There is a certain irony in tracing the pedagogical origins of public history practice. Often, the taproot of the field of public history pedagogy is located in traditional classroom settings; after all, the historiography of public history largely begins with postsecondary education—when the University of California, Santa Barbara, began accepting students into its program in “public historical studies” in 1976. This may have been the first official public history program in higher education, but prior programs in areas including museum studies, historic preservation, and archival studies also set the stage for public history’s pedagogical debut. Yet while students may learn of the theories and methods that undergird the practice of public history in classrooms or in applied experiences that are tied in some way to classroom pedagogy in higher education (e.g., internships or class projects with community partners), these experiences do not introduce students to the ideas and concepts that have shaped the field. Rather, this introduction often happens, and historically has happened, much earlier and in nontraditional public settings such as museums, historic sites, and heritage tours. Removing the history of public history pedagogy from its classroom tether therefore not only challenges the traditional origin story but also provides greater insight into the historical development of the field itself, particularly into its radical origins.

One such nontraditional educative venue that played a key role both in introducing students to the theories and practices of public history and in shaping the field’s political undercurrent was a left-leaning summer camp located outside the town of Phoenicia in the Catskill Mountains of New York.
Every summer, from 1938 until 1962, the staff at Camp Woodland taught campers how to conduct oral interviews, took campers on field trips to collect examples of tangible and intangible folk culture, and engaged the local community through public performances and a museum of work tools. Through these activities, Woodland introduced schoolchildren to the theories of applied folklore, material culture conservation, and oral history—all of which would become foundational for the emergence of the public history programs of the late twentieth century. The staff at Woodland interwove such values as racial inclusivity, internationalism, and an advocacy for political and social justice into the very fabric of the camp experience—values that are at the core of contemporary public history practice. Furthermore, some members of the first generation of public historians not only attended Woodland but also viewed their time at the camp as formative experiences.

The history of summer camps, particularly their political persuasions, is well-trod terrain. Historians have paid particular attention to northeastern camps like Wo-Chi-Ca (Workers' Children Camp), Camp Kinderland, and even Woodland because of their ties to radical politics but have paid far less attention to their pedagogical practices. While many if not most camp directors and boards viewed their enterprises as pedagogical experiences that engaged students beyond the traditional classroom, education was a preeminent aspect of Woodland’s mission; it was an education steeped in theories that would form the core of public history practice in the United States. For the twenty-four years of its existence, Norman Studer, an educator connected to left-wing progressive schools in New York City, was the driving force behind the camp. Because of his background, Studer ensured that the theories and practices of progressive education permeated almost every aspect of the Woodland experience. As an experiment in democratic living, camp activities were designed to educate students in civic engagement, a deliberately integrated camp experience exposed students to the theories of intercultural education, and every camp activity put the theories of applied learning into practice.

Progressive education models shaped the camp’s instructional methods while progressive politics guided many of its programs and lessons in civic education. Although it was not directly affiliated with the Communist Party, as similar camps like Wo-Chi-Ca were, Woodland was clearly steeped in left-wing social politics. Woodland’s radicalism manifested most clearly in the camp’s staunch support of cultural pluralism, racial integration, and civil
rights, issues that the camp continued to support throughout the 1950s when Cold War anticommunism made such positions politically perilous. Even though the camp suffered during the Red Scare, Woodland managed to survive the period intact and without ever compromising its mission to impart progressive social and political values. While this is noteworthy in itself, the fact that campers later recognized the significance of Woodland's political and social objectives and noted the influence it had on shaping their own public history careers further ties Woodland to the genealogy of the field, particularly in its political identity.

As an educational institution that promoted civic engagement and a radical (for its time) interpretation of American politics and civic ideals, Camp Woodland is situated well within the history of education and radical political culture in the United States during the mid-twentieth century. A key aspect of the camp that formed a nexus between political radicalism and public history pedagogy was its signature folklore program. As an avid folk enthusiast, Studer emphasized folklore in both his classroom and his camp. Yet rather than follow the path of academic folklorists, which scholarly folklorists were in the midst of establishing as a field of study in its own right, Studer drew inspiration from the theories and methods of applied folklore. Emerging among folklorists that worked in the public sector during the 1930s, primarily in New Deal programs of the Works Progress Administration (WPA) or in other federal institutions such as the Library of Congress, applied folklorists directed their efforts in studying and conserving folk culture by learning directly from living informants (a precursor to the concept of shared authority) and disseminating what they had collected among a public audience. Unlike academic folklorists who focused on the products of folk culture like songs, stories, and crafts, applied folklorists focused on the people of folk communities and their cultural traditions. A core belief that many of these public folklorists shared was that products of folk culture were important not just in and of themselves but rather for the historical insight they provided into the groups that practiced them. Tangible and intangible folk traditions, they believed, provided a means to understand the social history of groups traditionally left out of the historical record. Examining the folklore program at Woodland, and the educative mission of the camp as a whole, reveals the early threads of civic engagement, political radicalism, and the practice of social history of underrepresented groups—all of which formed the foundation of public history theory and practice.
Camp Woodland and Civic Education

Like many camps of its era, Woodland employed a large staff and operated under the auspices of a board of directors. In 1941, Norman Studer founded the camp along with Rose Sydney, Regine Dicker (Ferber), Sara Abelson (Abramson), and Hannah Studer, his wife. While these figures all contributed to running the camp and designing the programs, Norman Studer provided much of the vision and direction for the entirety of its existence. Studer had had several years of teaching experience prior to Woodland, but his participation in summer camp programming was far less extensive. Studer’s first foray into camp leadership began in 1938 when he joined the staff of Camp Hilltop in New Jersey as head counselor. The following year, Hilltop was forced to relocate and Studer was among the leaders who selected a property in the Catskills as the camp’s new home. When Hilltop moved to the site near Phoenicia in Ulster County, the camp’s leadership shifted from Rose Snider, who had been the director, to Norman Studer and others who would begin Woodland. The camp retained the Hilltop name until 1941, when Snider officially transferred the camp’s assets, marking the official beginning of Camp Woodland. The leaders of Woodland continued many of the programs that Hilltop had implemented, but their strong social, political, and educational values led them to reconceptualize the camp experience. Rather than simply a place for summer fun or even broad educational enrichment, Woodland became “a non-profit educational institution, with philosophy and structure similar to that of the best modern school. It is interracial and coeducational: children of all economic, cultural, and racial backgrounds live happily together.” From the outset, the camp was a cooperative modeled after private experimental schools, with Studer in charge of directing the educational program.

Studer was well suited for this role, for he had studied education under John Dewey at Columbia University and had been teaching at Little Red Schoolhouse, a progressive school in New York City, since 1933. These experiences profoundly shaped his views on the educational potential of a summer camp. The idea of Woodland, he explained, developed during the later years of the Depression when “a new cultural movement born of the American democratic tradition” emerged, nurtured by trade unionists, civil rights activists, progressive historians, and encouraged by the federal government through WPA programs. Progressive educational reforms were another aspect of this “cultural movement,” and the founders of Woodland were much influenced by these reforms. While there was no fixed program of progressive
education, a universal feature of all models was that of learning by doing, or applied learning. This idea could be manifested in child-centered programs that focused on the welfare of the individual child; in education that related to society, which sometimes included teaching children how to live in a large democracy; and in structuring the school as a small-scale democratic community. Indeed, progressive educators believed that places of learning should provide models for how to be active, engaged citizens by teaching civic values and developing the necessary skills for dealing with social issues, both in their contemporary lives and in their futures.

A strong adherence to interethnic and interracial education was another key aspect of the kind of progressive education practiced at Woodland. Studer’s approach embodied what was then referred to as “intercultural education.” Stemming from the wartime necessity of national unity, intercultural or intergroup educational initiatives sought to unite Americans by overcoming ethnic and racial prejudice. Schools that adopted this program incorporated curricula on different ethnic groups and their historical backgrounds, organized cultural assemblies, and banned culturally demeaning books. Intercultural educators believed that a core set of civic ideals formed the basis of American identity, one of which was cultural democracy. Cultural democracy stipulated that minority groups should not be forced to accept nor expected to separate from mainstream culture, but neither should they retain traditional practices that were undemocratic; in all other circumstances the majority must respect their right to practice their own cultural traditions. Advocates of cultural democracy advocated a type of nationalism that defined America as “a plurality of sub-cultures bound together by a set of common ideals and practices.” Emphasizing a “unity within diversity” view, intercultural educators rejected the forced conformity of assimilationist programs and celebrated cultural difference.

During the mid-1930s, a group of left-wing progressive educators began a program of “social reconstruction through education,” predicated on civic ideals. These proto interculturalists balanced an appreciation of cultural difference with an interpretation of American history that emphasized democracy and highlighted movements for economic and political justice. As Studer explained, “For those of us who were beginning our teaching in the 30s and 40s, there was the challenge of creating a new synthesis to education, which would bring together the threads of revolt, and a reassertion of the American spirit. The white Anglo Saxon ethos, with its racial bias, its Horatio Alger
mythology, was no longer viable.” Clearly, this belief placed him firmly in line with this leftist educational movement. Studer incorporated these historical lessons in his classrooms during the school year and at Woodland during the summer break. For the entirety of its duration, running “an intercultural educational camp that welcomed children of all races, religion, and economic levels and made them feel at home” ranked first among the camp’s basic philosophical principles.

The second guiding principle for the educational programming at Woodland was the progressive concept of the “community school.” This idea emerged during the social and cultural shifts of the early twentieth century, wrought by heightened immigration (and the concomitant forced Americanization programs) and rapid rural-to-urban demographic shifts. The community school idea aimed to help children, both immigrant and native-born, grapple with the upheavals in their lives and in larger society. According to Studer’s interpretation, this required transforming schools into “an embryonic community life, active with all types of occupations that reflect the life of the larger society, and permeated throughout with the spirit of art, history, and science.” While community schools became holistic communities in themselves, students were also expected to go out and foster connections with members of a broader social network. Community schools essentially became “schools-without-walls, where students went out into the community, learned of its problems, and learned democratically,” Studer explained. While Studer clearly put his theory into practice when he became the director of the Downtown Community School in 1950, he also incorporated it into the structure of Camp Woodland.

Each summer, the programs at Woodland taught campers how to be engaged citizens in the camp community and in the larger community of the Catskills. The first part of this project was inscribed in the “community centered” structure of Woodland, which was predicated on the idea “that children from the very beginning live in a community. Their living is in relation to the group, and in an ever-widening degree in relation to a larger society. The community gives them their ideals, their values, their goals in living.” The camp provided a very important lesson for the children it served, practically all of whom came from New York City: “Our children, being city children in the main, come from communities that are large and impersonal.” Educating—and engaging—students in civic participation was difficult on such a scale. As a setting in which students lived and worked for two months
of the year, Woodland created an atmosphere in which children could learn
and practice civic participation to realize the goal of nurturing “citizenship of
a concrete and living quality in a community that is cut to his size.”

The camp was divided into an upper camp, middle camp, and lower camp
based on age. Each camper engaged in daily play, athletics, educational proj-
ects, and work; the activities of each category were designed to teach campers
how to live and work collectively. For instance, the work category included
anything from constructing trails, improving the campgrounds, assisting
in the construction and maintenance of buildings and facilities, and cleaning
the camp. As children aged, their responsibilities grew to the extent that the
section for the oldest campers (ages fourteen to sixteen) was called “Work
Camp.” Promotional literature emphasized the work involved in the camp's
community school, as noted in an early brochure: “Upper camp is a little
village in itself, designed to give real experiences in democratic living—with
a weekly newspaper, a cooperative store, a post office and a camp council.”
Even children too young to perform much camp work were still able to par-
ticipate in the community ethos during nightly and weekly group meetings:
“At Sunday meetings and at campfires the children learn to express them-
selves and to participate in camp affairs. The aim is to make the camp itself a
little community of work, play and cooperative learning—a laboratory in the
democratic way of life.”

In addition to their work assignments and group discussions, campers
participated in democratic living through their camp council. Every summer,
the members of each bunk voted on one of their own to serve on the coun-
cil, with the understanding that they would represent the concerns of their
bunkmates. While Studer and the board were clear that the campers did not
actually contribute to dictating the overall running of the camp, the directors
worked to create an environment in which campers were encouraged to
express their views and be heard by those in charge. From an early age, camp-
ners learned that in well-functioning democracies, all members must be able
to contribute.

The lessons of citizenship and the importance of democracy were incor-
porated into the daily functions of the camp, but they were displayed most
clearly during two camp-wide events: the annual Fourth of July program,
which occurred almost immediately after the beginning of each summer, and
World Youth Week, which typically occurred midseason. For the Fourth of
July celebration, counselors were instructed on how this event set the stage
for the rest of the camp season, as noted in their handbook from 1945: “Camp starts out on a high note of unity. The occasion also begins the season with an emphasis on the democratic philosophy of our nation, a way of life consciously followed at camp. . . . The basic framework of the program is a combination of past and present: we look back at some of the traditional episodes in the struggle to attain democracy and we also reflect the struggles on the immediate world scene. The keynote of our celebration was expressed in a song written by the children, ‘We Sing a Song of Democracy.’” This emphasis on exploring democratic struggles in the United States and abroad while simultaneously encouraging campers to participate in the camp community was also featured in the annual World Youth Week. Beginning after the end of WWII, for one week the camp invited children from other countries “who had been freedom fighters in their native lands,” according to camper Paul Kantrowitz. The significance of World Youth Week was that students learned from people their own age who were “leading the struggle for freedom and democracy.” Moreover, campers did much of the planning for this activity, which further tied them to the operations of the camp itself. The event also educated campers about the global struggle for democracy and other civic ideals. Sometimes the campers put these lessons into practice, as they did during the 1947 season. During that summer, campers voted to forgo ice cream on one Sunday and send the money saved to a Chinese relief fund. During that same season, campers voted that money that some campers won at the annual Ulster County Fair should go to an anti-lynching fund (other options included the camp’s scholarship fund, World Youth Week activities, Spanish relief, and camp improvements).

Being an active and engaged citizen in local and global communities was one of the primary values that Camp Woodland sought to instill among its campers, and it was a value that lay at the core of the American left during this period. While there was nothing inherently politically partisan about progressive education reform, even within its intercultural wing, progressive educators in New York City often maintained left-wing social views. Norman Studer strongly sympathized with left-wing politics in the US, particularly the left’s emphasis on social and economic justice issues. The camp directors, as well as involved parents, shared these views, which were manifested in a staunch advocacy for civil rights and democratic ideals, both nationally and internationally. In addition to lending support for political issues and groups connected to the left (e.g., educating students about Spanish relief
and anti-lynching efforts), the camp also illustrated their directors’ and supporters’ political positions through a hallmark of the Woodland experience: the folklore program. Through applied folklore activities, the threads of progressive education, left-wing politics, and nascent public history practice and, especially, pedagogy, became tightly woven into the fabric of Woodland.

Folklore, History, and Public History
Like the progressive educators in New York City, the community of applied folklorists during the 1930s and 1940s was a small one, with many cultivating an educational emphasis in their work. Throughout his career in education, Studer often collaborated with folklorists and incorporated aspects of their work into camp programs. Just as he was able to incorporate folklore into his classroom teaching, at Woodland, he infused it into the core of the camp’s educational mission. With composers Herbert Haufrecht and then Norman Cazden serving as the camp’s music directors, folklore became a vital part of the Camp Woodland experience. The purpose of the folklore program at Woodland was twofold: to teach social history through folklore and to give the music and lore students collected back to the community through public performances, publications, and a traveling museum exhibition. It is in these respects that Woodland epitomized the applied wing of American folklore practice and prefigured the pedagogical practices of public history.

The history of folklore study and practice in the United States is as complex as that of public history. From the founding of the American Folklore Society in 1888, folklorists differed on how to interpret the field. Folklorists in institutions of higher education sought to establish it as an independent scholarly discipline (although they differed as to whether to house it in the social sciences or humanities), while those working in the public often viewed folklore through lenses borrowed from literature, history, anthropology, and sociology. A broad difference between these two wings of the field pertained to their interpretations of folk culture: on the one hand, academic folklorists often studied folk traditions as cultural artifacts, with an emphasis on textual purity, and sought to protect them from becoming corrupted by the forces of mass culture. On the other hand, folklorists in the applied realm were generally unconcerned with determining the authenticity of folk traditions and rather turned their attention to understanding the function that they served in the communities that practiced them. During the early twentieth century, the concept of applied folklore began to develop
along various trajectories, as exemplified by John Lomax’s books of cowboy songs and familial expeditions to collect prison songs, Olive Dame Campbell’s published collections of Appalachian ballads, and Carl Sandburg’s sing-along lectures and music books. These texts were filled with examples that only nominally qualified as “authentic” folk songs according to academic standards.

While the work of these modern public folklore pioneers helped shape the field, the idea of applied folklore took on new political meanings in the context of the Depression, particularly through liberal WPA programs and left-wing reform initiatives tied to the Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA). Both the New Deal’s populist celebration of the marginal and the Popular Front’s radical Americanism required artists and intellectuals to go out and find “the people”—to discover the nation’s cultural heritage and to employ the traditions of this heritage to aid Americans struggling through the Depression. Many key public folklorists of this era worked in New Deal agencies while maintaining left-wing political sympathies, views that shaped both their interpretation of folklore and their projects in public folklore. Regardless of position, they all maintained the dual desire to make folklore relevant to the people and to use it to educate Americans about their history and heritage—one that they argued was shaped by civic ideals of cultural pluralism, political democracy, and social justice. It was also an inherently diverse history because, as they argued, “national heritage” was actually a composite of myriad ethnic and racial groups from cities, towns, and rural areas across the country.

To applied folklorists, traditional music, stories, and handicrafts were historically significant because they reflected traditions that were handed down from generation to generation or that were created in response to specific historical conditions. As such, they lay at the core of American heritage and provided particular insight into the national past. Furthermore, this was a people’s history because it came directly from the people, and the people with whom public folklorists were concerned were often the same groups that many public historians would come to engage—namely, those from politically disenfranchised and economically marginalized communities. Finally, folk culture represented a living history. Because local communities continued to practice traditions that passed from one generation to the next, these traditions had the ability to connect the past to the present. Rather than collecting folk traditions as cultural specimens to be preserved in the amber of academic
archives, applied folklorists sought to infuse these traditions into mainstream culture in order to connect Americans to their local—and national—heritage. These protopublic folklorists encouraged people to find, record, and especially to practice the traditions of their local communities.

Each summer, the leadership and staff of Camp Woodland put the values of applied folklore into practice. Through field trips to different villages and hamlets in the Catskills, campers collected songs and stories and then returned what they collected from individual informants back to the community through dramatic performances, an annual folk festival, and a camper-staffed Museum of Work Tools. All of these activities contributed to the “camp’s project of preserving and spreading enjoyment of the hitherto neglected folkways of the region . . . the folk culture of the people.” Furthermore, it was an effort that had an inherently radical bent: Woodland’s folklore program “pioneered the effort to make American folk culture, particularly folk music, the basis for a radical political culture,” according to historian Paul Mishler.

As with almost all other aspects of the camp, the folklore program was steeped in progressive education. At the Downtown Community School and Little Red Schoolhouse, Studer emphasized teaching history through primary sources and firsthand experiences, an emphasis that became the hallmark of the folklore program at Woodland. The first step of the program included community field trips, which became the “backbone of camp life.” While traveling beyond the camp boundaries was common throughout the summer through hikes of varying lengths, the folklore field trips were specifically designed to teach students “first hand what life in the Catskills was like in the past, and what it is like now.” Studer argued that by learning the songs and stories—the living lore—of the region directly from local residents, students would be able to effectively connect the past with the present. Each camper was able to participate in two trips per summer, even when the number of campers reached upward of 250. Through these trips, campers explored the histories of neighboring towns as well as local communities that were no longer extant, like Shalom Hill, a utopian Jewish community that developed during the 1830s. In 1949, one of the field trips for group 8 of the work camp was to a town that was about to be flooded to create a new reservoir for New York City. According to a series of camper articles, they visited with the editor of the Margaretville Daily News to learn how local residents felt about being displaced. Other field trips explored forms of labor in the region, such
as dairying, lumbering, quarrying, and tanning. The emphasis on labor folklore, especially work songs, was common among both academic and applied folklorists of the era. One trip was to Chinchester, a town built around a furniture factory. In 1942, campers wrote a play about Chinchester based on the interviews they took with local resident Harry Haas and others, which they performed at that year’s folk festival.28

Camp staff designed the field trips to engage campers in collecting folk songs and stories while conducting oral histories. Campers often relayed their experiences to the rest of the camp community in a weekly newsletter, *Catskill Caller*, and the camp yearbook, *Neighbors*, both of which the campers ran themselves. Through short articles, they wrote of what they learned and how conversations with local narrators shaped their views. The field trips illustrated both the applied learning model as well as the community idea. Studer recognized that, as a group of outsiders that moved into an area, Woodland was not an organic part of the local community. He therefore hoped that it would become “a camp that the community accepts but which represents something beyond what a community itself has achieved.” The folklore program provided the cornerstone of this effort: by going out into the community the campers were forging strong connections with local residents. They continued this effort at the camp itself by inviting residents like George Van Kleek as callers at the weekly square dances. They also enlisted Orson Slack, an eighty-three-year-old lumberman, to help campers write and perform a play about Boney Quillan, “a folk hero of the rafting-lumbering days of the Catskills.”29

Not only did collecting folk traditions tie Woodland to the surrounding towns, but it also illustrated a particular version of cultural conservation common among applied folklorists of the era. Many believed that local traditions were endangered as older generations passed away and younger generations either moved from the area or were more interested in pop culture. Studer therefore designed the folklore program with the express intention of generating local interest in regional traditions, explaining that through this effort, the camp could become “an instrument through which the people of a region become conscious of their folk traditions and of their local history” and that it would “give old people of the community a sense of dignity as transmitter of the heritage.”30 Applied folklorists and folk enthusiasts like Studer believed that local folklore could best be preserved by encouraging people from local communities to continue to practice those traditions rather than merely
collecting them for the purpose of depositing them in institutional archives. Furthermore, introducing the campers to folk culture could inspire a new generation to take up the mantle of preserving—and practicing—folk traditions. Folk music was therefore integrated into everyday life at Woodland, with singing folk songs around the campfire and weekly folk dances being regular features of the camp experience. Woodland also hired Pete Seeger to make an annual appearance and employed other folk singers like Bessie Jones, who taught songs from the Georgia Sea Islands.

The annual culmination of the folklore program was the Folk Festival of the Catskills. The festival, which was open to the community and often performed in the community at local centers like the American Legion Hall in Phoenicia, was divided into three parts. The first was a cantata that incorporated local history and folklore composed by a professional musician commissioned by the camp and performed by campers; the second was a series of performances by local musicians; and the third was a set of camper performances based in local folklore and music. Even this program had larger social objectives, especially during the camp’s early years. The counselor’s handbook of 1945 explained that the “basic purpose” of the festival was “to afford the children an opportunity to participate in a community project of social importance. [The] festival has for its purpose the building of unity between people of the city and people of the country, between people of various races, religions, and national origins.” Even in the appreciation of folk music, the larger civic mission of Woodland was strong.

In addition to the large festival, the camp sponsored smaller performances by campers throughout the summer. Again, these were events directed to local residents that campers created and executed. As with the festival, campers often performed these plays at community sites including American Legion Halls and Grange Halls. They also reached an even wider audience by recording broadcasts aired on a local radio station in the city of Kingston. During the summer of 1947, for example, students performed a play they wrote about the nineteenth-century Antirent War in the Hudson Valley. The play, *Down Rent*, was based on interviews campers conducted with local residents and research that they did at the town of Woodstock’s library. Among the invited guests were members of the Historical Society of Woodstock. That same season, the campers performed a play at the Mt. Tremper Church called *Out of the Valley*, which dramatized the plight of families being relocated from the Lackawack Valley for the impending reservoir.
The third component of the folklore program at Woodland, what Studer referred to as the “heart” of the program, was the Museum of Work Tools that the students collected on their field trips from local residents and by donations. All the objects displayed were chosen because they “reflect[ed] the past industries of the Catskill region.” Even this effort exemplified applied learning, as older campers ran the museum as part of their work component, and interaction with the local community, because it was open to local residents throughout the summer. Studer sought to engage an even wider local audience by developing a mobile exhibit run by work campers that would travel to small villages in the Catskills in order to reach those who could not come to the camp to visit the museum.

Studer’s incorporation of folklore into camp programs dated back to his early days at Camp Hilltop in New Jersey. While serving as the head counselor there he also took students on field trips that were intrinsic to the camp’s mission of being “a democracy of learning by doing,” to teach children democratic values “by activities rather than by preaching or lecturing”—a mission that became the guiding principle of Woodland as well. Through field trips, students were not just learning fun songs and stories but rather learning history, particularly the social history of people traditionally omitted from the historic record, long before academic and public historians would do so. For instance, when recalling one of the first times he took campers at Woodland to meet with a local resident, a resident whose stories and knowledge typified “the kind of oral history and folklore we used for the education of Woodland children,” Studer wrote, “As Uncle Newt rambled on, one could see the history of a region unfold before one’s eyes, the earthy history that is compounded of the experiences of the people. . . . Uncle Newt is a symbol of a type of history that has never been adequately known to Americans and never adequately utilized in education. He is a symbol of the social history that clings to the hills and rivers and the crossroads of America.” The heavy romanticism of this statement notwithstanding, it does summarize Studer’s argument that folklore provided insight into local history. Indeed, if history educators recognized the significance of folklore as a historical resource they might be better able to construct a more socially inclusive narrative of the American past.

In connecting folklore and social history, Studer echoed a core tenet of applied folklore. In 1940, folklorist Benjamin Botkin argued that folklore was a useful, but often ignored, source of social and cultural history in an
aptly titled essay, “Folklore as a Neglected Source of Social History.” In this piece, Botkin called for historians and folklorists to overcome disciplinary boundaries and work together in using folklore to understand both the historical and contemporary circumstances of local communities. But rather than focusing on folklore of the distant past, as both had been doing, historians and folklorists should concern themselves with the traditions that were currently being practiced in local communities. This “living lore” or “folklore in the making,” according to Botkin, “has a more direct relation to contemporary or recent social structure and is the expression of social change and cultural conflict.”

Furthermore, because of the traditional emphasis on the historic deeds of famous men, the people of folk communities had been largely omitted from the historical record such that folkways provide one of the few means of accessing underrepresented histories. Botkin explains,

If we admitted no impediments to a marriage of true minds between folklore and history, the product of their union would be folk history. This is history produced by the collaboration of the folklorist and the historian with each other and with the folk; a history of the whole people . . . a history also in which the people are the historians as well as the history, telling their own story in their own words—Everyman’s history, for Everyman to read.

If there was a kind of history that was by the people and for the people, folk history was it.

After articulating the historical significance of folk traditions, Botkin continued to explain how applied folklorists interpreted folklore. Rather than simply being a product, folklore was a process; therefore, folk traditions were inherently dynamic, with each singer or storyteller leaving his or her stamp on various songs and stories. Again, Botkin explained, what makes a song or story folklore was “its history through diffusion and acculturation,” meaning that even commercial songs could become folk traditions depending on how they were used. For example, the song “Oh Susanna,” written by Stephen Foster, is not a folk song in its origin. But when miners of the Gold Rush adopted and adapted it, it became an example of a folk tradition. The significance of this song lay in the process of how it became a folk song: “Just why and how this song appealed to the miner in his particular socio-economic situation concerns the social historian as well as the folklorist.”
Midcentury public folklorists shared similar interpretations of, and objectives for, their work. As cultural conservationists, they argued that the best way to protect these traditions was to rekindle popular interest in them, which would save them from a fate of cultural oblivion. For this reason, many applied folklorists directed their efforts to children, encouraging them to learn the folkways of their communities. For Woodland, this meant learning the folkways of the Catskills and situating these traditions within the context of local history and contemporary local practices. The field trips of the folklore program espoused Botkin’s idea of living lore because they were expressly intended to educate the children in the fact that folk traditions remain vital components of contemporary culture. By taking campers out to learn of these traditions from residents, they “gave new impetus to the study of local life and history,” Studer explained. He continued, “It was our aim to find the history on the landscape, and give our students the feeling of the humanity that is associated with places. We did more than try to establish what went on in the past: we also searched for the present. Our explorations led us off the main highways to the places where regional characteristics still remain, and regional difference can be enjoyed and cherished.”

While these trips were designed to teach campers to appreciate and to better understand folk culture, they were also illustrative of the camp’s community ethos. Even though the time that the campers spent living in the region was temporary, the folklore program reinforced the idea that the camp was part of that community—and thus the campers were as well.

The Radicalism of Camp Woodland
Besides sharing a common understanding of what constituted folklore and how it could best be preserved, many public folklorists of this era maintained similar political views and affiliations. These folklorists, especially those working in New Deal agencies, often turned their interest in recovering and popularizing the traditions of socially and economically marginalized Americans into advocating for social, political, and economic justice on their behalf. Many of these folklorists believed that the infusion of folk traditions into the cultural mainstream would connect Americans to their cultural heritage while bringing the nation closer to achieving social equality. According to Charles Seeger, a composer and folklorist who served as a technical advisor in the Special Skills division of the Resettlement Administration, the folklorists working in federal agencies were social progressives who were boring from
within through their work in New Deal projects. In this context, *boring from within* meant “getting as much consideration of the human being as a member of society, regardless of who he was or what he did, or how much money he had or anything else. . . . Wherever you had a chance to work for the view of things from below up, you would do it.”45 By protecting and valoring the cultural traditions of folk groups, Seeger and others believed that New Deal folklorists would be able to act as advocates for these communities, working to fight their marginalization in the process.

Norman Studer and other leaders of Woodland were strongly invested in politically progressive causes from the time of the camp’s founding. Historian Paul Mischler groups Woodland with other radical camps that emerged from the “Communist-oriented radical movement,” which all shared a commitment to fighting ethnic and racial prejudice, “promoting interethnic and interracial cooperation,” and supporting the labor movement. Camps of this ilk taught children values that were instilled at home but that were often marginalized in larger society.46 Of all the political causes espoused by the left during the midcentury, the one for which the camp demonstrated unwavering support was civil rights and racial justice. Camp leadership infused civil rights advocacy into almost every aspect of the camp—from daily activities to the very design and structure of the camp itself.

What made Camp Woodland stand out among other summer camps of the era was that it was integrated from the outset and remained so for its entire duration.47 This was not only a conscious decision but also something that camp directors consistently worked to achieve. Rather than simply being open to integration, camp leaders made deliberate efforts to recruit Black campers and staff members. While Woodland was a “pioneer in interracial camping,” it took a significant amount of work on the part of camp leaders to recruit African American campers and to educate White parents on why this was a critical aspect of Woodland’s social and educational mission. In a document titled “Camp Woodland’s Designs for Integration,” Studer noted that after WWII, the camp worked on strengthening its program of “intercultural, interracial education,” even as the educational system started “backing off from its wartime concern with uprooting racism in schools.” The leaders of Woodland were disturbed by this trend because they agreed with W. E. B. Du Bois “that the color line was the major issue of the twentieth century.”48 This would become another guiding principle for the next decade.
The initial rhetoric Woodland leaders used to explain the need for an integrated camp was steeped in the language of WWII-era intercultural education. This was especially apparent in an early description of how staffing decisions were made:

There are a good number of Negro members of the staff, occupying all types of positions. Many of our white children who come from neighborhoods where Negroes are excluded except in the position of domestic workers, see Negro people occupying important positions of leadership at camp. Often the camp doctor is a Negro woman. Also on our staff may be Japanese or Chinese-Americans, Puerto Ricans and people of other backgrounds. When we celebrate our camp’s traditional World Youth Week we can draw from our own staff for personal accounts of the life of young people in many parts of the world. Our staff is the living lesson of the One World idea. . . . With a deepening appreciation of each other comes a deeper understanding of the problems that face minority peoples.49

In addition to regular staff members, the camp reached out to African American folklorists to work with students and invited members of the student sit-in movement to work at the camp. In 1960, Angeline Butler, a former student at Fisk University and activist in the student sit-in movement, joined the staff at Woodland as a camp counselor.

Maintaining an integrated staff was a key aspect of establishing an interracial camp, but Woodland also needed to attract Black campers. Sometimes, this effort went hand in hand with the camp’s emphasis on directly educating students about contemporary issues in the civil rights movement. In 1958, for example, Studer personally invited the nine students who participated in desegregating Central High School in Little Rock to attend Woodland for the summer. More typically, the camp worked locally, recruiting students from diverse backgrounds in New York City and surrounding areas with the incentive of financial aid. In order to maintain socioeconomic diversity, the camp’s parent association raised money for a scholarship fund “to insure a democratic cross section of children from all racial, cultural and economic groups.”50 But inviting and financially supporting children from ethnic and racial minority groups to attend camp was only one aspect of achieving an interracial camp: the camp directors, all of whom were White, grappled with the difficulties of maintaining an integrated camp in a region that was predominantly White
and segregated. A major problem that they faced was housing for visiting Black families. In 1949, most local boarding houses refused to serve African Americans, which prompted a concerted search for integrated facilities. The camp began to construct housing on campus to ease this burden, but in the meantime, the Intercultural Committee of the parent association issued a letter listing local resorts and hotels that would “welcome all our parents.” Each year they updated the list; in 1949, there were only two; by 1960, that number had grown to thirty-seven. Rather than just directing this letter to Black parents, the Association expressly urged all parents to stay “only at places on the attached list.” This was in keeping with the main reason they selected this camp: “We as parents chose Camp Woodland for our children because it affords them the opportunity to work, to grow, play and live with other children, regardless of race, color, or creed, in the atmosphere of democracy and equality. We do this consciously because we want our children to develop healthy social attitudes which can only grow from friendship and knowledge.” Efforts like this illustrated the camp’s unwavering support for integration. Furthermore, it exemplified the progressive educational emphasis of learning by doing—of educating young campers through deeds as well as words.

Because the staff at Woodland centered integration in the Woodland experience, it is fitting that issues of racial justice were also intrinsic to the camp’s folklore program. Group sing-alongs were an integral part of the folklore program and to the camp experience as a whole, and the camp directors made a point to include both Black and White musical traditions. African American folk singers like Bessie Jones taught the significance of Black folk songs for African Americans and the role they played in shaping American culture as a whole. Studer explained, “Black folklore had special meaning for the black camper. John Henry was more than a strong person: he was to the black child a symbol of inner strength and determination.” The Fourth of July celebration reinforced this view because it often focused on themes of freedom in American history; the performances always included at least one skit on the Black freedom struggle, in which the performers would link historical actions to present-day concerns. They also focused on leaders who played a significant role in the past like Frederick Douglass and Sojourner Truth, as well as contemporary figures such as Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X. Woodland’s exploration of the freedom struggle was not restricted to domestic issues but exposed campers to the global fight for racial justice as well.
By the 1950s, for instance, Pete Seeger began incorporating South African freedom songs in his annual visits to the camp.\textsuperscript{53}

While campers were exposed to folk songs and stories pertaining to the Black freedom movement in the southern United States, Studer also wanted campers to draw connections to historical issues of inequality in the North and local civil rights efforts from the past and present. Even in the predominantly White region of the rural Catskills, there was a local figure who had been prominent in the abolitionist and women’s suffrage movements: Sojourner Truth. Raised in slavery in Old Hurley, Truth had a strong connection to the area, but that connection was largely ignored in local history—something that the people of Woodland sought to change. Their effort to revive the memory of Truth began shortly after the end of WWII. One of the early field trips was to the town of Old Hurley to see the house where Truth was enslaved. Reviving her memory in local history was important because, Studer explained, “she belongs among the top rank of American leadership, and since her death has suffered the fate of our black leaders, of being blocked out and almost forgotten.” In 1952, the camp commissioned a cantata about her life by Bob De Cormier; one hundred campers performed it at that year’s Folk Festival of the Catskills, as well as at other performances in the town of Kingston and in New York City. Still another effort included organizing a committee of camp members and residents of Kingston and Old Hurley to create a memorial in her honor.\textsuperscript{54}

The folklore program at Woodland emphasized the history and legacy of Sojourner Truth not only because of her importance to numerous rights-based causes but because her roots were in Ulster County, allowing the Woodland programs to emphasize her importance to both local and national history. She was also the ideal figure through which the camp could impart its educational message of teaching “black and white children a different set of values and attitudes from those traditionally taught. It was a program intended to produce the kind of democratic [person], who would in their lives carry out the ideals expressed by the founders of our country.” Studer continued, “The story of Sojourner Truth was carried home in the hearts and minds of campers and counselors, and her courage gave many young people the strength to do [what] was needed to be done.” This is precisely what happened to Jane Fourner, who played the role of Truth during the first performance of the cantata. According to a letter from her mother, the experience of learning about and playing the part gave her daughter the courage to pass
picket lines of White residents protesting efforts to integrate the school she attended in Washington, DC.55

Citizens with varying political positions and philosophies led the integration movement of the 1950s through ’60s; it was not a movement born out of left-wing politics. However, in the context of the early Cold War era, during the midst of the second Red Scare, anticommunist crusaders often used citizens’ support for civil rights as evidence of radical sympathies. Left-wing activists and sympathizers had supported civil rights since the early decades of the twentieth century, a fact that House Unamerican Activities Committee (HUAC) and other state and federal agencies used against suspected communists during loyalty investigations. Historian Zoe Burkholder explains that those called to testify often faced questions about their attitudes toward interracial mixing, specifically whether they “entertained individuals of another race at the home.” To answer in the affirmative almost certainly meant being branded as a subversive.56 While this kind of political atmosphere stymied some of the left-wing pro-civil rights activities that had flourished during the later years of the Depression, it did not dampen Woodland’s pro-integration stance and civil rights advocacy. Perhaps because of the camp’s staunch political progressivism, in 1956 the Joint Legislative Committee on Charitable and Philanthropic Agencies and Organizations of New York began investigating Woodland for communist indoctrination. A report from the investigation specifically identified Studer as a “longtime member of the Communist Party.” Studer was even subpoenaed to testify, but no formal charges were filed against him or the camp.57

In 1961, when the future of the camp was in jeopardy because of inter-necine fighting between Studer and three former board members, many former campers and their parents wrote in support of Studer, with several specifically commending the progressive values that the camp instilled in themselves or in their children. In one letter, former camper Katy Wechalen explained that her parents had been targeted by the KKK in Levittown, Long Island, when they openly supported the first African American family that moved into the community. Her parents wanted her to have a positive experience living in an integrated space, so they sent her to Woodland. Because they could not afford the fee, Wechalen was a beneficiary of the scholarship program. In the letter, she noted her love of learning about the folklore and history of the Catskills through the field trips that Studer led. Yet what truly made the Woodland experience remarkable, she explained, was the social and
political awareness that the experience imbued among the campers: “Per-
haps even more wonderful to me than the other things at the camp were the
discussions we had on the important issues of the day. The oldest as well as
the youngest groups in camp discussed these issues and put on skits expres-
sing their feelings on the issues.” This was a sentiment echoed by another
former camper, Joanie Bernhard: “The two summers spent at Woodland
are my ideal—in personal and educational values. Whenever I get disgusted
with my present teaching situation I look back to Woodland and think of the
place where I have lived and seen all my ideals in practice.”

The Woodland experience continued to shape former campers’ lives and
careers long after the camp closed in 1962. In 1997, the Hudson Valley Study
Center at the State University of New York at New Paltz conducted a survey of
former campers in connection to a Woodland reunion that they hosted. One
of the questions asked whether attending camp at Woodland shaped former
campers’ career choices. One respondent, Karl E. Klare, a law professor at
Northeastern University, stated that it influenced him “in a general way—e.g.
a commitment to social justice.” This was a sentiment that many respon-
dents echoed, noting that even while the experience may not have shaped
their career paths, it did have a significant influence on other life choices. It
is also a sentiment that Studer recognized during the rise of social activism
during the 1960s: “In the integration struggle, in the effort to ban the atomic
bomb, and in the struggles against the war in Vietnam, Woodlanders took
heroic parts. They had learned at an early age that struggle for democratic
rights was written into the history of this country from its birth.” While
parents may have selected this camp because it fit their social and political
views, the experience profoundly shaped campers’ views as well.

The Woodland Legacy in Public History
In her genealogy of public history pedagogy, Rebecca Conard traces the insti-
tutional development of the field while exploring the shifting ideologies of
public history theory and practice. Conrad explains that while “public his-
tory” became a catchall term for history outside of the academy by the late
1970s, during the following decade a cohort of public (and academic) his-
torians pushed the social perspective in history even further to advocate for
“people’s history,” emphasizing the histories of marginalized groups. While
some of these scholars would go on to create the Radical History Review,
others focused on injecting this perspective into traditional public history
venues such as museums and archives.
According to historians of public history, what is understood as public history in the United States—directing history to a public audience, incorporating the public into acts of history-making, and connecting the past to the present—largely emerged from the academic turns and social movements of the 1960s. Although historians had been working in the public realm over a century prior, the ideas that emerged from these midcentury movements helped form the theoretical and practical foundation of public history. Generating a socially and culturally inclusive understanding of the American past by incorporating the perspectives of groups traditionally ignored in academic history, enabling the people to speak for themselves in their own words, and using this history to change an unjust present were ideas incubated in the social and cultural upheavals wrought by the oldest of the baby boomers and their elder siblings.

In almost every respect, the programs at Camp Woodland set a precedent for the theories and practices that would come to shape public history pedagogy and practice well before the social movements of the 1960s. Steeped in the theories of applied folklore, and prior to the social turn in United States history, the folklore program used folk culture as a means to understand local history and the history of groups typically omitted from historical accounts. As the Oral History Research Office at Columbia University (the primary oral history project of this era) focused on collecting interviews with political leaders, Studer and other folklorists connected to Woodland fanned the region, seeking narrators among local residents. While this effort was akin to the kinds of interview projects that emerged from the populist, and leftist, milieu of Depression-era America, it also had the same kind of vision that would come to guide the Oral History Research Center at Indiana University, under the direction of John Bodnar, with its primary objective to “collect, preserve, and interpret twentieth-century history” through personal accounts.62

Furthermore, several former Woodland campers were among the first wave of public historians in the United States—a career path that they partially attributed to their camp experience. For instance, as Shari Segel Goldberg wrote in her own response to a survey from a reunion in 1997, Woodland had a direct effect on her becoming the Curator of Special Exhibitions at the Museum of Jewish Heritage in New York City. She received an MA in anthropology and spent ten years at the American Museum of Natural History as Margaret Mead’s assistant, and her subsequent work in the “Museum Field can be seen as an extension of the collecting of artifacts and stories from the local Catskill Community.”63 She notes that campers in her cohort including
Nancy Foner and Richard Bauman followed similar paths. After the Woodland reunion in 1997, law professor Karl E. Klare wrote to the reunion organizers to express his gratitude for being able to participate in the event. Not only did it provide him with opportunity to reconnect with old friends, but it also reminded him of the ideals that the camp helped inculcate in him by providing an “opportunity to reaffirm the values Camp Woodland stood for, including a deep sense of community, a commitment to diversity, and particularly a commitment to recovering and celebrating the history and folk culture of the Catskill Mountains and the Hudson Valley regions.”

From the early years of formal public history pedagogy in the 1970s through contemporary practices of the twenty-first century, educators in the field have emphasized civic engagement, the progressive politics inherent in interpretations of history-from-below, the engagement of students in applied projects working in collaboration with local communities, and an inherently interdisciplinary historical perspective. These qualities were all inherent in the design and implementation of the annual summer experience at Camp Woodland. Institutions like this thus reveal the long progressive roots of both the practice and pedagogy of public history in the United States.

Notes

4 Camp Woodland Brochure, n.d., p. 1, series 4, box 1, folder 25; Norman Studer, “To Save the Woodland Idea,” 1961, pp. 1–4, M. E. Grenander Department of Special Collections and Archives, University Libraries, University at Albany, State University of New York (known as the Studer Papers), series 8, subseries 1, box 2, folder 52. Unless otherwise noted, all other archival sources are from this archive.
5 In 1950, Studer became the director of the Downtown Community School, another progressive school in New York City. Studer would continue in this position until the school closed in 1971.


8 James Banks, *Multiethnic Education: Practices and Promises* (Bloomington, IN: Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation, 1977), 8. Intercultural education efforts, however, did not continue past the 1950s, and they largely failed to become ingrained in mainstream education because they occurred in isolated pockets, largely in areas of high diversity, such as cities, rather than becoming a part of curricula across the nation.

9 James Henry Powell, “The Concept of Cultural Pluralism in American Thought, 1915-1965” (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1971)159–61, 163, 178. Powell notes that this theory was alternately referred to as “cultural democracy” and “cultural pluralism” during the years 1940–55.

10 Mischler, *Raising Reds*, 100.


13 Norman Studer, “Community Life—Chapter 1 Progressive Education: Beginnings,” 1–2 series 8, subseries 1, box 1, folder 28.


15 Work was a critical aspect of the camp experience because it was seen as a necessary condition for living in a society. Work, Studer later wrote, “was the activity that turned campers from being mere consumers into complete citizens, actively changing their life and conditions. Everybody works at Woodland because work is basic to life, and is an experience necessary for completion as a human being.” Norman Studer, “The Woodland Story,” chap. 2, series 8, subseries 1, box 3, folder 13. Campers at nearby radical camp called Wo-Chi-Ca also contributed to the construction of camp buildings, first because there were no buildings on the campsite, but then because work became integrated into the camp’s ideology, “for it was thought that there was no better way to teach children the dignity of labor . . . than to make work one of the basic activities of the camp.” Mischler, *Raising Reds*, 95.

16 *Camp Woodland Brochure*, 1.


20 For instance, during this period, folklorist Benjamin Botkin wrote anthologies of folklore directed to adult and children audiences; Alan Lomax, another applied
A folklorist, hosted a folk music educational program on CBS radio’s *American School of the Air*; and record companies began issuing albums of folk music with a specific educative emphasis.

The academic/applied divide in folklore was bridged by scholars who used folklore in their research and pedagogy, even if they did not operate as strictly academic folklorists. For instance, Harold Thompson and Louis C. Jones at the New York State College for Teachers often engaged students in projects of collecting and interpreting folk materials. For a detailed and engaging exploration of their work, see William S. Walker, “Collecting Folk Histories: Harold W. Thompson and Student Field Research in the 1930s,” *Public Historian* 37, no. 3 (August 2015). Notable University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill sociologist Harold Odum also based much of his work on folk material. For further information, see Howard Odum, *Folk, Region, and Society: Selected Papers*, ed. Katherine Jocher (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964); Lynn Moss Sanders, *Howard W. Odum’s Folklore Odyssey: Transformation to Tolerance through African American Folk Studies* (Athens, GA: UGA Press, 2003).

Woodland’s first music director, Herbert Haufrecht, also worked in the Resettlement Administration as a field director in West Virginia.

*Mischler, Raising Reds*, 88.

Hudson Valley Study Center at SUNY New Paltz newsletter, Fall 1997, series 4, subseries 3, box 1, folder 4.

Norman Studer, “Camp Woodland Trips,” n.d., series 8, subseries 1, box 1, folder 12.

Camper Writings, articles from 1949 *Neighbors*, series 4, subseries 2, box 1, folder 6.

“Possible Trips for Groups,” n.d., series 4, subseries 3, box 2, folder 12; “Camp Woodland Trips,” n.d., series 4, subseries 3, box 2, folder 13. Promotional literature explained this process: “Older children go on field trips to collect songs and stories, some of which were then turned into plays performed by younger children.” *Camp Woodland Brochure*, 1.

“Camp Woodland Brochure #1,” series 4, box 1, folder 25.

Untitled document, series 4, box 1, folder 27.


Studer, 1; *Camp Woodland Counselor’s Handbook*, 3.

Cut newspaper clipping on a radio talk given by Elizabeth Day on WKNY, Kingston, NY, transcript, August 17, 1946, series 4, box 1, folder 26.


Studer, *Camp Woodland and Folklore*, 2.


Studer, chaps. 2 and 11.

Botkin, 312. Botkin and Studer often crossed paths both professionally and personally. Botkin is credited in Studer’s publication Folk Songs of the Catskills, based on songs collected by him, Cazden, Haufrecht, and campers. Botkin also recorded the 1944 Folk Festival of the Catskills for the Archive of American Folksong, and his children attended the camp in 1945. Furthermore, both he and Studer were active in the New York Folklore Society.

Botkin, 312.

The folklorist Alan Lomax provides a key example of this effort. In 1940, he published the article “Music in Your Own Back Yard” in American Girl, the magazine of the Girl Scouts, in which he encourages young readers to find and record the music of their own communities and, moreover, to practice singing the songs in order to preserve them. Alan Lomax, “Music in Your Own Backyard,” American Girl (October 1940): 5–7, 46, 49. See also Ronald D. Cohen, ed., Alan Lomax: Selected Writings, 1934–1997 (New York: Routledge, 2005), 47–55.


Charles Seeger, interview, April 6, 1976, 32–33, David K. Dunaway Collection, American Folklife Center, Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

Mischler, Raising Reds, 88.

Woodland was not the only camp to promote interracial camping. Camp Wo-Chi-Ca was also integrated, but these two camps strayed far from the social norm of American camping.

Untitled document, series 4, box 1, folder 27; Studer, “Camp Woodland’s Designs for Integration,” 1.

“Goals of Camp,” n.d., p. 12, series 4, box 1, folder 27.


Here, Studer is referencing the song “John Henry.” Folklorist Alan Lomax also specifically referenced this song to illustrate themes of interracial solidarity in American
folklore. In an article in the New York Times Magazine from 1947, Lomax highlighted the lyric “A man ain’t nothin’ but a man!,” explaining that “in this sense America has reached out and welcomed the folklore of all the minority groups, racial and national. Jim Crow prejudice has been inoperative in folklore.” Alan Lomax, “America Sings the Saga of America,” New York Times Magazine, January 26, 1947, 41.


Studer, 13. The memorial was never finished because the camp closed in 1962, prior to its completion. Official efforts to revival her memory began in 1970 when Ulster County officials declared March 12 Sojourner Truth Day.

53 Studer, 13, 14.


58 Studer, Woodland Sampler.

59 Conard, “Pragmatic Roots of Public History,” 115, 117.

60 Conard, 117.

61 Shari Segel Goldberg, email to Neil Larson, Hudson Valley Study Center, October 31, 1997, series 4, subseries 3, box 1, folder 4. Many others who also responded that Woodland influenced their career decisions were primary, secondary, or post-secondary educators.

62 Klare, letter to Bowen.