern had to sleep with some one they didn’t know (Age 12)
- I learned about the tavern and the national road (Age 16)
- I learned that Inns in the 1830s were pretty disgusting and unhigenic (Age 12)
- Taverns are where people stayed on the road. (Age 14)
- The tavern was interesting (Age 13)
- I liked the bar [in the tavern] we went in because it was interesting. (Age 12)
- The Tavern (Age 13)
- I learned that this road was the first official one in America. (Age 17)
- I learned how to make butter women didn’t go in bars. (Age 14)
- Fort Neccecity/Mount Washington Tavern (Age 13)
- I liked playing old time games. The bar was very interesting. (Age 14)
- I thought that the kitchen was very interesting. The tavern was very interesting.
- about learning about that other people who had to sleep with other people. (Age 14)
- The separation of males and females in the house. (Age 13)
- Learned How they Stayed at the Tavern
- Mt. Washington (Age 15)
- the tavern / to take up to the attic
- Tavern, butter,
- The Tavern tour was interesting
- I thought the tavern was the most fun and interesting part of your tour. Thank you. (Age 13)
- Learning about the different rooms of the tavern. I learned about the dif. rooms (Age 13)
- Tavern Tour
- The tavern tour was nice, but I would like to have gone to the fort.
- Visiting the tavern
- learned: toys were very weak
- -interesting: didn’t know bed bugs were real (Age 12)
- Washington Tavern (Age 15)
- The tavern was awesome
- Butter!! Fort, Tavern
- The nature trail was fun. // I really liked the tavern tour. // It would have been nice to know more facts about the wildlife there.
- I liked making butter and going thru the tavern.
- I thought that when we saw the tavern it was fun in it. I also thought that when we made the butter it was a cool experience.
- I like getting a view inside the tavern I think that you should let people get on one of those wagons to see what it would be like to travel on one.
- I thought that the cards that didn’t have numbers on them were Interesting because its the same as the civil war.
- I liked playing with the games and having the tour
- Playing the games // I liked the bar [at the tavern]
- The fort // The tavern tour // churning butter
- Interesting overall and I enjoyed the Tavern the best.
- I would like to know more about the fort, and less about the tavern.
- Let me sleep in beds
• It was very informative in the case of the Tavern and Battlefield
• You need more marbles [for the tavern games] // the wine, beer, toys [on display at the tavern] // the Hike // butter // the FOOD!! // bugs
• What I found interesting was learning about life in the 19th century by touring around the tavern. I learned life was a lot tougher back then. We saw fort necessity which was built by George Washington in the 1750s.
• STATUES // WALKING THE TRAIL // TURKEY // TOYS // BUTTER // beds // Kitchen // game
• It was interesting to learn about life back in the day. // I didn’t know that a tavern had so much going on in it.
• I enjoyed it all, but I did like the tour of the tavern. I also learned several new historical facts about pennsylvania.
• Old Toys // Butter // Tavern
• Interesting: The Seperation of Genders, the wagons, the trenches, Braddock’s road // Suggestion: Talk about George Washington more
• Bed bugs // indians // butter // seeing the fort // Fighting // seeing stuff
• Stories // the drugs [pharmaceuticals] in the building (Age 15)

Comments Concerning the Fort Necessity Campaign and George Washington (34.11% of Comments)
• That gogore watah [George Washington] was in Pittsburgh (Age 12)
• I learned George Washington was 22 when he fought in the war. (Age 12)
• I learned that Jumonville Glen died in 1754. (Age 14)
• fort (Age 13)
• May 29th 1754, the start of the skirmish between the french, French Indians, and the British and British, and the British-indians George Washington is awesome.
• Fort Necessity/Mount Washington Tavern (Age 13)
• I liked the fort the most. You should let the scouts go closer?
• The fort The diferent rooms
• The tavern tour was nice, but I would like to have gone to the fort.
• Butter!! Fort, Tavern
• Seeing the fort
• Historical re-enactment [living history] of the battle
• I thought that the fort was very interesting because of how the different accounts told different stories and I wish you would have elaborated more on them
• I enjoyed learning about the Battles of Jumanville and Fort Necessity.
• Inside the fort was fun.
• I thought it was really interesting how General Washington fought his battle on the land he would later own, and how the battle was fought on July 4.
• The historical recreation of the battlefield scenario, and the story of Washington’s involvement.
• I liked the “They went through all of that for a set of clothes that they didn’t get” speech.
• Getting to know about the fort
• going into the trenches
• The fort // The tavern tour // churning butter
• Butter & Crackers // The Fort // History
• I liked the tour of the fort
• I would like to know more about the fort, and less about the tavern.
• Mention Washington was in command at the beginning. I was not sure until later.
• It was very informative in the case of the Tavern and Battlefield
• Battle movements and information about the battle
• More about the war
• It was interesting that the French said “parle.
• I liked everything about the park. What I learned was that Fort Necessity took place the French & Indian War
• What I found interesting was learning about life in the 19th century by touring around the tavern. I learned life was a lot tougher back then. We saw fort necessity which was built by George Washington in the 1750s.
• I liked how lame fort Necessity was, I t was saposedly a great fort then I wuz like What’s that shack, and were is fort Necessity? // The food was cool
• I liked it wen we went to the fort.
• I liked that you took us to the trenches for the british and took us to the french and indian grounds and how you told us a lot about it.
• I think the tour through the woods was interesting. // I did not know that there were canons at the fort. // I didn’t like mostly talking about Braddock, I would have liked to learn more about George Washington.
• Interesting: The Separation of Genders, the wagons, the trenches, Braddock’s road // Suggestion: Talk about George Washington more
• Bed bugs // indians // butter // seeing the fort // Fighting // seeing stuff
• I really enjoyed Fort Necessity. Very good tour and thank you for your professionalism.
• George Washington himself pulled off an assassination
• The soldier stories // Churning butter [18]
• When you explained the way they fought in the trenches. You really did a good job setting the scene and explaining what really went down. Made me feel like I was I part of it.
• I liked the fort
• I had never heard of Ft. Necessity, but now I realize its importance in American History [19]
• I liked going to see the actual Fort Necessity

Comments Concerning Tactile Activities (20.16% of Comments)
• I liked churning butter and seeing Fort Necessity (Age 13)
• I learned how to make butter women didn’t go in bars. (Age 14)
• That children can use old toys during their freetime. (Age 12)
• crackers
• I liked playing old time games. The bar was very interesting. (Age 14)
• Tavern, butter,
• -learned: toys were very weak
  -interesting: didn’t know bed bugs were real (Age 12)
• Butter!! Fort, Tavern
• I liked making butter and going thru the tavern.
• Making butter is fun. (Age 13)
• I thought that when we saw the tavern it was fun in it. I also thought that when we made the butter it was a cool experience.
• I liked making the butter.
• I liked playing with the games and having the tour
• Playing the games // I liked the bar
• The fort // The tavern tour // churning butter
• Butter & Crackers // The Fort // History
• Ball in a cup.
• You need more marbles [for the tavern games] // the wine, beer, toys [on display at the tavern] // the Hike // butter // the FOOD!! // bugs
• STATUES // WALKING THE TRAIL // TURKEY // TOYS // BUTTER // beds // Kitchen // game
• I liked how lame fort Necessity was, I t was saposedly a great fort then I wuz like What’s that shack, and were is fort Necessity? // The food was cool
• Like: -Toys -Making butter // Dislike: -Walking up the hill to discuss Braddock
• Old Toys // Butter // Tavern
• Bed bugs // indians // butter // seeing the fort // Fighting // seeing stuff
• The soldier stories // Churning butter [18]
• I though the butter turner was fun.
• Something I learned How to use a butter maker and got to use it.

General Comments (11.63% of Comments)
• I liked the A/C and water
• I learned what life was like back then. (Age 12)
• Frank loid Wright’s falling water is very close (Age 15)
• No opinion (Age 17)
• Learning about the past
• it was ok you should not need to choose anything
• I don’t participate in surveys!
It was very interesting to visit again.

It was decent

History in the Area was good

I thought it was fun but I kind of wanted to see some more of the visitor center.

Thank you!

Thank you!

I found it interesting how you put us in the shoes of the historic people that we were learning about. You might consider showing a documentary as part of this merit badge tour.

**General Comments, Positive (8.53% of Comments)**

- I liked everything
- I liked it all // It was awesome
- It was cool and very interesting
- I thought it was good
- Nice use of facts along with interaction with the scouts to keep their attention
- I was cool
- This was very informative Thank you!
- I enjoyed the historical background info
- I think it was good and interesting
- The whole tour was fun
- I thought the tour was great! (Age 12)

**Comments Concerning the Walk on Braddock’s Road (7.75% of Comments)**

- The nature trail was fun. // I really liked the tavern tour. // It would have been nice to know more facts about the wildlife there.
- You need more marbles [for the tavern games] // the wine, beer, toys [on display at the tavern] // the Hike // butter // the FOOD!! // bugs
- I liked the hike but I would want to farther on the trail
- I think the tour through the woods was interesting. // I did not know that there were canons at the fort. // I didn’t like mostly talking about Braddock, I would have liked to learn more about George Washington.
- Like: -Toys -Making butter // Dislike: -Walking up the hill to discuss Braddock
- I liked how they buried Braddock under the trail so they could walk over him. I disliked the walk.
- Interesting: The Separation of Genders, the wagons, the trenches, Braddock’s road // Suggestion: Talk about George Washington more
- Braddock story
- It was interesting to know that General Braddock was buried on the trail (Age 13)

**General Comments, Negative (0.08% of Comments)**

- It wasn’t that fun. (Age 14)