

ETHNOGRAPHIC SURVEY: BEAVER COUNTY

FINAL REPORT

Submitted by:

Marcie C. Nightingale

November 5, 1992

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Plan of Fieldwork.....	3
Previous Research.....	3
Geology.....	4
Geography & Climate.....	5
Industrial/Cultural History.....	5
Settlement.....	6
Current Settlement & Industry Changes..	8
Social Cultural Life and Traditions.....	13
Case Study – Deindustrialization.....	20
Issues of Concern.....	23
Future Research.....	25
Programming Suggestions.....	25
Conclusions.....	26
Appendices	
Calendar of Events.....	28
Social Cultural Organizations.....	29
Works Consulted.....	30

PLAN OF FIELDWORK

I was to study four cities in Beaver County to determine the impact the steel industry has had. I

was going to do a case study on the effect of deindustrialization on the families in those towns. I planned to focus primarily on the women. I wanted to talk to an age range of people that had either worked in the mills or whose families had worked in the mills. With one lead in each town, I hoped to use the snowball method of data collection to obtain the cohort for study.

I had key informants in Beaver Falls, Aliquippa and Midland. From them, I received the names of other informants in Beaver Falls, Aliquippa, West Aliquippa, Monaca, Rochester, and Midland. The interviews were primarily with men. The women did not want to be interviewed or taped. It was as if they couldn't believe anything they would have to say would be interesting, or that they were "sick and tired of the steel business" and didn't want to talk about it. It became obvious that I would have to get at the effects on women through questions directed to the men. The men really enjoyed being interviewed. After each interview they would show me their homes or collectibles. I was not able to get the age range of interviews that I would have liked. With such a short time available for the research, it was necessary to interview those easily identified, who tended to be 50+. The interviews went very smoothly and were relatively easy to set up.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

The written sources that were useful to me included the *Twentieth Century History of Beaver County Pennsylvania, 1900-1988*. This book contains a complete historical representation of Beaver County. Each chapter is written by an expert in that area. Examples include: Population and Ethnic History, Transportation History, Banking & Finance History. The nice thing about this book is that it is so current. It was published by The Beaver County Historical Research & Landmarks Foundation.

Another useful book was *Italian Wind Bands: A Surviving Tradition in the Milltowns of Pennsylvania* (by Emma Rocco). While it covers more than Beaver County it is a valuable compilation of historical information. The State of the Region: Recent Economic, Demographic, and Social Trends in Southwestern Pennsylvania. This series, put out by UCSUR, University of Pittsburgh, is an excellent

compendium of information on the region. It is harder to find information on Beaver County in them (most articles focus on Pittsburgh and surrounding area). However, there is important background information in them. They cover 1964 (boom time) to 1992. The 1990 Merchant Map of Beaver County Map was very helpful in locating sites. I did not find a really good map that contained all street names.

Several of the informants were very knowledgeable about the history of the region. Donald Inman knows all about Aliquippa, since he worked there, and Beaver Falls, he lives there. Clyde Piquet has many publications and is a wealth of information about Midland. Emma Rocco was raised in Monaca, and has lived in both Beaver Falls and Beaver. John Poiarkoff is a native of West Aliquippa and very familiar with that area.

GEOLOGY

Beaver County, in Southwestern Pennsylvania, contains the following minerals: sandstone, clay, coal, sand and gravel, and natural gas. Sandstone has been used in local building, while clay has been mined extensively for use in manufacture of many objects (i.e. brick and pottery). The coal found in the county is bituminous and has been used since early settlement for home fuel and power for industry. "It is estimated that there was originally 1,261,797,000 tons of coal beneath the surface of Beaver County" (Beck 1988: 560). Originally, deep mine shafts were driven in the hillsides, then later strip mining was used. During the twentieth century, mining has diminished and by 1986 all the deep mines were closed. Strip mining has continued. Sand and gravel deposits are located along the Ohio River and in the northwest of Beaver County. Open pit mining is used along with some dredging. In 1860, oil was found at Smith's Ferry in Beaver County. After 1880, Hopewell Township predominated in oil production. Since then, it has been found in pockets along the Ohio River. Oil production at this time, however, is minimal. Natural gas was also found along the Ohio River, but production today is limited. (Beck 1988: 560-563).

Beaver County forests are Oak-Hickory. The predominant trees are bitternut, shagbark hickory, white and red oak. There are sugar maples that supported a sugar maple festival for years. On the ridges of Center Township, Virginia scrub pines flourish (Beck 1988:574).

GEOGRAPHY

Beaver County is trisected by the juncture of the Beaver and Ohio Rivers. This has created an East side, West side and South side in Beaver County. The rivers provided transportation, water, and loci for community developments. Originally all settlement occurred along the rivers. There are low flood plains and ridges that provide level spans for industry and slopping valley walls for habitation. The only navigational dam left in Beaver County is the Montgomery Dam near Industry. Flooding from the rivers has been a problem in the past with the last severe flood occurring in 1964. There are many waterfalls in the county which were originally harnessed for power, including the Falls of the Beaver. All the lakes within Beaver County are manmade impoundments subject to silting. (Beck 1988: 563-569).

CLIMATE

The climate in Beaver County is temperate with an average temperature of 29.9 in January and 74.3 in July. Average precipitation is 36.3 inches with a 180 day growing season. The most snow falls in January (12.2 inches). "Snow covers the ground only about 33 days a year and the sun shines about 47 percent of the possible time" (Beck 1988:569).

INDUSTRIAL/CULTURAL HISTORY

Because Beaver County contained essential mineral resources and excellent water transportation "mills of various kinds sprang up in the county. There were saw mills, flour mills, carding and fueling mills, foundries, forges, tanneries, woolen and paper mills, glass works and, ultimately, steel mills. Prior to the twentieth century, the population of the county grew slowly and was comprised

essentially of three ethnic groups: the Scotch-Irish, the Germans, and the English" (Beck 1988:22). With increasing industrialization, immigrants came from Eastern and Southern Europe including, "Poles, Ukrainians, Slovaks, Croats, and Italians...Curtailment of European immigration by World War I saw the Afro-American moving into...Beaver County"(Beck 1988:22).

SETTLEMENT

In the 1770's, the first immigrants, Scotch-Irish, arrived in Beaver County. During the 1800's, the largest number of immigrants was from Germany. A group of Jewish settlers were a great impetus to early business. There was also a group of free black (Beck 1988: 38-39).

At the turn of the century, with the burgeoning of industrialization, settlement patterns and ethnic identity in the County experienced a radical change. Settlement had been sparse and small along the rivers, when suddenly mills were being constructed up and down the rivers. The local population could no longer supply the amount of needed labor; immigration was necessary to fill that void. During the 1880's and 1890's, Italian immigration had been small with a settlement at Rochester in 1890, but by the early 1900's Italian immigration dramatically increased to fill this labor void (Beck 1988: 39).

Aliquippa did not exist prior to industrialization. Originally the site "was neutral territory for the Indians of various tribes to meet for councils and trade" (Beck 1988:40). Logstown was built on this location and served as a trading post. Later West Aliquippa (named after a local Seneca Indian Queen) and Woodlawn were established in 1877 when a train station was completed there. P & LE railway had established a line between Youngstown and Pittsburgh that went through these towns along the Ohio River. The railroad also opened a picnic grounds along the railway that they named Aliquippa Park. It was both scenic and had amusement facilities. Johns & MacLaughlin bought seven and one half miles of land between this stretch of railway and the Ohio River. The North Mill and South Mill were built on 408 acres with a Planned community built around them (Beck 1988: 40-41). This community consisted of several Plans each having a physical location and ethnic identity. As the steel

industry expanded and more immigrants arrived, original residents moved from Plans near the mills to ones built further away (and usually uphill from the mill). Because these Plans were identifiable neighborhoods, they are still referred to today to describe both the location and ethnic group living there. "The first blast furnace was blown in on December 1, 1909" (Beck 1988:41).

The first housing went to current residents, mainly German. "Early in those years, settlement in the Plans occurred along ethnic lines. Residents took comfort in a close-knit community of familiar language and customs. The earliest and eventually the largest ethnic contingent were the Italians"(Beck 1988:43). Eventually the plans encompassed all ethnic groups. "Slavic peoples at certain times were the majority ethnic group. This broader Slavic designation was used to refer to the peoples from the Middle and Eastern European countries: Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Serbia, the Ukraine, Croatia, Yugoslavia, and the other Baltic Nations" (Beck 1988:44). In 1928, West Aliquippa and Woodlawn merged to form Aliquippa despite much objection from both groups. By the 1940's, J&L ended its real estate businesses. With the establishment in 1905 of Midland Steel (later known as Crucible Steel), immigration began there as it had in Aliquippa.

Monaca formed when Phoenix Glass opened in the early 1900's. J&L employees who wanted to buy homes outside the plans also moved to Monaca. Beaver Falls developed when steel support industries located there (Beck 1988-40-47).

With the immigrants come their need for churches in their faith and language. "New congregations were established rather early in the century and were flourishing by mid-century" (Beck 1988:46).

CURRENT SETTLEMENT & INDUSTRY CHANGES

Aliquippa and West Aliquippa are situated on the south side of the Ohio River. West Aliquippa is on a level plain between the river and Highway 51. Aliquippa is west of Highway 51 going up into the slopes and hills. The level plain in West Aliquippa is what first attracted B.F. Jones to the area. He bought the town of Woodlawn, the amusement park and beach. His company, Johns and Laughlin,

built the Aliquippa Works in 1905. By the time it was complete, the mill stretched seven and one half miles along the river and employed 15,000 men. The city of Aliquippa was planned purposefully around the mill. "...the company carved up its community into plans and assigned each incoming nationality to its own - Italians to Plan 11, Anglo-Saxons to Plan 12 across the valley, Serbians to Plan 7, and Plan 6, the highest hill, reserved for management" (Beck 1988:153).

With prosperity in the mill's busy years, families moved out of Aliquippa proper into the surrounding areas, Center Township and Hopewell Township. These areas have remained strong due to a diversified economic base and the fact that many new residents have moved in who work in Pittsburgh, the airport, the Beaver County Mall, or at the Medical Center of Beaver County located in Brighton Township north of Beaver. As Virgil D'Ottavio pointed out, however, with this move came a loss of community. He grew up in Aliquippa, Sheffield Terrace, and worked at J&L Steel. When he was young, everyone knew everyone else, no matter which Plan they lived in. There were parades before the High School games. Where he now lives in Center Township, he said there is no place to have a parade like that (everything is so spread out). In 1968, LTV Corporation, out of Dallas, bought the Aliquippa Works. In 1985, they closed the plant, except the Tin Plating Mill. When LTV declared bankruptcy, the plant was dismantled and sold for scrap. The only buildings left are the Main Office, that houses the health office, the pump house, the Tin Plating Mill, and the 14 inch rolling mill which has been bought by another concern. J&L Steel still employs about 450 people in the Tin Plating Mill. The employees all have 35+ seniority and are in their fifties and over. Janice Paul, the last full time nurse at J&L, has worked at the Aliquippa Works for over thirty years. She said that injuries now are very different than before, because of the current age distribution of the work force. Many of the jobs in the plants were done by young people in the past and now must be done by older men. Aliquippa's once bustling downtown is abandoned. There are very few stores left, the old company store on Franklin Avenue has been converted into apartments. The Public Library is struggling to stay afloat. Low cost apartment buildings have been built in the downtown in hopes of revitalizing it without

success. Italian families moved into Sheffield Heights years ago, and there is still a very strong contingent there. They sponsor the San Rocco Festival every year. They also have a cultural center in Sheffield Terrace. There is a large black population located downtown and in Plan 11.

West Aliquippa is currently occupied by a majority of senior citizens who have resided there all of their lives. The young moved out when J&L closed down in 1982. Stores are abandoned and crumbling. Homes are in need of repair. The residents are waiting to make improvements on their homes until they find out whether the incinerator will be built just north of them on J&L slag. Many of the older citizens depend on John Poiarkoff, who worked in the wire mill at LTV for 4 years from 1937 and then was a fireman in W. Aliquippa for 35+ years. He runs a shoe repair shop there now. He and his sisters help the seniors by providing groceries and nursing care.

Monaca is just north of Aliquippa on the south side of the Ohio River where the trisection of the river occurs. LTV Steel's property started at the southern end of Monaca and ran south seven and one half miles. Phoenix Glass opened there in 1892 and the town that had been called Phillipsburg was renamed Monaca. There were four active unions at Phoenix Glass. Pittsburgh Tube company (manufactures pipe and tubing) began in 1924 and has been an active employer in Monaca ever since. There were various small mills and businesses along the Main Street. People also commuted to J&L and to its successor. Today Phoenix glass is called Anchor Hocking and is the main employer. Teledyne, in Monaca since 1902, specializes in cold drawn shapes in steel. Recently it has announced that it is in the process of closing. Cardinal steel is also about to close. Charlotte Trella, a resident since 1958, said that the shutdowns came to Monaca at the end of the 1980's which was later than most other towns. There were many people who moved out and the real estate market plummeted. Many local people who had rented for years, bought houses at this time. Emma Rocco, a native of Monaca, wonders what will become of Monaca if Anchor Hocking closes.

Rochester is across the Ohio River from Monaca. One of the main bridges for accessing the region runs between Rochester and Monaca. There has always been a fierce rivalry between the two

towns. When the bridge was built, they could not decide on a name for the bridge. Emma Rocco pointed out that when you cross the bridge from the Monaca side the sign says "Monaca Bridge", but if you are coming from the Rochester side it says "Rochester Bridge". In 1901, Henry Clay Fry built the Rochester Tumbler Company north of town. Until going bankrupt in 1934, the glassware from this company was internationally renown. Mr. Fry never allowed unions into his plant and allowed workers to make their own dishes after hours. Today Fry glassware is a collector's item. Standard Horseshoe & Nail Co. has been an important employer in Rochester.

Rochester flourished because of its strategic location. People that worked at LTV came from all over the area. The bridge there was the easiest access from the north to the south side. Rochester also had many small, diversified businesses. In the last five years, Rochester's downtown has been revitalized through some state grants according to Philip Inman who taught in the high school in Rochester for 35 years. Thomas Damon, a native of Rochester, feels that the town has great ethnic diversity. People pretty much "stuck it out" when the plants closed. He did mention that Rochester's divorce rate is higher then the national average and he attributes this to the steel shutdown.

Beaver Falls is located on the Beaver River north of the trisection. Babcock and Wilcox Steel Co. was founded in 1904 just north of Beaver Falls. It became the primary employer (6,000+) in the city. It produced mainly steel tubing. It is currently operating at a drastically reduced rate. Union Drawn Steel, in Beaver Falls, developed the cold drawing of steel in 1889 (Beck 1988:143). This company was later bought by Republic Steel and later merged with Jones and Laughlin Steel (Aliquippa) to form LTV. The plant was closed in 1985. Mayer China, which manufactured pottery dinnerware, began in the late 1800's, in Beaver Falls. They used the Beaver River to supply the needed electricity. In 1897, Local #33 of the National Brotherhood of Operative Potters was formed (Beck 1988:110). The company operated under various ownerships until the late 1980's. Vivian McLaughlin, a lifelong resident, stated that a new group will be reopening the glass works in the near future. Armstrong Cork moved into Beaver Falls in 1902. The company based its operation on innovation and

adaptability to current markets and has stayed in business to the present (now called Armstrong World Industries Inc.). The Townsend Company, located in Fallston and Beaver Falls, did metalworking from 1816 to 1983. It was an international corporation supplying fasteners all over the world. Moltrup Steel Products Company produces cold finished steels and has been in Beaver Falls since 1914. Robert Larknew, a resident of Darlington, worked in Beaver Falls all his life. He said there were so many industries during the 20's to 50's that you could walk out of one job and walk across the street and be employed.

Beaver Falls today is still struggling to recover. Many people in Beaver Falls commute to Pittsburgh now. The downtown has many vacant stores. The merchants used to have sidewalk days and a block party. Many feel that the malls caused the decline of the downtowns as much as the steel closure. Some feel they have a troublesome proportion of Blacks now, while others feel drugs are a current problem nationwide. Many residents moved into Brighton, Chippewa and Blackhawk townships over the last twenty years. The houses there are much more expensive. Alienation has resulted because they also wanted a new high school. Because the houses in the new area provide a much bigger tax base, the new high school is much better appointed. People, then, who all went to the same high school have children attending opposing schools. Geneva College, a Reformed Presbyterian four-year school, is in Beaver Falls. It provides some employment and cultural activities (concerts).

Beaver is a town I was not initially to look at, but it is an interesting comparison. It is situated on the north side of the Ohio at the trisection. It never depended on heavy industry. Westinghouse is located there, but is not steel or glass related. Its downtown is in excellent condition with all the stores occupied and actively visited. The houses are well maintained, the lawns manicured, and no sign of the desolation in so many of the other areas. The Beaver County Medical Center is located behind Beaver in Brighton Township.

Midland is located four miles east of the Ohio border on the north side of the Ohio River. The area is rich in farmland. In 1905, the Midland Steel Company was constructed. Housing was built.

Those with northern European ancestry lived in the north and east of Midland and new immigrants lived in the west. In 1911, Crucible Steel of Pittsburgh bought the Midland Steel Company. Several other buyouts have occurred and at present the company operates as J&L Specialty Products Corporation. At one time the company employed 10,000 from a tri-state region, now there are approximately 500 employees. S. Jarvis-Admas Company was a foundry that began about the same time as Crucible. It later changed hands and became the Mackintosh-Hemphill Division -Midland. It was bought in 1987 by Whemco out of Pittsburgh and operates today as one of the primary employers in Midland selling its products internationally. It originally employed about 400 people and now employs about eighty.

Immediately south across the river is Shippingport, the first commercial nuclear power plant. A big concern for residents in this area is that the power plant wants to send power to New Jersey using high-tension lines. People are concerned about cancer and devaluation of their property. Midland itself is located along a four and a half mile stretch of road with the defunct Crucible Steel on the south side of the road between the highway and the river. The downtown runs along the highway with housing running east up the hill. The town is physically the same size as it has always been. When Crucible closed, most people stayed in Midland. The Italian Sons of Italy, Polish Falcons and Magnet City Elks are still very active.

SOCIAL-CULTURAL LIFE AND TRADITIONS

Ethnicity in Beaver County is still very strong today. While interviewees would assert they were "American", their ties to their country of origin were evident. Cultural events, as well as club affiliations, are often based on ethnicity.

Aliquippa

The population demographics in Beaver County have shifted since 1970, during the boom of the steel industry. In 1970, 22,277 people lived in Aliquippa. Twenty-two years later, only 13,374 remained. In 1970, 35% of the population in Aliquippa was nineteen or under, presently only 26% of the

population is in that age bracket. Meanwhile for persons over 65, in 1970 12% of the population was over 65 and now 22% are. The percentages of people between 20 and 65 have remained the same. Family patterns have changed in the last twenty-five years. Couples are opting for smaller families, and health care is increasing life expectancy. In 1970, there were only 573 people over 70 living in Aliquippa and in 1990 there were 1,888. In 1970 78% of the population was white and 22% black. In 1990, 67.9% were white and 31.8% black (1970 U.S. Census; 1990 U.S. Census).

Aliquippa's Current Ethnic Diversity

Italian	34%	Those claiming single and multiple Ancestry
German	20%	
Scotch-Irish	15%	
Slovak	11%	
Yugoslavian	11%	
Polish	5%	
Greek	5%	White 67.9%
English	5%	Black 31.8%
Ukrainian	4%	
Arab	3%	

Social Organizations consist of the Sons of Italy, Ukrainian National Association Branch 120, Greek Community Center, Croation Center, American Serbian Club.

Aliquippa has an annual San Rocco Festa and Procession sponsored by the founding families from Italy and the MPI band currently located in Sheffield Terrace. It is a tribute to Saint Rocco. On Saturday night there is a San Rocco Festa with food and games of chance. There is a special service presented in Italian at St. Titus in Aliquippa Sunday morning. Afterward the Saint is carried through neighborhood streets from St. Titus Catholic Church in Aliquippa to Sheffield Terrace while residents pin offerings on a suspended tapestry. According to Emma Rocco, it "is a coming-home for the descendants".

Beaver

Demographic changes also occurred in Beaver. The population shifted from 6,100 in 1970 to 5,028 in 1990. In 1970, 31% of the population was under 20 and by 1990 only 22% was under 20.

In 1970 15% of the population was over 65 and by 1990 23% of the population was over 65.

Beaver's Current Ethnic Diversity

German	50%	
English	30%	
Irish	24%	
Italian	23%	
Scotch-Irish	13%	
French	5%	
Polish	5%	White 97.3%
Slavic	4%	Black 2.2%
Swedish	3%	
Yugoslavian	2%	

Beaver Falls

Demographic changes also occurred in Beaver Falls. The population dropped from 14,375 in 1970 to 10,687 in 1990. In 1970, 36% of the population was under 20, while in 1990 it was only 27%. In 1970, those persons over 65 constituted 13% of the population and in 1990 comprised 20% of the population. In 1970, 88% of the population were white and 12% black, in 1990 82% were white and 17% black (U.S. Census's 1970 & 1990).

Beaver Falls' Current Ethnic Diversity

German	46%	
Italian	25%	
Irish	20%	
English	14%	
Polish	11%	
Scotch-Irish	8%	
Hungarian	6%	White 82%
Slovak	4%	Black 17%
French	3%	
Scottish	3%	

Social organizations consist of the Polish Falcon Nests, Sons of Italy, and the Italian Mutual Benefit Society of Koppel.

Midland

With the closure of Crucible Steel, Midland's population changed. It dropped from 5,271 in 1970 to 3,321 in 1990. Those persons under 20 dropped from 35% of the population in 1970 to 24% in 1990. The percentages in the middle age brackets remained essentially the same. Over 65 rose from 10% of the population in 1970 to 24% of the population in 1990. The ratio of black to white has remained constant with 77% white and 21% black.

Midland's Current Ethnic Diversity

Italian	34%	
Yugoslavian	21%	
Irish	20%	
German	18%	
English	11%	
Polish	8%	White 77.4%
Hungarian	3%	Black 21.0%
French	2%	
Scotch-Irish	2%	

This diversity is shown in clubs and organizations in Midland. The Polish Falcon Club, the Italian Club (St. Anthony's), the Serbian Club affiliated with St. George Church, and the Magnet City Elks are active today. Churches in the community also reflect this ethnic background (i.e. St. George Serbian Orthodox Church, St. Paul's African Methodist Episcopal Church, and Presentation of Blessed Virgin Mary - Roman Catholic).

For decades, Midland was known for its Fourth of July Parade. Thousands of people came from Beaver County, West Virginia and Ohio. There were many floats, rides, music and food. Over the last few years the city is reviving this custom (which disappeared after Crucible shut down).

Monaca

Monaca also experienced out-migration with a drop in population from 7,486 in 1970 to 6,739 in 1990. The under 20 age group dropped from 35% of the population in 1970 to 27% in 1990. The over 65 age group rose from 10% in 1970 to 18% in 1990.

Monaca's Current Ethnic Diversity

German	54%	
Italian	36%	
Irish	23%	
English	14%	
Polish	10%	
Slovak	9%	
Scotch-Irish	5%	White 98.3%
French	3%	Black 1.1%
Scottish	3%	
Yugoslavian	3%	

Active social groups consist of the Polish National Alliance of Monaca, the Polish Falcons, Sons of Italy, the Saxon Club, and the Croation Club of Monaca.

Rochester

In Rochester the population dropped from 4,819 in 1970 to 4,156 in 1990. The under 20 age group dropped from 32% of the population to 26% of the population in 1990. There was not a great change in over 65 (16% in 1970; 19% in 1990). In 1970 93% of the population was white and 6% black. In 1990 88.7% of the population is white and 10.8% is black.

Rochester's Current Ethnic Diversity

German	55%	
Italian	30%	
Irish	26%	
English	11%	
Scotch-Irish	6%	
Polish	5%	
Dutch	4%	
Slovak	4%	White 88.7%
Hungarian	3%	Black 10.8%
Scottish	3%	
Welsh	3%	

COMPARISONS

Aliquippa experienced a 40% reduction in its population during the twenty-year span that encompassed the deindustrialization of the area. Midland lost 27% of its population. Beaver Falls dropped 26%. Beaver (-18%), Monaca (-10%), and Rochester (-14%) also experienced less severe drops. Part of the drop in Beaver Falls and Beaver may have been caused by the new areas being developed just north and west of them (Chippewa, Blackhawk, Brighton Township) and out migration to those areas. Aliquippa and Midland's drops are more closely aligned with the steel closures. Aliquippa was almost totally dependent on the Aliquippa Works, owned by J&L, for its survival. Likewise, Midland was built around and depended on Crucible. The impact of the Crucible plant is not readily apparent from Midland's population drop, because many of the plant workers lived in East Liverpool, Ohio and West Virginia. One retired steelworker said that he believed East Liverpool was hit harder than Midland.

Beaver Falls, and especially Monaca and Rochester, had some diversification to fall back on when the primary mills shut down. Because of the shrinking under 20 age group, all the cities are rustling with school issues. Midland closed its high school and has had to transport their students to Beaver. This created a problem, since Beaver really did not want them. Clyde Piquet stated that Midland's problem began when Crucible was going full force and people in Midland couldn't be bothered with other communities' problems. Now when Midland has one, the other communities remember their lack of support. Their contract with Beaver is over in 1994, and Beaver has notified Midland that they must make other arrangements. They are considering a merger with Rochester now. Because the populations have fallen, there are not enough children and there is not enough tax base to keep the schools running as they had before. This is a problem in all the cities. Monaca is also facing a necessary merger. They would like to merge with Center Township (to the west), but neither school

district can agree on which school facility to use.

With the increasing over 65 age group, residents are living on fixed incomes which can help sustain the communities while the pensioners are living. Many worry what will happen to the towns, especially Midland and Monaca, when the pensioners pass away and the tax base decreases more. Aliquippa more than any other town seems in a real bind. Aliquippa works funded the city. When it closed down, the downtown became deserted. Many people had already moved from Aliquippa to Hopewell and Center townships. Beaver County Mall had been built in 1970 and drew much of the business away from Aliquippa. Many residents of all the cities blame the malls as much as the steel closures for the demise of their business districts. Yet Beaver residents have easy access to the mall and Beaver's business district is still active and thriving.

The Medical Center of Beaver County was completed in 1980 amid much controversy. There had been three hospital facilities, in New Brighton, Beaver Falls, and Rochester. Planning began in 1961, but all towns wanted easy access to the facility and argued in court for almost two decades until a spot in Brighton Township (behind Beaver) was selected. It is now a major employer in the area. Residents in Beaver, Monaca, Rochester, Beaver Falls, Center Township, and Midland use the facility. The Aliquippa hospital was built in the 1950's, with J&L and local support. It remains active today. Janice Paul, a nurse at J&L, said that since she now works only during the week, if there is an accident when she is not available, the foreman calls a taxi to take the injured to the Aliquippa Hospital. Midland has no hospital facilities and residents must go either to the Beaver County Medical Center or call 911.

CASE STUDY

THE EFFECTS OF DEINDUSTRIALIZATION ON FAMILIES

Family roles and expectations have changed during the last twenty years in Beaver County. When immigrants, whatever ethnic group, came to the area, women remained in the home while the men worked. Whether that work was carried out on a farm or in the mills. "Work" intrinsically carried a "value". It was "work" if it occurred outside of the home and was recompensed by "wages"(Tilly and Scott 1989: 50-51). It is interesting, however, that even selling produce at a market (if done by a woman) was not labeled "work" by the informants. Those whose families immigrated during the early 1900's, said the expectation was not for women to work. They cared for the family. When asked, however, if the women took in boarders, made lunches, cleaned their rooms, and ironed for boarders, informants would answer yes after having just said that the women did not work. One informant's grandmother managed a farm, sold cattle to markets, and took in boarders, but did not "work" according to her grandson. His grandfather, however, did "work" both at the mill and on the farm. This pattern persisted until the affluence of the 1950's and 1960's, when the Unions had established favorable wages and women stayed at home without boarders.

Girls graduating from high school all during this era (1920-60) were generally expected to marry a steelworker. It was also assumed that boys, upon graduating from high school, would enter the steel mills. Daniel Zuppe, of Midland, said most of his friends just walked across the street and got jobs in the mills. There was a period during World War II when women actually worked in the mills. Once the war effort was over, however, they were expected to resume their previous homebound lives.

Women were employed in the mills in the 1970's due to equal employment regulations. This caused much resentment among many of the men I interviewed. One man felt it was the demise of the steel industry. Another informant said it was costly for the plants to install all the facilities women required, but that the men also benefited by improved sanitation. Prior to this large influx of women, only clerks and nurses at the plants had been female. Once the women were hired in the 1970's for the mills the quota required, for example, 40 females per 800 males working on the blast furnaces. Women

were allowed a twenty-minute break after five hours of work.

With the steel mill shutdowns, women in families were forced to work or work more. George Cirka stated that in the late 1980's J&L did a survey and found that 60-70% of employees' wives were working. This is interesting because the men still profess a belief that a woman should be home. In many instances, the wives' incomes were the main source of support since the shutdowns. Thomas Damon, of Rochester, has been unemployed since 1982. His brothers were also laid off. Their wives, both nurses, have gone from part-time to full time employment. He said women used to be able to work and quit if they wanted to, but now they cannot quit.

There were, of course, women who followed different callings. Emma Rocco, of Monaca, always wanted to go to college. She feels her father, a steelworker, encouraged her effort (although he would not finance it) because she was the youngest child and there had already been two sisters who had married steelworkers in Monaca. She received a PhD from the University of Pittsburgh. Mary Ann Poiarkoff, of West Aliquippa, always wanted to be a nurse. Her father, a steelworker at J&L, felt it was a "dirty profession" and she should be a teacher. Mary Ann, however, enrolled in the first five-year program at Duquesne University during the 1940's. She taught nursing for many years. Janice Paul, is the last full time nurse at J&L Steel in Aliquippa. She has worked there for 35+ years. She said she really enjoyed coming to work then, because all the men would know her and were so nice.

With mothers working outside the home, grandparents are taking on new roles. Adult children, who were self sufficient, move back home with their children. Philip Damon's son moved to Florida with his family in search of work and came back to Beaver Falls. He lived with Philip until finding a job. This has happened to most of the families I talked with.

Stress is associated with job loss and underemployment, which many of the steelworkers experienced. There is also another interesting phenomenon, stress due to job retainment. Many of the informants expressed anxiety and remorse due to retaining their jobs when all around them were laid off. The employees at J&L Tin Plating Mill are such a group. When asked about the consequences of job

loss on their fellow employees, they became very introspective and hesitant. In several cases, the non-fired employee had not kept in touch with the laid off in order to avoid the uncomfortable situation. Employees at the J&L Tin Plating Mill suffer two sources of anxiety. First because they are still employed when their friends are not, and second because there is constant gossip that the plant will be bought by an outside concern and shut down. Daniel Zuppe, of Midland, also expressed such anxiety. He has remained employed at the Water Authority in Midland and stated that many days he was embarrassed to walk down the street with his lunch pail, because so many men were sitting about unemployed.

Anxiety over job loss and underemployment can also lead to domestic violence, drug and alcohol abuse, and divorce (Barling, Julian 1990:223). While I was interviewing Anna Zahorsky, two small girls came into her store to purchase pencils. After they left, Anna said their father, who is unemployed, had recently attacked their mother. Except for a few small family owned businesses, there is virtually no employment in West Aliquippa.

Strenuous times also bring families closer together. While Thomas Damon has been unemployed (with five daughters), his wife has produced various craft items for sale to help the family. Daniel Zuppe looks forward every week to seeing his son (who comes home for meals and laundry).

It is interesting that while the men still expose the steelworker viewpoint (wife should stay at home and raise the children) the current times are forcing families to do just the opposite. Two income families had gradually become the norm in much of the country since the 1960's, but the steelworkers were able to avoid this shift in family roles due to high incomes until the mid-1980's. Then, however, the entire county faced the same transition at exactly the same time with no alternative employment for the men.

ISSUES OF CONCERN

Everyone interviewed would like to see levels of employment up. Most realize that the steel industry will never again supply the livelihoods that it once did. The Airport is seen as a possible saviour. Many laid off steelworkers found employment there and at US Air. People are hoping with the opening of the new facilities, yet more jobs will become available. The Medical Center of Beaver County also supplies many jobs and many professionals migrated in that work there.

People are concerned about the incinerator plant proposed in West Aliquippa and in Midland. John Poiarkoff said they didn't mind when the mills polluted because thousands of people were working, but the incinerators would not employ very many people, just pollute. He belongs to a group called SOV (Save Our Valley). The high tension power lines that the power plant at Shippingport purposes to install have many residents in Beaver Falls, Beaver, and Rochester concerned about safety and real estate values.

Virginia McLaughlin, of Beaver Falls, would like to see Buttermilk Falls, an old stone quarry in Homewood Borough, made into an historic site and park. Donald Inman, of Beaver Falls, is more interested in preserving whatever can be found from the J&L plant where he still works in the Tin Plating Mill. He has established a museum of artifacts on the Geneva College Campus.

George Cirka, Aliquippa, is very interested in preserving Indian sites, such as Woodlawn Park (where Aliquippa Works was built), which was originally farmland. He also believes that the water treatment plant in Monaca and the Beehive ovens at LTV are physical sites worth preserving.

Virgil D'Ottavio, Aliquippa, regrets the loose of sense of "community" that has resulted since the plant shut down.

Philip Inman believes there may be a population increase in Beaver Falls. People that moved into Chippewa and surrounding areas may be forced to move back to Beaver Falls due to high taxes.

Emma Rocco, Monaca/Beaver, teaches at Penn State Beaver Campus. She says their enrollment has been going down. The Community College in Aliquippa is doing alright, they have technical programs. She doesn't know what will happen to Monaca if Anchor Hocking closes.

Monaca is an aging population.

Clyde Piquet is working to collect early items of historic interest for Midland. Midland's biggest concern right now is its lack of a high school. Stanley Darbut does not believe Midland will change in twenty years. It is the same size now that it has always been. The life of the town depends on how long J&L will run the electric arc furnaces and the number of pensioners presently supporting the local economy. Joseph Jonas feels there are some fighters in Midland that won't give up. He believes the town needs better roads so access is easier. William Davis believes Midland will remain as it is unless some new technology is developed.

Daniel Zuppe, Midland, feels the community is fighting back. Physical sites of importance are the churches, Lincoln Park, the high school, and the downtown that has been renovated over the last five years due to government grants.

FUTURE RESEARCH & PROGRAMMING SUGGESTIONS

ALQUIPPA

There is a very strong Italian community in Aliquippa that I feel deserves further investigation. The San Rocco Festa and Procession that they sponsor is a very important event fostering community and ethnic identity. Their MPI Club in Sheffield Terrace and their Cultural Committee would be a place to start.

The black community could be investigated. Several of my informants tried to set up meetings for me without success. I am not sure how much of the current black population may have migrated in after the steel closure.

The remaining J&L Tin Plating Mill would also be an interesting study. As I mentioned previously, all their employees have seniority over 35+ and have been involved during the shutdowns.

The pump house, still standing, is a unique round brick structure with an internal round crane and would be something to preserve.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS

The social organizations in all the towns have helped to hold people together during economic hard times. A more in-depth study of these may provide insights into community cohesion and survival strategies.

STEELWORKERS UNION 1211

Further research in Aliquippa and the surrounding area could be aided by a good liaison with this local union.

PROGRAMMING SUGGESTIONS

1. Schools - offer a colloquium presentation of oral histories and slides. Children may have been exposed only to the negative consequences of the steel shutdown (i.e. parent unemployed). It needs to be presented in a positive light showing the development and history as a phase of their cities growth. Several informants talked about how glad they were that the plant had been there (Daniel Zuppe) and how sad they were that their children would never experience the sense of community that working for the steel companies provided.
2. If not slides, perhaps an historical educational pamphlet that could be handed out in classes.
3. Social Organizations - Presentations on the impact steel had in the area could be shown to these groups - especially the younger members.
4. Library presentations - colloquium or pamphlets provided to the public libraries on the steel industries' positive influences on Beaver County development and families.
5. Historical Societies - presentations on our current information and feedback from these groups can add to our base of information.

CONCLUSIONS

The county has experienced great changes in the last ten years. With the closing of the mills, many younger families were forced to migrate out of the area. With the lack of mill support and subsequent establishment of shopping malls in outlying areas, some main business districts have diminished or disappeared.

However, there is evidence of a stabilization and recovery. Families have adjusted, many women have gone to work, and life is beginning to reach an equilibrium. The Medical Complex, Mall and airport supply many jobs for local residents. Most communities in the area can be reached from Pittsburgh within 45 minutes to an hour which would allow people to commute to Pittsburgh. This influx of residents could increase local business revenues. Participation in local social organizations, such as the Sons of Italy, Polish Falcon Clubs, Polish National Alliance, American Serbian Club, Croation club, B P O Elks, and Ukrainian National Association has remained quite strong.

All of the people that I have talked with have been very proud of their communities and their steel heritage. There is a real interest in preserving the past and promoting the area. Many local residents have published works about their communities past and present. The Beaver County Historical Research & Landmarks Foundation published "The Twentieth Century History of Beaver County 1900-1988" in 1989. Emma Rocco, a native of Monaca, has written "Italian Wind Bands . A surviving Tradition in the Milltowns of Pennsylvania" in 1990. A Midland resident, Clyde Piquet, has written several books on local church history and the steel industry there. Many different individuals are very interested in archiving steel industry artifacts. For example: A Beaver Falls resident, Donald Inman, has worked with Dr. David Wolman of Geneva College to set up a museum on campus that features artifacts and posters made by students of memorabilia from J&L Steel in Aliquippa. The Brodhead Cultural Center is located at Penn State. There is also the Baker-Dungan Museum in Monaca which contains pictures of early Aliquippa and the camera that took them.

While the motto of Beaver County is "Divided by its Rivers, United by its People" that might be a bit miss leading. Their is a long history of competition between the communities. When the mills were

strong Aliquippa and Midland were the leaders. They neither sought assistance nor gave it to other communities in the area. As an example, several small school districts wanted to merge with Midland years ago, but Midland couldn't be bothered (Clyde Piquet). Now when Midland needs to find a home for their students, the other communities have not forgotten their snub years ago. Rochester and Monaca have been rivals for decades (I am unsure of the origin), however, even today they could not agree on a name for their bridge. When the Beaver County Medical Center opened in Brighton Township, Rochester, New Brighton, and Beaver Falls felt snubbed. Residents in Beaver Falls feel they are the last community to receive aid because they are the furthest away.

The communities' active preservationists realize that through cooperation the county can persevere. With younger residents moving into Center and Hopewell Townships near Aliquippa and Chippewa and Blackhawk near Beaver Falls and Beaver, the old community rivalries may fade because of their more county orientation. It is a sad fact that with that move away from old community animosities, it may require a loss of sense of those communities.

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

MONACA

October Heritage Month

ALIQUIPPA

August San Rocco

W. ALIQUIPPA

August St. Anthony's Procession

BEAVER COUNTY

April Maple Festival

December Christmas Tree Festival

August Big Knob Fair

August Craft Show

August Air Show

August Regatta

MIDLAND

July 4th Parade

SOCIAL CULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS

Aliquippa

American Serbian Club

Croatian Center

Greek Community Center

Sons of Italy

Ukrainian National Association Branch 120

Beaver Falls

Italian Mutual Benefit Society of Koppel

Polish Falcon Nests

Sons of Italy

Midland

Polish Falcon Club

Italian Club (St. Anthony's)

Serbian Club affiliated with St. George Church

Black Elks

Monaca

Croatian Club of Monaca

Polish National Alliance of Monaca

Polish Falcons

Saxon Club

Sons of Italy

WORKS CONSULTED

Allegheny Times 1992 *Beaver County Times*. Beaver: 400 Fair Ave, 15009.

Barling, Julian. *Employment, Stress, and Family Functioning*. New York: Wiley, 1990.

An industrial psychologist looks at the possible connections between stress in the work place unemployment and family functioning. Unemployment leads to an increase in "marital role performance", spouse/child abuse, divorce, and children's behavior problems.

Beaver County Times 1992 Beaver: 400 Fair Ave., 15009.

Beck, Cheryl Weller ed. 1989 *The Twentieth Century History of Beaver County Pennsylvania 1900-1988*. Walsworth: Salem, West Virginia, 1989.

An excellent reference for the history of Beaver County. It includes every aspect of lifeway traditions and economies, natural elements, and the arts. Each chapter is written by an authority on that topic.

Bell, Thomas. *Out of This Furnace*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1991.

This is a novel, (yet a chronicle of the author's life) set in Pittsburgh, describing the life of a Hungarian immigrant who worked in the steel mills and lived with his family in Braddock from the early

1900's. It is both a call for unionization and a description of the exploitation of workers during this period. It gives a backdrop to the industrial setting in Western Pennsylvania and the subsequent establishment of the first steel union.

Hoerr, John P. *And the Wolf Finally Came - The Decline of the American Steel Industry*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1989.

Written by a native of the area, this book chronicles the steel industries rise and restructuring in the 1970's and 1980's. It discusses union and management negotiations and policies.

Pennsylvania State Data Center. Census of Population and Housing - Beaver County, 1990.

Pennsylvania State Data Center. General Characteristics of the Population - Beaver County, 1990.

Rocco, Emma Scogna *Italian Wind Bands - A Surviving Tradition in the Milltowns of Pennsylvania*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1990.

Examines the history of Italian wind band traditions in Lawrence and Beaver Counties.

Southwestern Pennsylvania Regional Planning Commission. *State of the Region '64*. Pittsburgh: Southwestern Pennsylvania Regional Planning Commission, 1964.

Tilly, Louise and Joan W. Scott. *Women Work & Family*. New York: Routledge, 1987.

A history of women's work experience in England and France. It introduces concepts of women's status and changing roles.

U.S. Department of Commerce - Bureau of the Census. *1970 Census of Population*. (vol 1. Part 40):148,186,198,199,204.

U.S. Department of Commerce - Bureau of the Census. *1980 Census of Population*. (vol 1. Chapter B. Part 40): 208,485,414,320,321,363,364,447.

U.S. Department of Commerce - Bureau of the Census. *1967 County and City Data Book*. (308-312).

U.S. Department of Commerce - Bureau of the Census. *1988 County and City Data Book*. (432-444).

U.S. Department of Commerce - Bureau of the Census. *1977 County and City Data Book*. (390-

400).

UCSUR (University Center for Social and Urban Research) *State of the Region: Economic and Social Trends in Southwestern Pennsylvania*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1988.

The state of the region from 1970 to 1988 is covered. Statistical presentations of unemployment, underemployment, migration, employment by industry, population, labor force data, groups with employment problems, and community-by-community data. Very comprehensive current information.

UCSUR (University Center for Social and Urban Research) *State of the Region: Recent Economic, Demographic, and Social Trends in Southwestern Pennsylvania*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1984.