

Interpreting Personalized Industrial Heritage in the Mining Towns of Cumberland County, Nova Scotia: Landscape Examples from Springhill and River Hebert

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Article abstract

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Abstract

As analysis of deindustrialization shifts from economic processes to community response, public landscapes become the locus for the struggle over memory. The interpretation of collective memory has been considered through oral histories, worker narratives, and public art. Missing from this analysis, however, are the personalized landscapes that also contribute to the understanding of industrial heritage in deindustrializing cities and small towns. This article considers a small number of artifacts and constructed objects that create personalized landscapes of industrial heritage in two mining towns in Cumberland County, Nova Scotia. Interpreting these landscapes highlights their ambiguity, the contributions they may make to processes of local cultural resistance, and their intensely personal motivation. The analysis questions the extent to which these landscapes reflect a wider coherent heritage discourse or function to reinforce local community, family, and place identity.

Résumé

réponses communautaires, la lutte pour la mémoire devient centrée sur le paysage public. L'interprétation de la mémoire collective a été étudiée à travers les histoires orales, les récits des travailleurs et l'art public. Cependant, les paysages personnalisés qui contribuent aussi à la compréhension du patrimoine industriel dans les villes et petites communautés désindustrialisées manquent à cette analyse. Cet article étudie un petit nombre d'objets fabriqués qui créent le paysage personnalisé du patrimoine industriel de deux villes minières du comté de Cumberland, Nouvelle-Écosse. L'interprétation de ces paysages accentue leur ambiguïté, ainsi que la contribution qu'ils peuvent offrir aux processus de résistance culturelle locale et leur motivation intensément personnelle. L'analyse examine à quel point ces paysages reflètent un plus vaste discours patrimonial cohérent ou servent à renforcer l'identité de la communauté locale, de la famille et du lieu.

Introduction

Traditional scholarly approaches to deindustrialization in North America relied heavily on analysis of the processes of dismantling industrial economies, particularly in the contexts of enhanced global competition, rapidly changing technologies, and highly-mobile capital. Much of the scholarly literature of the 1970s and 1980s focused on large urban centres in the American "Rust Belt" and the responses of citizens, governments, and organized labour to industrial decline characterized by plant shutdowns, job loss, and globalization of production.¹

With corporate capital pitted against local communities, the analytical question was not so much over what Steven High describes as the "predictable result" of such an unequal pairing but rather the extent of economic and social dislocation faced by communities and their abilities to be part of any form of economic recovery.² More recent scholarship, however, has moved "beyond the ruins" and particularly beyond the "body count" approach in understanding change in manufacturing industry³ to focus instead on the nature of post-industrial economies and societies and the communities that actively engage cultural means of contesting memory in the creation of industrial heritage.⁴ This refocusing of the discussion has allowed a more nuanced understanding of the nature (and harnessing) of community (including its local, regional, and international scales) as well as turning scholarly attention to deindustrialization as a phenomenon in rural settings and small towns.

This change is particularly significant for analysis of deindustrialization in Maritime Canada with its long history of industrial change, its single-resource communities, and comparatively slow-paced urban development. Further, deindustrialization and subsequent contesting of the forms and nature of industrial heritage have tended to be approached as public issues, whether focusing on economic recovery or community expression, resulting in the creation of landscapes that commodify the industrial past for contemporary public consumption (as public spectacle, urban image promotion, or entry-fee-paying museumification). The personalized responses of workers, families, and community members in the deindustrialized landscapes are almost entirely ignored in the existing literature, despite valuable attention being paid to the use of oral histories, informant interviews, and public art.⁵ While these landscapes are admittedly rare, the lack of attention in the studies to date has the unfortunate effect of ignoring these intensely personal reflections by the workers, families, and communities most directly affected by deindustrialization. A recent exception is the brief analysis by Dan MacDonald of an exhibition at the Cape Breton Centre for Heritage and Science, which includes personal objects constructed by steelworkers during break periods at the mill.⁶ The point is made clearly, however, that the personalized industrial heritage represented by this exhibition (with its focus on domesticity and the connections to workers' homes) is superseded in local contest over appropriate heritage tourism by the choice of rural Celtic Cape Breton symbolism, confirming earlier assessments of attitudes to the steel industry in Sydney.⁷

Personalized industrial heritage takes many forms, ranging from the use of industrial artifacts and the creation of iconic symbols in the contemporary urban and small-town landscape through to the oral histories and narratives that shape individual memory (and are passed through generations within families). This article addresses the use of artifacts and symbols to create

personalized landscapes of industrial heritage in two mining towns in Cumberland County, Nova Scotia, and argues that such landscapes provide important contributions to personal, family, community, and place identity. At once both memorial to a vibrant industrial past and contemporary indicator of individual pride, community membership, and perhaps resistance, these personal landscapes are not sanctioned by public institutions (other than being allowed to exist by default under current land-use zoning and planning legislation) and may or may not reflect the views of the broader community or municipal government. Their forms are individual and eclectic and frequently cross into folk art, resulting in vernacular landscapes that can both reinforce and resist public views on industrial heritage. In what follows, the conceptual context for a discussion of personalized industrial heritage is reviewed before turning to an interpretation of landscape examples from the towns of Springhill and River Hebert, Nova Scotia.

Situating Personal Landscapes in the Industrial Heritage Discourse

Public landscapes reflect state hegemony, corporate power, patriarchy, colonialism, gender, class, spectacle, and resistance—all built on the premise that landscapes can be interpreted as reflective texts.⁸ Landscapes of industrial heritage are subject to many of these contested influences, and numerous scholars have addressed the complex interplay of forces, particularly at the municipal level, where the creation of new post-industrial landscapes, drawing upon the industrial past for inspiration, provides a mechanism for economic development. In some cases these landscapes are historically accurate reflections of the industrial past, demonstrating the tension between past processes and contemporary use,⁹ in others, the result is a socially contingent historicist landscape with little authenticity, variously described by commentators as “imagineered,”¹⁰ “dissonant,”¹¹ or representative of the “past as a foreign country.”¹² The commodifying and “selling” of the industrial past for consumption by a heritage-seeking public has been largely public (or at least publicly visible), leading some municipal governments to new forms of entrepreneurialism that construct sanitized corporate images of towns and cities.¹³ In some cases, these processes have led to successful economic or social recovery, despite the promulgation of contradictory, inauthentic, or potentially dangerous landscapes (such as eco-tourism development on brown-field sites, expensive housing developments on former industrial waste dumps, and “new” heritage landscapes).¹⁴

Personalized industrial heritage makes no such claim for public or community economic recovery, but this article argues that the personalized landscape is subject to many of the same influences of corporate power, community expression, “imagineering,” and personal resistance. Communities in North America have generally accepted the creation of a contemporary heritage discourse, viewing it as either a legitimate social good or an agent of economic accumulation within a dominant capitalist framework. The selective and exclusionary nature of the publicly conceived heritage discourse frequently goes unchallenged,

however, particularly if communities are bent on celebrating or commodifying the industrial past. Personalized industrial heritage and its landscapes are generally constructed on private spaces and go through no public sanctioning process. Little is understood about these forms of personal expression, the extent to which they celebrate or resist processes of deindustrialization, and how the placement of these artifacts and symbols are negotiated into the urban and small town landscape. The landscapes of personalized industrial heritage may be considered in relation to two opposing positions in the literature on the heritage discourse.

First, for some scholars, heritage represents an explicit rejection of the meta-narratives of industrial capitalist development and a selective reading of the past so as to confirm individual and community identity in the landscape. With the industrial past viewed as an almost mythic time of solidity, employment, and material prosperity, the heritage discourse offers connections to past industrial successes and a celebration and commemoration of individual community and place identity. David Harvey argues that landscapes representing such community identities are a necessary antidote within an era of global dislocation and community fragmentation.¹⁵ Thus the industrial past and its heritage representation provide order, structure, simplicity, community, and a sense of place, all of which offer identity, association, and cultural resistance. The heritage discourse of personalized or community identity is not necessarily more historically accurate or authentic; indeed, scholars have argued that the harnessing of collective memory is inherently political and produces metaphors and landscapes that may be “more real than their referents.”¹⁶ While the examples discussed in this article include authentic industrial artifacts, there are also cases of constructed landscapes that symbolize and even form parodies of industrial processes.

Countering the “heritage as community identity and resistance” thesis is a second perspective that views industrial heritage as a relatively coherent discourse supported by, and in turn supporting, a hegemonic capitalist society and economy. Heritage landscapes are seen as increasingly anonymous sites of commodification, consumption, and spectacle that debase specific place identity. Industrial heritage may have a corporate sameness, a packaging and commodifying of spectacle, and a reductionist sanitization of the landscape to conform to the wants of the consuming public. In this view, rather than celebrating diversity, the heritage discourse functions within an existing capitalist meta-narrative, selecting and managing the cultural landscape so as to conform to the wishes of particular corporate, socio-economic, or political interests (including municipal and state governments) and raising important questions about historical accuracy, landscape authorship, disguise, subjugation, exclusion, and the management of carnivalesque spectacle.¹⁷ This perspective has been refined by locating it within cycles of investment and disinvestment that produce dynamic sites of accumulation and creative destruction.¹⁸ The selective commodification and consumption of past cultural values and landscapes

paradoxically destroys the past, remaking it in forms that satisfy contemporary markets. Significantly, while the discussion of creative destruction is usefully applied to rural areas, retailing, and urban spectacle, there has been relatively little application to industrial heritage sites (although Barthel and Francaviglia provide examples).¹⁹

In the present study, the analysis of personalized industrial heritage draws heavily on the first conceptualization, although it is clear that questions of authorship, commodification, consumption, and spectacle are significant also. As we shall see, personalized industrial heritage reflects both individual expression and a desire to be consumed in the public landscape as a form of spectacle.

To this end, recent scholarship on the nature of community in deindustrialized settings helps to inform the analysis that follows. It has been suggested that moving beyond deindustrialization to the cultural responses of communities has tended to build a romantic response to the travails of the industrial worker. The localism of a "romance of community" engages important issues of the connections that workers have to place and the creation of geographies of identity.²⁰ As will be suggested, personalized industrial landscapes in Cumberland County, Nova Scotia, demonstrate the continued importance of re-asserting place identity in the service of a contested heritage.

Contemporary Landscapes of the Industrial Past in Maritime Canada

Some of the most dramatic uses of industrial heritage in the creation of redeveloped landscapes come from large cities. Examples include waterfront redevelopments in Boston, New York, and London, the conversion of former steel mill sites to computer software-design parks in Pittsburgh, and the adoption of a new corporate image for Syracuse that trades on its earlier industrial economy.²¹ Conversely, scholarship on rural and small-town deindustrialisation has focused on material artifacts and industrial archaeology rather than the uses of the industrial past in a heritage discourse.²² While many small towns and urban areas in Maritime Canada have used the industrial past to create public and present-day heritage landscapes as part of their economic development, personalized landscapes have been largely ignored, despite the long history of deindustrialization in the region.

It is suggested in the present study that the discourse of industrial heritage is used in a more romanticized, anti-modernist way in Maritime Canada where the pace of change is slower and where the commodification of the historical past is bound up in a strong tourism and hospitality industry. In some cases in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick there is evidence of the rejection of the industrial past and its replacement in the industrial heritage discourse with an even more mythic proto-industrialism with links to a rural idyll and a more consumer-driven view of heritage.²³ This is particularly the case for industries such as mining, timber processing, shipbuilding, and foundries where it has been argued that an anti-modern heritage is created as a spec-

tacle to mask more problematic issues surrounding the modernist industrial past, such as environmental degradation, industrial pollution, and social and economic disparity.²⁴ The presentation of a benign, celebratory, and anti-modernist heritage may carefully and selectively obscure the imperatives of the market that lie behind the construction of these landscapes or the social and physical ills that affected communities.²⁵ Maritime Canada contains numerous small-scale examples of the construction of industrial heritage landscapes ranging from former shipbuilding sites to timber mills, grist mills, fish-processing plants, wharves, carriage factories, foundries, and coal mines, drawing upon the complex historical and geographical influences on the region,²⁶ but there are few examples of personalized heritage. The examples that follow are drawn from mining towns that have a history of public commemoration and now also provide evidence of personal display and spectacle.

The Mining Industry in Springhill and River Hebert-Joggins, Nova Scotia

Located in northwest Nova Scotia, both Springhill and River Hebert-Joggins have long histories of coal mining, punctuated by industrial disasters. Workable seams in both areas are of the same approximate geological age (Cumberland Group, Middle Pennsylvanian). The River Hebert-Joggins seams run in an east-west orientation from the shores of the Bay of Fundy and are relatively thin (generally less than a metre in most areas); the Springhill seams are at least twice (and frequently three times) as thick. In both areas, the seams have been extensively faulted; in Springhill, there is further folding that complicates extraction. Outcropping coal seams were identified in the River Hebert and nearby Joggins area in the late seventeenth century, and both French and British military maps of the 1750s note the presence of "coal cliffs" and "old French workings" of the readily accessible supply of coal. The General Mining Association held a monopoly on mineral rights in Nova Scotia between 1826 and 1850 but did not operate a mine in the Cumberland coalfields until 1847. When it relinquished most of its rights in 1858, several small mines were opened by independent operators. In River Hebert-Joggins, the Joggins Coal Company and the Maritime Coal, Railway, and Power Company Limited were the largest producers, with the earliest of these companies' mines beginning operation in 1867 (Joggins, Victoria Mines, Maccan/Chignecto). Most of these mines operated into the 1940s, a smaller number into the 1960s, with only small operations serving a local market surviving into the 1970s and 1980s. Years of peak tonnage indicate the significance of coal as an employer: in the Joggins field, peak production was in 1916 (201,000 tons) from the Joggins Mine; in River Hebert, highest production was in 1932 (75,990 tons) from the Victoria Mines; and in neighbouring Maccan the peak was in 1913 from the Minudie No. 1 mine. Combined, the River Hebert-Joggins coalfield produced 13.4 million tons between 1863 and 1976, 27.5 per cent of Cumberland County's total, and 3.5 per cent of the Nova Scotia total for the same period (noting that provincial production was dominated by the Sydney coalfields at 67.8 per cent).²⁷

Interpreting Personalized Industrial Heritage

For much of the twentieth century, mining was the dominant employer in River Hebert-Joggins. Today, River Hebert shows the ravages of extensive deindustrialization through the 1960s and 1970s as the remaining employment in mining vanished: depopulation, a rapidly declining housing stock, a working population that commutes to larger centres such as Amherst, Nova Scotia, and local industries and commercial operations that struggle to remain viable. The public memorialization of past mining disasters includes a granite monument in the centre of town, surrounded by a display of mining equipment. As in other mining towns, this memorial has greater community resonance than the memorials to war dead that usually occupy pride of place. A railway museum is very much linked to mining history (and heritage tourism), and a bright mural on the local grocery store attests to the remembered significance of the industry as a life-force in the community.

In Springhill, a small mine was operating in 1834, providing coal to local blacksmiths. Assessments through the 1850s and 1860s generally considered that the cost of shipping the coal would exceed the costs of mining it, and it was not until 1870 that the Springhill Mining Company was incorporated. The necessary connection between mining and railway companies was formalized with the incorporation in 1872 of the Springhill and Parrsboro Coal and Rail Company Limited, with the first workings under this company producing coal in the fall of 1873 and shipping it to a connection with the Intercolonial Railway.²⁸ Taking over the former General Mining Association mineral right in 1879, the company struggled to secure both the capital and the technology to operate mining on a large scale. While mining operations themselves were successful, shareholders in the company were dissatisfied with financial returns and sold out to the Cumberland Railway and Coal Company in 1884. With a stronger capital base (sourced in Montreal), this company presided over mining development in Springhill until it was purchased as a subsidiary of the Dominion Coal Company in 1911.²⁹ By 1887, Springhill had five operating mine slopes and claimed monthly production records ahead of other mines in Nova Scotia.³⁰

As a result of employment in the coal industry, Springhill's population expanded dramatically, bringing the construction of company housing, grocery and retail business, a church, hotel, and seven sawmills.³¹ The boom saw Springhill's population increase from 900 in 1881 to 4,800 in 1891, attracting workers from Pictou County, Nova Scotia, northern New Brunswick, and Europe, and generating a housing shortage.³² In 1891, the first of the town's significant mining disasters occurred, an explosion that killed 125 men and boys. The disaster spurred the building of a hospital and a public memorial (1894) to the mining tragedy. In 1909, the United Mine Workers took over the existing miners union and initiated a strike to protest wage discrepancies. The strike was broken only when the government sent in troops.³³ The history of labour unrest (and the nature of coal mining itself) was undoubtedly a factor in Springhill's second-highest per capita soldier recruitment in Canada during World War I (and the highest during World War II). The loss of men to the military (including the high

death rate) created difficulties for the mining industry in meeting the increased demands for wartime production but overall production increased. In 1916, fire burned through a series of mine galleries but there was no loss of life.

By the 1930s, three mines were operating (Nos. 2, 6, and 7) but concerns continued to be raised into the 1950s about the over-reliance on the No. 2 mine, the depth of its workings, and its propensity for "bumps" (the rapid adjustment of underground strata following the extraction of coal). The opening of the No. 4 mine diverted attention in the short term (and provided further employment) but the future of coal in a petroleum-diesel world was far from secure. Springhill was to some extent cushioned by the continued demand for coal from the Canadian National Railway.³⁴ When the CNR switched from coal to diesel in the 1950s, however, this cushioning disappeared. To compound the uncertainty, in 1956 an explosion in the No. 4 mine killed thirty-nine men, and on Boxing Day 1957 a fire devastated the town's commercial and retail district.

As was the case in many other Canadian communities facing the threat of industrial decline,³⁵ Springhill politicians, unions, and citizens lobbied various levels of government for assistance, receiving a grant of \$100,000 from the federal government by way of relief for seven months. But it was clear also that the A. V. Roe Canada Company that had acquired Dominion Steel and Coal in August 1956 did not place a high priority on the coal industry and that employment in mining was falling.³⁶ On 23 October 1958, a massive underground subsidence, dubbed the "Springhill Bump," killed seventy-five men and rang the death knell for the industry. The No. 2 mine was closed the following month. While a small coal operation continued through the 1960s (the Syndicate Mine operated for approximately a decade, finally closing in 1970), the mining economy was essentially over.

Springhill began to exhibit all of the classic symptoms of a deindustrializing small town: depopulation (declining from 7,348 in 1951 to 5,200 by 1971, and 4,000 in 2001) as workers and families moved elsewhere in search of employment, frantic searching for alternative industry (including a number of new start-ups fuelled by generous provincial government assistance), and increasing unemployment. By 2001, the male unemployment rate was 20.8 per cent, twice the provincial average. The female rate was 10.7 per cent.³⁷ Slowly, in the decades following 1958, Springhill diversified its economy, successfully lobbying for the establishment of a vocational trades school (eventually a community college) and a federal penitentiary.³⁸ That such endeavours did not generate the extent of employment required to replace the coal industry was a "cruel revelation" for a town that historian Ian McKay argues was treated shabbily by governments and the mining company.

Springhill had some success utilizing its mining past in the 1980s. In 1982, sections of the now-flooded mines were tapped into as a source of geothermal heating for light industrial and commercial purposes. The mines themselves were opened up as tourist attractions, dating from the early 1970s, providing small museum operations to reinforce the industrial heritage of

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the town. The municipal government itself embraced its industrial past in 1998 by erecting a large public monument on the walls of the town hall, celebrating the coal industry, and renaming the town's Industrial Park Drive to Miners Memorial Drive, complete with remnant coal cars representing mines No. 2 and No. 4. The public recognition (and spectacle) of a "re-imagined" mining industry continued in 2003 with the town's first Miner's Memorial Day (based on an earlier commemoration of a miner killed in a Cape Breton industrial dispute), complete with memorial wreaths and speeches by local dignitaries.

In addition to these public displays in the landscape, Springhill, in particular, has witnessed an explicit commodifying of its industrial past through its tourism and retailing landscapes, ranging from themed restaurants such as the Colliery Café and the Lamplighter Cabin with its Level 101 sports bar to the use of coal mining symbols in local signage. Further, the residential landscape retains examples of modest company housing for mine workers and more expensive housing reflecting the wealth accumulated locally from coal.

Personalized Industrial Heritage in the Landscapes of Springhill and River Hebert, Nova Scotia

While both Springhill and River Hebert provide many examples of the public commemoration and contemporary commodification of the industrial past, examples of personalized industrial heritage are much rarer. These are found primarily on the front yards of former industrial workers and their families. They include real artifacts removed from the working landscape as well as constructed items that celebrate and interpret the industrial past.

Authentic Artifacts in New Settings

Mining equipment has occasionally found its way to the front lawns and side yards of both Springhill and River Hebert, where it has been incorporated into the personalized landscape as a symbolic lawn ornament, representing a personal celebration of the former industrial employment of the owner of the house or the family. Coal cars filled with flowers soften the image of an authentic artifact and carefully sanitize the industrial past, representing a stereotypical view of the mining industry and displaying nothing of the hazardous working conditions, problematic labour relations, and negative long-term effects on worker health. This "sanitization" (and selective memory) conforms to that discussed by Greenwood in her analysis of the health of former foundry workers in Sackville, New Brunswick.³⁹ The means by which the coal cars and other artifacts were obtained are not questioned; indeed, the assumption is that their use is sanctioned and legitimized by the former employer of the house-owner. While personalized in their settings, these artifacts are of course also public statements about the meaning of past industrial employment. As a celebratory spectacle, the coal car represents industrial health and prosperity, social cohesion, and material gain, all built on the back of a successful coal mining operation. This is part of an assertion of local identity in the cases of Springhill and River Hebert. The use of the artifact

reinforces the reality of the industrial past and its continued representation into the contemporary landscape, even in modified form.

It may be argued that the use of these artifacts is completely consonant with Springhill's and River Hebert's public agenda of post-industrial memorialization and economic development, offering a form of resistance to the global processes that have forced the decline of coal mining (and subsequent deindustrialization in the region) and affirming the role of industrial heritage as a local economic development tool. Certainly, the continued use of the mines for geothermal heat or as sites of tourist activity in Springhill reinforce the connections between former miners and the coal mining past. In both Springhill and River Hebert, the municipal government and community organizations have also made use of artifacts from coal mining as part of the public spectacle of industrial heritage, situating coal cars on Miners Memorial Drive in the former and surrounding the public memorial to mining deaths with pieces of cutting and drainage equipment in the latter. Personalized heritage using authentic artifacts thus reinforces a public agenda of commemoration and place identity.

Constructed Landscapes

Some landscapes in these small towns reflect the construction of personalized images of the industrial past. These are particularly focused on images of miners but also include representations of equipment such as miniature railway locomotives and stylized pick-axes (figure 1).

The representation of workers and the role of labour is a consistent theme in industrial heritage landscapes as communities negotiate the struggle over memory.⁴⁰ In Springhill, a 1.2 metre high silhouette of a miner in the front yard of the Hurley family is an unusual personalized celebration of the daily life of the coal industry. Adorned with the lens portion of a miner's lamp but with hand-drawn equipment (miner's belt and lunch pail), the silhouette is constructed from black-painted plywood and faces the street (figure 2). A retired miner, Darrell Hurley worked in Springhill's No. 2 and No. 4 mines. In addition to the silhouette in the front yard, the wall of a small garden shed on the Hurley property bears a smaller version of the silhouette as well as two stylized pick-axes with painted lettering ("Springhill #2" and "Springhill #4" respectively). Because these pieces all face the street, they function as a visible celebration of the Hurley family's connection to Springhill mining. As with the River Hebert example, which we shall come to shortly, there is no suggestion that the silhouettes are intended to do anything more than provide a personal expression of a family connection to the mining industry. However, in crossing the boundary between private and public space the silhouettes celebrate the former employment of the home owner, reify working labour, and promote the industrial heritage of Springhill.

In River Hebert, local chainsaw artist Bruce Hebert produced a life-sized sculpture of a miner, which until relatively recently adorned his front lawn (figure 3). This sculpture, crafted in elm



Figure 1 (above): Stylized miner, pick, and shovel, Hurley property, Springhill, Nova Scotia.

Figure 2 (left): Silhouette of miner, Hurley property, Springhill, Nova Scotia.



wood and initially left unpainted, was produced as a personal piece of art that draws on Hebert's family association with coal mining in the River Hebert and Joggins coalfield. Both Hebert's father and grandfather were miners (in the Green Crow mine, which closed in the early 1970s, and in the area's earlier mines, which closed in the previous decade), and Hebert has many memories of growing up in a mining town, "seeing these guys as we went to school," and being part of a mining community.⁴¹ Hebert suggests that rather than being produced as a statement of resistance to the community dislocation caused by mine closure, the sculpture draws upon his long-held personal image of a miner, toiling in the darkness in a world shaped only by the light of a miner's lamp and with a sardonic grin that is an ambivalent comment on working conditions in the mine and the need for employment in a limited local economy. In this way, Hebert's miner shares much with representations of labour in other deindustrializing regions. Linkon and Rosso,⁴² for example, note the varied and ironic meanings associated with artists' depictions of

workers, expressing awe at the abilities of workers to control their physical environments (whether the machinery of a steel mill or the dark, dank environment of a mine) as well as the fragility and vulnerability of this work. Similarly, Chatterley and Rouverol quote a worker in a closed broiler processing plant as both loving and hating her job.⁴³ Where a significant difference occurs, however, is that Hebert claims that his representation of miners of the River Hebert-Joggins coalfield is not intended to evoke or represent protest or resistance to global forces that led to mine closure and economic dislocation. Instead, the sculpture seeks to connect to the families whose men and boys worked in the mines of the surrounding area and to provide a link to past community. There is a romanticization of the industrial past here that plays into the nostalgia of local families of the mining community. Indeed, Hebert was surprised at the community response to the sculpture on his front lawn. Overwhelmingly positive, the public response to Hebert's private statement has included people stopping to inquire whether their family members were used as models ("It looks just like my father") and older women commenting on the sculpture's ability to remind them of past miners. Hebert notes that he does nothing to dissuade his audience that there might be family resemblances or models, as his intention is to provoke an emotion. This situation is similar to the responses of steelworkers used as models for George Segal's Youngstown, Ohio, sculpture who claim to represent not themselves but all men involved in the steel mills.⁴⁴

As an indicator of the difficulty of analyzing personalized industrial heritage, Hebert's sculpture blurs the boundaries between private and public commemoration. Initially located on his front lawn in River Hebert, just a few hundred metres from public memorials to local mining history, mining artifacts, a celebratory community mural, and the sombre granite obelisks listing the dead from mining disasters, Hebert's sculpture *in situ* was part of a complex of commemoration of the River Hebert-Joggins coalfields. Not produced on commission or as part of a local heritage tourism effort, the sculpture nonetheless took its place in the public landscape. As a powerful statement about River Hebert's past industrial employment, the sculpture was quickly co-opted into the wider heritage discourse and was purchased recently by the Cumberland Regional Economic Development Association. The sculpture has now been painted in realistic colours by Hebert and is situated in the foyer of the development association's offices in Amherst, Nova Scotia, intended to represent the interests of the association in commemorating Cumberland County's mining heritage (figure 4). The sculpture will soon be relocated to an indoor display in an interpretive centre in Joggins. Hebert adds that he is pleased with this transition from private to public space for the sculpture, noting that in the interpretive centre the miner will be on view to an estimated 20,000 people annually—and will have an opportunity to affect many more people, not just those who would cast a fleeting glance at his front lawn.

In both examples, personalized displays reinforce community identity and valorize labour. As personalized heritage, they thus

also resist deindustrialization by asserting labour identity in these small towns, even if the artist and homeowner do not conceive of this effect. The constructed images are also paradoxical and contradictory in the landscape. While newly created, they are set in landscapes of economic decline, where industrial employment is a thing of the past, where a long, slow, and painful deindustrialization has been compounded by service concentration in larger centres, the lack of alternative employment in the forestry, fishing, and service sectors, and consequent depopulation. What is perhaps most surprising about images of the industrial worker in these two displays of personalized heritage, however, is the lack of explicit rancour towards the broader processes of deindustrialization. The politics of economic dislocation are almost entirely absent; instead, these representations border on celebratory folk art created by and for individuals and the local community itself rather than as political statements about the ineffectiveness of unions or municipal, provincial, or national governments in reining in corporate activity.

This contrasts sharply with the public art produced in deindustrializing centres such as Youngstown, Ohio, and even nearby Sackville, New Brunswick, where a 1979 film and photographic exhibition about a declining foundry was both celebratory of workers' bodies and critical of foreign competition and capital flight.⁴⁵ And it is a long way from the intent of the *Carnegie* sculpture in Pittsburgh, which demonstrates "the image-management concerns of the corporate executive class" and "puts a proletarian face on what is in every other way an elitist monument."⁴⁶

The difficulty of engaging what Steven High describes as the "motive power of community to validate and legitimate resistance" is evident in the Cumberland County examples of created and personalized industrial heritage.⁴⁷ While there is clearly a public audience and an explicit intention to step beyond private space, these representations of the miner (and the use of mining artifacts) are consonant with rather than resistant to a public industrial heritage discourse that seeks to commodify (through



Bruce Hebert, with permission

Figure 3: Sculpture of miner, Hebert property, River Hebert, Nova Scotia.



Author

Figure 4: Sculpture of miner relocated to foyer of Cumberland Regional Economic Development Association offices, Amherst, Nova Scotia.

heritage tourism and other economic development strategies), romanticize, sanitize, and memorialize.

Conclusions: The Nature of Personalized Industrial Heritage

The focus of this article has been on selected examples of personalized landscapes (and their creators) rather than publicly or institutionally sanctioned memorializing that has dominated both the literature and the formal landscapes of industrial heritage in urban places. These personalized memorials are relatively rare—and becoming more so as the realities of industrial employment fade into the past. Decay of industrial artifacts provides a further limit in the landscape; indeed, there are fewer of these landscape examples today than ten years ago, and the "folk art" effect is slowly replacing authentic coal cars with constructed locomotives and chain-saw sculptures. One may speculate that there are elements of "Disneyfication" at work whereby authentic and vernacular landscapes, drawing upon past industrial

employment, are slowly replaced by mass-produced garden gnomes and garage-mounted butterflies, all of which carefully and sequentially erase the evidence of the industrial past from the personal spaces of local inhabitants. This explanation would be insufficient, however, and would not account for the continued personal, family, and community connections that motivate Bruce Hebert and the Hurleys. While the use of personalized industrial heritage in Springhill and River Hebert represents important dimensions of place identity and community validation (even if not explicit political resistance), it is clear that a second interpretation that sees market value in the public commodification of industrial heritage is becoming more important. This is relatively more developed in Springhill (in the public spaces and commercial environments) but is present in River Hebert in its forms of public commemoration of the mining industry, in the harnessing of mining heritage by the Cumberland Regional Development Association as part of an economic development strategy, and in the eventual incorporation of Hebert's sculpture into the Joggins interpretive centre.

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Personalized industrial heritage, as represented in the small-town urban landscapes discussed here, provides evidence of place identity, individual worker value, and community memory. Its role as a form of resistance to long-standing globalization and deindustrialization is much more ambiguous, however. Despite the authenticity and genuinely personal and private motivation behind the Springhill and River Hebert examples, they must be situated within larger structures of public commemoration, commodification and spectacle in the mining towns of Cumberland County. As the day-to-day realities of mining employment recede, community memory is increasingly harnessed to support a view of industry that contributes to heritage tourism—whether donning coveralls to tour a mine in Springhill with a former mine employee, seeing the connection between the geological structures and the sculpture of a miner in Joggins, or dining at the Lamp Cabin restaurant. In order to retain even a hint of authenticity and to avoid a descent into parody, this larger industrial heritage discourse requires constant reinvigoration from those who have personal experience and who contribute from their own created landscapes. This contribution has long been overlooked in studies of deindustrializing communities and their struggle to manage community memory and place identity.

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