
**ETHNOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW AND ASSESSMENT
EDISON NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE
WEST ORANGE, NEW JERSEY**

(Purchase Order No. 1443PX177096095)

FINAL REPORT

Prepared for:

U.S. National Park Service

**Edison National Historic Site
West Orange, New Jersey**

and

**The New England System Support Office
Boston, Massachusetts**

Prepared by:

**Louis Berger & Associates, Inc.
East Orange, New Jersey**

in association with

**Michael H. Agar, Ph.D.
Takoma Park, Maryland**

June 18, 1997

ETHNOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW AND ASSESSMENT
EDISON NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE
WEST ORANGE, NEW JERSEY

(Purchase Order No. 1443PX177096095)

Michael H. Agar, Ph.D.
Principal Investigator

Christopher L. Borstel
Antony B. Mason
Ingrid A. Wuebber
Louis Berger & Associates, Inc.
East Orange, New Jersey

Prepared for:

U.S. National Park Service

Edison National Historic Site
West Orange, New Jersey
and

The New England System Support Office
Boston, Massachusetts

June 18, 1997
(Final Report)

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This ethnographic overview and assessment of Edison National Historic Site (EDIS) in West Orange, New Jersey, is the first investigation of relationships between the park and local communities. The report is intended as an initial investigation to identify and assess the principal features of the “ethnographic terrain” around the park. It documents some of the ways in which the park serves as a continuing anchor for several associated communities. The study also aims to identify ethnographic resources (elements of a park that are significant to the lifeway or identity of a group) connected with these communities. It focuses on three key, traditionally associated groups: residents of Llewellyn Park, former Edison employees, and members of the West Orange community, but also provides some information about other groups.

The research for this project involved four principal tasks. First, background census data for West Orange, Orange, and Essex County was collected and tabulated for the period 1970 to 1990. Second, a pilot study that sought to locate living former Edison workers using various public and company records was completed. Third—and really the core of this study—open-ended ethnographic interviews were conducted with sixteen community consultants (informants), who were members of the three key, traditionally associated groups. Fourth, information from ethnographic interviews and other sources was employed to identify ethnographic resources at EDIS (**Chapter 1**).

The park is located in an ethnically, racially, and economically diverse section of northeastern New Jersey. Indeed, the park can be seen as located at the nexus of several different communities. The Township of West Orange is predominantly white (87.6 percent of town residents in 1990) and comparatively affluent (median household income of \$49,777 in 1989). In contrast, the City of Orange (whose border lies just 1,000 feet from EDIS’s Laboratory Unit) is predominantly black (70.3 percent of city residents in 1990) and less well-off economically (median household income of \$27,301 in 1989). On the whole, residents of West Orange tend to have more years of formal education than those of Orange. Additional contrasts can also be noted. People of Asian and Pacific Island descent comprise 5.6 percent of West Orange’s population and 1.3 percent of Orange’s population. People of Hispanic heritage comprise 4.4 percent of West Orange’s population and 10.6 percent of Orange’s population. Non-native born people comprise a modest portion of each town’s population (16 percent for West Orange and 20.9 percent for Orange). People of Hispanic heritage and those from Haiti appear to be among the most numerous local immigrant groups. Population projections suggest that white population of the area around the park is likely to decline in the future, while Hispanic and Asian American populations are likely to increase. Although a number of differences characterize the two municipalities, each is also internally diverse, with various neighborhoods or sections differing in regard to economic status, education, and other demographic and cultural factors. Recognition of this aspect of the park’s location is important for understanding the dynamic, socially and culturally complex urban environment within which EDIS is located (**Chapter 1 and Appendix A**).

One of the three groups examined in detail in this study, residents of Llewellyn Park (**pp. v-viii, Chapter 2**), live in a private residential community within the Township of West Orange. It is the location of EDIS's Glenmont Unit. Llewellyn Park was established in the 1850s, and residents are strongly aware of their long history of separateness from the rest of West Orange. Privacy, family or domestic life, and the densely wooded, romantic landscape are important sources of values for residents, and they work hard to retain these elements of the community. Several important issues are facing the community today, including their non-profit tax status, the effects of noise from Interstate 280, the aging of the district's landscape, and the effects of a population transition. Relations with the National Park Service appear to be fundamentally positive, and the Park Service has served as an important ally to residents on issues of mutual concern. Glenmont is an important element within the Llewellyn Park environment, functioning as a "witness" to the history of the area, to the values and ideals of historic preservation, and to the general condition of the district. Ethnographic resources under the stewardship of the National Park Service that are associated with this group include:

- Vistas of Glenmont;
- The perimeter of Glenmont for quiet, low-impact activities; and
- Documents and photographs relating to the history of Llewellyn Park.

Former Edison employees (**pp. ix-xi, Chapter 3**) comprise a group that is largely elderly and retired. Members of this group are dispersed over northern New Jersey and beyond. The park has begun to develop a list of former employees, and a pilot project conducted as part of this study showed that additional former employees could be located using various types of archival and public records (**Appendices B and C**). In general, the relationship of this group to EDIS appears to be comparatively weak or diffuse. Interviews demonstrated that this group can be a rich source of oral history on Thomas A. Edison, Inc., and its successor, McGraw-Edison. Key themes that emerged during the interviews were the contrasting corporate cultures of these two organizations, the nature and organization of work within the companies, the influences of Thomas Edison and members of his family (notably son Theodore Edison) on workers, unionization of the companies, and effects of the closure of the McGraw-Edison plant in the early 1970s. Today, the park and its resources do not seem to be a significant part of the lives of former workers, and it therefore proved difficult to identify ethnographic resources relative to this group. Individuals had objects in their possession that were significant as personal memorabilia, but these items are not park resources.

The members of the West Orange community interviewed for this study were civic leaders and businessmen (**pp. xii-xiv, Chapter 4**). While these people are important members of the community, they do not represent the full range of West Orange's diversity. Nonetheless, these interviews revealed some important themes in the relationship between the community and the park. Many older residents have personal or family connections to the Edison plant, and as a result, there are resemblances between the West Orange community and the former Edison workers. Like the former workers, these residents have a store of historical information that can be elicited through oral interviews. The civic and business leaders see EDIS as an important resource for the community, one with great potential to contribute to efforts to strengthen the economy of the Main Street section of West Orange. These interviewees spoke highly of the

current superintendent and her contributions to local revitalization efforts. Though the interviewees see the park as an important part of the community, they also acknowledge that many local residents are indifferent toward it. The interviews suggest that one reason for this indifference may be a residue of anger and disappointment left by the shut down of the McGraw-Edison manufacturing operations in West Orange in the early 1970s. Ethnographic resources associated with this group include:

- Vistas of the Edison laboratory and the neighboring former storage battery factory as seen from Main Street;
- Documents, photographs, and artifacts related to the history of West Orange; and
- Documents and photographs related to the closure of the McGraw-Edison plant.

Although this study focused only on residents of West Orange, connections between the Edison enterprises and nearby municipalities extend further. Orange in particular was historically associated with the Edison plant. It was, for example, perhaps second only to West Orange as a place of residence for Edison workers. Consequently, this and other Essex County municipalities may contain associated ethnographic or historical resources outside the park's boundaries.

On the basis of research conducted for this study, the report makes eight recommendations concerning the management of the park (**Chapter 5**). The recommendations are:

- Continue to manage Glenmont in a manner that is harmonious with the distinct characteristics and needs of the Llewellyn Park community;
- Actively seek out former Edison employees to involve them in the programs of Edison National Historic Site;
- Continue involvement with the West Orange community;
- Expand the interpretive scope of ENHS to include worker perspectives and post-Edison history;
- Seek to develop partnerships in the City of Orange and other nearby municipalities;
- Seek to engage emergent community groups in West Orange and Orange;
- Continue to seek partnerships with a variety of local community groups and non-local groups with potential connections to Edison resources; and
- Continue ethnographic studies at Edison National Historic Site.

Although NPS should seek to engage all groups of local residents in interpretive programming and site management, the research team specifically recommends improving ties with local African American, Hispanic, Haitian, and South Asian communities. Each of these groups comprises an important or emerging local population that may be presently underrepresented in park functions and activities.

For each of the three groups that were the focus of this study, the research team identified several data gaps that could be explored through additional ethnographic research (**Chapter 6**). These gaps include such areas as:

- additional details concerning the nature of community values;
- the extent and significance of cultural and demographic diversity;
- specific characteristics of associated ethnographic resources; and
- the ways in which the individual biographies of group members and the collective

histories of the groups illuminate the life and legacy of Thomas Edison. The research team also identified other groups that would be appropriate candidates for study in the future. These groups include:

- Descendants of Thomas Edison;
- Descendants of Edison employees;
- Glenmont employees and descendants;
- Residents of the City of Orange and neighboring municipalities;
- Local African American communities;
- Emergent groups in the local community, including people of Hispanic heritage, recent Haitian immigrants, and South Asian immigrants and their offspring;
- Japanese visitors;
- Edison aficionados, such as Edisonia collectors, scholars and journalists specializing in Edison, and independence-minded people who see Edison's life as a model for themselves; and
- Corporations and business professionals with an Edison connection.

The final section of the report offers comments on several technical and methodological issues.

Summary of Findings
EDIS Ethnographic Overview and Assessment

LLEWELLYN PARK RESIDENTS

RELATIONSHIP TO PARK RESOURCES:

The relationship between residents of Llewellyn Park ("the Park" to residents) and the resources of EDIS is complex. For many residents, the existence of a National Park Service-managed historic home, Glenmont, in their midst adds to the charm, beauty, and value of this residential development. The large expanses of lawn surrounding the home and ownership of the estate by the Federal government can even give the impression that Glenmont is a park within the Park, a "private National Park," as one NPS staff member put it. For a few residents, the need for public access to Glenmont brings unwanted traffic and raises concerns about security.

Inter-institutional connections are important, because Llewellyn Park is a self-governing residential district, and it is responsible for maintaining its own roads and trails and for preserving the district's sylvan, quiet, private atmosphere. As an owner of property in the Park, NPS pays an annual contribution, in lieu of the proprietors' assessment, toward the common operating expenses. NPS is also an active participant in efforts to protect and enhance the enclave.

BASIS FOR RELATIONSHIP:

Owner of the 15.67-acre estate at Glenmont, the home of inventor Thomas Alva Edison from 1886 until his death in 1931, the Federal government, through its agent the National Park Service, is one of more than 150 proprietors in Llewellyn Park. Llewellyn Park was established as a private residential district in the 1850s and remains so today. Glenmont is one of the largest properties in the Park.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF RESOURCES:

Ethnographic resources associated with this group consist of vistas of Glenmont and its grounds, the perimeter of Glenmont for quiet low-impact activities, and documents and photographs relating to the history of Park and the importance of family life there. For most residents of Llewellyn Park, Glenmont is not a focus of their lives, but forms an important part of the context in which their lives take place. In contrast, the Laboratory Unit of EDIS appears to be unimportant to Llewellyn Park residents. Regular of the first floor of Glenmont as a venue for the annual proprietors' meeting in January is recent, having begun less than 10 years ago. Though many residents value Glenmont as a meeting place, it is not

the only possible location where the event can be held. Therefore, the interior of Glenmont does not constitute an ethnographic resource for this group.

LIST OF RESOURCES AND USES:

1. Vistas from Glen Avenue, Bloomfield Way, and Lynwood Way. Visible from these community roadways, the grand, Queen Anne facades and the extensive grounds of Glenmont support a sense of Llewellyn Park as a residential enclave occupied by prosperous families in a historic setting. The condition of the estate's grounds and facades seems to be monitored by the community as one of many indices to the general condition of the Park and its property values. Use is informal, constant, and non-consumptive.
2. Access road off Glen Avenue. Serves as a trail for joggers and walkers. Perimeter provides quiet places for personal reflection and low-impact exercise (such as tai-ch'i). Use is casual, regular, and, as practiced by most residents, non-consumptive.
3. Documents and photographs in the possession of NPS that relate to the history of Llewellyn Park and that affirm the values of the Llewellyn Park community, particularly as these relate to family or domestic life. Use is irregular, and, if closely monitored by park staff, practically non-consumptive.
4. Use of Glenmont or another venue for the annual proprietors' meeting involves a series of formalized, almost ceremonial, activities. This meeting dates back more than 130 years, and these activities seem to have taken place for several generations. The proprietors' meeting appears to be of considerable importance for renewal of social ties and reinforcement of solidarity and common identity among property owners, who comprise most of the residents of the Park. Despite the importance of the event for the Park's proprietors, the use of Glenmont for it is, as noted, recent, and alternative locations can be employed without substantially affecting the meeting's social and cultural significance.

GAPS IN ETHNOGRAPHIC KNOWLEDGE:

1. What are the implications and limitations of the term "community" as used by and as applied to people living in Llewellyn Park? How does NPS fit in as a community member?
2. What values do Park residents assign to domestic or family life? How, in more detail, can NPS articulate its mission and resources with these values?
3. What are the key annual collective events for residents of the Park (i.e., other than the annual proprietors' meeting)? From an ethnographic viewpoint, what

happens at the annual proprietors meeting, and does this event function to affirm group solidarity, as conjectured above? Are there annual events other than the proprietors' meeting in which NPS could or should participate?

4. What distinctions do proprietors draw between themselves and non-proprietor residents? How are domestics and day-workers viewed? Do attitudes held by Park residents toward such workers affect relations with NPS staff?

5. In more detail, what is the ethnographic landscape of the Park for residents? What is Glenmont's position within it? What specific criteria do Park residents employ to evaluate whether a property is well maintained or not? What specific vistas of Glenmont are important to Park residents? What are the implications for management and maintenance of Glenmont?

6. Specifically how does the population of Llewellyn Park resemble or differ from that comprising West Orange as a whole in regard to such standard demographic measures as race and ethnicity, age, household income, and immigration status? How does the recent influx of new families with young and school-age children affect the community's culture and sense of identity? In light of this change, what role does formal and informal history play in perpetuating the Llewellyn Park culture? What role does Glenmont and its history play in this transitional period?

MANAGEMENT ISSUES:

1. The continued use of Glenmont as a venue for the annual proprietors' meeting involves balancing the needs and expectations of Llewellyn Park residents, the importance for NPS of keeping neighborly relations, and the need to be an effective steward of a historically significant home.

2. The influx of families with young children into Llewellyn Park challenges NPS to develop exhibits and interpretive programs aimed at that audience.

3. Adequate maintenance of the Glenmont estate is a continuing concern to residents.

4. Satisfactory contributions to Llewellyn Park in lieu of property assessments is important both to neighborliness and to the solvency of the development.

5. Developing a mechanism by which Llewellyn Park residents could participate in Glenmont tours without the necessity of a trip to the Laboratory Unit would be appreciated by residents of the Park.

6. Monitoring departures of Glenmont visitors may become an issue.

7. A continuing series of programs or events specifically for Llewellyn Park residents will reinforce the good will that exists between them and NPS.

REFERENCES:

See chapter II of EDIS ethnographic overview and assessment.

PREPARED BY: The Berger Team, June 1997

Summary of Findings
EDIS Ethnographic Overview and Assessment

FORMER EDISON EMPLOYEES

RELATIONSHIP TO PARK RESOURCES:

As a group, former Edison employees appear to have a casual, non-specific relationship to the resources managed by EDIS. Their usage is not notably different from that of the general public, consisting of occasional participation in tours of the Laboratory Unit and other public programs and, even more rarely, requests for use of the research materials at the site. It appears that many former workers have in their possession memorabilia that connect them to their work experience with the Edison companies. They do not, however, look to the National Park Service to be a steward of such items.

BASIS FOR RELATIONSHIP:

Numbering perhaps in the thousands, the members of this group were employees of the various enterprises of the Edison (pre-1931) era, including Edison's laboratory—the famed “Invention Factory”—as well as of Thomas A. Edison, Inc., (1932-1955) and McGraw-Edison (1956-1973) in the post-Edison era. Most former employees are elderly and retired. Most living former employees worked at the Edison plant during and after the Second World War. Since Edison's laboratory shut down within a few months of the inventor's death, it appears that there are few people now living who had an intimate connection with what is now the Laboratory Unit of EDIS.

Presently available information indicates that while there are networks of friendship of greater or lesser extent among former employees, they do not have any formally organized clubs or associations.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF RESOURCES:

Ethnographic resources related to this group were difficult to identify. The memorabilia in private hands function like ethnographic resources, but they are not NPS property. Use of such resources is casual, non-consumptive, and private.

LIST OF RESOURCES AND USES:

Items in private hands include documents, photographs, commemorative pins, buttons, jewelry, and certificates, architectural items (e.g., bricks from now-

demolished buildings), miscellaneous furniture, possibly tools, etc. There is no clear evidence of specific connections between the artifacts and documents under NPS stewardship and this group. There is no evidence that former Edison employees as a group feel any sense of attachment to the Glenmont Unit and its resources.

GAPS IN ETHNOGRAPHIC KNOWLEDGE:

1. Can the category "Former Edison Employee" be meaningfully subdivided by gender, occupation or job type, immigration status, nationality, or race, period of employment, or other factors?
2. Do perceptions of the experience of working in one or another of Edison enterprises vary by sub-group? Do perceptions of EDIS, its mission, and significant resources vary by sub-group?
3. In more detail, how do the working-life biographies of individual former Edison employees illuminate the nature and character of Thomas Alva Edison, his work as an inventor, his business enterprises, their historical outcome, and the period in which he and his companies were active? How might an understanding of these biographies enhance the interpretive and management missions of the park?
4. What significance, if any, do former Edison employees assign to the Heavy Machine Shop? to the satellite laboratory buildings? Are there living former employees for whom these areas are clearly an ethnographic resource?
5. What significance, if any, does the *present* landscape adjoining the historic laboratory buildings play in the lives and sense of identity of former employees? In particular, is its emptiness, resulting from the demolition of the McGraw-Edison plant in the 1970s, significant to this group?
6. Are there structures or other items located outside the boundaries of NPS property that should be regarded as ethnographic resources for this group?
7. Do descendants of former Edison employees constitute a distinct and important interest group or community in relationship to EDIS?

MANAGEMENT ISSUES:

1. Consideration should be given to development of interpretative programming covering the post-Edison era at the plant. Such programs could cover such aspects of the Edison legacy as the nature of industrial production work, the corporate culture of TAE, Inc., the history of unionization at the plant, and the effects of the

closure of the plant on local communities. Framed properly, such stories are more than “business history.” They are an important part of the social and historical context of Edison’s work and his legacy and resonate with stories from thousands of other twentieth-century American industrial plants and communities.

2. Interviews with former Edison employees demonstrates that they can be a rich and largely untapped source of oral history on working conditions and job tasks at TAE, Inc. and McGraw-Edison. Consideration should be given to collecting oral histories and conducting additional ethnographic research among this group. Former Edison employees tend to be elderly, so any interviewing project or other program to involve this group in activities at EDIS must be initiated without significant delay.

3. Should an effort be made to add to the collections at EDIS by soliciting memorabilia in the hands of former employees?

4. What role, if any, should former workers play in the proposed development of a new visitors’ center and enhanced interpretative programming at EDIS?

REFERENCES:

See chapter III of EDIS ethnographic overview and assessment.

PREPARED BY: The Berger Team, June 1997

Summary of Findings
EDIS Ethnographic Overview and Assessment

WEST ORANGE COMMUNITY

RELATIONSHIP TO PARK RESOURCES:

Incomplete evidence suggests that, on the whole, members of the West Orange community view EDIS and its resources with indifference. Local residents do not seem to visit the Laboratory Unit or use its research facilities with special frequency. Nor is there any evidence that local residents use park property in ways that are distinct from its function as a national historic site commemorating the life and work of Thomas Edison.

BASIS FOR RELATIONSHIP:

Thomas Alva Edison established his research laboratory in West Orange in 1886, constructing Building 5 at that time. From that kernel, his manufacturing works grew to cover a maximum of 21 acres off Main Street. At one time, Edison was one of the leading, if not the leading, employers in West Orange. In 1956 the Edison business concerns were taken over by Max McGraw, a Midwestern industrialist. In the years that followed, McGraw-Edison relocated portions of the West Orange operations elsewhere, finally shutting down all together in 1973. NPS has operated the Laboratory Unit in West Orange as a museum, memorial, and historical research facility since the late 1950s. Since the 1950s, the town of West Orange has undergone a substantial population turnover, and many of those who once worked at or for Edison's are now gone.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF RESOURCES:

Ethnographic resources associated with this group may consist of streetscapes and related landscape features, and possibly personal memorabilia in private hands. It is conjectured that for some members of the West Orange community, these resources may be associated with bitter memories of the decline of the town's manufacturing base and the departure of McGraw-Edison. This hypothesis is unconfirmed. Nonetheless, West Orange's long association with Thomas Edison, the great American inventor, also remains a source of municipal pride among township boosters, and the NPS site is viewed as a potential source of tourist revenue. Use of resources under the stewardship of NPS by the West Orange community appears to be casual, non-consumptive, and private.

LIST OF RESOURCES AND USES:

Vistas of Edison's Laboratory along Main Street may be ethnographic resources for some long-time residents of West Orange. Viewed from certain positions, a visual association between the laboratory and the adjacent, privately-owned Battery Works may be significant. Some members of the West Orange community interviewed as part of the ethnographic overview and assessment perceived an ambiguous, disjunctive, or negative association between the industrial historic fabric of the site (e.g., the plain brick buildings or the chain-link fence) and its function as a commemoration of the life and times of a great American. The white water-tower on the site is visible for a some distance, and may serve as an important landmark for local residents. The Black Maria, with its distinctive form, may also be another important visual element. Such features may be important markers for establishing a sense of place among residents. There is no evidence that most members of the West Orange community feel an attachment to the Glenmont Unit and its resources.

GAPS IN ETHNOGRAPHIC KNOWLEDGE:

1. The West Orange community is large, varied, and dynamic: Can the category be meaningfully subdivided into smaller groups on the basis of factors such as race or national origin, proximity or location of residence, length of residence, or other factors?
2. Does perception of EDIS or associated ethnographic resources vary by subgroup within the West Orange community?
3. How is Llewellyn Park viewed by members of the surrounding West Orange community? Does NPS have a role to play in fostering dialog between these groups?
4. What specific vistas or visual elements are important to the West Orange community (or its subgroups) in viewing the Laboratory Unit?
5. Are there specific events or activities that take place in the West Orange community in which NPS ought to have a presence?

MANAGEMENT ISSUES:

1. Continued interaction with the West Orange community through the Main Street Development Corporation and other initiatives is important.
2. What will be the social impacts of the proposed development of a new visitors center and research facility at EDIS?

3. A balance must be maintained between NPS' obligation to protect historic fabric and the urge on the part of some West Orange residents to create an attractive tourist venue.
4. Students who speak Spanish as their first language presently comprise approximately 10% of the West Orange public school population: Should programs specifically aimed at that population be developed?
5. Anecdotal evidence indicates that local residents of South Asian origin evince a particular interest in EDIS: How can this interest be fostered to the benefit of both the community and the facility?

REFERENCES:

See chapter IV of EDIS ethnographic overview and assessment.

PREPARED BY: The Berger Team, June 1997

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
	Executive Summary	i
	Summary of Findings: Llewellyn Park Residents	v
	Summary of Findings: Former Edison Employees	ix
	Summary of Findings: List of Tables	xii
	List of Figures	xviii
	List of Tables	xviii
I	INTRODUCTION	1
	A. Background	1
	1. Edison National Historic Site	1
	2. A Diverse and Changing Setting	2
	a. Location	2
	b. Population	3
	B. Study Issues	8
	C. Study Methods	10
	1. Community Consultant Identification	11
	2. Ethnographic Interviews	11
	3. Park Resource Analysis	13
	D. Overview of Report	14
	Summary: Demographic Profile	15
II	RESIDENTS OF LLEWELLYN PARK	16
	A. Background	16
	B. The Interviews	17
	1. Llewellyn Park	18
	2. Community	25
	3. Glenmont	29
	4. Discussion	34
	C. Ethnographic Resources	35
	1. Glenmont and NPS in the Ethnographic Landscape of Llewellyn Park	35
	2. Comments on Ethnographic Resources	39
	Summary: Llewellyn Park Residents	41
III	FORMER EDISON EMPLOYEES	42
	A. Background	42
	1. Thomas A. Edison, Inc.	42
	2. McGraw-Edison	43

TABLE OF CONTENTS (CONTINUED)

	B. The Interviews	44
	1. Corporate Culture	45
	2. Work	52
	3. The Big Events	56
	4. Discussion	64
	C. Ethnographic Resources	65
	Summary: Former Edison Employees	72
IV	WEST ORANGE COMMUNITY	73
	A. Background	73
	B. The Interviews	77
	1. Personal Ties	79
	2. No One Cares	83
	3. Strategies for Change	86
	4. Edison Means Business	89
	5. Discussion	94
	C. Ethnographic Resources	95
	1. Vistas of the Edison Laboratory	96
	2. Things that Affirm the Edison-West Orange Connection	97
	3. Items Relating to the Closure of McGraw-Edison	98
	4. Ethnographic Resources and Other Municipalities Historical Connections to Edison	98
	Summary: West Orange Community	100
V	RECOMMENDATIONS	101
	Summary: Recommendations	111
VI	CONCLUDING DISCUSSION	112
	A. Summary of Results	112
	B. Gaps in Ethnographic Knowledge	113
	1. Groups in Pilot Study	113
	2. Other Park Associated Groups	115
	C. Comments on Research Methods	119
	Summary: Concluding Discussion	122
	REFERENCES CITED	123

TABLE OF CONTENTS (CONTINUED)

APPENDIX A: Demographic Trends in West Orange and Essex
County, 1970-2000

APPENDIX B: Strategies for Locating Community Consultants

APPENDIX C: Edison Employees Listed in the 1952 *Directory of
the Oranges*

APPENDIX D: Personnel and Consultants

APPENDIX E: Miscellaneous Project Materials

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE		PAGE
1	Districts of West Orange, Orange, and East Orange In Which Most Edison Employees Resided, circa 1952	76

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE		PAGE
1	Racial Characteristics of West Orange, Orange, and Essex County, 1970-1990	4
2	Demographic Profile for West Orange, Orange, and Essex County (1990 Census)	5
3	Language Diversity in West Orange and Orange Public Schools, 1995-96 School Year	7
4	Partial List of Job Titles for TAE, Inc., in 1952	71
5	Town of Residence for TAE, Inc. Employees from the Oranges in 1952	74

I. INTRODUCTION

This report describes the results of an ethnographic overview and assessment of Edison National Historic Site, West Orange, New Jersey (EDIS). The National Park Service (NPS) undertook the study in accordance with Chapter 10 ("Ethnographic Resources") of its *Cultural Resource Management Guideline* (NPS 1994:165-186). Such studies are "conducted when park resources are known or thought to be traditionally associated with a contemporary group or groups" (NPS 1994:174). As described in the Scope of Work prepared by NPS, the study sought baseline data on ethnographic resources and traditionally associated groups affiliated with EDIS. NPS anticipates that the information gained from the study will facilitate the protection, management, and interpretation of resources under its stewardship. The study was performed for Edison National Historic Site and the New England System Support Office under NPS Purchase Order No. 1443PX177096095.

This report is the result of the collective efforts of the Berger Team (Appendix D). We, the members of the Berger Team, include several staff members of Louis Berger and Associates, Inc., a consulting firm specializing in engineering, planning, and cultural resources, located in East Orange, New Jersey. The team also includes a subconsultant to Berger, Michael Agar, Ph.D., of Takoma Park, Maryland, the Project Ethnographer and Principal Investigator, whose specialties include the ethnography of work and business. We completed this report pursuant to the Scope of Work of March 28, 1996 (Request for Quotations No. 1443RQ177096013) and the Berger Team's revised proposal, described in our letter of June 17, 1996, and amended by our letter of June 27, 1996.

A. BACKGROUND

1. *Edison National Historic Site*

Edison National Historic Site is located in the Township of West Orange, Essex County, New Jersey. The park was established in 1962 by Act of Congress (Public Law 87-628), combining the previously separate Edison Home National Historic Site (established in 1955 as a National Historic Site under non-federal ownership) and the Edison Laboratory National Monument (established in 1956 following its donation to the federal government). Today, these two areas comprise the park's two separate units, the 5.6-acre Laboratory Unit, located at the intersection of Main Street and Lakeside Avenue, and the 15.7-acre Glenmont Unit, located nearby in the controlled-access residential district of Llewellyn Park. Together, these two parcels "commemorate the outstanding achievements of the great American inventor, Thomas Alva Edison" and are preserved by the National Park Service for the "benefit and inspiration of the the American people" (Presidential Proclamation 3148, July 17, 1956: *Federal Register* 21(138)).

The Laboratory Unit is situated on a corner of what was once Thomas Edison's West Orange research and industrial works. It contains 14 structures, six of which were built in 1887. All of the structures, with the exception of the main archives vault, are listed on the National Register

of Historic Places. The Glenmont Unit, also on the National Register, is located one-half mile from the laboratory, within Llewellyn Park. The property includes a 23-room mansion, with original furnishings and family items used by Thomas and Mina Edison. In addition, there are gardens, a greenhouse, a gardener's cottage, and several period service buildings at Glenmont. The graves of Thomas and Mina Edison are also located on the grounds.

The artifact and document collections at the park are varied and extensive. The park is responsible for approximately 400,000 objects, including household furnishings, laboratory equipment, machinery, models, and the products of Edison's many manufacturing ventures. No inventory has been completed, and only about one-third of the collection is fully indexed and cataloged. There are also 4 to 5 million items in the archives collection, including business records, laboratory notebooks, and other documents, maps, plans, and drawings, photographs, motion pictures, and sound recordings. Approximately one-half the items in the collection have been cataloged. The collection of objects and documents includes materials generated by Edison before he moved to West Orange, the products and many records of his West Orange years (though Pierson [1922:586] reports that many administrative records were destroyed in the fire of 1914), some materials produced by Thomas A. Edison, Inc., and the McGraw-Edison Company after Edison's death in 1931, and various miscellany.

The site currently sees around 60,000 visitors per year. Most visitors participate in guided tours at the laboratory or Glenmont, but around one-tenth are content to view the exhibits in the visitors center, watch videos there, or follow the self-guided tour at the laboratory. One-quarter of the park's visitors include Glenmont in their visit. In addition to these recreational visitors, the site is used for research, non-commercial filming, and special uses, such as small meetings and receptions for professional and community groups (EDIS 1990).

2. A Diverse and Changing Setting

a. Location

Situated in the northeastern New Jersey suburb of West Orange, EDIS lies only 1,000 feet northwest of the boundary line between the township and its neighbor, the City of Orange. In this location, the site is located at a nexus of several different communities. These communities are not only the political entities defined by town line separating West Orange from Orange. Within each municipality, there are also neighborhoods of diverse and changing character, and each town may also contain communities that, while not necessarily living in a clearly-delineated geographic area, share a sense of common identity based on heritage or language.

In the vicinity of the Laboratory Unit, dwellings typically consist of modest houses on small lots. Most of the houses are detached, two- or three-story wood frame buildings that were primarily constructed between the 1890s and 1930s. This style continues across the border into Orange. Glenmont, on the other hand, is situated in the park-like district of Llewellyn Park, an old and affluent suburban development. Houses there are typically located on two-acre-plus lots and range in style from mid-nineteenth-century Victorian Gothics to modern ranches. West Orange's

Main Street, which marks both the northwestern side of the former Edison industrial works and the southeastern edge of Llewellyn Park, is part of the town's original business district. It is primarily lined with low one-, two-, and three-story commercial buildings, with brick structures of early twentieth-century construction predominating. The bustling commercial section along Main Street in Orange, which is less than a half mile southeast of the laboratory, has a somewhat similar character. The area's industrial base, of which Edison's laboratory and works were once an important part, is much reduced since its heyday in the middle decades of the century. Many former factory sites, including portions of the former Edison works, are now abandoned or converted to after-market and service businesses.

The Edison site is an urban park. It is located in Essex County, which is New Jersey's second-most populous county, following neighboring Bergen County to the north. Both counties are in turn part of the vast New York metropolitan area. Manhattan lies just 20 miles to the east of the park, and the distance between EDIS and New York is nearly continuously developed into residential, commercial, and industrial districts. Reflecting the dense development of the region, Essex County is comprised of 22 different cities, townships, and villages. Newark, the county's largest city with a population of 275,221 in the 1990 census, is less than 5 miles southeast of the Edison site. Portions of the Essex County municipalities of Montclair, Glen Ridge, and East Orange, in addition to the City of Orange, are all within a mile of the site.

b. Population

Like much of New Jersey, Essex County and the municipalities of West Orange and Orange are ethnically, racially, and economically diverse (Cunningham 1977). The demographic data discussed in this section provides an indication of this diversity, which is apparent in the contrasts between the two neighboring towns. Although the census data obtained for this report depicts the demography of each town as a whole, it is important to bear in mind that both towns are internally heterogeneous. Both municipalities contain different neighborhoods and districts with apparently distinct demographic and economic characteristics, and both reflect and illustrate population patterns that characterize Essex County and the greater New York area generally.

Census data shows that since 1970 the racial and ethnic composition of both the local area surrounding EDIS and that of the county as a whole have been changing (Appendix A). Over the past few decades, the proportion of white residents has declined somewhat in Essex County, while that of black residents and of other ancestries (e.g., Asian-Pacific Islander and Native American) have increased. During this same period the proportion of Hispanic residents has also increased.¹ Both West Orange and Orange reflect this pattern of change, but to different degrees. In West Orange changes in racial and ethnic composition appear to have been relatively modest, while in Orange, they appear to have been more extensive (Table 1).

¹ Census takers are careful to point out that the term Hispanic does not refer to race, but rather to ethnicity. The Bureau of the Census has defined and counted persons of Hispanic origin in various ways over the past three decades, and published data from the 1970, 1980, and 1990 censuses are not entirely comparable. Though the exact numbers may be uncertain, these and other sources document substantial growth in this segment of New Jersey's population.

TABLE 1: Racial Characteristics of West Orange, Orange, and Essex County, 1970-1990

	West Orange	Orange	Essex County
1970 Census			
Population	43,715	32,628	929,986
White	98.1%	61%	68.9%
Black	1.1%	36%	30.0%
Other	0.7%	1%	1.1%
Persons of Spanish Language	0.7%	2%	5.9%
1980 Census			
Population	39,510	31,136	851,116
White	94.7%	39.8%	56.7%
Black	2.4%	56.5%	37.2%
Other	2.9%	3.7%	6.2%
Persons of Spanish Origin	1.5%	6.1%	9.0%
1990 Census			
Population	39,103	29,925	778,206
White	87.6%	24.0%	51.1%
Black	5.7%	70.3%	40.6%
Other	6.6%	5.7%	8.2%
Persons of Hispanic Origin	4.4%	10.8%	12.6%

Population projections into the early twenty-first century suggest that certain elements of these trends will continue for the next several decades. One study completed by the New Jersey Department of Labor estimates that the proportion of white residents in Essex County will continue to decrease over the next 20 years. At the same time, these projections indicate that the percentage of black residents in the county will remain relatively stable, while that of other groups is expected to double (see Appendix A).

Figures from the 1990 census provide a reasonably up-to-date and very detailed snapshot of the populations in the area surrounding EDIS (Table 2). Several aspects of this demographic snapshot should be highlighted to illustrate the present population characteristics of the local area

TABLE 2: Demographic Profile for West Orange, Orange, and Essex County (1990 Census)

	West Orange	Orange	Essex County
Population	39,103	29,925	778,206
Race			
White	87.6%	23.9%	51.1%
Black	5.7%	70.3%	40.6%
Native American	0.1%	0.4%	0.2%
Asian or Pacific Islander	5.6%	1.3%	2.7%
Other	0.9%	4.0%	5.3%
Hispanic Origin (of any race)	4.4%	10.8%	12.6%
Foreign Born Persons	16.0%	20.8%	15.6%
Persons Over 5 Who Speak a Language Other Than English at Home	19.0%	20.9%	23.9%
Persons Over 5 Who Have Lived in Same House for 5 or More Years	65.8%	58.0%	65.1%
Educational Attainment (25 and Over):			
High School Graduate or Better	83.2%	65.6%	70.1%
College or Professional Degree	37.7%	18.1%	24.0%
1989 Median Household Income	\$49,777	\$27,301	\$34,518

and to indicate some aspects of the area that locally-targeted programming at the park may wish to take into account.

The racial and ethnic composition of West Orange differs from that of Orange. West Orange is predominantly (87.6%) white, with small but nearly equal proportions of black (5.7%) and Asian-Pacific Islander (5.6%) residents. The people who comprise this latter segment of the population are primarily of Asian Indian (1.6% of all township residents), Chinese (1.5%), Filipino (1.3%),

or Korean (0.7%) descent. Orange is predominantly (70.3%) black, with a modest proportion (23.9%) of white residents and a very small fraction (1.3%) of people of Asian-Pacific Islander ancestry. Asian Indians (0.5% of all city residents) and Filipinos (0.4%) comprise the majority of Asian-Pacific Islanders in Orange, and compared to West Orange, there are relatively few residents of Chinese (0.2%) or Korean (0.1%) ancestry.

The demographic composition of these two municipalities reflects the patterns in the population of the county as a whole. Newark, and several municipalities immediately adjacent to it, including Orange, are predominantly black. Outside Newark and most of its immediate neighbors, the towns of Essex County tend to be, like West Orange, predominantly white. In the county as a whole just over half (51.1%) of the entire Essex County population is white, and somewhat less than half (40.6%) of all county residents are black. People of Asian-Pacific Islander ancestry comprise a small portion (2.7%) of all county residents, with those of Korean (0.8% of all county residents), Filipino (0.7%), Chinese (0.6%), and Asian Indian (0.3%) descent comprising most of this group. In both West Orange and Orange, as well as in the county as a whole, people of Native Americans descent comprise a very small fraction of the population (0.1 to 0.3%).

The proportion of persons of Hispanic origin (who can belong to any racial category in current census data) differs between West Orange and Orange. In Orange, 10.8 percent of the population is Hispanic, slightly less than the 12.6 percent that characterizes the entire Essex County population. In contrast, the proportion of Hispanic residents in West Orange (4.4%) is less than half that who reside in either Orange or the county as a whole.

Relative to the neighboring municipality of Orange and to Essex County as a whole, these data indicate that people living in West Orange tend to be more affluent and to have more formal education. In contrast, compared both to West Orange and Essex County generally, people living in Orange tend to be less affluent and to have less formal education. Census data also suggest that the population of Orange is somewhat more mobile (changes residences slightly more often) than that of the county as a whole or of West Orange.

The demographic profile also suggests that compared to West Orange and all of Essex County, Orange has a larger proportion of recent immigrants. The strongest indication of this is given by the proportion of foreign-born residents for the city, which is over 4 percentage points higher than for West Orange or the county as a whole.

Published 1990 census data does not provide a clear indication of the countries of origin of recent immigrants, but information from the public school systems of the two municipalities is suggestive in this regard (Philadelphia Online 1997). Among the data collected by these systems is that concerning the first language spoken at the homes of students. Such data may provide an index to the origins of recent immigrants and to those who maintain a continuing connection with

Table 3: Language Diversity in West Orange and Orange Public Schools, 1995-96 School Year

First Language Spoken at Home	West Orange	Orange
English	75.6%	86.8%
Haitian Creole	1.1%	7.8%
Pilipino	1.4%	0.0%
Spanish	9.4%	4.4%
Other	12.5%*	1.0%**
Number of Students	4846	3977

*Other languages reported for West Orange include Albanian, Arabic, Cantonese, Cebuano, Creole English, Greek, Gujarati, Hebrew, Hindi, Italian, Korean, Malayalam, Polish, and Russian.

**Other languages reported for Orange include Arabic and Ibo and may also include Africaans, German, Hausa, Hindi, Italian, Korean, and Yoruba.

Percentages for entire district are estimated from data included in Philadelphia Online's (1997) report cards for individual schools.

the nations of their ancestors (Table 3).² These data suggest that a substantial portion of the population in Orange is of Haitian birth or descent. Not unexpectedly, a strong Hispanic presence is also indicated for Orange, and in West Orange this group appears to be comprise the largest fraction of people who regularly use a language other than English. If the sheer number of languages spoken at home is any indication, however, West Orange's residents seem to be drawn from a broader group of nationalities than Orange's. Nonetheless, these data seem to show that Orange's residents include people born in, or with continuing ties to, Africa (represented by Africaans, Ibo, Hausa, and Yoruba speakers), who do not show up in the available data for West Orange.

It is worth noting that in both towns most of the elementary schools having high proportions of students with a first home language other than English are located within a mile or so of the

²Figures for first language spoken at home are probably self-reported by students or their parents. It is likely that, since English is the dominant language of American culture, there is a tendency for people to report English as the language spoken at home whenever this seems plausible. On the other hand, since language is closely tied to a sense of national identity, it is possible that some people may report use of a language other than English in the home even if English is widely used. At best, then, these data are an imperfect guide to linguistic, cultural, and national diversity in the towns.

Laboratory Unit at EDIS (data in Appendix A). This observation leads to another, which is that, if anything, the available census data does not fully represent the diversity of the area within which EDIS is located.

For example, while much of the landscape of Orange is densely built up with modest houses and commercial and industrial properties all in close proximity, the southern quarter of the city, located east of Lincoln Avenue and south of Central Avenue, about a mile and a half from the Edison site, has a more suburban appearance. With its tree-lined streets and 1920s-era Stockbroker Tudors and Colonial Revivals sited on generous lots, this section of Orange closely resembles the neighboring, and more affluent, municipality of South Orange or the 1930s-era middle-class suburban developments on the slopes of First Watchung Mountain in West Orange. The character of West Orange is similarly varied, with the older, strongly urban landscape around the Edison Laboratory contrasting with other parts of the township, such as the 1920s- and 1930s-era suburban developments on First Watchung Mountain, the new suburban developments and shopping centers of the town's western reaches, or the affluent Llewellyn Park area. Additional analysis of data (which is beyond the scope of this study), such as that for individual census tracts, would provide further insights into the diversity of the local communities within which EDIS is located. As EDIS expands its contacts with and directs programming to various local groups and communities, a more detailed follow-up study of demographic and other types of population data would be useful and appropriate.

B. STUDY ISSUES

Like all national parks and monuments, the Edison site serves a variety of publics. Among these are recreational users, tourists with a general interest in American history or a particular one in Thomas A. Edison, his technological innovations, his home life, or his times. Many of these visitors come from outside the greater New York-northern New Jersey area, and indeed the site sees visitors not just from throughout the United States, but from abroad as well. In addition to such relatively casual visitors, many serious scholars, both avocational and professional, as well as journalists and writers, come to EDIS to use its archives and collections for research. During the school year, the site offers educational opportunities to many school groups, mostly from northern New Jersey and vicinity and hosts a variety of special-interest group tours as well. Each of these groups is an important and well-established public for the park, and many are nationally-based constituencies, highly appropriate to the broad mission of the park to preserve and interpret the legacy of Thomas Edison for the American people. The existence of such national constituencies is characteristic of most parks and monuments in the national park system, but in recent years the agency has begun to look more closely at its relationships with local publics as well. Local communities often make use of parks in ways that are distinctly different from those of recreational visitors and other national, or even global, constituencies. Moreover, such communities can present distinct opportunities for interpretive, managerial, and development partnerships with the Park Service at individual parks.

The ethnographic program of the National Park Service has in part grown out of the recognition that local communities are important constituencies of individual parks. Ethnography is the study of the culture or lifeway of particular social groups, and since it is one of the sister disciplines

comprising the field of anthropology, it focuses particularly on small-scale groups, such as local communities (Agar 1996; Hammersley and Atkinson 1983). It is therefore ideally suited to studying, as well as facilitating, relationships between parks and local publics. Ethnographic study is particularly useful when, as is the case for the Edison site, the local communities are diverse and stand in various relationships to the park and the resources it protects.

This study, then, is an ethnographic overview and assessment of EDIS. Its general purpose was to sketch the nature of the connections between the Edison site and several of the groups or communities that have long-standing connections to the park and its resources. The study was specifically concerned with documenting some of the ways in which the park serves as a continuing anchor for these communities.

A core concept for framing the investigation was that of *ethnographic resource*. This term was developed by NPS ethnographers to help articulate various management concerns and objectives related to local communities and non-recreational use of the national parks. It is discussed at some length in Chapter 10 of the Park Service's *Cultural Resource Management Guideline* (NPS 1994:166-169). By "ethnographic resource" NPS means those elements of a park that are significant to the lifeway or identity of a group that has been traditionally associated with a park. Such resources are "assigned cultural significance by traditional users" (NPS 1994:168). They acquire distinctive meaning according to the particular cultural constructs or world view of a specific group, and they are "traditionally meaningful to their identity as group and the survival of their lifeways" (NPS 1994:168). The definition of "traditional association" is specific: "To be considered traditional, associations to park resources will usually have endured at least two generations" (NPS 1994:167). The particular entities that could be regarded as ethnographic resources are as varied as the national park system itself. Ethnographic resources could include natural resources, spaces, places, sites, structures, objects, or artifacts. The nature of the groups with such associations is equally flexible, though NPS emphasizes resources significant to non-recreational users, such as park neighbors and traditional (in the sense above) residents.

Based on the Request for Quotations of March 29, 1996 and subsequent consultations with NPS staff, the Park Service indicated that the study should consider several questions:

- How does Edison National Historic Site serve as a continuing anchor for different communities with which it is traditionally associated?
- What are the ethnographic resources that exist within Edison National Historic Park and on adjacent lands and with which groups are they associated?
- What new demographic groups are emerging in West Orange and surrounding communities and how might these groups affect visitor services?
- How might the National Park Service enhance the participation of both traditionally-associated and newly-emergent groups in decision-making and operations at Edison National Park?

- What gaps exist in ethnographic knowledge concerning the groups and communities associated with the Edison National Historic Site and how might they be addressed?

Although the study generated data bearing on each of these topics, it quickly became apparent that the historical and present setting of the park was complex. Further, there was little or no previous work concerning the ethnography of the specific local groups and communities associated with the site to build upon. (Research for the ethnographic overview and assessment at EDIS was conducted while a related ethnographic investigation, concerning resources associated with African Americans at EDIS and several other national parks in the northeastern region, was in preparation [Page 1997].)

Given the resources available for the study, we, the Berger Team, found it was necessary to restrict the study in several ways. First, the study emphasized the question of the role of EDIS as continuing anchor for traditionally-associated groups and focused on just three such groups: residents of Llewellyn Park, former employees of various Edison companies, and a selection of West Orange township residents. (Page's [1997] study complements this one by discussing EDIS resources associated with yet another group, African Americans.) Second, the number of community consultants (local informants) was restricted, as were the techniques employed to elicit information from these individuals. Third, the study did not seek to generate comprehensive lists of ethnographic resources but to delineate categories and examples of such resources. Finally, we framed the study not as comprehensive but as exploratory, more intended to understand the ethnographic terrain fully and to identify appropriate methods and tactics, than to serve as a comprehensive and definitive ethnographic study.

C. STUDY METHODS

To address the issues raised by NPS within the constraints outlined above, the team adopted a strategy for this study involved four principal tasks:

- Rapid initial overview of the park to form a preliminary impression of its ethnographic, archival, and material culture domains.
- Pilot study to develop a set of tactics for identifying and locating former employees of Thomas A. Edison, Inc., and McGraw-Edison.
- Approximately 15 ethnographic interviews covering three distinct groups or communities with long term associations to the park.
- Initial identification of ethnographic resources associated with groups included in this study.

In addition to these tasks, NPS requested that the study team gather available information on recent population trends for West Orange and Essex County.

1. *Community Consultant Identification*

This component of the project was a pilot study to develop a strategy for locating former employees of the Edison enterprises living in northern New Jersey and for assessing the costs of doing so. The pilot study built previous work by the park staff to compile lists of living former employees. This work includes that of Glenmont's curator to identify former domestics and other residents of the Edison home and the park's recent solicitations via fliers and advertisements for former Edison and McGraw-Edison employees. Our study looked at various types of employee records in the Edison archives and at information in the 1952 edition of the *Directory of the Oranges* (Price & Lee Co. 1952:183-1084). The project's documents researcher then attempted to match the list of names of former employees against public records of addresses and telephone numbers. Several hundred possible matches were achieved, and a sample of 72 individuals was telephoned to determine whether they were former employees. This effort yielded the names of 21 additional former employees who were previously unknown to NPS (Appendix B).

2. *Ethnographic Interviews*

This component of the project involved conducting and analyzing tape-recorded interviews with approximately 15 people, who come from three different groups that are traditionally associated with EDIS. These groups were selected in consultation with park staff and NPS's regional applied ethnography program manager. The three groups selected for detailed study were residents of Llewellyn Park (five interviews), former employees of the Edison companies (six interviews), and civic and business leaders in the West Orange community (five interviews, including one not taped). In accordance with instructions from NPS, all interviews were conducted by the Project Ethnographer.

Ethnographic interviews were well-suited to the goals of this project, since its purpose was to explore unknown terrain. In general, ethnographic methods feature a learning stance in relation to the topic of interest, rather than one geared to hypothesis testing (Agar 1996, Hammersley and Atkinson 1983, Spradley 1979). Ethnographic interviews emphasize a listening rather than a questioning role for the interviewer. In other words, the interviewer acts as a student or neophyte in relation to the interviewee, who is treated as a teacher or expert. Concepts that enter into the subsequent analysis of the interviews are "experience near" rather than "experience distant;" that is, they emerge directly from the interviews and interviewees' world view, instead of representing reified concepts imposed by the analyst. Analysis, then, calls for retrospective modeling of cultural patterns that emerge through the interviews rather than by correlation with predefined variables. In contemporary ethnographic practice, and particularly during an extended study, the goal is for the ethnographer to work collaboratively with members of the local community to explore broad research topics. (As a result of its stress on collaborative relationships, NPS [1994] has adopted the term "community consultants" to refer to local people who provide information to ethnographic investigations.)

The ethnographic interviews conducted for this study bear a strong resemblance to interviews conducted by oral historians, such as those represented by the collection of interview transcripts

in the Edison archives. This was perhaps inevitable given that the subject of the study was a historical site, and that many of the interviewees saw their role as “eyewitnesses” to historical events. Nonetheless, three differences should be highlighted. First, the interviewer did not begin with a set of historical issues in mind and did not seek to pin down tightly historical circumstances or chronology. Instead, the past emerged as a theme in the interviews. Second, the ethnographer is as interested in the way in which interviewees frame and employ their descriptions of past events as in the accuracy of interviewees’ historical narratives. In other words, an important question for the ethnographer is what does the past mean to the interviewee in the present, or how do historical narratives shape and reflect present norms, values, and social relationships? Third, the interviews were conducted within the framework of anthropological ethics, which insists upon confidentiality for the informant and respect for community beliefs and intellectual property rights (see the introduction to Charlesworth et al’s [1989] ethnography for an interesting discussion of this problem in an institutional setting). As a result, none of our community consultants is identified by name and the interview transcripts remain in the control of the the Project Ethnographer.

This project followed these standard features of an ethnographic exploration into previously undocumented phenomena. It is important to mention here that the limits on this study allowed only the *first steps* of an ethnographic study, an important limitation on the study. However, given that limit, the study proceeded in a standard ethnographic way.

Once the groups to be interviewed were selected, two considerations came into play. First of all, only one interview was to be conducted. In a traditional ethnography, the ethnographer deals with a fixed community and allows ample time for rapport to develop before interviews begin. For these interviews, we relied on individuals who, in the judgment of NPS staff and the Berger Team, displayed the motivation and trust that promised an open interview. In the judgment of the interviewer, the strategy succeeded. Only one interviewee displayed any reluctance or hostility towards the project.

Second, the sample would clearly be opportunistic rather than representative. However, we attempted to apply the traditional ethnographic guideline of maximizing sample differences. By this is simply meant that, within a given group, we tried to interview members who differed in age, gender, and social position. The working assumption that lies behind this strategy is this: The differences among group members increase the likelihood that variation will occur. If a pattern replicates across such differences, it increases the likelihood that the pattern holds for members of the group *in general*. The descriptions of interviewees are sketched in the appropriate sections to come, but by and large we were able to incorporate socio-economic differences into each group.

All interviews were conducted by the project ethnographer. In most cases he traveled to the home or office of the interviewee. Interviews, with one exception, were all tape-recorded and written informed consent was obtained. The tapes were then professionally transcribed in an informal format. By this is meant that the project focused on broad areas of content rather than the detailed logical and linguistic (propositional) structure of the narratives. For this reason, fine linguistic

detail was not necessary. Interview segments used in this report were lightly edited for readability.

After checking the transcripts, the ethnographer entered the texts into ATLAS-ti ethnographic software. "Atlas," as it is usually called, is one of two state-of-the-art programs now on the market. The program allows a researcher to annotate or code a document, in this case a transcript, using any terms desired to summarize themes or topics noted in the document. It also allows rapid retrieval of all segments of the document under a particular code or theme.

The process of analysis using Atlas-ti involved several steps. For each transcript, the ethnographer first read through the material several times, noting broad preliminary codes or themes that indicated repeated patterns of content. He then went through the texts again, applying, and then revising and refining, the original categories. Once this task was accomplished, the program could retrieve interview segments under particular codes or code combinations and print them to a text file. Each text file was then taken as a resource for writing to begin. It should be mentioned here that writing and revising draft sections constitutes a part of the analysis. In the process of working with the text files that are the output of Atlas, new distinctions are made and new connections become apparent, on occasion calling for a return to the software to review additional material.

The process of analysis, then, consisted of iterative interactions with the original transcripts in search of repeated themes and their variations. A version of hypothesis testing operated with the search for contradictory or complicating materials in the texts, given the emergence of a particular theme. In brief, the methodological process that underlies the material in the sections to come was a straightforward application of standard ethnographic methods.

3. Park Resource Analysis

This component of the project consisted of a rapid survey of park resources (including artifacts, archival materials, buildings, and landscapes) to identify materials that could be classified as ethnographic resources. Two strategies were employed. On the one hand, the study team interviewed and consulted with various EDIS staff members to obtain information on the collections and the ways in which various publics use the park's resources. On the other hand, analysis of the interviews with members of the three communities that are the focus of this study yielded information leading to the identification of ethnographic resources.

The analytical approach employed here involved several steps. First, an effort was made to gain a general familiarity with the park and the artifacts, buildings, spaces, and documents under NPS stewardship. Second, interviews were conducted with selected staff members to gain impressions of usage of park resources by various groups, including traditionally associated groups. Third, the results of interviews with the project ethnographer were reviewed to search for "pointers" that connect these groups to resources under NPS stewardship. In some instances these pointers consisted of direct references to objects or categories of objects. In other cases the pointers were found in oblique or implied references, or were embedded in metaphors. Finally, the insights

obtained through the informal and formal interviews were checked against and interpreted through the researcher's understanding of the park and its collections.

D. OVERVIEW OF REPORT

In the chapters that follow, we report on the results of our study. The following three chapters report on the three groups that were the focus of the study: residents of Llewellyn Park, former Edison employees, and civic and business leaders in West Orange (the "West Orange Community Exploration Group"). These chapters include background material concerning the historical relationship between the park's resources and the group; an analysis and discussion of the major themes that emerged during the interviews; and a discussion of ethnographic resources that appear to be associated with the group. Chapter V provides a discussion of management implications and recommendations. The final chapter highlights strengths and weaknesses in the data acquired by the study and makes suggestions for future ethnographic research.

The report is supported by several appendices. Appendix A provides additional details on local census data for period 1970 to 1990 and projections into the early twenty-first century. Appendix B discusses the results of the pilot study to locate former Edison employees. Appendix C provides a tabulations of Edison employees listed in the 1952 edition of *The Directory of the Oranges* (Price & Lee Co. 1952). Appendix D lists personnel and consultants involved in this study. Appendix E includes material added while the final report was being revised.

To facilitate use of the report, there are several types of summaries. At the beginning of the report there is a non-technical Executive Summary, which abstracts the report chapter by chapter. This is followed by more detailed summaries of findings for each of the three groups covered in detail by the study. Originally titled ethnographic data sheets, these summaries of findings are designed to assist the park in developing its Ethnographic Resources Inventory (ERI) (NPS 1994:176). Finally, at the end of each chapter is a summary of the results or recommendations covered by the chapter.

This report was a collaborative effort between members of the Berger Team. Michael Agar, the Project Ethnographer and Principal Investigator drafted the analyses and discussions of the ethnographic interviews that form the cores of chapters II through IV. Christopher L. Borstel drafted most of chapters I, V, and IV and supplied the background information and discussions of ethnographic resources in chapters II through IV. Appendix A was the responsibility of the Berger Team project manager, Antony Mason. Appendix B was prepared by the project's documents researcher, Ingrid A. Wuebber. The material in Appendix C was collected by Leslie Bashman Frucht and formatted by Borstel.

Summary: DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

Edison National Historic Site is located in an ethnically, racially, and economically diverse area.

- Census data described in this report depicts demographic patterns and trends within the Township of West Orange and its neighbor, the City of Orange. However, neither municipality is internally homogenous, and there are neighborhoods or sections within each with differing economic, social, and demographic characteristics.
- Since 1970, the populations of the local communities have undergone racial and ethnic change, part of the demographic changes seen across all of Essex County.
- Today, residents of the Township of West Orange:
 - are predominantly (87.6% in 1990) white;
 - are typically more affluent than those of Essex County generally; and
 - typically have more formal schooling than those of Essex County generally.
- Today, residents of the City of Orange:
 - are predominantly (70.3% in 1990) black;
 - are typically less affluent than those of Essex County generally; and
 - typically have less formal schooling than those of Essex County generally.
- People of Asian and Pacific Island descent comprise 5.6% of West Orange's residents and 1.3% of Orange's residents (1990 data). In West Orange, this group primarily includes those of Asian Indian, Chinese, Filipino, and Korean descent, while in Orange, the group consists mostly of Asian Indians and Filipinos. This group is projected to increase in its proportion of the population over the next two decades.
- People of Hispanic heritage comprise 4.4% of West Orange's population and 10.6% of Orange's population (1990 data). This group is projected to increase in its proportion of the population over the next two decades.
- Expanding and emergent populations that are or may be of increasing importance in the local communities include:
 - African Americans;
 - People of Hispanic origin;
 - Haitian immigrants and descendants.
- A substantial fraction of residents of West Orange and Orange, including school age children, do not speak English as their first language. The most common languages other than English spoken in the area appear to be:
 - Spanish;
 - Haitian Creole.

II. RESIDENTS OF LLEWELLYN PARK

A. BACKGROUND

Thomas Edison moved to Llewellyn Park in 1886, shortly after his marriage to his second wife, Mina Miller Edison. Then 39 years old, Edison was already regarded as one of America's greatest inventors and was, moreover, well established as an industrialist, someone who could link ideas with capital to generate products for the mass market. In the months before their marriage, in February 1886, Thomas and Mina had searched the area around New York for a residence suited to a man of his fame and wealth. They found such a place at Glenmont, one of the largest estates in Llewellyn Park. Glenmont became Edison's permanent home until his death in 1931, and Mina remained there until her death in 1947. It was designated the Edison Home National Historic Site in 1955 and at that time entered the National Park Service as a non-federal site. In 1959, the owners of Glenmont, the McGraw-Edison Company donated the property to NPS. Three years later, Congress combined the laboratory and Glenmont into a single administrative entity, Edison National Historic Site (EDIS) (EDIS 1990).

Built between 1880 and 1882 by Henry C. Pedder using funds embezzled from his employer, the Arnold Constable department store, Glenmont is a rambling Queen Anne-style house of 23 rooms. Its size, furnishings, and grounds leave no doubt as to the affluence of its owners, yet its luxuriousness is not consciously intended to overwhelm. Instead, Glenmont's design owes a great deal to the ideals of domestic life held by America's well-to-do in the late nineteenth century. In these ideals, practicality, efficiency, and good hygiene existed in a comfortably rustic setting.

Llewellyn Park, the setting for Glenmont, was itself an embodiment of these ideals. The Park, as its modern residents call it, was America's earliest planned suburban development, a direct outgrowth of the possibilities for country living that the nation's expanding network of railroads offered. It was begun in 1853 by Llewellyn S. Haskell (1815-1872), transcendentalist, drug importer, and real-estate speculator from New York. At its greatest extent in the late nineteenth century, Haskell's development covered over 700 acres on the slopes of First Watchung (or Orange) Mountain. (Twentieth century losses due to highway construction and other causes have reduced Llewellyn Park's extent to approximately 422 acres.) The landscape of Llewellyn Park was artistically primeval, but the houses were grand: the development was an exclusive enclave for the Protestant establishment of the later nineteenth century. Llewellyn Park provided "country homes for city people," attracting many wealthy New Yorkers, who could readily travel by train to attend to their business interests in the hurly-burly of the city, then return to the domestic tranquility of their suburban estates. The perpetuation of Llewellyn Park as an exclusive residential section was assured from the beginning by a deed of trust attached to every deed, which restricted owners to certain rules—such as a prohibition on the operation of trade or business—and provided for the assessment of annual fees to maintain roads and services (Grow 1979:86-87; Guter 1984; Pierson 1922:306-308).

Today, Glenmont is something of an anomaly within Llewellyn Park. It is a historic home, open with certain controls to the public, within a district that is aggressively private and residential. Further, unlike other properties within Llewellyn Park, whose owners are private individuals, Glenmont is owned by a public entity. Given the long history of Llewellyn Park and the existence of various social facts, such as the guarded front gate and its self-governing activities, that serve to reinforce and perpetuate it as a consciously distinct district, it was obvious of importance to examine the ethnographic dimensions of the relationship between NPS resources and the Park's residents.

B. THE INTERVIEWS

Five Llewellyn Park (LP) residents were interviewed. Interviewees included a resident who is currently involved in the administration of the district; a member of one of the old families who have been residents for several generations; a person interested in Llewellyn Park history; and members of two younger families with children, who have recently moved in. The selection of people to interview was based upon a list of possible contacts provided by the superintendent of EDIS. This list was particularly helpful because there is no readily available public listing of Llewellyn Park residents, and many who live there have unlisted telephone numbers. At the same time, use of this list of contacts may have introduced a degree of bias to the interviews, slanting towards those who are more active in the community or who have ongoing relationships with NPS. Initial contact with prospective interviewees was by telephone, and only two of those contacted declined to participate. Four of the interviews were conducted in the homes of the interviewees, and the fifth was held at the Edison laboratory. All interviews were conducted by Michael Agar, the Project Ethnographer.

In this section of the report, we explore just what "Llewellyn Park" and, more specifically, "Glenmont," mean to residents. Among the insights that emerged from the interviews was, first, that residents have a strong sense of identity as residents of Llewellyn Park. Llewellyn Park residents appear to regard themselves as members of a distinct community within the township of West Orange. It should be noted, however, that the word "community" is highly loaded with both descriptive and prescriptive nuances, and the ways Llewellyn Park residents conceptualized this term could not be fully explored within this study. This issue is of more than passing interest, since Llewellyn Park is a community in transition, as a diverse group of younger residents, most with children, has been moving into the district in recent years. Based on the interviews, it appears that residents view Glenmont as one among several important components in the district. Glenmont and the National Park Service do not for the most part appear as isolated entities, but rather they are part of the ethnographic landscape of Llewellyn Park as a whole. The interviews suggest that Glenmont functions as a visible embodiment both of the history and of the ideals of historic preservation in the district. Such a visible symbol is perhaps especially important at this time of population transition. The interviews also document the fundamentally positive relationship between NPS and Llewellyn Park residents, with the agency and the district cooperating on many issues of mutual interest.

1. Llewellyn Park

Early in the first interview, an ambiguity around the term “park” arose, an ambiguity worth noting because it is diagnostic of much that emerged from the interviews. According to standard English usage, the phrase “the park” implies a unique referent. Prior to the interviews, the ethnographer learned to think of “the park” as the Edison Historic National Site, including the laboratory and Glenmont, since that was how the NPS staff spoke. In contrast, for residents of Llewellyn Park, “the Park” means Llewellyn Park, not the NPS facilities.³

The ambiguity is diagnostic because in the material to be presented shortly, we will see that the original focus from the NPS point of view—Glenmont, Thomas Edison’s former residence, or “the park” for NPS—is by and large not the focus for residents of Llewellyn Park, “the Park” to those who live there. Instead, interviewees revealed a concern with issues relevant to the current political and economic situation of Llewellyn Park in general, with Glenmont playing a supporting role. For NPS, Glenmont is the focus, and Llewellyn Park is the context. For Llewellyn Park residents, the Park is the focus, and Glenmont provides part of the context.

One major issue illustrating the position of Glenmont from the point of view of Llewellyn Park residents is the Internal Revenue Service’s (IRS) current (1996) review of the Park’s tax status. This topic appeared primarily in the administrator’s interview. Llewellyn Park is chartered as a non-profit corporation, a 501C in IRS terminology. Recently the IRS has questioned this status, since the Park charges for some of its services. While this research was ongoing, Llewellyn Park was in the midst of negotiations with IRS.

I⁴: So the IRS has ruled that [the Park is a 501C] in the past, and we have letters that say that. But once in awhile they just pop up their head and say that there have been changes in the law, and there have been changes in the law that have affected 501C’s, and they’re concerned about non-profits and everything.

Obviously this issue is critical for the Park, since loss of 501C status would mean a new tax burden on assessments that the approximately 150 proprietors pay, as well as fees that are charged for such services as snow-plowing and wood chipping.

I: So we do have some profit-making operations, but they are for the benefit of the Park. We’ve tried sales taxes under state law. We do snow removals, [collecting] sales taxes which we pay [to the state]. If we chip somebody’s tree up or something and give them the chips, we charge them for that service. We don’t make any real money on it, but we have to be compensated for our equipment and

³This conflict of referents poses an editorial problem. We have solved it by capitalizing the word “park” wherever reference is being made specifically to Llewellyn Park. Thus, “the Park” means Llewellyn Park. Obviously, people do not include capital letters in their speech and residents’ use of the phrase “the Park” is natural and unemphatic. So it should be noted that our use of “Park” with a capitalized P in the quotations from interview transcripts is intended only clarify matters for the reader and represents an editorial judgment on our part. In a further attempt to avoid confusion to the reader, we have to the extent possible, avoided the locution “the park” to refer to Edison National Historic Site.

⁴Interviewee

our time. If we didn't do it, someone else would have to do it. So we don't make a profit on that, nor have we ever made a profit on that. We just wanted to pay back our costs.

This particular interviewee sits in a key managerial role for the Park, so it is no surprise that he links Glenmont repeatedly to the IRS issue. For example, the ethnographer asked Llewellyn Park interviewees about their security concerns—did they worry about the flow of visitors through the Park on their way to visit Glenmont? The answers varied considerably, as we will see later in this section. But, for this interviewee, his answer links directly to the IRS:

- I: We get a lot of people coming to the gate that we have to turn away and say, I'm sorry, it is private property. And the IRS jumped on that in our last audit, saying, you know, you're not really a community, because you're not letting the world go through Llewellyn Park. And we say, well, you wouldn't want the world to go through your personal property, your private property either. It's our private property. You're welcome to come to Glenmont, get a pass and come in, and we'll let you come through.

Or, to take another example, this interviewee discusses the archives, another topic which we will treat in more detail later. At the time of this research, the archives for the Park were housed at EDIS in the Main Laboratory building. In talking about the federal government shutdowns of late 1995 and early 1996, the interviewee's comments about access to the archives again brought up the IRS issue.

- I: The laboratories provided us some corridor space or something where we keep some file cabinets for the Park archives. I don't even know where it is. It's here somewhere. There are very valuable records, mostly photographs and drawings in these archives, and also some records of our minutes which have to be maintained. So we didn't have access to it. And it was interesting, because right at that same point we were in dispute with the IRS over the tax exempt status, and so we couldn't get to our own records. So we had some problems with that. And then the records themselves of course are deteriorating, just as everything else in this building has deteriorated, because of the humidity problems, and HVAC, and leaking roofs, and everything else that's involved here. So we are very concerned about that part of our relationship.

E⁵: So the issue is really accessibility.

- I: It's accessibility and where we keep them and a lot of other things. And of course when the laboratory is closed we can't get to them either. And sometimes we need them at a moment's notice, in some emergency situation. So we are talking about removing them, or some other arrangement. But we prefer not to do that, because it's an expense.

Other examples are available. For example, later this interviewee mentions that Glenmont receives about 10,000 visitors a year, a fact that he considers important because he needs it for discussions with the IRS. Perhaps one closing quote is appropriate to wrap up this discussion, a quote that shows the ethnographer testing the conclusion that 501C status and Glenmont are linked, with an

⁵Ethnographer

interesting answer that suggests that IRS is the salient issue, with Glenmont a less salient but critical part of the context:

E: And your tax status is linked to the presence of Glenmont, of course. Or did I misunderstand?

I: No, it is not really. It may be linked to it. More and more the IRS is saying it is linked to it. In the last correspondence with the IRS, a new examiner just looked at it and said, it's a very difficult case. He said they were trying to decide what we are. He said, you're neither this nor that, so you're something very special, and we know that. There's nothing else like it that I know of. Maybe Tuxedo Park in New York might be similar, but it doesn't have an historic site in it, and it doesn't have a National Park Service in it. But it's of the same planning period. ... [Details about Tuxedo Park edited out.] But the trusteeship idea was a unique one, and we're sort of going in that direction, of public and private partnerships and that type of thing. We're trying to protect properties, protect heritage, and one of the ways you can do that is by creating trusteeships. So we have, which I didn't mention, we have three trustees that are appointed. They're appointed, I think, they're not elected; and our deed of trust provides that if we get down to one, then we have to make two more. But the new deed of trust arrangements say we'll always have three, and they're always proprietors of the Park. They're not on the Committee of Managers. They're separate from that. They don't have voting power, or anything else; but they have funds under their control. And they are responsible for the archives, for example. And they are responsible for maintaining the Rambles, making sure that those things are done, because it's a trusteeship.

So far we have relied on a single interviewee. It was appropriate to do so, because he is the expert in this first critical area. It was also useful to feature a single interview at this initial stage of the report to illustrate how a particular, unexpected theme surfaces across disparate portions of an interview.

The purpose of an ethnographic approach was to enable exactly this type of discussion. Rather than asking a set of targeted questions about Glenmont that had been scripted in advance, interviewees were asked to talk about "the park," which, as already pointed out, led them to talk about Llewellyn Park in general rather than Glenmont specifically. In this case, Glenmont, and the Edison site in general, surface frequently as topics. But, in this case, Glenmont is significant to the extent that it plays a supporting role in broader Llewellyn Park issues.

Even when the ethnographer suggested Glenmont as a specific topic to this interviewee, he downplayed Glenmont as the specific focus and linked it to broader concerns:

E: Do you folks who live in the Park—is Glenmont a topic of conversation? Is it a point of pride?

I: Some pride. It's that everybody who has visitors coming in to see them, will show them Glenmont. They may not take them there, but they'll certainly drive them

by, drive around, like where Thomas Edison lived. It's a source of pride, sure. And the town considers it one of their major assets. No question about that. The mayor just the other day at a celebration said that very clearly. He said, it's our great asset.

A second expert interviewee, one more directly linked to NPS concerns, specializes in the Llewellyn Park archives that the first interviewee mentioned. She began her interview by talking about the overwhelming amount of material and her inability to deal with it as a lone volunteer. However, the interview turned from the specific issue of the Park's archives to her more general role as a member of the historical commission of the town of West Orange.

E: But also to be sure I understand, you are on the historical commission that was appointed.

I: Yes, I was appointed by the mayor to the West Orange Historic Preservation Commission. And I really accepted to watch out for Llewellyn Park problems, etcetera.

Once again the context of the discussion broadens considerably, from Glenmont to the Llewellyn Park archives maintained in the historic site to the town within which the Park is located. Much of the interview dealt with her broader role in the historical politics of the community. This interviewee went into some detail on the process of historical designation, both for individual properties and for areas of the community. For present purposes, we want to feature two issues that she discussed, one internal to Llewellyn Park, the other related to the Park in the context of West Orange.

The first issue involves preservation of the homes in Llewellyn Park. The deed of trust, to which all homeowners in the Park automatically subscribe when they purchase their homes, carries no restrictions on modifications of existing homes or the shape of new structures. Here's what can happen:

I: One person came in, they were three years in the Park. He had a house. I don't know if you know architects, but it was a Stanford White.

E: Oh sure, I know Stanford White.

I: And when they did a report on the Park for when we did a national designation, that was considered one of the most important and complete Stanford White houses in the country. The people moved in, maybe two and a half years. They destroyed many things—they took down the porch, they put ceramic lions on it, they made it into a modern Chinese estate. Now if you don't believe in historic preservation, then it shouldn't matter at all. But for those of us who believe this, to preserve the house for two hundred, three hundred years from now ...

The way to prevent such changes would be to obtain local designation, but apparently a significant number of residents of the Park object:

E: So let me be sure I've got this story straight. So West Orange would be the authority that would say this a locally designated historical site. And the story you're telling is that the first problem is that Llewellyn Park itself won't organize around getting that designation.

I: Right, there is a lot of flack around this.

E: Why would they not want that?

I: Because people don't want to be told what to do with their homes.

Two other interviewees mentioned the more general problem of maintaining the quality of houses in Llewellyn Park. One said that, in the past, groups of Park residents would purchase a house in disrepair, renovate it, and then put it on the market. In fact, that same interviewee mentioned Glenmont specifically, since he was concerned that cutbacks in government support for EDIS had already had a noticeable effect on the appearance of the house.

At any rate, we learn here that the issue of historical designation is seen, in part, as a way to preserve the quality of houses in the Park. The report of disagreement among residents foreshadows discussions to come, since Llewellyn Park is undergoing a transition from a traditional multigenerational community to a more fluid housing market with increasing numbers of newer residents with children. There will be more discussion on that topic later.

A second issue for this interviewee involves the use of historical designation to preserve and control the Llewellyn Park environment. Several stories were told about projects in the town. For example, in one story she told about another Llewellyn Park resident:

I: She was very instrumental in planting the trees on Main Street. Her feeling was that so goes Main Street, so goes the Park, and we had to get Main Street looking healthy again. She was responsible for the Main Street Development Corporation starting and planting the trees. And she felt that if Main Street went, that was the beginning, that was the border—it was just like a cancer that would move up.

In another passage, she described how many of the houses in the town had been built around the Edison factory, while others were vacation bungalows. Both areas were suitable for historical designation. Should designation occur, it would also enable town control over what she viewed as improper use of the dwellings:

I: Right now two and three families are moving into these houses on the outskirts. It's illegal, and it seems like our town council is just not paying attention; but what happens with designation is that a one-family house must stay a one-family house. That's what it was intended to be. Our schools are busting at the seams, because a lot of these low cost housings have three families in them. So that's one of the ways historical designation would alter the changing neighborhood. A one family house is a one family house. It's zoned in a one family area. So there would be a body who would be saying no, no, no.

As a final example of how her role on the commission links to both Llewellyn Park and the historic site, consider this discussion of an ongoing project involving the building across the street from the current laboratory portion of the Edison National Historic Site:

I: It's interesting what they're proposing to do with the Edison battery building. It will be coming up at the Historic Preservation Commission. The owner wants to create, on the scale of South Street Seaport [in Manhattan], which is an upscale environment, a tourist attraction which would entail a microbrewery, good shops, a museum, all sorts of things. I can't even imagine what it's going to do. Some people feel like it will stop that neighborhood from changing the way it's doing.

I just see it as six gazillion people coming into Main Street. I can't even get into Llewellyn Park now with the traffic. But the owner wants designation, and we are designating that building. He wants designation, because with designation he is privy to a lot of grant money, matching funds, all sorts of things for businesses. And the only sticking point is the amount of parking that's needed for what he has in mind. The town will have to condemn properties in the back of the building. For instance there's a towing company, Select Towing, AA Towing, which is locally based. There is a lot of parking area there that would have to be condemned, because they need the parking.

E: Yeah, you can't have a tow truck in the back of a tourist attraction.

I: And it's pretty ugly. So there's three buildings that have to be condemned, and it's going to cost the town two and a half million dollars to create that parking area, maybe a garage, a multilevel kind of a thing. I'm not sure that this is going to be healthy for—I have no idea. It will help Edison, bring people into Edison, but I don't particularly know if they can handle more people into Edison.

In an earlier comment that links the Park's houses and the town in general, the interviewee talked about how the politics of the town have changed, how the initial interest in historical preservation is fading in light of an apparent lack of popular support in West Orange.

I: But people fight, and we're beginning—after six years it's very difficult. People are fighting historic designation. It's infringing on their homes and their rights, etcetera.

E: Fighting it in the Park here?

I: Well, fighting it in the Park, yeah. Because we were a national registry of historic places, we were hoping that this was a prime community that would understand what local designation would mean, especially since we're so very close to Main Street. And Main Street is the changing part of the community, and there are problems. The houses are not being maintained, they're falling apart. And how can we tell people to restore their houses and to maintain upkeep, when Llewellyn Park people themselves absolutely flatly rejected having local designation. I think they have to be educated.

Once again, the interest in specific park-Park relations, which centered on the archives in this case, led the interviewee to elaborate discussions of internal Llewellyn Park affairs and relations between the Park and the larger community. In this case, Glenmont virtually faded from the discussion. As a hypothesis, however, we would suggest that Glenmont hovers in the background as the symbolic center of Llewellyn Park, the visible public witness to the relevance of historical preservation in the Park and the community. Indeed, one might view the exhibition of the Park's archival material in Glenmont in the summer of 1996 as a concrete example of this link. We will discuss this event in more detail later.

A third issue that emerged in several interviews involved the noise from Interstate 280 (I-280), the highway that runs along the southwestern side of the Park. The ethnographer experienced the problem himself when he followed the road that runs between some of Llewellyn Park's houses and the ridge along the cut made for the highway. It is noisy, no doubt about it.

As one interviewee, a recent arrival in the Park, said:

I: Well see, with the older people, they would have an amazing amount of stories as far as that was concerned, because they were around when they cut the highway through the Park. And it's like one of the saddest stories you've ever heard.

E: Yeah, why did they do that?

I: Well, I mean, it's the deepest cut in New Jersey. Let the record stand here, why did they do that? They could have gone 80 yards or 150 yards over the other side.

And later:

I: That is absolutely awful. Well, that's how we feel about 280. I mean, it's a major convenience, we all know that. But it's a shame that it had to destroy something so beautiful. And there were a lot of people who felt that the person in charge was a disgruntled person who had a thing against the Park.

The interviewee involved in Llewellyn Park administrative duties spoke at some length about the issue of noise from I-280 and, once again, linked the issue with the NPS.

I: We have one serious problem in the Park, and we don't know quite how it's going to be resolved. There are certain are people who have said that if we had had historic designation when I-280 was built through part of the Park, that they would never have come through. I'm not sure if this is true, but in any event, they would have had a harder time coming through. The historic designation came later.... [Comments on original proposal to tunnel beneath Watchung Mountain edited out.] The gradient of I-280 coming up this first mountain is the steepest gradient anywhere on the Interstate system in the United States, which includes the Rockies. They just couldn't grade it any other way, so they graded it the way they did. It's a very dangerous road, with a very high accident rate. Trucks make a lot of noise on the road going either up or down, decelerating or accelerating. We've also had a problem with the State of New Jersey. The State has, with State funding, put up sound barriers on the opposite side of the road from Llewellyn Park. Initially the sound barriers were supposed to be sound absorbing, but they didn't do that. In fact, they put reflective materials on it, so the reflective materials have given us three decibels more of sound across the highway into the Park. I had talked with the previous commissioner of the department of transportation, and we forced them, basically, to issue criteria, to tell us what the criteria are for establishing when sound barriers should be erected. And they said, well, the first thing they do is they use the federal criteria, 64 dB's [decibels], and we exceeded that in about twelve homes, they said. They came back later and discovered that they had used the computer model to do this, rather than actual testing, and then used the computer model on the rest of them. Actually there were forty homes that were affected by the noise on the highway, and they now admit to that. That was in 1987, I think, when that initial study was done. And now they come back to us and said that there were maybe 38, that kind of number, and that the criteria had called for a maximum in 1987 of \$40,000 per home to protect against noise. And that number comes out to, actually as they figured it out, about \$45,000 per home, because as they said in their colloquial way of putting it, you don't have enough years in the Park. So now they're talking about a cost of about two and a half million dollars in current dollars to try to put up such a wall, and they don't want

to do that. So they may come up with funding, say a million and a half or so, and now we're looking at a gap of a million dollars. And the question is where is that going to get filled, and we're looking at maybe there's some other state funds that can do that. But the community can't do it, and Llewellyn Park can't do it, certainly. It would break us. So we're still struggling with that. And the National Park Service has lent its support to this and indicated that they recognize the importance of protecting Llewellyn Park, and that noise encroachment is like any other encroachment, a problem. So we've had letters from the National Park Service in the files, and the state has those.

The I-280 issue is clearly one that has been around for awhile, and, in comparison with the IRS problem and historical designation, it is less linked with Glenmont and the NPS. No one knew the story of how it came about, though one passage cited above mentioned a "disgruntled person who had a thing against the Park." Her comment ties into others, scattered here and there, that describe an "anti-Park" sentiment, a dislike of the rich folks in Llewellyn Park among West Orange's increasingly diverse population.

Indeed, one interviewee jokingly said that Llewellyn Park was called the "white ghetto." In this brief study we cannot pursue this most interesting issue, but clearly a full study of the relations between the Park and the town would reveal a leitmotif of arguments based on social class differences.

As a final comment, one interviewee indicated that others besides residents and the NPS see a connection between Glenmont and Llewellyn Park:

- I: It is a fact that one of the first things the real estate agent does is talk about Edison and shows them Glenmont. So they're definitely promoting, and the people see that as part of the nature of the community, maybe part of the value of the community.

At any rate, one thing is clear from the interviews. When the ethnographer asked direct questions about Glenmont, not much was forthcoming. (Some of the things that were will be discussed later.) For most of the interviewees, Glenmont is significant as part of "the Park," not as an independent entity. When interviewees talk, some of their concerns focus on general Park issues—its IRS status, its historical designation, and noise from I-280 were three of the most important. To varying degrees—in a major way with the IRS, significantly with the designation issue, but only briefly with the I-280 noise—Glenmont (specifically) or, more generally, Edison National Historic Site plays a role in those concerns. However, in each of these issues, Llewellyn Park's concerns were the focus, while Glenmont was only part of the context.

2. Community

More active participation by the NPS, even in a neutral information-providing role, carries a danger of stepping into an internal argument. The earlier discussion of historical designation already adumbrates the problem, with Llewellyn Park residents in disagreement over designation because of loss of control over personal property. Going into the study, the ethnographer expected the Park to be a coherent community, an island, to put it honestly, of third and fourth generation

descendants of old American wealth with a high degree of consensus on Park issues. In fact, the interviews reveal some significant points of disagreement.

One interviewee was an example of the old families, a trustee of the Park in the new organization described earlier by the administrator. She's not particularly taken with her role:

I: But I'm a trustee [who] has no vote.

E: You have no vote?

I: I can voice my opinion, period.

E: Who votes?

I: The board.

E: And they're elected, the board is elected?

I: Yes. It's a toughie.

E: So you have a lot of honor and no power, huh?

I: Well, no honor really, but no power at all.

Things have changed in the Park, according to her, and she's not particularly taken with most of them, either.

E: So it was pretty much the same people were here all the time. There [weren't] a lot of new people coming in.

I: Not until, oh let's say around 1950, '60, something like that. There were a lot of different people. It's very changed from what it was.

E: What are some of the biggest differences now, compared to then, as you see it. Just your opinion, as you see it.

I: I think basically the people are much more materialistically-minded.

The "materialism" appears in at least two ways in her interview. She talks about the "old days," when Park residents would gather for dinner, read poetry they themselves had written, have good conversations—people who had artistic and intellectual as well as commercial interests. She feels that this is lost in today's Llewellyn Park:

I: I mean, this is what so many of us tend to feel very badly about. And I think that there are a lot of younger ones that are interested in intellectual things and things of music and art and so on, [but] it's difficult to get it going. I mean, very difficult because most of the men here are making very big salaries, but I [wouldn't] want to make a big salary to have nothing intellectual out of it. I mean, I'm no intellectual, but I certainly am interested in those things. I mean, my family have always been — [I have] a cousin who did the stuff for the museum, the Metropolitan. And my grandmother was a true intellectual.

E: Yeah, it's a shame to see that disappear, huh?

I: Well, that's the way I feel about it, yes. I do indeed. And I'm no more interested—the social life is fine—now that doesn't mean that I don't have some very good friends, and a lot of friends who are interested in the intellectual world.

A second change in the direction of "materialism" involved a current case, one for which the ethnographer actually heard the other side of the story as well. The case involves a building in the Park that one resident wants to use commercially. Without going into detail on an issue that any resident could immediately identify, let it simply be said that this interviewee feels that commercial activity in Llewellyn Park is prohibited by the deed of trust, period, and that the proposal is another example of the rise of "materialism" in the Park.

That it was not all good in the good old days is made clear with an interesting account of how “Charlie,” Edison’s son, wanted to establish a college campus adjacent to the Park and how residents of Llewellyn Park at the time fought his proposal. And the interviewee points out that the old days were pretty dismal when she was a child in the Park, since most children were away at boarding school and summer camp. Now school buses for the public and private schools line up at the gate.

Whether or not one agrees with the interviewee that materialism characterizes the changes in the Park over the last thirty years, her comments suggest that the Llewellyn Park of today is not the one in the image that the ethnographer originally brought to the study. As further evidence of change, here’s a passage with the Llewellyn Park administrator where we discuss the changes. Note that the “demographic shift” in the passage refers to an earlier discussion about the few African-American and Asian families who have moved into the Park:

E: You were talking generally about how the Park has shifted, and you said, for instance that, just guesstimating, maybe a quarter of the proprietors are these long-standing traditional families. And then you mentioned that there’s a demographic shift in the Park. That’s probably a few families, that’s probably not too much, probably recent, huh?

I: It’s fairly recent. It’s about ten families.

E: Ten families. And then the rest of the folks are just people who have moved in.

I: Bought a new home, bought a house. There’s been a shift, a religious shift slightly. It was a very waspish community, and now we have a lot of Jewish families. They discovered the Park and said that they loved it, and most of them are West Orange people [who] came into the Park, because that’s what they wanted to do.

E: So they’re already from around here.

I: They’re already from West Orange. They’re not from outside the area. But they just decided that’s what they wanted to do, and they’ve done extremely well with maintaining their properties. And it’s helped property values a great deal. [However,] it has created a minor political change. There was a time when no one dared vote Democrat in the Park, and that’s not true anymore. I think we have a pretty good split. Some people say there’s a split, a religious split. I don’t really see it. We have friends of every religion and race.

While this interviewee characterized the shift in terms of kinds of people, another interviewee talked about the increase in families with children:

I: There’s 135 to 140 children. When I moved here there [were] two, two or three. And I was young when I moved here. They couldn’t even fathom me owning a house. It has changed a lot in twenty years. All the old timers, and I’ve known some of the old timers, they were all one by one going. But when I did come here they were the people who [had been] here for eons. There’s about five or six people left.

Another interviewee, younger and comparatively new to the Park, summarized the situation in a balanced way at some length that is worth presenting here:

I: I mean, I certainly am aware of it, and I’m certainly aware of the stories as they

come out from the different meetings, but I'm not there. I think whenever you have a group of people living— essentially it's like living in a cooperative apartment in Manhattan, you know, you've got a lot more issues to deal with, with property. I think that especially when you've got a really varied group of people living here, which is wonderful, it's a very positive thing. But on the other hand you're going to have differences in opinions, and people are going to come to the table with different ideas of the way things need to be done. And I think that's just par for the course. I think in years gone by, when the Committee of Managers was very closed and they made the decisions and just handed them out, I think in a sense maybe that was easier.

E: Yeah, I think it was. I think probably what I'm hearing is reflecting again this difference between the old traditional Llewellyn Park of the 40's and 50's.

I: Right, they just made all the laws and everybody followed them.

E: They said we do this, and everybody nodded and went about their business.

I: Yeah, so I don't think that that sort of a situation can exist anywhere anymore. And I think that's a good thing.

And later:

E: It sounds like really the board is still the board, right?

I: No, the board is wonderful, and I think that that forum works. I'm not by any stretch trying to say that it shouldn't exist. I'm all for it. For the record, but I mean really, I mean, really. I think it definitely works. I just think the changing demographics, as far as different ages, I think that in itself is going to cause a turnover, so to speak. I mean, we're just going through, I think, a textbook turnover case. And it's certainly not anything that I don't think we can't get through. And there have been a lot of issues that have come up that never did before, because things have changed.

What is clear from these and many other quotes and specific stories in the interviews is that the Llewellyn Park "community" is now more diverse than it has ever been before. If the old image is multigenerational old-line WASP, the new trend is newly arrived younger families with children who may well be non-WASP. If the old model is that one lived in the Park because one's family did, the new model is that one purchases a home in the Park because it is probably one of the most desirable and beautiful urban enclaves in the Northeast.

The new differences have complicated the easy application of "community" to Llewellyn Park. In earlier sections some of the current issues on which residents disagree have been mentioned. There are others that came up in the interviews, such as the closing of the leaf dump and its possible conversion to a playing field for the children or like the issue of snow removal and who pays for it.

At the same time, all the interviewees, as explicitly discussed by the newly arrived resident quoted above, say that the Park works as a community. All share a commitment to the natural beauty of Llewellyn Park. All talk about friendships that cross the lines of difference that have been discussed in this section. All participate, at least to some extent, in formal and informal events in the Park. Perhaps a good way to close this section is with a quote from an interviewee

who is different from the old, traditional Llewellyn Park image, a recently arrived Jewish family with young children from New York City:

E: So I'm curious to hear, did you connect right away? Was it strange? Did you feel like you hit a wall of tradition when you moved up here?

I: I don't know whether it was my own feeling that oh, I won't belong because, first of all there were two things: we're Jewish and this place was restricted, I'm sure. So that was totally unsettling. I mean, we're obviously welcome here now. And the other thing was these ladies—I don't know if you've been in the other houses, but they're so grand that I'm so embarrassed at having—

E: Oh, this is a beautiful house.

I: You know, it's just a different kind of thing. But everyone whom I've spoken to and met has been very nice. And it might be a difference between urban and suburban. Where we used to live everyone's on the stoop. And here it's more formal. It has to be more formal anyway here, with invitations and so forth. Would you like to come over for coffee

E: But the connection's still there, though, you say. As soon as you came, there [were] people who brought you in or talked to you.

I: Yes, people have been very nice. A neighbor who had been pretty new herself had a luncheon type thing. There's a ladies' association.

E: Yeah, I heard about that yesterday actually.

I: Right, and the last thing I ever wanted to do in my life was be in a ladies' association; but it's a group of women and they [get] together, and it's speaking about the Park and how to maintain it and keep it beautiful. So, I'm a member now. So it's always in the back of my mind that this is very white glove, but in practice people have been very welcoming.

This theme of a solid personal connection among residents of Llewellyn Park recurred throughout the interviews, stronger in some than in others, but present all the same.

Dealing with the Park as a "community" is probably more complicated now than it would have been in the 1950s. Though interviewees see themselves as participants in a general "Park identity," their diverse backgrounds produce different positions on the specific issues which they confront as a community. This means that the NPS might expect more discussion and debate on relations between NPS and Llewellyn Park.

Further, Llewellyn Park contains an increasing number of children among its residents. The two interviewees with young children suggested more child-oriented activities, both at Glenmont and at the Laboratory, hands-on activities, information keyed to different age levels, livelier exhibits, and the like. To the extent that population change in Llewellyn Park continues the trend towards newer, younger families with children, this demand is likely to increase. More comments on exhibitions follow in the next section.

3. Glenmont

By and large, Glenmont itself came in for favorable comments. The annual meeting was described by several interviewees, favorably, except for one complaint about reading the minutes

and others about inaccessibility for the January 1996 meeting due to the government shutdown (though one interviewee raved about the country club alternative). Local NPS staff were generally complimented for both their personal style and professional competence.

One interviewee did have a negative view:

- E: What did you think when they made it into a museum? Did you think that was a good idea?
- I: One way or another, it didn't make any difference.
- E: You just didn't—
- I: No, the laboratory, I mean, is very interesting, period.
- E: But the house you just didn't care, one way or the other.
- I: Oh, for what? I mean, for what could you care for it?
- E: Well, some folks say that it's—it's different with different people, of course. You know more about this than I do, but some people say it's nice to have it here, because somehow the spirit of Edison, right? Some people say it's an advantage from the point of view of historical significance for the entire Park.
- I: That's their opinion.
- E: That's their opinion. As far as you're concerned, it could be here, it could not be here. It doesn't make any difference.
- I: None. The one thing that I do think is of value is the laboratory. And I mean, I think that is of tremendous value and tremendous value for kids from all over the place. But the house, for what?

One recent event that involved Glenmont was often mentioned in the interviews—the exhibition about Llewellyn Park held in Glenmont in the summer of 1996:

- I: We had an exhibition this summer. The ladies' association, in concert with what I do, we put together a major exhibition on Llewellyn Park. And we worked with the rangers. They were very accommodating and did a lot of work for us. And we put up a major exhibition in Glenmont that was kicked off, I guess on Memorial Day. Glenmont opened the grounds to Llewellyn Park, pitched a couple of tents. That first opening day of the show was for the residents of the Park, and in return, we invited those rangers who worked on the exhibition as our guests. And then it was open to the public. Whoever saw Glenmont was able to see this exhibition. And it was really a nice exhibition. And of course, you know Glenmont opens up the house every year in January to the annual meeting. So there's always been, as far as I can tell, a wonderful relationship between Glenmont and Llewellyn Park.

Another interviewee commented on the same exhibition:

- E: Did you get a sense from the folks you know in the ladies' association that they'd like to do more of that kind of thing with Glenmont?
- I: I would love to be able to do that every year. No, I got a very strong sense that people would love to be able to do more. I mean, that was an amazing thing. Well, first of all, it was fun because it was a Victorian type of a function. And it was like stepping back into time, you know, as far as being over there in that

lovely home and out on the grounds. That was really fun. And I got a very strong sense that people would love to do things with Glenmont. Absolutely.

And, one more example, from an interviewee whose father took her to Glenmont when she was a child:

E: So, do you use Glenmont or go to Glenmont [much] since you've moved back here?

I: No, I haven't. They do have a yearly meeting there in a small part of it. They did have a May Day festival which was really nice, on the grounds. That was beautiful. Everyone dressed in Victorian clothes, you know. So just the image of it was lovely. And they had a little picnic on the grounds. And I think they were going to use the grounds for something else also, but I haven't been inside since my father took me.

Most interviewees all talked about this exhibition and expressed interest in more such events. One interviewee, though, indicated that it might not be so easy to replicate:

E: This exhibition that you just described, was that the first such event of that kind that you know of?

I: As a co-sponsored event, yeah, and it was on Llewellyn Park. And we invited Glenmont to also add to the exhibition, looking at Edison and his wife and children, not as the inventor, but as the residents. So they supplied some pictures, like Mina on top of a tree as an angel. Everyday kind of things.

E: Family stuff, everyday life.

I: Yeah, so we did that.

E: That sounds like it was really positive. So that sort of potential future collaboration will be something that might be kind of nice to develop.

E: It would be nice. It was a lot of work. As a matter of fact I was just talking to one of the rangers, and she said that was the biggest exhibition and the most ambitious project they ever did. [She said] they learned a lot by it, and that maybe someday they could do something as ambitious as that. So it was a learning experience for them as well, I think.

As mentioned earlier in this report, the exhibition expressed the link between Glenmont and Llewellyn Park as a whole, which corresponds to how most interviewees see it. It also produced the sort of community event that cross-cuts different views on current issues in the Park and contributes to the general shared sense of identity. Llewellyn Park residents clearly enjoyed the picnic, the exhibition, and the collaboration; and they would like more such events in the future.

For the most part, interviewees tended to speak of Glenmont as a beautiful location in a beautiful park. Comments were made about walking on the grounds, about showing visitors the house from the outside, about tai chi on the lawn in the early morning and fathers and sons throwing a football in the evening. Most did not seem to visit the inside of the house or take their visitors there, in part, according to one interviewee, because of the bother of going to the laboratories to get a pass.

The ethnographer made a point of asking about the security issue, about whether or not the outside visitors to Glenmont were considered a problem. No one felt that the current controlled

access was a burden in terms of numbers of people or inconvenience to them. However, interviewees differed on whether the visitors posed a security problem. In a range of quotes that will only be summarized here, the one thread of agreement was that security was in fact an issue in Llewellyn Park in general. Interviewees differed, though, on whether Glenmont visitors were part of the problem. At one extreme, an interviewee felt that NPS access allowed people with cars to enter Llewellyn Park and then roam unmonitored, creating the potential that thieves might come into the Park under the guise of visiting Glenmont, break and enter Park houses, then carry stolen goods away in their vehicles. At the other extreme, another interviewee said that Llewellyn Park was relatively safe, especially when compared to the level of crime in the contemporary U.S. Yet a third said security was an issue, but their main problem had been with a contractor, not with any visitors to NPS property. Another pointed out that access to Llewellyn Park was simple from any number of approaches besides the front gate and that there was no way to stop a dedicated professional criminal at any rate. That person, by the way, was more upset at a recent newspaper article that sang the praises of the fabulous houses in Llewellyn Park and published a street map.

The strongest request that directly concerns the NPS involved more careful monitoring of Glenmont visitors during their time in the Park, including records of exit as well as entry. On the whole, though, the ethnographer's expectations that Glenmont visitors would be a salient security issue for Llewellyn Park residents was simply not met. At least at the current level of visitor admissions, the interviewees did not, for the most part, see any problems.

Several interviewees commented on the nature of historic site exhibitions in general. Some of these comments will be woven into the discussion of the interviews with former Edison employees in the next section of this report. However, two of the important themes can be mentioned here.

The first, not surprisingly, involved requests for more child-oriented exhibitions. In one interview, the interviewee referred to the picnic held in conjunction with the Llewellyn Park exhibition at Glenmont discussed earlier:

- I: What was really fun, and something I know there would be a very strong interest in, would be to develop some programs for children, because that was a function where children were included. And we had a wonderful scavenger hunt. A historically based scavenger hunt where they went and found things that were pertinent to — you know, it wasn't just go find a red ball. It was go and find the beautiful urn with the lion's head and different actual things that were placed around Thomas Edison's home. And then they told you what it was and why it was there, and any information on that particular thing that you went to locate. So the children learned a little bit about the house and the grounds. There are so many rare specimens of trees there that they were looking for specific trees. So that was fascinating. Being a museum educator, I would be willing to talk to people about this too.
- E: Well, what's interesting about that idea is that it really is something that hadn't occurred before, because there wasn't the population of kids that there is now. I

mean, this is a new fact about Llewellyn Park.

- I: Well, we certainly have the children now, because if you are around in October and you come the day of say, the Halloween party, you'll just be amazed at how many children there are. I mean, we're always still amazed, because we have our one bus to the elementary school, but that doesn't take into account all the babies, all the kids that don't go to the public school, that go to private schools, parochial schools. And then the teenagers, the middle schools. I mean, this is only the elementary school that we're seeing. So when we have one of these get-togethers and all the children are there, it's quite amazing to see them all together.

A second kind of comment, one that will find support in some of the former employee's interviews later, involves the possible expression of a feeling or tone of the Edison era:

- I: They used to have two parts of their tours that I thought were fabulous, and they did away with them. And I don't understand why. It was the most charming parts of the tour, and one was when you went to Glenmont, they had a tape recorder of Madeline Sloane, who was Edison's daughter, and they played the tape recorder and she would say, "In this room I got married over there, and as children we did this over there." And they did away with it. Why they did that, I don't know. And they used to have this wonderful woman who is now long gone, who had lived in and grew up in this house as a child, and she brought you into each room personally. Now the rangers just do their mechanical speech. And then the second thing is, when I used to bring people, they used to have a room that was a little theater, ricky-ticky little theater, and they would show *The Great Train Robbery* and a film of Edison. And you'd all sit down, and first you'd go through a little museum part where you'd see phonographs, and then you'd sit in this little theater and watch a film, a real film on a screen. And now you go to this back room and in the entranceway you push a button and you see this thing on a TV screen. I don't get it. It took away the charm.

The interviewee mentions both Glenmont and the laboratory in her comments. Other residents of the Park mentioned the laboratory as well, but their comments are covered in the employee interviews in the next section.

A final comment to conclude this section is one made only by the administrative interviewee, who by the nature of his position is concerned with costs. He mentioned on more than one occasion, not in the tone of a complaint, that Llewellyn Park's support of Glenmont goes beyond what the Park receives by way of NPS contribution to the Park's funds.

- I: Last year—here's an illustration of cooperation—when the government closed down during January we plowed their roads. We didn't charge them anything but just went in and plowed them, because they had to have access. We were worried about fire engines getting in there and all that kind of thing.
- E: So the Park does a lot of maintenance of—
- I: Well, not a lot.
- E: But it helps with—
- I: We try to help as much as we can.

E: With the care of the Glenmont facility.

I: And certainly with the funding. The funds that are paid to us through the assessment, it doesn't pay our real outlay of costs, personnel, or concern. But our basic position is very positive.

To summarize, then, the relation between Llewellyn Park residents and Glenmont is, on the whole, a cordial one. NPS activities in the Park are not seen as intrusive, with the exception of the one interviewee who, unlike the others, views Glenmont visitors as a security problem. Most interviewees see Glenmont as an attractive part of the Park, one whose appearance and grounds are part of Llewellyn Park life; but they do not particularly see it as a center of resident activity.

At the same time, the exhibition of Llewellyn Park history at Glenmont in the summer of 1996 was obviously a success, especially taken together with the event for residents that preceded it, and most interviewees expressed a desire for similar future events. This event linked Glenmont to the Park, involved the growing number of children, and allowed residents to participate without obtaining prior passes from the main office. The event, in short, had the same characteristics as the way many interviewees see Glenmont as a part of Llewellyn Park.

4. Discussion

From the interviews, then, we obtain a picture of Glenmont as a topical thread that weaves, for the most part, through discussions of issues of more general concern to Llewellyn Park residents. Glenmont clearly plays a role in service of Llewellyn Park's interests in maintaining its economic status vis a vis the town and higher levels of government. It also plays a role as a visible center of a beautiful place to live. Use of the facility appears to be valued primarily in terms of the grounds rather than the inside of the house, with the exception of the annual meeting. The strong exception here was the exhibit that featured Glenmont as a part of Llewellyn Park, an exhibit that included Park residents both in its production and its festive opening. With one exception, the current use of Glenmont by the NPS as a destination for visitors is not perceived as a problem.

Dealing with Llewellyn Park as a community is more problematic now than it was in the past. Recent times have seen a change from a pattern of multigenerational families to purchases of Llewellyn Park homes on the open market. As a result, residents are more diverse, in terms of religion, to some extent in terms of ethnicity, and especially in terms of age and number of children. While all interviewees expressed a sense of Park identity and described social ties that cut across such differences, they also described how these same differences produced conflicting positions on some key Llewellyn Park issues.

While specific suggestions for the NPS have already appeared in this section, a general summary might be in order. First, Llewellyn Park sees Glenmont primarily as a part of "the Park," as an ally in economic issues and a contribution to overall Park beauty. Second, the NPS should view the Park as a community in transition, a community with a shared identity, but one within which differences of opinion on an issue might be expected more often than in the past. Finally, future exhibitions at Glenmont that reflect the link between the site and Llewellyn Park clearly have a

high value from the residents' point of view, especially if they include residents in their preparation and involve the growing number of children.

C. ETHNOGRAPHIC RESOURCES

The interviews with residents of Llewellyn Park provide some pointers to indicate the kinds of things under NPS stewardship that should be considered ethnographic resources in regard to this group. As was noted in chapter I, ethnographic resources are elements of a park that an associated group perceives as "traditionally meaningful to their identity as a group and the survival of their lifeways" (NPS 1994:168).

From the interviews, we have identified the several ethnographic resources related to Llewellyn Park residents:

1. Vistas of Glenmont that:
 - a. affirm the history of Llewellyn Park as a distinct and beautiful place;
 - b. affirm the role of historic preservation in the Park; or
 - c. affirm property values in the Park.
2. Spaces on the perimeter of the Glenmont estate that provide residents with settings for quiet, sometimes contemplative, activities.
3. Documents and photographs that are informative of the history of Llewellyn Park, particularly those items that illuminate, reinforce, or affirm the positive aspects of domestic or family life in the Park.

Each of these categories deserves some additional comment, but before doing so, it is worth taking another look at the information obtained through the interviews with Park residents. The perspective here will be the place of Glenmont, and that of NPS as its proprietor, in the ethnographic landscape of the Llewellyn Park.

1. Glenmont and NPS in the Ethnographic Landscape of Llewellyn Park

The interviews with our small sample of Llewellyn Park residents provides enough information to begin to sketch the ethnographic landscape of the Park. The term "ethnographic landscape" refers to the ways a group or community perceives the topography, geography, plants and animals, structures and buildings and other aspects of the environment they occupy. As the preceding thematic discussion of the interviews illustrates, all of the interviewees regarded Glenmont as firmly embedded in the landscape of Llewellyn Park. It is therefore appropriate to look more closely at what they said about that landscape and Glenmont's place in it. This will serve as a means for understanding which of the Edison site's resources should be regarded as ethnographic resources, relative to this group.

Residents of Llewellyn Park recognize that they live in an enclosed district. They speak, for example, of visitors and new residents as coming "into" the Park, and they appear to understand themselves as distinct from West Orange in general. Indeed, some residents joke, with a bit of embarrassment, that the Park is a "white ghetto." Though such a notion is not borne out by

current census data, which shows that West Orange is predominantly white (see chapter I), the joke powerfully implies a sense of separateness and enclosure.

Llewellyn Park is, in current real estate parlance, a “gated community.” A rapid survey of sites on the World Wide Web shows that such communities are common in certain areas of the country, such as Florida, Colorado, Arizona, and California, but comparatively uncommon in the northeastern United States. As one interviewee noted, Llewellyn Park is among the oldest extant such districts in the country. The same observation was made even more emphatically in a recent newspaper article, which called the Park “the nation’s first gated community and its first planned suburb” (Patterson 1997:1).

Although residents of Llewellyn Park, and apparently those from outside as well, conceive it to be an enclosed district, only portions of its boundaries are sharply defined. The most clearly delineated boundary is the main entrance to the district, located off Main Street in West Orange. This entrance consists of a rustic stone gate and gate lodge with a low boundary wall extending from it. A guard is on duty there at all times, and he checks everyone entering the Park to be sure that they have a legitimate reason for entry. The gate off Main Street is the formal entrance to the Park, the one through which residents, guests, and day workers, as well as visitors to Glenmont, pass. Despite the presence of the gate on Main Street and residents’ sense of living in an enclosed district, there is no continuous physical boundary surrounding the Park. Many West Orange streets dead end at the wooded edges of the Park, and there are few barriers to keep those on foot out. Moreover, there is no formal legal definition of the boundaries of Llewellyn Park. According to one resident:

- I: There are no definitions of boundaries over Llewellyn Park. A lot of people think there are, but there are not. It’s recognized that it’s between Main Street and [Interstate] 280 and Eagle Rock Avenue, which is another county highway. And somewhere in that area is Llewellyn Park, that side of the mountain. But it was never really defined. So here we are, we’re on the National Register of Historic Places. We’re on the State Register of Historic Places, but there are no boundaries. So everybody accepts it, but there are no real boundaries.

Main Street and Interstate 280 emerged as ad hoc boundaries for other residents as well. For one resident Main Street is “the border” that stands between the Park and the poor, predominantly black municipalities of Newark, Orange, and East Orange to the east. On the other side, Interstate 280 is cut through the western edge of the Park, whose traffic noise creates an “encroachment.” (The standard English definition of “an advance beyond the customary limits or boundaries” is particularly telling here.) The highway is located in a deep bedrock cut, an ugly slash dating to the 1960s that now marks the edge of the Park. Though the cut is perhaps the most dramatically defined segment of its border, and will be even more so if the proposed noise abatement walls are ever constructed, the boundary line enclosing the Park remains in a legal sense ad hoc, not formally defined in the dry prose of metes and bounds.

What apparently defines the Park as a spatial unit is, first, the collective subscription by the owners of property within it to the deed of trust. This deed of trust establishes individual

property owners as “proprietors” in the Park. It gives them rights in the Rambles, a deep, wooded gorge near the center of the district, forbids commercial activity on properties within the Park, and establishes proprietors’ obligations to pay an annual assessment (“tax”) to maintain the common infrastructure, such as roads and bridges.

In addition to collective subscription to the deed of trust, the limits of the Park are defined by the style of its overall landscaping, and the limits of that landscaping apparently correspond closely to the boundaries of the Park. The styling of the landscape is formally referred to as romantic, and it consists of curvilinear roadways climbing the steep slopes of the mountain, plunging ravines, picturesque vistas, rustic bridges, and thick, mature woods reminiscent of a primeval forest. The natural setting probably exerts a powerful sense of place on Park residents, so much so that each time they enter the park, residents may receive something akin to a physical embrace. “A visitor entering Llewellyn Park on a hot summer day is likely to be struck by an immediate and dramatic drop in temperature. This phenomenon results from the distinct microclimate peculiar to the Park...” (Guter 1984:7-2). Though none of the interviewees commented on this effect, this remark by a historic preservation consultant is highly suggestive of the multiplicity of ways in which residents find themselves connected to the Park.

Maintaining the landscaping is primarily the responsibility of the Llewellyn Park Ladies’ Association, a “loose-knit” organization (as one interviewee described it) to which any proprietor, male or female, can belong. The association is beginning to explore ways to return the Park’s landscape to an approximation of the Llewellyn Haskell’s original conception, since it, like all landscapes, has changed as the plantings have matured. Yet at least one interviewee suggested that a complete and faithful re-creation of that landscape would probably be opposed by many park residents, since it would involve a substantial thinning of the trees in the Park. This interviewee’s assessment reinforces the notion that the natural setting is an important defining characteristic of the Park.

If the boundaries that divide Llewellyn Park from its surroundings are gray, ad hoc, or soft and rounded by Nature, it is clear that there are boundaries within the Park that are quite bright. These are the lines that enclose the properties of individual owners. As we have already seen, Park residents are strongly insistent that the district as a whole is private property, and a sense of rights attached to individual property ownership is significant as well. For example, the deed of trust includes no directive concerning the style of the dwellings that occupy the Park.

I: We have no architectural controls. So we have modern homes right against historic buildings, and there’s no attempt to control that. Most of the proprietors don’t want uniformity in the Park. They want people to be able to express themselves in their homes and have whatever they’d like.

As another interviewee put it, “people don’t want to be told what to with their homes.”

This attentiveness to the property rights of individual owners sets up a delicate tension within the Park. On the one hand, a respect for the Park’s landscape, including its prosperous appearance, is beneficial for everyone in the district. Neat, well-maintained houses and grounds help keep up property values. On the other hand, respect for individual privacy and property seems to be

important as well. The result of this norm can be that the Park as a whole has limited ways of dealing with property owners who allow their houses to deteriorate. Short of lodging a complaint with the West Orange Board of Health or a similar agency for really serious problems, “We can’t force people to paint their homes. We can’t force them to restore shutters that are pulling off,” as one interviewee put it.

Based on these interviews, it appears that a key legal, social, and economic fact for Llewellyn Park residents is ownership of real property, specifically ownership of a house and lot within the Park. Ownership of such property creates a set of spatial and social relationships—it almost literally grounds residents in the Park—and it enmeshes residents in the dimension of time as well.

The annual proprietors’ meeting appears to be a community event in which social solidarity based on property ownership gets played out. A recent newspaper article depicts the annual meeting as one steeped in tradition. “One cold evening very soon, in an elegant scene that could be lifted straight from the pages of F. Scott Fitzgerald, the proprietors of Llewellyn Park will don tuxedos and gowns and come together for an annual ritual that is 139 years old” (Patterson 1997:1). Quoting a Park resident, this article goes on to describe the order of business:

“You vote the taxes, which has to be done before 9:15. Then people get up and say, ‘There’s too many deer in the Park,’ or ‘too many cats’ or ‘too many dogs’ or ‘too many crows.’ Then they read the names of people who died during the last year and the names of people who were born. The new proprietors are introduced. And then we have cocktails” (Patterson 1997:1).

Another resident explained the significance of the meeting this way:

“We encourage continuity; keep memory and history alive. Dressing up in black tie, on a cold January night, to go to a business meeting at time when society has become much less formal, is fun.... It makes you feel you’re part of a community that has roots” (Patterson 1997:17).

The meeting has apparently been held at many different locations over the years, but recently NPS has begun hosting the meeting at Glenmont, an appropriate venue given its size and prominence. One of the people interviewed for this study provided some additional details of the meeting as they relate to Glenmont. As the host for the evening,

- I: [The superintendent] usually starts out as chair..., and she gives a report on Glenmont, and what’s been happening and visitors, and new things that happen at the laboratory as well. She reports that to the park residents, and they’re always very interested in that.... [Before the meeting] we have to help move furniture and that kind of thing in order to accommodate [the Park Service]. And then she turns that over to the chairman of the committee for that evening, whoever that may be. And he or she will act as chairman of that meeting. So the participation involves the welcoming of us coming in, a report on Glenmont, activities at the laboratory, and what the National Park Service has been doing, new personnel, and that kind of thing.

If the annual proprietors’ meeting is a event containing references to the past and to the history of Llewellyn Park, then property ownership is also oriented to the future: ownership of property

is an investment to be recovered in the future. This is made plain by the interviewee who mentioned the positive effect of new arrivals on property values in the Park. It is also suggested by the concern about the condition of Main Street, for as one person suggested "so goes Main Street, so goes the Park."

As we have already suggested, Glenmont's position in this complex cultural environment is one of "witness." The property is a witness to times past, particularly to the traditional role of Llewellyn Park as an affluent family-oriented suburb, since home in which one of America's most prominent inventors and businessmen raised his second family. Glenmont is also a witness to the value of historic preservation, for it retains the qualities of a nineteenth century estate relatively intact. Finally, the property is a witness for the future. As one interviewee noted, realtors point out the house to prospective buyers. Its presence and condition are probably two factors among many that influence property values within the Park.

2. Comments on Categories of Ethnographic Resources

Glenmont, then, seems to function as an ethnographic resource for residents of Llewellyn Park in several ways. One aspect that appears to be especially significant to Park residents are vistas of the property from the roadways that pass by the property. These views allow residents to view this historically important property and to monitor its current condition. (There were concerns among the residents about the condition of the exterior, a problem that NPS has now addressed, through repainting.) Unfortunately, specific locations of important vistas did not emerge from the ethnographic interviews. This is an issue that would have to be taken up by subsequent investigation.

Another important function appears to be as a place for quiet, sometimes contemplative activities. One resident noted that residents occasionally use the perimeter of the property for tai chi, and we also learned that jogging and bird watching take place. In this function, the Glenmont property tends to blur into other scenic areas in the Park, including community property such as the Ramble. Again, no specifics as to important locations were forthcoming from the interviews.

Finally, in the course of our interviews we learned of the importance of history and family life in the Park. It is therefore apparent that documents and photographs in the EDIS collections that relate to the history of the Park, and particularly to the historical importance of family life should be considered to be ethnographic resources. Many of these items of this type were incorporated into the 1996 exhibit at Glenmont on Llewellyn Park history.

We should also briefly note some things that are not ethnographic resources for this group. There is no indication that the graves of Thomas and Mina Edison are significant resources to Park residents. Nor does it appear that the vistas or contents of the Laboratory Unit play a significant role in the lives of Park residents, with the exception of those photographs and documents related to the history of the Park and Edison family life there. Most importantly, it does not appear the interior of Glenmont should be regarded as an ethnographic resource for this group. As we have seen, Glenmont has recently been used as the venue for the annual proprietors meeting, one of

the key annual events in the life of the community. Many residents enjoy having the meeting there and the use of Glenmont reinforces many important values in the community. However, Glenmont is only the latest in a long series of locales for the meeting, and under NPS criteria of traditional usage—two generations or more (NPS 1994:167)—this use of Glenmont is too recent to be strictly regarded as “traditional.”

Summary: LLEWELLYN PARK RESIDENTS

- Llewellyn Park (the "Park" to residents) has existed as an independent community within the local municipality for 140 years. Membership in the community appears to be based primarily upon ownership of property within the Park, which automatically involves subscription to the deed of trust.
- The deed of trust provides the legal basis for the autonomy of the community. Property owners are "proprietors," and they are responsible for an annual assessment ("tax") for the maintenance of common infrastructure, beyond the property taxes they pay to the Township of West Orange.
- Residents of the Park view themselves as a distinct community within West Orange. Privacy, family or domestic life, and the densely wooded, romantic landscape are important sources of values for Park residents. Park residents work hard to retain these elements of their community.
- Probably the most important annual event in the life of the community is the annual proprietors meeting, which is held in early January of each year. At this meeting, annual assessments are voted, the committee of managers is elected, and issues facing the community are discussed. It is also an important occasion for renewal and reinforcement of social ties among Park residents.
- As owner of the Glenmont property in Llewellyn Park, NPS has the status of a proprietor in the Park. Relations between NPS and the Park appear to be fundamentally positive, and the Park Service has served as an important ally to Park residents on issues of mutual concern.
- Important issues presently facing the Park include the desire to erect sound-reflecting walls along Interstate 280, retention of the Park's present 501C (non-profit corporation) tax status under the Internal Revenue Service code, the need to manage the aging landscape of the Park more aggressively, and the effects of a population transition involving the replacement of older and childless residents with new families having young or school-age children.
- Glenmont is an important element in the Park environment, but residents do not seem to view it as the center of life in the Park. Rather, Glenmont functions as an important "witness" to the history of the Park, to the values and ideals of historic preservation, and to the general condition of the Park.
- Ethnographic resources associated with this group include:
 - Vistas of Glenmont;
 - The perimeter of Glenmont for quiet, low-impact activities; and
 - Documents and photographs relating to the history of Llewellyn Park and the importance of family life there.

III. FORMER EDISON EMPLOYEES

A. BACKGROUND

During his long life, Thomas Edison created numerous companies to develop, manufacture, market, and distribute his inventions and the products into which they were incorporated. Over their lifespans, these companies employed in all literally tens of thousands of people. Many, though by no means all, of these employees worked at the Edison factories and laboratory in West Orange.

Experimental activities ceased at the laboratory around the time of Edison's death in 1931, and manufacturing came to a halt in the rest of the factory complex in 1973. Despite the passage of time, there are still many people alive who once worked in West Orange for Thomas A. Edison, Inc. (TAE, Inc.), the company that he established in 1910, or for its successor, McGraw-Edison. Few of those now alive worked directly with Edison, particularly during the time when he was a vigorous and innovative experimenter and inventor. Nonetheless, these former Edison employees still arguably constitute a traditionally-associated group in the sense of NPS-28 (NPS 1994:167). This association with park resources is based in several factors. In all, the Edison enterprises in West Orange employed people for some 86 years, from 1887 until 1973, demonstrating a significant period of association between employees and the site. Further, the Laboratory Unit of Edison National Historic Site (EDIS) occupies a portion of the former Edison plant, and though apparently of little significance to the plant's operations after Edison's death, its location on the corner of Main Street and Lakeside Avenue probably made it a readily identifiable landmark within the plant. Moreover, along with the Edison Storage Battery Factory, now privately owned, the buildings of the Laboratory Unit comprise only extant portions of the Edison plant, the remainder of the 21-acre complex having been demolished in 1974. The Park Service property is therefore an important token of a formerly extensive industrial facility, whose products were shipped throughout the world. Finally, though the collections and artifacts at the Laboratory Unit focus on the Edison period (1887-1931), they also preserve some materials from subsequent eras.

1. Thomas A. Edison, Inc.

In 1910, the year he created Thomas A. Edison, Inc., Edison had been operating his laboratory and manufacturing facilities in West Orange for over 20 years. At that time he controlled a fistful of businesses, each with its own administrative procedures and departments and each in a different state of financial health. Edison had pursued expansion without an overall strategy, and collectively his enterprises relatively weak due to the depression of 1907 and other financial factors. It had come time to consolidate the operations, and Edison decided to create a new company to accomplish this goal. The core of this company was Edison's phonograph operation, the National Phonograph Company, which had the strongest administrative organization and a comparatively healthy balance sheet (Millard 1990:190-199). Over the next few years, the various Edison enterprises were gradually gathered under the control of TAE, Inc., and in 1915,

seizing on the opportunities presented by the disastrous fire of December 1914, Edison instituted a formal divisional organization. Under this organization, each division of the company was responsible for a major product line and was supervised by a division manager. The manufacturing divisions were in turn supported by an administrative division comprised of the legal, treasury, purchasing, and other departments, and by the laboratory, now primarily devoted to improving existing lines of products rather than to exploring new avenues of research (Millard 1990:230-252). Experimental work, mostly under Edison's personal direction, was by then a small part of the operation. Employment in the experimental laboratory continued to decline over the following decade and a half, reaching a low of 7 in 1930, the year Edison sold the laboratory buildings, land, and contents to TAE, Inc. (Uschold and Curry 1996:44-45).

TAE, Inc. had a lifespan of some four decades. It was originally controlled by Edison himself, who provided half the initial capitalization for the company through the book value of his patents alone (Millard 1990:199) and who served as the company's first president and chief executive officer. In 1926, Edison transferred the presidency to his son, Charles, and largely retired from management of the company.

Charles Edison remained president of TAE, Inc. until 1950, when he became chairman of the board of directors, a position that had not existed since Thomas Edison's death in 1931. Until 1946, TAE, Inc. was a privately-held company. That year, the company offered stock publicly for the first time, and though now a publicly-traded company, Charles remained its majority stockholder (Venable 1978:234-235, 239).

2. McGraw-Edison

On January 2, 1957, TAE, Inc. was acquired by the McGraw Electric Company, forming a new corporation known as McGraw-Edison. At the time of the acquisition, the McGraw company was one of the leading manufacturers of electrical products, including Toastmaster toasters, Speed Queen washers and driers, Buss fuses, as well as transformers, power line materials, and other types of electrical equipment. Its owner, Max McGraw, was also involved in electrical utilities and the telephone business. McGraw was an entrepreneur specializing in electrical products, who built his business by acquiring other companies and astutely managing them (Venable 1978:241, 243; Williams 1978:9-15). He was also a lifelong admirer of Thomas Edison, and his acquisition of TAE, Inc. seems to have been motivated as much by an affinity for the name as by an interest in the Edison product line. While several of McGraw Electric's products were well known in their own right, the McGraw Electric Company apparently was not, and part of McGraw's strategy was to bring the parent company into greater prominence, trading on, as he explained to Charles Edison, "the great name borne by ... [the Edison] company ... to our mutual advantage" (Venable 1978:240; Williams 1978:15-17).

The acquisition of TAE, Inc. by McGraw Electric Company was the beginning of the end of the Edison operations in West Orange. Charles Edison became chairman of the board of McGraw-Edison, a post he held for four years, but it appears that McGraw and his managers were the dominant force in the new company. Several members of McGraw's upper management cared

little for Charles' business habits: "More attuned to paying strict attention to corporate matters than to civic and public affairs, they considered Charles to be dilettantish in certain aspects of business" (Venable 1978:243). McGraw-Edison gradually moved profitable lines out of West Orange, shutting operations down entirely in 1973 (Millard 1990:327-328; Uschold and Curry 1996:70).

In 1985, McGraw-Edison was acquired by Cooper Industries, a manufacturing giant with principal interests in tools and electrical equipment (Reference Press 1996). Today, the McGraw-Edison name lives on as McGraw-Edison Power Capacitor Products Group of Cooper Power Systems, a division of Cooper Industries, Inc. (Cooper Power Systems 1997).

B. THE INTERVIEWS

Six former employees were interviewed, including two women and four men. The interviewees were an elderly group, ranging in age from 77 to 101. Five of the six people lived in northern New Jersey, and the sixth resided in southern Pennsylvania. Three of the interviewees worked at the plant while Edison was still alive. Two were in white collar positions in the company; the rest worked at various blue collar jobs. All the interviewees were white, and one had immigrated to this country as a young person. The interviews were conducted by Michael Agar, the Project Ethnographer.

The interviewees were primarily selected as a result of having responded to the Former Edison Employee Questionnaire. The park has been collecting a list of former Edison employees using this questionnaire since early 1996. Responses have come in reaction to fliers and newspaper announcements circulated by EDIS, as well as a result of comments offered to interpreters during tours. Five people were selected from the pool of questionnaire respondents. One interviewee was a person located during the pilot study that sought to expand this list, which completed as part of this ethnographic overview and assessment (Appendix B). Using the questionnaires as a starting point, we developed a pool of potential interviewees, generally selecting those who lived in northern New Jersey, since NPS wanted to keep the focus of the study on the local area. We also noted the thoroughness with which the questionnaires had been completed and focused on those who supplied relatively more information on them, in the belief that such individuals were more likely to give detailed answers during an interview. Finally, we noted the dates of employment, particularly seeking to include several people who had worked at the plant while Edison was alive. All potential interviewees were first contacted by telephone, and all readily agreed to be interviewed. Only one person specifically asked to meet at the Laboratory because of a desire to maintain privacy.

It is not clear how representative this sample of former employees is. In many ways, the sample is probably unrepresentative of all people who might be included in this group. For example, we intentionally sought to include several people who worked at the plant while Edison was still alive. Plainly, given the several decades of plant operation after Edison's death and the huge workforce employed during the Second World War, it is highly unlikely that such people would comprise half of all former Edison employees alive today, though they comprise 50 percent of

our sample. (All of those who worked at the Edison plant in the 1920s would now be in their mid-80s or older.) Also, the source we drew upon for the interviewees, the questionnaires, is probably biased towards those who worked for longer periods of time, probably towards those who worked at the plant prior to the McGraw takeover (as these are the people who would be most likely to identify themselves as former Edison employees), and possibly towards those who are relatively comfortable with written English. Finally, although we can describe our sample, we know little about the composition of the Edison workforce at any point in time. Many questions have yet to be answered in this regard: what proportion was white collar? what proportion was blue collar? what were the proportions of men and of women? what proportion was immigrants? what proportion was black? how did the composition of the workforce change over time?

Several important themes emerged from the interviews with this group. One of the most significant findings was that, unlike the residents of Llewellyn Park discussed in the previous chapter or the people from West Orange who are the subject of the next chapter, former Edison employees do not seem to possess a strong sense of association with the resources preserved by Edison National Historic Site. Most former employees had not visited the park for at least several years. None participated in any park-related activities recently, though one interviewee had been active in the park some years ago. Although most still had a few friends or acquaintances who had also worked at TAE, Inc., the social tie appeared to be one of “old friend” in a diffuse way rather than a tie informed by the shared experience of working for TAE, Inc.

Though the present connections between this group of interviewees and the park’s resources appears to be comparatively weak or diffuse, it is clear from the interviews that their experience of working for TAE, Inc. was both positive and of great personal value. In fact, the ethnographer felt that in each case the single interview had just scratched the surface of a book that could be written on each individual, since each sketched the interactions between their own biographies and the nature of work and its organization in the Edison companies, the way things had changed with American and company history, and the ties between company and community.

The following sections look at three major themes that emerged in the interviews. First, we will discuss the “corporate culture” of the Edison factories, the sense of the kind of a place it was to work at. Second, some examples of the details of the work process will be presented, details that suggest ways to organize artifacts and demonstrate how they were used. Finally, two significant events in company history will be sketched, unionization and the purchase by McGraw, since all interviewees described these events as major historical moments in the evolution of the company.

1. Corporate Culture

One interviewee, the youngest at 77, provided some general statements about working at Edison that connect several themes mentioned by most of the former employees:

I⁶: And I certainly joined the Thomas A. Edison Company, because as I grew up my father had been with the company [most of his working life], forty-nine years and seven months when he retired. Our family and all the other families that grew up in the Oranges were all part of the Edison family. There were picnics and tournaments of all types together, and Dad always spoke very highly of the people that he worked with.

In fact, as a child this interviewee was almost imprinted with a positive image of the Edison company as a place to work:

I: Oh, every Saturday I'd be in with Dad to help him. Dad was in charge of the receiving and shipping departments. So usually on Saturday he'd work from eight to twelve or eight to one, and I'd go with him, and either put his papers in numerical order or alphabetical order or get into things that I shouldn't and he'd have to remind me. But there were always very, very wonderful memories, even up to the end.

This family theme was not unusual among interviewees. Five of the six interviewees started at Edison because of a family or friendship link. And the family environment was mentioned by other interviewees as well:

I: How I happened to go to work? They went through the plants and said, if you have any brothers or sisters ask them to come in for an interview. We need help. And a lot of men, their daughters came to work there. So it was family oriented. He wanted to incorporate the families. He wanted to keep the families in. Like I had a brother and a sister and myself.

This "family" feeling, in either the literal or metaphorical sense, was characteristic of the overall tone of the company, according to the interviewees. All was not utopian, of course, as we will see later in this section. Even the first interviewee cited spoke of a "couple of nasty people," though he said they were "few and far between." In fact, he later spoke of conflict as an acceptable part of his work and offered some comments that foreshadow discussions of the McGraw purchase to come later in this section:

I: We'd work hard together and we'd fight hard together, but we could go out and have a drink and a meal afterwards and still be very friendly with one another and with one another's family. And I think, as I look back—sure it's easy to say as I've heard for years, the good old days. But I'd have to say it concerns me, because I can no longer say that loyalty is the most important thing. Because today, as we know, your clock card number is the only thing they recognize, and the downsizing—it's survival. The philosophy is a lot different now. I'm not saying it's right or wrong, but you just have to recognize that.

This overall positive evaluation of the company is mirrored in other interviews as well.

I: But it was a very, very good rapport with the company and the people. This is when it was Thomas A. Edison.

⁶Interviewee

E⁷: Right, he was still—

I: It was still that company. That's about 1942.

E: Well, now you did—you say it was a good rapport. It was a good company to work for.

I: Yes, it was.

E: Can you give me examples of why you thought that? I mean, was it just the general atmosphere. Or was it specific ways that they treated you, or other kinds of things?

I: I think they were very good to the employees in the way that there weren't many problems. And I think at that time the union was just starting to come in. I'm not sure. See, I can go back to 1950. But it was a very good company.

This interviewee is a little off on the date of unionization, but her mention of it foreshadows the discussions to come. At any rate, here is one more example of a description of the atmosphere of the workplace:

E: So how did it feel when you went to work at Edison in terms of the environment and how people treated you? Do you remember? Was it a big shock? Was it horrible? Was it easy?

I: It was a little nerve wracking, because I wasn't sure just what was expected of me and what type of work I was going to be doing. But I remember starting out with a microscope, looking at something, I don't even remember what it was. But I remember doing that, and then I gradually got used to it. They were all women about like me, about my age or a little older, so we were all kind of friends with one another, and it was easy to blend in. I had no problems.

E: Did people help you out, train you, show you the ropes, all that sort of thing?

I: Oh yes, oh yes, definitely. We had people showing us how to do a job and we always had someone we could ask. And then as we got more proficient, we were the ones who would show people what to do. As I became a group leader, then I was helping other people who had just started.

E: Oh, so when a woman—a young woman would come into work and you would sort of—

I: Yes, if she was brought into our department, they'd ask me, would you show her how to do this? And then I would do that.

E: So it sounds pretty civilized as a worker.

I: Oh, yes, it was very civilized. And it was a lot of fun. I know it was a war effort, but it was a lot of fun, because I was not used to being in an atmosphere like that.

All the women all sort of got together and enjoyed ourselves, even while we were working. Probably shouldn't have been doing that, but—Yeah, it was a nice congenial atmosphere. I found it very interesting, very good. I enjoyed it.

Another former employee leads up to his overall evaluation of the workplace with some comments on the ties between the company and the community:

⁷Ethnographer

- I: Don't forget, the Edison family all worked there before the merger with McGraw. All this town, East Orange, Orange, West Orange, there was high as ten to fifteen thousand people working there every day. During the Second World War we couldn't get enough help. The company used to pay us ten dollars to bring a person in for a job. I remember the time that one month I brought in forty people. So they paid me four hundred dollars.
- E: So this was Edison country. Everybody who was living around here was working at Edison.
- I: Everybody. He supported everything around there. I could show to you, in all the forty-nine years I worked there, not one guy says it was a lousy place to work.

Even the one critic of the workplace, a man who felt he was unfairly laid off during the Depression and later became active in union organization as a result, still had positive things to say about the company. He said that the old Edison company "had a heart."

E: And so how would Edison handle problems with a heart? Can you think of a story or an example of that?

I: Well, during the Depression they took care of people if you wanted to go there. I never went there. I was laid off, and there was a lot of others laid off, too at that time. It was terrible the way things were. The company then supplied some groceries and some help. And they were very good that way. I never went back until they called me to go to the club. And you know, the irony of it too for the foreman that laid me off, the poor man. He had insurance—it was always \$1,000 in insurance, death benefit or whatever. And this foreman was for five or six months with the company after I left, and didn't he cancel his insurance? And he had a wife and a youngster. And the next thing was he caught pneumonia and died.

E: With no insurance.

I: With no insurance. We took up a collection in the rubber plant. I went back. I wasn't working then, but I went back to help out with the collection. And his poor wife and child. He was a young man, too. But I didn't hold any grudge against him [for laying me off], because he thought he was doing the right thing, I guess. But nevertheless, the poor man died, and I was very disturbed about it. Indeed all the workers in the plant were very disturbed about it. And the company, of course, helped out. They always helped out in something like that. The personnel was always there. That's one good thing about them.

The same interviewee told a story later reflecting company concern for its employees. Though it repeats the same theme, it is included here because it is an amusing illustration of the limits on Edison family influence in the working world:

I: Well, if somebody was sick, there's always somebody to help. And the personnel was always interested. I remember I got sick when I was working in the disk record [section]. I had arthritis, rheumatoid arthritis. I really got knocked down with it. And they came after me to find out how I was and if I'd come back to work there. I said, well, I don't know how I'll ever make out. It took me a long time to get over the arthritis, the rheumatoid part of it anyhow, and they always

inquired about me. When I went looking for a job again, with them, they gave me a job. One of the personnel men said to me, did you ever do any farming? And I said, yes, I was born and raised on a farm. He says, well, there's a job up in Theodore Edison's new home. He's gardening up there, do you want to go up? So I took the job. Of course, I didn't like it. I ran into Theodore Edison's wife. She was planting this and planting that, and I had to take a bucket of water and run to the tap. I had one pail and she came up the next day with another pail. She says, I took two pails so you can carry two. So I wanted to get out of there, and I told the foreman, I want to get out. They had job for me in the rubber plant. And who comes down and into the rubber plant to look the place over but Theodore Edison's wife, and she sees me, and off she goes. She has a conversation with the supervisor, and she's complaining that I was a lazy boy. Then she goes and he comes over to me and says, you know what she says about you? That you're a lazy boy. You know what, he says. The next time you catch up with the missus give her a goddam good kick in the ass.

Another story described how the company helped its workers survive at the beginning of the Depression:

I: They don't realize the goodness they did. Now when the banks were closed, our check was no good. You couldn't get money. When we got paid, Edison used the reserve money, and when they didn't have enough, they'd issue a scrip. Say your pay was \$30 a week. They gave you \$15 in cash, and you had scrip money for \$15. All the stores were guaranteed that the company was behind that, that they would get paid. And everything just kept on going.⁸

Many stories of this sort were told, about how the company provided a good work environment and cared about its employees. There were also stories, as indicated earlier, about company picnics and events, about bowling leagues and baseball teams. Further, as indicated in the quotes, interviewees often mentioned in the course of their interviews how company relations were also community relations, how it was likely that people you knew at work were also people you knew or ran into in town after work.

In spite of the story just cited about Theodore Edison's wife, Ann, members of the Edison family usually came in for favorable comments. Consider this story about Charles:

I: When they stopped making the wax cylinder, they went to the disk. That division moved to Sag Harbor, where Charlie Edison had a place. I went there. I set it all up. Three months, set it up, and then I showed him how to do it. I had the most wonderful time, because his wife had a place there called the French House. We

⁸Reminiscing about the Depression era shortly before his death in 1969, Charles Edison talked about the scrip issued by TAE, Inc. The company issued scrip in denominations of \$1, \$2, \$5, and \$10, and the documents all carried a picture of Thomas Edison on them (the \$1 denomination is illustrated in Venable 1978:156). Employees eventually cashed in nearly all of them, but a few never returned to the company treasury. Charles remarked that "some of the employees, those with ready cash in hand, I assume, treasured the scrip as souvenirs and never cashed in all of theirs" (Venable 1978:104-105).

went to play cards every Saturday. He said you only can lose a certain amount—five dollars or ten. But you kept on playing. Nobody won. At the end it was all even all the time.

Charles was mentioned only rarely in the interviews, but his younger brother, Theodore, enjoyed a reputation as the worker's friend and several interviewees told stories about him. From these stories, Theodore seems to have been a bit of a hero in the eyes of some interviewees:

I: And then, as you may or may not know, Theodore Edison, the other son, had an experiment, which was the EI Industries. And he gave his monies to a fund where you'd have to work so many years before you'd get stock in it. I have that somewhere at home, the details of that. Everybody said it would fail. He was smart, because if it failed, the monies would have to go to the American Red Cross. It would be because of greediness, and that's the way it went. Various people thought they could run it a different way and got too grabby, and it finally wound up being dissolved.

Or, another project of Theodore's:

I: My father was one of the treasurers of the old Edison Mutual Benefit Association, which was in effect—I guess it would be the forerunner of a savings bank. You'd put your money in that and you could draw it out for buying a house or what have you.

Another interviewee mentioned both these programs. This former employee also mentions that Theodore was on the workers' side during the McGraw takeover that will be described later:

I: They bought out my pension and got rid of me, because they were taken the storage battery from West Orange and down to Summerton, South Carolina. And of course I wouldn't go along, because I had bought a home here. I had to go get another job. It was very rough. I remember Theodore Edison fighting against McGraw-Edison and all.

There were also numerous stories about the "Old Man" himself among those workers who knew him. Most of them came from the interviewee who actually worked with Edison in a white collar job.

I: Incidentally, the Old Man said, these fellows [salesmen] think they have a very easy job, just going in and doing this and so forth. So to make it a little more interesting, I send them north in the winter and south in the summer. He had a wonderful sense of humor.

E: He was always making jokes, I guess.

I: Everything was a joke.

In a later story, the same interviewee tells about a conversation with Thomas Edison where he announced a new job assignment:

I: And one day I got a call when I was in another building. The Old Man wanted to see me. So I went over, and he's seated at his desk there. I imagine that's all there still. When I came up to the desk, he looked up, very solemn. He looked at me and he said, do you have tuberculosis? Now in those days, that was a great [scourge]—like we have AIDS today—tuberculosis was the common trouble. "Do you have tuberculosis?" "No, I don't think so. I have no symptoms." And that

went on and on. He could see I was confused, and he was enjoying that. And finally he laughed and he said, "Well, I'm gonna send you to Denver anyhow." Denver was the place where they sent people to get cured of tuberculosis because of the fine climate.

E: Oh, up in the mountains, up in the clear air.

I: But I wasn't going there because I had tuberculosis. I was to go and open up a company-owned wholesale branch there.

Several stories of this sort were told. As another example, an unspoken ritual took place where a machinist in the shop always laid his pouch of chewing tobacco at a certain place on the bench, and most everyday Thomas Edison would walk by and help himself to a handful. Or another story described his love of peanuts and the piles of shells. Here is one more example:

I: The first story is that Mr. Edison worked up in the lab, and then at noontime he'd come down and go out through Gate 31. The shipping department was diagonally across the way from the Gate 31 exit. And the story goes that he'd hire a lot of young kids off the boat, Irish or Italian primarily. And this particular day some of the older guys were saying to Potsi, that's Mr. Edison. Of course, he had heard about him in Italy. And he said, "Oh, isn't that wonderful." And they said, "Yeah. You go ask him for a phonograph." "Oh no, no." So they egged this guy on. Mr. Edison would say hello at times when he was going out. Potsi went up to him and said, "Mr. Edison, my name is Potsi. Could I get a phonograph?" And with his sense of humor, as it was told to me, Edison said, "How long are you working here?" Potsi said, "Oh about six months." Edison said, "And you haven't stolen enough parts to make one yourself?"

While Edison's humor was the centerpiece of most of the stories that the former employees told, the one interviewee who worked with him in a white collar capacity emphasized how he was a "regular guy," humble in spite of his fame.

I: The most astounding thing was this: he was an all time great mind, one of the greatest ever. Yet he was humble, no conceit. Just another guy.

E: Can you remember an example or a story about that?

I: Well, the way he'd joke and say things. He never made any pretense about I'm a—now you see, in my experience in selling in several companies, I've run across people who were the third assistant to the second vice president of some corporation, very important. And here's Edison, one of the world's greatest minds—not important to him.

This interviewee had several memos that he had written to Edison with the Old Man's penciled reply. He, the interviewee, pointed out that Edison's replies, with phrases like "Give me a little time," further indicated a sense of equality with the people with whom he worked.

From the interviews, then, one gets a sense of a company that was almost utopian from the point of view of those who worked there. Occasional comments mitigate this image, like one where Thomas Edison's "impatience" was mentioned, along with the comment that he was "no saint." And, as shown earlier, one employee felt that his layoff was unjust and served as an example of how the workers needed a union. That same interviewee also told stories like the one about the "leader" in his unit who would punch in on the time clock and go play golf.

It is difficult to fully evaluate this image on the basis of a single interview with six former employees. At the same time, it is clear in these limited data that, by and large, Edison had what we now call a “corporate culture” that would be the envy of any company anywhere in the world. Working conditions, concern for employees, and employee recreational and financial programs appear to have been positive from the point of view of the former employees.

To step back for a moment, the ethnographer could not help but wonder if life in the old Edison companies was really this good. In fact, if a personal anecdote might be permitted, he wrote an earlier draft of this section while visiting his mother, now 75 years old and retired. She actually became angry as she talked with him about some of her former employers, who had a great “family attitude,” but offered employees low pay and no influence in the running of the company. There are hints in the previous quotes, and in the discussion of unionization to come, that another, more negative side to life in the family firm was not expressed. Perhaps this exploration only tapped an initial tendency to make a positive public presentation, or a sense of nostalgia for more active times. Or perhaps working life truly excelled by comparison to other opportunities then available. Based on this brief study, it is simply not possible to decide.

2. Work

Several segments in the interviews yielded descriptions of objects used in the work and the processes by which those objects were manipulated. Such descriptions were incomplete and partial, either because the interviewee could not readily recall the details of the task or because it seemed that the interviewee’s knowledge was so detailed that it seemed more appropriate to explore the information in a later investigation, specifically concerning work practices. Despite the incompleteness of the descriptions collected during the interviews, several examples are presented here to show their potential for contributing to the interpretation and management of the EDIS collections.

One interviewee worked in a high-security area of the Edison plant during World War II and assembled time fuses for bombs.

I: We had to wear hats and gloves. It was nice. The people were older than me, probably working there two or three years before I got there. I didn’t go and start to work until ’42. Most of them were mayors’ wives, policeman’s wife, fireman’s wife. All the women were 40 and over, but very, very nice, and very, very classy ladies. There were no men in our department. Even the inspectors were women. It was very nice and very calm, but it was frustrating if you got something and you couldn’t get it to work. So then you would change the gear. You had the eye loupe, and I wore glasses. It was a little difficult one-handed. The tool I used was a four inch pencil with a little tool on the end of it, and this fit right into that—you could turn it and see if it would wind, unwind, see if it would hold, see how tight it was, how loose it was.

The same woman left Edison but later returned to the company in a different job:

I: In 1950 my husband said, maybe you can go back to work. I said, well, I don’t know, the war is over. Oh, he said, go back, you have a good record. I went back

and then they put me in production, and I was working on panel boards. That's when I had the sore hand and the blisters. A little square board, panel board, about this big. It had resistors on it. It had some kind of wires, those wires that are colored wires with—they have like a rubber coating on them. We had to solder that in.

E: So these were like circuit boards.

I: Yeah, circuit boards, that's right.

E: You were making circuit boards.

I: But before they put me on that they showed me how to cut the resistors to a certain length and strip the wires a certain length and get everything ready. They taught me all that before I started the panel boards. And I was not too good at the soldering. Some of my panel boards had cold solder. I didn't quite understand how it was supposed to work, except that the metal is supposed to be heated before you put the solder on it.

She finished her Edison career as a timekeeper, a job she obviously enjoyed:

E: You said when you started working as a timekeeper, you really liked that. You really wanted to do that. What did you like so much?

I: Well, I had the independence. I had this great big Marchande machine. I had all my tickets here, my files, and I would collect the tickets. They would bring them up to the desk and I'd put them in job order, you know. This girl and I would put them in people order, and I would have it right in the Marchande machine—pieces by the hour divided by the time and I got the rate. I didn't put the money in. I loved that machine. I used to make it—they'd say, listen to her in there. She's gone crazy. That machine was so loud. They hated Mondays. They said, well, listen to her going. I didn't realize it.

E: You were just playing it like a piano, right?

I: Oh, I loved it, I loved my job. If they ever had a Marchande machine anywhere, I would go back to work just to—I loved my machine. I really hated to leave. I was very sad, because I wouldn't see any of the people. Some of the fellows—I lived in the Morgan District, and they would pick me up and take me home. I said, you know, my husband's jealous. They said, so is my wife. You know, we didn't do anything, nothing happened.

Here is another description of work during the Second World War, also from a female former employee:

E: And what was [your] first job?

I: Well, I was an inspector in the instrument division. That's where they were building the instruments to go into cockpits of airplanes. I was put in a job there where I inspected the little parts of the plane, the cockpit, and I had a sort of a—some kind of machine that I would check the unit to see whether it fell in a certain area.

E: Make sure it was functioning properly. So you'd get it after it was manufactured and before it was shipped.

- I: And I did that kind of work most of the time, the inspection of instruments that go into cockpits. Then after awhile I was made a group leader, and I was one of the first of the women, I think, that was applying.

Comments from both of these women suggest another avenue for investigation, the role of gender in workplace. The former interviewee mentions jokes about the sense of closeness between male and female employees, while the latter mentions that she was one of the first women to become a group leader in the instrument division. Gender issues were not explored in this study, but clearly, from these two quotes and others, this area would justify a separate project. As another example of a gender issue, one interviewee, who began work in the factory as a teenage boy, served in part as a kind of all purpose “go-fer,” and one of his jobs was to go out and buy candy for a male worker’s girlfriend and deliver it to her on the sly.

One interviewee was hired by Thomas Edison himself in 1920. At that time, Edison was trying to sharpen up his corporate organization following the changes in personnel, the product line, and consumer preferences that occurred during the First World War. Edison had designed a test that to screen applicants who would be groomed for management jobs. The test covered a diverse range of topics and included questions on history and literature, as well as on chemistry and other technical subjects. Edison graded the exams himself, and those who were selected on the basis of the tests, including the interviewee, called themselves the “A-Men,” after the “A” grade they received. This interviewee’s first job was intended to give him a working familiarity with all aspects of one division of TAE, Inc., and since he was being groomed for a management job, to give him a feel for the expectations Edison had for such employees:

- I: I was hired. Well, as I found later, there was about possibly ten or twelve of us who were hired at that time under the same procedure. So the first assignment I had—all of us, these ten or twelve, had several jobs, and we were called inspectors. Nowadays in manufacturing inspector usually is quality control. You check to see if things are made right. But this was not that type of job. I was assigned to the disk record printing division. My job was to observe and look for anything I felt was good or bad, or recommend anything. And in fact, to get the hang of it, I even ran a press for awhile. They were running at that time, and the disk record was printing popular music, and it was pretty active. So they were running two shifts. I had a badge which admitted me to the plant day or night. I could go out somewhere and go to a show at night and then go to work. I had no hours set. I was to devote—in both shifts I was to observe and make any recommendations. Now that applied to the other fellows who were hired at the same time.

Another passage from the same individual is worth citing at length, since it reveals what he feels is a particular talent of Edison that is not often discussed:

- I: One of the duties I took on—very few people ever know this, but the Old Man was very much interested in sales, and he had some very good sales ideas. Very good. He had a keen mind for salesmanship. One of his sales projects was this: he would hire canvassers to go around and knock on doors of homes and say, how

would you like to have a phonograph in your home for three days? No cost, if you want to buy it, you can buy it, but you're under no obligation. And that went over very big.

E: That's a good idea, right?

I: Oh, it was an excellent idea. So most of this was done through dealers in different towns and cities. But there was no dealer in Brooklyn, New York, which was a large community. So the Old Man decided to rent a storefront and work out of that. So they did, they got a storefront. I didn't have anything to do with getting the store, but I had to contact them after it was established. In that store we had three salesmen who did the canvassing. One of them was the manager in charge, but he canvassed too. So when the three of them were out canvassing the store was closed, locked. So this manager thought it would be a good idea to have somebody there permanently in the store, because as the word got around and people heard of this, they'd come to the store and say, could I have one in my home, and also they could buy records there. So of course, being the Old Man's project, I had to submit it to him before I could tell the fellow to go ahead. And the Old Man, in characteristic style, said it was a good idea. He wrote in the note, "Good idea, go ahead, but don't hire somebody with an eye like a dead fish." Now, that's typical of him. Instead of saying don't hire somebody to sit there like a dummy, you know, he always put it in colorful description.

E: Colorful terms.

I: "Don't hire somebody with an eye like a dead fish." The manager did hire a young fellow who was very good. I never went back to the Old Man. The fellow he hired was cross-eyed. He blinked all right, and his eye wasn't really like a dead fish. Another one of his sales projects was this: This was in connection to the disk record. The disk record quality was far superior to that of the Victor, which was the commonest competitor then. The quality was very noticeable. Now many dealers sold Edison and Victor both. So the Old Man said that dealers should make comparisons, play the two phonographs side by side, let people hear. He hired several men to go around and act as shoppers. They went into a dealer in different towns. They worked through a job or in a territory, and we gave them the names of dealers. Now they'd go into a store, pretending to buy a phonograph, and they would then see whether the dealer made the comparative—what we used to call tone test. And if the dealer didn't make the tone test, this canvasser, this salesman—well, you couldn't call him a salesman really—this shopper would report to the jobber. He didn't say anything to the dealer. And then the wholesale jobber of that area would go to that dealer and try to persuade him to do this. That system went on for quite awhile.

Many other descriptions of the actual work are scattered through the interviews. Unfortunately, they tend to be sketchy, as suggested by the samples presented in this section. Nonetheless, they indicate the role former employees might play in interpreting the business and manufacturing end of the Edison enterprises, possibly including the development of exhibits depicting work at the Edison plant from the workers' point of view.

3. *The Big Events*

Throughout the interviews with former Edison employees there are references to key events in American history, which serve as background explanations for changes in the factories and laboratory. Notable among these references are the two world wars and the Depression, but interviewees mentioned other circumstances as well, including shifts in market preferences, competition from other companies, and changing technology. In this section, we will focus on two events that had an immediate personal impact on all of them, the unionization at TAE, Inc. and the later purchase of the company by the McGraw Electric Company. These events appeared in all of the interviews. In the early ones, interviewees mentioned these events spontaneously. In later interviews, the ethnographer asked about them specifically, since he had by then learned of their importance.

The interviews showed that the story of unionization is a powerful, complex, and important one in the lives of the former employees and perhaps in the ultimate fate of TAE, Inc. Only a bare outline of this story emerged during the interviews. Even the chronology of the story is not completely clear from the interviews. The key question here, one which we still cannot answer, is this: if the old family-run Edison company was such a great place to work, then what happened to allow the union to organize the workers?

Thomas Edison was never friendly towards unions. Confronted by labor unrest over wages and work rules at his New York City factory in 1886, he shifted his manufacturing operations to areas outside the city, where labor was cheaper and union agitation was less likely. This move resulted in the establishment of an Edison manufacturing works in Schenectady, New York (later taken over by General Electric) and, slightly later, one in the quiet New Jersey suburb of West Orange (Baldwin 1995:177-179). He faced down labor unrest again in the decade of the First World War, locking out metal workers in 1913 and defeating a strike by members of the Industrial Workers of the World in 1916 (Millard 1990:289-291).

His son, Charles, who became president of TAE, Inc. in 1926, was apparently somewhat more tolerant of labor unions than the Old Man had been. Perhaps the times were different, for, by his own account, the fundamentally conservative Charles was infected by the social idealism represented by Roosevelt's New Deal. Between 1933 and 1937, he played an important role in implementing wage, price, and labor standards in New Jersey under the National Recovery Act and other initiatives designed to lift the country out of the Depression (Venable 1978: 102, 105-115). Just as important, perhaps, to the story of unions at TAE, Inc. labor laws enacted in the 1930s guaranteed the right of workers to organize. Though tolerant of unions, even in his most socially liberal days Charles Edison was still not an enthusiastic supporter, at least where his own interests were at stake. One of the people interviewed for this study said that Charles advocated the position that individual workers should have the right to choose whether to join a union or not. This interviewee also told a story about a lecture organized by Charles at a local business club. According to this interviewee, Charles felt that the lecture by a Ford Motor Company union organizer, illustrated the dangerous loss of "the big stick" by management when unions become too powerful in a company.

Based on the comments of interviewees, unionization at TAE, Inc. apparently took place over the course of fifteen years or more, beginning in the late 1930s and continuing into the early 1950s. According to an interviewee who was also a former union vice president at TAE, Inc., the earliest union, representing at least those working in the rubber plant, was "in full force" by 1937. Another wave of organizing, apparently covering the entire plant and perhaps seeking to create a closed shop, took place in the early 1950s.

Interviewees usually expressed some ambivalence about the union. For example:

E: Can you tell me about the union [in the early 1950s]? How did that happen? How did you see it?

I: I think the word was spread that they were going to have a union, that you would get more benefits and they would fight for whatever rights you felt you needed. And I think the CIO came in first, or was it the AF of L. Which one came in first? I think the AF of L was the strongest at that time.

E: I'm not sure exactly.

I: Because, you see, eventually we had the two unions, the AF of L and CIO had combined. But they asked us to go to a meeting—across the street there was a hall; it's still there—and please sign up to join the union. So we said, "Well, what if you don't join the union." "Well, if you don't join the union, we'll just come after you. We want to make this a union job. They employ hundreds of people here." We had a meeting, and I guess we all signed something. And then they had a meeting with the company, and the company didn't want to—the company I think offered us a raise. I think they had no medical plan at that time.

E: The company had no medical plan.

I: No, they had no medical plan. And I don't know how it happened, but the union finally, with the vote of the employees, the union came in. But things really changed then, because they were demanding.

E: The union was.

I: Yes, they had working conditions. What else can I say? Good working conditions. Better rates on the jobs, because I became the timekeeper, and I knew what it was. Better rates on the jobs. They wanted all the jobs restudied, so people could make some money. That was another very important thing. We had to pay union dues. We had to pay to join the union.

E: So how did you feel about all that? Was the change positive or negative, or a little of both?

I: Well, I wasn't too happy with it, because the only thing they really protected was your argument with the supervisor or something like that. They really didn't do anything for you.

E: The grievances.

I: That's the word. They really didn't do anything exceptional, except that we did go out on strike, if you can believe that. I think for five cents an hour we were out six weeks. For five cents an hour. They wanted a general increase, but you know,

those unions were strong then, and if you worked there, you had to belong to the union.

Though this interviewee felt ambivalent about the union, she does describe an issue that was a problem for the workers, that of payment by piece work.

- I: The men wanted the union, because they wanted more money, better rates. Because everything there was piece work. I must tell you that. Very few time jobs. Everything was piece work. They gave you maybe a day or a few hours to learn a job. He would show you and then after that the time study man would come in, and he would start timing the job and maybe in a week or so, you couldn't make the rate. That's when the union came in. The rate's too high, she's not making any money, you have to re-study the job. We did have problems with the rates.

But then the interviewee returns to a more ambivalent stance in another section of the interview:

- I: It was really a good company. But the unions are unions, and they try to—I don't know, sometimes I think they were looking for trouble, although some people are never satisfied. Their rate is too high. It all had to do with money—with the job, and maybe oh, put a shield on this, or do something to that machine to protect the people. You know, they were always into doing something. They were always walking around looking for something to do.

Another interviewee expressed the same sense of ambivalence:

- I: Well, I think it's part of—in a group of people there's always somebody who's going to start something. I don't remember just how it started, but I remember going to union meetings, because that was the thing you had to do. And I remember I was never happy about some of the things the union did. I wasn't a hundred per cent behind everything they did. But they got in there and they were strong and we were able to—and I guess they did work out a lot of problems that they would—I remember seeing the head of the union in an office. They ironed out things that the people complained about—working conditions or something or other that they didn't like. They would complain to the union and the union would take it up with the bosses down in the machine shop. Down there were more men. I think they're more union-minded, men are. At least in those days.

An interviewee who was a white collar worker at Edison described the union situation from the viewpoint of management:

- I: After it was unionized—I mean, after I became a plant manager, if you had a grievance, if you couldn't settle it at our own divisional level, you'd take it down to Rog [the company official in charge of labor relations]. Then if Rog thought you were wrong, he'd tell you why. And then if you wanted to go to arbitration, he would get the legal requirement, and what we had then is we'd have a pre-trial. Two members of the legal department would hear the case and then tell us whether they thought we had a fifty-fifty, sixty-forty, eighty-five chance of winning. We still had the option, but they would tell you why. From that standpoint, at least in the instrument division, and in some of the other divisions,

we had pretty good relations. They had a strike, we had strikes. I can't account for the big ones, because part of that was the UE and the IUE, and I know in the instrument division we were organized by the UE and became IUE. When the fellows came back from service, they would have no part of the UE or the IUE, because they considered them to be communists. They went with the IBEW.⁹

This interviewee, though retired, is still active part-time as a labor relations consultant. As part of his work, and his occasional teaching, he stresses communication and the ability to examine different aspects of a work situation, something he says he learned working at Edison. He told a story about a grievance case at Edison to make his point, one that again raises the gender issue. The case involved a woman who was disciplined by her male supervisor. She complained and won the case.

I: Now, eight or nine years later, I meet Marie at a wake of a former employee, and "Johnny." Of course, I hate to be called "Johnny." "You don't remember me." I said, "I certainly do, Marie." She says, "Yeah, I know, you're mad at me because we beat you on that case." I said, "No, not mad. I just can't understand why." She said, "I tried to tell you why." And I said, "Well, I guess I missed the point." She said, "You know, I had a nice supervisor up in Roseland. When I came down to West Orange, Frank was my supervisor. And all he ever wanted to do was pick on me or put his hands on my shoulder. It wasn't harassment or anything. And I could never stand him," she says, "and that's the reason."

E: It changed the whole thing.

I: Yeah, well, holy Christ, I didn't pay enough attention. Now, is it my job as superintendent to pay—or plant manager? No. I should have said to my superintendent, "Hey, what about this guy Frank? Let's look at it other ways." But again, it's all in the communication. But it's not just verbal, and that's what you have to know.

Apparently the woman did not think it was appropriate to emphasize the unwanted attention of her supervisor, or was too shy or afraid to do so. The interviewee makes the point that the assumption that the grievance has to do with specifics of the work blinded him to the real problem, the behavior of the supervisor.

As mentioned earlier, the interviewee who felt he was unfairly laid off welcomed the union and became active in it. An excerpt from his interview tells the story:

E: Did they ever explain to you why they kept the guy who had only been there six months and let you go?

⁹As this interviewee indicates, organizing the electrical manufacturing industry included competition among three different unions. These were the Union of Electrical Workers (UE), the International Union of Radio, Electrical, and Machine Workers (IUE), and the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW). The IUE came into being after factionalism developed within the UE, fueled by claims that the union leadership had communist leanings. According to accounts in the *IUE News*, summarized for the ethnographic team through the courtesy of Jerry Borstel, retired head of IUE public relations, the UE local joined the IUE in 1956. Contrary to our interviewee, these reports indicate that the IBEW represented the Instrument Division, while the IUE represented the Storage Battery and Voicewriter divisions and possibly others as well.

- I: No, they never told me.
- E: Did you ever get the story on that?
- I: Well, see, the man he kept, he was an older man, maybe in his thirties. His daughter was working in the company, And he owned his house. He was very well situated. And the young man that came in as a foreman after Jack—Jack had gone off to Wisconsin as a vice-president. And in his place came a young man. He was just out of the Navy. I think he was a graduate of Annapolis, and that's how he got the job. He came in and he was understanding of things, but his assistant resented it very much, and he wanted to keep me, but the foreman said no.
- E: So it was a case of a new guy coming in and making that decision then?
- I: Yeah.
- E: And he didn't have the same attitude as most people at Edison would have had.
- I: No. But see, the unfairness of it was I was there for five years with the company, and this man was only seven or eight months, and they kept him. And then of course, when the union came along, I was the vice president of the union.
- E: Yeah, I bet you were.
- I: With a vengeance.

Towards the last of the interviews, the ethnographer began asking directly the question with which this section opened—if things were so good at Edison, why did the workers support the union? The last interviewee offered a story from the late 1930s that raises another neglected issue, that of diversity in the Edison workforce, while at the same time laying the cause for unionization on the union itself rather than the workers:

- I: When I was working in Building 7 where we were making the disk, I had a fellow. He was a black guy. Now this will probably give you the answer. So he was a hell of a janitor, kept the place clean, all that. Every time I had a chance to give a couple hours overtime, because I was the leader, I'd give it to him. So he worked for me three years. One day he says, "Mr. Joe." That's how he called me, "Mr. Joe." "I'm not gonna work after a couple more weeks." I says "Why, what's the matter. What happened? Something bother you, done something to you?" "No, nobody did something to me. The money I make here just takes care of myself. I can't send my money to Virginia"—or wherever he was from, down South. He says, "I ain't got enough, so I'm going back to work for my master."
- E: Going back to work for who?
- I: A "master," at the plantation. That's what they call them, their "master." Their master, plantation. "Well, what made you come here?" "Well, the union come down and they say why you working here for? You go up North you make a lot of money, this and all that." "Now," I says, "did your master do anything to you?" "No, best man ever was," he says. He says, "We lived on a plantation. I had no taxes to pay. I had the best doctors when somebody got sick in my family. He sent my sons to college. I had food. I had everything." I said, "Why did you come here?" He says, "Well, the union told us—the union went down there, turned around and says, oh, you can make a lot of money, this and all that." Like all the

money you make, you haven't lived. Where down there he didn't have no headaches.

E: So the union brought people up.

I: That's it.

These interview segments only hint at a complicated and fascinating story. The broader events in which unionization occurred have only been alluded to—developing wars in Europe and Asia, the recent Depression, new labor laws from the Roosevelt administration, not to mention the death of the Old Man in 1931. Further, comments about pay and insurance and seniority issues suggest that real problems existed from the worker's point of view, in contrast to the almost-utopian descriptions of the company that emerged in the previous section. And the union point of view—their historical position and organizing goals at that point in history—have not been considered at all here.

What is clear in these brief interviews is that unionization was a major event for the interviewees, one that they reacted to in different ways. On the one hand, issues of lay-offs, piece work rates, and harassment from supervisors are examples of problems in the company that interviewees felt needed attention. On the other hand, many interviewees give the impression that the union was forced on them and caused unnecessary trouble. Further work would be necessary to flesh out this story and develop a better understanding of the circumstances that led to unionization.

Clearly, though, unionization was a significant event for workers at TAE, Inc. Once again, an exploration of the human terrain warrants another study. And once again, an effort to recreate the story and feature it at EDIS would offer an opportunity to display the employee's point of view on life in the company, while at the same time tying their view into broader currents of American history.

The second major event that all former employees commented on was the purchase of the Edison companies by McGraw. All emphasized the negative effects of the purchase, since the purchase led to the relocation of Edison companies to other parts of the country and the eventual closing of the West Orange facility.¹⁰

One interviewee linked her comments on McGraw to memories evoked by a visit to the Park Service's Laboratory Unit some years after the plant closed. Her quote is a suitable one to begin the discussion of the McGraw takeover, because she says the move was in part caused by the union:

E: Oh, I was just going to ask you. What did you think when you went through the museum? Did it make you remember?

¹⁰Even Charles Edison, who benefitted substantially from the merger with McGraw, seems to have felt some regrets. Responding to Max McGraw's initial overture, Charles wrote: "Our company has been going along quite contentedly for a good many years, producing a pretty good living for all concerned, and has always been a little coy about merging with some other group." Later, as chairman of the board of McGraw-Edison, he faced animosities from some McGraw managers and once came nearly to blows with one director (Venable 1978:241, 243).

- I: Oh, made me sad. Very sad, yeah. I liked it. I liked working there. It was too bad—McGraw only bought it for the name, and they took some of the work, and put it right down in—Mr. Smith was the first supervisor to go down. Once they did that, everybody knew we were doomed. And then he—I think in Silver Lake they were making the batteries there, and they closed that down. And little by little, the union was upset because they were losing men and there was nothing they could do. And I think the union had a lot to do with it. They were too demanding.

As a timekeeper, this interviewee read the events from the flow of paper through her office. She took the closing more personally than any of the others, perhaps because, as timekeeper, she was among the last to work in the plant:

- I: Yes, I was the last person—one of the last people in the building. All the big shots were gone. All those men up there, like my boss, all from the top they started to clean them out. They were going, they were going, they were going; and the factory, in the meantime, the factory was closing down here. This job was closed, this job was finished, this job was finished, until they got—the machine shop was the first one to be hit. They were shut down. And I was in the machine shop office and I worked upstairs at the same time I was the timekeeper. They were shut down. And I said to myself, what's happening? All of a sudden we heard all these men are going, going, going. Oh, and I think it was about two months, and I was the only one left there. And the only reason I was there was because they had maintenance men cleaning up, packaging, doing odds and ends. I was the last person to be in that division.

A former white-collar worker described the change from his vantage point as well:

- I: That was in the 50's, somewhere between '53 and '55, I think it was, that it became McGraw-Edison and it was a public organization. It didn't change everything, but it did change.
- E: Yeah, it must have, huh? I mean, that's the old story from American business history. You see it over and over again, right? You've got the family firm and the kind of family feeling, and then it becomes—
- I: It's one of the reasons I left actually.

Later in the interview he spelled out his options and came to an interesting conclusion:

- I: And of course, we made that in conjunction with—we bought Sunbeam Electronic out of Fort Lauderdale, and at that time the corporation moved part of the plant from West Orange to Fort Lauderdale. We couldn't get enough engineering. We brought it back, and then they talked about moving it again. And quite frankly, that's when I said, thank you, but I don't want to leave the area. They offered me the potential of a job, either in Elgin, Illinois, which is where the corporate was, or if they went to—and it did go up to New Hampshire, that maybe I'd want to go there. But I got off at that point, because I had, as I say, eight children; and the company management had changed. I'm not saying it was bad, but it had changed and it wasn't the same company that it had been. That was the beginning of probably what is now known as the downsizing. But that was downsizing because

of the end of the war. It's different than it is now. And then some of the other interesting things that I enjoyed—

E: What did you notice about the change in management? What was most striking? This is when it became McGraw-Edison.

I: The dollar.

The report of the change wasn't so different from a blue collar point of view, either:

I: But I did very well there. I was all right until of course, as time went along I was separated from the company finally. The McGraw-Edison crowd came in, and then it was different of course.

E: What were the differences you noticed, I mean when that change happened? When the McGraw-Edison crowd came in. From where you were, what happened?

I: The big change was you'd get a lot from them—it was a good company if you were inside of it, as I think about it now. Looking back, the McGraw-Edison company was a company, you know—you can say about the company, it was a different company all together than Edison. As they say, a corporation is a legal person without a heart. Well, that was McGraw-Edison. The Edison company was legal, but it had a heart, as I think of it. That was the difference.

Another blue-collar interviewee added some comments on how quality changed after the purchase:

E: In other words first it's Edison, and then it's McGraw-Edison, after they bought Edison. That was a big change, huh?

I: That's a big change. Now, as far as I'm concerned, when the big change come in, the disk machine [for example]. McGraw-Edison was only interested in a profit. If you couldn't make money, we don't want it. You know, it was because there was too many—everything was stock market, making money, this and all that. And they couldn't get financed if you didn't produce the profit. So what happens was—we used to make a machine before the war, I mean, the voice writer. The inspector checked every one. McGraw-Edison come in, we had the assembly line all the way down this line. One inspector over there, one inspector in the middle, and one inspector at the end. So what happens. It's perfect there, over here it wasn't right, over here it's just mediocre. Then when it got down to the end, as long as it worked, he said ship it out.

E: So there wasn't that same [concern] with the quality of the product.

I: With Edison, everything he made had to be perfect. And he made it so good and strong—that's why it cost more.

A final issue that two interviewees mentioned involved what happened to their pensions during the purchase. The general tone of the comments is that the workers lost some pension money, but the details behind the story are too complex for an evaluation based on the single interview. Besides, one story is made more complicated by the fact that the old Edison pension sounded rather meager, while the McGraw-Edison pension was more generous, though it required an employee contribution. Again, we wonder about negative aspects of working in the Edison companies that interviewees may not have been fully described.

Sketchy as the details are, it is clear that the purchase of the old Edison companies by McGraw was seen as negative in terms of the corporate culture and the work process. It also caused—or forced—the employees to lose their jobs, either because those jobs simply disappeared, or because the employee did not want to relocate.

The McGraw takeover was an early case of what have become common American business stories. On the one hand, a family firm goes public and loses its atmosphere to a dominant concern with shareholder value. On the other hand, a company leaves the community with which it has a close relationship for other locations where financial and labor advantages are to be found. While both of those changes have their advantages from a corporate point of view, for the employees who go through the changes they are a personal loss, the more so given the earlier positive discussions of employee identity in the old Edison corporate culture.

4. Discussion

Throughout these interviews, the Project Ethnographer was frankly in awe of the richness of experience that the former employees represented. The former employees are witnesses to past events that intersect in many ways with the story of Thomas Edison's life, works, and times. They convey a sense of what the corporate culture of TAE, Inc. was like, even revealing contradictions to the very image they present. They describe people and situations in ways that could bring materials in the EDIS collections to life from the particular point of view of Edison employees. Their stories also highlight events in the history of one of Edison's creations, TAE, Inc., such as unionization and the McGraw purchase, events that caused major changes in the company and in their lives.

It is worth repeating a point made at the beginning of this section: each of these people could serve as a subject in an extended oral history. Such a study of Edison and his company from the employees' point of view would benefit our knowledge of the man, his family, and the company that bore his name. While the archives at EDIS already has on file transcripts of interviews with some former employees, the interviews reported here indicate that there is a great deal more that can be learned through interviews with such people. Another point must also be stressed: such a study, if it is to undertaken at all, must begin soon. The pool of former Edison employees is growing older and shrinking year by year, particularly among those who worked for the company while Edison himself was still alive.

Another way in which the knowledge and perspectives of this group could be of use to NPS would be through development of an interpretive theme that might be called "Working at Edison." Such a theme might be incorporated into the interpretive program in several ways.

Exhibits might, for example, be developed around the corporate culture of TAE, Inc. This culture is clearly a key aspect of what TAE, Inc. was all about from the perspective of the former employees we interviewed. If a sense of this culture could be conveyed to visitors, it would add another historical dimension to the interpretive program, capture the spirit of a disappearing

American business genre—the old family firm—and display a business model now coming back into vogue in the popular business literature as a reaction against the “heartless,” profit-driven corporate organization. Other obvious topics that might be taken up by exhibits under this theme might include the relationship between Edison and his companies and the American labor movement, and, perhaps in conjunction with the perspectives offered by residents of West Orange (to be discussed in the following chapter), the effects of TAE, Inc.’s merger with the McGraw Electric Company.

A second approach would be to use this theme to give greater emphasis to the manufacturing end of Edison’s enterprises. For example, it might be interesting for museum visitors to experience for themselves some of the actual work that went into the production of instruments, thermostats, batteries and some of the other products Edison’s companies produced. This suggestion is merely conceptual, and the practicalities of it are potentially daunting. Nonetheless, it should be remembered that for the majority of American workers, today’s workplace, with its cubicles, paperwork and computers, and information and service orientation, is far different in some respects from the assembly lines and machine shop culture that characterized the enterprises directed by Thomas Edison and his immediate successors. Such an interpretive scheme might also offer visitors a lesson in the fundamentals of science and engineering.

C. ETHNOGRAPHIC RESOURCES

The concept of ethnographic resource has proven to be difficult to apply in relation to former Edison employees. There are several possible reasons for this difficulty. First, the relationship between the park and this group is diffuse, and this apparent lack of close connection is particularly apparent when compared to that of the Llewellyn Park residents, discussed in the previous chapter, or the West Orange Community Exploration Group, which is the subject of the next chapter. In addition, a great majority of the workers now alive worked in areas of the plant outside that preserved as the Laboratory Unit of EDIS, and those portions of the plant almost entirely were demolished in the mid-1970s. Finally, perhaps the interview strategy that worked quite effectively for the Llewellyn Park residents may have been less effective for this group.

The former Edison employees plainly meet the NPS criterion of traditional association: “To be traditional, associations to park resources will usually have endured at least two generations” (NPS 1994:167). Individual members of this group were employees of TAE, Inc. or McGraw-Edison for varying lengths of time. Based on the rapid survey of selected employee records completed for this study (Appendix B), some workers apparently left their Edison jobs after only a matter of weeks or months. Others, however, worked for TAE, Inc. and McGraw-Edison for as much as several decades, certainly a reasonable approximation of the multigenerational criterion. Moreover, as several interviewees indicated, many workers had family connections among their colleagues in the Edison plant, and in some instances these connections actually involved more than one generation. (One interviewee even began the session by declaring: “I joined the Thomas A. Edison electrical controls division as a second generation of the ... family on October 16, at 1 PM, 1939.”)

Despite the length of association between resources now under the stewardship of the National Park Service and this group, the interviews do not leave us with a strong impression that there is a great deal of cohesion to this group or that they make much use of or reference to park resources today. There is, so far as we were able to establish, based on our interviews and a brief search of sites on the World Wide Web, no organized association of former Edison workers. Some of those we interviewed had friendships that involved a connection to TAE, Inc. or McGraw-Edison, but so far as could be discerned through a single interview, that connection was part of a diffuse background to the friendship, not an active part of the present relationship. (Plainly, this impression could better be evaluated by long-term participant-observation.) As has already been noted, the interviewees spoke in generally positive terms about their experiences of working at Edison and these experiences seemed to be an important part of their personal biographies. Even so, this group of interviewees did not give the impression that the existence of the park or its resources was of special significance to maintaining or reinforcing this aspect of their lives or memories. The group is geographically dispersed, and none of our interviewees had visited the park recently; for most it had been years since they had last visited. Even when specifically invited by the Park Service to attend the annual Edison Days celebration, as was done in 1996, virtually no one from this group attended. In short, Edison National Historic Site simply does not appear to be a significant part of the present lives of these people. If this impression is correct, a point that could and should be investigated further, then it becomes somewhat problematic to see how the park contains resources that former employees regard as "traditionally meaningful to their identity as a group and the survival of their lifeways" (NPS 1994:168).

It should be pointed out that for many of the interviewees there *were* objects or documents that connected them to their experience as former Edison employees. However, these were pieces of personal memorabilia kept by the individuals, not materials under the stewardship of the Park Service. One example was mentioned in the previous section of this chapter: the former worker who kept several memoranda on which Thomas Edison himself had pencilled replies. Another interviewee had many different pieces of memorabilia in his office. These included a range of photographs, including one taken when interviewee was a boy, of a group that included Edison and Harvey Firestone at a rally for Charles Lindbergh. This interviewee also had a copy of an organizational chart from 1930, a rejected record disk (obtained by his father before the interviewee became an employee of the company), a cylinder-type phonograph (received upon his retirement, long after his days with the Edison firm), and "one of Mr. Edison's coat racks" (obtained from Building 5 before it became the property of NPS).

A third interviewee brought a couple of items to the interview. The company gave her one of them during the Second World War: a patriotic pin inscribed "Brother in Service," to show that she had two brothers in the armed forces. During the war, the interviewee "wore that all the time. They said, 'Wear it all the time when you come in, We want to see it on you.'" She also brought a bracelet to the interview, given to her for 25 years' service with TAE, Inc. and McGraw-Edison. Though she received the bracelet long after the merger with McGraw, it still bore the profile of Thomas Edison, since under the McGraw style of management, the West Orange plant remained a separate operation. Regarding the bracelet, she commented:

- I: And if you were here, I think 15 years you got— There were different gifts. But this was the most important one. I think they gave you a check or something after 15 or 20 years, a monetary gift. But to get this, a nice gift like this, you had to be there 25 years.

She also kept a brick or two from the demolished Edison plant, which provoked bittersweet memories:

- E: You were here until McGraw shut down. Were you here when they tore the buildings down?

I: Oh, listen, you know, I think yes.

E: What was that like?

- I: It was so terrible. They came in with those big machines. Oh, I couldn't, I couldn't, couldn't [watch]. It was too much for me. I never came by here when they were doing that. But I do, I think I have a brick or two from the old building. But it's not where I live now. It must be up at the lake [at her family's summer place]. I remember that I took a brick. I think I took two. They were from the old building. And my husband said, "What are you going to do with those bricks?" I said, "I'm gonna keep them. They're from the Edison Industries." But I don't know where they are. They may be up at the lake. But I did take them. That was terrible. And then they tried to destroy the storage battery. It wouldn't come down. He made the strongest kind of cement. That building will be here forever. They couldn't knock it down. They used those big [wrecking balls] like this and banged it. Oh, they broke all the windows, but they could not take that building down. It wouldn't go.

What is notable about these items is that their value to the interviewees derives from a sense of personal association with a specific object, and not from an association founded in a sense of group identity as related to a broad category of objects. So, for example, the memoranda with Edison's notes on them are particularly important to one of our interviewees because he wrote the original document, which Edison commented upon.¹¹ Or to take another example, it is the one particular pin given by the company during the Second World War to our particular interviewee that is important to her, not the general category of "Brother in Service" pins, of which there were doubtless hundreds given out. It is also worth noticing a certain vagueness about the location or extent of our interviewees' collections of Edison memorabilia. The

¹¹ Another example of personal memorabilia creating a sense of connection between former workers and Thomas Edison is reported in a 1978 article in the *IUE News* (Borstel 1978) (Appendix E). This article, which only became available to us after the draft of this report was submitted for review, describes the memories and family memorabilia of Joe Whelan, Jr. Whelan was then president of Amalgamated Local 467 of the International Union of Radio, Electrical and Machine Workers (IUE). That local represented workers at the Edison plant from the 1950s to the 1970s. The article is striking because it reports many themes similar to those appearing in our interviews with former workers. It notes the multigenerational association between the family and Edison's companies. (Whelan's father, Joe, Sr., worked for Edison from 1914 until the inventor's death, and Whelan himself spent 44 years at TAE, Inc. and McGraw-Edison.) The article also recounts the younger Whelan's job interview with Edison, a typical Old Man story, and it describes the "prized ... collection of penciled notes from Edison to the older Whelan."

interviewee just mentioned had collected a brick or two from the demolished Edison buildings, but she is uncertain where exactly the bricks have gotten to. It is plain from her comments that the act of collecting the bricks, and later remembering that act, were important to her, but the objects themselves seem less important than her action and her memory of it. Another interviewee, the one with the photographs, phonograph, and other objects, seemed to have half-forgotten about the wealth of materials he had kept. "Your coming here," he remarked to the interviewer "forced me into getting this [collection of memorabilia] out. And God bless my wife, she saved most of it."

These observations begin to indicate the difficulties in applying the notion of ethnographic resource to this group, based on the data at hand. There *are* objects and documents that connect former workers to their personal histories as employees of TAE, Inc. and McGraw-Edison. These objects are plainly important to these individuals as items of personal memorabilia. However, the objects are in the hands of the interviewees, not the Park Service; they are not park resources. The memorabilia in the possession of the former employees provides some guidance to the types of objects that could be considered to be ethnographic resources. Any buttons, bracelets, and other tokens of long and faithful service in the NPS collections would seem to fall into this category. Photographs and written documents, however, pose knotty problems. The photographic collections of EDIS amounts to approximately 50,000 items, including photographs of company functions. Unfortunately, many of these items exist only as negatives and few are identified as to the circumstances of the photograph or the people shown in them. Another difficulty arises in relation to examples of Edison's handwriting. There are thousands of examples in the archives, but as we have suggested here, it is not merely the handwriting that is important, but the content of the handwritten message in relation to specific individual former workers. Achieving matches between Edison's writings and specific living individuals would be a time-consuming process.

To proceed from a slightly different direction, we would note that during discussions with EDIS archivists we learned that much of the material consists of corporate business records of the Edison companies, technical materials relating to Edison's process of invention and his defense of intellectual property rights connected to his inventions and products, corporate and Edison's self-promotional publicity materials, and the like. Some of the publicity materials may include stereotypic depictions of non-white American peoples and hence may be of social historical or ethnographic interest.

Comparatively little is known about the ethnic and racial composition of the Edison enterprises' workforces. There are indications that certain groups of workers in certain eras maintained a strong sense of collective identity within the workplace based on ethnicity or perhaps occupation. However, an understanding of both the historical details and the connections to contemporary groups is mostly lacking. One example of a candidate archival ethnographic resource is a photograph of a group of Greek workers presenting a wreath to Edison following the 1914 plant fire. Another example is materials that recently came to the attention of EDIS archivists relating to Italian immigrant cabinetmakers at the Edison phonograph works in the 1910s and 1920s.

Important materials connected with African Americans exist among the documents and sound recordings of the Edison archives. These have already been documented by an ethnographic study concerned with resources associated with this group at several NPS sites in the northeast (Page 1997). The Edison phonograph division also produced recordings of folk and traditional music of several European groups and nationalities. Like the African American material, these recordings and any associated documents or photographs may comprise important resources for the groups involved. Further investigation of these materials would be appropriate. There are apparently no or virtually no original photographs, films, documents, or sound recordings of Native Americans or other non-Western traditional peoples in the EDIS collections.

Additional difficulties arise in relation to other categories of resources in the Park Service's possession. What of the tools these workers used or the landscape of the Laboratory Unit, for example? Both have been substantially altered since the plant was in operation. Much of the landscape that once constituted the plant was demolished in the mid-1970s. Based on maps in the recent Cultural Landscape Report for EDIS (Uschold and Curry 1996), roughly three-quarters of the plant area, including more than 30 buildings, ranging from small shops and storage buildings to block-long factories, was levelled when McGraw-Edison pulled out. For most of the former workers we interviewed, this now-demolished section of the plant was where they spent the majority of their time. In addition, even though the exterior of the Laboratory Unit has a high degree of historical integrity, portions of the interior may have been altered to some degree. For example, one interviewee who worked in the heavy machine shop of Building 5 in the 1920s reported that he found things greatly changed during a visit to the site some years ago:

I: Yeah, [the curator] took me through, and the whole place was changed. They had taken the drill presses out and the cutting machines that I worked on were not there. They were moved out to some other part of the building. And it was changed entirely. I couldn't understand it, even where Pat Flanagan, the man that was taking care of Mr. Edison— You know, Pat used to fight with him. The Old Man was supposed to lay down and take a rest at one o'clock, and at three Pat would be in and wake him up. Well, if he didn't lay down, Pat would be after him. And he'd be raising hell. I was surprised when Pat came over, and he says, all right, and then they were like two buddies when they got together, because the Old Man wouldn't have anybody but him. And that was the life in the—

E: That's in that room right behind the machine shop, right? Where the library is? Where the books are?

I: Yes, it was in there. You see they changed it so much that I didn't recognize it when I went in, because his bed was there, or his couch that he used to lay down on. I don't know if it's still there or not, but that was where Pat Flanagan and him would get into a fighting match.

Perhaps the use of other interviewing techniques would elicit more concrete results in regard to ethnographic resources associated with former Edison workers. Such techniques might include walking over the grounds and buildings of the Laboratory Unit with former employees. Similarly, working with former employees using objects or documents in the park collection

might yield further insights into the kinds of objects that are important to them today. Despite the limitations in the available information, the interviews do suggest certain elements of the present landscape that may be ethnographic resources for this group. For example, the storage battery building remains the only extant example of Edison factory architecture. Although not within the boundaries of Edison National Historic Site, it is immediately adjacent, and vistas of it might be important to former Edison workers. We have little specific data to support this particular contention, though the interviewee who commented on the building's durability at the time suggests that the building might be important. In addition, the attitudes interviewees expressed concerning the importance of their work history at Edison and the present extent of historic fabric remaining from the factory complex make such a suggestion plausible, if unverified. To take another example: as the interviews demonstrate, the process of unionization was an important one for former Edison workers. One interviewee mentioned that meetings took place in a nearby hall. This building has not yet been identified, but if it is still extant, then it could be important as a historical or ethnographic resource associated with that aspect of the Edison company and its history.

While the utility of the concept of ethnographic resource in regard to this group is not entirely clear, it is certain that former Edison employees could illuminate materials in the EDIS collections and that interviews with them would add much useful information. In the previous section of this chapter we have seen several examples of the kinds of information on working conditions and processes that might be obtained through more extensive interviewing. As an example of how this might relate to the EDIS collections, consider the following example. The collections include several boards with disassembled Edison products on them. As we saw in the interviews, piece work was the basis for pay for assembly line workers, and there was a training process to learn to assemble a particular product. Did boards like the ones in the EDIS collections serve a function in this training process? If so, how were they used? Were they always used or only in a specific division of the company? And so on. Another example can be offered. Table 4 gives a listing of 141 job titles provided for Edison employees in the 1952 edition of Price & Lee Company's *Directory of the Oranges*. The functions of some these types of jobs came up in the discussions with former employees. For example, we learned that inspectors were generally responsible for quality control, but that Thomas Edison also used the term to describe the job of his A-Men. It would be interesting to use a list like this to learn more about different types of jobs within the Edison plant and the kinds of people who held them.

Table 4: Partial List of Job Titles for TAE, Inc., in 1952

Accountant	Estimator	Repairman
Adjuster	Expediter	Repairer
Architect	Filler	Research Technician
Assembler	Foreman	Rubberworker
Assistant	Forewoman	Sander
Assistant Curator	Gas Operator	Screw Machine Operator
Assistant Engineer	Gateman	Secretary
Assistant Foreman	Grinder	Secretary TAE, Inc.
Assistant Production Manager	Guard	Serviceman
Auditor	Handyman	Setupman
Batterymen	IBM Operator	Shipping Clerk
Batteryworker	Inspector	Sales Engineer
Beltman	Janitor	Salesman
Benchworker	Job Setter	Spot Welder
Bookkeeper	Laboratory Assistant	Sprayer
Boilermaker	Laboratory Technician	Station Fireman
Capper	Laboratory Worker	Station Operator
Carpenter	Lathe Hand	Statistician
Cashier	Latheworker	Steam Fitter
Cell Tester	Loader	Stenographer
Chairman of Executive Committee	Lug Reamer	Stock Clerk
Chauffeur	Machinist	Stockman
Chemical Engineer	Machine Operator	Stoker Operator
Chemist	Machinist's Helper	Storekeeper
Chief Bookkeeper	Maintenanceman	Superintendent
Chief Inspector	Mason	Supervisor
Civil Engineer	Mechanic	Technician
Clerk	Mechanical Engineer	Telephone Operator
Coil Winder	Metalworker	Timestudy Engineer
Cost Accountant	Manager	Tool Crib Attendant
Crane Operator	Molder	Toolcribworker
Credit Clerk	Nurse	Toolmaker
Cutter	Office Secretary	Transportation Manager
Department Head	Operator	Transcriber
Department Manager	Packer	Trimmer
Die Cutter	Payroll Clerk	Trucker
Diemaker	Personnel Manager	Tube Blower
Director of Advertising	Pipefitter	Tube Drawer
Division Manager (Inst Div)	Plater	Typist
Draftsman	Porter	Utilityman
Electrician	Power Engineer	Vice President TAE, Inc.
Electrical Engineer	President	Vice President-Division Manager (Stor Bat Div)
Electrical Operator	Press Operator	Vice President- Treasurer TAE, Inc.
Employee	Pressman	Watchman
Employee (TAE Homestead)	Private Secretary	Welder
Employee (Research Dept)	Production Clerk	Welfare Manager
Engineer	Reamer	
	Receptionist	

Source: Occupations as given for employees of "Edisons" in Price & Lee Co. (1952:183-1084) (see Appendix C).

Summary: FORMER EDISON EMPLOYEES

- Former Edison employees comprise a group that is largely elderly and retired. Most worked for Thomas A. Edison, Inc. (TAE, Inc.), or its successor, McGraw-Edison, after the death of Thomas Edison in 1931. However, some there are still some people alive who worked for Edison himself or for his company before his death.
- Former Edison employees are geographically dispersed, living in many northern New Jersey towns, as well as elsewhere in the country. There is no organization of former Edison employees. Many still have a few friends or acquaintances who had also worked at TAE, Inc., but the social tie appears to be one of "old friend" in a diffuse way rather than a tie informed by the shared experience of working for TAE, Inc.
- Interviewees report that the "corporate culture" of TAE, Inc. involved entire families in the company and that the company displayed a sincere regard for the welfare of employees. In contrast, the "corporate culture" of the TAE, Inc.'s successor, McGraw-Edison, was more profit-driven and showed less regard for the welfare of workers or the community.
- Several former employees told "Old Man stories," anecdotes about Thomas Edison that appeared to be an important part of company folklore (and, thus, identity). Edison's son and daughter-in-law, Theodore and Ann Edison, also emerged as important figures in the lives of some former employees as well.
- Interviews demonstrated that former employees can be a rich source of oral history on working conditions and job tasks in the Edison companies. Indeed, most seemed comfortable playing the role of eyewitness to history. It is important that this source of historical information be recorded through an oral history project before it is lost as a result of the inevitable disappearance of this group.
- Two important events in the history of the Edison companies from the point of view of former workers were the unionization of TAE, Inc. between the mid-1930s and the mid-1950s and the take-over of TAE, Inc. by McGraw Electric Company in 1957, which led to the closure of the West Orange plant in the early 1970s. Both of these events can be understood in terms of broader currents in twentieth century American history and as important elements in the overall history of Thomas Edison and his work.
- The present relationship of this group to the park appears to be comparatively weak or diffuse. Edison National Historic Site and its resources do not appear to be a significant part of the present lives of former employees.
- As a consequence of the present character of the relationship between former workers and Edison National Historic Site, it was difficult to apply the concept of ethnographic resource relative to this group. Individuals had objects in their possession that were significant as personal memorabilia, but these objects are not park resources.

IV. WEST ORANGE COMMUNITY

A. BACKGROUND

The association between West Orange and Thomas Edison was a long one. The inventor moved to Glenmont in West Orange's Llewellyn Park in 1886, just after his marriage to his second wife, Mina. He remained a resident until his death in 1931, and he is buried today at Glenmont, along with Mina.

In moving to West Orange, Edison joined the ranks of many successful men of the late nineteenth century who had business interests in New York City, but who found the surrounding suburbs a more congenial place to reside. West Orange quickly became more than a suburban retreat for Edison, however. Less than a year after establishing his home there, Edison began developing a laboratory and manufacturing complex on nearby land. This complex was to operate in the town for more than 80 years.

On December 22, 1886, Edison purchased two acres of meadow on the eastern side of Main Street, less than a half mile from his Llewellyn Park home (Uschold and Curry 1996:7, 9-10).¹² His goal was to recreate on a grand scale the atmosphere and facilities of Menlo Park, where he had developed many of his best-known inventions, including the phonograph and the electric light. He intended his new laboratory to be an "invention factory," the core around which a great manufacturing works would grow. In this plan Edison seems to have been spurred not only by the Menlo Park model, in which he first successfully linked manufacturing enterprises and a research facility within a single complex, but also by labor unrest in New York City, where he had shifted his operations in the early 1880s (Baldwin 1995:177-179; Millard 1990:6-11).

When the Edisons moved to West Orange in 1886, the township had a decidedly different appearance from its present character. In the 1880s, West Orange was a bucolic place (Baldwin 1995:166-169, 192-193; Pierson 1922:2:581, 587-600; Uschold and Curry 1996:9,12-13). There were still extensive farms and forests, orchards and open fields. Even so, by the time their arrival, the rural character of the area was being altered by the expansion of suburbs for New York City. The town was located close to the old Morris & Essex Railroad line, which ran between Hoboken and Phillipsburg, New Jersey (Grow 1979:24-33; 83-95). Even as the West Orange landscape was being suburbanized in the 1880s, it was also being industrialized, since Edison and other manufacturers took advantage of cheap land, numerous railroad lines, and the proximity to New York City to construct extensive factory complexes in this and other Essex County towns. Indeed, in 1887 Edison himself proclaimed: "My ambition is to build up gradually and surely a great Industrial Works in the Orange Valley" (quoted by Conot 1979:250). By the turn of the twentieth century, West Orange had become part of the great "metropolitan

¹²Millard (1990:10) and Baldwin (1995:180) both give the size of the lot purchased as 14 acres. Uschold and Curry's (1996) figure is apparently based upon a review of deeds at the Essex County Courthouse, but unfortunately they do not provide abstracts of the deeds in their report (Uschold and Curry 1996:4, appendix A).

Table 5: Town of Residence for TAE, Inc. Employees from the Oranges in 1952

Town	Number of Employees	Percentage
East Orange	149	20%
Maplewood	10	1%
Orange	274	36%
South Orange	6	1%
West Orange	311	41%
Other*	5	1%
Total	755	100%

*Executives listed in the directory, but residing outside the Oranges, including Montclair, Short Hills, Summit, and Upper Montclair.

Source: Price & Lee Co. (1952:183-1084) (Appendix C).

corridor” that radiated out from New York City along the rail lines (Stilgoe 1983). Growth continued during the early decades of the twentieth century in West Orange, until the twin processes of residential and industrial development had transformed the landscape of the whole town.

Once established in West Orange, Edison developed many different manufacturing enterprises. In the early years, his laboratory turned out numerous inventions, including an improved phonograph, a magnetic ore separator, the kinetoscope, and the alkaline battery. He built factories to produce a wide range of durable consumer goods and industrial products, eventually creating a 26-acre complex off Main Street (Uschold and Curry 1996). As we saw in the last chapter, Edison consolidated his many enterprises into a single company, Thomas A. Edison, Inc. (TAE, Inc.), between about 1910 and 1915. At its peak, during the prosperity that immediately followed the First World War and again during the Second World War, TAE, Inc. employed as many as ten thousand workers in West Orange.

From around the turn of the century until the 1960s the Edison companies, including TAE, Inc. and its predecessors and successor, were among the leading employers in West Orange and neighboring towns. Little information is available on any aspect of the Edison workforce. However, one tabulation was developed in the course of this study that may illustrate the strength of the relationship between TAE, Inc. and the Oranges, at least in the early 1950s. Based on a tabulation of 755 people whose employer was listed as “Edisons” in the 1952 edition of Price & Lee Company’s *Directory of the Oranges* (see Appendix C), roughly 41 percent of the TAE, Inc. workforce were West Orange residents, followed by 36 percent for the neighboring city of Orange, and 20 percent for nearby East Orange (Table 5). This tabulation is necessarily incomplete because the source is a city directory (rather than company employment records) and, more importantly, because the directory covered only the Oranges (Orange, East Orange, West

Orange, South Orange, and Maplewood), without including other nearby municipalities, such as Montclair, Glen Ridge, Bloomfield, or Newark.¹³ Nonetheless, the tabulation strongly suggests that the Township of West Orange and the adjoining City of Orange supplied a substantial portion of the TAE, Inc. workforce, and that, as a consequence, the company was an important force in both towns.

Examination of street addresses for workers living in West Orange, Orange, and East Orange (listed in Appendix C) shows that in the early 1950s, Edison employees seem to have lived in certain neighborhoods or districts as opposed to others. Figure 1, which was developed by noting the number of employees living along each street in the three municipalities, depicts the areas in which Edison employees primarily lived at the time. (Employees also lived outside the areas delineated in this map, but these sections marked on the map account for roughly three-fifths or more of all employees listed in Appendix C.) Many workers lived close to the Edison plant, in the Tory Corner neighborhood east of Llewellyn Park in West Orange and in the adjoining area north of Park Avenue in Orange. Another cluster of employees was situated to the southwest of the plant along Valley Street-Valley Road in Orange and West Orange. In Orange, many workers also lived in the intervening area between these two areas, including the sections between Central Avenue and Main Street and between Main Street and Park Avenue. It is also worth noting the parts of these two municipalities where relatively few workers lived in the early 1950s. Such areas included Llewellyn Park in West Orange and the parts of the towns with a more "suburban" or affluent appearance, such as the 1920s-30s developments on First Watchung Mountain in West Orange and the Seven Oaks development and neighboring areas south and east of Central and Lincoln avenues in Orange. In East Orange, Edison workers of the early 1950s seem to have been dispersed throughout the city. Nonetheless, a few clusters seem to have been present. These include the area around Elmwood Avenue and Clinton Street in the southern part of the city; the area between Martin Luther King Boulevard (then called Main Street) and Park Avenue in the central part of the city; and the area near North Park Street at the city's northern end. (As noted above, we developed no information in this study concerning employee residence in Montclair, Glen Ridge, Bloomfield, Newark or other municipalities.)

Despite the apparent importance of Orange and East Orange as areas of residence for Edison workers, West Orange seems to have had the strongest connections with Edison and his businesses. (This impression, of course, deserves more detailed study.) There are a variety of reasons for the strong links between Edison and West Orange. As noted above, many West Orange residents worked at the plant, and, moreover, nearly the entirety of his plant was located within the town. (A small portion was situated in neighboring Orange.) Also, Edison himself was a resident of West Orange for more than forty years, and his son and successor, Charles, kept a house in the town until shortly after the McGraw takeover in the late 1950s (Venable 1978:249). His youngest son, Theodore, was likewise a life-long resident of the town (Baldwin 1995:415-418). Local connections also figured in the selection of TAE, Inc. board members, at least in later years. In the early 1950s, for example, the mayor of West Orange, Frederick C. Erwin, also

¹³The directories also do not distinguish between workers at the West Orange plant and those at other nearby operations, such as Silver Lake in Bloomfield.

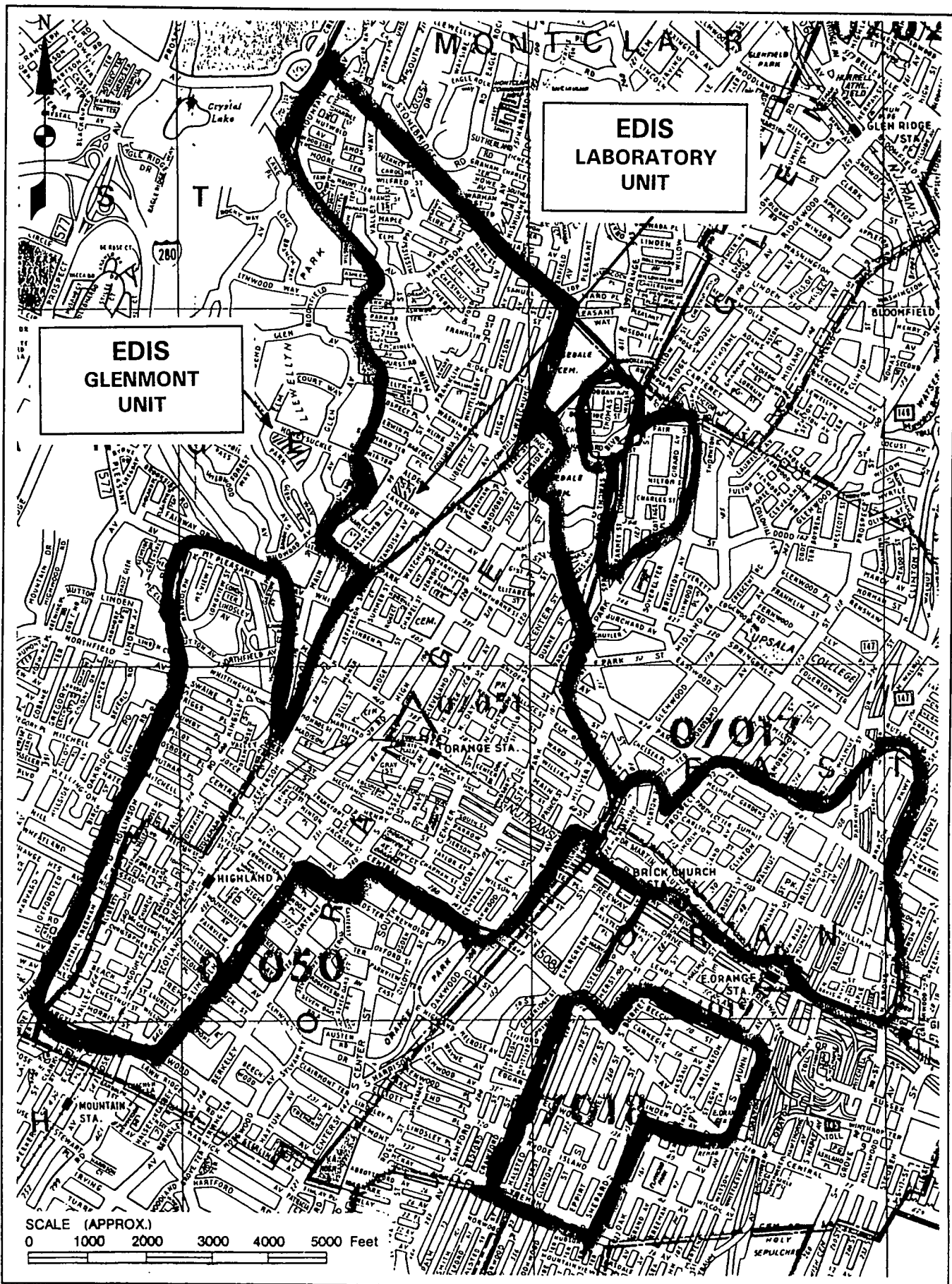


FIGURE 1: Districts of West Orange, Orange, and East Orange
In Which Most Edison Employees Resided, circa 1952

Source: Hagstrom Map of Essex County,
New Jersey (base map)

served as the secretary of TAE, Inc., while Howard H. Eckert, president of the local Llewellyn Edison Savings and Loan, was also vice president and treasurer of the company (Price & Lee Co. 1952:411, 422).

West Orange has long been happy to highlight the connection between itself and Edison. For example, town histories, which in general are characterized by a degree of boosterism, proclaim the connection. A chapter on Edison in Pierson's (1922) *History of the Oranges to 1921*, for instance, calls him "The Most Notable Man in the World" and notes that by the early 1920s he had already resided in Llewellyn Park for "a third of a century" (Pierson 1922:2:579). Similarly, a Bicentennial history of West Orange, says:

West Orange, as history records show, has produced an array of distinguished sons and daughters who achieved success on local, state and worldwide levels.

The most prestigious of them all, however, remains the now legendary inventor Thomas Alva Edison, who, although not born in town, saw his fame reach its zenith while living here (Zakrzewski and Kallen 1976).

Even the town's homepage on the World Wide Web lists Edison, along with Ian Zierling, a star of the current television series *Beverly Hills 90210*, as the town's two "Famous People." Of Edison, the homepage says: "Thomas Alva Edison reigns supreme as West Orange's most accomplished and noteworthy son" (West Orange Chronicle 1997).

There is, however, a contrary thread in the relationship between West Orange and Edison. Though Edison brought (and continues to bring) prestige to the town, his presence also generated considerable antipathy among the town's residents. Like many other manufacturers of the time, he had an "understanding" with local assessors to keep the taxes on his plants low. He was regarded as a terrible polluter of Silver Lake in neighboring Bloomfield, and his West Orange plant was the subject of Health Department complaints as well (Conot 1979:411; Uschold and Curry 1996:44). He also paid minimal attention to the very real hazards that the many flammable materials at his plant posed to the surrounding residential area. In the aftermath of the terrible plant fire of December 1914, the West Orange fire chief laid the blame for the fire squarely on shoulders of the Edison and his company, noting that there was a delay of 11 minutes in calling for help from outside the plant and that water supplies were inadequate to deal with a conflagration in such a large industrial complex (Conot 1979:407-408; Dandola 1994:38-45; see also Pierson's [1922:2:585-586] hero-making account of this event). Still, time brings forgetfulness, or at least a more forgiving perspective. In 1911 a proposal came before the West Orange Board of Education to name a new school after Edison. The resolution received only a single supporting vote (Conot 1979:411). Today, the town's schools include Edison Middle School, which is located just a half mile north of the old Edison plant.

B. THE INTERVIEWS

The previous two chapters of this report dealt with groups that were readily identifiable as a single population, Llewellyn Park residents and former Edison employees. In contrast, the third group selected for interviewing, members of the West Orange community, proved to be far more amorphous. As our discussion in chapter I of this report showed, West Orange has a substantial

population (roughly 40,000 people), and it is an ethnically, culturally, and economically diverse place. Given its size and diversity, it was obvious that a small sample of people, such as that being interviewed for this study, would inevitably represent only a narrow segment of the entire range of viewpoints and experiences that are likely to characterize the town. In light of this, we narrowed the focus in consultation with NPS to a sample of business and political leaders, since these individuals play leading roles in the management and economic development of the town.

The selection of people to interview was based upon a list of possible contacts provided by the superintendent of Edison National Historic Site (EDIS). While a necessary expedient, use of this list of contacts may have introduced a degree of bias to the interviews, slanting towards those who are more active in the community or who have ongoing relationships with NPS. All of the interviewees are middle-aged or older white males who are lifelong residents of the town, so it should be emphasized that this sample reflects the West Orange community only in a limited sense, which, in addition to being approximately 50 percent female, is also younger, more mobile, and more racially and ethnically diverse than is implied by this sample (see chapter I). To draw an analogy with the Llewellyn Park interviews, imagine what that section might have looked like if we had only interviewed representatives of the "old families." As the demography and economy of West Orange changes, the men interviewed for this section, like the former Edison employees and the old families in Llewellyn Park, are literally a vanishing breed. At the same time, their diagnoses of the current views of the Edison Historic Site and their ideas about possible development have much to teach us.

As might be expected with such a group, scheduling proved more problematic and the interviews themselves proceeded at a more rushed pace compared to those with members of the other two groups. Four interviews were taped and transcribed. One interview was conducted with a key political figure, while the other three were with businessmen—one restaurant owner, one in real estate, the third in retail sales. A fifth interview was conducted with a developer on the telephone. In spite of repeated attempts, two other interview possibilities could not be scheduled during the ethnographer's visit to West Orange. As with the Llewellyn Park residents and former employees, all interviews and the phone conversation had a "snowball" effect; that is, people said they were willing to discuss the issues further and also recommended other contacts. All interviews were conducted by Michael Agar, the Project Ethnographer, primarily in the offices of the interviewees.

Several themes emerged in the course of these interviews. All four men who participated in tape recorded interviews have their roots in West Orange, and as a result they all have personal connections to Edison. Like the former Edison workers, their biographies are to some extent intertwined with the biography of Edison himself or the history of the company he created. One of the unexpected discoveries was that, as with the former employees, this group of West Orange community members remembered Theodore Edison and his wife, Ann, with considerable fondness. Because of their long and personal connections to the Edison site, the observations the interviewees offered on the seeming apathy of West Orange residents toward EDIS were instructive. The explanations were diverse, but several highlighted the sense of betrayal left by the departure of McGraw-Edison in the early 1970s. At the same time, these business and civic

leaders see the presence of a national historic site in the town as a potential resource to support future growth. They look forward to the proposals to develop a curatorial and interpretive center at the site and believe that if well managed, it could prove a boon to the town. Throughout the interviews, this group spoke positively about the park, its staff, and the way in which the current superintendent has sought to engage with the community.

1. Personal Ties

The four men who participated in taped interviews are born and bred West Orangers. As we have already seen, it would have been difficult to live in the town during the Edison heyday and not have some kind of connection to the factories or the laboratory.

I¹⁴: I know a lot about them. It's sort of like osmosis living in this town. You hear about his friends. Harvey Firestone, I guess, was his friend. A lot of the big industrialists were his friends. As a matter of fact, my late wife's grandmother's sister was Thomas Edison's private secretary. Aunt Mame. She was his private secretary. She was a single lady and she lived her life out in Newark, and she ended up in the Little Sisters of the Poor in Newark, but she was his private secretary. When I was a kid I knew her, but I never thought to ask her anything about Edison.

E¹⁵: I was going to say, did she tell stories?

I: Probably to her it was just a job.

E: Yeah, that's amazing. Did you have other family who were involved with the Edison companies?

I: No, but a lot of my friends I went to school with, their fathers worked in Edison. I mean, that was like the local job, you know. A lot of people worked in Edison in this town. And being in the restaurant business here, I knew a lot of the executives. They used to come in here and have lunch and have dinner.

E: So, of course, this was one of their hangouts.

I: Oh yeah, I knew lots of them, sure. I knew a lot of them.

E: Now this was after it became McGraw-Edison?

I: Yeah. Well, during the war a lot of my high school friends used to work there on weekends, because it was a defense plant. They made storage batteries, I guess. And, you know, a lot of the kids would work down there, just as wipers and cleaning the floors and things like that. So it was part of my growing up. Edison was part of my growing up. It was just something that was in town.

E: Part of the world you lived in.

I: Part of the world I lived in, exactly right.

All the interviewees told such stories, stories of a personal and multi-stranded connection to Edison. Here is one more example:

I: My mother worked for the Edison instrument division all during the war and

¹⁴Interviewee

¹⁵Ethnographer

everything. She was a supervisor there, or inspector, or whatever they called them, in the instrument division. So she spent quite a bit of time there and retired from Edison. She has since passed away. Then my father, who is still alive, he was in the contracting business and he used to do much of the private construction work around there—fixing roadways or sewer lines or whatever had to be done, you know, any of the construction work, roads and so forth.

Sometimes the interviewee's memories centered on specific events as well. For example, Metro-Goldwyn-Meyer's 1940 film, *Edison, the Man*, premiered in West Orange, something that two of the interviewees discussed at some length.

E: The story is, my father pretty well convinced them and asked them to open the movie nationally here. And we did have a theater in West Orange, but there was another theater in Orange that was probably bigger and better, The Embassy Theater, which was a couple of blocks over the line from West Orange into Orange. You know, there's South Orange, Orange, East Orange, West Orange. So they really had a gala when this happened. They had a parade and Spencer Tracy and the gal who starred in that—Rita Johnson I think her name was—were here for the opening. They had this great parade. They had the front of the town hall, the existing town hall, in a huge drape. I've seen pictures of it, and maybe you have. I mean, I think it was maybe 30 feet by 30 feet or something, draping the front of the town hall, with a picture of Edison. And I was a little young at the time to know about this, but my sisters and brothers all remember. Some of my older sisters and brothers remember this and what a big thing it was, and it culminated at the town hall. I think they had a big celebration, a party or dinner, something along with it, too, with these celebrities. And my mother was very much a part of it at the time. So it was a big happening in town.

A slightly older interviewee gave an eye-witness description:

I: I remember when I was a kid, I was about ten years old, maybe, when they had the movie, *Edison, the Man*.

E: Yeah, with Spencer Tracy.

I: I lived about four blocks from the town hall, and we all walked down there that night, and we saw Spencer Tracy and Rita Johnson, who played his wife. They had a big bulb up on top of the town hall and they threw the switch and the lights went on. And then they had the premier at the Windsor Theater in West Orange. It was a big thing. It was about 1940 maybe. I guess I was about ten, twelve years old. '38, '39, something like that.

E: You still remember that.

I: Oh, I remember it like it was yesterday. I remember seeing Spencer Tracy walking up the steps. He was there, and Rita Johnson. They were there for the premiere. And West Orange had a big light bulb up on the top of the town hall. And they threw the switch and the light went on, and it was like New Year's Eve. I think everyone from town was there, thousands of people.

Many other stories threaded through the interviews, stories of Thomas Edison's funeral, of the flag that covered his coffin. There were also stories about Llewellyn Park, about how one man's

grandfather worked as a gardener in the Park with the pleasant result that he could sneak in and swim in the private pool. Another's story tells about sneaking into an old house and dressing up in civil war uniforms. The implicit image of Llewellyn Park as a forbidden territory full of diversions would be intriguing to pursue, particularly given the stories in the Llewellyn Park interviews about the town's negative image of the Park.

Theodore Edison appeared again as an unexpected topic in three of the interviews, just as he did in the interviews with the former employees.

I: For years and years he just went down there and did his thing. And he'd ride in this real old, old car with a rumble seat or something. He was kind of a recluse type, but you'd see him once in awhile. And in fact, it was funny, he was very conservative politically. And when McGraw-Edison did the urban renewal job I was telling you about, he publicly opposed it. Government should not be involved in this. He publicly opposed the whole thing.

Theodore was also a customer at the retailer's store:

I: Theodore was the younger son. The Governor [Charles] we knew vaguely. Theodore we knew very well. He was the nicest. If you speak to a thousand people, 999 are going to say Theodore was the nicest. He was just a gentleman. He was unassuming. He was just friendly. He would come here very often. And we were very friendly, not socially, but friendly. He would buy a rake or a shovel— He had his own office down the street. He'd built it himself, and he was here for years. He did research and he did tremendous work with Muir out in California.

The political figure also mentioned both Theodore and especially his wife, Ann, who was apparently active in township politics. He expressed the same affection towards both of them as the previous two interviewees did towards Theodore.

I: In fact, my father tells a story, because he used to do most of the work in Llewellyn Park, being in the contracting business. And she would love to get out there and mix it up with the people. He said he went away one day and he came back, and his men were supposed to be digging a trench. And in those days you didn't have the backhoes and everything else, so they were doing it manually. And they were supposed to dig a trench somewhere on the property. And he came back and he couldn't believe what he saw. She was in the trench digging. She just enjoyed doing it. She just wanted to get out and—I mean, she didn't work the whole day, but she was in there with the pick and shovel, with the guys.

Though Ann appeared in a positive light in this story, remember that one former employee found her so difficult to work with that he request a transfer from a gardening job at her house back into the factory (see chapter III). At any rate, Theodore and Ann Edison keep surfacing as unexpected topics, suggesting another study on the Edisons who seemed to have the greatest personal impact on ordinary workers and the present residents of the community.

One story about the Edison days is important to mention here in light of the previous analysis of former employees. Recall that the employees painted an almost utopian picture of work in the Edison companies, and that the ethnographer was skeptical, especially given the story of

unionization. To the ethnographer's surprise, one of the businessmen commented that the employees "probably hated" Thomas Edison. The topic was not pursued in that interview, but it recurred in a later interview with another person.

I: By the same token I'm sure if you interviewed many of the employees, maybe not the key executives, not everyone cared for Thomas.

E: For the Old Man.

I: Yeah. Oh, he was disliked immensely.

E: Oh was he really?

I: Immensely. I told you about the workers. We had workers that were working here 25, 40, 50 years. And he was a strict man. He was very hard. He wanted everybody to work 18, 20 hours a day, like he did. And he was rough. Well, I guess in those times they didn't pay much, and everybody felt that they were being underpaid. And he was not a liked person by the people who worked for him.

E: That's interesting.

I: The employees, not the key executives.

E: This isn't exactly what I was going to ask you about, but it's interesting now that you mention it. One of the things I still can't figure out with the employee interviews is that—now these folks are looking back at their days and they're presenting this very positive picture of working at Edison. But then along came the union. So I kept trying to figure out, how come if it was so great, there was this pressure to bring the union in?

I: Tremendous pressure.

From two of our four interviewees, in the absence of specific questions on the topic, we learn of a perspective on work in the Edison companies that stresses its negative aspects, in contrast to the mostly positive picture from the interviews with former employees. The significance of the apparent contrast in perceptions between the workers in our sample and the townspeople in our sample is unclear. Interviews with additional members of each group would be needed to evaluate whether the two groups show consistent contrasts on this point and, if so, to explore the reasons for the differences in perspective between them.

At any rate, the memories of the four interviewees are emphasized at the beginning for two reasons. First, as with the interviews of former employees, people in this group slip easily into the role of eyewitnesses to history when the subject of Edison comes up. Though we encouraged interviewees to help us explore *current* perspectives on the historic site and its relationship to the township, from time to time they interpreted our questions that our interest in Edison was an interest in *the past*, in history, and in the interviewees personal connection to that history. Second, the memories highlight a unique feature of this subsample of the West Orange community. This group combines local business and political savvy and experience to offer a view of the historic site that is interesting to consider. At the same time, that view is shaped by personal experience of the flourishing Edison era and its decline. It is important to remember, on both scientific and practical grounds, that most present—and all future—members of the West Orange community do not share this powerful biographical experience as a basis for their perception of the historic site.

2. *No One Cares*

One of the most striking themes in this series of interviews is the seeming indifference of West Orange to the historic site. Although all four interviewees described personal connections to the Edison era, and though all four offered ideas on how to better position the site, their initial view was simply that the historic site is not used, or even noticed, by the community.

- I: So many people haven't been there, or don't know it's there. And they've been successful at getting a lot more publicity over the last few years than they did before. But for a long time it was a very well kept secret. You had people around New Jersey— The schools knew about it, the teachers knew about it, so they'd create field trips for the kids to go there. But otherwise you didn't hear about it. And it needs better promotion. There's an awful lot there that has never been shown to the public, because they can't. The archives and things— They haven't had the money for all of that.

And later, from the same person:

- I: I doubt if they have the money to just do things. You know, you should be able to squeeze out enough to make a little better presence. But until ten years ago, there wasn't that sign down on Main Street about Home of Thomas Edison, what we call Rotary Edison Park. There was nothing. There wasn't even that. And that's been there maybe about ten, twelve years or something like that.
- E: Why do you think it was so understated? Do you have any idea?
- I: Well, I don't know. I just kind of grew up in town knowing it was there, and you don't think about it. And you kind of leave it up to the people that operate it to do something, you know.

The interviewee in the restaurant business echoes the same theme:

- E: What do you have to do with the Edison museum?
- I: Well, frankly, not too much. I mean, I get literature from their organization in town that promotes the museum and asks for support. I haven't been too anxious to support it, because it's really kind of an unknown quantity in this town. People recognize the fact that Thomas Edison had a home in West Orange, Glenmont, right? And he had his factory here. And as I told somebody on the phone, who was telling me about you, even the West Orange Rotary Club has on their banner The Home of Thomas Edison, with an electric light on it. As I said to you a few moments ago, I don't think the average person in town is too excited about the Edison museum being here. I think they would fight like hell if they lost it. But it's one of those things, when you're so close to the trees, it's hard to see the forest.

The theme continues with the political figure:

- I: This has always been a problem right within West Orange. As valuable and as interesting as that museum is, I dare say there are many, many people who are residents of West Orange who have never been in there. Unless there's some sort of special function, they don't even think of going.
- E: Yeah, it's not a salient item in their heads at all. That's what ... [one of our LP interviewees] was saying too.

- I: It's something I always feel that they should be aware of.
- In the final interview, the interviewee once again talked about indifference towards the historic site. This time the ethnographer commented more actively on what was becoming a clear trend.
- E: It's just the damndest thing, because it's like a secret, you know.
- I: Absolutely. I'll bet if you took a survey—
- E: I hear this from all you guys.
- I: Well, we get a couple of hundred people a day potentially [in the store]. I'll bet if you interviewed, half the people would say that they've never been there. and I'm talking just West Orange. You know you've got all of Essex County.
- E: This is the place where you'd expect more people, because they're driving by it all the time, and it's right there, but it doesn't mean a thing.
- I: I don't think so. I could be wrong. I've never asked people.

Why is there this apparent indifference toward the historic site? Sometimes interviewees included statements to the effect that they just didn't know why, or that the indifference didn't make any sense. One talked about how you always neglect the tourist attractions that are near where you live. (Early in the study, the superintendent of EDIS made precisely this point to the study team.) Some mentioned lack of publicity or what they saw as the understated presence of the historic site itself. Some explanations led to suggestions for the future that will be treated in a later section of this report.

However, there may be something else in play here. Recall that in the former employee interviews, the purchase of Edison by McGraw and then the subsequent closing of the factories were significant traumatic events from the perspectives of the interviewees. At times the interviews with the business and political leaders also dealt with this topic:

- E: It was interesting talking to the older employees when they discussed the buy-out by McGraw, which was uniformly regarded as a disaster from the employees' point of view, because it was the beginning of the end.
- I: Yes. And at that time, you may recall, the federal government had these urban renewal programs, and that's what that was supposed to be part of. In my estimation, all that happened was it was a vehicle— This urban renewal handout was a vehicle for McGraw to take the money and run. And that's just basically what they did.
- E: Everybody I spoke to, and I only spoke to five or six people who had worked in that era, but they all said that was it.
- I: Yeah, McGraw couldn't care less. I guess in their estimation these were old buildings and of no value to them.

And later, from the same interviewee:

- I: I guess being over at the museum you've seen what the entire Edison complex looked like at one time. It was really heartbreaking to see the buildings imploded and falling down. In fact, the West Orange public works building is on part of the former Edison complex, so we're utilizing it.

Before offering a hypothesis to explain the apathy toward the site, a comment from a second interviewee:

I: It doesn't really mean anything. Half the time when you go by Edison it looks like an abandoned housing project or something. That's what it looks like.

And later:

I: But it's just a bunch of old buildings today with a fence around it. Isn't that metal fence still around it?

E: Still there.

I: What does that fence tell you? Stay out. Instead of a big sign there saying, "Welcome, you're at the Edison museum," they got a fence with barbed wire around it.

This same interviewee made another interesting comment about what the ethnographer had begun to think of as the "Edison avoidance syndrome:"

I: You know, to tell you the truth, when I was going up to Michigan one time, I passed by a town. I forget the name of it now. It's right up in that area where Edison was born. Something like Lake Huron. And I had to go there and see that house. And yet I wouldn't go down the street to see the Edison museum. Isn't that funny?

Finally, one more summary from a third interviewee:

I: You see, while Edison is a wonderful thing, that area and some of those buildings have been a sore point for the community, too.

As the ethnographer conducted and then later analyzed the interviews, and as he thought back on the former employee data, a hypothesis formed to help understand the lack of interest in the historic site reported across all four interviews. To say that the hypothesis is preliminary is an understatement; at the same time, it is of such potential significance that it is worth articulating here.

Both the community and former employee samples lived much of their lives in a world shaped by Edison. In the case of the former employees, the descriptions tended towards the level of personal history; for the businessmen and the political figure, descriptions were more at the level of community. In either case, when McGraw closed the factory and left, the consequences were obviously traumatic. In fact, later in this report when ideas for development are presented, it is worth remembering that the problem was caused by McGraw's departure.

This background to the hypothesis is certainly true. Now consider the plant closing in a more personal light. Assume that the closing is seen as a betrayal, an abandonment of responsibility to person and community, a self-serving move on the part of the company with no concern for its consequences. No interviewee actually said this, though their words suggest it, sometimes directly.

The final step in the hypothesis: For former employees and community members, the historic site represents the material traces of some memories, memories of personal and community

devastation caused by the McGraw closing. To visit the historic site is to be reminded of what was and how unfairly it was taken away. If this is correct, the hypothesis also helps understand why the interviewees mentioned the late Paul Christiansen in a favorable light. Christiansen, the former head of the McGraw-Edison factories, stayed in West Orange when the company left and became known as a collector of Edison memorabilia. He became the living symbol of what McGraw should have done.

This hypothesis is an example of an ethnography in process, a pattern that is constructed as the research progresses, a pattern that then defines subsequent research activities to confirm or contradict it. Ordinarily such a hypothesis would not be presented without additional work. However because the hypothesis is important, it is offered here. The reason the hypothesis is important is this: NPS sees the historic site as a celebration of the person of Thomas Edison and the greatness of his inventions. From this angle of vision, how could the community not be interested in and supportive of the site? It may turn out that community members and former employees see the site, at least in part, as a symbol of the most devastating event in their personal history. If that is true, then their lack of enthusiasm for the site becomes understandable. The historic site represents something they would just as soon forget.

The following remark from one of the interviewees came closer than any other to the hypothesis we propose here:

I: ... [P]eople who live in town look at it with a jaundiced eye from the past. It's an old factory that's not operating anymore. That's the way they look at it. They go by and they say, "There's Edison's."

3. Strategies for Change

The four interviewees suggested two major strategies for developing the historic site. The first involves the facilities themselves; the second involves fund-raising. The political figure outlined a coherent business strategy in coordination with township development as well, something that other interviewees touched on, but that will be treated in the next section.

With the first strategy, suggestions were made to make the facility more known and accessible:

I: Well, I think they definitely need some additional things and additional monies there. Like they're talking about the idea of having a theater where they could fit a few hundred people to sit down and see some kind of background show, like other centers have. And places to usher people at different times, you know, just to handle more people. I think it definitely needs more signage, attractive signage, and awareness, so that you don't drive by and not know it's there. People drive by and they see this black thing on the side, the Black Maria, which alone is a fascinating thing. Nobody knows what it is. And they say, what's that odd thing, and they keep right on going. Then there's some little sign some place that says Edison's Lab, and then you see a parking lot across the street, but it doesn't hit. You know, it's just not there.

A similar comment by another interviewee echoes some of the same themes:

- I: I don't know what I could suggest to be the answer other than the fact that they make it easier to get to, make it available, give it the proper kind of publicity. It's very difficult to get in there. You know, it's a tough part of town to find parking and stuff like that.
- E: Yeah, that's true.
- I: And it's amazing, I mean, that beautiful first movie theater. Didn't they call it the Black Maria or something? It's fantastic to have that thing sitting down there. Maybe it should be in some museum in Hollywood or something. I think something like that could be exploited more than the Edison Museum itself, although people like to look at the little gadgets and stuff. But something like that is so visible. Here's where the first moving pictures were taken, you know.
- E: Make that more of a featured item.
- I: I think that might be good, make that more of a featured thing and have it lit up at night. I don't know whether it's lit up or not, because I've never noticed it. I think it should be lit up. There should be a big sign there that says what it is. The average person going by there doesn't know what the heck it is. And it's really the Tiffany of the collection, I think, as far as human interest is concerned, everybody takes lights for granted, and we take electricity for granted. But people are still fascinated by the movies.

The interviewee who works in retail saw the problem as one of marketing, of publicity. His solution emphasized reaching out to different groups and building a client base, including visits for school children:

- I: Publicity. It doesn't get enough publicity. You know, whether it's in school publications, or local college publications. I mean, there's so many good colleges in the area—Fairleigh Dickinson, Rutgers. If you took a survey, I would say 80 percent wouldn't even know of Edison, let alone the museum in West Orange. That's where I would start, with the school system, elementary right up to high school right into colleges within North Jersey. As I say it will always be in their mind, whether they have children later on or even if they're entertaining friends, business associates. I mean, there's enough industry. My God, people come from all over the country. I mean, nationally, oh gosh, the potential is unlimited. Industry could entertain their guests, you know. Instead of bringing them to New York to see a show, this would be much more important and fascinating to them than seeing a Broadway show.
- E: That's a really good idea.
- I: Yeah, industry even more so than relatives or friends. This is something they should capitalize on. And I think if you took a survey, I'm positive that they're not aware of Edison in West Orange. They know the name Edison, but ... [not West Orange].

Another interviewee made comments about the exhibits at the Laboratory Unit.

- I: But I think the thing that's important is basically Edison—not everything he did, but a few of the things he did. Because people aren't going to go down there—

They're not interested in 1500 patents. They're interested in the main stuff. And it's too much of a mish mash down there. They have to get rid of some of those buildings. They ought to spend some money on it. And I know they won't do that.

E: So you're looking for the museum to tell a coherent story.

I: That's it, simple. Simple, coherent.

This interviewee, by the way, has a history of involvement with another NPS site in the West. He repeated on several occasions his dissatisfaction with the higher levels of the NPS and was surprised that they would fund such a study as this one. On the other hand, he tended to be complimentary towards permanent non-politically appointed NPS staff, including the staff at the Edison historic site. In fact, three of the four interviewees are members of the Rotary, as is the Edison site superintendent, and she was uniformly praised both personally and professionally.

At any rate, the recommendations for change for the museum itself probably reflect issues already under discussion among NPS staff. The general themes revolved around making the site better known, more welcoming to visitors, and more streamlined in its presentations. Most interviewees were at a loss to explain why the site is viewed with such apathy in general, as the previous section indicated. If this is the case, then it isn't surprising that no well developed plans to remedy the situation were forthcoming.

Several interviewees discussed the problem of funding, recognizing that we are in a period of declining budgets. One mentioned a plan for fund-raising:

I: The target was 30 or 40 million dollars. They had interested GE and companies like that, who should have an interest. They planned to build a larger visitor's center and theater, where they could accommodate a lot more visitors. My understanding is they have about 75,000 visitors a year, and that's all they can accommodate. But they could, with the proper promotion, they feel they could bring a lot more. It could be a very big thing, but they need the facility to do it. So that was part of this 30 or 40 million dollars. I think they've got architectural plans. They've got everything for this. This Friends of Edison, they got together, the people that are directors with the superintendent and her crew. They've had a lot of architectural work done. And it would be a tremendous thing for more awareness of the fact that this is here, and it's just a wonderful place to visit. I mean, it's absolutely fascinating.

The person who heads Friends of Edison, unfortunately, was one of those with whom an interview could not be arranged. Several interviewees recommended him as a person to talk with in the future. One event he had sponsored was mentioned by several interviewees. For example:

I: And this [sponsor] got very involved in this. There were some fund raising dinners and things. He had a magnificent gourmet dinner at \$500 a plate, served at his nationally known restaurant. They served the menu that Mrs. Edison would have served, and they picked out her wines. Somehow they researched this and knew her wines. It was a real gourmet affair. I mean, there was a different wine with every course, about eight courses and eight different wines. And it was all her selections, things I've never heard of, a wonderful, wonderful meal. It was one of the best I've ever had. But that's [sponsor]. He got very involved in that. And so

he set that up with them, and he had the ability to do that. It was a good fundraiser, but it was a drop in the bucket compared to what they need to do. They need a national campaign with major corporations contributing. Or they need more money from the government, but that seems to be a major problem. They just don't get it. And with all the cutbacks and the feeling of government today, I don't know where it's going to come from, if it's not private.

In spite of the repeated acknowledgment of reduced government funding, the political figure added a note of optimism:

- I: But they are making an effort, and again I have to attribute most of this to the superintendent. She's doing a very fine job of cultivating our elected leaders, senators, congressmen, on the virtue and the merits of the Edison Museum. And as such I think she's got them all indoctrinated that whenever there's an appropriation bill they're always trying to squeeze in a couple bucks for the museum.
- E: That's good. Actually a coordinated plan involving the town and the museum would probably add to that.
- I: Well, the superintendent is always kind enough and gracious enough to invite me as part of any ceremony or anything like that, so I can't ask for more than that. And it gives the elected officials at a higher level the opportunity to see that yes, we are standing shoulder to shoulder with the museum, and that we do look upon it as a valuable resource and asset to the community.

Obviously the problem of fund-raising is one with which both the interviewees and the local historic site staff are familiar. Apparently efforts to secure funds from both public and private sources are well underway. It's not clear that this section adds much to what is already known by both interviewees and the local superintendent. What is clear is that the interviews reveal how the historic site is positioning itself as an institution among other public and private sector institutions relevant to it. This represents a shift in how a museum sees itself, from a visitor orientation to an inter-institutional one, a topic that will be developed in the conclusion to this report.

What might be useful would be further investigation along the lines of the organizational development literature in business and management. In that literature, ethnographic approaches are applied to investigate an organizational process—in this case, inter-institutional fund-raising—with the goal of recommending ways to streamline it. Another issue worthy of further study would be a current theme of contemporary American debate, namely, the influence of private sector involvement on public sector institutions. Fascinating as they are, both issues are beyond the scope of this exploration.

4. Edison Means Business

All four interviewees spoke of the potential of a general business development plan for West Orange in general and the Main Street area in particular. The political figure spelled out the

general concept:

E: So you're thinking—and this is a question—so you're thinking then of more commercial activity around the museum itself. In other words, bringing tourists in, and then of course, you bring tourists in and to get them to stay awhile, you've got possibilities for housing and restaurants.

I: This is what I see happening now. People come to visit the museum and they park their car across the street, go into the museum, go back out into the car and leave the community. I would like to see them say, let's get a bite to eat. Let's go up to this nice little restaurant up the street, or go over here to another nice restaurant that we have. I don't really see that happening. I don't see the people staying here in West Orange after they visit the museum. Not that I'm expecting them to do it, but I don't see them contributing to the economy of our community.

It's not a surprise that four business leaders think of economic development in a town that went into decline after the McGraw-Edison company left. Another example of a comment on the issue from one of the business interviewees:

E: [The political figure] ... has this idea about linking economic development in the community to the museum somehow. I mean, he's not sure how to do that. But he'd like to see the museum used more by the community to develop tourism. Is that something you've thought about, or does it make any sense to you?

I: Well, I know what he's saying. Of course any attraction to a community helps the economy. I mean, just to get the Super Bowl means millions of dollars in the towns, restaurants, hotels, stores, etc. So naturally, anything that would happen with Edison that brings tourists in would be good for the town. He's probably confused about it too, when he said he isn't sure how to do it or what to do. But I think things like that are a natural phenomenon. If you have something that's really attractive in an area, and people come in and actually are going to spend money, I don't think the two just complement each other. I think one is a necessity for the other, more or less.

Two specific projects were mentioned that bear on this general development issue. One, the Main Street Development Corporation, is a consortium dedicated to revitalizing the Main Street area, which includes the Edison historic site. Recall that the corporation was also mentioned in the Llewellyn Park section of this report, since Main Street is also where the entry gate into the Park is located.

One interviewee who deals in real estate offered an elaborate description of the corporation which is quoted at length here:

I: Main Street is the older part of town. And as the town grew, the business development started going into the newer sections. Yet you still have old Main Street. So it's gone downhill a little bit, and the buildings are getting older. There doesn't seem to be the money to fix them up. So the Main Street Development Corporation was formed through the action of some citizens who got very concerned about it. In fact, one of the prime guys was from Llewellyn Park. They got the town to help form this. There's a federal Main Street program. There's a

national program and there's a state Main Street program that supplies consulting advice in how to set these things up, what to do, how to do it. So we hooked in a few years ago to Main Street, New Jersey, and it was Federal Main Street that gave assistance. We had consultants come in, help formulate plans. Basically the idea is to make Main Street more attractive and to help rejuvenate the entire area. And actually Main Street is four different areas. They've created the Eagle Rock section, which is one old business section at the north end of Main Street; Tory Corner section, which is near Edison's. It's actually the center, but it's up a little bit. What they call St. Mark's area, which is down where Main Street turns and goes to Orange and Northfield Avenue, and then the Valley section. And they have wonderful logos and things. Volunteer graphic artists created this magnificent logo for Main Street and the four sections. And they've been very successful in getting building developers and people— It's been slow, but very successful. The people have really plugged and plugged at this. And I would venture to say that probably thirty buildings—thirty, forty buildings—have been renovated. In Tory Corner we had an architectural drawing for every single building, what could be done with it for facade renovation. We've supplied money for that. The town and the mayor and the planning department have been very good in getting money for this through county and state grants and community development block grants that came into the town. They have new sidewalks and signage and design aids for—there's design money. We're trying to sell people on the idea of re-doing their buildings. "Well, gee, I don't want to spend money." "Well, look, we'll help you out. We'll get you an architect, or here's a design and we'll give you some money for that—" And then help them with financing. And there were actual grants appropriated. There are programs for this community development block stuff through the county here that would write grants for people. And it's been successful. It's been slow, but a lot of buildings have been done over. It's much more attractive. The biggest problem is that Tory Corner has been a little slower in developing than some of the other areas. But there have been some good buildings done there recently. Like [the retailer] you're going to see tomorrow. I mean, he changed his facade. And a few other buildings up there changed their facade a little bit, and just added a little spice and little nice things.

E: When did this start?

I: Well, it first started about ten years ago—eight, ten years ago—but then it kind of died. Nothing really happened. But then it was rejuvenated when they joined this federal and state Main Street program. That's what it's called—Main Street, New Jersey. When they joined that program, that's when it took off and they got some good people involved. I think they're doing a great job. I stayed on a few years, but I had to give it up because of some business changes and a different schedule. But I still have a great interest in it, and I keep in touch with these people. It's been successful. They were very much in touch with the people from the national historic site, and [the superintendent] has been part of this. I don't know if she's on the board of directors, but she has been involved in the meetings and everything else. So there's been a very good liaison. And I'm pushing and

talking constantly with people like [developer] that own the buildings. There's been efforts, and it's been successful. There've been some very lovely renovations of buildings that were going downhill. They changed them around to create a new look.

The Main Street Development Corporation alone warrants some oral history and organizational ethnography to fully understand its genesis and current operation. However, it clearly constitutes an important ongoing activity, an example of the general development concept with which this section began. The only critical comments came from the retailer, who is actually located in the Tory Corner area.

I: Now Main Street is called Main Street, but you have—not divided factions, but it's four areas, where each one is primarily of their area. And the big problem, as I say, is money.

E: Who's got it.

I: Right. The successful stores, they don't mind doing anything to promote, or even doing more than their share.

E: But the ones that are struggling around the edge, they don't—

I: So that's the problem so far as the Main Street. But I'm sure they would work with it.

He later illustrated his comments with a story about Christmas lights; only half the stores were willing to put up money for the decorations. He said that the more successful businesses put up more than their share, but still, the uneven nature of business in Tory Corner meant that some businesses were not capable of participating in the general concept.

The second issue that the interviewees discussed was the development of the Edison Storage Battery Factory, the building that sits across Lakeside Avenue from the historic site. When the factories were operating it was the manufacturing center for storage batteries. Though space in the building is now leased to different companies, it generally looks like a multi-story factory in deteriorating condition. However, the building is durable, an example of the poured concrete construction that Edison invented. Its location next to the historic site along Main Street makes it a natural for development. The political figure sees it as a key piece on the development game board:

I: It's known as the Edison Battery Building, right. And ... [the developer], who you might want to talk to regarding this, plans to spend I think it's upwards of 22 million dollars to redo the building, to make it sort of like a shopping mall, with upscale restaurants and microbrewery and really imaginative ideas. I think it's fantastic, because that's what we need here in town. And that's sort of an anchor that serves our whole business district. The Edison museum, as far as I'm concerned, is probably our most valuable asset. It's something that I don't think we truly realize, and that we truly appreciate, and that we truly utilize as part of West Orange. I mean, West Orange and the Edison laboratory should be almost synonymous, and unfortunately I don't think we've gotten to that point yet.

The interviewee involved in realty also had positive things to say about the building's development:

I: I think it's important to the historical site that that building be a lot more attractive and that it have some things in there that would complement the historic site. It's been Main Street Development Corporation's thrust a little bit. You know, how do we work that in, and how do we have more attractions that will come to Edison and vice versa. And also we've had some consultants in, and they said, the outlet kind of thing was very attractive, and it brought people, not just from other parts of West Orange, but from a wide area. It's kind of destination shopping, and they'd come from a wide area. And they could also go to the Edison historic site. But you need things around there, and it wasn't properly developed yet. Tory Corner was not that attractive.

E: It sounds like it's in the wind, though now, huh?

I: It seems to be in the wind, yeah, which would be a very, very good thing. It would be a good thing.

The ethnographer contacted the building's developer and tried to arrange an interview. Unfortunately, he was unavailable for a face-to-face tape-recorded interview. However, he did describe the situation during a telephone interview and offered to meet at a later date should that be possible. What was striking was that, contrary to the expectations just quoted, the developer characterized the project as "dead in the water." In his view, problems in clearing other structures and a parking lot around the battery building were blocking the plan for development. The township government, in his opinion, was holding things up.

The other two interviewees were also more negative about the future of the building.

E: So the museum is between two fairly good areas then.

I: Yes, absolutely, the best area for that matter, communication-wise, highways, City Hall. It's not too appealing because of the factory next door. You know, it loses some of its luster.

E: Well, that's another thing that I started hearing stories about is this battery building, the storage battery building development. You think that's going to happen? Would that be a good thing?

I: I actually don't think it's going to happen. I hope I'm wrong, but I don't think so.

E: I mean, I'm a naive guy about business, but it sounds like it has potential.

I: Potentially it should be, but I don't think it's going to— I could be wrong, but I don't think it's going to happen.

And another negative view, beginning with the interviewee responding to the topic of the building right after the ethnographer mentioned it:

I: What good is that? It ought to be torn down.

E: There's some guy who's talking about making it into boutiques.

I: Yeah, I knew the architect who's working on it. The guy's name is [developer] or something like that. There's an architect in my club in New York, who's been very sick lately. I don't think he's going to be doing anymore architecting. But he was coming out here and meeting with this guy. He was the one who was going to design it. And he used to come up here for lunch once in awhile when they were designing this new facility boutique. Forget it. It won't go there.

Recall that the topic of the building also came up in the Llewellyn Park section of this report, since it is located only a short distance from the entry gate.

Clearly the battery building development issue is critical for the historic site, with potential impact on both the laboratories and on Glenmont. Indeed, "potential impact" is an understatement. It is also clear that the project is a controversial one, with both positive and negative views on the likely outcome. While the Edison historic site is already active in the Main Street Development Corporation, it would obviously be important for them to be involved in discussions and decisions around the battery building development as well, if they are not already.

The interviewees, then, articulate a general goal of economic development for the area of West Orange that includes the Edison historic site. One implementation of this general goal, the Main Street Development Corporation, appears to be well underway, and it already involves the park superintendent as a participant. A second project, the storage battery building, is now under consideration and apparently controversial. This project merits close attention, since it would increase traffic and the number of visitors considerably, as well as adding opportunities for development of the historic site itself.

5. Discussion

The five interviews (including one not taped) with three businessmen, a developer, and a political figure leave us with several conclusions. The first is an important qualification on this sample of "community members." The four men interviewed on tape were all born and raised in West Orange. They are all old enough to have had significant personal experiences with TAE, Inc. or McGraw-Edison before the plant shut down and left the community. On the one hand, their personal experiences led to interview segments that, like those with the former employees or long-standing Llewellyn Park residents, contained oral historical material, memories of times past rather than comments on present relationships to the historic site. On the other hand, their personal experiences led to a hypothesis—perhaps the apathy with which the historic site is viewed is linked to their memories of the economic devastation caused when the plant closed. Community members who because of their youth or recent arrival in town lack such a personal, biographical connection would probably have views that differed from the group whom we interviewed.

At the same time, all the interviewees believe that the historic site has a potential role in economic future of the township. At times during our conversations, the interviewees' vision of the site's potential seemed diffuse, consisting primarily of a generalized sense that with better marketing and presentation, EDIS would draw additional visitors whose presence would ultimately benefit the town's service industry. More specific discussion arose around two projects already well known to the EDIS staff, the Main Street Development Corporation and the proposed development of the old battery factory adjacent to the site. The former was described as underway and, for the most part, successful. The latter project, the creating an upscale mall in the old factory, appears to be more problematic, with its outcome uncertain at this point.

Certainly the old battery factory poses a tremendous opportunity and an equally tremendous source of problems for EDIS. New possibilities of commercial support might present themselves, but at the same time visitor and traffic flow would increase substantially. We do not know how involved EDIS staff are in discussions and planning for this development. If they are not, it is clear—based on what was learned from the interviews—that it would benefit them to do so.

In general the interviewees expressed good will towards the historic site and felt positively toward staff with whom they regularly interact. Some had taken part in fund-raising activities. All recognized that funding for the site was problematic. The general attitude expressed in the interviews was one that ranged from openness to enthusiasm for the articulation of specific proposals to develop the site, especially insofar as such proposals were part and parcel of more general plans for the development of the township.

C. ETHNOGRAPHIC RESOURCES

The interviews with this group of West Orange community residents provides some pointers to indicate the kinds of things under NPS stewardship that might usefully be regarded as ethnographic resources in relation to this group. As was noted in chapter I, ethnographic resources are elements of a park that an associated group perceives as “traditionally meaningful to their identity as a group and the survival of their lifeways” (NPS 1994:168).

For purposes of identifying ethnographic resources related to the West Orange community, it should be remembered that Llewellyn Park residents are also residents of West Orange. In addition, three of the six former employees currently live the town.

Also useful are the impressions of the park staff concerning local use of the area around the park. Interviews with protection and facilities maintenance staff at the beginning of this study yielded little evidence that local residents use park resources in ways other than those of casual tourism, educational visitation, and, occasionally, archival research. The park hosts meetings of a few community groups, including the Main Street Development Corporation. But outside such sanctioned meetings by organized community groups, park property does not appear to be regularly used as a gathering place by any group. There is no evidence that plants or animals found on park property serve as economic resources or as the focus of spiritual activities for any group of people. There is no recognized pattern of leaving offerings anywhere on park property. No requests have been made within at least the past few years to lay wreaths or otherwise to remember those listed on the two war memorials at the Laboratory Unit.¹⁶ There are occasional incidents inconsistent with park policies at the Laboratory Unit, such as young people skateboarding in the visitor parking lot and trash dumping on the periphery of NPS property, but these occurrences are apparently isolated and do not seem to indicate long standing connections to park resources. Incidents of vandalism and other crimes appear to be isolated events

¹⁶These honor TAE, Inc. employees killed in the two world wars. The memorial for the First World War consists of a tablet affixed to the southwest side of Building 5. The memorial for the Second World War consists of a tablet affixed to a boulder, a flagpole, and a hedge located at the corner of Main and Alden streets.

characteristic of northern New Jersey's urbanized landscape. They do not seem to be specifically directed at the memory of Edison, his former companies, the park, or the Park Service.

Based on all sources of information, the following is a list of ethnographic resources associated with the West Orange community:

1. Vistas of the Edison laboratory from Main Street, possibly including streetscapes of the old battery building.
2. Documents, photographs, and artifacts that affirm the long-standing link between West Orange and Thomas Edison and other members of the Edison family, notably Theodore and Ann Edison.
3. Documents and photographs that relate to the closure of the McGraw-Edison plant.

The following sections discuss these categories. The final section of this chapter discusses the implications of our study's findings for connections between EDIS and municipalities outside of West Orange.

1. Vistas of the Edison Laboratory

Several interviewees mentioned vistas of the Edison laboratory as encapsulating the continuing relationship between West Orange and the site. Some of these comments reflected negative feelings toward the disappearance of Edison plant. One example, already cited, was the remark that "Half the time when you go by Edison it looks like an abandoned housing project or something." For some West Orange residents, the transformation wrought by the demolition of the plant was so painful, that they were uncomfortable looking at the plant area. One former worker, who still lives in the town, commented:

I: It was terrible [when the plant was demolished]. I would never come by here for a long, long time. I always took the back road. But to see it go down, and why did they do that? Oh, McGraw-Edison, they didn't want any part of it.

Yet the civic and business leaders who were interviewed for this segment of the study also emphasized the potential future economic importance of the site, and adequate visibility and good upkeep of the site as it exists now seemed important to enhancing the redevelopment efforts along Main Street.

The battery building came up in many interviews. On the one hand, many people familiar with Main Street in West Orange see it as something of an eyesore. As one interviewee observed, the laboratory is "not too appealing because of the factory next door. You know, it loses some of its luster." Yet at the same time, it is the only remaining manufacturing-type building from the old Edison plant, and as we have seen, the story of that plant is intertwined with the history of West Orange. For one interviewee, a former worker who worked in the building during the Second World War, there is something reassuringly enduring about the presence of the building. We quoted her in the last chapter. Edison, she observed, "made the strongest kind of cement. That building will be here forever. They couldn't knock it down."

This ambivalence about the battery building echoes comments about the laboratory site itself. Remember, for example, the interviewee quoted earlier in this chapter who said, "It's just a bunch

of old buildings today with a fence around it." Comments of this sort, along with the thoughts of those who would like to see better publicity and better signage for the site, suggest a kind of visual conflict between the mission of the site and the structures with which that mission is carried out. On the one hand, the goal of Edison National Historic Site is to commemorate the accomplishments and interpret the life and times of Thomas Edison. There seemed to be widespread agreement that this was a worthwhile goal. But, on the other hand, the facility does not look much like a museum or a memorial at all, but rather it is "just a bunch of old buildings." This conflict of images is made even more complex because the buildings themselves comprise an important set of artifacts relating to Edison and they have a high degree of historical integrity. All of this suggests that the architects designing the proposed visitors center and archives, to be located on the northeastern part of the NPS property at the corner of Main and Alden streets will have to balance delicately the need to create facade that harmonizes well with the laboratory buildings and echoes the industrial heritage of the site, while at the same time creating something that has the dignity, authority, and appeal of a museum.

The final important element of the Main Street vista is the Black Maria. This structure was mentioned by several interviewees. It is a seven-eighths scale replica of the world's first movie studio that Edison constructed at his West Orange plant in 1893. (According to Uschold and Kennedy [1996:104], the original structure was in a less visible location than the replica. They comment that the present location of the replica is in a "a prominent location for outsiders to see, as an advertisement to Edison and his inventions." Indeed, this is precisely the reaction that our interviewees have to it, as two of them commented that it should be emphasized to provoke great curiosity among passersby. Yet their point seemed to be not that the Black Maria is an ethnographic resource for West Orange residents, but rather that it is something that could draw people into the site because of its curious configuration.

2. Things that Affirm the Edison-West Orange Connection

One interviewee asserted that "West Orange and the Edison Laboratory should be almost synonymous," and many of the interviewees made clear that TAE, Inc. was once an important part of life in the town. As we have seen, Edison and his plant played a role in the history of the town and its residents, a history that residents consider to be important to remember and to capitalize on.

Therefore, documents, photographs, and artifacts that affirm this relationship could be considered ethnographic resources. Such materials probably comprise a small fraction of the Edison collections and are probably scattered through it, rather than being concentrated in one category. One the interesting issues is what role lighting-related materials should play. Some groups in West Orange, such as the local Rotary Club and the designers of the small Edison park opposite the intersection of Mount Pleasant Avenue and Main Street, have chosen the light bulb as an element symbolizing the connection between Edison and the local community. We also saw that during the 1940 festivities surrounding the premier of the movie, *Edison, the Man*, the lightbulb played an important symbolic role. Yet Edison's pioneering work with electric lighting was conducted almost entirely at Menlo Park and in New York City. The connection between

lighting and West Orange is thus a kind of invented tradition (Hobsbawn and Ranger 1983). Use of the lightbulb as a symbol for progress and related notions of "enlightenment" is, furthermore, a commonplace of American culture. (Notice its use, for example, as a symbol for "idea" in comic strips.) In absence of a specific pattern of usage of park materials related to lighting by West Orange residents, it would probably not be appropriate to classify the thousands of objects and archival items related to lighting as ethnographic objects.

Finally, under this category should be included materials related to Theodore Edison. Although not of the public stature of his father, nor even of his brother, Charles, the one-time governor of New Jersey, Theodore Edison and his wife, Ann, emerged as important to many local residents and Edison employees. It may be appropriate to treat those items in the recently-acquired Theodore Edison papers that relate to West Orange as ethnographic resources.

3. Items Relating to the Closure of McGraw-Edison

In general, there are apparently few items relating specifically to the closure of the McGraw-Edison plant in the EDIS archives. However, this event was of great importance to the West Orange community, as well as to the employees of the West Orange plant. Therefore, photographs and documents relating to the process of closure should be regarded as ethnographic resources relative to West Orange residents, as well as to former employees.

4. Ethnographic Resources and Other Municipalities with Historical Connections to Edison

One of the findings of this study is that historically, TAE, Inc. and other Edison companies drew workers from other Essex County municipalities besides West Orange; the Edison companies probably also had substantial business contacts in these municipalities. The discussion at the beginning of this chapter concerning residence patterns among Edison employees in the early 1950s provides a partial illustration of some of these connections. In this study we have not pursued connections beyond those with West Orange because other park-associated groups and issues had a higher research priority. Nonetheless, the historical connections that we found raise some questions that could profitably be investigated further.

Among the questions to be asked is the extent to which traditionally-associated groups remain in Orange, East Orange, and other municipalities that had a historical connection to the Edison enterprises. This question arises because since the 1960s, there appears to have been a substantial population turnover in eastern Essex County. The actual extent of this turnover in any of the Oranges is unknown. We would speculate that given the range of neighborhoods present in each town, some areas saw virtually complete replacement of earlier groups by new groups of residents, while in other areas, only a portion of earlier populations has been replaced by newer groups. An understanding of this issue is relevant because of part of the concept of ethnographic resources as defined by NPS (1994:166-169) involves continuity of association. This issue might be explored through a combination of analysis of census data and interviews with community leaders and others familiar with the history of particular neighborhoods and districts.

A related question that may warrant further investigation is whether there are Edison-associated historical or ethnographic resources in areas outside park boundaries where workers traditionally resided. We speculate that the patterns of worker residence in the early 1950s described at the beginning of this chapter reflected long historical trends, at least in West Orange and Orange. (One of the reasons East Orange is not included in this speculation is that workers seemed to be less obviously clustered in that city as compared to the other two municipalities.) There might be resources in some of these neighborhoods with a history of association with Edison or the Edison companies, similar to the purported hall used for union meetings identified in the previous chapter. Such resources could include houses, apartment buildings, businesses, or social gathering places (e.g., social halls or taverns) that were particularly used by Edison workers or the Edison companies. Indeed, if historical associations can be documented, entire neighborhoods might be regarded as associated resources. As historical resources, recognition of such places has the potential for enriching our understanding of the social context of the Edison companies. As associated ethnographic resources, recognition of such places has the potential for helping to preserve links of history important to the identity of local residents or to dispersed groups of former residents. Once the historical connections are better understood, then interviews similar to those conducted for this study might fruitfully be conducted in different neighborhoods in Orange and elsewhere.

A third set of issues related to historical connections between the EDIS facilities and collections and various municipalities relates to serving the needs of the local communities and with developing links between local communities and NPS. In other words, given historical connections between Orange or East Orange and Thomas Edison and his companies, to what extent would these cities like to exploit, celebrate, or enhance these connections? For West Orange, as we have seen, there is a strong and continuing desire to mark this connection, but we have no information on community attitudes in neighboring towns. For example, is there a desire in the Oranges (or elsewhere in Essex County) to develop local history exhibits involving Edison materials, similar to the exhibit put together by the residents of Llewellyn Park in the summer of 1996 (see chapter II)? And perhaps the historical connections between EDIS and these other municipalities would offer a basis for developing mutually beneficial partnerships similar to those that already exist between EDIS and West Orange. Exploration of this question would involve interviews and other types of ethnographic study with community leaders, similar to the work described in this chapter.

Finally, it should be noted that some of the same comments concerning the history of the Edison companies and resources presently under NPS stewardship that apply to West Orange may apply to other municipalities in the area, particularly to Orange. For example, we know nothing about the impact of the departure of McGraw-Edison on Orange. Any historical review of this departure would have to consider such impacts in order to be complete. Similarly, EDIS may preserve archival materials, such as photographs or business records, with a continuing significance to the sense of identity to those who live in Orange today. In short, there is a great deal to be learned about the historical and contemporary connections between the Edison legacy and the several communities near EDIS.

Summary: WEST ORANGE COMMUNITY

- West Orange has numerous connections to Thomas Edison. It was the site of his home and plant from the late 1880s until his death in 1931. The town supplied a substantial part of the workforce for his plant, which remained in operation until the 1970s. Edison and his second wife, Mina, are both buried in the town today.
- The people interviewed as representatives of West Orange (comprising the "West Orange Community Exploration Group") were older, white males who hold positions as civic leaders and businessmen in the town today. This sample is not representative of West Orange as a whole, which is younger on average and more racially and ethnically diverse (see Chapter I and Appendix A) than the men interviewed for this study.
- Between the early 1900s and the 1960s, the Edison plant was one of the leading employers in West Orange and was an important economic force in the town. Many older residents, such as those interviewed for this study, either worked at the plant themselves or had family members who did so. These people are a rich source of oral historical information regarding the influence of the plant upon the town.
- Residents of West Orange appear to be somewhat indifferent to the presence of Edison National Historic Site today. There are probably several reasons for this indifference, but one important reason may be the residue of anger and disappointment left by the closure and demolition of the plant by McGraw-Edison in the early 1970s. This suggestion, however, is tentative and requires further investigation to evaluate it fully.
- Though relatively few local people visit EDIS, business and civic leaders interviewed during this study believe that the park could be a valuable resource for economic revitalization, particularly of the Main Street area. They speak positively about the role the park staff has played to date in the process of redevelopment and look forward to continuing this relationship. One of the present issues in this effort is the role redevelopment of the privately-owned former Edison Storage Battery Factory will play, which is located across from the Laboratory Unit of the park.
- Ethnographic resources associated with this group include:
 - Vistas of the Edison laboratory from Main Street, possibly including streetscapes of the old storage battery factory;
 - Documents, photographs, and artifacts that affirm the long-standing link between West Orange and Thomas Edison and other members of the Edison family, notably Theodore and Ann Edison; and
 - Documents and photographs that relate to the closure of the McGraw-Edison plant.
- Connections with local municipalities extend beyond West Orange. Orange in particular was historically associated with the Edison plant. Consequently, this and other Essex County municipalities may contain associated ethnographic or historical resources outside the park's boundaries. Historical connections may also offer opportunities for NPS to develop partnerships with these towns similar to ones that already exist with West Orange.

V. RECOMMENDATIONS

The preceding chapters have provided an overview of the demography of the West Orange and Orange communities and reported the results of pilot ethnographies of three traditionally-associated groups, Llewellyn Park residents, former Edison employees, and civic and business leaders from the West Orange community. The material presented in chapters II through IV has included many suggestions and recommendations regarding NPS and the three groups we examined in detail. In this chapter, we summarize these recommendations and identify several additional issues that arose in the course of our study.

1. Continue to manage Glenmont in a manner that is harmonious with the distinct characteristics and needs of the Llewellyn Park community.

Llewellyn Park is a private residential community that has been in existence for over 140 years. Established as a rusticated setting for the households of middle- and upper-class businessmen, the community retains a strong sense of its own history and of the importance of family life. It has long maintained an identity distinct from the rest of West Orange, and through an annual assessment of property owners, it maintains its own roads, bridges, landscaping, and other elements of community infrastructure, thus functioning like an independent municipality. The annual meeting of proprietors, held each January, is an important occasion both for addressing numerous mundane details involved in the year-to-year management of the Park and for renewing social ties and community solidarity. A recent change in the community is the influx of many new families with young and school-age children.

The National Park Service is a proprietor of the Park and is unique among them. It is a government agency managing a historic property in the Park for the benefit of the general public. Glenmont plays an important role in the community as a visible witness to the history of the Park and to the value of historic preservation. Given its large size and central location within the Park, residents and visitors alike can interpret the condition of its buildings and grounds as one index of the overall prosperity of the community. Therefore, the condition of Glenmont may have the potential to influence perceptions of the health of the community and perhaps to influence property values as well.

Within this context, we offer the following recommendations:

- NPS should continue to act as an ally of the community in matters of common interest, such as the proposal to erect sound barriers along Interstate 280 and the need to preserve the 501C (non-profit corporation) status of the Park under Internal Revenue Service regulations.
- NPS should continue to participate in the life of the community as a proprietor of Llewellyn Park to the extent that this is possible. NPS performs a valuable and much-appreciated service to the community by making Glenmont available for the

annual proprietors' meeting, as it has done in recent years. Although such usage is not fully consistent with the Park Service's goal of preservation of the historic building and its furnishings, it is appropriate to the agency's status as owner of one of the largest and most historically-significant estates within the Park. It likewise is appropriate, as an act of neighborliness, to invite residents of Llewellyn Park to occasional activities specifically for them.

- NPS should make all possible efforts to maintain the exterior of Glenmont and the surrounding grounds in excellent condition.
- NPS should continue to work with community residents to develop historical exhibits and programs concerning the history of Llewellyn Park, including but not limited to connections with Edison family.
- NPS should continue to pay as nearly as possible the full value of its annual Llewellyn Park assessment.
- NPS should consider the impacts upon the Llewellyn Park community upon any recommendations arising from a historic landscape study for Glenmont and may wish to coordinate its plans with those of the Llewellyn Park Ladies' Association regarding historical landscaping on the property.
- NPS should continue to be sensitive to the potential impacts on the community that public visitation to Glenmont may have upon the Llewellyn Park community. Such impacts may include increased traffic and a large volume of unescorted visitors entering and leaving the Park.
- NPS should continue to display a degree of tolerance toward uses of Glenmont by Llewellyn Park residents that may fall into gray areas of trespassing or unauthorized usage, such use of property roads for jogging or the occasional adult and child football toss, to the extent that these activities do not seriously threaten the condition or integrity of the property or expose the agency to serious liability issues.
- NPS should remain sensitive to the social and economic diversity of Llewellyn Park. It is to be noted that although Llewellyn Park was historically something of a white Anglo-Saxon Protestant bastion, this is no longer the case, and that not everyone who lives in the Park is necessarily a member of a political or economic elite.
- NPS should attempt to develop a mechanism by which Llewellyn Park residents can participate in tours at Glenmont without the necessity of a trip to the Laboratory Unit to obtain a pass.

2. Actively seek out former Edison employees to involve them in the programs of Edison National Historic Site.

Former Edison workers represent important eyewitnesses to the history commemorated and interpreted by Edison National Historic Site (EDIS). They have a great deal to tell historians, NPS, and the general visitor about Edison, the operations and working conditions of the Edison plant, and the historical period during which the plant operated. They also comprise a large group that is traditionally associated with the park's resources.

The historic site has attempted to engage this group in park activities through the creation of a list of former Edison employees and through mailed invitations to park events, notably the annual Edison days celebration in late spring. The response to this outreach effort has been, from the Park Service point of view, somewhat disappointing. The interviews conducted as part of this study did not directly address this issue, but two possibilities suggest themselves. First, the group as a whole is elderly, and thus may have particular needs or concerns that may have to be accommodated in order to facilitate their participation in EDIS activities. They may, for example, need assistance with transportation to reach the site, or they may have concerns about personal security. Second, the interviews suggest some indifference on the part of this group toward the site. This indifference may arise because most of the people in the group feel they have nothing to offer the site—that their knowledge is just personal history and nothing more. They may also feel that the site has little to do with them, since many worked at TAE, Inc. after Edison's death and worked in portions of the plant that have now been demolished. Finally, as with the West Orange community, several former Edison employees expressed profound sadness at the effects of McGraw-Edison's departure from West Orange. On the other hand, all of our interviewees were enthusiastic about telling their stories, and for all of them their experiences working for the Edison companies was an important part of their lives.

These circumstances lead us make the following recommendations:

- NPS should continue to seek to involve former Edison workers in the activities and, where appropriate, the management of Edison National Historic Site.
- To be effective, efforts to engage this group may require a greater commitment of park resources than has been made thus far. It may be appropriate to assign a park staff member the duty to develop contacts among this group. Effective outreach may require a personal touch, through telephone calls or visits to elder housing facilities. Transportation to the historic site for meetings or events may be an issue for some members of this group, so that assisting people in getting to and from the site might be appropriate.
- In the past, EDIS has had former workers serving as full-time staff interpreters and as volunteers. Such people bring a personal touch to the operation and interpretive programs of the site, and it would be appropriate to continue to seek former workers willing to help out at the site.

- NPS should undertake an oral history project among former workers to learn about the Edison plant from their perspective. As our interviews showed, the experiences and memories of this group relate directly to Edison and the business he created, and they have the potential to add new dimensions to the history of the site. Potential topics to be explored might include:
 - stories about and experiences with the Old Man (Thomas Edison), including the role that such folklore played in creating and reinforcing one's identity as an Edison employee;
 - the organization of work, including descriptions of design and manufacturing processes, sales strategies, types and uses of tools, spatial organization of work areas, and job assignments;
 - the history of unionization at the plant;
 - gender issues, including occupations open or closed to male and female workers and relations between male and female workers;
 - the relationship between Theodore Edison and other members of the Edison family and Edison employees;
 - the corporate culture of TAE, Inc. and McGraw-Edison, including an exploration of both the positive and negative aspects of the work environment;
 - the role of working experiences in the personal biographies of individual workers; and
 - additional important topics that may emerge in the process of this project.
 It is important to recognize that because this group is elderly, its numbers are shrinking. Therefore, initiation of an oral history project among this group should be assigned a high priority.

3. Continue involvement with the West Orange community.

Based on our interviews, civic and business leaders in West Orange regard the Edison site as a resource with considerable potential for supporting economic revitalization in the Main Street area. These interviewees were particularly complimentary towards the superintendent for her involvement with the Rotary, the efforts of the Main Street Development Corporation, and other initiatives aimed at civic and economic improvement. At the same time, the interviews showed that West Orange residents are somewhat apathetic toward the site, possibly because they are too close to it to take a special interest in it, or possibly because it reminds them of the upheavals wrought by McGraw-Edison's departure from the town.

We offer the following specific recommendations:

- NPS should continue to be involved in and support efforts at economic revitalization of the Main Street area. Participation in the activities of the Main Street Development Corporation's projects will continue to enhance the appearance, public safety, and economic vitality of the area within which the Laboratory Unit is located.

- NPS should solicit the comments and advice of the Main Street Development Corporation and other civic or business groups to improve the visibility of the site in the northern New Jersey region and beyond, as well as in the efforts to develop a new interpretive center and archives at the site.
- In developing designs for the proposed interpretive center and archives, NPS and its consulting architect should be sensitive to the balance that needs to be struck between a building facade that is historically appropriate and one that is attractive and has an appearance appropriate to a museum and memorial to Thomas Edison.
- NPS should encourage efforts to preserve the former Edison Storage Battery Factory and should seek to be involved, if possible, in planning for the renovation of this structure. Although not on NPS property, the storage battery building is the last remaining piece of the industrial plant that was created by Thomas Edison to bring his inventions to market and that once surrounded the laboratory. Preservation of this structure is thus complementary to NPS efforts to retain fabric within the Laboratory Unit.
- NPS should undertake an oral history project to document the relationships between West Orange and Thomas Edison, the Edison family (including Theodore and Ann Edison), and the Edison companies. Particular attention should be paid to the effects of the closing of McGraw-Edison plant on the town. As with the former employees, many of the eyewitnesses to these relationships are growing old, so such a project should be begun without undue delay.
- NPS should insure that materials in its possession relating to Theodore Edison are adequately cataloged and accessible, since this youngest son of Thomas Edison appears as a significant personage both to older West Orange residents and to former Edison workers.

4. Expand the interpretive scope of EDIS to include worker perspectives and post-Edison history.

Our interviews with former workers and with a select group of long-time West Orange residents shows that these groups can offer additional perspectives on the Edison story. Former workers experienced one of the organizations created by Thomas Edison, had an understanding of the manufacturing environment in which products based on his inventions were produced, and had an engaging historical perspective on the ultimate unionization of TAE, Inc. Long-time West Orange residents stressed the often-literal familial connections between the town and the plant and discussed the trauma of the departure of McGraw-Edison from the town in the early 1970s. Each of these matters adds another dimension to the story of Thomas Edison, inventor and businessman, and each has relevance not just to the local community but to the declining importance of manufacturing in the contemporary American economy. This innovation would

complement developments at other historical sites that emphasize labor and industrial history, such as Steamtown and Lowell National Historic Sites.

We can see several ways in which this recommendation might be implemented:

- Expand the interpretive perspective of the park to include historical threads that extend from Thomas Edison into the period after his death.
- Conduct oral history projects with former workers and long-time residents of West Orange, as described above.
- Collaborate with former Edison employees to develop an exhibit or interpretive program around the theme of working at Edison. This collaboration might entail oral history, descriptions of work practices, consultation about tools, photographs, and documents in the Edison collections, or development of a conceptual design for a hands-on exhibit or interpretive program concerning piece work and assembly line manufacturing.
- Collaborate with former Edison employees to develop an exhibit or interpretive program around labor unions. Such an exhibit or program might cover the whole of the Edison connection to unions, beginning with Thomas Edison's own attitudes and experiences and continuing through union activities at TAE, Inc. and McGraw-Edison in the 1950s and 1960s. This collaboration would involve historical research in the Edison archives and oral histories and might be undertaken in partnership with a university labor history program or with one or more of the labor unions active at the plant—the Union of Electrical Workers, the International Union of Electronic Workers (formerly the International Union of Radio, Electrical and Machine Workers), or the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.
- Collaborate with residents of West Orange (including Llewellyn Park residents) and Orange to develop an exhibit or interpretive program on the local community relationships to Thomas Edison and his plant. This collaboration might cover the entire history of these relationships, beginning with Edison's arrival and ending with the aftermath of the McGraw-Edison departure. Such a collaboration would include historical research in the Edison archives, in the archives of the local and county governments, and oral histories. Such a project has interesting possibilities for engaging a very wide spectrum of people from the local area, with the potential for developing a range of new partnerships. At the same time, the product of such a project could be framed in such a way as to appeal to people from well beyond the local communities.

5. Seek to develop partnerships in the City of Orange and other nearby municipalities.

We have the impression that in developing ties with local communities, NPS has generally focused on West Orange, but has not made particular effort to reach out to or develop local partnerships with neighboring municipalities, notably overlooking the nearest neighboring municipality, the City of Orange. This observation leads us to suggest that it would be appropriate and potentially beneficial for NPS to seek connections between EDIS and groups in municipalities other than West Orange. In particular, we believe that connections with Orange ought to be sought because of its proximity to the park and because of the city's strong historical connections with the Edison plant. However, our recommendations are applicable to other nearby municipalities, such as East Orange, Newark, Bloomfield, Glen Ridge, and Montclair.

Another reason for recommending the development of partnerships in Orange is that, as the demographic data presented in chapter I of this report indicates, African Americans comprise a predominant, diverse, and stable population of that city, as well as certain other parts of Essex County. Historical connections between African Americans and resources under the stewardship of EDIS are the subject of a separate study now in preparation (Page 1997). Though connections with this group were not examined in detail in the present study, it is clear nonetheless that NPS needs to encourage local members of this group to support and participation in EDIS. As part of the development of local partnerships and outreach efforts, we suggest seeking connections with local African American groups.

Potential NPS partners in Orange and other municipalities could include the municipal government, neighborhood organizations, cultural groups (such as museums or historical societies), development organizations similar to West Orange's Main Street Development Corporation, and local school systems.

Specific recommendations include:

- Developing contacts with local historical and cultural organizations, involving the collaborative efforts of NPS staff and the Friends of the Edison National Historic Site. Among the organizations that NPS might work with to develop local contacts and partnerships beyond West Orange are the Essex County Division of Culture and Heritage, Cedar Grove; New Jersey Historical Society, Newark; the League of Historical Societies of New Jersey, Madison; the Roebling Chapter of the Society for Industrial Archeology; the Historical Society of Bloomfield; the Glen Ridge Historical Society; the Montclair Historical Society; the Montclair Historic Preservation Commission; the Afro-American Historical Society Museum, Jersey City; the Newark Museum Association; and the Newark Preservation and Landmarks Commission (Appendix E). Such organizations as these may be able to provide a network of local contacts, as well as advice on developing contacts.
- Developing contacts with the municipality of Orange, and other local towns and cities, by inviting key officials to EDIS events and by organizing events (such as VIP tours) specifically for them.

- Continuing existing outreach efforts with local school systems and developing additional programs, such as a student internship program at EDIS or teacher workshops.
- Encouraging neighborhood- and town-level historical research that has the potential to identify local sites outside of park property having significant associations with the Edison legacy.
- Encouraging qualified individuals from the local community, including African Americans, to apply for temporary and permanent jobs at EDIS.

6. Seek to engage emergent community groups in West Orange and Orange.

Based on census data and other data sources, it appears that people of Hispanic origin, Haitian immigrants, and immigrants from South Asia are among the important new populations in the area around EDIS. These groups are likely to become more important in the local community over time, and it would be appropriate to begin outreach efforts addressed toward them.

We recommend the following actions:

- Identification of key local organizations among these groups, and the development of liaisons with these groups where their objectives are consistent with those of NPS at this site.
- Development of interpretive programs, materials, or activities specifically aimed at such groups. One potentially valuable action would be to develop site brochures in languages such as Spanish, French, Haitian Creole, Malayalam, or Hindi. If specifically aimed at local residents speaking these languages, then these activities should be developed in consultation with them. Although the overall themes of these programs would be similar to those that are standard for the park (e.g., Edison as inventor, developments in electricity, the history of technology in the nineteenth and twentieth century, etc.), one possible source of special interest would be Edison and the immigrant experience. One readily available venue for such programming may be the English as a Second Language program operated by the Orange public schools.
- Encouraging qualified individuals from such groups to apply for temporary and permanent jobs at the site.

7. Continue to seek partnerships with a variety of local community groups and non-local groups with potential connections to Edison resources.

Potential partners for EDIS and their current activities include the following:

- In the course of this study we learned of efforts to create a archives for documents held by various local groups, including the Llewellyn Park residents' association, local churches, and the local historical society. NPS can be an effective partner in such efforts, both by lending support in the form of letters and meeting space during the planning phase and by offering technical advice if requested. At the same time, a project like this has the potential to serve the interests of Edison by providing a repository for materials that fall just outside the scope of the park's archives.
- We also learned about a local meeting hall that was used during labor organizing efforts at the plant. If this structure can be identified (something that has not yet been accomplished), then this place offers the potential for a partnership between NPS, the town of West Orange, and labor unions (e.g., the International Union of Electronics Workers or the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers) or labor history groups (e.g., the American Labor Museum). The goal of such partnerships would be to advance preservation and interpretation of the building, which would complement one of the historical threads in the story EDIS has to tell about TAE, Inc.
- Yet another potential partnership lies with home-schoolers, who are apparently attracted to Edison as a model of a highly successful and largely self-educated person. Home-schoolers typically participate in local networks that are more or less formally organized, and if extant in the West Orange or Essex County area, such groups might offer possibilities for partnerships. One potential connection would be the use of home-school students for in a volunteer program similar to the one which has operated at the park for selected high school students during the summers of 1995 and 1996.

8. Continue ethnographic studies at Edison National Historic Site.

Our work in this project has only scratched the surface of the possible investigations that might be carried out regarding relationships with park-associated groups and the park. Important data gaps and research questions are discussed in the following chapter. Briefly, however, we have identified the following topics as being of particular importance in understanding the cultural and social context of EDIS and for continuing to manage the site in an effective, locally-connected, and culturally-sensitive manner. Although the list is unnumbered, the order of presentation approximates our sense of the priorities. We recognize, of course, that if any long-term ethnographic work were to be carried out at EDIS, research priorities would need to be developed in close consultation with the EDIS staff and NPS ethnography specialists.

- Conduct additional ethnographic and historical research with former Edison workers, whose numbers are likely to dwindle rapidly in the coming two decades or less. It is apparent from our interviews that once this group disappears, many details concerning working conditions and processes may be permanently lost. It

is also apparent that our interviewees offered important perspectives on Edison, his companies, and his legacy, perspectives that deserve to be understood and preserved.

- Conduct additional analysis of local population patterns and trends from an ethnographic perspective, using census and other types of demographic data to characterize the diversity and complexity of local populations in greater detail.
- Complete an ethnographic overview and assessment of the residents of the City of Orange, using interviews and other appropriate data collection methods to obtain information on this group similar to that obtained for West Orange. Indeed, given the complexity of Orange's population, it would be appropriate to seek information on several groups in Orange, including African Americans, emergent Hispanic and Haitian populations, and residents of neighborhoods in northern Orange, close to EDIS.
- Conduct additional ethnographic research on West Orange, specifically seeking to expand the sample employed in this study to reflect the overall diversity of the town better.
- Conduct ethnographic research on additional park-associated groups, such as Japanese tourists, the Edison family, homeschoolers and other independence-minded groups, and descendants of Edison workers (see chapter VI).
- Conduct additional ethnographic research to fill data gaps (see chapter VI) not mentioned above for the three groups that were the focus of this report.
- Conduct detailed, ethnographically-informed entrance and exit interviews to define the demographic profile(s), expectations, and experiences of park visitors and users. Such research would help define better who visits the site and why, and could, in conjunction with ethnographic and demographic data, identify populations that may be underrepresented among park visitors and users.
- Finally, considerable work could be done in the realm of organizational ethnography, documenting relations between site as an organization and local groups such as the Main Street Development Corporation.

Summary: RECOMMENDATIONS

- Continue to manage Glenmont in a manner that is harmonious with the distinct characteristics and needs of the Llewellyn Park community. NPS should continue to act as an ally to the community on issues of mutual interest. The agency should also continue to participate in the life of the community and to be sensitive to the ways in which operation of a national historic site has the potential to intrude upon the traditional values of the community.
- Actively seek out former Edison employees to involve them in the programs of Edison National Historic Site. NPS should continue to seek input from this group concerning management issues and interpretive programming, recognizing that the generally advanced age of this group may require special efforts to involve them with the park. Collecting oral histories from this group should be a high priority for NPS.
- Continue involvement with the West Orange community. NPS should continue to be a partner in local economic revitalization efforts and should encourage historic preservation that complements the interpretive and management goals of EDIS. Oral histories concerning the Edison plant and its demise should be collected from additional residents.
- Expand the interpretive scope of EDIS to include worker perspectives and post-Edison history. NPS should consider adding perspectives for the era after Edison's death to characterize his legacy better. Other topics that might be added to existing interpretive programming include tools and work processes, unionization, and the closure of the plant. In addition to new programming, each offers NPS the potential for new partnerships.
- Seek to develop partnerships in the City of Orange and other nearby municipalities. NPS should actively seek to expand community outreach beyond the Township of West Orange, focusing particularly on Orange, the nearest neighboring municipality to EDIS and one historically associated with the Edison enterprises. Although NPS should seek to engage all local residents, particular efforts should be made to seek support from African Americans, who constitute a large, diverse, and stable local population.
- Seek to engage emergent community groups in West Orange and Orange. Groups such as people of Hispanic heritage, Haitian immigrants, and immigrants from South Asia are likely to become increasingly important in the local area and should be encouraged to support and use EDIS.
- Continue to seek partnerships with a variety of local community groups and non-local groups with potential connections to Edison resources. Such groups include local organizations with historical interests, labor groups, and homeschoolers.
- Continue ethnographic studies at Edison National Historic Site. The urban landscape within which EDIS is situated is socially and culturally complex, and the present study is only a first step toward understanding park management issues within it.

VI. CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

A. SUMMARY OF RESULTS

This ethnographic overview and assessment is the first effort to document the nature of the connections between Edison National Historic Site (EDIS) and local communities (for a related study, see Page 1997). It showed how three park-associated groups, residents of Llewellyn Park ("the Park"), former Edison employees, and one segment of the West Orange community, stand in relationship to the park. The study demonstrated that, not surprisingly, each of these groups has a different orientation to the park and its resources. For Llewellyn Park residents, the National Park Service is a proprietor of a substantial piece of property within the Park, and the historic Edison home, Glenmont, functions as an important witness to the history of the community within which it is located. For former workers, relationships to EDIS are relatively diffuse, since a large segment of this group (represented by people interviewed for this study) is elderly, retired, and dispersed across northern New Jersey and beyond. Our interviews showed, however, that these former workers have a rich store of experiences and memories to share concerning their years at TAE, Inc. and McGraw-Edison. This knowledge has the potential to contribute to EDIS's primary mission of interpreting the life and legacy of Thomas Edison. For West Orange's civic and business leaders, EDIS represents a resource within the township that possesses considerable potential for enhancing economic growth. At the same time, West Orange residents, like former employees, possess a set of memories about the time when the Edison plant was one of the chief employers in town, and their view of the plant's history is shaped by its closure in the 1970s.

For each of these groups we attempted to identify ethnographic resources, elements comprising the national park that have particular significance to the lifeway or sense of identity of the group. Our results have been mixed.

It proved easiest to identify ethnographic resources in relationship to the residents of Llewellyn Park, perhaps because this group most closely approximates a community in the classic anthropological sense of that term (Arensberg and Kimball 1965; Poplin 1979; Redfield 1955). For this group, vistas of Glenmont, the perimeter of the Glenmont grounds, and the interior as a venue for the annual proprietors' meeting all appear to be significant to the community's lifeway and sense of identity. In addition, archival materials relating to the history of Llewellyn Park in the possession of NPS seem to be potentially significant, particularly where those illuminate or affirm the value of domestic life in the Park.

Identifying resources that are particularly significant to former Edison employees was far more difficult. Although many of the individuals we interviewed possessed items of personal significance—memorabilia that included buttons and bracelets for long service, photographs, documents, and various artifacts—we did not have the sense that resources under the Park Service's stewardship were notably significant to this group. As we discussed in chapter III, there are several reasons why we have this impression, including the prevailing demographic

character of this group, alluded to above, and the possibility that our research strategy did not collect the kind of data necessary to address the question of ethnographic resources fully.

Our results in regard to the third group, the West Orange Community Exploration Group, yielded results not unlike those for the Llewellyn Park residents. On the one hand, it is apparent that EDIS, particularly the Laboratory Unit, is viewed as a community resource of considerable potential for economic revitalization. In this sense, the park as a whole is an ethnographic resource for the West Orange community. On the other hand, interviews with members of this group suggested that there may be more specific resources, such as vistas of the laboratory and surrounding area from Main Street or documents relating to the closure of the McGraw-Edison plant.

B. GAPS IN ETHNOGRAPHIC KNOWLEDGE

1. Groups in Pilot Study

We want to stress that this study is only an initial step toward developing an understanding of a complex ethnographic setting. Our principal data source was interviews with 16 individuals, representing three separate groups. In each case, our sample from the group was opportunistic, and the results are subject to such biases as small, opportunistic samples inevitably contain. Of the three groups, the sample of interviewees from Llewellyn Park was probably most representative of the entire group, while those in the West Orange community group were clearly least representative of the town as a whole. Consequently, additional interviews in each group probably would have yielded a more diverse range of opinion, experiences, and cultural insights, and each of these groups could have been subdivided into several important components.

Interviews with each group provoked a range of questions that remain unanswered. These questions comprise important gaps in our ethnographic data base. Following is a brief enumeration of these questions and issues:

Llewellyn Park Residents

- What are the implications and limitations of the term "community" as used by and as applied to people living in Llewellyn Park? How does NPS fit in as a community member?
- What values do Park residents assign to domestic or family life? How, in more detail, can NPS articulate its mission and resources with these values?
- What are the key annual collective events for residents of the Park (i.e., other than the annual proprietors' meeting)? From an ethnographic viewpoint, what happens at the annual proprietors meeting, and does this event function to affirm group solidarity, as conjectured in this report? Are there annual events other than the proprietors' meeting in which NPS could or should participate?

- What distinctions do proprietors draw between themselves and non-proprietor residents? How are domestics and day-workers viewed? Do attitudes held by Park residents toward such workers affect relations with NPS staff?
- In more detail, what is the ethnographic landscape of the Park for residents? What is Glenmont's position within it? What specific criteria do Park residents employ to evaluate whether a property is well maintained or not? What specific vistas of Glenmont are important to Park residents? What are the implications the structure of the landscape and the locations of vistas for the management and maintenance of Glenmont?
- Specifically how does the population of Llewellyn Park resemble or differ from that comprising West Orange as a whole, in regard to such standard demographic measures as race and ethnicity, age, household income, and immigration status? How does the recent influx of new families with young and school-age children affect the community's culture and sense of identity? In light of this change, what role does formal and informal history play in perpetuating the Llewellyn Park culture? What role does Glenmont and its history play in this transitional period?

Former Edison Employees

- Can the category "Former Edison Employee" be meaningfully subdivided by gender, occupation or job type, immigration status, nationality, or race, period of employment, or other demographic characteristics?
- Do perceptions of the experience of working in one or another of Edison enterprises or corporate divisions vary by sub-group? Do perceptions of EDIS, its mission, and significant resources vary by sub-group?
- In more detail, how do the working-life biographies of individual former Edison employees illuminate the nature and character of Thomas Alva Edison, his work as an inventor, his business enterprises, their historical outcome, and the period in which he and his companies were active? How might an understanding of these biographies enhance the interpretive and management missions of the park?
- What significance, if any, do former Edison employees assign to the Heavy Machine Shop in the Main Laboratory Building (Building 5)? to the satellite laboratory buildings? Are there living former employees for whom these areas are clearly an ethnographic resource?
- What significance, if any, does the *present* landscape adjoining the historic laboratory buildings play in the lives and sense of identity of former employees? In particular, is its emptiness, resulting from the demolition of the McGraw-Edison plant in the 1970s, significant to this group?

- Are there structures or other items located outside the boundaries of NPS property that should be regarded as ethnographic resources for this group?
- Do descendants of former Edison employees constitute a distinct and important interest group or community in relationship to EDIS?

West Orange Community

- The West Orange community is large, varied, and dynamic: Can this group be meaningfully subdivided into smaller groups on the basis of factors such as race or national origin, proximity or location of residence, length of residence, or other demographic characteristics?
- Does perception of EDIS or associated ethnographic resources vary by subgroup within the West Orange community?
- How is Llewellyn Park viewed by members of the surrounding West Orange community? Does NPS have a role to play in fostering dialog between these groups?
- What specific vistas or visual elements are important to the West Orange community (or its subgroups) in viewing the Laboratory Unit?
- Are there specific events or activities that take place in the West Orange community in which NPS ought to have a presence?

2. *Other Park Associated Groups*

In addition to the three groups that were the focus of this study, we identified several additional traditionally-associated and park-associated groups worthy of ethnographic study. Each could be the focus of future ethnographic research. These groups include:

- **Descendants of Thomas Edison**
The descendants of Thomas Edison apparently comprise a small group that is but modestly involved in EDIS today. One member of the family is on the board of trustees of the Friends of Edison National Historic Site and another is presently writing a biography of Mina Edison. Both visit the site occasionally. There does not appear to be an Edison descendants family association with interests in the site. Many of the objects with the strongest familial associations were apparently removed before the Park Service gained full control of the property. There are some objects that are almost surely ethnographic resources in relation to the Edison family. Among these are the graves of Thomas and Mina Edison and perhaps a score of paintings, pastels, silhouettes, and busts of Edisons and Millers. Interviews with Edison descendants would clarify the degree to which park resources are significant to them.

- Descendants of Edison Employees

In the course of this study we observed informally that visitors to EDIS regularly mention having a relative who worked at the Edison plant, or more rarely, who worked for Edison. The archivists at the site occasionally receive requests asking them to confirm that a particular individual, usually a relative, worked with Edison, or rarely, worked at the Edison plant. One member of the Berger team has also noted that residents of the Oranges occasionally mention a family connection to the West Orange plant. All of this suggests that work at the plant, and more specifically work with the inventor himself, can be a point of pride in family histories (see also Borstel 1978). It is not clear, however, whether such familial connections engender a special sense of attachment to the site or its resources, and this issue could be examined through additional research.

- Glenmont Employees and Descendants

There are no personal objects that can be definitely attributed to the Glenmont domestics. Nonetheless, the spaces in which they lived and worked remain, and they have a good degree of historical integrity. There are a small number of people alive who worked for the Edisons and a somewhat larger group of descendants of former Edison domestics. It would be appropriate to explore perceptions of Glenmont among people in this group, just as the present study has explored relations between former Edison workers and the laboratory and former plant site.

- Residents of the City of Orange and neighboring municipalities

One of the historical facts that emerged from our review of the addresses listed in Price & Lee Company's (1952) *Directory of the Oranges* is the large proportion of Edison workers who resided in the City of Orange. In addition, as discussed in the section on local demography in chapter I, the population of Orange has changed significantly in recent decades, having shifted from predominantly white to predominantly black. Available information also suggests that the population of Orange is economically and socially diverse. Combined with the proximity of the Laboratory Unit to the Orange city line, all of these observations indicate that it would be appropriate to examine the relationship between residents of this municipality and the historic site in more detail. Historical connections also existed with East Orange and possibly other nearby municipalities as well, and the ethnographic significance of these connections remains to be investigated.

- Local African American communities

Demographic data presented in this report and other observations made by the research team indicate that African Americans comprise a large, diverse, and stable population in the area around EDIS. This study did not examine relationships between EDIS and this group, in part because a parallel study concerning resources associated with African Americans at several national parks in the northeast (Page 1997) was in preparation while we were doing our research.

Nonetheless, we have identified many historical and ethnographic questions that might be explored with regard to this group. For purposes of NPS's ethnographic program, historical questions to be investigated would focus on establishing the historical relationships between African Americans and Edison and his enterprises. One former white employee interviewed for this study told a story quoted in chapter III about an African American janitor at Edison. This man may have come to New Jersey seeking good paying industrial work during the mid-century northward migration of Southern blacks. Based on this story and other interviewee comments, the process of integrating African Americans into the Edison workforce would appear to be a topic worthy of further study. (The story concerning the janitor also suggests that a thorough search for former African American Edison employees might entail solicitations in the South.) Race relations also seem to be an unspoken component of some Llewellyn Park residents' perceptions of the greater landscape within which the Park is located, as well as a sense of the vulnerability of the Park to unwanted change. Remember, for example, the interviewee in chapter II who quoted a fellow resident as believing "so goes Main Street, so goes the Park," or the joking comment that Llewellyn Park is a "white ghetto." Remarks such as these suggest a question concerning the ethnographic landscape of several park associated groups: Do some residents of Llewellyn Park, or those of West Orange generally, perceive Main Street as the proxy border between the predominantly black areas of Essex County (including Orange, East Orange, and Newark) and the predominantly white areas of the county (including most of West Orange)? If so, what are the implications of such perceptions for EDIS, which sits on Main Street? Similarly, how is Main Street viewed by African Americans in the local communities? Another dimension to be explored are the perceptions among local contemporary African American communities concerning Edison's historical significance and the role of the NPS site as a recreational, educational, and research facility. What is the extent of awareness among members of these communities of EDIS? What types of relationships characterize contacts between EDIS and local African American communities? Are African Americans represented among local visitors proportionately to their numbers in the area's population? Does the site manage resources of particular significance to *local members* of this group? How can NPS encourage greater participation by local African American communities in interpretive programming and management activities? Questions such as these suggest the range of ethnographic issues that might be pursued in connection with local African American communities. (Pires-Hester's [1997] recent ethnographic study of Saint Paul's Church National Historic Site, Mount Vernon, New York, offers one example of a recent overview and assessment that focuses on relations between a small historic site in an urban setting and local African American communities.)

- Emergent groups in the local community
The populations of West Orange and Orange are changing, and our demographic

evidence suggests that several groups are becoming more populous in the area around the site. These groups include people of Hispanic heritage, recent Haitian immigrants, and South Asian immigrants and their offspring. Park staff have observed that South Asians who have recently moved to the local area make a point of introducing themselves to the park. In contrast, the local Hispanic community seems to have little interest in the site, and the presence of a concentration of Haitian immigrants was noted only through an examination of data on language diversity in the local public schools. Interpretive programs and park management might be enhanced through a better understanding of these groups.

■ Japanese visitors

Edison is apparently a figure of some stature in Japanese society, and this is a group with a longstanding relationship to Edison. There is evidence in the form of honorary memberships and other tokens that people in Japan have a long standing tradition of honoring Edison and his memory. The practice by Japanese of giving tokens of esteem to Edison seems to have begun around 1880. Among the more notable items in the park's collection are an antique bow, arrows, and quiver (located at Glenmont) made of bamboo from the prefecture that supplied Edison with an early source of filaments for his light bulbs and a pair of stone lanterns given to Edison shortly before his death. Japanese continue to honor Edison today. EDIS archivists occasionally field inquiries from Japan about the inventor and have copies of several Japanese books on him in the archives research library. EDIS receives occasional requests from Japanese visitors to lay a wreath at his grave, and park staff report occasional examples of informal memorializing behavior (e.g., gazing respectfully at a laboratory coat worn by Edison) on the part of such visitors. Among the questions that need to be addressed are the following: Exactly which segment of Japanese society or which groups honor Edison and his memory? Why is Edison an important figure in Japan? Are there elements of EDIS that should be regarded as ethnographic resources relative to this group? Does EDIS adequately serve the needs of this group? Are there other nationalities or groups outside the United States for whom the legacy of Edison is of particular interest? If so, what are the cultural dimensions of this interest?

■ Edison aficionados

Thomas Edison and his products generate a passionate interest among some people. Examples include: collectors of Edison phonographs and recordings; independence-minded individuals who see Edison as a model of the value of self-education; and journalists and scholars whose work consists of reporting on and interpreting the Edison legacy. Such groups are mostly dispersed across the country, though there are apparently local groups of homeschoolers who also see the site as important. It is not clear whether any of these groups fit the NPS definition of traditionally associated. Nonetheless, all such groups may regard

EDIS as a significant resource or shrine. The values and viewpoints of these groups and their relationships to the park could be elucidated through additional research.

- Corporations and business professionals with an Edison connection

Resembling in many ways the Edison aficionados described above, some corporations and individuals in the business world are interested in stressing their connections to Thomas Edison. For some companies, there is a product link between themselves and the Edison site. The recent preservation grant by the Square D Company, a manufacturer of electrical supplies, is an example of this, for the group became interested in EDIS after realizing that 90-year-old components it had manufactured were still in use at the site (Square D Company ca. 1996). Much could be learned about such relationships through organizational ethnography. Similarly, there are people in the business world for whom Edison is a model for innovative thinking, and their relationship with the site is also worthy of further study.

C. COMMENTS ON RESEARCH METHODS

As we have observed several times in this report, this study is the first investigation of communities and groups associated with EDIS. It represents an initial effort to delineate the ethnographic terrain associated with the park, and, like many initial efforts, the study raises as many questions as it answers. It is, of course, stimulating to investigate the sort of complex and dynamic cultural landscape within which EDIS is located. At the same time, it has also been at times more than a little frustrating, because the data gaps we found seem so large—and, to be honest, so intriguing; we have simply not had the ability within this single study to pursue many of the questions that have arisen. Here we offer some comments on the research approach.

Among the issues with which the research team wrestled throughout the study was the development of a working definition of ethnographic resource that would be applicable to the EDIS context. We also spent some time trying to understand what exactly an ethnographic overview and assessment should look like. As with many other aspects of the study, such conceptual challenges were at once stimulating and frustrating. We received helpful guidance and support in these matters from the Applied Ethnography Program Manager at the New England System Support Group office in Boston and from NPS-28 (NPS 1994), but we lacked full models on which to pattern our work. The absence of models is partly a product of the newness of this type of study. We had searched electronic catalogs of government reports and publications in vain for examples of ethnographic overviews and assessments when we were preparing our first proposal, and we finally saw copies of three similar studies only after preparation of the draft report was well advanced. Lack of models is also the product of the broad range of park types and cultural contexts in the northeast. The ethnographic issues are different at each park, and the operationalization of the concept of ethnographic resource is consequently different as well. This report is our interpretation of what NPS is seeking in regard to ethnographic overviews for

previously unstudied urban parks, but it is by no means the only possible way the study could have been conducted.

While the absence of models can be exciting intellectually, it also makes it difficult for contract researchers to be sure that they are proceeding by the most efficient and expedient means to meet their contractual obligations. An immediate way of addressing the absence of models is to make sample studies available to contractors at the time projects begin. A long term solution is for NPS to begin disseminating ethnographic studies done under contract through the National Technical Information Service or through formal publication series, just as NPS now disseminates many contract archaeological studies. This solution requires NPS to commit additional funding to its ethnographic program and may also entail resolution of issues of ethnographic confidentiality.

One of the principal findings of this study has been learning how diverse and dynamic the communities around EDIS are. We were aware to some degree of these complexities at the beginning of the study. Indeed, the process of launching the project involved negotiations with NPS concerning the project's scope and budget. Even so, in retrospect the final scope of work seems have been rather open-ended, ambitious, and possibly loose regarding precise goals and means. Perhaps it would have been more appropriate to begin ethnographic investigations at EDIS with an ethnographic needs assessment, which would have provided a clearer picture of the priorities and focus of subsequent studies. This conclusion is perhaps surprising given the small physical size of the park, but the nonetheless our team found the ethnographic terrain complex. Alternatively, perhaps this study should have been divided into two or more formal stages, each with a separate budget and deliverable. This sort of staged investigation would have added up to a mini-needs assessment followed by pilot ethnographies or other products. Yet a third approach would be to take better advantage of the contract specification requiring progress reports. Progress reports are awkward documents because they take time to write, but they are not the primary deliverable, nor do they necessarily even provide text for that deliverable. Perhaps specific topics should have been identified as subjects for discussion, evaluation, or assessment in particular reports, or perhaps preliminary sections of the draft report sections should be submitted instead of progress reports.

In regard to our research techniques, open-ended interviewing worked reasonably well to elicit a wide range of information regarding the park and its relationships to local groups in the context of this initial study. All interviews showed a tendency to shift into personal biography and oral history, which seemed to be a product of both the general area of inquiry—a historical site—and characteristic of first interviews between strangers. Open-ended interviews were somewhat less effective in eliciting specific, detailed information about ethnographic resources. A greater range of information regarding candidate resources might have produced through directed or scripted interviews and through techniques such as “transect walks.” We had hoped to pursue this line of inquiry, but ultimately time did not allow us to do so. Other techniques that might have been used include focus groups, long term observation (participant-observation), and taxonomic-type querying (Spradley 1979, 1980).

We had also hoped to employ artifacts or other materials from the EDIS collections in some of the interviews. However, this proved to be difficult logistically because interviews were tightly scheduled to accommodate the schedule of the out-of-town member of our team, the Project Ethnographer. We had just one short period to gather information from members of each group, so there was little opportunity to develop the sort of feed-back data gathering we had initially envisioned. A related logistical problem is that many of the interviews were conducted off-site for the convenience of the interviewee, which would have presented difficulties had artifacts or documents been needed as interview elements.

On the whole, we feel that our collaborative efforts were reasonably successful, especially considering this was the first time we had worked together. We feel strongly that the site demanded the range of experience and technical skills that our combination of ethnographer-anthropological archaeologist-research historian-planner brought. Each of us brought a different perspective to the site, and this diversity strengthened this report. At times we worked closely together, and these periods were always productive and personally rewarding. If we could modify our approach at this point, we would involve members of the team other than the project ethnographer in the tape-recorded interviewing and ethnographic data gathering, aim for better coordination over review and analysis of interview transcripts, and seek ways to engage the ethnographer more fully in the analysis of the park collections and resources.

Despite the fact that we see potential for improvements to our methodology and despite the often sketchy character of our data, we believe we have laid a solid foundation for future ethnographic studies at Edison National Historic Site.

Summary: CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

- This study has been an initial step in documenting the nature of the connections between Edison National Historic Site and local communities. As with all such studies, many questions have been raised that could not be answered.
- In regard to Llewellyn Park residents, gaps in ethnographic knowledge concern the overall nature and values of the community, key annual community events, and the community's conceptions of its landscape.
- In regard to former Edison employees, gaps in ethnographic knowledge concern the composition and cultural variation of the group, the ways in which personal histories illuminate the broader history of Thomas Edison and his works, and the nature of ethnographic resources associated with the group.
- In regard to the West Orange community, gaps in ethnographic knowledge concern the composition and cultural variation of the group, key annual community events, and the nature of ethnographic resources associated with the group.
- Additional park associated groups that could be subject to future ethnographic study include:
 - Descendants of Thomas Edison;
 - Descendants of Edison employees;
 - Glenmont employees and descendants;
 - Residents of the City of Orange and neighboring municipalities;
 - Local African American communities;
 - Emergent groups in the local community, including people of Hispanic heritage, recent Haitian immigrants, and South Asian immigrants and their offspring;
 - Japanese visitors;
 - Edison aficionados, including Edisonia collectors, scholars and journalists specializing in Edison, and independence-minded people who see Edison's life as a model for themselves; and
 - Corporations and business professionals with an Edison connection.
- The final section offers brief comments on several technical issues that arose in this study, including the challenges of doing ethnographic research in a culturally complex and dynamic landscape; the availability of models for studies of this type; the interviewing technique employed in this study; and logistical issues.

REFERENCES CITED

- Agar, Michael
1996 *The Professional Stranger: An Informal Introduction to Ethnography*. 2nd ed. Academic Press, New York.
- Arensberg, Conrad M. and Solon T. Kimball
1965 *Culture and Community*. Harcourt, Brace, and World, New York.
- Baldwin, Neil
1995 *Edison: Inventing the Century*. Hyperion, New York.
- Borstel, Jerry
1978 An IUEer Remembers Thomas Edison. *IUE News* May 1978:12. On file at the headquarters of the International Union Electronics Workers, Washington, D.C.
- Charlesworth, Max, Lyndsay Farnell, Terry Stokes, and David Turnbull
1989 *Life Among the Scientists*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Conot, Robert
1979 *Thomas A. Edison: A Streak of Luck*. Da Capo Press, New York.
- Cooper Power Systems
1997 Cooper Power Systems Website. Accessed on the World Wide Web (www.cooperps.com/cell-three/aboutcps.html and www.cooperps.com/cp/capacitor.html), March 1997.
- Cunningham, Barbara (editor)
1977 *The New Jersey Ethnic Experience*. William Wise & Company, Union City, New Jersey.
- Dandola, John
1994 *West Orange Fire Department Centennial Album, 1894-1994*. The Centennial Committee, West Orange Fire Department, West Orange, New Jersey.
- Edison National Historic Site (EDIS)
1990 *Statement for Management*. On file at EDIS, West Orange, New Jersey.
- Grow, Lawrence
1979 *On the 8:02: An Informal History of Commuting by Rail in America*. Mayflower Books, New York.

Guter, Robert P.

1984 National Register of Historic Places Inventory—Nomination Form: Llewellyn Park Historic District. On file at New Jersey Historic Preservation Office, Trenton.

Hammersley, Martyn and Paul Atkinson

1983 *Ethnography: Principles in Practice*. Tavistock, London.

Hobsbawm, Erie and Terence Ranger (editors)

1983 *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Millard, Andre

1990 *Edison and the Business of Inventing*. Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.

National Park Service (NPS)

1994 *NPS-28: Cultural Resource Management Guideline*. Release No. 4. National Park Service, Department of the Interior, Washington, D.C.

Page, Helán

1997 *African Americans and National Parks in the New England Cluster: An Ethnographic Overview and Assessment* (Draft). Report prepared for the New England Systems Support Office, National Park Service, Boston, by the University of Massachusetts-Amherst.

Patterson, Mary Jo

1997 Devotion to Tradition Preserves Nation's First Planned Suburb: Llewellyn Park Changes, A Bit, With Times. *Sunday Star Ledger* (Newark, New Jersey), January 5 (Section 1):1, 16-17.

Philadelphia Online

1997 Philadelphia Online's School Report Cards: New Jersey School Data Updated for 1995-96 School Year. Website sponsored by the *Philadelphia Inquirer*. Accessed on the World Wide Web (www.phillynews.com/packages/njschools/schools.htm), February 1997.

Pierson, David Lawrence

1922 *History of the Oranges to 1921: Reviewing the Rise, Development and Progress of an Influential Community*. 3 vols. Lewis Historical Publishing, New York.

Pires-Hester, Laura J.

1996 *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment: Saint Paul's Church National Historic Site* (Final Report). Prepared for the New England System Support Office, National Park Service, Boston, and Saint Paul's Church National Historic Site, Mount Vernon, New York, by Laura J. Pires-Hester, Ph.D., Ethnographer, Riverdale, New York.

Poplin, Dennis E.

1979 *Communities*. 2nd ed. MacMillan, New York

Price & Lee Company (publishers)

1952 *The Oranges Directory: Orange, East Orange, South Orange, West Orange, Maplewood; also Livingston*. Price & Lee Co., Newark, New Jersey.

Redfield, Robert

1955 *The Little Community*. Almqvist and Wiksells, Uppsala.

Reference Press

1996 Cooper Industries, Inc. In *Hoover's Company Profile Database*. The Reference Press, Austin, Texas. Accessed through Compuserve online reference database services, September 1996.

Spradley, James

1979 *The Ethnographic Interview*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York.

1980 *Participant Observation*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York.

Square D Company

ca. 1996 *Preserving A National Technology Treasure*. Informational and Promotional Booklet Issued by Square D Company and Groupe Schneider-North America, Palantine, Illinois.

Stilgoe, John R.

1983 *Metropolitan Corridor*. Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut.

Uschold, David L., and George W. Curry

1996 *Cultural Landscape Report for Laboratory Unit, Edison National Historic Site: Site History, Existing Conditions, and Analysis*. Olmsted Center for Landscape Preservation, National Park Service, Boston.

Venable, John D.

1978 *Out of the Shadow: The Story of Charles Edison*. Charles Edison Fund, East Orange, New Jersey.

West Orange Chronicle

1997 West Orange, New Jersey, Homepage. Accessed on the World Wide Web (www.localsource.com/westorange/#Home), March 1997.

Williams, Edward J.

1978 *Partners in Success: The Story of the McGraw-Edison Company*. Publication 1072. Newcomen Society in North America.

Zakrzewski, Victor and Nora Kallen

1976 *A History of West Orange.* Worrall Publications, Union, New Jersey.

APPENDIX A

**DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS IN WEST ORANGE
AND ESSEX COUNTY, 1970-2000**

Appendix A

DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS IN WEST ORANGE AND ESSEX COUNTY, 1970-2000

As part of the ethnographic overview and assessment for Edison National Historic Site, the Berger Team tabulated selected population data from the U.S. Census to characterize demographic trends for the area within which the site is located. Tabulations examined population trends for the Township of West Orange, which contains both administrative units of the site, and for Essex County, which is the location of West Orange. Data from the 1970, 1980, and 1990 U.S. Census was examined to determine trends and changes in the demographic profiles of both West Orange and Essex County (Tables A1 to A7). In addition to examining the U.S. Census data, current West Orange school enrollment was examined to determine the languages spoken at home of school age children (Tables A8 to A9). Population projections for Essex County were acquired from the New Jersey Department of Labor.

The data for the period between 1970 and 1990 reflect several important trends in the local and county-wide populations. Over this period, the proportion of white residents declined somewhat in the county, while that of black residents increased. Over this same period West Orange also followed the trend seen for Essex County as a whole, though the town remains predominantly white today. Another change during the period is the increasing proportion of persons in both the town and the county with post-high school education. In addition, the largest age cohort in the Essex County population was the 25-44 age group and the proportion of this group to the whole increased from 1970 to 1990. In West Orange, the dominant age cohort had been the 45-64 group. Between 1980 and 1990 this group declined relative to the 25-44 group, which became the largest age cohort in West Orange. These and other changes are discussed below.

Projections of future trends indicate that the county is expected to experience a population decline through the early decades of the next century. The composition of the population, however, is expected to change. The proportion of whites is expected to continue to decline. The black population is expected to grow at a slow but stable rate. The growth of "Other Races" is expected to rise sharply, with the rate reaching 97% in 2010.

In 1970, census data showed that 70% of the Essex County population was white; the largest age cohort was the 25-44 year group (23.9%); there were somewhat more females than males; the largest category of educational attainment was that of less than a ninth grade education (17.5%); and 7% of county residents had a college degree. In addition, more than half the residents (57.7%) rented their housing units, while roughly 40% of the residents owned their housing units. The median household income was \$10,685 (Table A1).

The 1970 U.S. Census revealed the following characteristics about the town of West Orange: 98% of the town was white; the largest age cohort was the 45-64 year group (27.4%); the percentages of males and females were the same as the county (47% male and 53% female); the largest

category of educational attainment was high school graduate (20.9%); and roughly 12% of the town's residents had a college degree (Associate's, Bachelor's, graduate, or professional degree). The town had a higher percentage of owner-occupied housing units compared to Essex County (68.4% versus 57.7%) and a lower vacancy rate (1.1% versus 2.9%). In addition, the median household income was 30% higher for the town than for the county (\$13,958 compared to \$10,685) (see Table A1).

The 1980 U.S. Census revealed several changes in both the general Essex County population, as well as that of West Orange. In Essex County, 57% of population was white; the largest age cohort was the 25-44 year group (26.9%); there were more females than males (53.4% female, 46.6% male); the largest category of educational attainment was high school graduate (19.4%); and 11% of county residents had a college degree. In West Orange, 94% of the population was white; the largest age cohort was the 45-64 group (26.2%); there were more females than males (53.3% females, 46.7% males); high school graduate was the largest category of educational attainment (22.3%); and 19% of the town's residents had a college degree. The percentages of different types of housing units were comparable to 1970 for both the county and the town (66% owner occupied, 31% renter occupied, and 3% vacant). West Orange still had a higher median family income than Essex County, but the difference was larger than in 1970 (\$24,992 compared to \$16,186, a difference of over 50%) (Table A2).

The 1990 U.S. Census revealed the following information about the county and West Orange. In Essex County, 51% of the population was white; the largest age cohort was the 25-44 year group (32.6%); there are more females than males (52.7% female, 47.3% male); the largest category of educational attainment was a post-high school degree (an Associate's, Bachelor's, graduate or professional degree) (18.3%). In West Orange, 87% of the population was white; the largest age cohort was the 25-44 group (31.8%); there were more females than males (53.3% females, 46.7% males); and the largest category of educational attainment was a college degree (30.4%). The trends for owner-occupied housing seen in earlier census continued in 1990. West Orange had almost double Essex County's percentage of owner-occupied housing units (79.6% compared to the county's 42.3%). In this census, West Orange had significantly less rental occupied housing compared to 1980 (23.2% versus 31.2% in 1980). The median household income for West Orange remained higher than the county's (\$49,777 compared to \$34,518), but the difference—West Orange's was 44% larger than Essex County—was slightly smaller than in 1980 (Table A3).

During the last three censuses, interesting patterns emerged for both the county and the town of West Orange. The following trends were noted for Essex County: the white population decreased, while the black population increased; the highest percentage of people were young to middle aged; the male-to-female ratio has remained constant; and residents have tended to complete more years of formal schooling, with the percentage of people holding an Associate's, Bachelor's or graduate degree more than doubling from 1980 to 1990. The following trends emerged for West Orange: the white population decreased, while the black population increased; overall, the town's population has gotten younger overall, but at the same time the elderly portion of the population has increased. The percentage of residents with a high school diploma has

remained constant over time, while the percentage with advanced degrees has almost tripled from 1970, either because residents have tended to spend more years in formal schooling or because more highly educated people have tended to move into the town over the past two decades.

Table A4 contains information about Essex County and West Orange residents' ancestry. (A difficulty with the data was that the U.S. Census recorded the classifications differently for each census.) In 1970, the top five countries of origin for Essex County were Italy, Poland, Germany, United Kingdom, and Ireland. The top five countries of origin for West Orange were Italy, USSR, Ireland, Germany, and Poland. In 1980, the top five countries of origin for Essex County were Italy, Ireland, Germany, United Kingdom, and Poland. The top five countries of origin for West Orange were Italy, Ireland, Russia, Germany, and Poland. In 1990, the top five countries of origin for Essex County were Italy, Ireland, Germany, Poland, and the United Kingdom. The top five countries of origin for West Orange were Italy, Ireland, Germany, Russia, and Poland. These data indicate that there has been little change over the last three censuses in regard to the national ancestry of people of European descent.

Table A5 summarizes the composition of the town and county populations by race for the period 1970 to 1990. In both Essex County and the town of West Orange, the proportion of white residents has decreased over the period, while the proportion of black residents has increased. Nonetheless, at present West Orange has a substantially larger fraction of white residents than the county as a whole (87.6% for the town versus 51.2% for the county) and a substantially smaller percentage of black residents (5.7% for the town versus 40.6% for the county).

Table A6 indicates the changes in the part of the population having a Hispanic heritage. The precise extent of the changes over the last three censuses are difficult to determine, since each census used different classifications. For both the county and town, the Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, and "Other Spanish" classification have all increased from 1980 to 1990.

Table A7 indicates the changes in population from Asian countries. Since 1980, the Asian population has increased for both the county and the town. The only Asian population that decreased in West Orange over this period were people of Japanese descent. However, given the total numbers of people involved (30 in 1980 versus 19 in 1990), no particular social significance should be assigned to this decrease.

Table A8 indicates the first language spoken at home among West Orange School District students during the 1995-1996 school year. For each of the nine schools in the district, English is the first home language for the majority of students (comprising an estimated 75.6%¹ of all students, with a range of 64% to 86% among the various schools in the system). The next most frequent first home language is Spanish (9.4% overall, ranging from 3% to 22%). Four other languages each comprise about 1% of the first home language for West Orange students: Pilipino (1.4% overall, ranging from 1% to 3%), Haitian Creole (1.1% overall, ranging from 1% to 5%),

¹Estimated by multiplying the percentage for the language in each school by the enrollment of the school, adding all schools together, and then dividing by the total enrollment for the district.

Korean (0.9% overall, ranging from 1% to 3%), and Russian (0.8% overall, ranging from 1% to 4%). It is important to note that data from West Orange includes a large number of students in the other category for each school in the district. It is not known how more detailed data might affect the results of this analysis. A similar analysis for the adjoining City of Orange School District shows that the first home language there is English (comprising 86.8% overall, with a range of 76% to 97%), followed by Haitian Creole (7.8% overall, ranging from 1% to 22%) and Spanish (4.4% overall, ranging from 1% to 12%). Other languages first home languages are present in the district, but little data is available about their frequency. The data for the two school districts suggests that Spanish and Haitian Creole-speaking groups are important in the local community.

In addition to examining U.S. Census and school enrollment data, the New Jersey Department of Labor was contacted to determine future projections for Essex County for 2000, 2005, and 2010. These projections were also divided into projections for White, Black and "Other Races". "Other" races include Asian, Pacific Islander, Native American, Eskimo and Aleut. Hispanic origin is not a race, since persons of Hispanic origin may be of any race. These projections reveal that the county, as a whole, will decrease 3% in 2000, decrease 5% in 2005, and decrease 7% in 2010. The white population will decrease 9% in 2000, decrease 14% in 2005, and decrease 20% in 2010. The black population will increase 2.8% in 2000, will increase 3.1% in 2005, and will increase 2.8% in 2010. "Other" races will increase 40.7% in 2000, will increase 67.7% in 2005, and will increase 97% in 2010. The black population will maintain a stable growth, the "Other" races will increase substantially in the next 20 years, and the white population will decrease over the next 20 years.

TABLE 1
GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS
1970

	ESSEX COUNTY		WEST ORANGE		
	TOTAL NUMBER	% OF ¹ POP.	TOTAL NUMBER	% OF ¹ TOWN POP.	% OF ¹ COUNTY POP.
Population	929,986	100%	43,715	100%	4.7%
White	640,987	68.9%	42,945	98.2%	4.6%
Black	279,136	30.0%	471	1.1%	>0.1%
Age					
Under 5	78,156	8.4%	2,847	6.5%	0.3%
5 to 14	172,596	18.6%	7,674	17.6%	0.8%
15 to 19	77,324	8.3%	3,744	8.6%	0.4%
20 to 24	68,878	7.4%	2,796	6.4%	0.3%
25 to 44	222,222	23.9%	9,756	22.3%	1.0%
45 to 64	211,790	22.8%	11,986	27.4%	1.3%
65 and over	99,020	10.6%	4,912	11.2%	0.5%
Sex					
Male	437,205	47.0%	20,594	47.1%	2.2%
Female	492,781	52.9%	23,121	52.9%	2.5%
Educational Attainment (25 years old and over)	533,556	57.4%	26,699	61.1%	2.9%
Less than 9th Grade	162,986	17.5%	5,383	12.3%	0.6%
9th-11th Grade (no diploma)	107,337	11.5%	4,021	9.2%	0.4%
H.S. Graduate	153,515	16.5%	9,117	20.9%	1.0%
Some College (no degree)	44,803	4.8%	3,093	7.1%	0.3%
Associate's, Bachelor's	64,915	7.0%	5,085	11.6%	0.5%
Housing Units	311,514	NA	13,623	NA	NA
Owner Occupied	122,813	39.4%*	9,316	68.4%*	2.9%
Renter Occupied	179,769	57.7%*	4,157	30.5%*	1.3%
Vacant	8,972	2.9%*	150	1.1%*	<1.0%
Median Household Income	\$10,685	NA	\$13,958	NA	NA

NOTES:

1 = Some numbers may not add up to 100% due to rounding.

* = % of Housing Units

NA = Not Applicable

TABLE 2 **GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS**

1980

	ESSEX COUNTY		WEST ORANGE		
	TOTAL NUMBER	% OF ¹ POP.	TOTAL NUMBER	% OF ¹ TOWN POP.	% OF ¹ COUNTY POP.
Population	851,116	100%	39,510	100%	4.6%
White	482,193	56.7%	37,400	94.7%	4.4%
Black	316,440	37.2%	967	2.4%	0.1%
Age					
Under 5	57,355	6.7%	1,952	4.9%	0.2%
5 to 14	134,922	15.9%	4,889	12.4%	0.6%
15 to 19	77,307	9.1%	3,133	7.9%	0.4%
20 to 24	71,267	8.4%	2,832	7.2%	0.3%
25 to 44	229,262	26.9%	10,048	25.4%	1.2%
45 to 64	182,242	21.4%	10,346	26.2%	1.2%
65 and over	98,761	11.6%	6,310	16.0%	0.7%
Sex					
Male	396,667	46.6%	18,445	46.7%	2.2%
Female	454,449	53.4%	21,065	53.3%	2.5%
Educational Attainment	510,889	60.0%	26,724	67.6%	3.1%
Less than 9th Grade	107,421	12.6%	3,302	8.4%	0.4%
9th-11th Grade (no diploma)	82,571	9.7%	3,326	8.4%	0.4%
H.S. Graduate	165,430	19.4%	8,822	22.3%	1.0%
Some College (no degree)	63,694	7.5%	3,806	9.6%	0.4%
Associate's, Bachelor's	91,733	10.8%	7,468	18.9%	0.9%
Housing Units	317,109	NA	14,405	NA	NA
Owner Occupied	124,519	39.3%*	9,537	66%*	3.0%
Renter Occupied	175,784	55.4%*	4,490	31.2%*	1.4%
Vacant	16,806	5.3%*	378	2.6%*	<1.0%
Median Household Income	\$16,186	NA	\$24,992	NA	NA

NOTES:

1 = Some numbers may not add up to 100% due to rounding

* = % of Housing Units

NA = Not Applicable

TABLE 3
GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS
1990

	ESSEX COUNTY		WEST ORANGE		
	TOTAL NUMBER	% OF ¹ POP.	TOTAL NUMBER	% OF ¹ TOWN POP.	% OF ¹ COUNTY POP.
Population	778,206	100%	39,103	100%	5.0%
White	398,024	51.2%	34,269	87.6%	0.04%
Black	316,202	40.6%	2,240	5.7%	10.03%
Age					
Under 5	54,671	7.0%	2,362	6.0%	0.3%
5 to 14	102,094	13.1%	4,064	10.4%	0.5%
15 to 19	54,799	7.0%	2,042	5.2%	0.3%
20 to 24	62,172	8.0%	2,433	6.2%	0.3%
25 to 44	253,676	32.6%	12,442	31.8%	1.6%
45 to 64	152,473	19.6%	8,363	21.4%	1.1%
65 and over	98,321	12.6%	7,397	18.9%	1.0%
Sex					
Male	367,894	47.3%	18,243	46.7%	2.3%
Female	410,312	52.7%	20,860	53.3%	2.7%
Educational Attainment (25 years old and over)	506,226	65.1%	28,409		
Less than 9th Grade	61,631	7.9%	1,886	4.8%	0.2%
9th-11th Grade (no diploma)	89,936**	11.6%	2,894**	7.4%	0.4%
H.S. Graduate	140,507	18.1%	7,782	19.9%	1.0%
Some College (no degree)	71,791	9.2%	3,944	10.1%	0.5%
Associate's, Bachelor's Graduate or Professional Degree	142,361	18.3%	11,903	30.4%	1.5%
Housing Units	298,710	NA	19,867	NA	NA
Owner Occupied	126,313	42.3%*	14,821	74.6%*	4.9%
Renter Occupied	152,439	51.0%*	4,611	23.2%*	1.5%
Vacant	19,958	6.7%*	435	2.2%*	<1.0%
Median Household Income	\$34,518	NA	\$49,777	NA	NA

NOTES:

1 = Some numbers may not add up to 100% due to rounding

* = % of Housing Units

NA = Not Applicable

TABLE 4
ANCESTRY

	1970		1980		1990	
	Essex County	West Orange	Essex County	West Orange	Essex County	West Orange
United Kingdom	17,955	1,293	21,546	986	30,410	1,872
Ireland	16,923	1,830	33,486	3,193	67,266	6,520
Sweden	2,527	226	2,971	153	3,739	318
Germany	21,685	1,367	22,962	1,611	57,724	4,431
Poland	22,813	1,333	20,884	1,1519	32,389	2,635
Hungary	5,167	362	3,904	306	5,930	622
Italy	81,309	4,777	106,938	7,331	113,869	9,878
Czechoslovakia	3,724	168	--	--	1,288	87
Canada	6,075	317	--	--	2,346*	188*
Dutch	--	--	1,620	96	5,585	395
French	--	--	2,502	190	6,885	648
Greek	--	--	3,560	704	3,793	601
Norwegian	--	--	835	147	1,792	271
Portuguese	--	--	19,212	40	21,209	217
Russia	--	--	13,496	2,558	22,246	3,678
Scottish	--	--	2,971	269	7,098	551
Ukrainian	--	--	4,572	121	4,901	418
Other	--	--	344,939	3,749	--	--
Austria	10,188	957	--	--	--	--
U.S.S.R.	22,877	2,751	--	--	--	--
Mexico	436	5	--	--	--	--
Cuba	9,624	59	--	--	--	--
Other America	11,356	162	--	--	--	--
All Other & Not Reported	46,749	2,587	--	--	--	--

Note: -- Indicates that the Census did not include this category.

TABLE 4 (CONTINUED)
ANCESTRY

	1970		1980		1990	
	Essex County	West Orange	Essex County	West Orange	Essex County	West Orange
Arab	--	--	--	--	2,669	279
Austrian	--	--	--	--	5,464	882
Belgium	--	--	--	--	542	49
Denmark	--	--	--	--	1,107	131
Finland	--	--	--	--	326	27
Lithuanian	--	--	--	--	2,973	275
Romania	--	--	--	--	2,048	290
Scotch/Irish	--	--	--	--	4,340	438
Slovak	--	--	--	--	4,046	438
Subsaharan African	--	--	--	--	6,743	159
Swiss	--	--	--	--	1,399	146
U.S. or American	--	--	--	--	14,445	1,426
Welsh	--	--	--	--	2,090	137
West Indian (Excl. Hispanic-Origin Groups)	--	--	--	--	22,141	377
Yugoslavia	--	--	--	--	479	8

* Includes French Canadians

-- Indicates that the Census did not include this category.

TABLE 5
RACE

	1970		1980		1990	
	Essex County	West Orange	Essex County	West Orange	Essex County	West Orange
White	640,987	42,945	482,193	37,400	398,024	34,269
Black	279,136	471	316,440	967	316,262	2,240
Other (No Entry)	9,863	299	40,414	204	41,090	354

TABLE 6
ANCESTRY

	1970		1980		1990	
	Essex County	West Orange	Essex County	West Orange	Essex County	West Orange
Native of Foreign or Mixed Parentage	186,576	13,930	--	--	--	--
Foreign-Born	92,832	4,264	--	--	--	--
Persons of Spanish Language	54,985	322	--	--	--	--
Persons of Spanish Mother Tongue	48,620	189	--	--	--	--
Persons of Puerto Rican Birth/Parentage	29,274	48	--	--	--	--
Other America	11,356	162	--	--	--	--
All Other and Not Reported	46,749	2,587	--	--	--	--
(Persons of Spanish Origin) Mexican	--	--	1,976	24	1,600	98
Puerto Rican	--	--	45,504	111	51,345	286
Cuban	--	--	7,068	76	6,263	126
Other Spanish	--	--	22,036	380	38,569	1,218
Ancestry Unclassified or Not Reported	--	--	--	--	100,292	3,017

Note: -- Indicates that the Census did not include this category.

**TABLE 7
ANCESTRY**

	1970		1980		1990	
	Essex County	West Orange	Essex County	West Orange	Essex County	West Orange
AmerIndian, Eskimo, Aleut	--	--	1,018	13	1,639	57
Japanese	--	--	478	30	673	19
Chinese	--	--	2,495	206	4,809	583
Filipino	--	--	3,440	293	5,653	526
Korean	--	--	798	85	2,065	263
(Asian) Indian	--	--	3,341	302	5,845	663
Vietnamese	--	--	283	7	615	46
Guamanian	--	--	130	3	71	1
Samoan	--	--	43	0	29	0
Other Asian/Pacific Islander	--	--	11	204	1,257	80

Note: -- Indicates that the Census did not include this category.

TABLE 8
FIRST LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME AMONG WEST ORANGE SCHOOL DISTRICT STUDENTS (1995-96 SCHOOL YEAR)

	Gregory Elem	Hazel Ave Elem	Pleasantdale Elem	Redwood Elem	St Cloud Elem	Washington Elem	Edison Middle	Roosevelt Middle	West Orange High
Enrollment*	482	310	375	368	342	496	453	632	1388
English	86%	76%	71%	86%	73%	64%	74%	77%	75%
Spanish	3%	16%	4%	5%	4%	22%	12%	7%	10%
Albanian	--	--	--	--	--	1%	--	--	--
Arabic	1%	--	--	--	2%	--	1%	--	--
Cantonese	--	--	2%	1%	--	--	--	--	--
Cebuano (Visa.Bisa)	--	--	--	1%	--	--	--	--	--
Creole (English)	--	--	--	--	--	--	2%	--	--
Creole (Haitian)	--	2%	--	--	--	5%	--	1%	1%
Greek	1%	--	2%	1%	--	--	--	--	1%
Gujarati	--	--	--	--	2%	--	--	--	--
Hebrew	--	--	2%	--	--	--	--	--	--
Hindi	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1%	--
Italian	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	1%
Korean	1%	--	3%	--	2%	--	--	1%	1%
Malayalam	--	1%	--	--	--	1%	--	--	--
Mandarin	--	--	--	1%	--	--	--	--	--
Pilipino	--	--	3%	1%	2%	1%	2%	1%	1%
Polish	1%	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
Russian	1%	--	--	--	4%	--	--	3%	--
Others	6%	5%	13%	4%	11%	6%	9%	9%	9%

(Source: Philadelphia Online's School Report Cards, February 1997)

* Number of students

TABLE A9
FIRST LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME AMONG ORANGE SCHOOL DISTRICT STUDENTS (1995-96 SCHOOL YEAR)

	Central Elem	Cleveland St Elem	Forest St Elem	Heywood Ave Elem	Lincoln Ave Elem	Oakwood Ave Elem	Park Ave Elem	Orange Middle	Orange High
Enrollment*	346	316	225	386	604	281	292	549	981
English	76%	94%	81%	83%	93%	97%	92%	85%	86%
Creole (Haitian)	22%	5%	7%	12%	3%	1%	5%	6%	9%
Spanish	2%	1%	12%	1%	4%	2%	3%	9%	5%
Afrikaans	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	**	--
Arabic	--	--	--	1%	--	--	--	--	--
German	--	--	--	**	--	--	--	--	--
Hausa	--	--	**	--	--	--	--	--	--
Hindi	--	--	**	--	**	--	--	--	--
Ibo	--	**	--	1%	**	--	--	--	**
Italian	**	--	--	--	**	--	--	**	--
Korean	--	--	**	--	--	--	--	--	--
Yoruba	--	--	--	--	**	--	--	**	**
Other	**	**	**	2%	**	**	**	**	**

(Source: Philadelphia Online's School Report Cards, February 1997)

*Number of students

**Language listed, but percentage of students not given

Note: Central Elementary has a bilingual magnet program for Haitian Creole, and Lincoln Elementary has one for Spanish.

APPENDIX B

STRATEGIES FOR LOCATING COMMUNITY CONSULTANTS

Appendix B

STRATEGIES FOR LOCATING COMMUNITY CONSULTANTS

As part of the ethnographic overview and assessment for Edison National Historic Site (EDIS), the Berger Team completed a pilot study to develop a strategy for locating former employees of the Edison enterprises living in northern New Jersey. This appendix describes the results of this effort, which can serve as the basis for any future such effort. The pilot study built on the continuing efforts of the park staff to compile lists of living former employees. Among these efforts were those of Glenmont's curator, Kristen Herron, to identify former domestics and other residents of the Edison home, and the park's recent solicitations via fliers and advertisements for former Edison and McGraw-Edison employees. This study was completed by the team's Documents Research, Ingrid A. Wuebber.

A. "INQUIRY LOGS" OF THE EDISON ARCHIVES

For many years archivists on staff at EDIS have fielded inquiries and requests on a wide range of topics from the public. Those contacting the archives, whether by telephone, letter, or e-mail, are noted along with a summary of their inquiry and its response in an "inquiry log." Since the beginning of 1996 George Tselos, head of the Edison archives, has produced a weekly narrative report of all the inquiries made to his office. An examination of all the inquiry logs between January and August of 1996 revealed broad patterns in the types of inquiries.

The largest category appears to be contacts by the media requesting information on Thomas Alva Edison for television or film, in many instances simply to acquire an image of Edison himself or one of his inventions. Vying for the largest category are the inquiries made by collectors; people who have found an object associated with an Edison business and want advice on its value. In many cases, the response takes the form of a list of Edisonia dealers and phonograph repairers. The list includes twenty Edisonia dealers in the United States. The next greatest volume of inquiries seems to involve educational programs. Contacts include school teachers, students, and museum curators. Another large category is technological inquiries. An example within this category are the requests for phonograph plans. Not surprisingly, the majority of inquiries coming from abroad are from technologically advanced countries, such as Japan. Only seven genealogical inquiries were made in the first eight months of 1996. All of which were requests for information on a relative who had formerly worked for Edison. The Edison archivists, George Tselos and Douglas Tarr commented on the noticeable decline of genealogical inquiries.

B. FORMER EDISON EMPLOYEES

The task of locating and contacting former Edison employees began with a search of records pertaining to Glenmont's household staff. Kristen Herron, the curator of Glenmont, has been part of a continuing effort to search for former household staff, e.g., personal secretaries, cooks, maids, chauffeurs, and gardeners. In many cases the Edison household records kept by Mina

Edison do not refer to the staff by name, but rather by their position. Sources already consulted by NPS staff for the names of the Edison household employees include census records, payroll records, family correspondence, and newspaper articles. In addition, relatives of former Edison staff members have contacted Glenmont with information.

NPS's search for former Glenmont employees yielded the names of three women who might still be living. The first was Lynn Given. She was Mina Edison's secretary. She taped an oral interview in 1990, but a letter sent to her New York City address in April 1996 was returned with no forwarding address. There is no telephone listing for Lynn Given in New York. Another Edison family employee was Lucy Bogue. She was the children's piano teacher and a secretary/companion to Mina Edison. The third woman associated with Glenmont is Nora Foley. Ms. Foley was a housekeeper/bookkeeper at Glenmont in the early 1950s.

The effort to collect the names of former employees of the Edison Companies was more problematic. The payroll records in the collection of the Edison Archives are the primary source for employee names. These records are grouped chronologically and also by division. Some records, such as employee engagement cards are arranged alphabetically. The sheer number of employee records necessitated the selection of samples from various time periods. In almost all cases, employee records do not include the full name of the individual.

Box 166 contains employee engagement cards from the operation of the TAE, Inc. laboratory during the 1920s. Most of these men appear to have been hired in 1922. Most were removed from the payroll after a short time, i.e., a few days, weeks, or months. Only twelve men remained on the payroll for more than one year. Employee cards included the employee's full name, address, the date of hiring, salary, position, promotions or changes in salary, and sometimes the reason for dismissal.

More employee names were culled from the payroll list of the Phonograph Works for 1920-1921 (Box 142). The lists provided only initials for the first name. Therefore, the lists were compared with a 1924 *Directory of the Oranges* to retrieve the full name of the employee. The directory is especially useful because it includes a person's employer. The Phonograph Works had a large work force. Time constraints did not allow all the names to be cross-referenced with the directory. A total of 37 names were retrieved from this source.

Nearly 90 names were pulled from the 1930 TAE, Inc. factory payroll list (Box 59). As before, these names were compared to a city directory, the 1930 *Directory of the Oranges* in this case, to ascertain the person's entire name and verify their employment with Edison. The results of the cross-referencing was a group of 45 Edison employees. A sample of about 125 employee names for the next decade were retrieved from a ledger of the Edison Employees Mutual Benefit Association (Box 203). Cross-referencing with the 1940 *Directory of the Oranges* produced the full names of 31 employees.

A different approach was used to retrieve the names of employees from the early 1950s, the group expected to have the largest percentage of survivors. The names of employees were taken

directly from the 1952 *Directory of the Oranges*, which included all residents of Orange, East Orange, South Orange, West Orange, and Maplewood who worked for "Edison's." Scanning this directory resulted in the compilation of 755 names of Edison employees.

The effort of collecting the names of former Edison employees from the 1920s through the 1950s resulted in a pool of 867 names. Scanning the 1952 *Directory of the Oranges* took 32 hours. The effort to cross-reference various employee records with directories was equally time-consuming. Clearly, more employee names can be retrieved using city directories for the Oranges directories for years other than 1952. However, the resulting pool of names will not include employees living outside the towns immediately surrounding the Edison National Historic Site, such as Newark, Bloomfield, Belleville, Glen Ridge, Montclair, or Irvington.

Tracking down each of the 867 names of the Edison employee sample would be beyond the scope of this project. Initially, an attempt was made to eliminate the names of deceased individuals using the Social Security Death Index. This index was compiled using benefits data of the Social Security Administration. The majority of records in this database are for the period of time after 1962, the index is best used to find former Edison employees who died since that date and who were over the age of 60 at the time of their death. The Social Security Death Index is available on CD-ROM at the New Jersey State Library in Trenton. The advantage of this particular database is that it covers those people who received Social Security payments in New Jersey, and who subsequently died, either in New Jersey or in another state. Because of its focus on New Jersey residents, this database is known as the "New Jersey Death Index."

A search for names using the New Jersey Death Index is less time consuming than searching the Social Security database of the entire United States. Fewer individuals with the same name would likely result from each search. Unfortunately, the index has a major drawback. It only allows a search based on first and last names, not middle initials. Unless an individual has an unusual and rare name, it is difficult to differentiate the former Edison employees from other individuals with the same name. In addition, though the New Jersey Death Index allows a faster search than the entire Social Security Death Index, it is nonetheless a time consuming process. In this project we were able to search only a sample of the 867 employee names.

Attempts to utilize the New Jersey Death Index were quickly abandoned. Fortunately, another database on CD-ROM, also available at the New Jersey State Library, proved to be a more efficient tool in the task of tracking down former Edison employees. The eastern United States residential PhoneDisc became the primary means of tracking down individuals. The PhoneDisc used at the New Jersey State Library was current to September 1995. The last name of the former Edison employee was entered. All those with the same last name in the eastern United States with listed phones were displayed with their first names in alphabetical order. If a match was made with the exact first name and middle initial, when available, a print out was made. In most cases, a more refined search of the database was conducted, so that all individuals with the same last name in New Jersey or even West Orange could be printed out. This method of phone number searching was carried out for nearly all of the 867 sample names. The researcher did not carry out this search method for many of female names of the former Edison employees

sample. Tracking down a female employee is more time consuming and less fruitful than the male employees, primarily because of the greater likelihood of a change of last name due to marriage or remarriage. Coupled with the tendency to list phone numbers under a male's name and for females to list themselves with only their first and middle initials (rather than full names), women are somewhat difficult to locate using telephone directories than men. Exceptions were made in the case of a female's last name that appeared with a West Orange listing, because of the increased likelihood of a positive outcome.

As might be expected, a PhoneDisc search of many of the 867 sample names did not yield positive results. If an individual's name is too common (e.g., Jack Cole or James A. Robertson), it would require far too many phone calls in the time allowed for this project, so contact with those individuals was not attempted. As with female names, an exception was made if an individual were listed in the West Orange area. It was not long into the search process before it became apparent that a listing in the West Orange area provided a key to a successful outcome. While many Edison employees and their families who had lived in East Orange or Orange during the period from the 1920s through the 1950s, had moved away and could not be found, those employees who had lived in West Orange were more likely to have family remaining in the area. Another criteria for selection of phone contacts was location. Unless someone had the exact name and it was unusual, contact out of state was not attempted. Again, a person's listing in the West Orange area increased his chances of an attempt at a phone contact.

Time constraints did not allow all the phone numbers collected during the research to be called to determine whether they represented a former Edison employee. Those with names at the same address as the directory listing were given preference. Nearly all these names were listed in West Orange. Former Edison employees with names still present in the West Orange area were next in preference. The remaining calls were subjectively based upon the "rarity" of the name. The most likely name and phone number to yield a positive result, i.e., someone on the other end of the phone with information concerning a former Edison employee, was highlighted on each printout of names.

C. CONTACTING FORMER EMPLOYEES

1. Technique

Telephoning was usually done from the afternoon into the evening hours. The researcher then had the most likely chance of contacting either retirees or those still in the work force, such as relatives of former employees. The researcher did not request to speak to a specific person, but did usually verify the correct telephone number had been dialed by asking "Is this Mrs. Doe?" When a contact was made, the researcher told her name and said she was working for the National Park Service on a project to try to locate former employees of the Edison Company in West Orange. Lengthy experience has taught the researcher that the shorter and simpler the opening statement, the better. In addition, a measured clear voice is recommended. The researcher made a special effort not to sound like a telemarketer. If the contact is an elderly person with a hearing impairment, it is usually discernible in the way he or she answers the

telephone. The researcher then took great pains to speak as slowly and clearly and loudly as necessary.

The researcher followed the opening statement with a request for information, such as "I'm trying to locate a person named John Doe who worked for Edison in the 1950s." No further statement was usually necessary to elicit a response, such as "That was my husband's uncle. He's deceased." In some cases, the contact would volunteer information about the former Edison employee, such as his years of service and when he had died. The type of contact who was comfortable discussing the former Edison employee, was usually forthcoming about other relatives who had once worked for Edison. The researcher then thanked the contact for the information and hung up.

Few telephone contacts were interested in a more detailed explanation concerning the ethnographic project. During the course of telephoning, the researcher encountered no rudeness or suspiciousness. If a contact expressed curiosity concerning the National Park Service's interest in former Edison employees, the researcher would respond in a manner such as the following: "I'm working with the Park Service's Edison site in West Orange. They're interested in finding out how many people who used to work for the Edison Company in West Orange are still out there." As can be expected, the actual former employees were the most curious about the NPS project.

2. Results

A number of telephone contacts were unsuccessful due to the following reasons: (1) disconnected phone service (the Phone Disc which supplied the names and numbers was current to September 1995 and these phone calls were made one year later); (2) a busy signal; (3) unanswered phone; (4) an answering machine. If phone service was disconnected, no further effort was usually made. Two attempts were usually made to busy signals and unanswered phones. When an answering machine was encountered, the decision on whether or not to leave a message was based on the likelihood of the person being a useful informant. For example, when a search for a former Edison employee resulted in contact with a professional office on an answering machine, no message was left. In most cases a message was left which followed the formula of the conversation as previously discussed. The toll-free telephone number for Louis Berger & Associates', Inc., East Orange office and the researcher's extension number were left. If the answering machine was local, the regular telephone number for Louis Berger & Associates, Inc., was used. Approximately six requests for information were left on answering machines for which two replies were received. In both cases, the repplier was a relation to a former Edison employee.

The researcher called a sample of 72 telephone numbers (Table B1). She made a total of approximately 90 calls to these numbers, calling some numbers more than once because of busy signals or requests for later call-backs. Out of the 72 telephone listings, the researcher spoke with a person at 48 of them, for a 66% contact rate. These successful phone contacts included those having no relation to the former Edison employee, relatives of the employee, or the employee himself. If contact was directly made with a former Edison employee, the researcher asked if

Table B1: Results of Telephone Calls Seeking Former Employees

TYPE OF CONTACT	EMPLOYEES LOCATED	NUMBER OF TELEPHONE LISTINGS CALLED
Former employee	21	15
Relative of deceased employee	23	20
Relative of employee with no information	4	3
No relation to employee	--	10
No information—busy; unanswered; answering machine and no message left; no reply to message on answering machine	--	24
TOTAL	48	72

the employee had a few minutes to answer some quick questions. None of the employees refused, although one inquired as to how the Park Service intended to use this information. The researcher told him that the information he provided would be stored at the Edison archives and that he might be contacted by NPS personnel at some future time. The questions asked of the subjects followed the format of the Former Edison Employee Questionnaire provided by the NPS. Ten of these questionnaires were filled out over the phone by the researcher. One questionnaire was mailed to a hearing-impaired former employee, who filled it out at home and returned it to the researcher. Logs of telephone contacts detailing the results of this study follow this narrative (Tables B2 to B3).

Most of the people who supplied information on the questionnaire began working for Edison in the 1940s or 1950s. One of the exceptions is Stanley W. Butler who worked for Edison from 1927 until 1958, excluding the time he served in World War II. Another exception is 90-year-old Elbert C. Burgesser, who began as a toolmaker in 1939 and retired as a department head at Voicewriter in 1962. The contact with the longest employment record at Edison is Doris Kuzik. Ms. Kuzik began in the Payroll Department of Voicewriter in 1935 or 1936 fresh out of high school. She remained with the company, eventually working in the Personnel Department of the Primary Battery Division in Belleville until her retirement about nine years ago, when Cooper Industries bought out McGraw-Edison.

TABLE B2
Telephone Survey for Former Edison Employees:
Contacts with Former Employees

Elbert C. Burgesser
Cape May, NJ
(609) 886-0914

Began in 1939 in Tool Room. Retired in 1962 from Voicewriter.

Stanley W. Butler
West Orange, NJ
(201) 731-2164

Contact through daughter-in-law, Jill Butler at number above. Worked for Edison from 1927 until 1958 except for service during World War II. Accountant for Voicewriter.

Raymond Cassidy
West Orange, NJ
Unlisted

Nephew, William Cassidy (201-365-2620), says Raymond worked for Edison.

Agnes Petit Clair
West Orange, NJ
(201) 731-7145

Former Edison employee mentioned by Stanley W. Butler.

David E. Corby
Pine Beach, NJ
(908) 341-0355

82 years old and living in nursing home. Worked in Storage Battery and Rubber Mill. Retired in 1966. Contacted sister, Florence Corby Lawler.

Annie Corby D'Amato
Florida

Worked for Edison. Contact through her sister, Florence Corby Lawler. See above.

TABLE B2 (Continued)

Robert S. DePasquale
West Orange, NJ
(201) 325-0653

Worked for Edison very short time in early 1950s for Storage Battery Corp.

Ralph W. DeToma
Brick, NJ
(908) 458-9345

Accountant for Edison 1941-1958.

Fred Hooey
(201) 736-4072

67 years old; worked in fifth floor tool room over Storage Battery Works during World War II.

Joseph Huguenin
East Orange, NJ
(201) 675-0576

Spoke to his granddaughter. He was unavailable when called. Joseph Huguenin was Edison employee in 1952.

Ursula Johnson
Lakewood, NJ
(908) 901-1450

Long-time Edison employee. Sister of Salvatore Reffie Jr.

Doris Kuzik
West Orange, NJ
(201) 731-9525

Worked for Edison for 50 years beginning in the mid 1930s in payroll and personnel departments.

TABLE B2 (Continued)

Olga Kuzik Moran
contact through sister, Doris Kuzik

Clerical work for Edison during World War II. Deceased father, Peter Kuzik, worked for Edison in 1952.

Joseph V. Ramaglia
West Orange, NJ
(201) 325-3194

Worked for Edison 1945-1972. Voicewriter Division.

Salvatore Reffie (Jr.)
Orange, NJ 07050
(201) 676-6799

Worked for Edison only a short time doing inventorying. Deceased father, Salvatore, and deceased brother, Matthew, were long-time Edison employees.

Fred Siccardi
West Orange, NJ
(201) 325-8538

Worked for Edison 1941-1955 in Instrument Division.

Gayton Silvestro
Cedar Grove, NJ
(201) 239-8231

Worked for Edison in early 1950s in Electrochemical Department.

Clarence Smothers
East Orange, NJ
(201) 674-5123

Maintenance worker in labs 1947-1957.

TABLE B2 (Continued)

Delores Tyburcy
Middletown, NJ
(908) 741-7881

Office clerk in Special Products Division during 1940s.

Raymond S. Tyburcy
Middletown, NJ
(908) 741-7881

Worked for Edison from 1940 till early 1950s as draftsman in Special Products Division.

Joseph Zanpetti
West Orange, NJ
(201) 676-9243

Began working for Edison as Lab's errand boy in 1920 and continued in Edison employ for 50 years. Worked in Tool Room. 93 years old.

TABLE B3
Telephone Survey for Former Edison Employees:
Contacts Other Than with Living Former Employees

Stan Barber
Budd Lake, NJ
(201) 691-1095

Not related to Stanhope Barber, Superintendent in Transportation Dept. in 1930.

T.A. Callahan
West Orange, NJ
(201) 325-2082

Answering machine with young Irish accent. Didn't leave message about Thomas M. Callahan, 1930 clerk

Lucian Calloway
East Orange, NJ
(201) 672-0431

Phone disconnected. Lucian Calloway was Edison employee in 1952.

P. Campanile
Orange, NJ
(201) 675-7296

Deceased great uncle, Pasquale Campanile (laborer in 1930). Grandmother also worked for Edison in dress factory.

James Carbin
West Orange, NJ
(201) 325-0296

No answer. Tried twice. James P. Carbin was Edison welder in 1952.

Charles B. Carlson
Barnegat, NJ
(609) 698-8368

Not related to Charles B. Carlson who worked in Phonograph Works in 1920.

TABLE B3 (Continued)

William Carney
West Orange, NJ
(201) 325-3170

Phone disconnected. William Carney was guard for Edison in 1952.

William Cassidy
West Orange, NJ
(201) 325-2620

Deceased father, William Cassidey was Edison employee in 1952.

William I. Collinson
West Orange, NJ
(201) 325-1752

Deceased father, William I. Collinson, worked for Edison from 1943.

Edward J. Crann
West Chester, PA
(610) 344-0318

Deceased father was Edward J. Crann, Edison operator in 1940.

E. Cuenin
Union, NJ
(908) 688-5210

Deceased father was Eugene J. Cuenin who worked at Edison in 1920.

F. Dascoli
West Orange, NJ
(201) 676-3340

Related to Frank and Frank S. Dascoli who worked for Edison in 1952, but don't know where they can be located.

TABLE B3 (Continued)

L.C. Donofrio
West Orange, NJ
(201) 736-0162

No answer. Tried twice. Louis Donofrio worked for Edison in 1952.

Gerald C. Fanning
Orange, NJ
(201) 672-8040

Phone disconnected.

Gerald J. Fanning
West Orange, NJ
(201) 731-9382

Deceased father, Gerald C. Fanning was Edison employee in 1930. Deceased uncle, John DeZiao worked for Edison for 40 years.

John J. Feeley
West Orange, NJ
(201) 731-2351

Left message on answering machine inquiring about John J. Feeley, Edison welder in 1952.

A.J. Feula
West Orange, NJ
(201) 325-3623

Deceased father-in-law, Dominick Feula was Edison employee in 1952.

A. Folli
Orange, NJ
(201) 675-2809

Relative of Ariberto Folli, batteryworker in 1952. Knows he is alive, but doesn't know his whereabouts.

TABLE B3 (Continued)

Michael J. Gillen
West Orange, NJ
(201) 325-1711

Phone disconnected. Michael J. Gillen was Edison mechanic in 1952.

Charles Hooey
Wharton, NJ
(201) 663-5571

Deceased father, Roland Hooey, worked at Edison. Mrs. Charles Hooey's deceased grandmother, Mary Tully Kelly, had also worked at Edison.

William E. Hooper
West Orange, NJ
(201) 325-0989

His deceased uncle was William E. Hooper, Edison operator in 1940

W.M. Jacobus
Boonton, NJ
(201) 334-6437

Not related to Watson M. Jacobus, foreman at Edison in 1940.

R.E. Jenkins
West Orange, NJ
(201) 736-1291

No answer. Attempt to locate William Jenkins, former Edison employee mentioned by Fred Siccardi.

P. Jenkins
West Orange, NJ
(201) 325-6219

No relation to William Jenkins, former Edison employee mentioned by Fred Siccardi.

TABLE B3 (Continued)

Patrick Kearn
Glen Burnie, MD
(410) 761-3796

No answer. Tried twice. Patrick J. Kearn was 1930 Edison employee.

Michael Keigher
West Orange, NJ
(201) 736-9597

Answering machine of young adult. Left no message. Michael J. Keigher was watchman for Edison in 1930.

Francis W. Kuczenski
West Orange, NJ
(201) 731-5726

Catherine E. Kuczenski, Edison stenographer in 1952 is deceased.

Charlotte Kutcher

No answer.

John Landa
Eastontown, NJ
(908) 389-5781

Busy signal. John Landa was engineer for Edison in 1930.

L.A. Middlecamp
West Orange, NJ
(201) 674-7770

Phone disconnected. Lewis A. Middlecamp worked for Edison in 1952.

TABLE B3 (Continued)

R.T. Mulvihill
West Orange, NJ
(201) 325-0894

Large Mulvihill family used to live in the area. Doesn't think any of the generation who worked in the 1930s, 1940s, or 1950s is still alive. Didn't know James J. or James C. Mulvihill.

Victor Nordstrom
Colonia, NJ
(908) 382-7617

Deceased uncle, Victor L. Norstrom worked for Edison in 1920.

Al Porcelli
West Orange, NJ
(201) 736-4616

No answer.

Frank Porcelli
West Orange, NJ
(201) 736-8908

No relation to Theresa H. Porcelli, clerk for Edison in 1952.

V.M. Porcelli
West Orange, NJ
(201) 736-1255

No relation to Theresa H. Porcelli, clerk for Edison in 1952.

John J. Reck
Iselin, NJ
(908) 906-3200

Answering machine of accounting firm. Left no message. John Reck was Edison employee in 1930.

TABLE B3 (Continued)

F. Romagnoli
West Orange, NJ
(201) 731-3905

Widow of Frederick Romagnoli who worked for Edison in 1952.

Jay Rooney
West Orange, NJ
(201) 325-0390

Phone busy. Tried twice. At same address as John S. and Joseph P. Rooney, employees of Edison in 1952.

S.E. Rozewski
Cedar Grove, NJ
(201) 239-8721

Deceased father, Stanley E. Rozewski, was clerk for Edison from 1940 until 1960s.

H. Rubinetti
West Orange, NJ
(201) 736-0439

Deceased father, Harry Rubinetti, worked for Edison for 50 years. Died in 1971.

Cosimo Russo
Morris Plains, NJ
(201) 539-2681

No relation to Cosimo Russo who worked for Edison in 1952.

H. M. Ryder
West Orange, NJ
(201) 325-2489

No answer. Henry F. Ryder was clerk for Edison in 1952.

TABLE B3 (Continued)

P. Sampayo
Orange, NJ
(201) 675-6648

Pelligrino Sampayo, who worked for Edison in 1952, is deceased.

L. Sellitto
West Orange, NJ
(201) 325-0842

Sister, Sanita M. Sellitto is deceased. Was machine operator for Edison in 1952.

Frank Sementa
Belmar, NJ
(908) 280-8897

Left message on answering machine inquiring about Frank A. Sementa, Edison employee in 1952.

Thomas Sementi
West Orange, NJ
(201) 731-4956

No relation to Thomas J. Sementi, Edison employee in 1952.

Joseph M. Smith
West Orange, NJ
(201) 325-1375

Left message on answering machine inquiring after Joseph M. Smith, 1930 Edison employee.

Nancy E. Smith
West Orange, NJ
(201) 736-7033

Law offices. Attempt to locate Nancy E. Smith, private secretary for Edison in 1952.

TABLE B3 (Continued)

A.J. Struening
Milford, NJ
(908) 995-7681

Didn't know deceased great uncle, August F. Struening, had ever worked for Edison. (Edison cashier in 1930).

L. R. Teed
East Orange, NJ
(201) 672-3456

Left message on answering machine inquiring after Leslie F. Teed, employee of Phono Works in 1920.

Thomas F. Tunstead
Lake Hopatcong, NJ
(201) 663-1617

His deceased uncle, Thomas F. Tunstead, worked for Edison in the 1920s and 1930s.

Joseph A. Urso
West Orange, NJ
(201) 736-3864

Deceased father-in-law, Joseph A. Urso, worked for Edison in 1952.

Anthony A. Vecchio
West Orange, NJ
(201) 731-4522

No relation of Anthony Vecchio who worked for Edison in 1952.

Frank V. Volpe
West Orange, NJ
(201) 731-0645

Deceased father, Frank V. Volpe, began working for Edison Voicewriter Division in 1941.

TABLE B3 (Continued)

Arthur L. Walsh
Morris Plains, NJ
(201) 539-2836

Widow of Arthur L. Walsh said he was not the same Arthur L. Walsh who was executive vice-president of Edison in 1940.

William J. Windecker
West Orange, NJ
(201) 325-1352

Answering machine of young woman. Left no message. William J. Windecker was a storekeeper at Edison in 1930.

APPENDIX C

**EDISON EMPLOYEES LISTED IN THE
1952 *DIRECTORY OF THE ORANGES***

Appendix C

EDISON EMPLOYEES LISTED IN THE 1952 *DIRECTORY OF THE ORANGES*

NOTES

The listings included in this appendix were transcribed from the following source:

Price & Lee Co. (compiler)

1952 *The Oranges (Orange, East Orange, South Orange, West Orange, Maplewood) and Livingston Directory, 1952*. Price & Lee Co., Newark, NJ.

Pages 183-1084 of this directory were scanned to locate persons whose employer was listed as "Edison's." This section of the directory is an alphabetical listing of adult residents for Orange, East Orange, South Orange, West Orange, and Maplewood. The separate alphabetical listing for residents of Livingston, pages 1257-1304, was not scanned for this transcription. A total of 755 Edison employees is included in this list. The transcription has not been systematically proof-read or otherwise checked against the original source.

In the Price & Lee Co. directory, most entries for individuals list only occupation, without specifying the employer. However, employers are given for a few major companies, such as Crocker-Wheeler Electric Manufacturing Co., Public Service Electric and Gas Co., Western Union Telegraph Co., Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Co., Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., the Pennsylvania Railroad—and, of course, Thomas A. Edison, Inc. Since, on the whole, listing an employer is the exception rather than the rule in this directory, it is unknown how complete the listings are for any given employer. In other words, it is unknown whether the directory systematically lists every Edison employee, or only lists a portion of them. It is possible, for instance, that only those who happened to mention working for TAE, Inc., during the canvassing for the directory are listed as Edison employees.

Another possible limitation has to do with listings for married women. Of the 755 employees included in this list, given names and other clues (the listing of a spouse, use of the honorific "Mrs," or the notation "wid" [widow]) suggest that about 581 (77%) were males and about 172 (22.7%) were females. (No gender could be determined for two entries.) The directory plainly gives precedence to males, with the names of wives listed in parentheses following the man's name, but never the names of husbands listed in parentheses after a woman's name. Occasionally a married woman (suggested by the honorific "Mrs") is listed separately, as well as being shown parenthetically beside a male's name.¹ For example, on page 365 of the directory, Frank S.

¹As an aside to this discussion, we found that of the approximately 172 women in this list, 73 [42.4%] were listed with the honorific "Mrs," and 14 [8.1%] were listed as widows. The remaining 84 [49.4%] were listed without further information, presumably indicating that they were unmarried. (The key at the beginning of the directory

Dascoli, a machine operator at Edison's, is listed as the head of household at 100 Whittlesey Ave., West Orange. His entry also includes his wife's name, Josephine, in parentheses. Mrs. Josephine Dascoli, a stenographer at Edison's residing at 100 Whittlesey Ave.—presumably Frank S.'s spouse—also has a separate entry on this page. Because of the precedence given to males in the directory, and in American society generally in the early 1950s, it is unclear whether married women who were employed outside the household consistently had separate entries, or whether such listings were selective. One can imagine circumstances in which a woman worked outside the household, but the work was considered to be trivial or a temporary situation, or its economic necessity was a source of embarrassment for the male head of household, and therefore was omitted. Examination of company records, or a more detailed analysis of the entire directory in conjunction with period census data, might make it allow a more comprehensive evaluation of the directory's biases in this regard.

The listing that follows these notes is largely self-explanatory. We have organized it by town, street, street address, apartment number, surname, and first name, rather than by surname and first name, as it appears in the original source. Our method of listing seemed superior because one of the primary purposes of transcribing the directory was to establish patterns of residence in the Oranges for Edison employees (see discussion in chapter IV).

Occupations are given as abbreviated in the original (see discussion in chapter III). The notation "Edison's" has been omitted.

"Residence" distinguishes whether the person listed was head of household (h) or simply resided at (r) a given address.

Apartment or room numbers are given in parentheses.

The abbreviation "St" [Street] is implied under street name.

Abbreviations for towns are EO (East Orange), M (Maplewood), O (Orange), SO (South Orange), and WO (West Orange). LP is Llewellyn Park.

Page refers to the page number of the directory on which the original entry appears.

states that "'miss' ... [is] implied.") While the listings were being transcribed, no check was made to determine whether names of spouses of men could always be matched to women listed as "Mrs," so it is possible that this honorific was also given for divorced women—who today would generally be regarded as single—as well as to married women. Of the approximately 581 men in this list, spouses were shown parenthetically for 461 [79.3%]. No spouses were listed for the remaining 120 [20.7%] men. No spouses were listed for the two individuals whose gender could not be determined from the directory listing.

LAST	First	SPOUSE	OCCUPATION	RESIDENCE	ST NO.	APT	STREET	TOWN	PAGE
Arnold	Eugene		emp	r	202		Amherst	EO	204
Porter	H Edward	Mattie E	emp	h	216		Amherst	EO	831
Brooks	Maurice L		emp	h	237		Amherst	EO	271
Williams	Edward	Mary A	emp	h	255		Amherst	EO	1057
Battles	Vernon	Doris	emp	r	264		Amherst	EO	224
Montgomery	David	Polly	emp	r	268		Amherst	EO	748
Holmes	Herbert	Queenie M	emp	h	287		Amherst	EO	556
Huebner	Walter F	Aurora M	acct	h	96		Ampere Pkwy	EO	564
Gardner	William J	Nellie	toolmkr	h	33	(25)	Ampere Plaza	EO	471
Slocum	Osceola O	Sarah	emp	h	62		Ashland Av	EO	941
Devine	Thomas	Constance	emp	h	88		Ashland Av	EO	384
Masucci	Alvera Mrs		clk	r	98		Ashland Av	EO	701
Parr	Donald J	Elizabeth	stock clk	h	4		Baldwin	EO	806
Hartman	Elmer		emp	r	19		Beech	EO	528
Robinson	Charles	Flo	emp	r	17		Carleton	EO	868
Lightner	Bertha M Mrs		emp	h	15		Cottage Pl	EO	660
Stevens	George E	Viola M	toolmkr.	h	13		Crescent Rd	EO	968
Dungee	LeRoy S	Mary A	eng	h	163		Dodd	EO	404
Kennedy	Stella		emp	r	359		Dodd	EO	607
Bruck	Joseph		mach opr	r	379		Dodd	EO	277
Tompkins	Leonard	Ruth	emp	h	384	(41A)	Dodd	EO	999
Reeves	Crawford	Marita	emp	h	100		Elmwood Av	EO	851
Ford	Andrew W	Dolly	emp	h	211		Elmwood Av	EO	451
Huguenin	Joseph	Octavia	emp	h	216		Elmwood Av	EO	565
Calloway	Lucius	Gladys B	emp	r	11		Eppirt	EO	293
Hahn	Herbert F		stock clk	r	79		Eppirt	EO	514
Callahan	Thomas M	Anna D	emp	h	155	(43)	Evergreen Pl	EO	293

LAST	First	SPOUSE	OCCUPATION	RESIDENCE	ST NO.	APT	STREET	TOWN	PAGE
Stewart	George T	Sarah	guard	h	149		Fourth Av	EO	969
Finan	William V	Margaret C	supt	h	56		Fulton	EO	439
Blickle	Frederick C	Mary H	cell tester	h	92		Girard Av	EO	248
Patrick	Cecil M	Jule H	foreman	h	12		Glenwood Av	EO	807
Woodman	Rachel		priv sec	r	191		Halsted	EO	1070
Weish	Anthony		emp	h	233		Halsted	EO	1045
Roberts	John H	Frankie	mach opr	r	282		Halsted	EO	866
Brownlee	Anne L Mrs	emp		r	285		Halsted	EO	276
Taylor	James	Helen	emp	h	353		Halsted	EO	987
Benjamin	Robert R	Marnette E	foreman	h	374		Halsted	EO	234
Monica	Ralph	Camilla	insp	h	416		Halsted	EO	747
Burtko	Anna I Mrs		typist	r	33		Hilton	EO	286
D'Ambrosia	Vito	Natalie	emp	h	193		Hoffman Blvd	EO	362
Robinson	Heyward W	Jane R	emp	h	32		Hollywood Av	EO	868
Young	Ethel E Mrs		clk	r	30		Hudson Av	EO	1077
Goodwin	Randal		emp	r	10 1/2		Jones	EO	492
Perry	Henry C		emp	h	20		Jones	EO	815
Ellington	Henry D	Lottie I	emp	h	24		Kearney	EO	417
Smalls	James		emp	r	53		Kearney	EO	941
Langell	Mae A	wid John	emp	h	63	(2)	Linden Av	EO	639
DellPenna	Mildred Mrs		bkkpr	r	45		Lindsley Pl	EO	376
Jones	Charles H	Virginia R	stock clk	h	38		Linwood Pl	EO	588
Riley	Catherine		emp	r	41		Long	EO	862
Farrell	John J	Margaret F	insp	h	66		Long	EO	431
Pellington	Harry L		insp	h	69		Long	EO	812
Schlachter	Helen M Mrs		assembler	r	69		Long	EO	904
Peer	John E	Mary J	insp	h	149		Long	EO	811

LAST	First	SPOUSE	OCCUPATION	RESIDENCE	ST NO.	APT	STREET	TOWN	PAGE
Holmes	Charles A		clk	h	191	(B2)	Main	EO	556
Parker	Matilda W	wid Herbert	assembler	h	191	(C11)	Main	EO	804
Hayes	William A	Ellen E	asst curator	h	557		Main	EO	532
Schettini	Catherine		priv sec	r	86		McKay Av	EO	903
Garfield	J Barton		stock clk	h	32		Melrose Av	EO	471
Keerfort	Harry		draftsman	r	254		Midland Av	EO	602
Drury	William T		asst foreman	h	7	(1)	Mitchell Pl	EO	402
Gayk	William	Henrietta	assembler	h	144		N 14th	EO	474
Askham	Joseph		emp	h	82		N 15th	EO	206
Kunz	Joseph W	Mary M	emp	h	2		N 16th	EO	632
Patton	Robert		toolmkr	h	225		N 19th	EO	808
Waters	Tali Esen	Isabelle C	emp	h	61	(211)	N Arlington Av	EO	1037
Dempsey	Alice Mrs		emp	r	90		N Arlington Av	EO	379
Fortune	Marion D Mrs		mach opr	r	90		N Arlington Av	EO	453
Rawley	Leslie J	Erika E	insp	h	129	(1S)	N Arlington Av	EO	847
Gorman	Peggy E Mrs		steno	r	169	(34)	N Arlington Av	EO	493
Barmore	John D	Dorothy N	clk	h	174	(43)	N Arlington Av	EO	218
MacMillan	Harold B	Ethel E	auditor	h	27		N Burnet	EO	680
Beltramine	Emma Mrs		assembler	h	20		N Clinton	EO	233
Prime	William D	Pearl M	tube blower	h	134		N Clinton	EO	836
Sloane	Charles	Christine E	mach opr	r	206		N Clinton	EO	940
Crawford	Robert L	Anne	emp	r	207		N Clinton	EO	349
Hoth	Alice G	wid William B	emp	h	53		N Grove	EO	561
McBride	Hesser G Jr		emp	r	254	(27)	N Grove	EO	706
Dascoli	Alphonse A	Teresa A	utilityman	h	121		N Park	EO	365
O'Conner	Margaret Mrs		clk	r	159		N Park	EO	784
Devine	Thomas M	Mary L	emp	h	240		N Park	EO	384

LAST	First	SPOUSE	OCCUPATION	RESIDENCE	ST NO.	APT	STREET	TOWN	PAGE
Oldfield	John	Dorothy	emp	r	37		N Walnut	EO	788
Pfueger	Donald		clk	r	95	(16)	N Walnut	EO	820
Nielsen	Herman P	Johanna	toolmkr	h	162	(A4)	Park Av	EO	776
Wurster	Florence M Mrs		clk	r	321	(R19)	Park Av	EO	1073
Webb	George A Jr	Margaret	emp	h	382	(22)	Park Av	EO	1039
Richner	Effie		assembler	r	413		Park Av	EO	860
Hahn	John W	Edna I	insp	h	458	(205)	Park Av	EO	514
Butler	Kathryn M	wid James	priv sec	h	458	(303)	Park Av	EO	288
Drury	Edna		emp	r	458	(305)	Park Av	EO	402
Hayes	Harry	Helen	emp	h	458	(408)	Park Av	EO	532
Kearney	Raymond	Ruth	emp	r	62		Princeton Av	EO	600
Stringfellow	George E	Carrie M	v pres div mgr Storag	h	75	(10A)	Prospect	EO	975
Freeman	Lorraine Mrs		emp	r	76		Prospect	EO	460
Stadleman	Rita Mrs		emp	r	76		Prospect	EO	960
Oakes	Catherine		research technician	h	208		Prospect	EO	782
Phillips	Nancy Mrs		emp	h	26	(4)	Prospect Pl	EO	821
Owens	Kathleen M		steno	r	47		Rhode Island Av	EO	798
Silvestro	Gayton		chemist	r	155		Rhode Island Av	EO	934
Giammetta	Leonard	Novella	carp	h	278		Rhode Island Av	EO	480
Parker	Thomas	Drusilla	emp	h	19		River	EO	805
Simpson	Albert C	Lucile	mach opr	h	20		S 17th	EO	935
Smothers	Clarence Jr	Edna	emp	h	23		S 17th	EO	950
Freeman	Alvin H		emp	r	52		S 20th	EO	460
Gurein	Gerald	Anne	emp	r	128		S Arlington Av	EO	510
Behan	Charles		emp	r	210	(44)	S Burnet	EO	230
Bolan	Katherine C		clk	h	223		S Burnet	EO	252
Holmes	Luther	Sylvia	emp	h	217		S Clinton	EO	556

LAST	First	SPOUSE	OCCUPATION	RESIDENCE	ST NO.	APT	STREET	TOWN	PAGE
James	Frank	Annie	emp	h	217		S Clinton	EO	578
Bergner	Alexander		emp	r	246		S Clinton	EO	237
Bergner	John	Ludmilla	emp	h	246		S Clinton	EO	237
Robinson	Pettigrew	Elizabeth	emp	h	281		S Clinton	EO	869
Cardinale	William J	Grace A	emp	h	443		S Clinton	EO	298
Brown	Herman	Audrey	plater	h	94		S Grove St	EO	274
Ingraham	John	Dorothy	clk	r	68		S Harrison	EO	572
Piltz	Henry E	Ruth	eng	h	111	(5B)	S Harrison	EO	824
Daciek	Joseph M	Lucille	emp	h	25	(B4)	S Munn Av	EO	359
Wendell	Elliott H		statistician	h	41	(308)	S Munn Av	EO	1045
Berger	Donald	Marilyn	slsman	h	94	(5)	S Munn Av	EO	237
Conlon	Thomas	Margaret	emp	h	122		S Oraton Pkwy	EO	335
Dowd	Edward T	Anna	clk	h	36		Schuyler Ter	EO	399
DeWick	Edmund L		emp	r	121		Second	EO	385
Chambers	William	Gertrude	emp	h	46		Shepard Av	EO	311
Thayne	Edward F	Elizabeth	emp	h	52		Shepard Av	EO	990
Thayne	Edward T	Nellie	emp	h	52		Shepard Av	EO	990
Baxter	Walter L	Edith	tool crib atdt	h	119		Shepard Av	EO	226
Drury	John F	Kathryn	packer	h	142		Shepard Av	EO	402
Gayles	W Clinton	Eustacia	emp	h	186		Shepard Av	EO	474
Patterson	Joan		receptionist	r	162		Springdale Av	EO	808
Frazzano	Vincent F	Katherine	elec	h	725		Springdale Av	EO	459
Kolarick	John	Betty A	carp	r	30		State	EO	623
Witham	Elaine R Mrs		IBM opr	r	46		State	EO	1066
Sears	Floyd H	Hazel O	eng	h	70		State	EO	918
Marx	Doreen L Mrs		office sec	r	12	(106)	Summit	EO	698
Dunn	John M	Clemerteen	emp	h	104		Summit	EO	405

LAST	First	SPOUSE	OCCUPATION	RESIDENCE	ST NO.	APT	STREET	TOWN	PAGE
Atwood	Herbert W	Ethel M	insp	h	336		Tremont Av	EO	207
Wagner	Frederick J	Ann	mach opr	r	379		Tremont Av	EO	1027
Nelson	William T	Mary M	mgr	h	60		Vernon Ter	EO	772
Harrington	Helen Mrs		clk	r	75	(A6)	Walnut	EO	524
Molinaro	Herman	Eleanor	emp	h	12		Washington	EO	746
Beard	William F		emp	r	62		Westcott	EO	227
Moore	Archibald G	Myra H	emp	h	288		William	EO	749
Rappier	Helen		emp	r	318		William	EO	846
Bentley	Anna		emp	r	484	(401)	William	EO	236
Davies	Ruth Mrs		clk	r	484	(404)	William	EO	366
Meade	Valentine M	Phoebe	clk	h	491	(C)	William	EO	724
Thompson	Esther Mrs		payroll clk	r	502		William	EO	993
Child	Gertrude H Mrs		clk	h	563	(3)	William	EO	315
Ohrbach	Harry		civil eng	r	28		Winans	EO	788
Thomas	Anna B Mrs		forewoman	r	453	(4)	Boyden Av	M	991
Zieschang	Rudolph A	M Elizabeth	eng	h	24		Evergreen Pl	M	1082
Doolittle	Gerald W	Claire	technician	h	11		Everitt Pl	M	396
Dallman	Katherine		clk	r	8		Fleming Terr	M	360
Robertson	James A	Loretta N	supv	h	111		Midland Blvd	M	867
Joy	Norman	S	laboratory asst	r	6		Parker Av W	M	592
Hamilton	William J		stock clk	r	22		Pierson Rd S	M	518
Campbell	Thomas G		mech	r	497		Valley	M	295
Weinberg	Harold L	Florence F	mech eng	h	47		VanNess Ct	M	1042
Renner	John A	Catherine M	chemical eng	r	25		VanNess Ter	M	856
Roselle	Joseph	Philomena	setupman	h	347		Alden	O	876
Giambattista	Vincent J	Margaret L	emp	h	351		Alden	O	480
Schack	Louis	Muriel	emp	h	423		Alden	O	900

LAST	First	SPOUSE	OCCUPATION	RESIDENCE	ST NO.	APT	STREET	TOWN	PAGE
Fitzsimmons	Clark W		emp	r	468		Alden	O	445
Langley	Evelyn Mrs		emp	h	468		Alden	O	640
Van Riper	Arthur		clk	h	469		Alden	O	1017
Van Riper	Richard	Marion V	timestudy eng	h	469		Alden	O	1017
Corby	David E		mach opr	r	470		Alden	O	341
Hann	J Stewart		lathe hand	h	346		Alden Pl	O	520
Gruchacz	Walter E	Anna M	emp	h	588		Argyle Av	O	507
Cosgrove	James Jr		toolmkr	r	219		Baldwin Ter	O	343
Boardman	Russell E		emp	r	568		Beach	O	250
Sementa	Frank A	Theresa M	boilermkr	h	586		Beach	O	921
Zito	Rocco	Anne	adjuster	h	615		Beach	O	1083
Beck	Florence Mrs		emp	r	16		Bell	O	228
Kinzel	Anna V		assembler	r	353		Berryman Pl	O	614
Tompkins	Charles E	Mary G	emp	h	354		Berryman Pl	O	998
DeToma	Ralph W	Florine	clk	h	421		Berwick	O	383
Mozuco	Elizabeth A Mrs		clk	r	352		Bradford	O	757
Horrocks	George Jr		emp	r	357		Bradford	O	560
Montesion	James V	Grace M	insp	h	363		Bradford	O	748
Barnes	Richard F	Gilda	insp	h	374		Bradford	O	219
Amirault	Mary K		priv sec	r	382		Bradford	O	196
Kent	John L	Anne M	elec	h	384		Bradford	O	608
Dolan	Michael M	Beatrice	foreman	h	389		Bradford	O	393
Mangieri	Arsenio	Antoinette	emp	h	394		Bradford	O	687
Mangieri	Patsy	Angeline	emp	r	394		Bradford	O	688
Thomas	Rudolph	Daphne	mach opr	h	456		Burnside	O	992
Early	John A	Louise E	emp	h	674		Burnside	O	408
Veith	Katherine	wid Frederick	emp	h	21		Canfield	O	1019

LAST	First	SPOUSE	OCCUPATION	RESIDENCE	ST NO.	APT	STREET	TOWN	PAGE
Pauciello	Vincent	Mary	mach opr	h	480		Cary	O	808
DeVincenzo	Anthony	Mildred	emp	h	491		Cary	O	384
Santoro	Arthur D	Mary	die cutter	h	541		Cary	O	894
Cataldo	Joseph	Mary	capper	h	551		Cary	O	308
Irving	Ellen Mrs		steno	r	61		Central Av	O	573
Harrington	Hubert	Helen S	utilityman	h	119		Central Av	O	524
Inga	Mary D Mrs		emp	r	129		Central Av	O	572
Schaffer	Gustave F	Lillian B	emp	h	162		Central Av	O	900
Domenic	Anthony	Uliana	emp	h	210	(303)	Central Av	O	394
Lutz	Dorothy A Mrs		tel opr	r	342	(5)	Central Av	O	675
Connor	Thomas	Margaret M	emp	h	344		Central Av	O	337
Kann	Gustav G	Julia G	emp	h	348	(5)	Central Av	O	596
Curtis	George	Sadie E	emp	h	176		Central Pl	O	357
Walter	Joseph F	Grace	tube drawer	h	135		Chapel	O	1032
Penza	Alfred	Angelina	emp	h	383		Clarendon Pl	O	813
Fuller	Roden J	Mary C	emp	h	399		Clarendon Pl	O	465
Green	Benjamin	Estelle	stock clk	h	304		Cleveland	O	499
Brown	George F	Rose A	expediter	h	348		Cleveland	O	274
Muller	William C	Mary	emp	h	352		Cleveland	O	758
Whalen	Katherine E		assembler	h	332		Dodd	O	1049
Feeney	Thomas F	Ada	emp	h	189		Duane	O	433
Hannibal	Edward S	Adelaide	emp	h	318		Elizabeth	O	520
Imbimbo	William P	Anne M	shipping clk	h	114		Elm	O	571
Nelson	Dorothy F		typist	r	132		Elm	O	771
Everett	Samuel	Ada M	mach	h	143		Elm	O	425
Northover	Florence	wid Fred	emp	h	162		Elm	O	780
Barrows	James J	Julia P	emp	h	545		Forest	O	221

LAST	First	SPOUSE	OCCUPATION	RESIDENCE	ST NO.	APT	STREET	TOWN	PAGE
Feeley	John J	Bridget	welder	h	610		Forest	O	433
Romagnoli	Frederick	Helen T	emp	h	412		Frankfort	O	873
Ormond	Charles	Anna M	emp	h	416		Frankfort	O	794
Battaglino	Maria M		assembler	r	436		Frankfort	O	224
Cassesse	William E		emp	r	544		Freeman	O	306
Chambliss	Helen M	wid William H	emp	h	548		Freeman	O	311
Andriola	Thomas	Angelina	emp	r	314		Gist Pl	O	199
Minichello	Joseph	Anna	emp	h	314		Gist Pl	O	741
Hultberg	Edward	Betty R	elec eng	h	330		Gist Pl	O	566
Ford	Richard M	Helen G	insp	h	334		Gist Pl	O	452
Longo	Daniel	Jennie	opr	h	522		Glebe	O	668
Longo	Daniel Jr	Doris	emp	r	522		Glebe	O	668
DeMaio	Antonio	Lena	assembler	h	342		Gray	O	377
Piliti	Cosimo	Mary	emp	h	360		Gray	O	828
DeFeo	Domenico	Costanza	filler	r	361		Gray	O	373
Petrillo	Giovanni	Frances	handy	h	363		Gray	O	818
Romagnoli	Carlo	Mary G	emp	h	363		Gray	O	873
Silvestri	Michele	Mary	emp	h	364		Gray	O	934
Perrotti	Michael	Rose	stoker opr	h	373		Gray	O	815
Petrillo	Leonard	Josephine	press opr	h	376		Gray	O	818
Shine	William E	Rose T	prod clk	h	315	(2)	Hawthorne	O	928
Marateo	Vito	Mildred	emp	h	318		Hawthorne	O	691
Barone	John	Natalie	emp	h	329		Hawthorne	O	220
Bremer	Wesley A	Frances M	archt	h	321		Hawthorne	O	266
DePasquale	Robert S		emp	r	299		Henry	O	381
Ritota	Diodata	Palmina	repairman	h	301		Henry	O	864
Ripoli	Nicola A	Antoinette	emp	h	342		Henry	O	864

LAST	First	SPOUSE	OCCUPATION	RESIDENCE	ST NO.	APT	STREET	TOWN	PAGE
Nicosia	Joseph P		assembler	r	351		Henry	O	776
DeBellonia	Anthony M	Matilda R	emp	h	361		Henry	O	370
Giambattista	Michael	Gilda	emp	h	369		Henry	O	480
Ricciardelli	Ernesto	Josephine	emp	h	12	(13-16)	Hickory	O	858
Hodge	James	Lillian C	emp	h	128	(11)	Hickory	O	551
Valvano	Giuseppe	Mary	emp	h	194		Hickory	O	1014
Perrella	Joseph	Mary	foreman	h	27	(15)	High	O	815
Preziosi	Robert		draftsman	h	27	(19)	High	O	835
Donnelly	Lucie V Mrs		emp	r	108	(32)	High	O	395
Donnelly	William A	Lucie V	insp	h	108	(32)	High	O	395
Werrell	Helen M Mrs		bkkpr	r	223		High	O	1046
Werrell	John W	Helen M	sls eng	h	233		High	O	1046
Spahle	Robert	Marie	emp	h	235		High	O	955
Igoe	Michael J	Bridget	emp	h	278		High	O	571
Ferrucci	Philip	Marie	emp	h	338		High	O	437
Ryder	Jason B		emp	r	340		High	O	887
Boyle	Thomas L	Kathryn C	insp	h	382		High	O	260
Stewart	George R	Julia	emp	h	401		High	O	969
Christiano	Stephen		emp	r	489		Highland Av	O	316
Crocker	Saint E	Mary E	emp	h	92		Hill	O	351
Galvin	Robert	Marie	emp	h	504		Hillside Av	O	469
Gehring	Doris Mrs		priv sec	r	56		Hillyer	O	475
Colombo	Thomas		loader	h	308		Hurlburt	O	332
Migliacci	Pietro		emp	r	308		Hurlburt	O	735
Buldo	Anthony	Rose	emp	h	388		Lakeside Av	O	281
Perrotti	Herman F	Angelina	emp	h	411		Lakeside Av	O	815
DeStasio	Louis		emp	r	418		Lakeside Av	O	383

LAST	First	SPOUSE	OCCUPATION	RESIDENCE	ST NO.	APT	STREET	TOWN	PAGE
Rizzo	Salvatore	Louise M	mach opr	h	427		Lakeside Av	O	865
Sampayo	Pelligrino	Pilar	loader	h	466		Lakeside Av	O	892
Nye	Matthew L	Doddis S	mach	h	378		Lakeview Av	O	782
Stilwell	George	Gertrude C	laboratory wkr	h	39		Liberty	O	970
Silwell	Gertrude Mrs		insp	r	39		Liberty	O	970
Ruggiero	Pietro	Nany	reamer	h	92		Lincoln Av	O	883
Fabbo	Joseph	Rose	mason	h	108	(1)	Lincoln Av	O	426
Fabbo	Mary		emp	r	108	(1)	Lincoln Av	O	426
Russo	Cosimo	Carmela	emp	h	108	(6)	Lincoln Av	O	885
Montesion	Anthony	Frances	emp	h	134		Lincoln Av	O	748
Gilbert	Arthur W	Loretta M	chemist	h	373	(C2)	Lincoln Av	O	482
Hayes	Myrtle M		assembler	r	543		Lincoln Av	O	532
Priest	Andrew A		dept mgr	h	641	(52)	Lincoln Av	O	836
Simpson	Thomas	Katherine	insp	h	490		Lincoln Pl	O	935
Healey	Thelma M Mrs		clk	r	487	(202)	Linden Pl	O	533
McDermott	William E	A Loretta	sta opr	h	495	(101)	Linden Pl	O	712
Marsh	Peter R	Elizabeth	emp	h	488		Madison	O	695
Hall	Mae A		nurse	h	41	(34)	Main	O	515
Edmed	Ruth	wid Norman C	nurse	h	41	(48)	Main	O	412
Lewand	Gustav R		emp	r	125		Main	O	656
Roccas	Margaret		emp	r	140		Main	O	869
Laspes	Stephen		mach opr	h	229		Main	O	643
Leovas	Louis		emp	r	229		Main	O	653
Hunecke	Anna C		assembler	h	208		Matthew	O	566
Sementi	Augustine	Rose	emp	h	556		McChesney	O	921
Dascoli	John	Rita	emp	h	464		Meade	O	365
Primofesta	Pasquale		utilityman	r	304		Mechanic	O	836

LAST	First	SPOUSE	OCCUPATION	RESIDENCE	ST NO.	APT	STREET	TOWN	PAGE
Christiano	Peter J		press opr	h	335		Mechanic	O	316
Greco	Rocco L	Antoinette	emp	r	355		Mechanic	O	499
Scarponcini	Giacomo	Angelina	emp	h	355		Mechanic	O	899
Preziosi	Raffaele	Louise	emp	h	363		Mechanic	O	835
LaSala	Samuel	Alice G	insp	h	366		Mechanic	O	642
Romano	Anthony L	Lucy	emp	h	372		Mechanic	O	873
Cole	Jack	H Marie	emp	h	3		Milligan Pl	O	329
Sayer	Edward A	Rose M	mach	h	500		Monroe	O	898
Stabile	Arsenio	Mildred	job setter	h	237		Mount Vernon Av	O	960
DeStasio	Frank	Madeline	emp	h	250		Mount Vernon Av	O	383
Fea	Sisto	Laura F	sta fireman	h	263		Mount Vernon Av	O	432
Folli	Ariberto		batterywkr	r	272		Mount Vernon Av	O	450
Mangieri	Patrick	Ann	emp	h	277		Mount Vernon Av	O	688
Eggleston	Dorothy M		emp	r	22		N Centre	O	414
D'Agostino	Dominick	Mollie	emp	h	192		N Centre	O	359
DeStefano	Peter J		welder	r	218		N Centre	O	383
Gallagher	John J	Ellen E	emp	h	275		N Centre	O	468
Genz	Eric	Mazie	mach	h	281		N Centre	O	477
Sinton	George H	Martha	pressman	h	297	(11)	N Centre	O	936
Young	Clifford H		assembler	h	39		N Day	O	1077
Lavoritano	Joseph R	Catherine A	emp	h	53	(14)	N Day	O	644
Marucci	Anthony		mach	r	60		N Day	O	698
Daniels	William	Emma M	emp	h	98		N Day	O	363
Christopher	Chris	emp		r	149		N Day	O	317
Mangieri	Nicholas A	Helen D	emp	h	238		N Day	O	688
Veasy	Robert	A May	emp	h	284	(2)	N Day	O	1019
Gallagher	John J		toolmkr	h	287		N Day	O	468

LAST	First	SPOUSE	OCCUPATION	RESIDENCE	ST NO.	APT	STREET	TOWN	PAGE
Gallagher	John J Jr		insp	r	287		N Day	O	468
Powers	Jerome F	Lillian	mach opr	h	288	(B)	N Day	O	833
Broyer	Leo J	Emerald C	elec	h	299		N Day	O	276
Walter	Henrietta E Mrs		emp	h	300	(3)	N Day	O	1032
Cole	Annette Mrs		emp	r	59		N Essex Av	O	328
Haller	George A	Anna L	clk	h	15		N Jefferson	O	516
Healey	Daniel	Julia	pipe fitter	h	22		N Jefferson	O	533
McArdle	Joseph J	Doris G	emp	h	46		N Jefferson	O	706
Villani	Cosimo A	Marguerite	loader	h	81		N Jefferson	O	1022
Daniels	Thomas J	Frances M	emp	h	558		Nassau	O	363
Siccardi	Fred	Mary	emp	r	570		Nassau	O	931
Semegen	Michael F	Helen M	mach	h	599		Nassau	O	921
Rooney	Agnes E		typist	r	232		New	O	874
Armeno	Anne Mrs		emp	r	247		New	O	203
Milano	Carmela J		emp	r	247		New	O	736
Weidele	Charles		mach opr	r	471		New England Ter	O	1041
Smith	Frazier J	Irma M	emp	h	101		Oakwood Av	O	944
Pridgen	Frank	Ruth	emp	r	167		Oakwood Av	O	836
Daniels	Welson	Janie M	sta fireman	h	188		Oakwood Pl	O	363
Ellison	Richard	Helen L	emp	h	188		Oakwood Pl	O	417
Johnson	Henry	Rachel	molder	h	202		Oakwood Pl	O	585
Lambert	Robert H		emp	h	248		Ogden	O	636
Savage	Fred	Alice	emp	h	315		Olcott	O	897
Johnson	Roosevelt	Mamie	supv	h	138		Park	O	586
Keenan	John W	Margaret M	carp	h	196		Park Av	O	602
Tilly	M Verna Mrs		steno	r	198		Park Av	O	996
Ferro	Anthony	Grace	mach opr	h	234		Park Av	O	436

LAST	First	SPOUSE	OCCUPATION	RESIDENCE	ST NO.	APT	STREET	TOWN	PAGE
Koenig	Charles	Mabel	trans mgr	h	249		Park Av	O	622
Christiansen	Edward M	Emilie T	insp	h	257		Park Av	O	316
Fabbo	Jennie P		benchwkr	r	411		Park Av	O	426
MacWilliams	Alice		clk	h	486	(5)	Park Av	O	681
Highet	Elsie M	wid Robert	emp	h	530	(66)	Park Av	O	546
Haas	Charles	Eva	cashier	h	530	(F1)	Park Av	O	511
Johnson	Charles N		emp	r	210		Park Pl	O	584
Voorhis	Harold A		emp	h	221		Park Pl	O	1025
Duggins	Lillian Mrs		emp	h	223	(8)	Park Pl	O	404
Scott	George W	Mary A	porter	h	93		Parrow	O	916
Perry	Raymond L	Viola	emp	h	160		Parrow	O	816
Scannelli	Phyllis		office sec	r	192		Pierson	O	899
Finan	John P		emp	h	207		Reynolds	O	439
Danby	Charles I		latherwkr	r	3		Ridge	O	362
Delaney	St Clair	May	emp	h	17		S Centre	O	375
Rooney	Genevieve		emp	r	153		S Centre	O	874
Tolmieri	Michael	Angela	emp	h	191		S Centre	O	998
Jones	Wilbur S	Doris H	emp	r	268	(C2)	S Centre	O	590
Wise	Norman	Genevieve	emp	h	79		S Day	O	1065
VanNess	Joseph	Christine	emp	h	107		S Day	O	1017
White	Thomas M	Erma C	emp (and Two Vetera	h	119	(4)	S Day	O	1051
Reffie	Matthew S	Stella	emp	r	137		S Day	O	851
Reffie	Salvatore	Petronella	mech	h	137		S Day	O	851
Sovich	Steven	Evelyn	emp	h	116		S Essex Av	O	955
Rodriguez	Jose		loader	h	129		S Essex Av	O	870
Mantore	Thomas D	Lena A	emp	h	156		S Essex Av	O	689
Pratt	Joseph E	Lena R	assembler	h	209		S Essex Av	O	834

LAST	First	SPOUSE	OCCUPATION	RESIDENCE	ST NO.	APT	STREET	TOWN	PAGE
Drossman	Frank I		emp	r	24	(4)	S Jefferson	O	401
Pizzichillio	Frank	Mary	emp	h	70		S Jefferson	O	826
Pizzichillio	James		emp	r	70		S Jefferson	O	826
Salvaggi	Vito	Nicoleta	emp	h	95		S Jefferson	O	891
Urso	Frank	Josephine	press opr	r	119		S Jefferson	O	1013
Urso	Joseph		mach opr	r	119		S Jefferson	O	1013
Zanfini	Nicola	Margaret	emp	h	127		S Jefferson	O	1080
Zanfini	Raymond		mach opr	h	127		S Jefferson	O	1080
Keystone	William		emp	h	134		S Jefferson	O	610
Richards	Ezekiel	Thelma	utilityman	h	158		Scotland Rd	O	859
Blake	James	Connie S	stock clk	h	180		Scotland Rd	O	247
Wallace	James H	Vinie	emp	h	180		Scotland Rd	O	1030
Cozza	Joseph		press opr	h	195		Scotland Rd	O	347
Iannacone	Louis	Jennie	emp	h	253		Scotland Rd	O	570
Heasty	Marvin C	Dorothy	gas opr	h	315		Scotland Rd	O	533
Berry	Samuel S	Beatrice B	emp	h	552		Scotland Rd	O	240
Bray	Joseph		emp	h	664		Scotland Rd	O	265
Joy	Gertrude Mrs		emp	h	184	(15)	Snyder	O	591
Collins	Frank J		porter	r	196		Snyder	O	331
Patrick	Alice Mrs		emp	r	211		Snyder	O	807
Sementi	Thomas J	Margaret	emp	h	248		Snyder	O	921
DelVento	Alexander	Irene A	loader	h	260		Snyder	O	377
Praitano	Sol	Evelyn	emp	h	260		Snyder	O	833
O'Connor	William J		plater	h	274		Snyder	O	785
Goode	Frank T	Virginia F	emp	h	100		South	O	491
Williams	Thomas L	Martha L	emp	h	101		South	O	1060
Dortch	Algie	Ethel	emp	h	109		South	O	397

LAST	First	SPOUSE	OCCUPATION	RESIDENCE	ST NO.	APT	STREET	TOWN	PAGE
Knapp	Dorothy F		typist	r	154		Spring	O	618
Merklin	Francis		emp	r	158		Spring	O	730
MacMullan	Hugh D	Marie A	prod clk	h	121		Summer	O	680
Pflug	George H Jr	Muriel G	insp	r	133		Summer	O	820
Gray	Charles	Dorothy	emp	r	177		Taylor	O	498
Wilson	George	Margaret A	emp	h	608		Thomas	O	1062
O'Connor	Leonard	Ethel	plater	h	609		Thomas	O	785
Elder	John A	Joyce M	elec	h	613		Thomas	O	416
Merritt	Mary E	priv	sec	r	385		Tremont Av	O	731
Iannacone	Nicholas	Mildred	repairman	h	386		Tremont Av	O	570
Wilson	Everett R	Hazel	pressman	h	490	(23)	Tremont Av	O	1062
DeZaio	John	Mary	chauf	h	583		Tremont Av	O	385
Gruchacz	George	Frances L	tube drawer	h	659		Union	O	507
Nittoli	Edward J	Lillian E	mach opr	h	404		Valley	O	777
Zysik	Frank	Mary	assembler	h	655		Valley	O	1084
Robjohns	George	Laura	emp	h	633		W Christopher	O	869
Fehn	Raymond	Elma G	emp	h	639		W Christopher	O	433
Sills	Hubert	Alma L	mach opr	r	220		Wallace	O	933
Walker	Andrew	Elizabeth	emp	h	221		Wallace	O	1028
McClain	Walter	Ruth	screw mach opr	h	246		Wallace Av	O	709
Dean	Gertrude		assembler	r	609		Walsh Av	O	370
Webb	George A	Minnie	foreman	h	628		Walsh Av	O	1039
Pruden	Marvin T	Amy J	clk	h	120		Ward	O	837
Pruden	Marvin W	Dolly I	sander	r	120		Ward	O	837
Gallagher	James J	Mary V	clk	h	255		Washington	O	468
Neill	Robert J		emp	h	312		Watchung Av	O	770
McRae	William	Harriet F	elec	h	530		White	O	724

LAST	First	SPOUSE	OCCUPATION	RESIDENCE	ST NO.	APT	STREET	TOWN	PAGE
Van Reeken	Doris		emp	r	240		William	O	1017
Giambattista	Thomas G	Mary R	mach	h	13		Church	SO	480
Price	Mauretta I Mrs		office sec	h	74		First	SO	835
Ehrlich	J Lester	Rhoda	emp	h	439		Page Ter	SO	414
Conklin	Ernest E	Ruth H	emp	h	63		Second	SO	335
Schumacher	John C		laboratory technician	r	371		Turrell Av	SO	912
Stavrou	Constantine C	Vivian E	elec	h	228		W Ward Pl	SO	964
Daum	Philip F	Julia M	serviceman	h	3		Alden	WO	365
Radzinski	Victor A	Mary J	mach opr	h	3		Alden	WO	843
Cummings	Catherine N		assembler	h	50		Ashland Av	WO	355
Hodgkiss	Helen C	wid Oscar D	tel opr	r	55		Ashland Av	WO	551
Sangiacomo	Jessie L	wid Thomas O	insp	r	60		Ashland Av	WO	894
Garland	William L	Dorothy E	insp	h	77		Ashland Av	WO	471
Ruvo	Mary		coil winder	h	79		Ashland Av	WO	886
Fagan	Mary		emp	r	91		Ashland Av	WO	427
Torsiello	Angelina		mach opr	h	91		Ashland Av	WO	1000
Franco	Edward	Clara	emp	h	92		Ashland Av	WO	456
Caligis	Soter		insp	h	95		Ashland Av	WO	292
Pizzichillio	Nancy C Mrs		emp	h	95		Ashland Av	WO	826
Rubinetti	Harry	Lena	emp	h	110		Ashland Av	WO	882
Daly	Edward F	Kathryn E	clk	h	3		Ashwood Ter	WO	361
Noecker	Frank	Emma M	toolmkr	h	22		Ashwood Ter	WO	778
Ball	Robert J	Elizabeth H	emp	h	18		Babcock Pl	WO	215
McCoy	Eva Mrs		clk	h	25		Babcock Pl	WO	711
Dally	Charles C		emp	r	28		Babcock Pl	WO	360
Weller	George F	Jane H	suprv	h	36		Birchwood Av	WO	1044
Garrett	Marion J		clk	r	16		Blackburne Ter	WO	472

LAST	First	SPOUSE	OCCUPATION	RESIDENCE	ST NO.	APT	STREET	TOWN	PAGE
Almond	Ruth Mrs		trimmer	h	9		Central Av	WO	194
Lee	Gertrude M		clk	r	18		Central Pl	WO	648
Toomey	Frank M	Doris V	emp	h	8		Charles	WO	999
Toomey	Patrick J	Marguerite G	stock clk	h	8		Charles	WO	999
Cassidy	William	Mary	emp	h	2		Cherry	WO	307
DeGuercio	William		shipping clk	r	2		Cherry	WO	376
DiMarsico	Mary J Mrs		assembler	r	15		Cherry	WO	389
Collinson	Theresa M		steno	r	70		Cherry	WO	332
Thompson	George F	Mary L	watchman	h	73		Cherry	WO	993
Hooey	Rolland O	Gladys O	mach	h	3	(5)	Chestnut	WO	558
Johnson	Rosa H Mrs		emp	h	18		Chestnut	WO	586
Greco	Albert	Rose	emp	h	63		Chestnut	WO	499
Crann	Edward J	Rose A	storekpr	h	69		Chestnut	WO	348
McBride	Anna Mrs		emp	h	84		Chestnut	WO	706
Kossor	Julius A	Mary	mach	h	112		Chestnut	WO	625
Habel	Elizabeth A Mrs		benchwkr	h	123		Chestnut	WO	512
Shine	Leonard L	Florence A	asst prod mgr	h	123		Chestnut	WO	928
Moore	James F	Lucy T	mach opr	h	129		Chestnut	WO	750
Burton	George L	Tessie T	mach opr	h	134		Chestnut	WO	286
Ramaglia	Joseph U		toolcribwkr	r	135		Chestnut	WO	845
Hannon	John E	Mary K	gateman	h	144		Chestnut	WO	521
Gillen	Michael J	Marie	mech	h	148		Chestnut	WO	483
Gustavson	Gertrude		clk	r	38		Columbia	WO	510
Conklin	Addie B		bkkpr	r	15		Condit Ter	WO	335
Parziale	Ralph	Eleanor	emp	h	18		Cross	WO	806
Atkinson	George F	Mary	insp	h	208		Eagle Rock Av	WO	207
McCartney	Joseph F	Anna	shipping clk	h	229		Eagle Rock Av	WO	708

LAST	First	SPOUSE	OCCUPATION	RESIDENCE	ST NO.	APT	STREET	TOWN	PAGE
Krauth	Elsie L Mrs		press opr	r	676		Eagle Rock Av	WO	627
Hoermann	Henry G	Frieda	diemkr	h	720		Eagle Rock Av	WO	551
Thomson	Mary S Mrs		clk	r	7		Edisonia Ter	WO	994
Byrne	Agnes G		steno	h	14		Edisonia Ter	WO	289
Nugent	Anna C		priv sec	r	25		Edisonia Ter	WO	781
Burden	Bertha Mrs		emp	r	25		Edisonia Terr	WO	282
Crines	William P		emp	r	9		Elm	WO	350
Rommel	Raymond M	Eleanor	sprayer	r	27		Elm	WO	874
Kent	Richard H	Florence A	foreman	h	38		Elm	WO	608
Sherry	Mary T Mrs		clk	r	49		Elm	WO	928
McGuire	James	Eileen	elec opr	h	55		Elm	WO	717
O'Boyle	Lillian M		steno	r	110		Elm	WO	783
Maguire	Hugh	Sarah	welder	h	117		Elm	WO	683
Fitzgerald	John T	Margaret A	emp	h	137		Elm	WO	445
Christiano	Frank	Lita E	insp	h	14		Erwin Pl	WO	316
McLoughlin	Peter J	Beatrice E	beltman	h	28		Erwin Pl	WO	721
Kupferer	Ethel C		emp	r	3		Fairmount Ter	WO	633
Milner	Carl M	Hilma	eng	h	69		Fairview Av	WO	741
Somers	Richard M	Gertrude N	eng	h	18		Florence Pl	WO	952
Pflug	John H	Mildred	mach opr	h	40		Franklin Av	WO	820
Ramsay	William S	Agnes O	emp	h	43		Franklin Av	WO	845
DeFranco	Domonick	Adeline	mach opr	h	118		Franklin Av	WO	373
DeFranco	Phillip F		plater	r	118		Franklin Av	WO	373
Schuster	Stephen J	Mary	insp	h	137		Franklin Av	WO	912
Toupet	Evelyn Mrs		mach opr	h	146		Franklin Av	WO	1001
Boetsch	Blanche		clk	h	150		Franklin Av	WO	251
Priolo	Albert B		opr	r	25		Freeman	WO	836

LAST	First	SPOUSE	OCCUPATION	RESIDENCE	ST NO.	APT	STREET	TOWN	PAGE
Kuczenski	Catherine E		steno	r	39		Freeman Pl	WO	631
Urso	Joseph A	Midred G	civil eng	h	306		Gregory Av	WO	1013
Vassallo	Leonardo	Theresa	emp	h	2		Harrison Av	WO	1018
Moore	Deloris Mrs		emp	r	84		Harrison Av	WO	749
Fennessy	Elizabeth A Mrs		emp	r	15		High	WO	435
Ost	John S	Lydia E	metalwkr	h	82		High	WO	796
Ryder	Henry F	Helen J	clk	h	150		High	WO	887
Mulligan	Andrew	Gertrude M	foreman	h	158		High	WO	759
Ciantra	Louis	Anna	welder	h	163		High	WO	318
Byrne	James		maintenanceman	r	180		High	WO	289
McArdle	Thomas J	Rose H	clk	h	40		Hillside Av	WO	706
Woytko	John		emp	h	3		Joyce	WO	1072
Fedorka	John	Sophie	loader	h	19		Joyce	WO	432
Kuzik	Doris J		clk	r	34		Joyce	WO	633
Kuzik	Olga X		clk	r	34		Joyce	WO	633
Kuzik	Peter	Helen	plater	r	34		Joyce	WO	633
Hyer	Harvey F T	Mary E	insp	h	9	(4)	King	WO	569
Spina	Agnes E Mrs		chief insp	r	10		Kirk	WO	957
Wheeler	George E Jr	Helen A	carp	h	50		Kirk	WO	1049
Rooney	John S	Anna E	emp	h	77		Kirk	WO	874
Rooney	Joseph P		emp	r	77		Kirk	WO	874
Murphy	Patrick J		emp	h			Kitchener Av	WO	762
Wheeler	Alfred H	Esther M	carp	h	7		Kling	WO	1049
Bedford	Edna	wid Edward J	emp	h	17		Kling	WO	229
Berry	Theodore R	Margaret D	serviceman	r	21		Kling	WO	240
Reinhardt	Frederick W	Hazel A	emp	h	26		Kling	WO	854
Praitano	Marie M		steno	r	13		Lafayette	WO	833

LAST	First	SPOUSE	OCCUPATION	RESIDENCE	ST NO.	APT	STREET	TOWN	PAGE
Eckert	Howard H		v pres-treas TAE Inc (h at Short Hil		51		Lakeside Av	WO	411
Riter	Henry G III		pres Thomas A Ediso (h at Montclai		51		Lakeside Av	WO	864
Riter	Henry G IV		div mgr instrument di (h at Upper M		51		Lakeside Av	WO	864
Sloane	John E	Julie	dir adv Thomas A Edi (h at Summit)		51		Lakeside Av	WO	940
Weber	Richard H	Grace E	v pres Thomas A Edi (r inq at)		51		Lakeside Av	WO	1040
Featherly	George E	Jane C	cost acct	h	70		Lawrence Av	WO	432
Constantine	John	Nellie	emp	h	19		Liberty	WO	337
Laverty	Martha Mrs		mach opr	r	38		Liberty	WO	644
Grimm	Hilmar E	Evelyn	assembler	h	44		Liberty	WO	505
Ball	William J	Gilda H	plater	h	49		Liberty	WO	215
Bruno	Frank	Mary A	mach	h	61		Liberty	WO	278
Rosner	Samuel L	Rose	acct	h	28		Lindsley Av	WO	877
Collinson	William I	Helen M	carp	h	32		Lindsley Av	WO	332
Heggerty	Vivian C Mrs		insp	r	51		Lindsley Av	WO	535
Ober	John B	Dorothy L	elec	r	56		Lindsley Av	WO	782
Degnan	Jerome E		maintenanceman	h	8		Llewellyn Av	WO	374
Klein	Conrad	Lina	packer ;	h	22		Llewellyn Av	WO	616
Danielo	James S		emp	r	53		Llewellyn Av	WO	363
Canning	Mary E		transcriber	h	61		Llewellyn Av	WO	296
Pelosi	Josephine		emp	r	36		Longview	WO	812
Forrest	Harry J		mach	r	131		Main	WO	453
Gazsik	Andrew G	Mollie	clk	h	131		Main	WO	474
Sylvestri	Ralph	Antoinette	emp	h	139		Main	WO	982
Carton	D Frank		emp	h	161		Main	WO	304
Spyropolous	John C	Catherine J	batteryman	h	164		Main	WO	960
Spyropolous	Mary M		emp	r	164		Main	WO	960
Dangler	Richard J		emp	r	166		Main	WO	363

LAST	First	SPOUSE	OCCUPATION	RESIDENCE	ST NO.	APT	STREET	TOWN	PAGE
Bergmann	Emil		mech	r	172		Main	WO	237
Carney	William	Margaret	guard	r	172		Main	WO	301
Cuccinelli	Henry		trucker	r	172		Main	WO	354
Gaetje	William		grinder	r	172		Main	WO	467
Sanagorsky	John	Eva	emp	h	180		Main	WO	892
Maschmeyer	Elizabeth		emp	h	200	(C)	Main	WO	699
Doering	Anna Mrs		emp	h	255		Main	WO	393
Nickolis	George		emp	r	259		Main	WO	776
Willies	Helen Mrs		emp	h	261		Main	WO	1060
Albano	Joseph	Antoinette	lug reamer	h	273		Main	WO	190
Menzel	Emma A	wid William	press opr	h	288	(2)	Main	WO	729
Curran	Patrick J	Emily M	emp	h	90		Maple	WO	357
Watson	Albert A	Catherine	clk	h	150		Maple	WO	1037
Ritchie	Agnes		insp	r	171		Maple	WO	864
Cartheuser	Carol M		emp	r	66		Maple Av	WO	304
Harrison	John	Catherine C	clk	r	10		McKinley Av	WO	526
Windecker	William J		personnel mgr	r	10		McKinley Av	WO	1064
McCormack	William A	Estelle M	auditor	h	20		McKinley Av	WO	710
Pittner	Charles J	Ruth W	eng	h	9		McKinley Pl	WO	825
Fittin	Joan M Mrs		steno	r	10		McKinley Pl	WO	444
Ferraer	George A	Mary A	opr	h	45		Mississippi Av	WO	436
McLaughlin	Edward B	Louise	opr	h	35		Mitchell	WO	720
DiRocco	Charles W	Mathilda C	emp	h	36		Mitchell	WO	390
D'Arienzo	Lonnie		offc sec	r	42		Mitchell	WO	364
D'Arienzo	Louis	Catherine	janitor	h	42		Mitchell	WO	364
Gurren	Frank T		foreman	h	77		Mitchell	WO	510
D'Onofrio	Louis	Susie	stockman	h	78		Mitchell	WO	395

LAST	First	SPOUSE	OCCUPATION	RESIDENCE	ST NO.	APT	STREET	TOWN	PAGE
Jones	Earl H	Margaret	emp	h	9		Moore Ter	WO	588
Zaluski	Bronislaw	Victoria	mach	h	30		Moore Ter	WO	1079
Englund	Harold M	Ruth E	emp	r	32		Moore Ter	WO	420
Ward	Jeanette H		emp	r	17		Mount Pleasant Av	WO	1034
Blind	Charles	Lillian	emp	h	45		Mount Pleasant Av	WO	248
Schaeffer	Peter H	Rosa M	setupman	h	539		Mount Pleasant Av	WO	900
McCarthy	Thomas C	Agnes J	utilityman	h	608		Mount Pleasant Av	WO	708
Anderson	Harold S	Dorothy H	emp	h	99		Mountain Av	WO	198
Conway	Margaret B	wid Bronson	clk	r	13		Mountain View	WO	338
Higgins	William P		watchman	r	34		Mountain View	WO	546
Stock	William H	Margaret	foreman	h	49		Mountain View	WO	971
Miller	Otto C	Anne L	emp	h	33		Northfield Av	WO	739
Edwards	Marie C		clk	r	379		Northfield Av	WO	413
Heilmann	August		emp	r	444		Northfield Av	WO	535
Myron	Elsie C Mrs		emp	r	537		Northfield Av	WO	765
LaSalle	Angela A		mach opr	r	49		Oak Ridge Rd	WO	642
McMillan	Milbre J	Alna E	emp	h	65		Oak Ridge Rd	WO	722
Landers	Joseph F	Helen	clk	h	12		Orange Pl	WO	638
Greenling	Dorothy A Mrs		emp	h	29		Park Av	WO	502
Hyer	Fred T	Catherine E	asst eng	h	8		Park Dr N	WO	566
Versfelt	Helen M Mrs		clk	r	16		Park Dr N	WO	1020
Versfelt	Irving H	Helen M	auditor	r	16		Park Dr N	WO	1020
Tyburcy	Raymond S	Delores E	draftsman	r	5		Park Dr S	WO	1009
Cassidy	James A	Myra A	elec	r	7		Park Dr S	WO	306
Smith	John L	Mary	emp	h	14		Park Dr S	WO	946
Bramwell	Frederick E	Daisy R	supv	h	17		Park Dr S	WO	263
Kostibos	John	Catherine	mach	h	27		Park Dr S	WO	625

LAST	First	SPOUSE	OCCUPATION	RESIDENCE	ST NO.	APT	STREET	TOWN	PAGE
Dascoli	Frank	Josephine	emp	h	29		Park Dr S	WO	365
Kugel	Henry F	Mae F	rubberwkr	h	22		Park Ter	WO	631
Sellitto	Sanita M		mach opr	r	47		Park Ter	WO	921
Holl	Barbara R		clk	r	62		Park Ter	WO	554
Anderson	George J	Mary I	setupman	h	59		Park Terr	WO	198
Quinn	James G	Eleanor C	emp	h	400		Pleasant Valley Way	WO	841
Aquino	Marie E		clk	r	824		Pleasant Valley Way	WO	202
Laing	James A	Margaret M	credit cll	h	56		Quinby Pl	WO	635
Pfleger	Robert J		emp	r	36		Randolph Pl	WO	820
Jahn	Paul	Irene E	emp	h	16		Ridge Av	WO	578
DelPlato	Florence M		assembler	h	20		Ridge Av	WO	377
Drury	Katherine M Mrs		clk	h	20		Ridge Av	WO	402
Wise	Betty Mrs		emp	r	20		Ridge Av	WO	1065
Laing	John E	Anna K	mach's helper	h	88		Ridge Av	WO	635
O'Connor	Alice F		clk	r	9		Ridgehurst Rd	WO	784
McDonald	John J	Mary J	repr	h	22		Ridgehurst Rd	WO	712
Denyes	Marjorie E		priv sec	r	2		Riggs Pl	WO	380
Zeigler	Roland G	Evelyn E	emp	r	52		Riggs Pl	WO	1081
Erwin	Frederick C	Grace W	sec TAE Inc (and Ma	h	33		Rollinson	WO	422
Belott	Katherine		emp	r	56		Rollinson	WO	233
Blake	Walter H	Charlotte E	insp	h	136		Rollinson	WO	247
Burse	Harold W	Laura D	estimator	h	19		Rollinson Av	WO	286
Lukr	John T	Ann	mach	h	54		S Valley Rd	WO	673
Feeley	Vincent J	Natalie L	mach	h	19		Shepard Ter	WO	433
Konopka	Bernice Mrs		assembler	r	20		Shepard Ter	WO	623
Unsworth	Helen M Mrs		clk	r	23		Shepard Ter	WO	1012
Burgesser	Elbert C	Chestra A	suv	h	17		Sherwood Pl	WO	282

LAST	First	SPOUSE	OCCUPATION	RESIDENCE	ST NO.	APT	STREET	TOWN	PAGE
Spellmeyer	Milan F	Dorothy	dept head	h	270		St Cloud Av	WO	956
Riedel	Charles A	Elsie	emp	h	274		St Cloud Av	WO	861
Smiciniski	Felix	Catherine	emp	h	324		St Cloud Av	WO	942
Smicienski	Adam		stock clk	r	359		St Cloud Av	WO	942
Hill	Grace		emp	r	372		St Cloud Av	WO	547
Winters	Antoinette E		typist	r	12		Stuart Ter	WO	1065
VanDale	Marie Mrs		emp	r	10		Sunnyside Rd	WO	1015
Sparks	Malcolm T	Elizabeth V	insp	h	15		Swaine Pl	WO	956
Kearney	Michael A	Margaret A	emp	h	100		Swaine Pl	WO	600
Volpe	Frank V	Angela M	draftsman	h	12		Terrace Av	WO	1024
Parziale	Thomas		emp	r	1		Tompkins	WO	806
Bennett	Luther M	Daisy M	emp	h	27		Tompkins	WO	235
Rozewski	Stanley E	Josephine D	clk	h	6		Tremont Av	WO	881
Brassell	John		emp	r	337		Valley Rd	WO	264
Cawley	Ann		emp	h	338		Valley Rd	WO	309
Butler	William M	Rose	emp	h	357		Valley Rd	WO	288
Dascoli	Vera		emp	r	427		Valley Rd	WO	365
Pavone	Gabriel	Mary	emp	h	458		Valley Rd	WO	809
Attala	Frank A		batterywkr	h	475		Valley Rd	WO	207
Christensen	Jep J	Margaret	emp	h	495		Valley Rd	WO	315
DeVincenzo	Dominic	Louise N	pipefitter	h	550		Valley Rd	WO	384
Carroll	John P	Ruth I	opr	h	7		Valley Way	WO	303
MacMillan	Gladys		priv sec	r	31		Valley Way	WO	680
Squier	Marilyn A Mrs		emp	r	42		Valley Way	WO	960
Meusel	George F	Della A	asst	h	54		Valley Way	WO	732
Butler	Stanley W	Mary	acct	h	3		Victory Rd	WO	288
Gillen	Frank J	Florence	emp	h	24		Victory Rd	WO	483

LAST	First	SPOUSE	OCCUPATION	RESIDENCE	ST NO.	APT	STREET	TOWN	PAGE
Peer	Robert G	Marion A	molder	h	41		Victory Rd	WO	811
Wahlers	Henry S	Ethel	emp	h	63		Victory Rd	WO	1027
Gillien	Hubert J	Sarah J	clk	h	72		Victory Rd	WO	483
Radzinsky	Victor A	Mary J	opr	h	77		Victory Rd	WO	843
Feula	Dominick	Jennie F	emp	h	39		Virginia Av	WO	437
Johnson	Leroy J		press opr	h	6		Washington	WO	586
Hooper	Elizabeth B		clk	r	19		Washington	WO	558
Hooper	William E		mach	r	19		Washington	WO	558
Creo	John	Frances	press opr	h	47		Washington	WO	350
Lewis	David J	Caroline E	mgr	h	21		Watchung Av	WO	657
Dobler	John	Clara	power eng	h	50		Watchung Av	WO	392
Maurer	Charles H	Eva A	toolmkr	h	52		Watchung Av	WO	703
Laing	James	Mae	chief bkkpr	h	59		Watchung Av	WO	635
Gosden	Joseph	Dora	emp	h	75		Watchung Av	WO	494
Brennan	Richard		clk	r	89		Watchung Av	WO	266
Middlecamp	Lewis A	Grace A	emp	h	132		Watchung Av	WO	735
Porcelli	Theresa H		clk	r	151		Watchung Av	WO	830
Peiker	Rudolph		clk	h	171		Watchung Av	WO	811
Peiker	Stephanie F		assembler	r	171		Watchung Av	WO	811
Holterman	John L	Mary	foreman	h	181		Watchung Av	WO	557
Williamson	Everett C		emp	r	187		Watchung Av	WO	1060
Cohrs	Margaret E		clk	r	192		Watchung Av	WO	328
Mathern	Bernard J		emp	r	208		Watchung Av	WO	701
Iannone	James V	Anna	emp	h	210		Watchung Av	WO	570
Mathern	William H	Gertrude M	emp	h	210		Watchung Av	WO	701
Fowkes	John		emp	h	222		Watchung Av	WO	454
Smith	Nancy E		priv sec	r	244		Watchung Av	WO	947

LAST	First	SPOUSE	OCCUPATION	RESIDENCE	ST NO.	APT	STREET	TOWN	PAGE
Burtick	Elizabeth Mrs		steno	r	259		Watchung Av	WO	286
Liberato	Anthony D	May	emp	h	261		Watchung Av	WO	658
Ford	Leo B	Marjorie E	mach	h	268		Watchung Av	WO	452
Ford	Marjorie E		emp	r	268		Watchung Av	WO	452
McCartney	William H		steam fitter	h	268		Watchung Av	WO	708
Mooney	Warren E	Dorothy B	emp	h	277		Watchung Av	WO	749
Bedore	Edward F	Frances E	emp	h	284		Watchung Av	WO	229
Kraft	Harry	May	eng	h	294	(9)	Watchung Av	WO	626
Cassidy	Patrick R	Carmina M	grinder	h	3		Watson Av	WO	307
Burgess	Samuel	Millicent	mach	h	23		Watson Av	WO	282
Neglio	Angelino M		emp	r	29		Watson Av	WO	770
Witheridge	Edward J	Emily G	assembler	h	47		Watson Av	WO	1066
O'Connor	Patricia A		clk	r	53		Watson Av	WO	785
Drexler	William F	Dorothy M	welder	r	64		Watson Av	WO	401
Vecchio	Anthony	Mildred C	mach opr	h	134		Watson Av	WO	1019
Cummings	Walter F	Anna R	pressman	h	138		Watson Av	WO	355
Goodwin	Bernard	Mary C	elec	h	143		Watson Av	WO	492
Reyle	Harry R	Stella	clk	h	143		Watson Av	WO	857
Princiotta	John	Theresa M	mch opr	h	171		Watson Av	WO	836
Craig	Gilbert	Dorothy	emp	h	183		Watson Av	WO	348
D'Angelo	Phillip	Anna	emp	h	20		Wheeler	WO	362
Cogan	Thomas A	Mary A	clk	h	49		Wheeler	WO	327
Schack	Fred A	Katherine F	eng	h	62		Wheeler	WO	900
Schack	Fred A Jr		spot welder	r	62		Wheeler	WO	900
Schack	John J	Voilet J	insp	h	62		Wheeler	WO	900
Nigro	Charles	Rose	benchwkr	h	63		Wheeler	WO	777
Nigro	Evelyn I		clk	r	63		Wheeler	WO	777

LAST	First	SPOUSE	OCCUPATION	RESIDENCE	ST NO.	APT	STREET	TOWN	PAGE
Nigro	Mario L	Rose M	toolmkr	h	63		Wheeler	WO	777
Beirne	Anne M		payroll Clk	h	22		Whittingham Pl	WO	230
McCoy	Alllen R	Mary F	welfare mgr	h	40		Whittingham Pl	WO	710
Fleming	James A	Isabell B	emp	h	9		Whittlesey Av	WO	447
Broschart	Joseph J	Florence	carp	h	25		Whittlesey Av	WO	271
Hughes	Thomas P	Therese H	mach opr	h	36		Whittlesey Av	WO	565
Giordano	John A	Rose	emp	h	42		Whittlesey Av	WO	484
Williamson	Herbert S	Catherine E	carp	r	54		Whittlesey Av	WO	1060
Kozlowski	John J	Joyce R	emp	r	61		Whittlesey Av	WO	626
Dascoli	Nicola	Grace	chauf	h	77		Whittlesey Av	WO	365
Dascoli	Frank S	Josephine	mach opr	h	100		Whittlesey Av	WO	365
Dascoli	Josephine Mrs		steno	r	100		Whittlesey Av	WO	365
Murray	Frank J	Margaret B	crane opr	h	103		Whittlesey Av	WO	763
Wyman	Charles C	Josephine M	cutter	h	103		Whittlesey Av	WO	1074
Saletti	Nicholas	Angelina	emp	h	114		Whittlesey Av	WO	890
Harrison	John A		emp	h	115		Whittlesey Av	WO	526
Ryder	Mary M		steno	h	18		Wilfred	WO	887
Webb	Charles V	Clara H	clk	h	39		Wilfred	WO	1039
Pearce	Marjorie E		priv sec	r	55		William	WO	810
Carbin	James P	Mary J	welder	h	1		Winfield	WO	298
Dobbins	Thomas R	Phyllis A	eng	h	15		Winfield	WO	392
Edison	Charles	Caroline	chair exec comm Tho	h			Oak Bend (Llewellyn P	WO (LP)	412
Sjursith	Anna M		emp Thomas A Ediso	r			Park Way (Llewellyn P	WO (LP)	938
Matthews	Theodore		emp T A Edison Hms	r			Park Way (Llewellyn P	WO (LP)	702
Edison	Theodore M	Ann O	emp research dept	h			off Glen Av (Llewellyn	WO (LP)	412
DeZao	Joseph M	Evelyn	chauf	h			off Glen Av (Llewellyn	WO (LP)	385

APPENDIX D
STUDY PERSONNEL

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

In completing this study, consultations and interviews were conducted with the following employees of the National Park Service:

Maryanne Gerbauckas, Superintendent, EDIS
Clarence Askew, Maintenance Technician, EDIS (and former McGraw-Edison employee)
Donna Baumgartner, Chief of Protection, EDIS
Ken Chandler, Supervisory Museum Curator, EDIS
Linda Deveau, Administrative Officer, EDIS
Kristen Herron, Curator, Glenmont, EDIS
Terri Jung, Chief of Visitor Services and Resource Management, EDIS
Charley Magale, Facilities Manager, EDIS
Karen Sloat-Anderson, Museum Technician, EDIS
Doug Tarr, Archives Technician, EDIS
George Tselos, Archivist, EDIS
John Warren, Interpreter, EDIS (education programs coordinator)

Technical Representative of NPS Contracting Officer:

Dr. Rebecca Joseph, Manager, Applied Ethnography Program, New England System Support Office, Boston

COMMUNITY CONSULTANTS

Residents of Llewellyn Park

Male member of present Park administrative group

Female member of multi-generational family

Female long-term resident with interest in Park history

Female member of recently moved-in family

Female member of recently moved-in family

Former Edison Employees

8-year male employee of TAE, Inc.; worked for company in 1920s, now retired

28-year female employee of TAE, Inc. and McGraw-Edison, began in 1940s; now retired

30-year female employee of TAE, Inc. and McGraw-Edison, began in 1940s; now retired

34-year male employee of TAE, Inc. and McGraw-Edison; began in 1930s; now retired

37-year male employee of TAE, Inc. and McGraw-Edison; began in 1920s; now retired

49-year male employee of TAE, Inc. and McGraw-Edison; began in 1920s; now retired

West Orange Community Exploration Group

Male developer

Male restaurateur

Male realtor

Male Main Street retail business owner

Male civic leader

Other Consultants

Jerry Borstel, retired director of public relations and editor of the *IUE News*, International Union of Radio, Machine, and Electrical Workers, Washington D.C.

STUDY TEAM MEMBERS

Michael H. Agar, Ph.D.
Principal Investigator
Project Ethnographer

Antony B. Mason, Ph.D.
Co-Principal Investigator
Demographics Analyst

Christopher L. Borstel, Ph.D.
Material Culture Researcher

Ingrid A. Wuebber, B.A.
Historical Documents Researcher

Research Assistants:
Leslie Bashman Frucht, the Cultural Resource Group
Daniel McGuire, the Planning Group
Jim Parry, the Planning Group

APPENDIX E
MISCELLANEOUS PROJECT MATERIALS

Potential Contacts Among Local Historical and Cultural Groups

Essex County Division of Culture and Heritage
160 Fairview Street
Cedar Grove, NJ 07009
201-857-8530

New Jersey Historical Society
230 Broadway
Newark, NJ 07104
201-483-3939

League of Historical Societies of New Jersey
P.O. Box 909
Madison, NJ 07940
<http://scils.rutgers.edu/~macan/leaguelist.html>

Society for Industrial Archeology
Roebling Chapter
199 Budd Street
Morristown, NJ 07960
201-455-0491

Historical Society of Bloomfield
47 Clark Avenue
Bloomfield, NJ 07003
201-429-8387

Glen Ridge Historical Society
PO Box 164
Glen Ridge, NJ 07028
201-748-1784

Montclair Historical Society
108 Orange Road
Montclair, NJ 07042
201-744-1796

Montclair Historic Preservation Commission
62 Myrtle Avenue
Montclair, NJ 07042

Afro-American Historical Society Museum
1841 Kennedy Boulevard
Jersey City, NJ 07305
201-547-5262

Newark Museum Association
49 Washington Street
Newark, NJ 07101
201-596-6550

Newark Preservation and Landmarks Commission
PO Box 1066
Newark, NJ 07101
201-622-4910

Note: The addresses and telephone numbers in this list have not been verified.



An IUEer Remembers Thomas Edison

By JERRY BORSTEL

JOE WHELAN, the 67-year-old president of Amal Local 467 in Orange, N.J., is the son of a man who worked more than 20 years as trusted mechanic and troubleshooter for Thomas A. Edison, the great inventor. Edison himself hired the younger Whelan in 1928. Here are some of IUEer Whelan's recollections:

"On many occasions during my early years I would accompany my father up to the Edison home in Llewellyn Park (West Orange), where my father would operate the movie projector. He would run films that were requested by Mr. Edison. They were quite deep for me to understand, but at least I would be seated close by Mr. Edison. During these showings he would never say a word and after would write down notes, after which he would talk to me and my father.

"I will never forget the time during my teens and Edison had forgotten what I looked like. He had sent two men down to the Jersey Shore, where we were staying on vacation. Edison wanted my father to come back to do some important work . . . I came up with my father and while my father was doing what he had to do I was sitting at my father's desk when Mr. Edison came up on his private elevator that he had in the Lab. He spotted me sitting there doing nothing. He went in to my father and said, 'Fire that man out there—he is sitting around doing nothing.' At which time my father told him who I was. Edison was all apologies.

"The best part of all was that instead of two weeks at the Shore, we were there for a month. Edison paid for the extra two weeks.

"I later applied for a job that Mr. Edison wanted someone for, putting tags on weeds and keeping records, etc.—he was experimenting with the weeds to extract the juices for a substitute for rubber. When I went to talk to Mr. Edison about the job, he fingered my suit and said, 'Nice goods.' He then asked me where I had worked before. I told him of three different places. He was able to tell me where each place was located and what each produced.

"I was to start on the job at 50 cents per hour. Fate had it that another job opened in another part of the plant as a shipping clerk paying 55 cents. I took that job instead. The next person after me took the weed tagging job and ended up being the vice president in charge of personnel. He and I played on the Edison ball teams for many years and still are the best of friends."

EDISON, WHO WAS AWARDED 1,093 pat-

ents, surely was the technological father of IUE. He invented scores of products whose manufacture and service have provided jobs for our members. They include the phonograph, incandescent electric lamp, microphone, alkaline storage battery and universal electric motor. He developed systems of distribution, regulation and measurement of electric current. He helped make the first working model of the typewriter and built the first electric railway. And what's called "his one contribution to pure science"—the Edison effect—is the cornerstone of electronics.

The Whelans (Joseph senior and junior) worked for Edison Phonograph (later Edison Voicewriter) and Joe jr. worked for the successor firm McGraw Edison, ending 44 years service in 1972 when the plant closed. As union president, he was the last to leave the building.

Edison hired Whelan sr. in 1914. "My father," Joe says, "was a natural mechanic. He could fix anything mechanical."

Among the IUEer's prized mementoes are a collection of penciled notes Edison to the older Whelan. They testify to the inventor's high regard for his mechanic's abilities. Here are two unedited samples:

"Can you make out how this works its like the one we have but can 2 on 20 slides be used and picture always showing"

"Test the tensile strength of these papers made by different mills, like you did before. Also the calliper of each makers paper (average calliper)"

Another note asks "Whalen" (Edison always misspelled Whelan) to "teach the boys" (some phonograph salesmen) "how to set the Horn up and down . . . also any other dodge you think they should know . . ."

The Local 467 president also has numerous letters describing inventions people were trying to interest Edison in. On these are penciled notes like: "Whalen any good E," "Whalen Report on this E," and "Whalen How about this—E." There also are complaint letters, on which the inventor asks

Whelan senior to check out alleged product flaws.

Most human of all is a written exchange that begins with this note from inventor to mechanic: "You seem a hopeless case—it's a week since I heard from you on Motor Experiments. If I cant be informed, I shall have to take the Experiment away from you"

To which Whelan senior replies: "I am very sorry that you take this attitude in reference to the motor experiments. But the fact is. That I have been ill." He goes on to explain he fell behind, then worked Saturday night and Sunday afternoon and had the report ready when he received Edison's note Monday morning. "If you feel," Whelan adds, "that I am hopeless I for one would not ask you to even allow me to continue with this experiment. This is the first time I have been accused of anything like this and it hurts . . ."

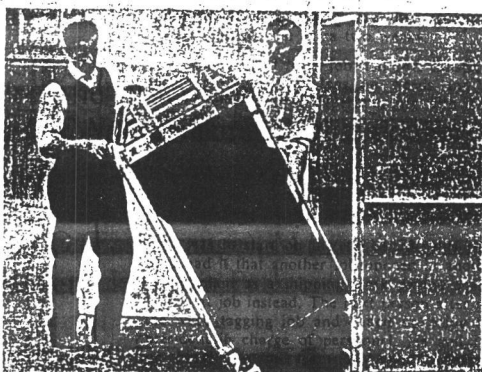
Whereupon, Edison, hit by a cold blast and with nothing but his fast-fading anger to keep him warm, appeals to bureaucratic procedure: "Whalen—You do not understand. if you drop me a note to Meadowcroft (Edison's secretary) each day is all I want—if you are sick just say so on the note—"

The older Whelan did most of Edison's photographic work, ranging from product photos for legal purposes to shots of the inventor and his buddies Henry Ford and Harvey Firestone.

"My father became the photographer when Edison caught the previous photographer in a lie and fired him," Joe junior says. "Edison said, 'I want you to take this over.' My father answered, 'I don't know a thing about it.' Edison replied, 'Get a book,' and walked away."

As an employer, Edison has a mixed reputation. He is said to have driven his people hard. But he was down to earth. John Ott, one of his inner circle, said Edison was "as dirty as any of the other workmen, and not much better dressed than a tramp."

Joe Whelan junior adds: "As long as you did your work and didn't lie, he wouldn't bother you."



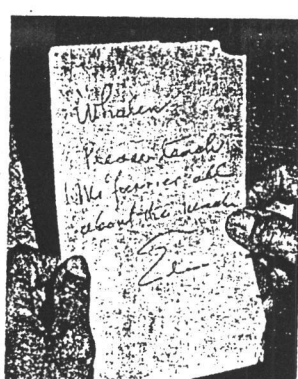
WORKING TOGETHER to unload a phonograph are Edison's mechanic, Whelan (left), and his secretary, Meadowcroft (who removed his collar for the chore).



FIRST BALL for one of Edison plant team baseball games is tossed to catcher by the inventor himself.



IN TWILIGHT of his life, Joseph Whelan sr. (4th from left) and other Edison oldtimers pose with city officials. Photos are part of Joe jr.'s collection.



NOTE FROM BOSS tells IUE local president's father to teach another employee "all about the machine."



SOME OF NOTES from Edison to older Whelan are shown by Joe Whelan jr. in picture taken by IUE Field Representative Julie Leibner.