

**Lancaster Renaissance:
Urban Revitalization, Heritage Tourism, and Community Archaeology**

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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation focuses on the fine lines separating and connecting archaeology, heritage tourism, and economic redevelopment. In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, many small American historic cities have found themselves in a de-industrialized state with the local economy in flux. Looking to replace the old industrial economy with a ‘new economy’, some of these cities have turned to heritage tourism, both to stimulate their economy, and to establish a new “historical identity” for presentation to residents and visitors.

This project looks at how these new heritage tourism destinations are formed, and what they create in the process. The analysis focuses on the role of one of the heritage professionals, namely the archaeologist, and how memory, ritual and the representation of past people, events, and moments can influence the making of the an historic site and its impact on community identity within a preservation project.

The analysis focuses on one specific case study, the Thaddeus Stevens and Lydia Hamilton Smith Historic Site and Interpretive Center located in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. At this location, a project to construct a new hotel and convention center became the catalyst for salvage archaeology and for the creation of a new heritage tourist initiative.

Initially the hotel and convention center was intended purely to encourage economic development within the city, but the site became a forum for debate over preservation politics, community contention, and the search for community identity.

With this research, I examine how the desire for heritage reflects people's desire to learn about their own identities. The search for identity in the present can sometimes become a means of escaping to the past for a more nostalgic view of history, through the making and use of myths and rituals. My research also examines the extent to which heritage professionals can mediate the social action that the historic site produces while under investigation, in order to foster a truly community-based project.

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List of Abbreviations

AME Church-African Methodist Episcopal Church
BBC-British Broadcasting Corporation
BHP-Bureau of Historic Preservation (Department of PHMC)
CANBE-Civic Action Network for the Built Environment
DID-Downtown Improvement District (for Lancaster City)
HACC-Harrisburg Area Community College
HUD-Housing and Urban Development
ICOMOS-International Council on Monuments and Sites
KEEP Toolkit-Knowledge, Exchange, Exhibition, Presentation (by Carnegie Foundation)
LEADS-Lancaster's Economic Action for Downtown Success
LCCCA-Lancaster County Convention Center Authority
MOA-Memorandum of Agreement
NEH-National Endowment for the Humanities
NHPA-National Historic Preservation Act of 1966
NPS-National Park Service
PBS-Public Broadcasting Service
PDCVB-Pennsylvania Dutch Convention and Visitor's Bureau
PHMC-Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission
RACL-Redevelopment Authority of the City of Lancaster
R.C.A.-Radio Corporation of America (now part of General Electric)
SHPO-State Historic Preservation Officer
The Trust-The Historic Preservation Trust of Lancaster County
TIA-Travel Industry Association of America
TPQ-Terminus Post Quem
UNESCO-United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
YWCA-Young Women's Christian Association

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Underground Railroad Network to Freedom site designations for a neighboring county.

The experience not only added knowledge to my own research on Underground Railroad history at the Stevens and Smith site, but also opened up new avenues of communication through attending local meetings, and meeting new people that I could not have received otherwise. Our long discussions on historic preservation and history will always be remembered fondly for they always seemed to stir up the “on the ground” activist side in me that brought me to this topic in the first place and would sometimes get lost in the academic ivory tower. He will always be a mentor and a true friend.

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To Gram and Dad—

You both gave so I could have more, now it is my chance to give back

Chapter One: The Making of a Site

The narrative constructs the identity of the character, what can be called his or her narrative identity, in constructing that of the story told. It is the identity of the story that makes the identity of the character. Paul Ricoeur

Introduction:

This thesis explores the making of a heritage site. Concretely, the thesis describes how an archaeological site was incorporated into a tourist site, focusing on history and heritage that can be patronized by local residents and by visitors. However, there was more to this process than is immediately apparent. In a term borrowed from Christopher Matthews, the project described in this thesis has created “an idea of the site”, in the sense that the physical creation of this heritage site also served as a place and space for mediation and social awareness within the community itself.

Matthews’ emphasis on the “idea” of the site signals that archaeological sites are more than just acts of site formation, and thus are not neutral records of past activities that archaeologists can uncover and understand (Matthews 2006:75 quoting Schiffer 1987). Instead, the discovery of the site itself creates a space for mediation within the present. The way a site is researched in the present will directly affect how the past is defined and interpreted, because the various relationships that are forged and social forces that are exerted to bring the archaeological inquiry into the community will have a direct relation on how the site is interpreted. In this case study, the “idea” of a site, was created after the archaeological excavations were completed. However, the archaeological inquiry ignited an interest in the site and prompted the community to become involved connecting the present to the past.

This “idea of a site” has produced a set of guidelines about how the results of archaeological investigation, and any associated historical evidence, should be interpreted and sites will also “mediate the social action and presence of archaeology within host and subject communities” (Matthews 2006:75). Consequently, the physical archaeological site serves also as a locus within which communities can communicate their sense of the past to each other and also to outsiders. This input from the community will, and indeed should, affect how sites are defined and researched archaeologically (Matthews 2006:75).

As Matthews states, “the premise is that creating places for archaeology, history, and heritage within communities represents the ‘community’ to itself and others in an accessible material medium” (Matthews 2006:76). These archaeological sites can then be claimed by the community, providing a space and place for a “meaningful social network with which [the community will be able] to affiliate” (Matthews 2006:76). If there is a community organization associated with the making of the site, this organization is most likely to become a space for social networking.

This thesis represents an empirical example of these concepts with a salvage historical archaeological site. It covers almost the entire lifespan of how a particular archaeological site was converted into a tourist attraction, starting with the initial preservation initiatives, then recounting the salvage archaeological project, and finally analyzing the negotiations and compromises that ultimately led to the creation of a heritage tourist destination and “the idea of a site”.

The specific location analyzed in this thesis is the Thaddeus Stevens and Lydia Hamilton Smith Historic Site and Interpretive Center, which is located in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. In the initial stages, the archaeological work was expected to consist

solely of salvage archaeological efforts, as part of the construction plans for the Lancaster County Convention Center. The city of Lancaster had granted permission for the demolition of historical properties associated with Thaddeus Stevens and Lydia Hamilton Smith. These two individuals were relatively well known members of the anti-slavery movement in the period before and during the Civil War. However, in recent decades they had both slipped into near-obscurity, except among specialists in their era.

Shortly before the proposed demolition of the properties that were associated with Stevens and Smith, the Lancaster County Convention Center Authority (hereafter referred to as LCCCA) and the Historic Preservation Trust of Lancaster County (hereafter referred to as the Trust) decided to allow salvage archaeological work to be conducted on the site properties. The archaeological investigation was dependent on permission from the LCCCA, and was also dependent on funding from the Trust. Because there was only a short time between receiving the permission and the start of the archaeological dig, it was not possible to conduct preliminary preparatory community organizing in order to ensure that the community is appropriately informed about a project.

The process of the transformation of this historical site into a heritage tourist destination is somewhat cyclical. The archaeological inquiry produced results which were unexpectedly rich, and which have led to a revival of interest in both Stevens and Smith. As a consequence, the archaeological efforts created conditions for the “idea of a site” to appear which in turn allowed the site to be saved and interpreted creating a community-informed heritage tourist destination. This organic creation of a site is worthy of critique and reflection, so that similar projects in the future can more effectively attempt to foster a community-informed archaeological project.

Goals of Inquiry

This thesis deals with three principal research questions:

1. In focusing on a site, it is relevant to consider what sections of a community will be interested in the site, and what their differing viewpoints are regarding the site. These viewpoints can be influenced by past experiences begging the question, when do issues concerning the past become operative in the present?

2. What types of individual experiences lend themselves to create the differing viewpoints held by parties within the community, and how do they manifest themselves?

3. When archaeology becomes a focal point of the heritage site, as was the case for the Stevens and Smith Historic Site and Interpretive Center, can archaeology bridge the disjuncture in stakeholders' viewpoints concerning the past and the present, and also concerning what should be interpreted? If so, how does archaeology accomplish this resolution?

These three research questions then led logically to the development of five major goals for the analysis:

1. to explore the making of a heritage tourist destination through preservation and archaeological inquiry within the community of Lancaster;

2. to examine preservation, archaeology and heritage tourism and their potential roles in helping de-industrialized cities such as Lancaster to redevelop their economies in the twenty-first century;

3. to investigate how the Stevens and Smith Historic Site and Interpretive Center serves as a "place" to not only view history, but also to mediate the present and current

community power struggles, and equally how multiple interpretations of the past and present may affect the ways in which the site is defined, researched and constructed;

4. to explore the extent to which the making and use of and ritual within the community of Lancaster provides a link from the tangible (archaeological record) to the intangible (culture) in the making and reshaping of community identity through the making of an idea of a site; and finally,

5. to highlight the forces fostering or impeding preservation efforts in localities such as Lancaster, and identify the sources of disjuncture between policies and practice that currently exist. The disjuncture between policy and practice has meant that preservation initiatives cannot rely solely on the policies, which in principle exist to protect historical resources. Consequently, various private organizations, groups and advocacy initiatives led by communities continue to play a major part in projects to identify and protect historical resources, and are thus shaping the preservation landscape in the United States through civic engagement.

Reflexive Practice:

In recent years, archaeological inquiry has become increasingly committed to the use of reflexive practice, with the goal of analyzing the impact that archaeologists and the archaeological process have on the creation of an archaeological record (Matthews 2005:26).

There is an extensive literature within archaeology that focuses on a reflexive perspective when evaluating and analyzing archaeological sites. This body of literature

proposes that the focus of archaeological inquiry should shift away from a scientific analysis of the human past, and towards a greater emphasis on how to change the beliefs and practices of the present, by appealing to archaeological evidence from the past (Leone et al 1987; Matthews 2005:26; McGuire 1992; Shanks and Tilley 1987).

A reflexive perspective was at the root of all my research. I expected that by exploring the research questions and goals highlighted in the previous section, I would be able to gauge the extent to which archaeology could use the past — and more specifically, the nineteenth century stories of inequality and quests for freedom — in order to highlight and address some of these same concerns in the present at a local level.

I was not the principal investigator shaping the overall archaeological research directive, and therefore was not in a position to determine what would be excavated or how it would be interpreted. Moreover, because this archaeological site was excavated as a salvage project, it was not possible to develop a fully planned and self-reflexive project that would be truly community-informed. Instead, the archaeological researchers were effectively at the mercy of the Lancaster County Convention Center Authority hereafter LCCCA, trying to get permission to excavate, and were also dependent on the Trust for funding.

Public archaeology can be a space for using critical theory, but it is still unusual for archaeologists to approach the archaeological project itself with a analytical eye about the practice of archaeology (Matthews 2005:28; McDavid 1997). Archaeology should be situated in the public, and that its function and significance should be created and defined within this social sphere. If these recommendations are adopted, then the development of the archaeological site should result from the making of the “idea of a site” and the

processes that archaeologists “occupy and employ in the grander scheme of the site/project as part of the modern world” (Mathews 2005:28).

A hermeneutic approach has been used to break apart the standard Cartesian subject-object model of processual archaeology, where the archaeologist is the subject and the archaeological record is the object (Matthews 2005). A more circular approach is proposed, in which the primary focus is not on the artifacts discovered by archaeological inquiry, but upon the interpretation assigned to those artifacts (Matthews 2005). In this formulation, the goal of reflexivity is “not only to break down the opposition of the archaeologist and the archaeological record but also to redefine the very processes by which archaeological remains and their interpreters are related in the public sphere” (Matthews 2005:28).

This thesis shows that this reflexivity does not stop once excavations have ceased, and the analysis of the artifacts revealed by those excavations has begun. Instead, I show that efforts towards reflexivity are required during the period when artifacts are being interpreted. In Lancaster during the period when interpretation was conducted, I attempted to use reflexive approaches to encourage dialogue within the community about the significance of what had been found — some of those attempts were successful, others were not.

Community response to the archaeological work also took other forms. I found that community members used the space created through the idea of a site in order to open their own dialogue about ownership of the past, based on their current identity. I also found that their participation in this dialogue was partly expressed through rituals and commemorations. In this sense, I refer to ritual as an activity that holds symbolic

meaning that brings focus on a feeling, event, or thought that has meaning to a group and its participants (Connerton 1989: 2). The archaeological work did not play a direct role in the making of these rituals, but it was archaeology that provided a justification for the preservation of the buildings, and the creation of a heritage tourist destination that has ultimately led to an environment in which these rituals have emerged.

Methods:

This thesis relies on three main sources of data and insight. The first is participant-observation, as I was resident in Lancaster, and working as a researcher and archaeologist at the site. The second consists of interviews with most of the principal stakeholders involved in the project, and more generally with members of the Lancaster community. The third involved review of documentary evidence, including correspondence regarding the entire project including the hotel and convention center project as well as the proposed Thaddeus Stevens and Lydia Hamilton Smith Historic Site and Interpretive Center, articles appearing in the local press, and letters and other printed opinions drawn from various sources.

Participant-Observation

From May 2003 to June 2007, I lived in the community of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. My participant-observer role covered several different aspects. First and foremost was my role as researcher and archaeologist. I was Field Director for the Thaddeus Stevens and Lydia Hamilton Smith archaeological investigations that took

place in the summer of 2003. I also directed the laboratory at Franklin and Marshall College from 2003-2004, which cleaned and cataloged artifacts from the excavations. In addition, I conducted public archaeology workshops for students in the public and private schools in the county. In my capacity as a researcher, I attended Lancaster County Convention Center public meetings, Lancaster City Council meetings, Lancaster County Commissioners meetings, and participated in discussions regarding the entire project and in various public and private meetings conducted for the Thaddeus Stevens and Lydia Hamilton Smith Historic Site and Interpretive Center.

Separately from my role as a researcher and archaeologist, I also worked at various jobs throughout the local area that were not directly connected to the field of archaeology. Some of these expanded my knowledge of historic preservation and the community's opinions of historic preservation, for instance, when I worked on a Main Street program in a neighboring borough, or when I was involved in successful Network to Freedom nominations for three Underground Railroad sites in Adams County. During my four years in Lancaster City, I lived in various neighborhoods of the city, which allowed me to experience different aspects of the city at first hand.

Because of my dual role as a researcher and as a member of the local community, my views on the project to create a hotel and convention center, and then to build a museum and interpretive center, were affected by both my needs and wants as a researcher and my needs and wants as a community member. I was not only studying the stakeholders of the community, but in fact I became a stakeholder myself. My participation as an engaged observer in an action research project is unsurprising in the context of a politically charged project (McDavid 1997; Sanford and Angel-Ajani 2006).

I consider that my personal experience, as I lived it during the four years of residence in Lancaster, is no less relevant than the observed experiences of others in the community. Due to my active participation in different aspects of the overall project, my views changed about the overall value of the project to create a hotel and convention center, and about whether such a project would be beneficial for the community both economically and socially. Moreover, the evolution of my views on these issues has also shaped the outcome of this research project, though I have endeavored to maintain a neutral stance towards the perspectives of the various stakeholders whose views I sought.

Interviews

In addition to being a participant-observer, I also conducted numerous interviews with most of the principal stakeholders connected with the project. Most of these interviews took place during 2003-2007, though I also conducted a few in 2008. The majority of interviews were conducted one-on-one, and were tape recorded and then transcribed. However, some interviews had to be conducted over the phone, in which case I relied on notes rather than on tape recordings.

In addition to interviews with specific named stakeholders, I also conducted several surveys covering people from within and outside the community on various market days at Lancaster Central Market. I attempted to interview a roughly representative cross-section of the various groups that comprise the city, but I do not claim that the sampling methods are statistically rigorous. I attempted to choose people who were residents (they generally carried market baskets or bags, and were shopping for more staple foods such as fruits and vegetables rather than tourist items), and sought to

speak with residents of different ages, genders and races. Central Market is the geographical center of the city, and frequently locals and visitors visit it, but caters mainly to middle-class white suburban and urban families. A second market did open in a more working class section of the city, which could have offered a different demographic. However, this second market only opened when my research had already been in progress for several years, and was only open for limited hours on certain days, which unfortunately never coincided with times when I was able to conduct surveys.

Like those of most large-scale building projects, the plan to create a new hotel and convention center in Lancaster has a long history. In fact, the earliest formal discussions about this project date back to 1998, if not earlier. Consequently, when I arrived in 2003, there was already a considerable history attached to all the various facets of the project. I did attend many meetings, both public and private, regarding the making of the convention center and the hotel, and more specifically about the archaeological work on the properties associated with Thaddeus Stevens and Lydia Hamilton Smith. However, because I only arrived in Lancaster in 2003, there are inevitably gaps in my knowledge of the various twists and turns in opinion prior to that date. Moreover, the site proposed for the hotel and convention center had previously been discussed in the context of other redevelopment plans, following the closure of the historic Watt and Shand Department store in the 1980s. Therefore, I rely on interviews, recollections and recorded notes on the project from 1998-2003.

I hoped that my interviewees would speak candidly, and proceeded on the assumption that this would best be achieved if they were sure that their anonymity would be protected. Rather than relying on the use of pseudonyms, which might become

confusing given the many interviews conducted, I have instead consistently sought to identify individuals by referring to their titles or their position or relationship to the project or community.

My interviews covered a variety of stakeholders involved in the project from archaeologists, architects, historic preservationists, state and local government employees, scholars, board members of both the City Council and the Convention Center, local business owners and community members. However, due to the ongoing differences of opinion within the community concerning the project, together with the unavailability of the developers for interview purposes, as well as the sensitive nature of the relationship between the Trust and the developers, I did not conduct interviews with the developers of the hotel. As with many research projects of similar scope, it is possible that additional interviews with more members of the community, or with additional stakeholders, might have captured a broader spectrum of views concerning the project.

Media and Correspondence

In addition to participant-observation and interviews, I consulted local media such as newspapers, and reviewed correspondence and records on file with the Trust, the Historical Society, Lancaster City, Lancaster County and the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. These files provide many insights into events and decisions that took place throughout the course of the project, and also into public sentiment about the project. As my research will show, there are many active and vocal groups within the Lancaster community that have expressed positive or negative opinions about the hotel, convention

center, and historic site and interpretive center in various public and private settings. However, the research also suggests that many members of the public tend to keep to themselves, not wanting to “rock the boat” as many informants have stated, though personal views are sometimes expressed in newspaper articles or letters to a newspaper’s editor.

My personal experience, as a researcher and community member, brought additional insights and observations that informed my research goals and objectives. To create a more reflexive archaeological endeavor, these insights, observations, and experiences will also be addressed throughout the body of this thesis.

Politics of Gender:

Lancaster’s Glass Ceiling

Almost immediately after entering the community, I had confirmation that I was an outsider. As many of my interviewees pointed out, one has to not only be born and bred in Lancaster, but one’s family has to extend back several generations in order to be considered as truly a “native” of the city. In May 2003, I moved into a diverse working class neighborhood where inhabitants of most of the homes were families. In this context I was doubly an outsider, as I was not from Lancaster and had no children. This was not a major hindrance to my research, but did impede me from being able to feel truly connected to the local community.

As I began to attend public and private meetings, a new division between myself and the community I was studying also became apparent. I had not been expecting to

experience different treatment because I am female. From my few visits to Lancaster, working on the excavations in fall of 2002 and spring of 2003, and reading about the history of the area, I was aware of past and present racial tensions within the community, and did anticipate that I would need to address these tensions in my research. Coming from the diverse area of New York City, and from an environment and discipline where I have been surrounded by strong, independent, and successful women, and knowing there were strong and successful women working in Lancaster and involved in this project, I had not expected to be treated any differently than I had been in my other surroundings.

But it became apparent in my first few public and private meetings that this assumption was incorrect and as I later found out from interviews, those strong and successful women in Lancaster had also experienced similar treatment when first arriving in the community. In the initial meetings, I found myself ignored, or dismissed when I had anything to say as an engaged observer, and I came to realize that my gender and my status as a “graduate student” were jointly causing this treatment.

In order to alter perceptions, and to perform my role as researcher more effectively, I changed my costume — I cut my hair, and wore clothes that gave the perception of a more “professional” look. As a consequence, even though I was still perceived as being a student, I gave the appearance of being a professional researcher, and attitudes did begin to change slowly.

After four years of mutual recognition, I find that it is no longer necessary for me to perform a costume change in order to be taken seriously at meetings in Lancaster. I am still uncertain what caused the shift in the community’s perception of me: perhaps they found that they valued what I could offer in terms of professional expertise in the

realm of archaeology; perhaps they decided that my ideas and suggestions were valuable because they provided a different perspective; or possibly I am finally now seen as a person who has spent enough time on the issue to be granted “insider” status, at least provisionally. However, I stress again that it took several years for these attitudes towards me to change.

Many of my female interviewees expressed similar feelings of frustration about various aspects of their lives, and more specifically about their efforts in connection with this project. More than one female interviewee found that she was the lone woman on a committee or board, and that the males in such institutions were not accustomed to working with women who are knowledgeable and articulate. One former LCCCA board member told me, when I asked her how she had felt being the only female board member for a lengthy period, “[It was] Okay. I mean I could talk their talk. It took me a little time to get into the timing of how men do meetings, but I was in it. I got in it. And you know, they needed me. They needed that other side that wasn’t represented. Now they have two females.” (November 10, 2005).

Another interviewee feels a particular empathy for the experiences of Lydia Hamilton Smith, because she depicts her in historical re-enactments. During an interview with me, she drew an analogy between Lydia’s life and her own experiences, in order to show the challenges for an African-American woman seeking to participate in meetings on this project. She noted that during the nineteenth century, Lydia Hamilton Smith was an African-American woman who was able to buy property and to have a public voice, both through her link to Thaddeus Stevens and also in her own right. My interviewee stated that by comparison, when she participates in meetings or discussions today, she

feels that others are dismissing her views: “what I have to say doesn’t make sense, or if it does, it’ll be down the road, and I’m, like, well I told you that three months ago.”

(October 20, 2005).

This interviewee expressed the hope that by telling the story of Lydia, and bringing a local heroine into the spotlight, there may be scope to change these attitudes. She considered that it might be too late to affect the beliefs of the adults who are in the community now, but perhaps she can help influence the children, and especially the young girls, and to convince them that they too can achieve anything they put their minds to. This interviewee had even looked into the feasibility of making the portions of the Lydia Hamilton Smith Houses into a Women’s History Museum, to bring a female voice to the community through women’s history, and had suggested this as a potential plan for the houses.

She told me that she had talked about this plan with people at the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission (hereafter referred to as PHMC), who had informed her that currently there is “no such thing for women in the state”, suggesting that this might be an interesting idea to pursue. Unfortunately, the glass ceiling was not only at work for the present members of this community but also the past. I was informed this idea of a woman’s center was not adopted for the current plans for the Lydia Hamilton Smith Houses for several reasons: 1) authenticity: while Lydia owned the buildings on Vine Street they actually operated as boarding houses. It is believed that she actually lived in Stevens’ houses, most likely in the upstairs addition Stevens put on the building in 1853. One of the two houses Lydia owned on Vine Street was not built until closer to her death in 1884, making it highly unlikely she lived there at for at that time she resided

in Washington D.C.; 2) space: the two buildings she owned originally were to be connected to Stevens' buildings through an underground corridor physically and thematically linking the two exhibit spaces. As construction began, the underground connector was impossible to build due to bedrock; 3) politics: lastly, the back portions of both the Stevens and Smith buildings were demolished to make room for the Convention Center. I was informed the only reason the front portions of Lydia Hamilton Smith's houses were saved, were because the LCCCA agreed to cant its building to the right on the plot making room for the underground connector. The front portions of these buildings are not large enough for groups to tour so instead, these buildings will primarily be leased as office space, though there will continue to be an interpretation of Lydia and her life and legacy in the convention center space and interpretive center. It was the museum's intent to integrate Lydia's story throughout the exhibits by comparing and contrasting Stevens' life with Lydia's. An exhibit theme was "seen and unseen" showing the differences between Stevens, a white, male, politician, and Lydia a woman of color and housekeeper and explore how this contrast may have aided people in the Underground Railroad at that time.

A true internal discussion regarding Lydia and the important role she played in history and could now play in the present has not really happened mainly due to the points listed above, but also I believe because there is a disjuncture that exists between the creators of this museum and a large portion of the community they are servicing — the African-American community. While some people within the community and on the Historic Preservation Trust of Lancaster County, also know as the Trust's board or museum staff recognized how important Lydia and her story was to this museum and it's

exhibits, the primary focus remained on Stevens. While I do not negate the importance of Stevens and his legacy and the dedication of exhibits to them, in many ways what the proposed exhibits highlights mirrors the glass ceiling on the past that exists in the present community and could be excluding another important figure in history – a local one that would have even more direct connection to many audience members today. The past can be used to better understand the present and can be used to bring about social action which can help provide a better understanding of socioeconomic and political conditions that can lead to social change and social justice (Franklin and McKee 2004:1). This site provides the perfect opportunity to tell an African-American feminist perspective of the nineteenth century and discuss an amazing historical figure while addressing the local and national concerns about inequality revolving around gender, race and class eloquently, unfortunately it is too early to assess if the site will live up to these expectations (Franklin 2001; Franklin and McKee 2004; Singleton 1997).

Divisions of Analysis:

This thesis is divided into five sections. Chapter Two discusses the “political economy of showing” by examining the literature that shaped the thesis questions and provided the basis for which analysis was made. The first section lays out the broad themes of how memory, ritual and commemoration of past events help to shape our identity in the present. I look at several key issues that inform the research. Historical interpretation and a “sense of history” are used as a basis from which inquiry can begin.

Chapter Two also provides a discussion of the differences between heritage and history, because perceptions of history and heritage are intimately linked to issues of ownership and identity. The last section of this chapter provides an overview of heritage tourism, and the theoretical and empirical literature that it has prompted.

Chapter Three provides historical background information on Thaddeus Stevens and Lydia Hamilton Smith, because the archaeological inquiry focused on preservation efforts for the built environment that they had owned and inhabited. Understanding their historical role is a necessary preliminary to evaluating the historical significance of the site, which in turn is critical for the preservation and heritage tourism efforts.

A short archaeological overview is preceded by a brief discussion of preservation at the local and state level, which helps set the context for understanding why the Stevens and Smith properties did not receive Section 106 review. The chapter also provides a summary overview of the complex history of how preservation policy was implemented in the context of this project. This section of Chapter Three can be viewed as a single case study concerning the state of affairs preservation in the United States in the early twenty-first century.

As stated previously, this site in essence was a salvage archaeological site. It has gained the description “salvage” because no Section 106 review of the National Historic Preservation Act (also known as NHPA) of 1966 occurred or would have taken place. The LCCCA allowed archaeology to take place on the site, and the Trust agreed to provide the needed funds to complete the excavations, analysis and research. Without support from these two bodies, there would have been no archaeological excavation to reveal the modified cistern that is currently believed to have been an Underground

Railroad hiding place. This find helped to provide a justification for preserving portions of the Stevens and Smith houses, which in turn led to the creation of the Thaddeus Stevens and Lydia Hamilton Smith Historic Site and Interpretive Center.

Chapter Four provides a very brief overview of the chronology of the archaeological excavations, and some of the artifacts and features that emerged from those efforts and a majority of the archaeological information from this site can be found in the original site reports and in appendices in this thesis. As indicated above, the primary focus of this thesis is not the archaeological work in itself, but rather how the results of archaeological inquiry have created conditions in which rituals such as re-establishment of celebrations like Juneteenth could emerge. This chapter serves as contextual information for the reader to better understand the goals of the project and research objective, and does not provide an in-depth archaeological discussion or artifact analysis. It also highlights the highs and lows of the “public” components to this project seen through an outreach program and a service learning project.

Chapter Five examines the “discourses of power” with specific attention to the competing power relations within the community that have shaped not only how this site physically developed but also how it will be interpreted and how it has served as an idea of a site. This chapter aggregates views and attitudes gathered from the interviews, participant-observation, and recorded media. This chapter provides an ethnography of various groups of stakeholders within Lancaster. It also offers an analysis of the issues and contentions connected with the project of the convention center, hotel and historic site.

Finally, Chapter Six provides a concluding analysis and discussion of the research. This chapter restates the questions and goals for this project, and links them with the preceding evidence concerning memory, ritual and commemoration, history and heritage, and the extent to which archaeology can provide a neutral territory for community discussion of these contentious areas.

The underlying assumption of Chapter Six, and of the thesis as a whole, is that conflicts over heritage are based in large part on present-day fault lines that divide communities. At first glance, one might imagine that a focus on “heritage” would be a relatively safe way to approach history, particularly when dealing with controversial areas such as slavery and inequality. However, my research shows that some individuals and groups compete for “ownership of the past” in the expectation that this will provide them with additional “validity in the present” for it allows them the opportunity to portray a history that is important to them, that in many instances has been ignored by public history. In some instances these portrayals create a platform for current issues especially ones on inequality to be performed and discussed.

In the popular imagination, and in the discipline’s conventional self-image, archaeologists are generally seen as objective and neutral interpreters of the past. However, my research illustrates that archaeologists and archaeological inquiry are part of the interpretation process, and that their work unavoidably affects the making of historic sites, and thus can influence the quality of discussion within the communities where the archaeological work is conducted and presented.

Chapter Two: Political Economy of Showing

“The past isn’t dead. It isn’t even past.” William Faulkner

Does the past really exist? Or do memories of the past in the present construct our sense of the past? While these questions are not new (Stille 2002; Holtorf 2001), they still form the basis for active research programs in the social and cognitive sciences. While psychologists have been concerned about *how* people remember, anthropologists and historians have been more concerned about *what* people remember.

How does memory affect the invention and reinvention of traditions or of rituals? Traditions and rituals are based in a subject matter and its origins. An individual’s identity, and by extension the collective identity of a group of individuals, can be attributed in part to these rituals and traditions. Knowledge of the past is transferred and sustained through ritual performances (Connerton 1989:4). Our memories and the narratives of these memories, along with the associated material culture, can thus serve as trace elements for these collective group traditions. The longevity of the tradition will depend on the repetition of the tradition or ritual and its institutionalization within a society. Tradition is not static, but is constantly subject to reinvention and reinterpretation due to changes in society — political or otherwise. Identity is partially formed through the memory process; even after a memory has been formed, that memory can subsequently be modified, forgotten or erased. Memory is not fixed, and consequently identity is subject to transformation.

Aims, Frameworks and Specific Case Study:

This research will explore how community identity can be influenced through the creation of a heritage site via the processes of historic preservation and exhibition. More specifically, this research focuses on the roles of memory, ritual and representation in the creation of such a heritage site. Memory and heritage studies (Connerton 1989; Franklin 2005; Halbwachs 1992; Matthews 2005; Shackel and Chambers 2004) have suggested that the past is not interpreted objectively, but that people view the past through a presentist lens.

Viewing the past through the present can create disjunctures between agents, with regard to exactly how and what should be interpreted at a heritage site. This is especially true during the process of creating a heritage site, when there is virtually blank canvas open for interpretation, together with various agents who may disagree about what should be interpreted and how. The site therefore becomes a space in which current issues are discussed, under the guise of debates over heritage. This is precisely what happened at the Thaddeus Stevens and Lydia Hamilton Smith Historic Site as members of the community expressing different opinions of what should be interpreted and why.

Moreover, the community surrounding the heritage site will typically hold distributed (Barth 1987, see below) memories on the history being interpreted, as well as a variety of opinions on how that interpretation should occur. The creation of the heritage site may help to preserve, or enhance the development of, rituals and commemorations celebrating a particular history. The collective sense of that history

which results from these rituals and commemorations can create a sense of place for the community at large, in which present-day issues can be discussed and resolved.

Archaeology physically unpacks the past within the present. Archaeological sites and excavations can awaken an interest in the past within the community, and in turn can create an ideal space (at times both physically and metaphorically) for the various parties to debate these differing viewpoints and conflicting interests. Therefore, when looking at the creation of a site, in this case the Thaddeus Stevens and Lydia Hamilton Smith Historic Site and Interpretive Center, several questions arise.

First, what sections of the community are interested in the site, and what are their differing viewpoints? When do issues concerning the past become operative in the present? Are present issues of race, gender and class seen in how these issues are interpreted of the past?

Second, what types of individual past experiences lend themselves to create the differing viewpoints held by parties within the community, and how do they manifest themselves?

Lastly, when archaeology becomes a focal point of the heritage site, as was the case for the Stevens and Smith Historic Site and Interpretive Center, does archaeology bridge the disjuncture in stakeholders' viewpoints concerning the past and the present, and also concerning what should be interpreted? If so, how does archaeology accomplish this resolution?

To explore these topics, it is helpful to make use of two different theoretical frameworks, namely the concepts associated with ritual and representation, and the theories and assumptions underlying the field of memory studies. By blending the

insights from these two literatures, I can provide a deeper analysis of the function of historical interpretation than would be possible by relying solely on one or the other.

I will use ritual to explore how the historical past can directly contribute to the making of individual and community identities in the present. The conceptual structure of ritual is used to explore various cultural behaviors and traditions within the disciplines of anthropology, folklore, religion, performance, politics and psychology (Bartlett 1932; Bloch 1989; Durkheim 1965 [1915]; Sahlins 1981; Schechner 1993; Sperber 1975, 1985).

In addition, my research will use concepts of ritual and representation to explore the fields of historic preservation and tourism, as these social activities have developed in the United States from the nineteenth century to the present. Historic preservation and tourism have become intertwined with the creation of a sense of place, and in turn have contributed to the development of traditions on the individual, community, regional and national levels. And as indicated above, I will also be borrowing and adapting theories drawn from the discipline of memory studies, in order to examine the use of memory in creating these traditions over a period of time and space.

As a case study in the use of these approaches, I examine the use of memory in the creation of a heritage tourism destination, namely the Thaddeus Stevens and Lydia Hamilton Smith Historic Site and Interpretive Center. This site dates to the mid-nineteenth century, and is located in the city center of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. I will explore how individual stakeholders, including developers, politicians, bureaucrats, scholars, and members of the local community have used ritual and representation in

order to modify the identity of their community, while at the same time using this new tourist destination as part of a broader plan for economically reviving the area.

An “Interpretation of History” versus a “Sense of History”:

David Glassberg (2001) has provided an overview of the differences between interpreting history and sensing history. Glassberg is one of the few public historians to have directly addressed the topic of myth and ritual in the making of historic sites, in part by making use of oral history as a tool for exploring public memory (Hamilton and Shopes 2008:xii). Glassberg’s work is therefore a primary point of reference in this area, and his definitions, case studies and theoretical positions have been helpful in assessing my own work in Lancaster at the Stevens and Smith Historic Site and Interpretive Center.

Glassberg draws a distinction between “interpreting” and “sensing” history, and he draws an analogy with the difference between “scientific” and “intimate” knowledge. He as well as some of my informants view the interpretation of history more as a science and see it as “something that changes in light of new evidence,” He proposes that by contrast, the sense of history is “a perspective on the past [from] the core of who they [the visitors] are and the people and places they care about” (Glassberg 2001:6). This is similar to what Connerton labels ‘historical reconstruction’ which is the reconstruction of history based on inferences deduced from evidence, whether it is written (such as texts) or physical (such as archaeological remains) and social memory which is created more from informal narratives and communal performances (1989). Historical reconstruction in turn can significantly shape the collective memory of groups, once again dependant on

the power relations of the dominant groups who control the historical representation. In this case study, these two opposing viewpoints and power struggles are clearly articulated in the debates on the interpretation of Lydia Hamilton Smith. The interpretation of Lydia shows the racial power struggle in the past as well as the present over control of her history. As will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three, there is very little historical data on Lydia. However, an interviewee who portrays Lydia in local events and re-enactments, takes a more “interpretive” approach by relying heavily on historical data on Lydia, Thaddeus Stevens and the customs of the late nineteenth century. While this informant delivers a powerful icon through performance, the methods of representing are aimed at specific audiences (primarily school children and public events), and can lead to interpretations of Lydia’s importance in the context of her time and of the heritage site than those interpretations that provide more of a “sense” of Lydia. Smith’s life and achievements have been interpreted with considerable artistic license at the local African Methodist Episcopal church’s living history performance of Underground Railroad history titled *Living the Experience*. This provides more of a “sense” of Lydia’s history, providing a notion of her and providing a powerful African-American historical figure for the community to draw upon.

In this work, I will be focusing mainly on the “sense of history” in terms of Glassberg’s definition, in order to explore how individual and group identities are shaped by environment. I will compare the concepts of a “sense of history” and the more overtly scientific “interpretation of history” developed by Glassberg, that is probably more conventional within the historical profession and will use these two frameworks to assess the present plans for interpretation of Stevens and Smith at the Thaddeus Stevens and

Lydia Hamilton Smith Historic Site and Interpretive Center. By exploring the development of a “sense of history,” we can locate ourselves within time, space and society, and thus can gain a sense of where we are, when we exist, and with whom we belong, connecting our past and present memories within a community, region and nation (Glassberg 2001:7).

Glassberg’s work gives attention to memory that helps public historians rethink the use of memory in their research. Over time, individual and social memories can fade, become distorted, or be suppressed or silenced. These changes of memory play large roles in the creation and shaping of traditions and rituals, and help create a sense of place, for locals and visitors alike.

History, Distributed or Collected Memory and Collective Memory

An important element of my research is based on analyzing how rituals shape memories, and how these memories in turn shape historical representation. I will demonstrate that memories of the past, whether about an individual, community, or on a regional and national level, have a direct effect on the creation of heritage sites, and also on the rituals which surround them and are used to interpret these sites’ importance. Historic preservation is the means by which these memories and rituals are performed, so that they can be shared with the community.

Earlier research on memory studies generally approached these topics by looking at a single group’s beliefs about its past (i.e. Sahlins 1981). This way of studying memory views the group as a homogenous unit with an unvarying sense of the past. More recent work in this area has instead focused on the interrelationship between the

different versions of the past that are located in the public arena (i.e. Archibald 2004; Glassberg 2001: 8; Kammen 1991; Stanton 2006). These new works show that “an individual memory is the product of group coordination, intimately linked to the ‘collective’ memory of the community” (Glassberg 2001:9-10), and help to provide a deeper understanding of what Robert Redfield terms “the social organization of tradition” (Redfield in Glassberg 2001:9). The focus on this examination of memory is on the social rituals required to organize the multiple individual memories into of a cohesive singular public memory.

Some have argued that the two ways of looking at memory (the past seen through an individual group or the interrelationship between individual versions of the past in the public) cannot be separated (Bartlett 1932), because people’s ability to remember depends on their ways of seeing things, so that their culture shapes their memory. Structuralists have argued that the act of remembering has always been social, because memories are created, organized and approved through a process of social interaction (Durkheim 1965 [1915]; Halbwachs 1992), but this does not account for how the socialization of memory actually occurs.

In this context, it is useful to draw a distinction between “*collected* memory” and “*collective* memory.” The phrase “*collected* memory” refers to the process of bringing together diverse and conflicting memories in some kind of common space, for instance at the Vietnam War Memorial in Washington DC (Young in Glassberg 2001:13). Barth (1987) devised the concept of “*distributed* memory,” which is similar to Glassberg’s “*collected* memory”. With *distributed* memory, the knowledge of an event or experience is distributed unevenly throughout the group, but a social memory can emerge and

become evenly distributed when people are brought together at rituals. The phrase “collective memory” refers to the process of bringing together diverse cultural meanings, which have emerged into society through the combination of such sources as imagery, popular culture, and tourist attractions. Barth has proposed that rituals are used to organize the distributed memory into more evenly disseminated memories throughout the group so they appear uniform (1987). Rituals are used as mnemonic devices through their formalism and performativity (Connerton 1989). The making of memories and rituals become a cyclical process, where rituals re-distribute the memories more evenly throughout the group thereby fixing the representations and meanings in a more standardized way that will then inform perception and future performances of rituals (Barth 1987; Bloch 1996). In Lancaster I have witnessed this firsthand with the creation or recreation of Juneteenth celebrations. Celebrating Thaddeus Stevens’ birthday was a popular collective tradition at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century among local African Americans but stopped being celebrated sometime in the second quarter of the twentieth century. As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Six, local residents have started to re-collect these memories and have begun to celebrate Juneteenth collectively, the day the Emancipation Proclamation was issued in Texas, as a way of bridging the past celebrations and the present, making it now not just about Stevens but about the end of slavery all together.

While not all memories are social ones, and the use of rituals is used by both collective and collected memory, the development of rituals and social activities connected with remembrance will inevitably produce a more collective memory. This can have both positive and negative consequences. Collective memory allows

individuals to have their own personal memories of an experience, but collective memory also permits individuals to come together as a group and share their own personal remembrances in order to create a more homogenous social memory which can be constructed through the rituals and traditions performed. In essence, the differentiation between collective memory and collected memory is a way of communicating the gap between “mass media versions of the past and the version we have already encountered in our own particular subculture” (Lipsitz in Glassberg 2001:15). Ritual can be the communication that bridges the space between collected and collective memory.

Rituals can produce a community which perceives itself as homogenous, and whose members can work in harmony with one another for the benefit of all. Such phenomena can be observed in holidays and celebrations such as July 4th, celebrating America’s independence and in Juneteenth celebrations celebrating the end of slavery, examples of which can both be seen in Lancaster. Conversely, rituals can also be used to perpetuate a collective memory that is negative or harmful for sections of the community. This is probably best seen in nationalist campaigns initiated by the state such as in Nazi Germany where rituals and ceremonies promoted one race while oppressing other groups.

Rituals affect the group or various groups within the community in different ways, depending on the context in which the ritual takes place and the culture from which it is experienced, thereby shaping the collective memory of the group. Individuals each have their own particular subculture, and may belong to many overlapping or separate groupings, such as ethnicity, race, gender and class. Research that begins with individuals’ subcultural affiliations will tend to emphasize the multiplicity of meanings generated by historical and popular images and narratives.

The difficulty is that a person's response may change with the context in which he or she sees history or can be influenced by the history and collective memories of the subgroup(s) to which he or she belongs. As Glassberg notes: "If the meaning of a historical fact is not intrinsic but changes with context, then historians can investigate the successive contexts created by the authors, by the mass media and by the public, tracing the path through each particular place where knowledge about the past is communicated" (2001:17). This research will explore how an individual's subgroup affiliation can influence how he/she remembers the past, and in turn how these views can influence how they again want to see that history interpreted. My informants come from various sub-cultures within Lancaster, which directly inform the way they see history and the way they want it interpreted. In general, my informants expressed a direct link between what history they were taught or not taught in school as a child and what they would like to see interpreted at historical sites today. In addition, they all connected a desire to learn more about their own heritage on display. The African-American informants I interviewed discussed how their history was excluded from much of the history they were taught as children. Many of my white informants wanted to see aspects of history displayed that seemed tie to their own past or heritage as well. Chapter Five will focus on the complexity of this and illustrate how some views are directly at odds with others.

The histories and narratives that are told about a place can communicate not only political ideologies and group identities, but can also serve as a reference to the environment in which a group lives, tying meaning and memories to a specific location. It is through daily interaction with people and places that ordinary places, even those that have a historical character, can become "storied places" (Glassberg 2001:19). As

Glassberg quotes Stegner, “no place is a place until the things that have happened in it are remembered in history, ballads, yarns, legends, or monuments”, and consequently people assign meanings to places through their actions and through the memory of those actions (Glassberg 2001:19). In many ways, these storied places become what Pierre Nora refers to as “lieux de memoire”, or sites of memory, for places become an embodiment of the memory, and cannot become one without a story assigned to it. As Nora states, “memory takes root in the concrete, in spaces, gestures, images, and objects; history binds itself strictly to temporal continuities, to progressions and to relations between things. Memory is absolute, while history can only conceive the relative” (1989:9). Therefore, lieux de memoire serves as a way to bridge the gap between memory and history.

History, Heritage and Memory:

As Mattivi Morley discusses, scholars such as Lowenthal and Kammen have distinguished between history and heritage (Mattivi Morley 2003). Mattivi Morley states “*heritage* differs from *history* in that it celebrates only those aspects of history agreed upon and valued by a group, leaving out any problematic information. Thus heritage is nostalgic, re-creating the past as a time of innocence and consensus. Heritage is mythic, using symbols rather than facts to convey historical meaning” (2004:287-288, emphasis in original). Consequently, historic preservation by the state of “heritage” sites should not be seen as a neutral act in isolation, but as part of what Barthel calls the “history industry” which incorporates “museums, monuments, memorials, collecting, historical

fiction” (Page and Mason 2003:10). It would seem reasonable to also add tourism, urban planning and civic participation to the list of industries affected by the history industry.

From the interviews that I conducted in Lancaster, it is clear that individuals within the community also have their own notions of history and heritage. These definitions shape their actions and relationship with the landscape, history and heritage, and will be discussed at greater length in subsequent chapters. While similar views to what Mattavi Morley describes above on history and heritage were articulated in interviews by individuals in Lancaster for this case study, my research shows that history and heritage are intimately intertwined and at times are difficult to separate from one another. As historic sites form “lieux de memoire” or sites of memory (Nora 1989), historic sites come to embody the memory of the past, whether that past was experienced first hand by the visitor or by subsequent generations, thereby creating a heritage site, or a place of memory that adds to maintaining an identity and a feeling of permanence. A sense of place and a sense of heritage do not spring up naturally in a physical environment, but are created through the shared efforts of members of a community. “Heritage is a new mode of cultural production in the present that has recourse to the past. It also produces something new. Heritage is a way of producing ‘hereness’” (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998:150, 153). This sense of “hereness” can be communicated to members of the community, as well as to outsiders visiting as tourists, sometimes through stories linking the physical object or building to the memory that is being preserved. This is not a new phenomenon for all societies, but has a rich history of tradition in American culture since the nineteenth century. The sense of place underpins many of the American myths and traditions that have created individual, community,

regional and national identities. For instance, Lancaster County has a significant Amish population within the community that is known to the locals that live within the county and to those visiting from outside. This sense of Amish-ness can be seen in the various marketing initiatives produced by the county to encourage visitors to come experience this heritage, cashing in the economic side of experiencing another culture through heritage tourism.

Lowenthal suggests that heritage is popular in current American society because it serves as a source of nostalgic hope, a form of comfort, as well as serving as a way to deal with negative heritage, or remembrances of destructive events such as 9/11. During times of need, fear, or loss, people tend to look to the past and to “ancestral legacies” as a means of coping with present difficulties and preparing for an uncertain future. While heritage can be positive, it can also take on negative, suppressing and oppressive aspects (Lowenthal 2003:19). This case study sees heritage being used as a positive tool of agency to reclaim aspects of the past that had been forgotten or erased, in particular slavery, and escape from slavery with the Underground Railroad narrative, and thus to provide a sense of greater power or control within the present. Various groups within the community can especially see this with the desired interpretation of Lydia. Since the telling of African-American history is sparse within Lancaster, Lydia’s story provides an avenue for an African-American narrative of a successful nineteenth century businesswoman and entrepreneur to be told. Though not much is known historically of Lydia, what information is known provides a role model of sorts to many in the community to look up to. It also helps establish a sense of place within local history for African Americans, by locating her story within the historic landscape of the community.

Lydia's role in history has taken a backseat in interpretations due to the lack of 'history' or historic data on her that will have a direct correlation to how this heritage is interpreted, received in the present, and contribute to the ongoing power struggles that currently exist among race and class lines. Given that Lancaster as many places suffers from inequality, this could be an opportunity lost to learn from the past and inform the future.

Public space and identity are intertwined through the making of memory and the creation of place in space. In all contexts, landscapes are "storehouses for these social memories, because natural features such as hills or harbors, as well as streets, buildings, and patterns of settlement, frame the lives of many people and often outlast many lifetimes" (Hayden 1997:9). The preservation of the historical built environment leads to the creation of "places" with specific meanings, which in turn leads to the creation of identity. By examining these activities using concepts borrowed from the study of myth and ritual, supplemented by work on the development of memory, I am able to offer an account of the creation of these places and thus of a "sense of history," by identifying a physical location that offers an account of where, when and with whom we belong.

It would be possible to tell the story of the historic preservation movement in the United States in the familiar terms of an old Western film, by categorizing the various participants as bad guys or heroes, and by reductively describing the movement as a fight between good and evil. However, unlike in the canonical tradition of the Western film, some fights are won but others are lost. Moreover, rather than the audience merely observing the conflicts in a passive manner, there is always scope for communities and stakeholders to participate in the process. Thus, while there always seems to be a

showdown of sorts at the end, the various participants are all doing their best to influence who the victor will be.

Lowenthal describes the dedication to heritage as being a “spiritual calling,” in which the preservation organizations act as “their churches,” and where the principles of historic preservation are viewed as “the creed.” Lowenthal compares the preservation movement to a religious crusade, which relies on faith rather than rational proof to draw people to its mission. This “calling” can be seen by some of the community members I interviewed, who have a zealous dedication to preservation and were strong advocates for the preservation and interpretation of the Stevens and Smith site. Lowenthal also notes that historic preservation organizations come in all sizes, bringing people together at a local community level, but also operating at a national and even global level, such as International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), and the Coalition of Historic Sites of Conscience (Lowenthal 2003:20).

As collective memories have either a positive or negative outcomes, Lowenthal’s comparison of the preservation movement to religion also emphasizes that belief structures have potential for good and bad, because “credence in a mythic past crafted for some present cause flies in the face of the past’s actual complexity and precludes impartial historical knowledge” (Lowenthal 2003:21). Similarly, a commitment to preserving heritage sites offers [a] “a rationale for self-respecting stewardship of all we hold dear; on the other [hand], [b] it signals eclipse of reason and regression to embattled tribalism” (Lowenthal 2003:21). Both of these tendencies are seen in examples from the data of this case study.

People's concern with heritage is just one of many links in which people connect with their past, so that what was once labeled as "history" or "tradition" is now labeled as "heritage" (Lowenthal 2003:21). Heritage meant more of a possession — a possession of goods or items, but now the term is more used to signify a link to roots and belonging (Lowenthal 2003:22). Lowenthal places this new preoccupation with heritage as starting around 1980, which was the year France declared an official "Year of Patrimony".

UNESCO defines cultural heritage in the following terms:

Cultural heritage has both tangible and intangible components. Tangible heritage refers to built heritage, cultural landscapes and all man-made elements with cultural significance. Intangible heritage refers to the practices, representations, expressions, memories, attachments, as well as the knowledge and skills that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals, recognize as part of their cultural heritage. It is sometimes called living cultural heritage, and is manifested inter alia in the following domains: oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage; performing arts; social practices, rituals and festive events; knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; traditional craftsmanship (Ripp 2008)

Lowenthal shows how heritage is directly tied to identity, quoting members of the Sikh community who told him, "If wealth is lost, nothing is lost, if *heritage* is lost, *you* are lost" (2003:22, emphasis in original).

There is still a perception that the historic preservationist ethos is predominantly an elite form rather than a folk one (Lowenthal 2003:27). However, there has been a gradual shift towards the more mass appeal of heritage, as embodied in tourist destinations. People and places are appealing to the masses, for "the more who engage with heritage, the [more] esoteric and exacting it grows. If the meek and the weak have not inherited the earth, they increasingly become keepers of its castoffs" (Lowenthal 2003:27).

But is heritage so different from history? Historic preservation has started to enter popular culture, partly because historical sites become far more interesting when people have a greater awareness of their own family background, they become sites of memory linking individuals with a collective past. One of the most significant changes over the past couple of decades has been the explosion of accessible information on genealogy, via the internet and search engines and software allowing people to research their own heritage from home. This can be seen in the 2006 Public Broadcasting Service (also referred to as PBS) documentary series *African American Lives*, which traced the genealogy of several popular African American figures such as Oprah Winfrey.

Lowenthal argued that one reason why heritage has become popular in America is because Americans are looking for a lost community; an alternative explanation of the widening interest in heritage might be that the mobile nature of modern American society tends to create a sense of placelessness, in which one has no feeling of being associated with a particular location (Glassberg 2001:119). While the notion of placelessness was not the focus of interviews, there have been a growing number of immigrant groups relocating to the Lancaster area (for more discussion see Chapter Three). In addition, many people I interviewed were “outsiders” to Lancaster, meaning they are not native to the area, but had moved there from elsewhere. Given the mobility of many of the people interviewed, the idea of placelessness is a plausible notion for some that could be researched in an additional study. Many critics have described this as being a predominantly American problem, resulting from the social and economic mobility, which is particularly characteristic of American culture, but it can be seen in parts of post-World War II Eastern and Western Europe as well. Most citizens of the United

States are the descendants of immigrants who traveled from their country of origin here, because the United States was more open to more people than almost any other nation.

As a result of the high level of social and economic mobility, many Americans often identify with several distinct places and local identities (Glassberg 2001:20). While not everyone in every society is mobile, we have seen significant waves of migration across the world and within the United States since the nineteenth century. People may bring aspects of their culture with them when they move from place to place, such as the tangible: objects, clothing, and foodways, as well as the intangible: particular rituals, traditions and performances which allow them to associate specific meanings to specific places where rituals occur. If there is no community to share the rituals, traditions, and to imbue particular places and spaces with objects and performances of significance, then it seems reasonable to expect that a sense of tradition attached to place will not occur.

But equally, the newly arrived person may change or add particular rituals and traditions as part of the process of acculturation, for instance when immigrants to the United States start to celebrate Thanksgiving. These phenomena can be observed through the successive waves of immigration into the United States during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. People in the first generations of immigrants tended to move to areas containing people from their original culture or heritage. However, over the space of a few generations, these groups can become widely dispersed. This has happened to Little Italy in New York City; what once was a large neighborhood in lower Manhattan is now only a few blocks of restaurants and tourist sites, as the original Italian-American inhabitants in this community moved up the socio-economic ladder and moved outside

the neighborhood. Nevertheless, this area is still associated with Italian ethnic heritage, and has become a tourist destination with many restaurants and shops.

People have experienced change from rural to urban environments, change in technology, change in political and geographical boundaries, change in family structures, and change in health care and mortality. It seems likely that all of these adjustments probably have stimulated greater interest looking to the past as a way to help to make sense of changes in the present and future: “the more people are on the move, the more they will grasp at tangible memorials of their collective past” (Jenkins in Lowenthal 2003:25). This pattern of responses to the concept of “heritage” can be perceived in my interviews and observations within the community of Lancaster. Several of my interviewees expressed the hope that by illuminating the past through heritage destinations, there would be an opportunity to highlight issues that exist in the present such as relations between different ethnic groups, and perhaps that such experiences will help to resolve social problems associated with these contentious issues.

Heritage Tourism and a Sense of Identity:

Heritage tourism is a multi-billion dollar industry (Sears 1989:viii; World Tourism Organization 2008). Europe started to develop a tourism industry in the eighteenth century, but tourism in the United States only really began during the early nineteenth century. The later start in the United States resulted from a combination of lack of transportation, lack of tourists with disposable income, unsafe traveling conditions, and the lack of a national myth that could attract people to visit particular

places (Sears 1989:3). Over time, turnpikes developed, and other modes of transportation emerged such as steamboats, canals and railroads. These made travel easier, cheaper and safer, so that it became accessible to the developing middle class. The United States confronted many hardships during the early nineteenth century, but Americans welcomed a diversion from everyday life with traveling.

From the earliest period, the new arrivals in America sought identity through their relationship with the land through ways of controlling the landscape. Dutch settlers built canals, and English migrants sought to recreate the landscapes of their home country, while Spanish arrivals developed plazas in their towns. These cultural symbols helped them create a new home in this new land (Sears 1989:4). Tourist attractions are a form of modernity, “but because [of] America’s relationship to Europe and to its own past, because its cultural identity was not given by tradition but had to be created, tourist attractions have played an especially important role in America” (Sears 1989:4). In the nineteenth century, “tourism provided a means of defining America as a place and taking pride in the special features of its landscape” (Sears 1989:5).

Many of these first tourist destinations served as sacred places, so that the journey became both a ritual and a pilgrimage for Americans, allowing them to seek out God and to experience the presence of God through the glories of the American landscape (Sears 1989:4). However, these early places of pilgrimage were not associated with particular denominations. “Their religious meaning was broad enough to appeal to people of any persuasion. In a pluralistic society they provided points of myth and national unity” (Sears 1989:7). These places had both religious and secular aspects. With the rise in urbanization and industrialization, tourist attractions in the nineteenth century also

became more secular by catering to the developing consumer culture. As a consequence, a conflict developed between the impulse to preserve and the wish to exploit and consume, which still exists today (Sears 1989:11). In many ways, these pilgrimages can be seen taking place again to African-American historical sites, especially Underground Railroad sites. Tour buses can be seen regularly visiting the African Methodist Episcopal (hereafter referred to as AME) church in Lancaster to visit the site and see *Living the Experience*. In Philadelphia, Mother Bethel AME church also receives regular visits from touring groups, to visit their church, see their museum and attend services. The difference being, instead of making pilgrimages to sites where one could experience God and take pride in the American landscapes, these tours are now visiting sites that link specific points in history, in this case African-American history that have been forgotten or overlooked in their individual and collective lives. They become symbols of a collective identity that many are trying to recapture.

Many symbolic destinations arose from the development of tourism. Destinations such as Niagara Falls, New York, Mammoth Cave in Kentucky, the New York Hudson River Valley, Yosemite and Yellowstone, all created places for people to visit in a form of a pilgrimage. These sights created a ritualized experience allowing spiritual refreshment, together with opportunities to engage in spending on souvenirs, narratives and sideshows. Ritual pilgrimages have also recently taken place to Underground Railroad sites, such as the National Underground Freedom Center in Cincinnati, Ohio that opened in 2004 and where close to one million people have already visited. These activities all helped to create an American identity that was separate from that of Europe.

Following the Civil War, travel for pleasure became more common, first for the middle class and then for the masses.

Moreover, the development of the Progressive movement from the 1890s to the 1920s led to changes in the recommended destinations for tourism (Sears 1989:87). The Progressives believed in travel which would provide moral and spiritual models, and thus recommended that people should engage in pilgrimages to cemeteries, asylums, prisons and parks, under the assumption that a person's moral character could be altered through the material culture and landscapes that surrounded him or her (Sears 1989:88). As notions of health and sanitation progressed, and the urban ordinances changed to accommodate these new findings, places like cemeteries, asylums and hospitals began to be built outside the city limits. New cemeteries were opened: in 1831, Mount Auburn in Cambridge, Massachusetts; in 1836, Laurel Hill in Philadelphia; in 1837, Greenwood cemetery in Brooklyn. These became truly sacred sites, or what T.D. Woolsey called in 1849, "Mansions of the dead" (in Sears 1989:100) to which many locals made day trips.

The Progressive movement also resulted in large changes to the location and architecture of both asylums and prisons. The Progressive reformers had new ideas about how to care for the sick and imprisoned, but they also believed that the places to provide such services should seek to be aesthetically appealing. Indeed, the Progressives believed that aesthetics could help to induce reform among inmates, as well as in the public at large. There was also greater sensitivity to language than in previous decades, as seen in the adoption of the word cemetery during the 1830s in place of the previously used term "burial ground" (Sears 1989). The creation of large cemeteries outside the limits of cities coincided with the move to create large urban parks, such as Central Park in New York,

Boston Common and the Public Gardens, and Fairmount Park in Philadelphia. These three parks all emerged as a response to people's desire for open air space in urban areas, and were in theory consistent with Americans' democratic ideals by being open to all classes, yet even this space has a history of power struggles and debates (Rozenzweig and Blackmar 1992).

During the period before the Civil War, much of tourism was driven by cultural hunger and spiritual revitalization, but this impetus became less urgent towards the end of the nineteenth century as romantic and religious enthusiasm waned and more secular bourgeois consumer culture developed focusing on entertainment. Tourism is an expression of mass consumer culture that could be shared by all classes, and as society became increasingly secularized, the function of tourism ceased to be predominantly celebratory and instead became more focused on myth and ritual (Sears 1989). With the expansion of this consumer culture, there was also a hunger to commoditize all areas of tourism, including history, which was gradually transformed into a product that could be branded and sold (Sears 1989:212-215). We see this transformation to a more consumer-based culture whose desires were to commodify culture, in many of the early World's Fairs. Culture was put on display for all to see, and to be viewed for consumption rather than being experienced in its own environment.

A leading figure in contemporary theory on the motivations and consequences of tourism is Dean MacCannell, whose work *The Tourist: A New Theory for the Leisure Class* was first published in 1976 and updated in 1999. MacCannell argues that the tourist defines the site by his or her awareness of the site, which is conducted through signs or markers. Without the visitor there for the sign to communicate to, the site would

have no meaning. The meaning of the site is therefore constructed in the social reality of the present or the “hereness” as Kirshenblatt-Gimblett argues, from the collective consciousness of tourists and their experiences at these sites. This model is useful for analysis but is extremely linear: tourist-marker-site. In addition, MacCannell’s perspective does not take into consideration the individual aspect and perceptions that each tourist brings to the tourist experience.

MacCannell offers two perspectives for analyzing sites, a pro-tourist perspective and an anti-tourist perspective, each of which has positive and negative aspects. Economic goals tend to be associated with the pro-tourist stance. With economics as the driving force for destination development, the authentic tends to give way to fabrication, and entertainment is sought rather than thought-provoking discussions. A focus on pure entertainment may in the long run not be as economically viable as originally hoped, because success in entertainment tends to rely on trends, so that what is economically popular today may not enjoy the same success tomorrow. Ensuring that a heritage site contains a sufficient proportion of entertainment to attract tourists is directly associated with the making of myth, memories and heritage. Memories and myths can and have been adjusted to make the heritage more palatable for the viewer, and therefore more economically successful for the site. This is also seen in the work of Wallace (1996) and Handler and Gable (1997), who discuss the role of entertainment in the making of heritage sites and is the view of some community members I interviewed.

Anti-tourist approaches are generally one-sided, and typically are based on class analysis. Tourism and its sites are now available to virtually all socio-economic levels of modern American society. The anti-tourist campaign is promoted by people who are

tourists themselves, but who wish to keep the sites and attractions to themselves. A very recent example of this could be seen in the headlines of British Broadcasting Corporation (hereafter referred to as BBC) News Online, which recounted how the Salzburg planning council had blocked plans to develop the Von Trapp family villa, which was made famous through the 1965 musical *Sound of Music*, into a hotel. While Austrians can get married at the villa and use its space, the residents “feared tourists would tie up traffic and make a nuisance of themselves” (BBC News 2008).

MacCannell’s suggestion for dealing with this conflict in tourism is what Matthews advocates in archaeology: involve the community. As outlined in the previous chapter, one of the goals of reflexive archaeology is to involve the community in the planning process, in order to help alleviate the tensions of ownership and create a more democratic process in the creation of the site. In my view, this should be a goal for all archaeological projects especially those with a heritage tourism component such as the Stevens and Smith site. However, I will show in subsequent chapters that factions will inevitably be produced during this process of inclusion, and that the distribution of the economic and cultural benefits of heritage tourism is not always equal.

In addition, the memory of the past can be objectified in the making of heritage, creating the notion that heritage is something that can and should be owned by someone or a group. Such a stance can create an atmosphere where the history on display is not called into question in any way, but is merely consumed passively and one depiction of the past is the correct one. This can be seen by some of the desired interpretations of Lydia at the Stevens and Smith site. As discussed in Chapter Five, the pastor of the AME church sees Lydia’s heritage and even that of the Underground Railroad as a history that

should be only owned and portrayed by the African-American community. His view of history is shaped by his own experiences or lack of experiences with displays of African-American history and views the interpretation of Lydia by the African-American community a way of reclaiming an ownership of his past primarily through her portrayal in *Living the Experience*. However, by doing this, the interpretation of Lydia has become adorned with non-historical aspects, yet passing them off as history, making the viewer or audience member not question the performance, but take it as historical fact.

As Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998:149) states, “heritage is created through a process of exhibition (as knowledge, as performance, as museum display). Exhibition endows heritage thus conceived with a second life. This process reveals the political economy of display in museums and in cultural tourism more generally.” Heritage adds value to existing objects, sites, and buildings that have ceased to be viable, or perhaps were never economically productive (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998:150). Heritage also transforms a local landscape into an exportable product, by changing a historic site into a heritage destination. The first stage is to imbue uniqueness in the site in order to give it value, and the second stage is to create a sense of “hereness” which will be accessible to, and valued by, tourists (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998:153). With the Stevens and Smith site, a dilapidated old building that had little heritage value to the community was transformed into a heritage site, or a “site of memory” after the archaeological excavations and findings made the community aware of its historic value, creating a sense of “hereness” for the site for both community members and visitors alike.

It is important to recognize, however, that “heritage” is not always generated solely for export to tourists. Historical sites can also be important for local residents, as

they will influence how those people view themselves and their surroundings (Glassberg 2001:117). Glassberg asks us to question “collective memory” as being the principal source of a community’s sense of place. He argues that there are conflicts with political implications of the meanings attached to places, and that the invention of a “collective” sense of place as the source of invention of a public history reflects the power struggle among the various groups and stakeholders which is clearly seen at the Stevens and Smith site (2001:117). Heritage landscapes and places are often inscribed with meaning from a dominant individual or group, and are subsequently interpreted through the lens of their ideological hegemony (Cosgrove and Domosh in Glassberg 2001:117). In essence, the hierarchy of power determines who controls a community’s memory and the interpretation of the past justify a present social order (Connerton 1989:1-3; Franklin 2005:191). Soja also notes that the power of place is directly tied to relations of power and discipline (1989). Our sense of place and history are intertwined, for we live in “landscapes dense with both histories and memories, idealized images of the past that compete to become the standards we use to evaluate and shape our present environment” (Glassberg 2001:126). The struggle for power in the present can be played out with control of what and how to interpret the past, creating an idea of a site within a site. As the struggle for racial equality exists everywhere in both the present and the past, and is apparent in Lancaster, this struggle for control can be seen within Lancaster’s sub-groups and will be illustrated in detail in Chapter Five.

I seek to explore these various aspects of how identity is created through a combination of memory, oral traditions, and ritual. My research focuses on the city of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and more specifically on the Thaddeus Stevens and Lydia

Hamilton Smith Historic Site. By this sharp focus on a particular location, it will be easier to examine the broader questions about how the past and the present of a historical site are understood and re-interpreted over time.

In the next chapter, I provide a brief outline of the development of the city of Lancaster, and offer biographical sketches of Stevens and Smith. The following chapter provides a brief summary of the archaeological investigations that were conducted at the Historic Site during 2002 and 2003. These two factual chapters will provide the foundation for interpreting the information that I gathered in interviews and observations with different stakeholders affected by this project. By bringing together all these different facets, I will be able to interpret my findings about the formation of community identity around this particular historical site in Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

**Chapter Three: The Setting and Characters —
History of Lancaster, Thaddeus Stevens and Lydia Hamilton Smith**

“The victors will forget, the vanquished remember” Winston Churchill

This research focuses on the excavations that took place during 2002-2003 at the Thaddeus Stevens and Lydia Hamilton Smith Historic Site in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and on how these excavations affected community identity. In order to understand more thoroughly the goals and findings of the research, I begin by providing a background description of the historical characters that once inhabited this site. This chapter provides a descriptive narrative on Lancaster, Thaddeus Stevens and Lydia Hamilton Smith, and on the information and events that led to the archaeological investigations. Since this chapter serves as supplementary data to the research, the main information sources are secondary such as historiographies and biographies. Indeed, this is partly unavoidable because much of Stevens’ correspondence was destroyed, leaving large gaps in exchanges, particularly in the 1840s and 50s (Palmer and Ochoa 1997). However, several primary sources were also consulted when available.

Setting: Lancaster, Pennsylvania-The Garden Spot of America:

The site of the Thaddeus Stevens and Lydia Hamilton Smith Historic Site is located in the area known as Penn Square in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, which lies approximately seventy miles west of Philadelphia in the southeastern section of the Commonwealth. The city is situated on the northwest banks of the Conestoga River, which serves as a tributary to the Susquehanna River. The Native American groups who

inhabited this area included the Conestoga, a group of Iroquoian-speaking Susquehannocks. The first white person to settle in the area now known as Lancaster is said to have arrived in 1718, but the earliest deed for town property was not issued until 1735 (Everts and Stewart 1875:xiii-xiv). James Hamilton laid out the buildings and lots in 1729. At that time, the area was known as Hickory Town, but the prominent citizen John Wright renamed it as Lancaster after his home city in England (City of Lancaster 2008; Klein 1964:31).

Lancaster was a borough town from 1742 until 1818, when the first act of incorporation took place for the municipal government of Lancaster (Everts and Stewart 1975:xii-xiv). Despite not being a city until 1818, it was briefly the capital of the colonies during the American Revolution in 1777, and between 1799 and 1812 it served as the state capital of Pennsylvania (City of Lancaster 2008). From 1750-1825, Lancaster was “regarded as the largest and most flourishing inland town in Pennsylvania and few exceeded it in the entire country either in wealth, population, or local importance” (Everts and Stewart 1875:xii-xiv). In 1924, the city surrendered its old city charter and became a Third Class City under the laws of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, which requires the city to have at least a population of 10,000 but not more than 80,000.

Lancaster’s location between Philadelphia and Maryland placed it on several transportation routes to and from the Commonwealth, and positioned it well for urban growth (Figure 3.1). The main east-west thoroughfare, first known as Old Philadelphia Pike and now named King Street, leads from Philadelphia to Wright’s Ferry and on to Maryland. The principal north-south road is Queen Street. The intersection between King Street and Queen Street became a stop for travelers and merchants, and soon

became the commercial center of the city as well. King Street and Queen Street are still the two main routes into the city, dividing it into quadrants, and the city center is where they meet.

The city established itself as a market town in the early eighteenth century, principally selling products from the rich agricultural lands that surrounded the city. Lancaster's markets

included the Central Market, which was the first farmers' market in the country, and is still in existence today in the center of Lancaster City. During the first quarter of the nineteenth century, Lancaster County gradually industrialized with the emergence of industries in iron, flour production and lime burning, as well as companies producing cloth, cork, and umbrellas. A 17-mile canal was created in the 1820s and 30s that connected Conestoga Creek with the Susquehanna River that ran from Reigarts Landing at the foot of East King Street in Lancaster to Safe Harbor on the Susquehanna River (Klein 1964:96). After the arrival in 1834 of the railroad connecting Lancaster to Philadelphia and other surrounding urban centers, the improvement in communications allowed the emergence of other new industries that could then more readily sell and distribute their goods to the general market (Gombach 1997; Klein 1964:97).

From 1840 onward Lancaster stopped producing iron, and instead focused on manufacturing goods such as cigars, cotton and silk cloth, beer, stoves, watches and clocks, and farm tools and agricultural products such as tobacco, barley, buckwheat, peas

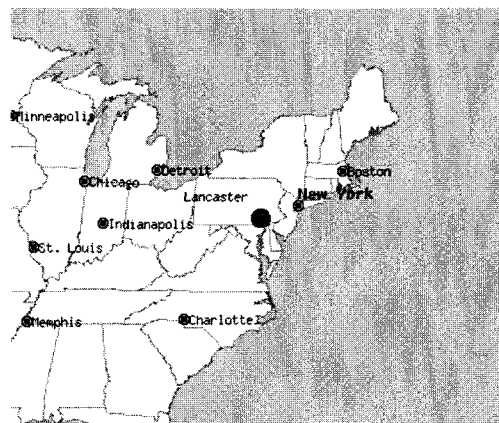


Figure 3.1: Map of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Located in the middle of the Atlantic States.
<http://www.idcide.com/i/mc2/pa/lancaster>.

and beans, flax, butter, wool, beeswax and orchard produce (Klein 1941). In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, other local industries emerged such as candy making, manufacturing of carriages and wagons, and architectural and ornamental ironwork (Gombach 1997). As a result of the expansion of manufacturing, several companies emerged which are still in existence (though often under other names), such as Armstrong Cork (a maker of floor coverings and insulation, now known as Armstrong World Industries), R.C.A. (Radio Corporation of America now part of General Electric), and Raybestos (a brake part company). Census records show the city's population more than doubled in the middle three decades of the nineteenth century, from 7,704 in 1830 to 17,603 in 1860 primarily due to new business (Gombach 1997; Klein 1941:9).

As the nineteenth century progressed, the city gradually began to show the influence of urban planning. During the early years, industrial buildings in the city center were built right next to residences and commercial establishments and by 1900, there were 6,000 dwelling houses in the city with access to public conveniences (Klein 1941:88). Despite this growing number of inhabitants, the social community was rather small and tended to be conservative in temperament (Klein 1941:89). As the city developed, a clearer separation emerged between different parts of the city. The early nineteenth century also saw the emergence of municipal works, in the form of water and gas works. A publicly owned pumping station was present by 1837, providing clean water to city residents. The Bridgens Atlas of Lancaster County of 1864 shows a gas works, providing gas to residents of the city (Bridgens 1864; Gombach 1997). Other facilities were also created, including the Lancaster County Prison. This establishment was built on the outer eastern edge of the city, in an area that was more rural with fewer

residents, on the grounds that this location would help retain social order. Streetcar lines began to operate by 1870, allowing easier commuting for the population. By the 1880s, Lancaster also offered electricity and telephone services, helping the inhabitants to communicate more easily as well as to commute in and out of the city (Gombach 1997; Klein 1941:101).

During the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, the city's downtown area became a retail hub in which a white-collar economy flourished. This attracted travelers as well, and many hotels were seen in the later part of the nineteenth century (Klein 1941:69). The Watt and Shand Department Store was built in 1878, by architect C. Emblen Urban and engineer C.A. Wheeler, on the south east corner of the intersection of King and Queen Streets providing a major central shopping destination. As the twentieth century progressed, urban planning again became an important aspect of the city's growth (Klein 1941). Civic leaders commissioned John Nolen in 1929 to develop a comprehensive plan that would further develop the busy city center, while resolving emerging difficulties caused by automobiles and parking. Nolen's plan resulted in wider streets and a de-emphasis of the city center. This de-emphasis of the city center along with suburbanization ultimately led to a depopulation of the city following World War II (Gombach 1997).

Census records show population hit its peak in 1950, with 63,774 people of whom 98 percent were white (Schuyler 2002). But from 1950 to 1980, urban residents relocated into the suburban rings surrounding the city, creating "white flight" into the newly developing suburbia in Lancaster Township and the surrounding area, changing the economic and social structure of the city (Schuyler 2002). Moreover, like many small

cities at this time, the city was de-industrializing: between 1958 and 1977, manufacturing jobs declined by 2,200 while wholesaling jobs fell by 500 (Schuyler 2002:3). As the wealthy and middle class whites moved further away from the city, an economic and social vacuum was created within the city limits. Several urban renewal programs of the 1960s and 70s attempted to mitigate these consequences, but resulted in increased blight and continued segregation (Schulyer 2002). Penn Square in downtown Lancaster continued as a retail hub until 1989, when the Bon Ton department store, which had been located in the landmark Watt and Shand department store, relocated to a suburban mall (Schuyler 2002).

In the late 1990s, a new urban revitalization project was introduced — the transformation of the landmark Watt and Shand department store building into a hotel and convention center. The hotel portion of the project began as a private venture, with the purchase of the Watt and Shand building by a group of local investors known as the Penn Square Partners. The Convention Center is publicly run by the LCCCA made up of representatives from the city and county. The hope was to capitalize on the already successful agricultural and Amish tourism market that exists within the county, and reinvent the city through its historical sites as a new tourist destination.

A portion of the convention center is located on a site that had existing historical easements on buildings held by the Trust. The National Park Service defines a preservation easement as the following:

a voluntary legal agreement that protects a significant historic, archaeological, or cultural resource. An easement provides assurance to the owner of a historic or cultural property that the property's intrinsic values will be preserved through subsequent ownership. In addition, the owner may obtain substantial tax benefits. Historic preservation easements also are used to protect historic landscapes, battlefields, traditional cultural places, or archaeological sites. Under the terms of

an easement, a property owner grants a portion of, or interest in, her property rights to an organization whose mission includes historic preservation. Once recorded, an easement becomes part of the property's chain of title and usually "runs with the land" in perpetuity, thus binding not only the owner who grants the easement but all future owners as well (National Park Service 2008).

There are three main benefits to historic preservation easements. First, they permit the retention of private ownership of the property and possible financial benefits from the historic easements. Second, the easement binds not only the current owner of the easement but also all subsequent owners, thus ensuring that future owners will preserve the property as well. Lastly, the easements are geared towards the needs of the property owner, the resource, and the mission of the protecting organization, making it a flexible tool for owners to use. Under certain criteria, a historical easement can qualify for a Federal tax deduction whose value is equal to the rights given away to a charitable or governmental organization (National Park Service 2008).

According to my interviews and discussions with the stakeholders involved with this project, the historical easements on these buildings were created during the 1980s. Easements are placed on buildings to protect them from demolition or alteration by the property owner for consultation and approval from the easement holder is necessary in order for any alterations can occur. A former Trust employee detailed the sequence of events that led to the development of the Convention Center and hotel. Dale High of High Industries (now also a part of Penn Square Partners) and Penn Square Partners owned the Stevens, Smith and Kleiss buildings, and were selling them on a lease-to-purchase arrangement with a New York developer. The developer wanted to develop a preservation-focused rehabilitation project that could use the tax credits for the easements. The New York developer eventually obtained title to the buildings, but then

sold them to an Iranian couple who subsequently claimed that they had not known about the easements until the Trust notified them.

The LCCCA thought that the historical easements might impede the development of the Convention Center, and sought assistance from the Redevelopment Authority of the City of Lancaster. The LCCCA proposed an arrangement in which the LCCCA would use \$300,000 of public funds to purchase the Swan Hotel, a historical building across the street from the Stevens, Smith and Kleiss saloon properties on Vine and Queen Streets, and then the Redevelopment Authority would extinguish the Trust's easements on the Stevens, Smith and Kleiss properties. In 2002, the parties reached a legal agreement such that the historical easements would be extinguished if the LCCCA granted the Trust the right to make these buildings into a historical site, and with the understanding that the historical easements would then be re-applied to the buildings after the schematic plans were completed for the historical site. According to my sources at the Trust, as of 2006 the easements between the Trust and the LCCCA were revised to allow the removal of the rear wings on the buildings but maintained on the facades, and the agreement was also modified to include the plans of the building of new exhibit space and protection of 'historic space' where the cistern is located.

The historical easements had originally been placed on buildings that were owned by the nineteenth-century Radical Republican Thaddeus Stevens and his housekeeper Lydia Hamilton Smith. Stevens and Smith were both well known locally, and Stevens had a national reputation, for anti-slavery viewpoints (Delle and Levine 2004; Levine et al. 2005). Stevens is now a somewhat obscure figure, but he played an important role in local and state affairs during the period of the Civil War and Reconstruction. Therefore,

the opportunity to investigate his property archaeologically was thought to be an advantageous way to learn more about Stevens, Smith and their roles in Lancaster's history.

Historical Significance: Thaddeus Stevens and Lydia Hamilton Smith:

As stated above, during the nineteenth century Stevens was widely known nationally, and both Stevens and Smith were well known locally. However, from the early twentieth century onwards, there seems to be a "great amnesia" about Stevens' life and work, for their names are not familiar to many people even in the Lancaster community (Current 1947; Korngold 1955; Miller 1939). This absence from local memory and from the history books is partly due to the unpopularity of Stevens' Reconstruction plans, which were harshly criticized in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century by a group of historians drawing on the influential analysis of Reconstruction provided by Professor William Archibald Dunning of Columbia University. The Dunning School believed that Reconstruction ruined the South, and consequently they took a highly critical view of Stevens' ultra-liberal and pro-Reconstruction views. Dunning referred to the northern intellectuals such as Stevens who were involved in Reconstruction as "mugwumps," and considered them as extreme fanatics (Dunning 1965 [1897]).

Dunning's views on Reconstruction were relatively modern in scope, but a racial bias was present in all his work (Dunning 1965 [1897]:xii-xiii). Dunning condoned the Ku Klux Klan, as well as the restoration of "Home Rule" which made African Americans

into permanent second-class citizens. Dunning did not believe that the root of trouble in the South was due to slavery, but considered that it resulted from the coexistence of two races in one society (Dunning 1965 [1897]:xii, 384). He felt the core of the race issue was that

respectable whites would not service with blacks in the militia; the Republican state government would not — and indeed, from the very nature of the case, could not — exclude the blacks from the military service; the mere suggestion of employing the blacks alone in such service turned every white into practically a sympathizer with the Ku Klux: and thus the government was paralyzed at the foundation of its authority (1965 [1897]:357).

Dunning's views influenced some other scholars to perceive Stevens as a villain who was interested solely in vindicating the Civil War. As a member of the Germanic “scientific” school of historians, Dunning promoted what was considered to be a scientific and objective approach to historiography (Dunning 1965 [1897]:xiii), and many of his students “triumph[ed] to the application of the scientific method to historiography”, which was shaped by a Southern viewpoint that felt African Americans were inferior to whites (Dunning 1965 [1897]:x). Such views were not confined to the historical literature, but also existed in legal analysis. Analysis of early writings about the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments has noted that Radical Republicans may be dismissed as “misguided utopians” and then ignored, with the exception of a few revisionist works (Davis in Newman and Gass 2004). It wasn't until the 1960s that different views emerged in historiography, allowing historians such as Hans Trefousse (1997) to overturn the Dunning School's view of Stevens, and instead describe the Radical Republicans as being “men motivated by ideals, not a thirst for vengeance” (Berlin 1993:158).

Stevens was depicted as Austin Stoneman, a naïve and fantastical congressman, in D.W Griffiths' popular 1916 feature film *Birth of a Nation*. This film reflected the Dunning School of thought that was so popular at this time among scholars, and brought it to the public. The character of Stoneman in the film reflected Stevens' liberal views that Reconstruction had been a disaster and had ruined the South. *Birth of a Nation* was the highest grossing film of its era, and is considered to be one of the most influential films in history, due to its depiction of the Civil War, White supremacy, and Reconstruction.

In spite of his prominent role during the Civil War and Reconstruction, and his portrayal in *Birth of a Nation*, Stevens fell out of popular consciousness after his death. While the exact reasons for this are unknown, one possible reason could include that since President Andrew Johnson's rejected the Radical Republican's plans on Reconstruction this led Reconstruction and its proponents to be unsupported by the public and the administration and thereby led Reconstruction and Stevens to drift from popular consciousness. During the street interviews that I conducted in Lancaster in 2005, many people had heard of Stevens, but only a few were able to provide a description of his historical importance. The interviewees who did know about Stevens' role in history tended to be African Americans, together with one individual from the South (who actually refused to speak to me about Stevens), and community members who happened to be knowledgeable about the excavations and research at Stevens' home and law offices. It is not possible or appropriate to describe every aspect of Stevens' career here, but I will highlight aspects of his life that describe his personality, note his

better-known accomplishments and misfortunes, and identify the acts that are believed to have influenced his stance against slavery.

Thaddeus Stevens-“I am just what I am whether you like me or not” (Stevens quoted in Woodburn 1913:608)

During his life, Thaddeus Stevens was most widely known as the “Great Commoner” in reference to his many humanitarian acts throughout his career (Callender 1882; Korngold 1955:130-141). A few mid-twentieth century biographers such as Fawn Brodie (1959), Richard Current (1942) and Thomas Frederick Woodley (1934) believed that it was Stevens’ personal life and experiences that had determined his political positions. Current has also written on whether Stevens was motivated by his personal

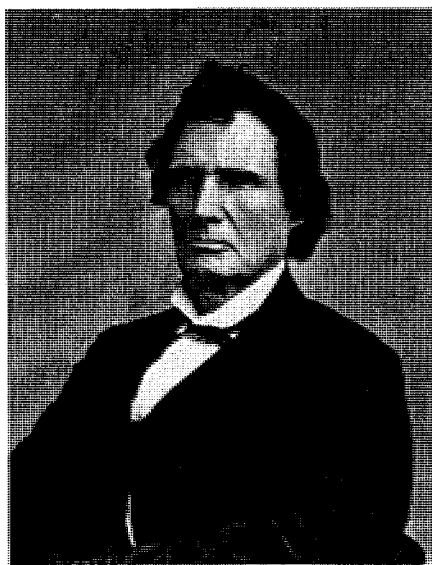


Figure 3.2: Photograph of Thaddeus Stevens. Date unknown. Courtesy of the Lancaster County Historical Society.

love or hatred in his personal life or for political recognition (1947). Other early biographers such as Samuel Walker McCall (1899), Alphonse Bertram Miller (1939), James Albert Woodburn (1913) and more recent historians such as Ralph Korngold (1955) and post-revisionists like Eric Foner (1974) and Donald Pickens (1985) have generally preferred to attribute Stevens’ ideology to his work rather than his personal experiences (Berlin 1993). The archaeological excavations on the site of his home and law offices have shed new light on his legacy, and it appears that historians and biographers are once again interested in

this Radical Republican (see Bordewich 2004) (Figure 3.2).

Stevens was born on April 4, 1792/1793 in Danville, Vermont, a small town in Caledonia County. His parents were of English peasant ancestry (Callender 1882:12; Woodley 1934:7). He was named after Thaddeus Kosciusko, a Polish patriot and engineer who served as a colonel in the continental army during the American Revolution (Korngold 1955:3; Trefousse 1997:2). Stevens' mother was a devout Baptist, and his father was a shoemaker. After their fourth child was born, Stevens' father left the family, and Stevens' mother had to provide for all her children. It was rumored that Stevens' father was killed in the War of 1812, though this story has not been substantiated (Harris 1989 [1872]; Korngold 1955:4).

Stevens was born with a clubfoot, a physical handicap that would affect him throughout his life. This affliction caused him to be mocked as a child, and some biographers have suggested that this mockery may have hardened his personality (Brodie 1959; Woodley 1934:9-11). He also lost all his hair early in life, and thereafter wore a wig. The cause of his hair loss is disputed; one scholar has suggested that it was due to typhoid (Korngold 1955:18), while another attributed it to alopecia (Trefousse 1997:7), and another to brain fever (Harris 1989 [1872]: 596). Despite this, he grew to be about five foot seven inches tall, had clear ruddy skin, fine teeth, was strongly built and carried dignified features, all which can be seen in a photograph of him later in life by C.W. Eberman that some say was taken at the age of 64, others at 73 (Harris 1989 [1871]; Mombert 1988 [1869]:410) (Figure 3.3).

Throughout his life, Stevens had a reputation as a cynic, but he was also well known as a supporter of those in need, and several of his biographers have stated that

Stevens felt that no one else should have to suffer as he had done as a result of his handicap (Berlin 1993; Trefousse 1997:7-8; Woodley 1934).

Korngold's biography of Stevens quotes Carl Schurz, a general during the Civil War, who had interviewed many of Stevens' friends and neighbors and described his character as follows:

Mr. Stevens' discourse was apt to make him appear as a hardened cynic... indifferent whether he have pain or pleasure. But now and then a remark escaped him — I say "escaped him", for he evidently preferred to wear the acrid tendencies of his character on the outside — which indicated that there was behind his cynicism a rich fund of human kindness and sympathy. This was strongly confirmed by his neighbors at Lancaster. They had no end of stories to tell about the protection he had given to fugitive slaves, sometimes at much risk and sacrifice to himself, and of the many benefactions he had bestowed with lavish land (1955:5).



Figure 3.3: Photograph of Thaddeus Stevens by Charles W. Eberman. Date Unknown. Courtesy of Lancaster County Historical Society.

Stevens entered Dartmouth College as a freshman in 1811. Some have suggested that he was expelled after a prank played by him and several other classmates resulted in the death of a local farmer's cow, though Trefousse has suggested that it was actually his nephew (also called Thaddeus) who was involved in this scandal (Trefousse 1997:6).

Stevens studied at the University of Vermont in Burlington during 1812-13. During the War of 1812, the University of Vermont was requisitioned by the federal government, and Stevens then returned to Dartmouth and graduated in 1814 (Korngold 1955:9; Woodley 1934:18). After leaving Dartmouth, Stevens took up the study of law. He moved to York, Pennsylvania in 1815, and began teaching at the Academy of York while studying law in his spare time (Harris 1989 [1872]; Woodley 1934:20). The requirement

in Pennsylvania was that a student should have devoted a year of study to the law, without undertaking other employment, before taking the bar exam. Stevens was not able to comply with these requirements, and he therefore took his bar exam in 1816 across the state line in Maryland (Korngold 1955:13; McCall 1899:21). After passing the bar exam in Maryland, Stevens made his way to Lancaster in the hopes of beginning his career there, though the city appeared somewhat unwelcoming. Woodley has stated that, “he was overwhelmed with the smug, cold aloofness of the aristocratic Lancaster of that day. The city was too big and impregnable for him. He just could not bring himself to challenge it” (1934:23). Stevens therefore moved to Gettysburg, a smaller town in Adams County, Pennsylvania, as a suitable location for his new home and his law practice. His career and finances flourished here for nine years after arriving, and Stevens became the largest individual holder of real estate in the town (Woodley 1934:28).

Stevens and his partner James D. Paxton co-owned the Maria Furnace, or ironworks, outside Gettysburg in 1826. Stevens himself owned another ironworks known as the Caledonia Furnace, which was named after the county in Vermont in which he had grown up. The Caledonia Furnace generally ran at a net loss (Current 1942:123; Korngold 1955:18), but it provided employment for 200 workers and their families, many of them African American on 12,000 acres. According to Charles Blockson, this site is believed to have been a safe house on the Underground Railroad (1994:118-119). One of his biographers has noted that few workers chose to leave the Caledonia Furnace, because Stevens offered good incentives such as paying for relocation costs and for housing (Current 1942:122).

Stevens' professional and economic success in Gettysburg brought him into the news, though initially not in a favorable light. He was known for helping the enslaved to freedom through his legal services as well as buying them and setting them free (Harris 1989 [1872]:575). He first came to public notice in connection with the death of a pregnant African-American woman (Current 1942:12). There were persistent rumors that Stevens killed this woman, and that he had done so because he was the father of her unborn child (Trefousse 1997:21-22), but his supposed guilt on these two slurs was never proven. The story slowly dissipated from popular consciousness, and apparently did not affect his practice. Stevens' law practice gained considerable fame because of his work as defense in defending James Hunter against a charge of murder. Stevens' client lost the case, but Stevens' own reputation was enhanced by his excellent work in using a plea of insanity to defend his client (McCall 1899:21; Trefousse 1997:13).

However, the incident that several biographers have suggested may have had an impact on Stevens' subsequent work against slavery, was his successful defense of Norman Bruce in 1821 when his client sought to regain possession of his slave Charity Butler. Up until this point in his career, Stevens had not taken a specific stand against slavery (Trefousse 1997:14), but several of his biographers have claimed that his successful work in this case which helped Bruce regain his slave Charity, caused Stevens to denounce slavery publicly and to make his services available to defend the enslaved against the fugitive slave laws. However, other biographers have noted that Stevens' abolitionist viewpoints rang through even at the beginning of his political career, though he invariably remained within the law. Trefousse has suggested that Stevens and Lincoln

both sought to end slavery, but that Stevens was far less concerned than Lincoln with the need to maintain broad popular support (Trefousse 1997:150).

In 1836, Stevens proposed a bill to prevent kidnapping of free blacks, while acknowledging that slave states could continue to regulate and control the institution within their state. At the same time, Stevens proposed that Congress institute its constitutional power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia (Trefousse 1997:47). This bill did not pass. Some biographers have attributed his abolitionist convictions to Jonathan Blanchard, a Presbyterian minister and abolitionist who met with Stevens in Harrisburg during 1837 (Trefousse 1997:50). Although there is still no consensus about the reason why Stevens became active in the abolitionist movement, but it seems clear from correspondence and reports that by 1847, he was well entrenched in the abolitionist movement, and probably that he was already involved in the Underground Railroad. In 1847, Stevens wrote a letter to Jeremiah Brown stating:

I learn that the manstealers of Lancaster have taken measure to obtain authority from Maryland (which they hope to obtain) to arrest and take into slavery two colored girls who lately lived with you and your brother... will you see that they flee to an immediate city of refuge. They should not stop short of Canada. There is a regular chair of agents and spies of the slaveholders in this and all adjoining counties. I have a spy on the spies and they ascertain the facts... These are the eighth set of slaves I have warned within a week (Spotts in Trefousse 1997:73).

Trefousse also notes Stevens was linked to the Underground Railroad by quoting from the Congressional Globe, that “at the end of the session [31st Congress 2nd session] he [Stevens] went home to Lancaster, to his practice and his activities in the Underground Railroad” (1997:84).

While Stevens’ law practice grew, so too did his political aspirations. Stevens was elected to the Pennsylvania legislature and served there from 1833 to 1836, and then

again from 1838 to 1843. Initially he was a member of the Federalist party, but during his time in the State legislature he shifted to the Anti-Mason party, this being the first of many political party shifts he would make in his career (McCall 1972 [1899]:28-29; Trefousse 1997:21, 24), as he subsequently joined the Whig party, and ultimately became a member of the Republican party after its formation in 1854 (Callender 1882). Stevens also had links to the Temperance movement in its struggle against the Silver Grays, and worked with the Nativists, or Know Nothing party who were also against the Masonic party (Trefousse 1997:20, 74, 88). Towards the end of his career, Stevens became a member of the Radical Republicans, which was a faction within the Republican Party from about 1854 until the end of Reconstruction in 1877. The Radical Republicans fiercely advocated the abolition of slavery, and supported equal rights for Freedmen and for the newly freed, as well as advocating harsh policies towards slavery and the Confederacy during and after the war. During the Civil War and into the era of Reconstruction, Stevens was regarded as the leading Radical in the House, while Charles Sumner was considered to be the leading radical in the Senate.

During Stevens' time in the legislature, he championed the fight for free education in Pennsylvania (McCall 1972 [1899]:34-36). In 1834, he proposed a bill making a liberal appropriation for Pennsylvania College at Gettysburg, at a time when the state would typically only pay for education if the student was considered to be a pauper (McCall 1972 [1899]:33). In 1834, a bill had been passed to make public education free throughout Philadelphia, and in 1835 there was a proposal to extend this benefit to the whole state. Many legislators were opposed to such a proposal because of its cost, but

Stevens' speech in Congress during 1835 led to a House vote that led to the extension of public education throughout the state (McCall 1972 [1899]:36; Trefousse 1997:39).

It was also at this time while Stevens was a member of the Convention that there was a call to revise the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania's Constitution. He refused to sign it for they would not take out the word "white" as a qualification for suffrage within the state (Mombert 1988 [1869]: 409).

At the end of his second term in 1843, and after accruing debt in his ironworks businesses, Stevens moved to Lancaster in the expectation of gaining more clients who would help reduce his debts (Callender 1882:53; McCall 1972 [1899]:58; Mombert 1988 [1869]: 409; Palmer and Ochoa 1997: xxxi; Trefousse 1997:68). When he moved to Lancaster (McCall 1899:58; Trefousse 1997:69), Stevens purchased a two-storey two-family house with an attic on South Queen Street at a sheriff's sale, but allowed the previous owner and his family to continue living there until the former owner died ten



Figure 3.4: Photograph of Thaddeus Stevens' House. Date unknown. Courtesy of The Lancaster County Historical Society.

years later (Korngold 1955:20; Trefousse 1997:69)

(Figure 3.4). Korngold described South Queen Street as

being paved and "lined with neat, red-brick, white

shuttered houses" (1955:68), and Stevens made some

modifications to his house in order to separate his office

from his living space (Woodley 1934:570). Stevens

developed a successful law practice in Lancaster, and took

on a number of student apprentices (some of whom were

unpaid). Stevens sometimes accepted cases, which paid

only minimal fees, "especially when proceedings were had for the return of fugitive

slaves, he was almost always found contributing his services to the defense of the Negro” (McCall 1899:60). Stevens also continued his political career by being elected to serve in the House of Representatives in 1843, and continuing to serve in that capacity until 1853 (McCall 1899:59; Woodley 1934:200).

Stevens enhanced his reputation within the abolitionist movement by successfully defending the participants in the Christiana Resistance, which is also known as the Christiana Riot. The Christiana Resistance challenged the recently enacted 1850 Fugitive Slave Law (McCall 1899:89), which was the second law concerning fugitive slaves to be enacted in the U.S., the first one having been enacted in 1793 after the Constitution. While Pennsylvania passed the first state law providing for the gradual abolition of slavery in 1780, two laws passed subsequently after that provided for the legal capture of enslaved persons escaping slavery (Klein and Hougenboom 1986 [1973]). Both the 1793 and the 1850 laws facilitated the recapture and extradition of enslaved persons who had run away, and committed the federal government to the legitimacy of slave holding. However, the 1850 law created commissioners who were appointed by federal court adjudicators to administer fugitive cases, and these commissioners were required to facilitate federal marshals in recapture under penal fines for not doing so. The 1850 law also made assisting escapes into an offense, which was subject to a fine and a maximum prison sentence of six months. Finally, the 1850 law stipulated that in the South, escaping slaves could not testify against whites, but that a slavemaster’s circumstantial evidence was admissible in court. Stevens began making speeches against slavery in Congress from 1850, and further reinforced his reputation as an antislavery politician by his work on behalf of the Christiana Resistance. It appears that his activities in this

respect made him unpopular, and he was not re-elected to the House in 1852 (Callender 1882:58), though he was again elected as a member of the House in 1858 and continued to serve in Congress until his death in 1868.

Stevens' brother Morrill had two sons, Thaddeus and Alanson, and after Morrill's death in 1858, these two boys became Stevens' wards. Stevens treated his two nephews as though they had been his sons, although his correspondence with them was generally quite stern rather than affectionate. His nephew Thaddeus attended law school and subsequently worked with Stevens at his law offices, but he was an alcoholic and often engaged in disorderly conduct, and contemporary reports indicate that Thaddeus seemed only to respond to Lydia Hamilton Smith. Stevens' other nephew Alanson also went to work for his uncle, but at the Caledonia Furnace as a clerk, and he subsequently died in Chickamauga, Georgia in the Civil War (Current 1942:117, 185).

During Stevens' last few years in the House, he acted as one of the prime advocates of Reconstruction in the sense of trying to rebuild the South while enforcing the notion of equality for all. Stevens' proposals for Reconstruction included confiscation and redistribution of the lands of leading rebels on the Confederate side, because like other Radical Republicans and Abolitionists, he believed that the key to true emancipation from slavery and the rebuilding of the South would have to be a combination of landownership and suffrage for formerly enslaved blacks and also for white refugees (Callender 1882:61; Foner 1974). Largely as a result of pressure from Stevens and other Radical Republicans, the Congress passed several Confiscation Acts during 1860s, some of which called for sweeping confiscation measures; however, these

laws were generally not enforced, and indeed they were mainly soon abandoned (Foner 1974).

In addition to playing an active role in the development of Reconstruction, Stevens was instrumental in creating the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments of the Constitution, which respectively ended slavery, provided citizenship for African Americans, and gave them the right to vote. He did however feel that suffrage for African Americans should wait a few years. He feared that if suffrage was granted, and southern states were readmitted to the Union before a federal Constitutional amendment could protect African Americans rights, and before freedmen were able to establish themselves economically independent from the previous southern economy, then all would be undone (Foner 1974:161). However, President Andrew Johnson refused to follow Stevens' ideas on reconstructing the South, and in response, Stevens decided in 1868 to attempt to impeach Johnson, but Stevens was unsuccessful in this and he died only a few months later.

Stevens died in Washington D.C., with his housekeeper Lydia Hamilton Smith at his side. Several biographers have stated that two African-American nuns from the order of the Sisters of Charity, named Loretta and Genevieve, were at his bedside, and that two African-American clergyman also came and prayed with him (Current 1942:119, 317; Korngold 1955:438; McCall 1899:351-352). Stevens had been raised as a Baptist, and subsequently held a pew at a Presbyterian Church, but one of his biographers has stated conclusively that Stevens was not a particularly religious man (Current 1942:119), though at his deathbed he did agree to be baptized (McCall 1899:351-352).

After his death, Stevens' body was brought to the Rotunda at the Capitol by eight pallbearers of whom five were African American and three were white, who were escorted by the Butler Zouaves, an African-American military company of the District that held arms in reverse (Korngold 1955:440; Miller 1939:403). One of his biographers has stated that a "seemingly endless procession of mourners" filed past his coffin (Korngold 1955:440), while another biographer has stated that "the children of a negro orphanage were lifted one by one so that they might gaze on the features of their benefactor" (Miller 1939:403). Stevens' coffin traveled by train back to Lancaster for burial, with crowds of mourners at every station, and the train made additional stops for mourners at York and Harrisburg before reaching Lancaster (Korngold 1955:440), where his body then lay in state for three days in his front parlor. An estimated 20,000 people came into Lancaster City for his funeral, which was performed by eight Protestant ministers and a Catholic priest, who was known to be one of Stevens' friends (Korngold 1955:440).

Stephens was buried like a "Great Commoner" in Shreiner's Cemetery in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. This cemetery was the commoners' cemetery, and was the only one in the area where African Americans could be buried along with Whites. His epitaph reads:

I repose in this quiet and secluded spot,
 not from any natural preference for solitude,
 but finding other cemeteries
 limited by charter rules as to race,
 I have chosen this that I might illustrate in death
 The principles, which I advocated through a long life,
 Equality of man before his Creator.

In his will, he left his nephew Thaddeus a sum of \$40,000 if he stayed away from alcohol. However, his nephew was unable to relinquish his alcoholism, and the bequest therefore went to set up an orphanage and training school for boys and girls that put no preference to race, color, religion or nationality, which subsequently became Stevens Institute which is now known as the Stevens Institute of Technology in Hoboken, New Jersey (Korngold 1955:443). As Lancaster historian Mombert has noted, “his charity, like his political convictions, regarded neither creed, race or color” (1988 [1869]:410).

Stevens’ long struggle against slavery was acknowledged after his death by many of his Congressional colleagues, including Congressman Godlove S. Orth of Indiana. On the floor of the House, Orth stated that Stevens “invariably volunteered his services to defend the alleged fugitive; and it is among the reminiscence of the neighborhood that he seldom failed to secure the freedom of his clients” (Korngold 1955:45). Stevens was so revered that he was even nominated for his office after his death, and the vacant position was only filled at a later date (Klein 1921: 102-103; Korngold 1955:440).

During one of the many speeches delivered on the life and death of Stevens by members of the House of Representatives after his death, the remarks by Mr. Kootz state “His name is a household word in the humble cabins of four million people whom he has helped up from the degrading condition of bondage into the blessed light of freedom, and will be inseparately linked with that great act of national justice by which the emancipation of a race from servitude was accredited” (United States 40th Congress, 3rd Session 1868-1869). While friends and foes remembered Stevens work and charity then, it seems that his legacy drifted out of popular consciousness for most of the twentieth century. Stevens currently is reentering the public consciousness, largely due in part to

the research, excavations and the reconstruction of his home and law offices into a museum. The history of his housekeeper Lydia Hamilton Smith has just recently emerged, partly as a result of the recent excavations and research. The documentary sources about her life are less complete than those concerning Stevens, but the available information provides a deeper view of Stevens' life, and also of women's lives in the nineteenth century, as well as providing invaluable information about the life of an African American during the Civil War and the years during and after Reconstruction.

Lydia Hamilton Smith-“No other group in America has so had their identity socialized out of existence as have black women. We are rarely recognized as a group separate and distinct from black men, or as present part of the large group ‘women’ in this culture. When black people are talked about, sexism militates against a recognition of black female interests. When black people are talked about the focus tends to be on black men; and when women are talked about the focus tends to be on white women.” bell hooks

Stevens' housekeeper and personal assistant, Lydia Hamilton Smith, began working for Stevens in 1848 when he moved his home and offices to Lancaster, PA (Korngold 1955:72; Woodley 1934:570). It is unclear if Lydia was a freewoman at birth or whether she had been born into slavery; however, according to her death certificate she was born in 1813 to an African American mother from Pennsylvania and an Irish father with the last name O'Neill (Death Certificate Lydia A. Smith. Permit No. 40890, Vial Records Division of Health, District of Columbia). According to historic and genealogical research done by the woman who enacts Lydia Hamilton Smith in historical interpretations, and personal communication with the now current owner of Russell's Tavern site, O'Neill had stayed at Russell's Tavern in Gettysburg where Lydia is said to have lived for a time as a child. One biography on Stevens states that Lydia's neighbors

believed that she had been born in the Deep South and then came north as a young child; however, no other biography or source refers to this (Woodley 1934:570).

Lydia married Jacob Smith when she was around 20, and gave birth to two sons, William in 1835, and Isaac in 1847. There is disagreement about the profession of her husband Jacob: one source stated she was married to a teamster (Current 1942:116), while others asserted that he was a carpenter (Korngold 1955:72; Miller 1939:9), while the re-enactor who depicts Lydia has claimed that Jacob was both a barber and a musician. However, there is general agreement that Jacob died soon after the birth of their second child Isaac (Korngold 1955:72; Miller 1939:9).

Lydia began working for Stevens in Lancaster in 1848, after a recommendation from her cousin Anna Sulkey, who was herself a former employee of Stevens. Lydia and her sons took up residence in a small building in the back of Stevens' house on Vine Street in Lancaster (Korngold 1955:72; Miller 1939:9; Woodley 1934:570). Stevens later sold her this property in 1860 for \$500, making her one of the few women in Lancaster to own property, and possibly only the second African-American woman at that time to be a land owner. This was her business debut, for after purchasing this property, she went on to buy several more properties in Lancaster and in Washington D.C., which she then rented out (Delle and Levine 2004).

According to the genealogical research conducted by Lydia's re-enactor, Lydia's eldest son William, was dead by 1860. A report in the newspaper states that his death occurred as an accident from handling a pistol, and though some suspected foul play, the incident was never investigated. Her youngest son Isaac seems to have had a troubled youth and only finally settled down in 1868 or 1869. Isaac subsequently married and had

three children by 1875, but the first two of these died at a young age, and Isaac himself died soon after Lydia.

Although the exact nature of the relationship between Stevens and Smith is still unclear and may always remain so, there is copious evidence to show that he placed considerable confidence in her regarding his affairs. Correspondence and contemporary reports show that she was known as “Mrs. Smith” around the home and office (Current 1942:193; Miller 1939:11; Palmer and Ochoa 1997, 1998; Woodley 1934:571). A newspaper reporter George Drake of the Alabama *Union Spring Times* even notes the relationship between Stevens and Smith and her role in the household in an article written in June 1867, which was subsequently reprinted in the sensationalist *New York World*, “she receives or rejects visitors at will, speaks of Mr. Stevens and herself as ‘we’ and in all things comports herself as if she enjoyed the rights of a lawful wife” (Korngold 1955:73). Such scandalous newspaper articles and other reports about the relationship between Stevens and Smith, which Stevens typically ignored, seemed to emanate from the Democratic Party, which was generally opposed to Stevens’ views on Reconstruction. One of Stevens’ biographers noted that after talking with many of Stevens’ friends and neighbors, he failed to find corroboration for much of what was reported in the media (Korngold 1955:74). To my knowledge there is only one occasion on which Stevens explicitly denied the media reports linking him and Lydia. In a letter dated September 14, 1867 to his friend W.B. Mellins, Stevens responded to an article that had recently been written:

... I have already denied a part of it on application from a distant State — The rude doctrines ascribed to me by the fellow who wrote them I pass over with a general denial of their accuracy —

As to the domestic history I have only to say that the whole is totally without foundation except so far as follows. From the time I began business (40 odd years ago) I have kept house ~~some-times~~ through the agency of hired servants having no female relatives. Those servants were of various colors; some white, some black and other of all intermediate colors. My only inquiry was into their honesty and capacity. They have resided with me for various periods from one month to fifteen years. Generally more than one at a time — Indeed I believe always so. I believe I can say that no child was ever raised or; so far as I know begotten under my roof. Sometimes husband and wife have worked the one for me and the other for another, generally at the same time, cohabiting together on Saturday nights. But I believe none of them became pregnant during the time —

This is a larger disclosure than I believe I have ever made before of my private affairs, and have done it now, only out of what you think required by public affairs. (Palmer and Ochoa 1998:328).

When his biographer Woodley was conducting interviews of Stevens' friends and neighbors, they recalled that "during Mrs. Smith's residence one or more Negro servants lived with her in a separate wing of the home" (1934:571), but apparently this was not sufficient to quell the rumors of an intimate relationship between Stevens and Smith. Indeed, these rumors did not cease even after his death, as the *New York World* obituary for Stevens also alluded to their supposed relationship (Miller 1939:11). Whatever the relationship between Stevens and Smith actually was, in his will Stevens did leave Smith \$5,000 or an annuity of \$500 for life, with the condition that she could live in the house for one year after his death, and also that she could take several pieces of furniture that they had held in common.

Smith corresponded with Stevens' nephews, and one letter from her to Stevens' nephew Thaddeus, where she addresses it "Dear Thad", displaying a familiarity that scholars have suggested would have been considered unusual between a household

servant and an adult household member during that era (Miller 1939:13). However, as previously indicated, Stevens' nephew Thaddeus was a known alcoholic who could become quite uncontrollable at times, and correspondence suggests that Lydia was the only person that he would allow to take care of him, and who would be willing to take the train from D.C. to Lancaster to help him.

Biographies and newspaper accounts from the period generally emphasized the high regard that Stevens and close friends had towards Lydia, but the same accounts invariably referred to her skin color. For instance, the Drake article mentioned above describes Lydia as “a mulatto woman, neat and tidy housekeeper who was polite and well trained as Negroes go” (Korngold 1955:72). Several of Stevens' biographers have also referred to her appearance. Korngold describes her as “a light mulatto with comely features and straight hair.”

Lydia's death certificate from the District of Columbia is revealing in this regard. Under “Color”, the first entry is “Black” which is then crossed off with a “?” and then “White” was written, but this was also crossed off (Death Certificate Lydia A. Smith). Lydia is said to have been of Creole origin and was a devout Catholic. “She was small of stature, well-formed, extraordinarily neat, modest and courteous” (Korngold 1955:72). Woodley, another of Stevens' biographers, states that during her time in Lancaster



Figure 3.5: Portrait of Lydia Hamilton Smith by Jacob Eicholtz or Charles Bird King commissioned by Stevens. Date unknown. Courtesy of Lancaster County Historical Society.

she was a devout Catholic and rarely missed a religious service. Lydia is reputed to have been of Creole origin, being light complexioned with almost Caucasian features and hair

that was nearly straight (Miller 1939:9). Being slightly under average size, Lydia gave great attention to her appearance and dress. One neighbor remembered that without referring to it, she took great delight in having clothes made to resemble Mrs. Lincoln. She was a woman of poise and personal dignity. Industriously caring for Stevens' home and

managing his servants, she nevertheless found time to perform a multitude of her own quiet charities (Woodley 1934:571).



Figure 3.6: Photograph of Lydia Hamilton Smith. Date unknown. Courtesy of Lancaster County Historical Society.



Figure 3.7: "Lydia Smith, Thad Stevens Housekeeper", photographed by Charles W. Eberman. Date unknown. Courtesy of Terry Hatch. Photo of Photograph by Randolph Harris.

Unfortunately,

there are very few remaining images of Lydia. There are two photographs, and what is thought to be a portrait by Jacob Eicholtz, which was commissioned by Stevens (Figure 3.5).

However, notes on this photograph at the Lancaster County Historical Society

state that it doesn't appear to be the work of Eicholtz but

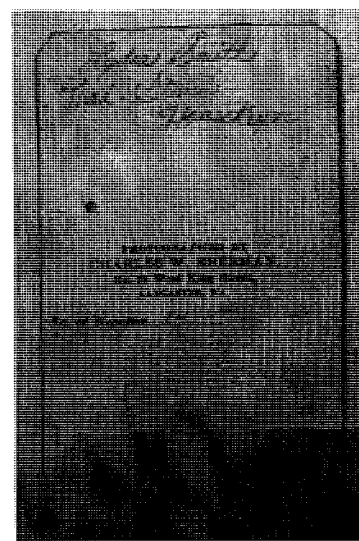


Figure 3.8: Back of Photograph "Lydia Smith, Thad Stevens Housekeeper", by Charles W. Eberman. Date unknown. Courtesy of Terry Hatch. Photo of Photograph by Randolph

rather Charles Bird King, which was confirmed by the Frick Library on February 26,

1969. The most widely used picture of her is the photograph on file at the Lancaster County Historical Society (Figure 3.6), and another has surfaced recently from a private collection labeled “Lydia Smith, Thad Stevens Housekeeper” which was taken by Charles W. Eberman of Lancaster; unfortunately, this photograph is not dated (Figures 3.7 and 3.8).

Smith died of a stroke in Washington D.C. on February 14, 1884, which happened to be her birthday. She was buried in St. Mary’s Catholic Cemetery in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. The obituaries of Lydia were considerably kinder to her than the obituaries of Stevens had been. For instance, the *Evening Star* in Washington D.C. on February 15, 1884 stated that “she was a remarkably intelligent woman, of generous disposition, and was well and favorably known. Among the people of Washington, both white and colored, she was respected highly, a fact, which was attested by the large number who attended the funeral, services at St. Augustine’s Catholic Church at 8:30 o’clock this morning” (The Evening Star 15 February 1884). The local paper in her hometown, *The Lancaster Inquirer*, provided more details of her life, and also noted that she had never turned anyone away who needed help, and that this trait could also be perceived in her will where she had left various sums of money from \$50-\$500 to friends and relatives. While Lydia never gained the same national reputation as Stevens, it appears from the few details which are available about her life and character that she was a woman who attained great means, was of unquestionable character, and was always available to help those in need.

Fallen and Unknown Heroes to Rightful Status:

As one of Stevens' early biographers has noted, "it was a half-century ago, in a large and self-centered town, such as Lancaster [there was] a brilliant and successful lawyer like Stevens would almost certainly become a popular hero" (McCall 1972 [1899]:64). Another writes,

...he was an enthralling idiomatic individual, about whom legends clustered which seemed to contain all the elements of permanent folk-lore. His blighting wit alone should have rendered his memory secure. Yet today, by some inexplicable quirk of fate, the emphasis of history, of tradition of common repute have somehow been diverted; and to mention Stevens is to loose a flood of shamefaced ignorance" (Miller 1939:ix)

Stephens' efforts towards the abolition of slavery were unprecedented for politicians of his time. Frederick Douglass noted that Stevens had held "the highest place among statesman who grappled with the issues raised by the recent slaveholders' Rebellion" (Foner 1969:119, 417-418). And yet, by the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, the memory of Stevens and of Smith had all but vanished from popular consciousness. As the following chapters will illustrate, the archaeological work conducted in Lancaster during 2002-03 and the subsequent plans to create a museum on the site of Stevens' former residence has partially resurrected the memories of these two figures, and created conditions allowing them to be celebrated both locally and nationally.

Chapter Four: Archaeological Investigations

“Monuments and archaeological pieces serve as testimonies of man's greatness and establish a dialogue between civilizations showing the extent to which human beings are linked” Vicente Fox, Mexican President 2000-2006

Archaeological Inquiry:

Archaeological inquiry for the Thaddeus Stevens and Lydia Hamilton Smith Historic Site began in 2002, when the Historic Preservation Trust of Lancaster County retained two leading historical anthropologists, James A. Delle of Kutztown University and Mary Ann Levine of Franklin & Marshall College, to conduct archaeological field investigations on the properties owned and occupied by Thaddeus Stevens and Lydia Hamilton Smith during the nineteenth century.

This project was not conducted pursuant to Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966. I will begin this chapter by outlining the conditions that preceded the decision to begin these archaeological investigations. The information concerning these issues that is presented in this chapter came partly from references on file with the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission's (hereafter referred to as PHMC's) Bureau of Historic Preservation (hereafter referred to as BHP), partly from reviews of similar materials at the Historic Preservation Trust, and partly from personal interviews with informants.

For this thesis, the primary data set is ethnographic data derived from interviews and from participant observation. The archaeological data represent supplementary information that is relevant for both the context (historical preservation policy) and the content (archaeological artifacts and features) of the overall project. Consequently, this

chapter and the preceding chapter about Thaddeus Stevens and Lydia Hamilton Smith should be regarded as background data for this project, and more specifically for the ethnographic inquiries that took place from 2003-2009. This chapter provides a brief summary of the archaeological fieldwork and finding that took place from 2002-2003.

A detailed site report for the 2002 field season can be found on file with the Historic Preservation Trust of Lancaster County (see Delle 2002). The references consulted for this chapter come primarily from this site report, which contained preliminary analysis of the 2002 field season and recommendations for the site for 2003. As of October 2008, the final site report covering all aspects of the archaeological inquiry and analysis from the 2003 field season is still pending. I therefore consulted a number of supplementary sources, including various undergraduate term papers and an undergraduate honors thesis concerning various aspects of artifact analysis which were written by Franklin & Marshall College students for courses taught by Mary Ann Levine. In addition, I have referred to publications by Delle and Levine that highlighted the archaeological analysis conducted at this site.

Context: Historic Preservation Laws and Cultural Resource Management:

Federal and State Review Processes

Federal Review Process

Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966 as amended in 1980 and 1992, and the regulations (36CFR800) of the Advisory Council on

Historic Preservation, stipulate that Federal agencies should “identify historic properties potentially affected by the undertaking, assess its effects and seek ways to avoid, minimize or mitigate any adverse effects on historic properties”. Section 106 requires a review process if the project has Federal monies involved in the development process; however, the statute only encourages and does not mandate preservation. Federal agencies are responsible for initiating the review process between the agency and the State Historic Preservation Office (hereafter referred to as the SHPO). In order for a property to be considered significant during a Section 106 review, “a property must be either already listed in the National Register or be eligible for listing. The Advisory Council on Historic Preservation has issued an explanatory guide titled *Protecting Historic Properties: A Citizen’s Guide to Section 106 Review*, which states that a “property is considered eligible when it meets specific criteria established by the National Park Service”. According to an interview with an employee of the BHP, it is normal for Section 106 to be used when the specific permitting and licensing requested for a project may affect the historic property.

Pennsylvania State Review Process

The Pennsylvania History Code, Title 37 Section 507 as amended in 1995 requires Commonwealth agencies, political subdivisions and municipal authorities to cooperate with the Commission in preservation, investigation and protection of archaeological resources by notifying the Commission prior to the initiation of a project which is either permitted by the Commonwealth or assisted by the Commonwealth, if

such a project may affect archaeological sites, whether such sites are on public or privately owned land. The History Code requires all state agencies to consult with PHMC and according to section 510 of the History Code “the commission shall be consulted on the design and proposed location of any project, building or other undertaking financed in whole or in part by Commonwealth funds which may affect the preservation and development of a district, site or building listed on or eligible for the Pennsylvania Register of Historic Places”. The code also states that the historic resource can be protected or preserved through an administrative tribunal or court action. The state law only gives the SHPO power to initiate surveys and investigations to document or mitigate historic resources, and cannot compel the property owner to complete an archaeological investigation of the property (Gaeski 2004).

From Policy to (Non)Action: Lancaster Marriott Hotel and Lancaster County

Convention Center :

The excavations for these properties were conducted in response to the Lancaster County Convention Center and hotel project. However, these excavations were permitted by the LCCCA and were funded privately by the Trust, rather than as part of any Federal or state regulations with regard to historic preservation. The reasons for this situation are complex, as I will show on the basis of the available documentary evidence as supplemented by interviews.

The BHP serves as the SHPO that administers the Section 106 process for all Federally assisted projects in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and also has the duty

to administer and uphold the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania's History Code. According to records on file at the PHMC (Watt & Shand ER file # 03-0346-071), the PHMC was made aware of the project when it received a letter from the Trust in January of 2001. This letter also stated the Convention Center had received \$15 million in appropriations from the Governor's Capital Budget. It is unclear if this letter served as formal notification of funds for the project, for according to a PHMC BHP staff member, the state was never consulted by the Governor's Office of the Budget about this project, in addition to receiving this letter from the Trust. So it seems this letter and the information that it provided about this project and the PHMC BHP never followed up funding. Technically speaking, the project to construct the hotel and Convention Center could be viewed as consisting of two projects on two parcels of land that are separately owned: the hotel owned by the private company, Penn Square Partners, and the Convention Center, owned and operated by the LCCCA. In principle, the two projects should require separate Federal and State review processes, but the minutes of a meeting on October 29, 2002 on file at the BHP, state that:

It was the opinion of the PHMC that the entire site would be considered as one project as this project falls within a historic district and it appears conceived and developed as a seamless single project between the hotel and convention center. The Thaddeus Stevens House, Kleiss Saloon and Smith House, even though owned by a separate entity would be considered as contributing historic resources

According to the records on file at the PHMC, the Lancaster City Historic District was nominated in 1995, but was not officially listed until September 7, 2001. In other words after the date the Trust notified the PHMC about the project and its potential effect on historic properties, and therefore would not have produced a Section 106 review. Despite this situation, both the city and the state would have known and had files of this

nomination. In addition to the files of the nomination, because in 2002 the developers were looking at securing historic tax credits for the Watt and Shand building, the project would have had to be reviewed by PHMC BHP. This permit was noted by Dan Deibler, PHMC staff, as recorded in the minutes to the meeting on October 9, 2002. These minutes also stated the importance of the historic properties on the site, such as the Thaddeus Stevens House, Kleiss Saloon and Smith House and what are considered contributing elements in the project review process. In addition, the minutes stated the Oblender's building, which lies directly north of Stevens properties, would also be considered as a contributing resource as part of the historic district.

The archaeological excavations began on September 7, 2002 prior to the meeting and recorded minutes noted above. The commencement of the excavations was also stated in a letter from James A. Delle to the Historic Preservation Trust of Lancaster County on October 14, 2002, which was then forwarded to the PHMC BHP files. However, the document is not dated when it was received. According to the correspondence in the files, the PHMC was notified that demolition would likely take place during 2002 to the Oblender's building and other contributing buildings, including portions of historic buildings. The meeting minutes from October 29, 2002 state that:

the PHMC review, comments and recommendations are forwarded to the National Park Service (NPS) for final approval. The Federal review process is a pass-fail system for the entire historic resource. Approval is not given to limited portions of the project.

The meeting minutes also indicate that in view of the amount of demolition to the Watt & Shand building that would be performed (all but the façade would be demolished), the Watt & Shand building would probably not be eligible for Federal tax

credits. In a follow-up letter dated November 22, 2002 from Kurt W. Carr, then Chief Division of Archaeology & Protection to Tom Smithgall of High Real Estate Group, the developer of the hotel, the planned demolition was referenced. The extent of the demolition was too great and in turn made the project not meet the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and therefore not eligible for the federal tax credits for preservation. In situations such as this a Memorandum of Agreement (also known as a MOA) should be entered into when there has been a public understanding that adverse affects will take place to historic properties. The only Memorandum of Understanding that was located in the PHMC BHP files for this project was dated April 13, 2006, four years after demolition was referenced and adverse affects were planned.

While initial contact to the PHMC BHP by the Trust took place in 2001, prior to the archaeological excavations, there is a gap in correspondence with none taking place between the developers and the PHMC. This was first seen in the Watt & Shand file and was separately corroborated by a PHMC BHP staff member. The file showed that it was not until June of 2005 with a letter from Monica Spiese, a community member and at the time lecturer at Millersville University, written to the Lancaster Planning Commission that no review had taken place. Her letter stated that the Planning Commission should review an enclosed letter dated April 24, 2003 from PHMC BHP to Tom Smithgall (Part of Penn Square Partners), stating that PHMC letter is part of the consultation process that is required and that no review had been done on the current (2005) plans for the Lancaster Marriott and Convention Center. According to this letter to the Lancaster County Planning Commission from Monica Spiese dated June 13, 2005, the PHMC's recommendation concerning the final review of the project was based on the

Memorandum of June 6, 2005 to the Commission. This MOA stated, “Extending and productive discussions have been conducted between project developers, and all state, city and government offices [...] as a result, the design [...] has reached the point that few issues of a physical nature remain to be resolved”. It is not noted in this letter or subsequent notes if the government offices referred to in the memorandum above include the Office of the Budget, which is the Federal agency that would supply the funds that would require the Section 106 review. Spiese notes that the same Memorandum also that stated that Hon. Joseph Pitts had already secured substantial federal funds, and that additional federal funds were anticipated, which would make review mandatory under the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA). However, these funds were part of the planning process and therefore would not qualify the project to be reviewed under Section 106, for the funds need to be used for the actual construction of the project.

During the project’s early stages of development, from 1998 when Penn Square Partners was formed, to the start of the archaeological investigation in 2002, the hotel portion of the project was privately owned in its entirety, and no federal or state funds were to be used for this portion of the project at that time. It was also in these early stages of development that Penn Square Partners contracted with the Trust on a fee-for-service basis to complete a National Register of Historic Places nomination on the historic Watt & Shand building, where the hotel would be built. This nomination was completed and filed with PHMC BHP and subsequently listed on the National Register of Historic Places on March 12, 1999. If the Watt & Shand building were included on the National Register, then Penn Square Partners would be eligible to apply for Historic Preservation Investment tax credits for the project for the rehabilitation of this property.

However, even though the Watt & Shand building was added to the National Register, the development company never applied for Federal tax credits. This was because plans called for the Watt & Shand building to be mostly demolished, leaving only the façade. As a consequence, the National Register designation was removed in 2007. However, at the time the archaeological inquiry commenced in 2002, no Federal funding was involved in this portion of the project for permitting activities. It should be noted that other public funds and subsidies were received over the course of the project, including a County backed bond that was offered by the LCCCA in 2003, as well as funding from the County's hotel room tax (Penn Square Partners 2008), among others.

At the same time, local hoteliers started several different legal challenges against the hotel and convention center, which will be detailed in Chapter Five. Their opposition to the project centered on it being a publicly funded hotel that was also receiving a portion of the hotel room tax to help pay for construction costs and secure \$63 million in bonds, which they saw as public subsidizing. These legal battles consumed several years and considerable funds from both the hotel and Convention Center's budgets. They also added to the level of disquiet among the general population about the construction of a convention center and hotel in the center of the city.

One PHMC BHP employee told me that according to the Pennsylvania State History Code, it is the responsibility of state agencies to contact PHMC BHP regarding the project if it will affect historic properties. The same PHMC BHP employee also informed me that, in principle, the responsible state agency would have been the Pennsylvania Office of the Budget, but that this agency never consulted with PHMC.

Portions of the project did receive public funds for initial research, including a federal grant from the department of Housing and Urban Development (hereafter referred to as HUD), as well as a Special Purpose Grant of \$202,000 from the state to be used for architectural and engineering plans for mitigation, which was channeled through HUD. However, all of these monies were used for planning purposes rather than for work requiring permits, and therefore none of the funds were used for purposes that would affect the historic resource. As a consequence, the PHMC considered that the project did not fall under Section 106, and that it also did not fall under the Pennsylvania State History Code. As of early 2008, the LCCCA has received \$63 million dollars in bonds in 2003 and 2007, a \$15 million dollar grant from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and \$4.7 million is budgeted as a contingency to LCCCA from the state as well. In addition, there is LCCCA's own cash and interest earnings, as well as a portion of the revenue generated from the hotel tax paid by visitors to Lancaster County. Penn Square Partners has received various state grants in the amount of \$22.75 million, a \$14.5 million dollar Infrastructure Improvement Loan from the Commonwealth as well as \$11 million from Penn Square Partners equity, and a 20 year lease with the Redevelopment Authority of the City of Lancaster (also known as RACL), which will cover the debt service of \$24 million of Hotel Lease Revenue Bonds issued by RACL (Lancaster County Convention Center Authority 2008).

Many people associated with the project disagree with PHMC BHP decision that this project did not fall under Section 106 review, and this subject has become a very emotional matter for various people involved in the project. It became more than just a preservation effort to save a few buildings, but a crusade for claiming history and

heritage for the community. This crusade will be explored more in-depth in Chapter Five and Six.

Content: Unearthing the Past:

According to deeds and the 1875 Brion Atlas Map of Lancaster County, the various properties considered in the archaeological investigation — Stevens’ home and law offices, the Kleiss Tavern that Stevens owned but did not operate, and the Lydia Hamilton Smith properties — are all located on the southeast and southwestern portions of the proposed construction of the convention center on Lot 134 (Figure 4.1). The archaeological project directly abuts Vine

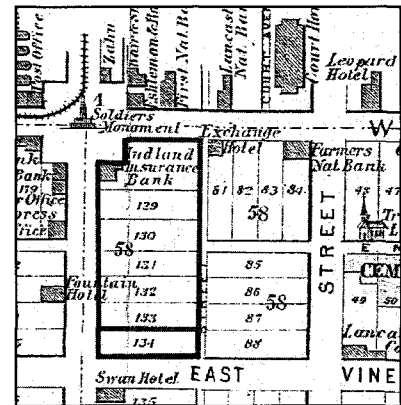


Figure 4.1: Brion Atlas, dated 1875, showing Lot 134 that was purchased by Stevens in 1843. Gray line indicates footprint of convention center and hotel. Photo courtesy of James A. Delle, Mary Ann Levine and Northeast Historical Archaeology.

Street to the south, Queen Street to the west, and Christian Street to the east.



Figure 4.2: Thaddeus Stevens’ Home and Law Offices (left) and Kleiss Saloon (right). Photograph by Kelly M. Britt.

King Street lies to the north of the block.



Figure 4.3: Lydia Hamilton Smith Houses. Photograph by Kelly M. Britt.

The properties comprise the street addresses 45, 47, 49, and 51 on South Queen Street, and numbers 21 and 23 on East Vine Street (Figures 4.2 and 4.3).

At the time of the initial archaeological investigations, demolition was planned for the building north of Lot 134, which was once Oblender's Furniture store, and portions of the historic structures were being investigated for the project. Demolition of these buildings took place in 2007.

Excavations were conducted in four phases, with the first phase taking place between September 7 and October 13, 2002 on five consecutive Saturdays; the second was carried out between October 26 and November 23, 2002 on five Saturdays and two Sundays; the third phase took place during one complete week in March 2003; and the fourth phase was conducted as a field school for Kutztown University from June 3 to July 3, 2003. During the first two phases, students enrolled in New World Archaeology at Kutztown University and Archaeological Methods at Franklin & Marshall College participated in the excavations. Graduate student field workers from the University of Pennsylvania and from Columbia University also took part in the excavations during all phases of the investigations.

According to the 2002 site reported prepared by Delle, the original goals of the project were twofold:

- 1) to determine whether intact archaeological features relating to Stevens and Smith occupation of the site existed under the footprint of the proposed Convention Center
- 2) to recover and/or record archaeological features and/or artifacts that could be used to interpret the lives of Stevens and Smith... (2002:5)

The following section will briefly summarize the relevant findings for the cistern complex that is believed to be an Underground Railroad Site. This finding led to the preservation of the majority of the properties and also the development of the Stevens and

Smith Historic Site and Interpretive Center and therefore will be the only portion of the archaeological investigations that will be detailed in this chapter. For more specific information and further details on the methods, excavations, and artifacts, the reader is invited to consult Appendix A of this thesis and the 2002 site report that is on file at the Trust.

History of Property-Lot 134

The buildings that Stevens owned on Lot 134, 49/51 and 47 South Queen Street, appear to have been built between 1759 and 1786 by John Frick, who operated a brewery on the site. Frick sold the property in 1786 to Philip Kleiss, who then operated a brewery until he died in 1800. The property then passed to Kleiss's two sons, John and George. George Kleiss purchased his brother's share of the property in 1801, and continued to operate the brewery until his own death in 1842/43.

It was in 1842 that Stevens purchased the property at a Sheriff's sale, but he subsequently allowed the tenants to continue living there for almost ten additional years (Korngold 1955:20; Trefousse 1997:69), while Stevens himself lived in the Fountain Hotel across the street (Delle and Levine 2004:138). In the 1850s, Stevens made improvements to the house by building an extension that connected the house and the Kleiss Saloon with a storefront that served as his law office. George Kleiss's wife continued to operate the Kleiss Saloon until 1850, and then Jonathan Whitlinger took over operations until 1857. One of the small houses at the corner of Queen and Christian Streets, 21 and 23 East Vine Street was constructed by Smith sometime prior to 1860 (Delle and Levine 2004:138).

After Stevens' death, the property was subdivided. Smith purchased the Stevens house and law office, and Jacob Effinger purchased the saloon. Smith kept her residence in Washington DC, and operated the former Stevens home as a boarding house. Effinger kept the property as a tavern, and it was subsequently known both as Effinger's Tavern and as the Southern Market Hotel (Delle and Levine 2004:138). The property accommodated several other businesses throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, including a veterinary hospital, warehouses, and a livery stable (Delle and Levine 2004:138).

The excavations were divided into three loci. Locus 1 was the courtyard located between Stevens house and law offices and the Kleiss Saloon; Locus 2 referred to the courtyard between the Smith houses located on the western portion of the lot; and Locus 3 consisted of Stevens' backyard, north and west of the addition that he had constructed during the 1850s (Figure 4.4). Locus 3 of the project was actually inside a twentieth century garage that had been built to shelter the space. Locus 1 and Locus 2 were excavated during the fall of 2002 and spring of 2003, and Locus 3 was excavated in the summer of 2003.

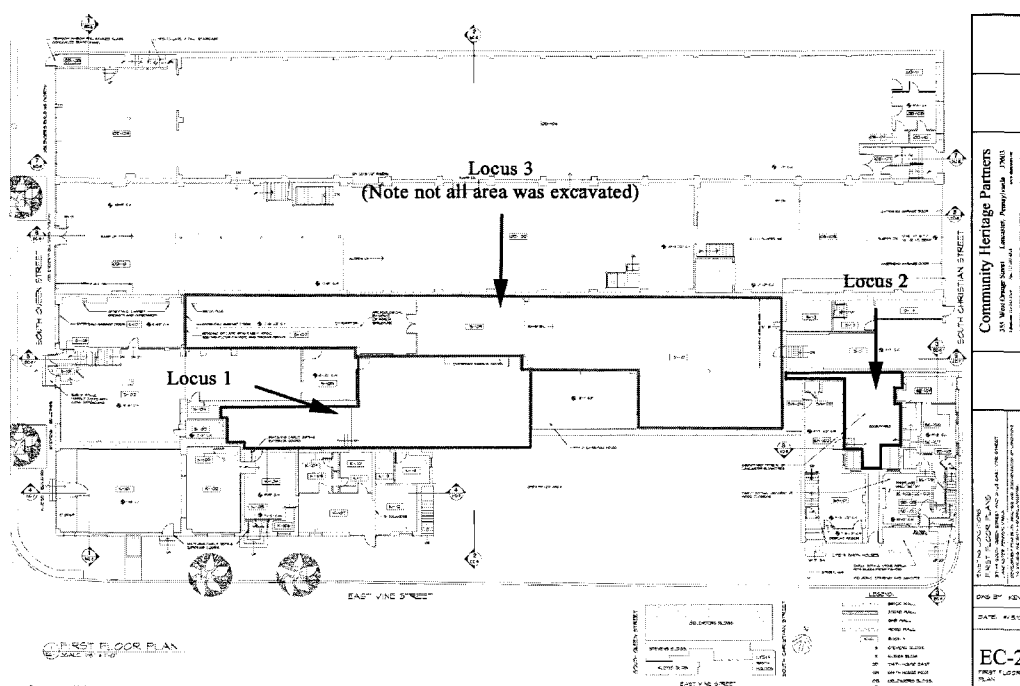


Figure 4.4: Locus 1, 2, and 3. Original image courtesy of Community Heritage Partners.

Archaeology on urban sites is often complex, and this site is no exception. Analysis is still ongoing, and therefore the brief summary of some of the excavations detailed below will primarily draw upon what information has been made available thus far. Please see Appendix A for a more detailed summary that focuses mainly on the features found, their function, and the artifacts that were recovered during the excavations that were used to date the excavated features.

The preliminary analysis for Locus 3 is not yet available, and consequently the discussion of this portion of the site will consist of a brief summary of some of the features uncovered, without an overall analysis or artifact study. For this preliminary analysis, please consult Appendix A in this report.

The only in-depth interpretation of any feature in this section will be of the cistern complex, which is key to the development of the museum, and therefore of this research.

Namely Feature 10, which is a vaulted cistern and will be detailed below. Currently, Feature 10 is interpreted as being associated with the Underground Railroad.

The Cistern Complex:

Numerous artifacts and several features from various time-periods in Lancaster's history were uncovered in the archaeological investigations. The feature of most note, was the modified vaulted cistern (Feature 10) that has possible implications of Underground Railroad activity. This modified cistern suggests that the noted antislavery proponents Stevens and Smith were not just speaking against slavery but were also acting against it by possibly participating in the Underground Railroad. The cistern appears to have been modified in the 1850s when it no was no longer in use so that an individual could enter the cistern through an opening in the wall in the basement of the adjacent Kleiss Saloon (Delle and Levine 2004).

Beneath the brick pavement (Feature 6) of Stevens' courtyard, two cistern features were excavated: a modified vaulted cistern (Feature 10) and a domed cistern (Feature 11). Several other features were excavated associated with the cisterns, among them a) Feature 2, the clay lined channel, b) a hole punched into the cistern from the inside out (Feature 5), that appears to have post-dated the use of the cistern for water storage, c) a trench dug between the two cisterns (Feature 12), and d) a retaining wall (Feature 13) which abutted both Feature 10 and the foundation wall of the eastern wing of the Kleiss Saloon (Delle and Levine 2004:144).

The first cistern excavated was the modified vaulted cistern (Feature 10) (Figure 4.5). It measured 2.41 meters east-west by 1.78 meters north-south, and had a vaulted roof and a brick floor. Limestone and brick comprised the eastern and western walls. The eastern wall appeared to have been altered after construction, when a square section appeared to have been cut out and then re-bricked with different bricks in a haphazard construction process. This feature looks like a “window” opening. The north and south walls of the cistern consisted of brick. There were two penetrations into the cistern:

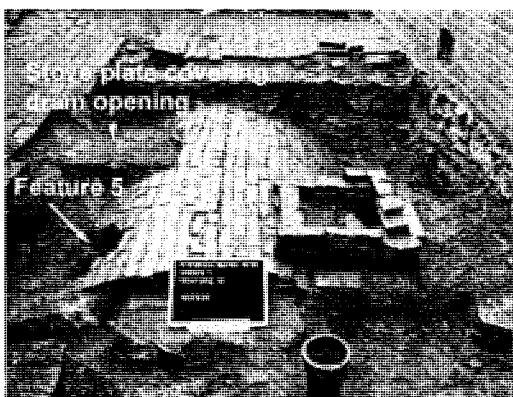


Figure 4.5: Feature 10, the vaulted cistern after excavation of Feature 6, the brick pavement and underlying strata. Photograph courtesy of James A. Delle, Mary Ann Levine and *Northeast Historical Archaeology*.

1) in the northeastern corner of the cistern an opening existed that brought water through the clay lined gutter into the cistern (Feature 2);

2) in the southwestern corner a rectangular brick structure was found that is believed to have served as a water pumping station for the cistern. This brick structure appears to have been added later and not during initial construction.

A Master of Martic cast-iron stove plate dating to 1760 was used to cap the drain into the cistern after it no longer would be needed as storage for water. This capping was most likely done once public water was introduced to Queen Street, which according to documentary evidence was 1850 (Delle and Levine 2004:144).

The soil deposition within the cistern sloped to the east from Feature 5, the punctured hole in Feature 10, the modified vaulted cistern in the southwestern corner.

Excavation of the fill took place by changes in composition in the fill though the change in soil was slight, which was possibly due to the different moisture absorption by the soil, in relation to the strata's proximity to the hole punched through the roof of the cistern (Feature 5) and the southwest opening that would have allowed water to enter the cistern after filling. It was primarily comprised of a coal ash fill. Due to the slight changes in soil, and the artifacts recovered within the levels of fill, it is believed that the filling of the cistern took place in a single episode from the top of the cistern (Delle and Levine 2004).

While the cistern contained hundreds of artifacts, a number of ceramic and glass fragments were used to date the filling episode. Dating of the fill was based on a fragment of ironstone with the maker's mark "Alfred Meakin Royal Ironstone China", which was not manufactured until 1897. A recovered soda water bottle associated with John F. Blair, a Lancaster bottler who was in business from 1897-1914, adds to the likelihood that the cistern was filled after 1897. In addition, excavations recovered bottles with particular stoppers, which were used to keep the cork in place or to replace the cork all together. Five green-glass bottles had a "Putnam Stopper" attached to them. This type of stopper, also known as a "lightning" stopper, was in use between 1859-1905. It looks and functions like stoppers used on older canning jars and certain beer bottles, such as the modern Grolsch® Lager (Dutch) bottle. In addition, one soda bottle recovered had portions of a "Hutchinson Stopper" within the bottle. This bottle was only used from 1879-1912, and only on bottles that contained carbonated beverages. The stopper was kept in place by the carbonation in the beverage when full. To open, the stopper was pushed into the bottle releasing the pressure. From these artifacts, it is believed the cistern was filled between the dates of 1897 and 1905, when Blair's business

was first seen in the city directories and when the Putnam stopper ceased to be widely used (Delle and Levine 2004:145).

The second cistern (Feature 11) also underlies the strata of Feature 6 and lies to the east of the vaulted cistern. This cistern was circular in shape and domed, rather than rectangular and vaulted. The entire fill within the cistern was excavated as Feature 11, Level 1. Preliminary analysis of the artifacts found in Feature 11 indicate the cistern was also filled between 1897-1905. Several artifacts within Feature 11 were of particular note. The sherds of a single copper lusterware vessel were recovered from the fill of both cisterns. Yellow-brown sand that underlay Feature 6 Level 4 sealed the cistern as well.

The clay-lined channel used to drain water into the cistern (Feature 2) contained three strata, with the upper two comprised of fill. Within the fill in Feature 2 Level 1, the excavation uncovered roughly placed brick which had been laid to connect the two pavements (Features 6 and 7), but in a random pattern (Delle and Levine 2004:144). Feature 2 Level 3 was the same clay matrix seen in Feature 6 Level 6, suggesting that the channel was clay lined and constructed at the same time as this cistern, which is believed to be the late 18th or early nineteenth century (Delle and Levine 2004:144).

At the time the channel was filled, the drain into the cistern was capped with a Masters of Martic cast-iron stove plate that dates from between 1751-1764 (Mettam 2004). Decorated stoves were displaced in 1765, and it may have been used for some time as a fireback after being



Figure 4.6: Feature 12 beneath excavation. Photograph courtesy of James A. Delle, Mary Ann Levine and *Northeast Historical Archaeology*.

used as a stove plate before being deposited into the courtyard.

Features 4 and 12 are a single trench dug into Feature 11, Level 1 and Feature 6, Level 6 (Figure 4.6). It appears that this trench was dug to expose the eastern wall of the cistern, which was filled soon after and bordered Feature 11 Level 1. A distinctive ceramic found in this level was Blue Tinted Molded Ironstone. This type of ironstone was introduced in 1850 and then became popular for the next decade (Delle 2002, Delle and Levine 2004:146). In addition to the ironstone, glass bottles were recovered, including an intact porter bottle. While this bottle shape was common in Europe from 1760 onward, according to Polak's 1994 *Bottles: Identification and Price Guide*, it was reported that beer was not commonly bottled in the United States until after 1850 (Delle 2002). This bottle also contained an embossed maker's mark that read "Dyottsville Glass Works, Phila" and "Brownstout," which confirmed its origin and content. Dyottsville Glass Works was in operation from 1815 to 1885, and therefore the trench was probably filled sometime between 1850 when the Blue Tinted Ironstone was introduced, and 1885 when the Dyottsville Glass Works ceased to operate.

Feature 12 is the trench fill that directly abuts a retaining wall, Feature 13. Feature 13 is a retaining wall extending from the vault of Feature 10 to the foundation wall of the Kleiss Saloon. A heavy clay existed on the opposite side of the wall, lending the idea that Feature 13 was constructed to hold back the heavy clay, either when Feature 10 was constructed, or alternatively when Feature 12 was dug and filled.

The trench was dug to reconfigure the eastern wall of the cistern, where the wall was modified and the square "window" was placed, and roughly filled in with bricks. The entire upper portion of the eastern wall appears to be modified, and loosely laid

limestone masonry and bricks were put in place that do not match the western wall in materials or quality of construction. Constructed late in the use of the cistern, the “window” has no apparent utilitarian function related to water storage or removal. The size of the window is large enough for a man of medium build to fit through. In addition, near the window an intact cast-iron spittoon was recovered, resting on the floor under the coal-ash fill. It was standing upright and appeared to have been placed in that location, rather than being thrown in during the filling episodes. It is possible that the cistern could have been used for storage of vegetables or perishables, but it would have been difficult to carry things through the crawl way and then drop into the cistern. Therefore, a more likely hypothesis is that the cistern was being used as a space for hiding (Delle 2002).

The site report of the first two phases of excavations suggest that this modification of the cistern complex could correspond with Underground Railroad activity. Feature 12 (the trench) aligns with a feature on the interior wall of the basement of the Kleiss Saloon.

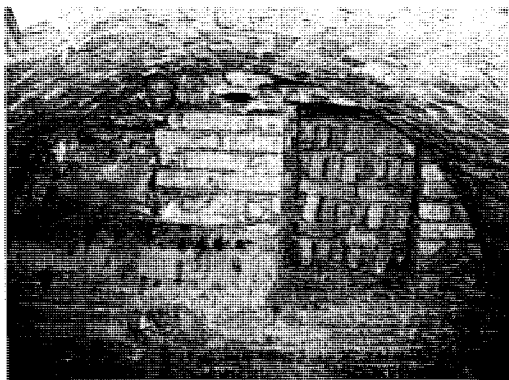


Figure 4.7: Eastern Wall of Feature 10, the vaulted cistern, before removal of the ceiling. Note the brick reconstruction phases on either side of the “window”, and the haphazard way the “window” was bricked in. Feature 12, the crawl way trench, is immediately behind those replacement bricks. Photograph courtesy of James A. Delle, Mary Ann Levine and *Northeast Historical Archaeology*.

This latter feature was a concave depression on the interior north foundation wall in the basement of the saloon. This depression in the wall appears to be from the

replacement of this wall after it was taken down. The replacement wall did not completely match up with the original wall and a depression feature appeared. This feature was then aligned to the cistern and trench features on the exterior of the wall and aligned with the trench feature that then led into the vaulted cistern (Feature 10) through the “window” (Figure 4.7). The artifacts recovered from the trench indicate that filling of the trench probably occurred sometime between 1850-1885.

According to the site report and subsequent articles published on the excavations, while the evidence is circumstantial, the working hypothesis concerning these features is that during the 1850s, this cistern may have been used as a hiding place, most likely for enslaved people escaping through Lancaster on the Underground Railroad (Figure 4.8).

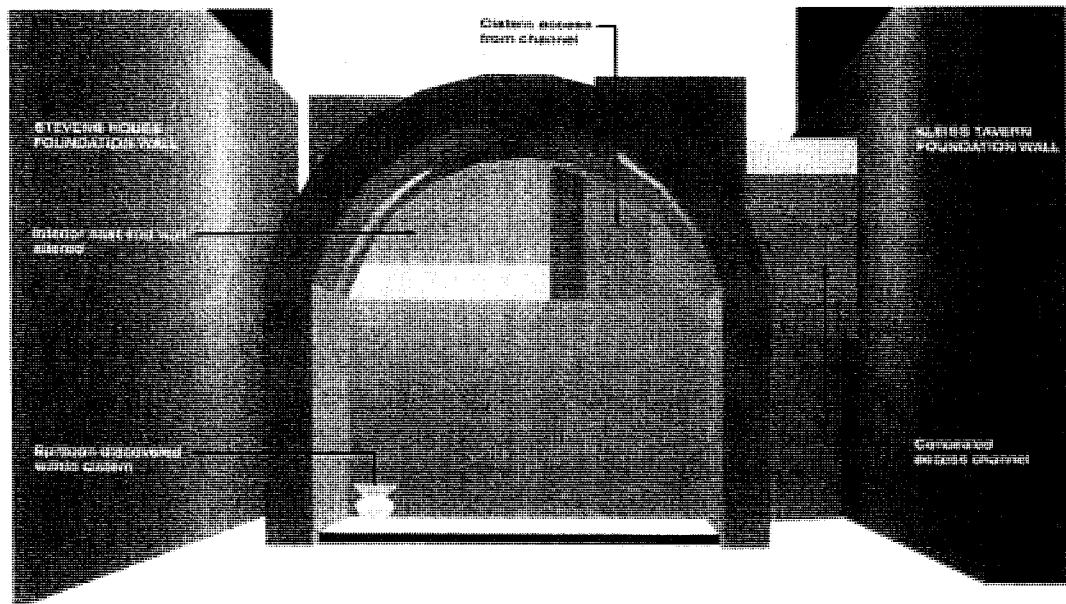


Figure 4.8: Architect's rendition of the cistern modifications, showing crawl way between the cistern and the basement of the Kleiss Saloon. Courtesy of the Historic Preservation Trust of Lancaster County and Community Heritage Partners. Photograph courtesy of James A. Delle, Mary Ann Levine and *Northeast Historical Archaeology*.

Supporting this hypothesis is the fact that Stevens was a known abolitionist and egalitarian who owned the property on which the cisterns were placed, and Smith was reputed by local historians to be a conductor on the Underground Railroad (Delle 2002). Local oral histories also have stated that a noted abolitionist in the county to have been known to have hidden the enslaved in a modified cistern (Witmer 1929). In addition, the spittoon recovered was upright in position, suggesting it was placed there and possibly used by either someone reconstructing the cistern or someone in the cistern. Spitting outdoors at this time was common, and a spittoon would not have been needed (Delle 2002).

Unfortunately, the activities of the Underground Railroad activity were kept in secrecy, both at the time and subsequently. As a result, there is little documentary evidence about who participated in the Underground Railroad, where, when and how. Therefore, it would be almost impossible to unequivocally prove that Stevens and Smith were aiding enslaved people escaping slavery, or to show conclusively that this cistern was used as a hiding place to aid those who were escaping. We do however have oral histories and local stories and myths that can assist researchers in finding the facts of these events. These alternative sources, combined with the archaeological evidence discussed above, can provide more insight on Underground Railroad activity.

Public Archaeology and Civic Engagement¹:

The excavations briefly highlighted above were conducted with the help of undergraduate and graduate students who either volunteered, excavated for class credit or were paid a nominal fee to help supervised the site. While the site was located in the heart of Lancaster city, because it was located on a proposed construction site and in the backyard of the properties where it was physically distanced from the public eye, we did not receive as many spectators or visitors as most sites located in the same location would have received. So most public interaction regarding the site took place off site, through media, lectures, service learning programs or outreach initiatives. We did however have a few tours of the site for teaching workshops focusing on Underground Railroad history.

Community Contentions

Within these public forums, especially through the media, debates and discussions emerged within the community over hotel and convention center issues, Thaddeus Stevens, Underground Railroad Activity, slavery, and racism. One issue raised during the excavations and development of the museum was the use of the Underground Railroad Narrative. The historic Bethel AME church in Lancaster, located south of the proposed Hotel and Convention Center, has since 1998 incorporated the Underground Railroad narrative into its reenactment titled *Living the Experience*, an audience-inclusive

¹ Some portions of this sections were previously published in Archaeology—The “Missing Link” to Civic Engagement? An Introspective Look at the Tools of Reinvention and Reengagement in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. In *Archaeology as a Tool of Civic Engagement*, edited by Barbara J. Little and Paul A. Shackel.

theatrical interpretation of slavery and the Underground Railroad. At the same time that discussions regarding the Stevens and Smith Historic Site Museum were first being held, the church had applied for city and state funds to redevelop the historic neighborhood. This led to competition over funds (tourist revenue) and a debate over who should tell the interpretation of the Underground Railroad narrative. Discussion ensued and was seen in letters to the editor in the local newspapers (the *Intelligencer Journal*, the *Lancaster New Era*, and the *Lancaster Sunday News*) and discussion at public meetings such as Lancaster City Council meetings, as well as correspondence to the Trust. Although this contention is no longer in the public eye, what still lingers is how to reconcile the participation of the disparate stakeholders in the interpretation of this archaeological site remains.

Further discussions and debates over slavery, abolitionism, and their effects on the present have played out in the print media. The *Lancaster Sunday News* in August 2005 featured two front-page articles and one smaller article on slavery and abolition in Lancaster and “the wounds that remain open” (Huynh 2005; Huynh and Schwartz 2005; Schwartz 2005). Also published was a full list of Lancaster County slaveholders according to the 1800 census including slaveholders’ names and the names of the enslaved (when information was available). One article discussed the socioeconomics of slaveholding and the gradual abolishment of slavery in Pennsylvania. The name of one local slaveholder family and its relations were also provided, seemingly to build upon the past by linking slavery to this specific family and tapping into the effects of slavery on contemporary society. Also highlighted was an ordinance that was recently passed in Philadelphia in February of 2004, independent of the circumstances in Lancaster,

“requiring that any company doing business in or with the city [to] search its records and publicly disclose any ties to slavery” (Huynh and Schwartz 2005). This ordinance required Wachovia Bank to disclose its acquisition of two companies that directly profited from slavery and issue a public apology, which has produced mixed responses from the public and raised questions regarding the politics of power and the power of politics at hand at both local and national levels. While this ordinance affects the city of Philadelphia, and not Lancaster City, it serves as an example of how retribution for past actions is playing out presently in the state of Pennsylvania.

While many community members express themselves in the print media and are vocal in public meetings, there are only a few who are active in voicing their opinions and ideas to the community as a whole and actually participate in community organizations such as the Lancaster Peace Coalition, Civic Action Network for the Built Environment (CANBE), the Shriners, and so on, to change the situation at hand. Others remain private with their thoughts and actions. Given the anticipation of civic engagement by myself and based on responses by the general public, the behavior I encountered might be described as a form of community “apathy.” I first noticed this indifference toward engagement during excavations at the Stevens and Smith Site in the spring of 2003, when residents would walk by the site and inquire about the project. Many residents seemed interested and excited, and said they would come back to inquire about the site. However, very few of the interested residents actually came back to the site to inquire further (note-active participants and volunteers were recorded in the fall of 2002 prior to my work on the site and various inquiries about the site have been made directly to Delle and Levine, but not to myself).

This “apathy” was also seen with a separate project sponsored by the Community Media Lab of Lancaster at Franklin and Marshall College. The project went door to door within the Churchtowne neighborhood giving free passes to the next day’s performance of *Living the Experience*, the Underground Railroad interpretation at Bethel AME Church. While many people who were given these passes expressed excitement and desire to attend the performance, which was not related to a religious service, no one given the free passes actually participated. This indifference in civic organizations seems to be a growing phenomenon within the city, as seen in a recent newspaper article in the August 27, 2006, *Lancaster Sunday News* (Eby 2006). This article states that the national trend in the decrease of community membership in local civic organizations can also be seen in Lancaster in organizations such as the Pioneers, League of Women Voters, and so on. Although there is no specific explanation of this decrease of civic involvement in community affairs, one possible explanation can be traced back to the location of the leading organizations of these two projects—my outreach program of the Stevens and Smith Site, and the Media Lab project on *Living the Experience*—both of which did not have direct ties to the communities they are trying to mobilize. This can be explained further to state that these two organizations, the Media Lab of Lancaster and the Trust both have various projects in various communities throughout the area and cannot physically be located in all the communities they wish to mobilize. In addition, my outreach efforts were also limited to the locality of my home, which could not be located in all the communities I wished to be involved with.

Post-excavation Initiatives

After the excavations took place and archaeology was no longer in the public view, an outreach component was established to bring the archaeological findings from the site to the local community. A service-learning project in Mary Ann Levine's classes at Franklin and Marshall College visited neighboring schools, and I set up an outreach program that serviced the rest of the city and county with assistance from the Trust and a Woodrow Wilson Practicum Grant given in 2003 (Levine, Britt and Delle 2005). As many papers presented at the 2003 ICOMOS conference in Annapolis, Maryland, showed, projects with a public outreach component for school-aged children are an important step in creating a working relationship with the community. Children tend to discuss the information from the outreach projects with their families at home, and in turn the family may be more motivated to participate in the project on a community level.

Since the project has an Underground Railroad component, it was anticipated that it would be more appealing to the local African American community, with hopes that it would want to be more involved in the process of creating this heritage tourist destination and revitalization project. My immediate goal for the outreach portion I was developing was to bring a discussion to students on local heritage that would extend beyond the classrooms into homes, with hopes of reaching the greater community whose voice has not always been present in previous urban renewal projects in Lancaster. The ultimate goal was to diversify the input regarding the project and raise historical and contemporary issues of race and class by discussing the archaeology of the Stevens and Smith Historic Site with school-aged children of the county.

The modified cistern and Underground Railroad component to this historic site provided the catalyst for public outreach. Information about Stevens and Smith as well as nineteenth-century Lancaster was illustrated through the built environment, material culture, and historical documents, providing wonderful tools to conduct outreach workshops. Outreach efforts by the Trust such as sponsored talks and lectures and articles in the local papers to reach the general public prior and during the excavations were fruitful. My goal was to continue these outreach efforts by concentrating on school-aged children. The intended audiences were students and teachers from public and private schools in grades K–12 throughout Lancaster County. Since Pennsylvania history is taught in grade four, a more intensive concentration was placed on conducting outreach workshops for this grade to highlight the local subject matter of Thaddeus Stevens, the Civil War, and the Underground Railroad within the Pennsylvania History curriculum. Bringing information about Thaddeus Stevens, Lydia Hamilton Smith, and the Underground Railroad to the community provided a supplement to educational curriculums and the stimulus for future discussions surrounding current local issues about racism, revitalization, and preservation. With an awareness of some of the previous problems encountered, the intent was not to have a top-down approach outreach model to the workshops, but rather to provide a base of information so that a dialogue about Lancaster's past and its future could take place and it can serve more as a "reaching out model" (Bartoy 2008).

From 2003 to 2005, local students from the fourth and fifth grades from two private schools and two public schools attended in-class presentations and workshops held at the laboratory at Franklin and Marshall College. Most classes had fifteen to

twenty-five students, and were held either as a supplement to the Pennsylvania history section of the curriculum taught in fourth grade or as part of a Pennsylvania Pride Day celebrating Pennsylvania's history. In addition, local teacher workshops were held on the Underground Railroad through an National Endowment for the Humanities or NEH grant from Millersville University's Teaching and New Media Program, and an online Knowledge, Exchange, Exhibition, Presentation or KEEP Toolkit by the Carnegie Foundation was produced on the Stevens and Smith Site and its outreach efforts. Both student and teacher workshops provided opportunities to discuss pertinent issues of inequality in both past and present contexts.

Despite letters being sent to all public and private schools within the community about my outreach project, only four schools, two of which were private, responded to my outreach efforts. However small the number of respondents, all gave positive feedback and one asked for a return visit the following year, which was a great response considering the outreach project was not directly affiliated with an academic learning institution, but rather with a nonprofit preservation organization that is not widely known and not located in the schools' neighborhoods. In addition was the fact I asked for a small fee (\$0-\$25.00 per class or hour) to cover transportation, and all classroom supplies such as worksheets, crayons, and modern ceramics that I used in the mending stations that I set up.

Impacts from Engagement

The archaeological project and its findings, and the media coverage of them, have prompted many discussions in the community. Some general topics include slavery, the

Underground Railroad, abolitionism, and racial inequality, as well as more local aspects of these topics. It has also prompted a newfound interest in Thaddeus Stevens himself, with a *Lancaster Sunday News* Perspective column on August 14, 2005, entitled “Rediscovering Thaddeus Stevens”, dedicated to this recent rediscovery and the importance of Stevens’ legacy in the Civil Rights movement (Butcher 2005). This resurgence of dialogue surrounding issues of democracy and social justice can only grow larger with the proposed Thaddeus Stevens and Lydia Hamilton Smith Historic Site Museum, providing another town hall for community interaction and environment for outreach initiatives.

While it is too early to gauge the long-term effects of the outreach program on the community and whether my personal objectives of the project will meet its goals, I feel there have been both successes and areas where improvement is needed. The feedback received were positive and has forged the beginnings of working relationships. Although this outreach program is separate from Franklin and Marshall College’s student service learning program, both have had a very positive feedback in the college and community. Mary Ann Levine’s program at Franklin and Marshall, targets schools within its proximity, reaches many classes and students and involves a large group of the college community members. Service learning also plants seeds of civic engagement into the minds of young adults, enabling a new, younger group for community action. My outreach program, while larger in scope (available to all county-wide schools), did not reach as many classrooms as Levine’s service learning program. However, both the public outreach program with which I have been involved and Mary Ann Levine’s service learning project have provided a base on which to build community relationships.

These relationships may develop over time with the construction of the proposed museum and educational center and create a “town hall” for the community. At present the museum has proposed to incorporate classes and school group tours of its collections, making the current outreach workshops an important first step to these educational programs. Insights gained and relationships forged from the current outreach workshops will aid future working relationships with educators and community leaders once the museum and educational center is built.

As several archaeologists have noted, working on projects with the public creates an unknown variable at times where one’s idealistic goals are not always met (Franklin 2005; McDavid 1997, 2004; Singleton 1997). Although the response from the outreach programs was positive, my idealistic desire to help transform a community through widespread participation was not met. Where I feel the most work needs to occur is difficult to address. Mobilization of communities is a long and hard process, and patience and determination are key to success. It is necessary to be an active member within the community and be associated with a community organization or create a community organization entrenched in the neighborhood you wish to mobilize. As my research showed and my interviews will illustrate in more detail in Chapter Five, Lancaster has a dynamic insider/outsider mentality to its community and in turn, to its community action networks. Although I moved to the city of Lancaster, and became active in community meetings and organizations, I was seen as an outsider and not as a “cultural investor,” someone who is putting money into the city as a place to live. In addition, I was not entrenched through an organization in the community in which I wanted to work, the African American community. Similar responses in participation in

outsider projects affecting the African American community can be seen in Lancaster. Franklin and Marshall's Media Lab project for the Bethel AME interactive theater, had similar results. Neither project has local ties (whether ethnically, economically, or physically) in the neighborhoods in which they were working, and therefore their projects had little to no participation response. The organizations that are successful recruiting residents as participants, such as *Dig It*, a community garden program, are located in the heart of the community they are mobilizing.

Support for this analysis can be seen in Portney and Berry's chapter "Mobilizing Minority Communities," in their edited book *Beyond Tocqueville: Civil Society and the Social Capital Debate in Comparative Perspective* (2001). The authors discuss the issue of outreach to minority communities through research in five U.S. cities with active citizen participation systems. Their research showed that local neighborhood associations deeply imbedded in the community were more effective with their outreach efforts, especially in predominately black neighborhoods (2001, 77). In this case study, there was difficulty in affiliating the outreach program with neighborhood groups or schools since the outreach program was working through the auspices of the Trust, a county-wide preservation organization and not a local educational institution or educational organization. As a result, it did not get the desired amount of feedback and participation. This is not the case with the service-learning component of the project, where the students focused on schools within their community and through an established institution, Franklin and Marshall College, and therefore had more success in obtaining its goals, which were focused on the surrounding community. A link was needed between the outreach program and local groups to establish permanent ties to the

community and neighborhoods to build the outreach efforts, a lesson now learned for future endeavors. Despite these set-backs, it is still vital that as archaeologists we involve the public and to consider those issues that are relevant to both our research and to the larger public at hand. For it is only when we determine what questions matter to the public and to our research will we can see historical archaeology make a difference around pertinent issues such as socio-economic differences in the community (Franklin 2005; Matthews 2005, 2006; Little and Shackel 2007).

In addition to these valuable lessons some larger questions and thoughts are raised. How does one effectively become a cultural investor in a community so that projects can succeed in making a difference? This research project showed that in order for the outreach project I envisioned to succeed, the role of archaeologist needs to be that of activist. Yet activism and mobilization are not in the archaeologist's proverbial "training manual"; rather they are hands-on and case specific. Moreover, being an activist can be both an asset and a disadvantage to a project, especially when politics is involved. Actions such as critiquing aspects of a heritage project at a city council meeting or a Lancaster County Convention Center meeting may be seen by some as disruptive, negative, and damaging to the project, for the critique goes against the thoughts or actions of the political leaders in a organization or community, while others find it ethically necessary and a positive action. Additionally, how do you balance ideology and business in an organization or project without one overwhelming the other? Perhaps the outreach program's goals were idealistic and mobilization efforts too weak in the outreach agenda, and therefore these goals were unattainable, but how will these

lessons learned play out with future endeavors? My interviews offer some foreshadowing on this and will be highlighted in more detail in the next chapter.

Chapter Five: Discourses of Power

“Those who profess to favor freedom and yet depreciate agitation, are people who want crops without ploughing the ground; they want rain without thunder and lightning; they want the ocean without the roar of its many waters. The struggle may be a moral one, or it may be a physical one, or it may be both. But it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without a demand; it never has and it never will.”
Frederick Douglass

At the core of many community-based projects are discourses on the power struggles that exist within the community. People align themselves either for or against specific projects such as a redevelopment project seen in this case study, yet what many of these divisions illuminate is the deeper power divisions that exist within the community. These divisions might exist in and around political, socio-economic, racial, or gender lines but are expressed through the project at hand, or an “idea of a site” as was stated in Chapter One (Matthews 2006).

The opinions of individuals and groups on these subjects may well differ as a result of the various communities in which they identify with — whether those communities revolve around their various social and economic circumstances as well as their sociopolitical philosophies or positions. This chapter will explore the power relations within their communities associated with these discursive elements that occurred around the Stevens and Smith Historic Site and Interpretive Center, within an economic development project, the convention center and hotel, in Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

Lancaster Identities:

Lancaster, like any other community, is made up of individuals who have multiple affiliations. Individuals can draw their identity from different roles: wife or husband, parent or child, business owner or civic leader. For this study, I focused primarily on the people who were involved in developing this historic site into a tourist destination. I interviewed or spoke with a total of 22 individuals, and also conducted 11 random surveys.

Surveys:

Two random surveys were conducted at Central Market in the center of Lancaster on two separate Saturdays in 2005, May 21st and August 2nd. I labeled these surveys to differentiate them from the in-depth interviews conducted with specific stakeholders of the project for they were different in types questions and people interviewed (see Appendices B-F). The surveys consisted of fewer questions (six) than the interviews and unlike the open ending answers gathered in the interviews, many of the survey questions were comprised to have definitive yes or no answers. Also those interviewed were randomly selected from the public at Central Market in downtown Lancaster on specific days. The makeup of the people interviewed and surveyed varied and some comprised more than one individual, so while 11 surveys took place, 16 people were included in these surveys. The demographics of the people surveyed were 15 adults and one child, nine were male and six were female. My identification of their race and ethnicity were as follows, 13 White or Caucasian, one Black (Haitian), one Hispanic and one bi-racial

person (child). Of the five follow-up interview I asked the question, what ethnicity (ies) would you identify with and of the interviews that I received back, people self-identified themselves as falling into the categories of Caucasian, Jewish, White, Anarchist or did not answer this question. While the majority of the people surveyed currently lived in Pennsylvania and in Lancaster County (14 or 88%), only 10 were originally from Pennsylvania, six were from elsewhere in the U.S. or outside the U.S. (one interviewee was originally from Haiti).

Each survey was comprised of six questions asking about their thoughts on Stevens, preservation, the project and their connection to it. When asked about Stevens and the proposed museum, eight or 53% claimed they knew who Stevens was and his legacy in history (though their answers varied in accuracy), yet only five (33%) knew of the proposed plans for the museum and educational center.

In the five follow-up surveys that people responded to, the respondents could be classified into two opinions on the convention center and hotel project. Three people or 60% were in favor of the entire project, while two or 40% were opposed to it and one did not answer. There was also a split of opinion on whether there was a relationship between the convention center and hotel project and the museum and interpretive center, with two or 40% saying yes (with one person stating “there need not be one”) and two or (40%) saying no, and one not answering the question. This question did not specify whether this relationship was a positive one or a negative one, but merely whether such a relationship existed. Half of those responding to the follow-up survey felt that there was a relationship between the convention center hotel and museum and interpretive center, yet four or 80% felt that even if the convention center and hotel was not built, the

museum should still be constructed; only one person felt it shouldn't be built if the convention center and hotel project was not completed.

The surveys covered only a small portion of the population within the community, and may not be representative of the full range of community opinion. However, they seemed to reflect the varying opinions on the projects expressed in the newspapers and community meetings concerning the project. The surveys contained additional insight concerning the value of history and historic sites for the community that was not gathered from newspaper surveys and meetings. Especially interesting was that while eight or 50% of the people surveyed said they felt no personal or family connection with any historic sites or local history presented in Lancaster, and 60% of those who completed the follow-up survey stated that no historical site held a special meaning to them, 100% (child under four not included) felt that there was a value in preserving history.

Though most studies performed on the value of history to a community have shown that the individuals have a personal connection to that history, this study showed that 50% of those polled felt no connection to a historic site or local history, and yet 100% felt there was a value in preserving history. This finding corresponds to Stanton's findings in Lowell (2006) as well as research conducted by Rosenzweig and Thelon (1998) on the value of preserving history to people within a community. In essence, the collective identity that is formed is based on individual ties to that identity. This small survey conducted in Lancaster suggests that there need not be a direct correlation between the performance and consumption of heritage on the one side, and heritage self-identification on the other side.

These surveys show that the preservation of historic sites, even those that have no direct connection to an individual, is nevertheless seen as important. A logical next question would be why a person would want to save and protect an historic site that holds no connection to that person's personal memory or experience? While the surveys did not directly address this question, some insights are available from the responses to the question, "How do you think this museum (the Stevens and Smith Historic Site Museum and Interpretive Center) will impact you and/or the City of Lancaster?" Fourteen respondents claimed it would impact them or the city positively. Seven of the 14, or 50% of the total number of respondents, specifically stated that it would impact the area economically, with four of the seven people stating that it would affect the tourism economy in particular, though reasons why were not stated.

After the economy, respondents noted that it would affect community and churches, as well as children, with each response receiving two votes or 13% of population polled. Only one person stated it would only impact people interested in history. A single respondent stated that it would have minimal impact, though noted it probably should have more, and one person said it would not have any effect at all. From these responses, it is clear that there is a strong opinion that the preservation of a historic site conveys an economic benefit to the community, and also impacts the community's sense of self as well through local organizations such as churches. These respondents assigned an economical and cultural use-value to the preservation and performance of history and heritage within their community, whether they held personal ties to the heritage or not.

A more nuanced question is why do people put a value on history? To answer this question, I will refer to opinions concerning the potential impact of an historic site on its community. These opinions are based on the individual interviews that I conducted with 22 individuals concerned in the project between 2003 and 2008.

Interviews:

Of the 22 interviews conducted over a five-year period, 12 were male, and ten were females. Sixteen interviewees currently live in Lancaster County and six outside the area. However, only two of the 16 current residents originally came from Lancaster, and all the others had moved to Lancaster from other parts of the U.S. Regardless of their position within the community itself, there was an overarching group identity based on whether someone is an insider or an outsider. In this context, an “insider” was a person who not only grew up in Lancaster but also had family that stretched back over several generations — often this would be someone with a name of Germanic origin such as Stoltzfus or Stoufer. Conversely, the term “outsider” might refer to someone like myself who was new to the community, or could instead be applied to someone who has lived in the community many years but does not share the same local history or family names.

All of my interviewees except one were technically “outsiders” to the community, but had lived in Lancaster for many years, and thus were able to contribute insight into the challenges associated with coming into this community and developing into a leader over their lifetime there.

The interviews revealed that interviewees might hold very different views about the project, even if they held the same position within an organization (for instance, director of the Trust) or the same occupation (for instance, archaeologist). Since I do not use pseudonyms but rather refer to individuals by their titles or their position or relationship to the project or community a list of organizations or occupations are needed. The interviewees worked in a variety of occupations or positions. These occupations broke down into the following categories:

- 1) Historians, archaeologists, architects, museum interpreters, as well as those associated with the Trust. They tended to conduct research, provide consultation and services to the making of the Stevens and Smith Historic Site;
- 2) LCCCA and city council, city and county planners, the state Department of Community and Economic Development, and those associated with the Lancaster County Pennsylvania Dutch Convention and Visitors Bureau (“PDCVB”). This group tended to implement policies and action that would impact the making of the Stevens and Smith Historic Site, and
- 3) From various segments of the community such as business owners, church leaders, and others. This group tended to be the benefactors of the making of the Stevens and Smith Historic Site and hopefully future patrons.

The interviews provided insights on how people formulate opinions regarding the interpretation of the past but also provided information on the project’s trajectory, political divisions and community power struggles that have existed over time and could be seen in people’s reaction to this particular redevelopment project.

Retail Education—Power of the Individual:

As previously mentioned in Chapter Three, downtown Lancaster went through a major urban renewal project in the 1960s and 70s where not only did white flight occur with residents from the city to the suburbs, but major businesses also left as well, as the new mall, Park City, opened outside the city limits in 1971. During this time many historical buildings were lost to the wrecking ball: “Tearing down—to make way for progress” as the city marketed it (Schuyler 2002:99). Historical Beaux Arts hotels and buildings were torn down to create a concrete jungle within the city center at Lancaster Square, just north of Penn Square where the Stevens and Smith site is located.

During the 1980s, the city still did not have any laws protecting historical properties from demolition and “progress”. It was not until the Watt and Shand Department store, which was opened during World War I, was sold to Bon Ton Department store in 1992, which then subsequently closed in 1995, and were looking for a potential buyer did community members realized that some of these historical buildings needed to be protected. Demolition laws were finally passed and the Watt and Shand building was placed on the National Register of Historic Places. According to one of my informants Bon Ton had a history of going into mid-size cities, buying property and promising to revitalize downtown and then abandoning the property and the promise (July 23, 2007). While this protected the building from immediate demolition, it did not bring business back to the downtown area.

Later in 1995, a potential project emerged to bring life back to downtown and the Watt and Shand building from the Economic Development Company of Lancaster

County, Pennsylvania, to bring Harrisburg Area Community College or HACC to the space (Penn Square Partners 2008). This college has several campuses outside Harrisburg serving the surrounding areas, and at the time the Watt and Shand building was looking for a new tenant, HACC had a campus in the city just outside downtown Lancaster, which the most successful of the satellite schools. The plan was to relocate the school to the Watt and Shand building, but also tear down almost 40% of the building to make way for a surface parking lot. Most of the classes would be at night, and the school would have their own bookstore, cafeteria, and other amenities making the probability of the students venturing into the downtown area for services very slim. Therefore, there would be no economic spin-off benefit to have a self-contained entity filling this space. However, it was a higher education facility that looks like a positive asset in the public eye and received much public support.

This new venture profited mainly one company, the shadow corporation that one informant stated was called East King Street Holdings (July 21, 2007). As this informant who served on the Downtown Improvement District (hereafter referred to as DID) board, which was also formed in 1992, told me this shadow organization was made up of Fulton Bank and Lancaster Newspapers, two of the three partners in Penn Square Partners who are the developers of the hotel and convention center. The public was never aware who was behind East King Street Holdings, only members of the board and people East King Street Holdings informed. East King Street Holdings was going to apply for state money to be able to buy the building, remodel the building, and move the school there all through the conduit of Fulton Bank. This scenario is very different from Penn Square

Partners today, where they provide a disclaimer in their services due to their involvement in the project.

The project had wide support from the then democratic mayor, city council, chamber of commerce and other groups and needed the support of DID. My informant and another member of the DID board ended up blowing the whistle on the details of this project to the newspapers just in time for the public to hear about it and come to the DID meeting where they needed to vote for or against this project. The vote ended up being a tie, so the Chairman of the DID board was able to vote twice. The chairman was the President of Fulton Bank, one of the members of East King Street Holdings who were developing the project, which the public never knew. When it came time to go to the zoning board to obtain a variance for partial demolition of the building, my informant who is a life-long democrat, joined forces with the former republican mayor, Art Morris to oppose the variance. Despite their efforts, the zoning board approved the demolition permits, yet there was a 30-day window to appeal the decision and after considerable thought my informant filed an appeal on day 29. He sued the City of Lancaster, the County of Lancaster, the Department of Education for the State of Pennsylvania, the construction company doing the work, and East King Street Holdings to try and stop HACC from relocating and tearing down portions of the historic buildings.

Meetings began to happen with two former mayors, my informant and other local business owners that worked in the vicinity of the Watt and Shand building. Because a portion of the proposed demolition project called for the demolition of the existing parking garage that would directly affect this area's businesses, many people were interested in taking part in these meetings. As the interested parties grew in number, they

decided to try and have a meeting with the Secretary of Education for the State of Pennsylvania, however, they could not be granted a meeting unless they were an organization of some kind, so the non-profit organization Lancaster's Economic Action for Downtown's Success or known in the community as LEADS was born. They found an attorney from Harrisburg and an assistant to help them plead their case. After several days in front of the Secretary of Education board, they ruled in favor of LEADS to stop the project, only to succumb to political pressure to reverse their decision one week later.

During this time my informant was still in the process of suing the various entities to stop the demolition of the historic Watt and Shand building. He lost his suit, but appealed it several more times to a higher court, only to lose each time. What changed the outcome of this project was an election. The mayoral election produced Charlie Smithgall, republican mayor, along with several republican city council seats, breaking up the democratic hold held by the democratic council and mayor in office. The two former mayors helping steer this campaign were republicans, and by 1997 they were able to persuade the new mayor and council to not sell the parking garage to HACC, thereby killing the entire project. If it weren't for the appeal my informant made and the bi-partisan legal battles that ensued thereafter, HACC would be the downtown centerpiece in the city and not the convention center and hotel project, showing the important power of the individual community member.

From Public to Private — Community College to Convention Center and Hotel:

In the late 1990s, once the plans for HACC to move into the Watt and Shand building died, a new plan began to emerge — one of a convention center and hotel. This emerged from an Economic Action Agenda that was completed in 1998 to determine the best way to revitalize downtown Lancaster. In 1998, Penn Square Partners and a Convention Center Task force were formed. Penn Square partners purchase the Watt and Shand building at this time as well. This new project would be a public-private venture—one where the public side would consist of the LCCCA which was formed in 1999 with an all volunteer board, and Penn Square Partners which is comprised of Penn Square General Corporation, an affiliate of the High® companies, and Penn Square Ltd. LLC, an affiliate of Lancaster Newspapers. According to an informant, at the time of initial talks about putting a hotel and convention center into the Watt and Shand building, Pennsylvania law stated if there was a privately owned convention center within a county that was 50,000 square feet or greater a municipal authority could not build another one in that county—and Lancaster at the time had two, Lancaster Host Resort and Conference Center, and a center through the for-profit arm of Franklin and Marshall College (July 21, 2007). Once again political pressure was able to surmount any hurdles, as Pennsylvania State Senator Gib Armstrong lobbied for a rider to be put onto this law that exempted Lancaster County from this state legislation and would allow the plans for the publically financed Lancaster Convention Center and privately owned Marriot Hotel to proceed forward.

It was also at this time in 2000, that 37 local hoteliers began a long and costly legal fight against Penn Square Partners and the LCCCA's plans for the Marriott hotel and convention center in downtown Lancaster. The goal was to create a major attraction in the center of downtown Lancaster to draw people in to visit and shop. While this seems like a beneficial and noble idea, this would be done at the expense of others—namely the local hoteliers who would 1) lose business to the Marriott hotel and 2) would now have to pay an increase in the hotel room tax to 3.9% to help finance the project. By 2001, the Lancaster County Court ruled in favor that the hotel room tax was constitutional and appeals began with only 11 of the 37 hoteliers, with the leading two opponents being two of the existing convention centers — Best Western Eden Resort Inn and Conference Center and the Lancaster Host Resort and Conference Center. They won their appeal in 2002 in Commonwealth court, only to have the lawsuit seized by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court per request of the LCCCA, who then ruled that the now 5% hotel room tax was valid and constitutional. A new lawsuit soon followed with new evidence in 2003 and the 11 hoteliers also sued the County of Lancaster, the Redevelopment Authority of the City of Lancaster, the Lancaster Convention Center Authority, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and Penn Square Partners as well as the states, Department of Community and Economic Development. It was at this time that Penn Square Partners and the LCCCA received permission to go ahead with their plans, which included selective demolition of historic buildings on the property and zoning variances for the height of the structure. The Lancaster City Historical Commission supported these efforts. However, after speaking to a member who once served on the city's Historical Commission, this process was not as democratic as it seemed to be.

Most projects were vetted by the administration and decisions made prior to their coming to the commission. The Pennsylvania Supreme Court finally rejected the lawsuit and the long legal battles seem to have ended though LCCCA stated they would sue the individual hoteliers to try and recoup the \$2 million plus costs that were lost in the lawsuits.

In 2003, the Lancaster County Commissioners voted in favor for the County to back a bond that would be offered by LCCCA that will finance the construction of the convention center. There has been split support on the project from the beginning over the use of public funds, but now it would be connected to a private venture—the Marriott hotel, and this increased the divisiveness. This is a very conservative republican county. A shift took place from republican to democratic within the county in 2005 when a democratic mayor and all democratic city council were elected into office. The community valued private property and private ownership and the idea of public funds being used for a private enterprise increased tensions around the project and more battles could be seen at public meetings and in the media. The local newspapers included many discussions about whether the hotel and convention center project would be good for the city. In January 2005, the *Lancaster New Era* published an article discussing a negative assessment from the Brookings Institution about such endeavors. The newspaper's website subsequently received 11 postings, all of which expressed the view that the project was a bad idea. A month later, the newspaper randomly surveyed 100 local people, and found that two-thirds were reported to be optimistic about the hotel and convention center project. While living in the city, I interviewed numerous local leaders and ordinary citizens, and also attended city council and LCCCA meetings. Judging

from these sources, I would have concluded that the majority of the population did not want the project to proceed. However, on the basis of a survey conducted by the local newspaper, it seems more likely that the most outspoken voices were indeed those who opposed the project, but that the less vocal majority view was actually in favor of it.

Heritage Considerations:

Economic development projects are intended to bring economic growth. Marketing campaigns are created to encourage and foster community support and patronage for such development projects. When the economic development project includes a heritage tourist destination, the marketing campaign will generally attempt to provide a simple narrative concerning heritage, history, and preservation.

But from an anthropological perspective, the narrative regarding heritage, history and preservation is not so simple. Some basic questions would include: what constitutes a heritage site? Who in the community can claim this heritage? Is it legitimate for heritage to be marketed at the expense of historical authenticity, for the sake of economic growth?

As stated in the previous chapter, in 2003 archaeology entered the project, which created a new set of discourses that surrounded various issues such as preservation, heritage and history, local and national history, cultural and economic benefits, insiders and outsiders, race, and class. The opinions of individuals and groups on these subjects differ as a result of their various social and economic circumstances as well as their sociopolitical philosophies or positions.

Many preservationist initiatives began with a purist standpoint, such as the early plans to save all the Stevens and Smith buildings, together with other historic structures associated with the project such as the Watt and Shand department store. Many of the interviewees taking a more purist standpoint were directly involved with the Trust or the preservation project, and were acting as advocates on behalf of the buildings, and this was especially the case during the discussion of whether the historic easements were to be dissolved. It should also be noted that many of the purists, while assisting in research and consultation with the museum and interpretive center project, were also opposed to the convention center and hotel project.

The former director of the Trust told me that the architect for the museum and interpretive center had stated to him, “you have to fight for these easements, that’s what preservation and this organization are all about, we need to have more easements, and we need to do this more” (June 22, 2005). This pep talk from the architect caused the former director to change his mind about stepping down from his position, and instead persuaded him to continue advocating on this project’s behalf. Another of the purists was not only against the convention center and hotel from a preservation standpoint, but also from a more purely economic perspective. She felt the project was not preserving the Watt and Shand to the greatest capacity and that the idea for its reuse was not economically viable. During her interview with me, she stated, “I think the convention center is a pathetic idea for downtown revitalization” (April 14, 2004).

However, over time most of these opinions took on more of a pragmatist tint, typically with extensive negotiations and compromises from all sides. Sometimes, these efforts to find a negotiated solution caused dismay among the true purists within the

preservationist community. The current director of the Trust perceived a need to switch away from a rigorously purist viewpoint tone and towards a pragmatist approach. The director informed the developers that there were historic easements on the Stevens and Smith properties stating they could not be demolished, but also conceded to the developers that it was obvious that these buildings would need to be incorporated into the convention center and therefore was willing to negotiate the terms of the easements. In an interview with me, the director described the compromise that was reached after the historic easements had been brought to the developers' attention, and what the Trust had gained from this negotiation,

over the next couple of years, the developers actually — to their credit, and with the emergence of the Lancaster County Convention Center Authority who actually owned the buildings — worked with the Trust to incorporate a good portion of these particular buildings, in what we now call a famous locale, a compromise was reached [and] good portions of the buildings were allowed to be demolished... and the Historic Preservation Trust would develop a museum or educational interpretive center... (June 7, 2005).

Under the agreement that was finally reached, the developers were permitted to demolish portions of the Stevens and Smith houses, while the remaining portions of the buildings would be preserved, restored and interpreted in a museum and interpretive center by the Trust. As discussed in Chapter Four, the buildings had all been subject to extensive modification over the years, and therefore there was no particular architectural integrity that would validate preservation. It was somewhat ironic that a museum dedicated to the legacy of Thaddeus Stevens tore down those sections of the buildings, which had actually been built by Stevens for his residence. But as the former director of the Stevens and Smith Historic Site and Interpretive center said when comparing the situation at the museum to that she recently experienced, "Here, let's face it, a

compromise, as I came to realize with the settlement of my lawsuit, that when you are dealing in law, a compromise really does mean everyone walks away unhappy” (July 25, 2008).

Some of my other interviewees obviously felt caught between the purist and pragmatist standpoint. When I asked a local planner what he felt the historic easements were supposed to mean, especially now that they had been removed, the planner stated,

Well it's kind of difficult, because part of me is a preservationist and thinks there were definitely features of the whole complex that could have been retained and would have added to the sense of history in the building; but I also know, touring it before, well, and also because I was doing the documentation of those other buildings, that they were just so compromised in terms of their integrity... but I think in general it fits with the preservation world's mantra that, as long as you review something and you try and make the best use of what's there, you're doing your due diligence; and I think the fact that the Trust played a great role, and protecting those buildings and getting people to understand that they're really significant and that they had a potential to be a kind of theme for the whole convention center, that was really forward thinking...(September 12, 2008).

As a community member, I too vacillated between the purist and pragmatist viewpoints. Sometimes I felt that the preservationists were not taking a hard enough stand to preserve the buildings in their entirety, while at other times I wanted to see the community revive economically, and considered that a negotiated settlement would be required in order to save as much of the buildings as possible. Due to funding problems for the convention center and hotel, there were moments when it was unclear if the project would proceed at all. Several of my interviewees expressed concern that the project might collapse, or that the city might simply seize the properties using eminent domain powers. Under either of these scenarios, there was a possibility that all of the buildings could be lost.

It was sometimes difficult to disentangle the arguments relating to economic benefits from those focusing more specifically on preservation. Several community members were against the convention center for economic reasons and also because of preservation concerns. In addition to these ordinary citizens, there were many other community members who had a direct economic motivation to oppose the construction of the hotel. For instance, as stated earlier 37 local hoteliers felt that this endeavor was a public subsidy for a private project, and filed lawsuits in opposition to the project, though they eventually lost these lawsuits. One local inhabitant wrote a letter to one of the local newspapers in November 2003 charging, “if the convention center fails you’re (the community tax payers) on the hook to make the mortgage payments, and if it succeeds in padding the pockets of some millionaire businessmen, well, don’t expect a tax refund anytime soon” (Jeff Mohler, letter published in Lancaster Intelligencer, 13 November 2003). Many of the contentious issues focused on questions of ownership, and of the appropriate demarcations between private and public property, particularly since a private hotel would be receiving public funds. Yet my small public surveys conducted at Central market reflected that the majority of the public was buying into the economic benefit the convention center would bring. Seven of the 14, or 50% of the total number of respondents, specifically stated that it would impact the area economically, with four of the seven people stating that it would affect the tourism economy in particular, though reasons why were not stated.

Some members of the community who initially had a negative view of the project subsequently changed their stance. One business owner advocated creating laws in the city to protect historic buildings from demolition, and personally participated in legal

battles to protect the Watt and Shand building from being converted into a Community College. But in an interview with me, he stated,

I was dead set against it at the beginning, but again, having the void as when Bon Ton closed the store down, and I saw how the downtown was directly affected by that, and all the other stuff that we've done in the meantime of lifting the city up by its bootstraps, the First Fridays, the art events, all of that kind of stuff; I mean we as a community have worked really hard to do that, and downtown is very healthy... so I have come full circle with this, because there is nobody else... I mean, who's going to be able to bring that amount of money to the table, to be able to put something in that piece of real estate there... it could have made beautiful condominiums, but that use of that building has to remain an attraction to bring people into the center of town (July 21, 2007).

There were many political leaders at the city and county level, including the mayor of Lancaster, one of the county commissioners, and several members of the city council such as Representative Mike Sturla and Senator Gibb Armstrong, who believed that the hotel and convention center project would have a positive impact on Lancaster. Some of these municipal and civic leaders considered that the project would create jobs for the city, as well as producing further jobs indirectly within industries that would center around conventions, such as restaurants and shops. Some of these political leaders also felt this was a project that could put Lancaster on the map regionally, and possibly at the state-wide level, particularly because the museum and interpretive center would stress the uniqueness of Lancaster and the city's ties to Thaddeus Stevens and Lydia Hamilton Smith. Contention did emerge regarding whether a portion of these jobs (both construction and operating) would be designated to minority-owned businesses or groups. While an agreement was made that a portion would be made available, there were always tensions regarding how quickly they were filled, and the fact that this had to be negotiated in the first place.

Initially the developers were opposed to the preservation efforts, but more recently one of the developers has been reported as claiming that the historic site is actually important for the brand identity of the convention center and hotel. But there were still plenty of individuals within the community who were skeptical about whether the historic site would ever bring in the numbers of people that were projected or hoped. In another letter to the editor, a community member writes a sarcastic commentary through a fictional scenario,

Picture this: A dad in New Jersey wakes up, turns to his spouse and says: “Hon, why don’t we hop over to Lancaster and check out the Thaddeus Stevens museum”. To which she replies, “Thaddeus Stevens, who’s he?” Dad then says, “While there, we could always visit the quilt museum,” at which point the kiddies in their bedroom next door yell out, “Dad, quilts? Dullsville, get real! We’d rather go to Hersheypark” (Lancaster Intelligencer Journal, 13 October 2003, punctuation adjusted).

Such views lead one to question whether this site really can become a big enough attraction to draw in tourists looking for entertainment. However, it was obvious from the surveys and interviews that the majority of the people felt the convention center and hotel project was significant within the Lancaster economy, and that the museum and interpretive center was also important. As authors such as Dicks point out, as deindustrialization took place across towns and cities in the last part of the twentieth century globally, a need to develop a unique local economy became more necessary to compete within the new global economy (2003:35). Producing local products for consumption by locals and non-locals is key to success, and heritage tourism fits perfectly into this new economy. However, what is the price of such development?

From some interviews, it was clear that present-day issues of race and class affecting the community of Lancaster largely determined the respondent’s views

concerning the project and the historic site interpretation. For instance, the pastor of the local AME church concerned about the planned interpretation of the site stated,

we've been excluded from the conversation, so I don't know what they will do; because that, in and of itself, you know, they went and found hand picked people, some people who weren't even talking about the Underground Railroad are on the advisory list, which is the same old plantation mentality (September 13, 2008).

But other interviewees voiced hopes that this site may become a vehicle to encourage discussions about race and class in the Lancaster community. One local planner used the differences in opinion between Buchanan and Stevens as one example of how to foster such discussions, "you could try and put it in a more modern context, of ah maybe you don't have to mention personalities, but are some of your friends the kind of people who like things to stay the way they are...". As he continued, "we're just hoping that at the museum and whatever, we, so, at the city, we get people to see the different perspectives" (September 12, 2008).

Lost in Translation

A "heritage tourism" initiative typically involves developing a coherent view about just what is "heritage," and then attempting to communicate that definition to the local community and to outside visitors. Planners, developers, and community members need to have some type of shared understanding of what heritage represents to the community, and how that heritage can provide a sense of shared history and identity to that community.

In my interviews with people, there were often comments about these two terms — heritage and history. The interviewees who raised this topic all felt that history and

heritage were important, and that the two terms covered tangible elements such as artifacts and built environment, as well as less tangible elements such as dietary traditions and oral histories. However, there were differences about how to use the two words:

Heritage was variously defined as a commodity, culture, legacy, the built environment, authentic, and natural resources.

History was described as referring to events and facts, though one interviewee went as far as to describe some versions of history as “lies.”

The Director of Cultural Heritage for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania suggested that history should be understood as an “evaluation of sequential/chronological events which change our understanding of past in relationship to present. It is grounded in sequence and fact” (June 12, 2008) whereas heritage should instead be defined as “the repository/depository of aesthetic and historic experience that provides us with a legacy of who we are” using examples such as “foodways, patterns of thinking, experiences, legends, and myths” which are “grounded in experiences and common values” (June 12, 2008). It is noteworthy that this interviewee, in his description of heritage and history, does not address the idea of ownership and possible contestation over this ownership of the past. Much of this contestation has developed from the privatization and commodification of this heritage, or making a site more “visitable” to the outsider (Dicks 2003).

Another interviewee, an art history professor at a local college, did address this concern by describing heritage in relation to patrimony and the differences between American and European thought on this topic. She stated,

I think heritage as something that is kind of a commodity and I think that possibly heritage is the closest thing we have to the European notion of patrimony, but we

are so enmeshed in the economics of private ownership that to introduce the notion of patrimony, which is the idea that the material remains of the past are actually a public good that belong to everybody... as a matter of course, I think that's a very very difficult notion to persuade Americans of (April 14, 2004).

She sees the Americans viewing heritage as a commodity, something to be bought and consumed, and maybe most importantly something which can belong to, or be owned or used by, anyone. As heritage has become more populist, it has also become more of a commodity, available for everyone which can be consumed by anyone fitting well into our capitalist society (Dicks 2006:37). However, not all of the interviewees saw heritage as a commodity, and in fact several interviewees expressed the view that it should never be one.

One interviewee suggested that the public generally lacks an understanding about what is "heritage," and that many people who hold jobs where they should know the definition of heritage don't actually know what this word means. This interviewee stated, "if they saw heritage, they would be much more careful how they interpreted things, and they would understand some people you know have lenses on their vision and cannot interpret on their own" (September 13, 2008). This interviewee felt that heritage should not have to be subjected to a formal burden of documentary proof, but that oral tradition and community identity should be given great weight in determining what constitutes a "heritage site." This view can be seen as opposed to the conventional processes involved in making a site an "official" heritage destination by the National Park Service and its Network to Freedom designation that is only available to sites having a wealth of formal historical evidence.

The above interviewee's views had been affected by his own experiences with the National Park Service. His local AME church had been asked to provide proof that it had been an Underground Railroad site, in order to be placed on the Network to Freedom list, and the National Park Service had ultimately denied the application. The application process for the Network to Freedom list requires a certain amount of documentation to demonstrate that the site does indeed have a significant tie to the Underground Railroad. However, as this interviewee pointed out, many Underground Railroad sites have no written records that link the site or its former inhabitants to the Underground Railroad, so that the only available evidence is oral history within the community. Under such circumstances, finding formal historical evidence to prove the heritage of a site can be a daunting or even impossible task. Oral histories still do not hold the same validity as written records, when it comes to applications such as the Network to Freedom. Without this designation, they have one less marketing tool to use to encourage heritage tourists to visit their site.

There were also discussions about how to define a "heritage tourist" — this is especially important to interviewees involved in the tourism industry, as they need to understand this demographic for marketing purposes. The former president of the Pennsylvania Dutch Convention and Visitor's Bureau (hereafter referred to as PDCVB), who is in charge of developing tourism initiatives across the county, admitted that there are many definitions of heritage, especially describing heritage tourists, "Ah, heritage tourists have been way over-defined. If there was a TIA research study (a U.S. Travel Industry Association research project) on who was a heritage tourist, well, if you ended up looking at all of the research, it included 'did you go to a play in the last two years' ... I

mean, there was everything in there, it would be really hard not to be a heritage tourist” (August 20, 2005).

Taking a far narrower view, a former member of the LCCCA board and civic leader suggested that heritage tourists were a specific demographic group who were looking for a sense of place in the past:

Well I’m saying the Baby Boomers because we have always been so much the first in that level, to always be “it’s all about me” ... “well, let’s see what the ‘me’ is about. Let’s go back and look at what came before me.” And I do think that that does have something to do with why this has piqued interest in looking back and trying to understand where we have come from, and how we have evolved as a nation (November 11, 2005).

Another interviewee was a local planner, who commented on whether it is difficult to communicate the difference between heritage and history by replying:

Yeah, I mean that “heritage” is really the term we try to use, because you know in this program we are actually emphasizing natural resources as well, we want them to be part of the whole mix, because they’re an authentic part. So it’s not just cultural and historic. So I think we’re trying — and I really think we’re trying to get this across in everything that we do in our office... that “heritage” is what we’ve inherited from the past, no matter what it is... and the past could be 200 years ago and the past could be five years ago, it’s what’s made us who we are today (September 12, 2008).

The same interviewee, who is a city planner, when asked about what might be the role that myth or oral tradition might have in the creation of heritage sites:

This is what I’ve always told people, and again I’m sure you’ve heard stuff like this before, but what I try to explain to people, I’ve had a lot of people say “Well they don’t have” — you know, it’s mostly white folks — “you know, what proof do they have that this happened?” or that you know, ah, you know “there’s all these African-American businessmen, that doesn’t sound right, I didn’t hear anything about that as a kid” ... the challenge we have exploring “heritage” is that, it’s an unfortunate fact, but the less physical evidence and documentary evidence you have about something, the more you have to be willing to stretch ideas from fact to fact... (September 12, 2008).

This interviewee's discussion of the "stretching" of ideas was a theme that was frequently raised during the interview process. Many interviewees considered that myths and oral traditions are legitimate parts of heritage, and that they should be considered as valid evidence even when formal documentary sources are not available. Moreover, many interviewees also noted that these myths or oral traditions are often associated with minority perspectives, in other words the groups within society who are not represented in "history" as conventionally understood such as African or Native Americans.

Politics of Race: Ownership or Just Leasing?

Throughout the research process, race was an underlying issue — affecting how all participants interpreted the historical past, how they coped with the present realities, and how they perceived the future. Arguably, Stevens' legacy is principally related to issues of race and equality. Therefore, the explanation of a site dedicated to Stevens and Smith will unavoidably involve questions of interpretation.

As with most historical locations, the site can be viewed from various perspectives. First, two historical owners are associated with the site: a national figure and a local one, one white and one black, one male and one female. Which story has the most significance? Is it possible to compare the two? So inevitably the first question is, Can more than one story be told? And if not, whose story gets told? And why?

Museums represent a primary place for the creation and transmission of collective memory, even more than textbooks, because museums exist to display the past and memories of the past. The display of the past often provokes controversy, when the

opinions of the various communities merge and come up against one another. I

interviewed a planner who stated:

It's really hard, because I think sometimes professional historians will see some of the problems with the story, and be able to tell two different sides to the same story and all that; but I think the political, the African-American community, has a lot invested. And in one or two aspects of the story, they really want the story to be a vehicle for, you know, racial change in the city and all that; and it really could be; but it's just a delicate dance, because obviously white people were involved in the Underground Railroad, and African Americans were involved; and they were definitely the ones that were, ah, you know, that felt the most impact by far; but some of it couldn't have happened without people like Thaddeus Stevens, and it's just hard to weigh in the balance whose story needs to be told the most. And so it's, do you tell the local story and concentrate on that; or do you concentrate on its national implications; or do you focus on the African-American experience, because nothing else really tells the story in Lancaster County; or do you make it a story of the Underground Railroad in general? Or do you make it a story about how, you know, a lot of liberal whites like Thaddeus Stevens, you know, had working relationships with African Americans throughout most of their careers, and that's an interesting story and unusual for the time and...(September 12, 2008).

In the present, a socio-economic and racial division still exists within the city and county. Historically, African Americans were segregated into certain sections of the city of Lancaster, primarily the southwest and southeast. Today, there is greater diversity in other sections of the city, but the majority of African Americans still live in those two sections of the city. A member of the city council from a neighborhood located in the southeast told me that before World War II, the neighborhood was more racially mixed, with whites and blacks and Jews all living in the same neighborhood, and all sticking up for one another.

When I asked him what had changed, he said he thought it was because after the war, there was a lack of jobs, which made it impossible for many blacks to purchase a house. During the war, everyone had been able to find a job, but after the war things

changed. Most whites worked at Armstrong and eventually moved out to the suburbs in “white flight” of the type that was common during the era. At around the same time, malls and shopping strips also began to be developed outside the city center. In addition, blacks were unable to get loans from banks to purchase homes due to “redlining”. Consequently, the neighborhood became predominantly black. The city council member explained that a shift is now beginning to happen in which Latino families are moving into the area, bringing another culture and diversity into the neighborhood.

These shifts can be seen in the census records in Lancaster from 1960 to 1990. In 1960 the African American population was 2,628 in 1960, and in 1990 it was 6,777. There are no figures for the Hispanic population in 1960, but in 1970 it was 2,077, growing to 11,444 in 1990. Thus, the Hispanic population in 1990 was almost double the size of the African American population (Schuyler 2002:232). And by 2000, the African American population was 9, 632 and the Hispanic population was 17,842 (Factfinder 2009). The council member described this more recent interaction as being, “some good and some bad... sometimes they clash, because it’s just different. People are scared of difference” (July 25, 2008).

It was obvious that planners noticed this shift in demographics as well. The interviewee who was a local planner brought up the topic of the Puerto Rican culture in Lancaster being a sensitive topic of discussion, but one that needs to be dealt with to bridge the gap between cultures. He stated,

...and I said you know it would be because I’m so scared to ask questions sometimes of you know about Puerto Rican culture in Lancaster it would be great if somebody put together a tour and said we’re going to take you to a restaurant, we’re going to take you to the place um that people like to hang out, we’re going to go to a baseball game which is seems to be pretty important in Puerto Rican culture and a bunch of other things in the city and you know feel free to ask

questions and and learn but then it's also tough because some of the questions are you know gonna be insulting to some of the people that help with that and so I don't know (September 12, 2008).

This redevelopment project in many ways is just another gentrification project that many people in minority communities see again and again. The goal of the project is to bring not only business back to the downtown area, but also middle class and at times implied white residents back to the city. At one function I attended early in my research, when introduced to the wife of the then Chairman of the LCCCA, James Pickard, and told that I would be moving to the city, I received the comment that they hope more people like me would be moving into the city. While this could be taken as a compliment, I instead took it as people like me — to be educated, white, and from the middle class. Race and class were at the heart of many of the differences that could be seen and heard amongst the inhabitants in the city.

In fact, the concept of “difference” is key here: when there are differences between culture and groups, different stories and different narratives, which one gets to be told? And maybe more importantly, why? In the earliest stages of the project to create the convention center and hotel project, when the Stevens and Smith site was just in the early stages of being investigated, the local chapter of the AME church voiced some protests about the interpretation of the site. The AME church had already incorporated a narrative concerning the Underground Railroad into a reenactment titled “Living the Experience” which was an audience-inclusive theatrical interpretation of slavery and the Underground Railroad. During the initial stages of the research at the Stevens and Smith site, the AME church applied for city and state funds to redevelop the historic neighborhood. This led to competition over funds (tourist revenue), and to

disputes over who should provide the interpretation of the Underground Railroad narrative. The discussions spilled over into local print media and public meetings, and are also reflected in correspondence with the Trust. The AME church and its leadership do perceive that the convention center and hotel can help to stimulate job creation for residents in the south sections of the city. However, my interview with the current pastor of the AME church showed that tensions over content and ownership of the Underground Railroad story are still prevalent. The Stevens and Smith project and its Underground Railroad narrative has been almost used as a figurehead of social justice by the city, county, developers and even at times the preservation groups that are working diligently to preserve and promote the history. Most groups involved in the project are white, and from the middle-class. One Trust board member even mentioned at one point that she didn't know how to talk to black people—yet she served on a board that was promoting an important black historical character and section of African American history.

Similarly, when I attended the *Living the Experience* production, it was clear that there was still room for argument about the appropriate weight to be assigned to Stevens and Smith. For instance, Stevens was mentioned in the production, but all of his work for civil rights was credited to Lydia, and there was a suggestion that Lydia was only able to purchase her properties from Stevens after performing a “service” to him. The precise nature of this “service” was never stated, but because there has been persistent speculation regarding their personal relationship, I believed that the participants in this production were insinuating that the service was of a sexual nature, or at least was one based on much greater familiarity with each other than would be conventional between employer and employee.

During an interview with me, a local planner stated, “telling the African-American story of the Underground Railroad story is never going to be as clear cut as telling a story of the Watt family or the Shand family in Lancaster, because their names are going to appear everywhere” (September 12, 2008). Clearly, it is more difficult to tell compelling stories about individuals whose names and achievements are not widely known, and in some cases may not be comprehensively documented. So as this interviewee stated, “you have to be, I don’t know, in some ways you have to loosen your standards a little bit to make the story interesting, and actually [run] with something long enough that the facts start to unravel themselves and tell you what’s going on” (September 12, 2008).

This is where myth meets history, and where the notion of “authenticity” begins to transcend the historical facts or the precise physical aesthetics of buildings and objects of a particular time period, and begins to encompass oral tradition and general sentiment. Glassberg has stated that “a sense of past takes shape.” In my view, this is where “history” and “heritage” meet, by combining tangible items — such as the built environment or artifacts — with intangible aspects such as narrative, a sense of experience, and an orally transmitted memory of how things once were. The most important question is, however, who is responsible for doing the narrating?

The pastor of the AME church is Afro-centric, and has sometimes been accused of being hostile to opposing views. During my interview with him, it was obvious that he felt that the museum and interpretive center should be telling an African-American story. He even kept referring to it as “the Lydia Hamilton Smith and Thaddeus Stevens site” which would indicate that Lydia comes first in importance. The pastor also believes that

Stevens' anti-slavery career was due entirely to the influence of Lydia Hamilton Smith. The pastor considers that this is an African-American story, which should be told by African Americans, rather than by the Trust whose membership is primarily white.

Not all of the African Americans in the community felt this way. Another African American interviewee, who is also a member of the Trust, stated that "he [The AME pastor] plays that card at every opportunity. Yeah, and they [the Trust] have bent over backwards; and I have been there to see that everything is done, you know, as close to the truth as they can find it and, you know, and not to be offensive or anything else but remain truthful" (October 20, 2005). When asked if she thought the pastor wanted to change how the history of the site was presented, she replied, "I think he does, 'cause I've seen the things he does [performances] and ... it's not totally as it was. He thinks those, what you call, theatrical liberties are acceptable" (October 20, 2005). When also asked if many of the African-American community in Lancaster felt the same way he does, she replied, "No, no, 'cause I've talked to a number of people. No, no. It's mainly him, and those who follow him" (October 25, 2005). This said, though she was the only African American stakeholder involved in the project at the time of my interview in 2005, and while she has tried to reach out to other members of the community to be included in the project, no one has accepted the task, because — as she stated — people's schedules and lives are just too full. While everyone's schedules are busy these days since most families have two full-time working parents, it is interesting to note, that the majority of the black community does not feel a deep enough connection to the story, the site or to the organization that is promoting it to become involved. While civic engagement has declined in the last few decades as stated in the previous chapter, there

are people still dedicating time to specific causes and organizations, why then does this site and story not resonate with the local African-American population as much as it could? The informant and historical re-enactor straddles the line between communities both in race and class because she chooses to. There is agency to her actions, just as there is agency to members of the community who choose not to become involved.

Today the museum and interpretive center has a Board of Directors, National Advisory Council, Steering Committee, Creative Committee and staff, but all of these boards and committees are predominantly white, with only a few African Americans serving. The pastor did not consider that having a few African Americans on these boards was sufficient, for he stated “An advisory committee has no authority at all. The advice they give isn’t even part of a [book?], so it means you take what you want to ... you’re just having this window shop dressing, and ah, which is an insult, especially when you are trying to talk about the African history...” (September 13, 2008). One local planner stated about the story:

that comes back to the whole things of who gets to tell the story, and it’s just so tribal these days that it’s going to be a challenge for something like [the] Stevens-Smith house to deal with, ’cause there’s going to be instant expectations from African Americans in the community who are aware of historical issues. They’re gonna want it to say X,Y, and Z; and there’s going to be historians that say well it’s gotta be a balanced perspective; and there’s also gonna be probably some, I don’t think it’s going to happen so much with whites, because I think whites that aren’t aware of racial issues, or it isn’t important to them; they’re probably not going to go anyway cause they’re not going to see the value in it, and I think a lot of the whites that do go are actually going to be looking for an opportunity to bridge the gap...(September 12, 2008).

The site could indeed be helpful in bridging the racial and cultural gap within the city of Lancaster and more broadly, but its ability to do so will depend on what is portrayed, how it is portrayed and who actually visits the site, which is probably

contingent on what is portrayed and how. This brings up another important aspect to this site, namely whether it should be seen as an economic or cultural revitalization project, for this can greatly impact how the site is developed and what is placed on display.

Economic versus Cultural Revitalization

All of my interviewees perceived the economic and cultural benefits to historic preservation. Yet there was considerable variation of opinion about how those benefits should be realized, and what priority they should take when conducting a preservation project.

Many of my interviewees thought of historic preservation efforts in terms of economic benefits. Perhaps it was because of these arguments, which have been voiced again and again, that the respondents in my survey have come to believe that the museum will benefit the community economically. Many members of the public believe that historic preservation will mean higher expenses for either public or private projects. This became clear when I was working on a Main Street project in Lancaster's neighboring town of Mt. Joy. For instance, most people were not aware that it is possible to make an economic argument for repairing older windows, rather than replacing them with new ones. But my experiences showed me that most people will listen to a discussion expressed in terms of costs and benefits, and many preservationists have realized that this can be their rallying cry. One interviewee stated, when discussing historic preservation as a way to market Lancaster,

I think we're playing into something very dangerous there, but nonetheless, the economics of preservation have become a very important part of the discourse, the public discourse; and I can understand why that is, and I think there is an economic argument to be made, that we really don't have the money to be tearing

things down, letting things rot to be demolished and then just building new construction. I think that's just bad economics, but beyond that, I, what I really would like to see introduced into the discourse is, um, something that is more European, um, a kind of European paradigm, which is the paradigm of patrimony (April 14, 2004).

Heritage as patrimony, meaning the past is a public good, resonated with many of the stakeholders that I interviewed. Indeed, this interviewee was not the only one who considered that preserving the past does have a value, which is separate from the economic benefits that heritage tourism can bring. When I asked the pastor of the AME church whether he felt preservation has a role within the community, whether that preservation is for economic development or cultural identity, his reply was:

Always. But I never think it should be, um, the main cause of economic development, because it's something wrong with prostituting your heritage and history. I think economic development can be a by-product, but for me, the foundation ought to always be based on giving a more clearer truth, but if you are not doing it for those purposes, then up the road the story can become anything...(September 13, 2008).

His concern was not that heritage could be used as an economic development tool, but rather what might happen to the work being done on that heritage if economics becomes the driving force behind the destination. Thus, he agreed with those academics and professionals who have suggested that a sustainable heritage tourism initiative should seek a balance between celebration of heritage and the economic benefits of tourism. In some ways, "sustainable heritage tourism" is an oxymoron, because of the possibility that its popularity may diminish over time. One preservationist expressed doubts about whether tourism can be an economic driving tool, because of its lack of sustainability. She stated:

I mean tourism in general to me is a no-win economic... economy; it's a no-win economy. You have to work on creating sustainable local economy. I think that the other part of me, though, is, are, that there is a good deal of political momentum behind the project [convention center and hotel], so (sigh) ya know where is it going? It's hard to tell. If our economy tanks, if the national economy tanks, um, I don't know what's that going to mean in terms of the realization of the convention center (April 4, 2004).

It is interesting to note that this sentiment was voiced in 2004, when the US economy was growing quite strongly. In late 2008, the National Bureau of Economic Research has just declared that a recession began in December 2007 and is still continuing, and news stories are reporting that the global economy is in a recession. The convention center, hotel, and museum and interpretive center are all scheduled to open in the spring of 2009, and obviously it is too early to tell how the recession will affect the success of this entire project. However, since the Trust relies on donations and gifts as well as grants to help fund all of their projects, the economic recession will most likely hit them as their donors and backers give less, and federal, state and local funds are cut back.

The heart of the dispute concerning the convention center and hotel lies in this question of economic sustainability. Most of my interviewees, including those in random surveys, believed that the convention center and hotel would provide an economic boom to the local economy. Most people considered that the economic boom would come indirectly, because convention centers tend to lose money, and any profits from the hotel will accrue to its owners. However, these interviewees felt that there would be indirect economic benefits for local businesses, as a result of the additional visitors coming to the convention center and hotel. Many interviewees considered that the risks associated with the hotel and convention center are too high, especially since public bonds were used to

assist in the financing of this development, so that if it loses money then the public will have to pay. Failure is on the minds on many throughout the county. However, one city council member took a more sanguine view, saying that the economic climate would have to be extremely bad for the convention center and hotel to fail, and if it did “it might cost them \$2 a year in taxes... but in the meantime it’s for years gonna increase the employment” (July 25, 2008).

I asked interviewees whether the museum and interpretive center would create or add to the economic development of the city. Most interviewees responded that it would not have a great economic impact on the city, but would be more important in its cultural effect. Some interviewees felt it would provide the local community with an opportunity to know their history, and to have a little more pride. These sentiments differ somewhat from the survey responses, where 50% surveyed felt the museum would impact the City of Lancaster economically, versus the 13% that felt it would impact the community culturally. This is a significant difference in opinion between the stakeholders developing the museum, and the community who would be visitors of the museum — one expecting more of a financial outcome, and the other more of a cultural one. Perhaps this is the product of years of preservation advocates trying to make an economic argument for the benefits of preservation. If so, it is good to know some of the efforts have not been made in vain. But in the effort to have historic preservation enjoy the support of the majority, have the cultural benefits of historic preservation been forgotten? It is unclear whether the respondents of the survey expect to visit the museum and cultural center, or whether they expect outside tourists to visit the site and thus contribute to the local economy. Since the majority polled in the survey did not feel they have a

personal connection to the local history in Lancaster, it was difficult to know whether they planned to visit the site themselves. However, if they did visit the site, what would they hope to take away from it for themselves?

This raises another difficulty concerning the site, which is how to attract the local community to visit the museum and interpretive center. I asked the former president of the PDCVB if they have a responsibility to publicize sites and destinations to people who live in the local community. Her reply was “That’s not our job. That doesn’t mean we don’t do it from time to time, but it’s not our job” (August 30, 2005). The historic site may be interpreting events important to the local community, and may revolve around people who are or were members of the local community, but nevertheless there is no particular plan to encourage members of the local community to visit the destination. The PDCVB’s goal is simply to attract outsiders who will spend money, not to develop the local identity. The key is to make the site more performative and experiential, and thereby render it more attractive to visitors (Dicks 2003). One local planner stated, “there’s a danger of that, ’cause I think in tourism you always find that people visit stuff in their own community the least, in some, some way, or maybe they visited it as kids all the time” (September 12, 2008).

As the local planner indicated, it is indeed likely that children and school groups from the local area will visit these destinations, but there is less clarity about how many of them will return as adults. I myself was a new arrival in Lancaster, but I generally only visited tourist destinations when guests were in from out of town, not on my own. One reason why adults may visit heritage sites is because there are associated rituals and traditions performed. But that solution is not feasible for the Stevens-Smith museum and

interpretive center, because it is a new creation. In order to encourage visitors and locals to visit this site, there will be a need for marketing and branding and the creation of place-making (Dicks 2003). And this brings up the question of whether heritage is a commodity, and if so how can it be sold.

Politics of Authority

The Lancaster County Planning Commission has put together a blueprint for the county, entitled *the Comprehensive Plan for Lancaster County*. One major part of this plan, written in 2006, is the Cultural Heritage Element that discusses the past, present and future plans for Lancaster County's tangible and intangible heritage. Research for this report was based on interviews with residents of the community, agencies, organizations, and municipal governments. The interviews posed ten questions about the protection and enhancement of the heritage of Lancaster. When asked "what types of heritage resources should be preserved for future generations," there were four major responses, namely agricultural landscapes; Lancaster City's historic downtown and neighborhoods; historic architecture throughout the county; and small towns and villages. The respondents also commented that the three top greatest threats to Lancaster County's community character are: suburban sprawl and unmanaged growth; demolition or abandonment or neglect of historic and cultural resources; and lack of appreciation or understanding by the general public (Lancaster County Planning Commission 2006:78).

The Planning Commission's goal is to ensure that the community sees the entire space as a destination, by identifying five or six general themes that encompass the cultural, historic and natural elements of the community, such as the Bounty, Ingenuity,

Freedom, Towns and Countryside and Natural Wonders with various subthemes such as agriculture, artists and craftspeople, religious diversity, villages and neighborhoods, and archaeology. Then they will work with community organizations and companies to assist with their marketing and interpretation. One interviewee explained that these five or six stories would help to transform Lancaster into “a museum without walls” (September 12, 2008). Achieving such a goal will represent a challenge for marketing and product development. But my interviews demonstrated that there is a lack of common understanding among planners, tourism bureaus and the public concerning the differences between product, marketing and interpretation. As one local planner said during the interview:

And we’re having a really hard time saying interpretation is part of the product; it’s not a spin, you know; it’s not, um, the next new slogan for the city; it’s what do we have to offer, and I keep telling, say, people, it’s like it’s like going to a big museum, and the phrase we’ve been using is museum without walls... I keep telling people is that interpretation is the exhibition you see at a museum, but it’s, but it’s different than what you see on TV, that tries to get you to come to the museum. That even if it’s a King Tut thing, and they say “come see King Tut”, um, the message isn’t, as, isn’t the same as the product...(September 12, 2008).

The Director of Cultural Heritage for the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania has stated that a site must deal with the “twin industries” — commercial and experiential. The commercial aspect refers to the bottom line and the need to charge dues, while the experiential aspect refers to affecting perceptions and attitudes. He described that a site should be “a total immersion and a cup of Starbucks, a passionate awakening” (June 12, 2008). He and the former president of the PDCVB both discussed the need to ensure that the destination and story and events are all relevant to the visitor, in essence the making of a place. Such “place-making scenarios” involve making a site unique and providing it

with a brand identity, and much of the uniqueness will rely on the work or product of local cultural workers at the site, whether they want to be involved or not. This may be where fact turns into myth, especially with a narrative like the Underground Railroad where the amount of written information is rather scanty, partly because the Underground Railroad's success was dependent on oral transmission rather than written documents. The former president of the PDCVB was responsible for overseeing the creation of the Quest for Freedom website, which is geared towards telling the African-American story for freedom during the Civil War in Lancaster County. For this website, she hired a playwright to write stories but ran into issues with the Heritage Society in Gettysburg, because the stories were not based on identifiable facts. She stated,

You know they mentioned some factual people. I kind of compared it to the Mark Twain on stage, you know, that one man show... I don't have some of Thaddeus Stevens written words, so I can somewhat judge what he may have written, and what he might have been involved with, but a lot of it is, we sort of know his personality from how he was documented, we sort of know what he was aiming for... it's about creating [a] sense of relevancy (August 20, 2005).

When asked if there is a statement that the stories are based on fact but are not fact, she stated that so far they are not factually based but they will be in the future. As her previous employer Sight and Sound, a faith-based live theater company used to say, "this is a fictional account of a factual occurrence." But even with this type of disclosure, it remains unclear whether visitors will truly perceive the difference between fact and fiction. The memory they will take away will be their own, based on the information given to them. But is it then the interpreter's obligation to present only facts that may not resonate with the visitor, or do interpreters have liberty to fictionally represent the events or people that will create a truly memorable experience for the visitor?

Negotiation or Selling Out?

Many of my interviewees voiced frustration about what they considered to be evidence that municipal entities do not understand or care about the value of preservation, and referred to the lack of a Section 106 review of the Stevens-Smith site as an indication of this lack of concern. The project to build the hotel and convention center was fraught with political complexities from the beginning, and the municipal government's stance contributed to frustration among many stakeholders. As discussed in Chapter Four, the BHP decided not to seek a Section 106 review. As also previously discussed, the Trust agreed to extinguish easements in order to facilitate the project, and then the Trust adopted an expansive interpretation of the easements once they were re-established.

In the end, all parties reached agreement that the buildings associated with Thaddeus Stevens and Lydia Hamilton Smith were a part of the area's heritage, and that they were significant to the community. But even after this agreement had been reached, there were further areas of contention that could not be easily resolved. For instance, the historic easements on the buildings were removed as part of a negotiating effort, so that a demolition permit could be granted which would allow some portions of the buildings to be torn down, while other portions would become a museum and interpretive center. One of my interviewees stated explicitly that some monetary compensation should have been received from the developers, when those easements were extinguished. My interviewees agreed that it was not possible to save all portions of the buildings, but they disagreed on what should have been preserved and demolished. Ironically, even though the site is dedicated partly to the legacy of Stevens, the project resulted in the demolition

of the portion of his home and law offices that he had built himself, preserving only those parts that predated his arrival.

Identity and Power:

After conducting interviews with various stakeholders within the community, as well as conducting participant observation research I learned about many of the existing power struggles that lie along discursive, political and socio-economic lines. Yet many of these sub-groups that were competing with one another did not have a cohesive unit, as could be seen with the African Americans I interviewed, where different personal experiences shaped not only how they saw the present tensions in Lancaster but also how they wanted the past to be interpreted.

This contrast within groups was also evident in the various opinions about the project from the interviewees that were directly involved in the preservation of the site. While many of them held the same opinion about preservation being important within a community, there were many different nuances concerning how preservation should be accomplished in relation to the Stevens and Smith Historic Site and Interpretive Center. Most interviewees believed the Stevens and Smith project would aid in the economic revitalization of the city, but the majority felt the project was primarily a cultural product for residents and visitors, though there were some hopes of also bridging cultural gaps within the community. The museum has been appropriated to serve as an emblem of social justice, while the convention center, hotel and museum are gentrifying the neighborhood, which is primarily comprised of working class minority groups. This

contestation could be seen around the edges of the debate over the convention center and hotel, especially around determining how many minority owned businesses would receive contracts for portions of the sub-contracted work, and how many minorities would be employed when the convention center and hotel finally opened. This concession of distributing the wealth from this project is misleading, for it puts a band-aid on what really lies at the heart of the debate — power struggles between racial and socio-economic groups within the community.

There also seemed to be disjuncture between stakeholders and the general public about the relevance of the Stevens and Smith Historic Site and Interpretive Center as an economic or cultural tool. The survey respondents believed that the Interpretive Center would mainly be important as an economic stimulus to the city. They did consider that it had cultural importance, but they stated that they felt no personal tie to the local history of the area. These sentiments demonstrate that one does not need to have personal ties to a site to feel a sense of interest in it — instead, the critical requirement is an appreciation of the past.

These motivations may explain why locals might visit a site, but what would draw visitors of the area to the place? It is here that marketing and branding play their role in shaping a site to create somewhere which is perceived as being “visitable” site and thus appealing and attractive to outsiders. And even in capturing an outside audience, the local community can develop a new sense of self, based on this new sense of place, this creation of a site, which will be the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter Six: The Politics of Performance

**“You never know when you are making a memory” Rickie Lee Jones,
vocalist, songwriter, producer and performer**

Juneteenth Celebrations:

It was a beautiful summer Saturday in June. Under the hot sun, a crowd grew at Shreiner’s cemetery in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, around the site of Thaddeus Stevens’ grave. Attending were Stevens’ housekeeper and assistant, Lydia Hamilton Smith, the nationally famous abolitionist Frederick Douglass, and local abolitionists Isaac Mendenhall and his wife, Dinah. They came to pay tribute to a man who had been instrumental in supporting the abolition of slavery, and who had worked for decades towards that goal.

The above paragraph does not refer to a celebration in the nineteenth century following the Civil War and Steven’s death. Instead, the description relates to a celebration of “Juneteenth” that took place on June 21, 2008. The parts of Smith, Douglass, and the Mendenhall couple were played by re-enactors (Figures 6.1-6.3).



Figure 6.1: Re-enactor playing Lydia Hamilton Smith for Juneteenth celebrations 2008, Lancaster PA. Photograph by Kelly M. Britt.



Figure 6.2: Re-enactor playing Frederick Douglass for Juneteenth celebrations 2008, Lancaster, PA. Photograph by Kelly M. Britt.



Figure 6.3: Commemoration to Thaddeus Stevens at his gravesite, Juneteenth celebrations, 2008, Lancaster, PA. From left to right, re-enactors playing Isaac and Dinah Mendenhall, civic leaders, and re-enactors playing Frederick Douglass and Lydia Hamilton Smith. Photograph by Kelly M. Britt.

Other attendees at the event included local civic and political leaders, members of the local community, and visitors to the city with an interest in the celebrations. We were there to listen to speakers, see the re-enactors, and to participate in a “Freedom Walk” from Shreiner’s cemetery to the Crispus Attucks Community Center.

The history of Juneteenth started in 1865. While the Emancipation Proclamation was issued on September 22, 1862, it was not fully implemented throughout the Confederacy until June 19, 1865 when General Gordon Granger and 2,000 troops came to take possession of Texas and to emancipate the slaves in that state. The day soon became known as “Juneteenth,” and annual celebrations began from 1866 onwards, continuing into the early twentieth century. Juneteenth was eventually adopted as an official holiday by the state of Texas in 1980, and is currently observed by more than 20 other states.

Juneteenth is steeped in traditions, primarily revolving around feasts (generally pot luck and BBQ) taking place in public spaces, the re-reading of the Emancipation Proclamation, and the singing of songs from the Civil War era and earlier. These customs were all observed at the June 2008 celebrations in Lancaster, and there were also booths with African and African-American artwork and handicrafts — including one man’s artwork and t-shirts of Barack Obama, who at that point, had just recently won the

Democratic nomination to run for President of the United States. The participants in the Juneteenth event gave testimonials about their own experiences, and there was also singing from the Brightside Baptist Church Men’s choir, a youth dance routine, and a spoken word presentation. The day’s events ended with the presentation of the winners of a youth essay contest entitled, “Remembering the Past to Celebrate the Future — My Family in Lancaster.” All attendees were invited to wear period clothing if they chose, though most did not (Figures 6.4-6.7).



Figure 6.4: Participants on the “Freedom Walk” for Juneteenth celebrations, Lancaster, PA. Photograph by Kelly M. Britt.

his work, on the anniversary of Stevens’ birthday.

In recent years, there has been a revival of the annual commemoration of Stevens at his grave on the anniversary of his birth, but this ceremony generally lasts for only an hour or two, with a few speakers and perhaps 20 or so attendees who are primarily white. In an interview I conducted,

this city council member had vivid memories of the original festival, as he recalled how the children of the African-American community would play on Stevens’ grave, and how everyone wore hats, and women wore long dresses. It seems this was considered a major

During the initial ceremonies at the cemetery, an 84-year-old African American member of the city council stated that the day “brought back great memories.” He could remember his own father leading pilgrimages to Stevens’ gravesite in the early twentieth century, to mark the legacy of Stevens and



Figure 6.5: Community artisans and booth holders for Juneteenth celebrations, Lancaster, PA. Photograph by Kelly M. Britt.

annual event for many African Americans in the local community, who wore their best clothes to reflect the importance of this day (Figure 6.8).



Figure 6.6: Dancers at Juneteenth celebrations, Lancaster, PA. Photograph by Kelly M. Britt.

not possible to demonstrate that the resurrection of the ritual is directly linked to the archaeology



Figure 6.8: Shreiner Cemetery, Negro Civic Congress gathered at the tomb of Thaddeus Stevens. Date 1918/10. Courtesy of Lancaster County Historical Society.

However, it seems that the ritual and traditions of Juneteenth faded from habit during and after World War II, and that subsequently the pilgrimages ceased and the celebrations went out of practice, though the precise date seems difficult to ascertain. It is therefore intriguing that after approximately six decades, Lancaster has once again started to

celebrate this ritual today. It is



Figure 6.7: Dancers at Juneteenth celebrations, Lancaster, PA. Photograph by Kelly M. Britt.

project at Stevens' home

and law office, but certainly there is no doubt that the archaeological work has reawakened interest in Stevens and his legacy.

Stevens: Lost in the Archives:

In the early stages of my research, it seemed that many community members did not know much about Stevens or his historical importance. During 2005, I conducted 16 random surveys at Central Market in downtown Lancaster, including a question asking who was Thaddeus Stevens. The answers varied widely; the most common response was that the interviewee had no idea, while other respondents offered the false assertions that he was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, or that he was a Senator (and “what was his problem” said the interviewee with a laugh). Only a few interviewees correctly answered that he was involved in the Civil War, or that he was a legislator, or that he was involved in civil rights.

This range of responses is consistent with a survey that another community member conducted over a two-year period from 2001-2003, where he asked a total of 100 local residents whether they could list three facts about Thaddeus Stevens. The most common answer was that he came from Lancaster; the second most common statement was that a school is named after him; and the third most common response was tied between the assertion that he had something to do with government and that belief that he is buried in a cemetery somewhere in downtown Lancaster (Lancaster Intelligencer Journal, 28 September 2003).

While I was interviewing a couple at Central Market and asking if they knew who Stevens was, the interview was interrupted by a woman with a Southern accent who interjected, “I know who Thaddeus Stevens is, and where I come from, he’s not looked at favorably” (paraphrased). This woman declined to be interviewed for the survey, but it

was apparent from my interviews that most people in the Lancaster area did not have an idea of who Stevens was or his historical importance. Consequently, the creation of a museum dedicated to Stevens involves bringing to light a legacy that had been for the most part forgotten in popular consciousness. Indeed, as discussed in Chapter Three, to the extent that Stevens is known in the popular imagination, the impressions may be drawn from the film *Birth of a Nation* in which Stevens and Smith were portrayed as villains, while the Ku Klux Klan were depicted as heroes.

Also shown in Chapter Three, Stevens' life included controversy and contention, which has been portrayed in diverse ways by his biographers. Partly as a result, opinions on how Stevens' life and legacy should be commemorated have also varied widely. Some have suggested that the focus should be on his work for free public education; others have stressed his work on the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments and his abolitionist viewpoints; and as described in the prior chapter, some interviewees feel that Stevens should not be the main focus of the museum, and that his housekeeper and friend Lydia Hamilton Smith would be a better central character for the museum, arguing that it must have been her influence that led to Stevens' anti-slavery stance.

At the time of this writing, it appears that the Stevens-Smith museum and interpretive center will attempt to address all of these aspects of Stevens and Smith's life. The current plan is to categorize their achievements through three general themes which are directly linked to the three amendments with which Stevens was associated:

1. Freedom — the 13th Amendment (end of slavery);
2. Equality — the 14th Amendment (equal protection under the law); and

3. Empowerment — 15th Amendment (the title for this theme differs from that of the amendment, as the original version covered only the grant of votes to all men, and did not include women).

These themes, together with multiple sub-themes such as education, the women's movement, and civil rights will make up the focus of interpretation at the site. The museum will also include discussion of the history of Lancaster, some statements about the importance of preservation of history and heritage, and comments on the role of archaeology within a community and project such as this one. The Director of the museum and interpretive center stated in an interview that many public history projects have difficulty in persuading the public to view the past on its own terms, rather than applying present standards and modes of thinking, showing that is hard to untangle the present from the past. She stated,

we want to look at the past and judge it from where we stand now. You can't do that. You have to look at it at the time and place that it occurred, and to recognize that we are flawed. We do some things well, and then we screw up. And then we fix it and we do other things well, and then we screw up (July 25, 2008).

The difficulty of disentwining the present from the past was seen in some of the interviews and surveys I conducted, where a person's sense of the past influenced how and what they wanted to see interpreted in the museum.

The intention is that the museum and interpretive center will become available to the public in phases. The pre-phase work began in 2007, and will continue into 2009. This portion of the overall plan includes building the new galleries and connected spaces within the convention center complex, preparing the exterior and future interior works, and coordinating with LCCCA regarding all plans and construction. The first actual

phase began in 2008, and focused on all the building exteriors (Stevens, Smith and Kleiss buildings) with the expectation that these efforts will be completed in 2009. The second phase will shift to the interiors and interpretation, providing fully designed exhibits, and will also focus on the proposed rental space. This portion of the overall initiative is scheduled to begin in 2009, and will be completed in 2012. It is during this time that the Thaddeus Stevens and Lydia Hamilton Smith Historic Site and Interpretive Center will be opened to the public. The third phase will consist of a new building across the street from the convention center and museum on Vine Street that will provide additional exhibit space and the interpretive center, as well as create office space for the museum. It is expected to be completed in 2015. However, due to funding issues all staff related to the site have been dismissed and the timeline for completion has been extended until additional funding can be raised.

The former museum director is hoping that when the new center is built across the street from the convention center on Vine Street, it will be possible to convert what is scheduled to be office space for 2009-2015 into an extension of the museum, as these second-floor rooms were formerly Stevens' bedroom and personal library. The buildings associated with Lydia Hamilton Smith will not be interpreted, but instead will be leased out as office space. The Swan Hotel, which is located directly across Vine Street from the Kleiss Saloon, will also be renovated during the first two phases. Repairs to the exterior and a basic finish to the interior will be done which could be sufficient to make it attractive for a vendor or developer to develop the building while benefiting from the historic tax credits and neighborhood assistance tax credits for economic development.

It is too early to predict what proportion of stakeholders will feel truly satisfied with the interpretation of the people, events, and sense of place that the museum will convey. In this context, it is useful to look back at Glassberg's distinction between the "sense of history" and the "interpretation of history" which was outlined in Chapter Two. Glassberg's work demonstrates that historical interpretation changes with context, which in turn is shaped by a stakeholder's own experiences and memories. The importance of personal experience was apparent with members of the African American population that I interviewed concerning their thoughts on what should be interpreted about Stevens and how it should be done. These interviewees' sense of history is influenced by their experience with the general lack of attention spent on African-American history, which occurred during their own childhood education, and also by their current concerns over inequality in the present.

It is true that the story of Smith could be used as a way to retell local African-American history, and to provide empowerment and pride within the African-American community living in Lancaster. But there is no consensus of opinion about what that portrayal should include, leave out or highlight. This was seen clearly with the portrayal of Lydia in the *Living the Experience* performance, as compared with the reenactment of Lydia by a local community member. The AME church had a more embellished and dramatic portrayal of Smith, which thus provided more of a "sense" of her personality and experience. The re-enactor provided an interpretation of Lydia's life which is less dramatic but more consistent with what is historically known of her.

The distinctions in the portrayal of Smith do not indicate that one version is unarguably "correct" than the other. Preference between the two alternatives would

depend on who you ask, what is their context, and what they hope to receive from the interpretation. If the embellished version of Smith provides a community with a sense of heritage, nostalgic hope, and empowerment that Lowenthal advocates, then it would be difficult to argue that it is also “incorrect.” Yet at the same time, even those who favor adopting Smith as a symbol of black female success may legitimately feel uncomfortable about providing a historically inaccurate interpretation of a historical character and of events in her life.

This example shows that the heritage of the African-American community, as seen through the interpretation of Lydia Hamilton Smith, is directly tied to the current identity of many members of the African-American population within Lancaster. Some interviewees indicated that they are disappointed that the Smith houses will not receive interpretation, and that she will not be the focal point of the objects on display. However, perhaps other types of interpretation of her life and achievements, such as the reenactment and the *Living the Experience* performance, will ensure that what is lacking in historical display may be supplemented by memories of Smith in the form of new rituals and commemorations.

The Memory of Lydia:

Through Lydia’s legacy, a social organization of tradition has created a new ritual. When the excavations were taking place, and the re-discovery of Lydia into collective consciousness began to take place, commemorations for Lydia on her birthday at her gravesite began. This was similar to the annual commemorations of Stevens’

birthday at his gravesite. In 2008, a half-day conference in honor of Lydia's birthday was organized by the Director of the Stevens and Smith Historic Site and Interpretive Center together with the woman who re-enacts Lydia's life at the site. Participants at the conference included the Young Women's Christian Association or YWCA, instructors from Thaddeus Stevens College and Millersville University, and training programs for emerging business entrepreneurs.

Incidentally, the conference was somewhat chaotic because Presidential candidate Barack Obama was scheduled to visit Lancaster on the day of the conference, and many speakers and attendees arrived late because they had been in line for tickets to hear Obama's speech. Nevertheless, it seems possible that this conference may be the start of a more formal ritual commemoration of Smith, and of her accomplishments as a businesswoman and entrepreneur, for the second annual conference will be held in March 2009. *In the Spirit of Lydia* conference will have the theme of "Savvy and Successful: Niche Marketing, the World Wide Web and You", which is free and open to the public. So while the museum has decided not to give special attention to her tangible heritage in the form of the buildings she owned, there is some chance that her intangible heritage as a successful African-American businesswoman may be remembered through annual workshops and conferences such as this one.

These new events, and other intangible changes to the local culture, might not have emerged without the role of archaeology in this project. As noted in previous chapters, the archaeological investigations only provided limited evidence concerning the tangible history of Stevens and Smith, primarily through the discovery and interpretation of the cistern. Nevertheless, the fact that archaeological investigations were dedicated to

these two individuals did provide the community with knowledge about them, and re-awakened the intangible memories of Lydia alive through rituals and performances.

The archaeological investigations provided the tangible data needed for the Trust to preserve the historical buildings, and to move forward with plans for the museum and interpretive center. In turn, the creation of the museum and interpretive center has brought extra attention from the media and the broader community, by shining a light on a portion of local history that had been almost completely forgotten. This awareness has prompted the efforts of memorialization within the community, not only of Stevens but also of Lydia, and has renewed a sense of place and history within the community. However, not all the discoveries that were found during the archaeological investigations will be highlighted or remembered with the same intensity as that of Stevens and Smith. So what has been left out and why?

Left on the Cutting Room Floor:

Heritage sites have a tendency to view history through one particular period, but archaeological inquiry reminds us that there are generally multiple occupation levels for a given site, especially an urban historical one. This site is no different.

As Chapter Four briefly illustrated, this site was rich with various episodes of Lancaster's past and community. The findings from the excavations provided insights into the layers of Lancaster's past from the Gast pottery works, to the seventeenth century blacksmith forge, to the animal hospital, and finally to the car repair shop in the twentieth century.

Somewhat ironically, these earlier moments in the history of the archaeological site actually provided a considerably greater quantity of material evidence than was recovered from the period when Stevens and Smith occupied the site. But the artifacts and stories from those earlier periods would not carry the same tourist value as material associated with Stevens and Smith. There is copious material to create a museum for Henry Gast and his Eagle Porcelain Pottery Works, but from a marketing perspective such a museum would have far less value for heritage tourism than one devoted to Stevens and Smith, since Gast is virtually unknown even locally. It would be difficult to bring in visitors and therefore dollars to a site that few people would be inclined to patronize, and in order to create and keep such a museum as the one designed for Stevens and Smith, a combination of patronage and donations are indispensable. To use Dicks' (2003) term, the site's "visitability potential" would be low, or at least lower than a site dedicated to Stevens and Smith. In the final version of the museum and interpretive center, there will probably be a sub-theme dedicated to the stories and findings of the other occupational layers to Lot 134, as part of the discussion of Lancaster history and archaeological inquiry.

Despite his major contributions to public education in Pennsylvania and to equal rights and the abolition of slavery, as shown above, Stevens' name is not as well known locally as it was in the nineteenth century. However, many people still have vaguely heard of him, and there is no question about his significance to local and national historical identity. What might be more important to the site's visitability is that key issues that Stevens stood for, such as equality, are still relevant today to various segments of the population because equality — or lack thereof — is still an important topic.

Therefore, even people who are not particularly interested in history or in Stevens and Smith may be inclined to visit the museum, because of its emphasis on these overarching themes and sub-themes. This ideological position should help to promote the site to prospective patrons and donors, making it a much more viable economic engine for the community at large and as a space for identity creation.

Archaeology as Performance:

When the cistern was first discovered, and there was serious discussion about whether to turn the Stevens and Smith buildings into some type of museum, there was a proposal to put the archaeological dig and the archaeologists on display. The results of the archaeological work were receiving positive attention in the press and from the community, so there was a tentative proposal to have archaeologists excavating indoors, in the corridor under the lobby of the convention center, which would literally place the role of archaeologist into the capitalist component of tourism.

On one side, this prompted memories of the “native villages” which were displayed for spectators at World’s Fairs in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. But on the other side, the idea was also reminiscent of MacCannell’s concept of the “back regions” which are usually closed off from audiences and outsiders. As MacCannell (1999:93) has noted, these back regions “generate[s] the belief that there is something more than meets the eye; even where no secrets are actually kept, back regions are still the places where it is popularly believed the secrets are”. These back regions can serve

as promotional experiences that a site can use to market itself to the public, and to attract more visitors and therefore consumers to a site.

Such a strategy can be observed at Colonial Williamsburg, where the entire town has to some degree become a “back region” for the visitor to experience, offering a range of sights, smells, and experiences which are not usually seen in conventional interpretations of history (Handler and Gable 1997). Even archaeology enters this back region at Colonial Williamsburg, by putting the archaeologist, artifacts, and research used to inform the interpretation of the site on display for the visitor to experience. In this sense, it is hard to imagine a better “back region” than a basement where workers are literally digging out the secrets of history at the Stevens and Smith Historic Site and Interpretive Center.

Most of the participants in these discussions of turning the archaeology portion of the project into a display portion, including the developers, were seeking a way to present archaeology to the public, by creating an exhibit that would create an authentic and unique experience. From one perspective, the idea sounds very appealing because it would reveal the entire “back region” of a tourist site. But the proposal collapsed due to logistical difficulties such as ventilation, dirt removal, and the risks of undermining the foundation and building structure. It is interesting, though perhaps somewhat alarming, that people with considerable experience and knowledge of construction and building techniques did not initially consider these points.

Archaeology is in many respects still seen as an “exotic” profession, even when its practitioners are digging in the backyards of urban Lancaster rather than in sun-drenched sites in Egypt. Ongoing public archaeology projects, such as those in Colonial

Williamsburg, Historic St. Mary's, Historic Jamestowne, and Historic Annapolis have helped to demystify archaeology to the general public. However, new films in the Indiana Jones and Tomb Raider franchises ensure that some segments of the public will continue to view archaeologists mainly as action stars, rather than as academics. Putting archaeology on display might reduce some of these misconceptions about what archaeology is and what archaeologists do, but this scenario was ultimately judged to be infeasible. Instead, the Stevens-Smith museum will rely on interpretive signs of the type described by MacCannell, together with a cistern whose surrounding context has been destroyed in order to allow the construction of the building in which it is displayed. Such solutions do not offer the same experiential effect as actually witnessing the archaeologist performing an excavation, but they should provide adequate context for the displays, and useful information for the visitor and provide some of the necessary materials to allow this site to shift from an archaeological site to a tourist destination.

Making Myth, Ritual and Place — the making of a heritage tourist destination:

There is a reciprocal relationship between the tourism industry and surrounding indirect industries such as retail, hospitality, restaurants, and similar destinations: visitors to these markets may also go to tourist destinations, and vice versa. The making of a heritage tourist destination revolves around the creation of place within space, as well as the communication of culture and history through interpreting objects and displays. But a heritage tourist destination is also dependent on other rituals, commemorations, and events that support the people, topic, themes or events at the particular destination. This

was illustrated quite clearly in Lancaster County Planning's *Comprehensive Plan for Lancaster County, Pennsylvania*. The plan seeks to promote destinations according to specific themes, in order to provide a more unifying experience for a visitor, such as the Bounty, Ingenuity, Freedom, Towns and Countryside and Natural Wonders with various sub-themes such as agriculture, artists and craftspeople, religious diversity, villages and neighborhoods, and archaeology.

As discussed in this chapter, rituals began to be created linking Stevens and Smith and their legacy with the community. I have noted the Juneteenth celebrations, and the half-day conference concerning Lydia Hamilton Smith. In addition, a play concerning Stevens and Smith was presented in January 2006 at the Fulton Opera House in Lancaster. This play was written by Donald Rhoads, of Thaddeus Stevens College of Technology. As with most plays, fiction merges with fact, and the drama and performance were used to communicate more of what Glassberg describes as a "sense of history" than a more formal interpretation of it. Some interviewees were impressed by the play, while others were disappointed by the portrayal and depiction of Stevens and Smith. There was particular disquiet about the interpretation of the relationship between Stevens and Smith, which has always been a source of contention. It will be interesting to see how the museum and interpretive site will deal with the interpretation of this potentially fraught topic.

On the basis of these interviews, and the interviews that I conducted with various individuals concerning the plans for the museum, it would appear impossible to devise any interpretation of Stevens and Smith and of their legacy that would leave all audiences satisfied. This is unavoidable because of the "presentist lens" discussed in Chapter Two:

people evaluate the past based on their current circumstances and views, and typically are keen to address the issues of today through such an interpretation. The excavation of the site has produced an “idea of a site” which allows people to discuss or bring up present day issues relevant to the community. This can be seen in the views held by the pastor of the AME church concerning the interpretation of Stevens and Smith, and also in what I observed in the church’s own interpretation of Stevens and Smith.

More broadly, the entire question of interpretation of the life and legacy of Stevens and Smith leads to discussion of what aspects of the African-American experience should be recounted, and in what manner. The difficulties here stem from the difference between heritage and history, the sense of history that these interviewees already carry, and the different tribes or groups that they belong to in the present which directly shape their vision of the past and of the heritage that comes from that. It seems possible that archaeological evidence of the past might be able to provide the space or site to discuss particular issues, such as racial inequality, in the present. If archaeology is indeed to play such a role, then its practitioners will need to be aware of the issues in the present when interpreting the past to link the tangible to the intangible.

Bridging the Tangible to Intangible: Can archaeology be a link?:

It may be helpful to make broader use of community-based archaeology or public archaeology, and create a site that provides a space where discussion of the past can take place among the public. In other words, as Bartoy (2008) has advocated, archaeologists should seek to “reach out” to the public to gather information and to learn about local

concerns, with the aim of fostering a dialogue within all levels of the community from archaeologist to preservationist to community member. Such initiatives will help the members of the archaeological team to find out what the community feels is important to highlight, rather than just providing a top-down “outreach” to the community which attempts to dictate about what should be considered as archaeologically important.

This reaching-out model can be seen very clearly with the President’s House archaeology site in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, where the public, led by local African Americans both requested the archaeology and paid for it (Levin et al. 2007). There is also a Public-Outreach Cultural Heritage Specialist on site whose function is to “reach out” to the public, rather than merely to provide the “outreach” narrative to the public that is more conventional in projects like this. The number of artifacts recovered with a demonstrable link to George Washington was quite modest, but the excavations themselves provided a site in which members of the community were able to voice thoughts, ideas, and feelings associated with heritage, history, and a present sense of identity. Both the President’s House and the Stevens and Smith archaeological sites did not provide many tangible artifacts that directly linked the site to their former owners, but the architectural features did provide insights into slavery — living with slavery in the President’s House, and escaping from slavery with the Stevens and Smith site.

However, what these sites lacked in material artifacts were made up for in other ways. Both sites have become places of power for the African-American communities in the local area. The President’s House became a symbol for the community, a marker or sign of their heritage, which had been reclaimed through archaeological work that was truly sponsored by the public. The site attracted considerable attention during the

excavations, and continues to be a gathering place for both visitors and residents today. Much of this was due to positive, informative and educational articles in the local newspaper, the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (Jeppson and Brauer 2007) and the community “reach-out” model adopted by the NPS. The Stevens and Smith site was not excavated with the same level of public support. However, once the archaeological excavations were under way, the research received considerable media attention and public support from all segments of the community, from preservationists to political figures to residents. And much like the President’s House, the Stevens and Smith site has created a public space where community and national identity and pride can grow. The question for the Stevens and Smith site is how and how much of this identity will be produced from the activities of the site.

The President’s House and the Stevens and Smith sites both serve as direct links to a local and national history that are visitable and that provide a storied place. In Glassberg’s terminology, the “collective” or individual memories and experiences in the present, and the “collected” histories of the research of the past, are being blended together in their interpretations and the rituals that have emerged such as the Juneteenth celebrations in Lancaster and the opening and closing ceremonies that took place at the President’s House.

The results of these two archaeological investigations are also consistent with Lowenthal’s suggestion of moving beyond tangible history and into intangible heritage. Yet the debates over interpretation also demonstrate the conflicting meanings of the same environment within the community. In Matthews’ terms, these two sites provide a space or an “idea of a site” at which present-day issues and conflicts can be addressed. Such a

space can move beyond the physical location of the site itself, and can be invoked in other spaces within the community such as school classrooms.

At the beginning of my research, I attempted to start a public outreach archaeological program that serviced local schools. In particular, I sought to create a curriculum that could be applicable for the fourth grade, when Pennsylvania public school students first learn about the history of the state. I wrote about these experiences in 2005 (Britt 2007). I found that the majority of people felt that archaeological projects could have a positive impact on the community, and that public outreach concerning archaeology would be valuable. However, the quantity of participation in the outreach or in many other activities related to Stevens was minimal.

By comparison, Mary Ann Levine's service learning project through Franklin and Marshall College had greater success in attaining its goals within the school's surrounding community. Students in her classes would conduct workshop classes in the local elementary schools on the Stevens and Smith Site and the findings. The contrast between the two initiatives may be explained by the fact that the service-learning component was part of an established institution within the community, whereas my project was only tied to the Trust, which is well known within the community but does not have a direct link to education.

My outreach program did not reach as many students as the service-learning program at Franklin and Marshall College. However, both programs created an idea of the Stevens and Smith site that transcended its physical location and proposed a re-interpretation of history. Both projects raised topics such as inequality, racism and women's rights to the forefront of discussion, by using people, places and artifacts of the

past to illuminate them. In these cases, there is a direct correlation to the tangible archaeological past to the intangible one. Artifacts and history are used to facilitate a discussion of important aspects of the past, but also poignant issues of the present.

Discussion:

This research set out to explore three questions:

1. What sections of the community are interested in the site, and what are their differing viewpoints? When do issues concerning the past become operative in the present?

2. What types of individual past experiences lend themselves to create the differing viewpoints held by parties within the community, and how do they manifest themselves?

3. When archaeology becomes a focal point of the heritage site, as was the case for the Stevens and Smith Historic Site and Interpretive Center, does archaeology bridge the disjuncture in stakeholders' viewpoints concerning the past and the present, and also concerning what should be interpreted? If so, how does archaeology accomplish this resolution?

These questions were associated with several specific goals: to examine the making of a heritage tourist destination through a combination of preservation and archaeological inquiry; to explore how preservation, archaeology and heritage tourism may be able to help de-industrialized cities in the twenty-first centuries to redevelop their economies; to investigate how a site serves as a "place" not only to view history, but also

to mediate the present by addressing important issues that exist within the community at the present through narratives, material culture and data of the past; and finally, to explore how myth and ritual can provide a link between the tangible and the intangible.

Many different individuals and groups within the Lancaster community took an interest in this site. Each sub-community or group had its own affiliations and would compete in the various power struggles within the larger Lancaster community. Therefore, there was considerable variation in opinions about what should be interpreted and how. Group affiliation did not appear to generate consensus on these two crucial issues. No true consensus was found by looking at my interviewees through the subscribed groups that I thought would occur either. Some felt Stevens should be highlighted, others Lydia, while others felt that specific sub-themes should be addressed in greater detail.

These conflicting viewpoints were articulated clearly among the African-American community members interviewed. While they gave the impression that they existed as one group, it was clear after my interviews that there were factions within and they did not work as a cohesive unit. Those interviewed did not agree on the group's focus or concerns, especially regarding what should be interpreted the Stevens and Smith site and how it should be done. As stated previously in this chapter, this is where a sense of history and an interpretation of history could be clearly seen. The AME church uses a more dramatic and embellished performance of Lydia to bring power to the past, whereas the interviewee who is a Lydia re-enactor relies more heavily on historical facts when performing in order to give Lydia power.

It appears that issues regarding the past become operative in the present when power and control was at stake. This could be seen in all the groups and many interviews. With insiders and outsiders, it was the threat of new residents coming in and changing the makeup of their community and the familiarity of their community customs. This is especially prevalent with immigrant ethnic groups who have migrated to the area, bringing people, culture, language and customs that are dramatically different from the long established residents of the area. This was highlighted in the interview with the city council member when he discussed the current tensions between the long-standing African-American community and the growing Hispanic community in the neighborhood.

The convention center and hotel posed an economic threat to many hoteliers in the area causing them to be against the project. They fought for control through litigation that held the project up in the courts for years. As shown by the random surveys that I conducted (see Appendices D-F), many people also hoped that the combined project of the convention center, hotel and museum would help bring an economic boom to the city, and perhaps as one business owner interviewed noted, would benefit his business as well. But many citizens felt that if the project failed, then the burden of debt would be left on their shoulders, so that once again they would have lost control of the situation. This, combined with the tremendous support of individual property rights over social policies in this area, made many community members feel ill at ease with the project so that they adopted an anti-convention center stance. The convention center advocates felt if the project failed, so too could their business or other businesses causing more unemployment and producing less money for the city as a whole, so they developed

either an anti or pro convention center depending on their level of comfort with its economic forecast.

While the city planners are tied to the political agenda of the city not giving them an autonomous control over their mission, they were able to use the convention center and hotel, and the Stevens and Smith project, in order to continue and build their programs for heritage development for Lancaster City. This project provided them with an opportunity to fine tune many of their initiatives, as well as look at other issues that they have been trying to address, such as how to incorporate the Hispanic community into their programs. And as many of the city planners are supporters of historic preservation, it also provided an opportunity to illustrate how preservation can be a positive economic attribute to the city.

Many historic preservation advocates felt that the entire project could be a repeat of the 1960s, when urban renewal projects had demolished some of the city's most treasured landmarks. They therefore felt threatened and put forth a zealous campaign to save the Watt and Shand building and also the Stevens and Smith site. The efforts to save the Watt and Shand building were not successful, as only the façade was preserved. But they were able to save the majority of the Stevens and Smith buildings and to ensure that the site would be the center of a museum including interpretation of its historical significance.

These present-day struggles for control shaped how individuals and groups viewed the history and interpretation of the site. The clearest evidence that present memories of the past can directly shape the sense of the past in Lancaster emerged through interviews with members of the African-American population. Issues of

inequality and racism, which are still prevalent today, directly shape what community members wish to be seen addressed in the interpretation at the Stevens and Smith Site. For the power struggles that exist in the present were mirroring the past. But despite this collective sense of the past, there was considerable variation in individual memories and perceptions, and there was no universally agreed-upon interpretation. Some African Americans, as seen in my interview with the pastor of the AME church, felt that this site could provide an opportunity to right the wrongs of the past.

As noted above, the clearest example of how past experiences directly shape an individual's view of how the past should be interpreted was the difference between the depiction of Lydia Smith in the *Living the Experience* performance, as compared with the re-enactment of Lydia as played by a community member. However, it can also be clearly seen in the play by Donald Rhoads that depicted Stevens and Smith's lives, where public opinion on a "sense of history" or an "interpretation of history" could be clearly seen. The play based on fact merged with fiction, and produced a story that provided more of a "sense of history" than an interpretation of one; people's reaction to the play varied. As stated earlier, some interviewees felt the play was a success and were impressed by the story and portrayals of Stevens and Smith. These interviewees didn't mind the "sense of history" that the play was making. Others however, were disappointed and wanted a more scientific "interpretation of history", especially about Smith's character whose role some felt was downplayed in the story, and thereby downplayed in history. They also felt the interpretation of the relationship depicted between Stevens and Smith was not factual and gave the audience a false sense of history.

These depictions influenced the collective public memory of the present. New rituals and performances, such as Juneteenth and the women's day conference on Lydia's birthday, have grown out of these representations. To some extent, the historical and heritage associations of Stevens and Smith are now serving as signs or symbols of local identity for the community and also for tourists visiting the area. These depictions help to provide tangible evidence to support the continuation of rituals that are important to the community today, such as Juneteenth. But it is important to note that the significance of Juneteenth has changed also. At the end of the nineteenth century, Juneteenth was a formalized celebration of the end of slavery. In the early twenty-first century, Juneteenth is a more casual celebration of diversity and of a sense of community. Local traditions and rituals help to ensure that heritage is grounded in the community, while at the same time creating a sense of shared heritage that may increase the site's tourist potential and economic benefits for the community.

From my interviews and research, it was apparent that policymakers and many community leaders expect that this particular heritage tourist site will help to create economic activity in the city of Lancaster and much of the general public bought this argument. Their hope is that the site will encourage tourism and thus revive an economy that previously was primarily based on industry. It is still too early to tell whether this site, as a heritage tourism destination, will indeed provide such an economic impetus. In fact, with the national economy in a recession, it may even take longer to accurately evaluate the economic impact of the site on the community.

The majority of my interviewees were not policymakers, but other members of the community. Most of these interviewees considered that the site would be more

important as a source of cultural capital rather than of economic profit. My interviewees expressed a wide range of views about the entire project, comprising the convention center, hotel, museum and interpretive center. Some interviewees believed that the entire project would indeed provide the economic catalyst that the city was seeking, and will provide a site of visitability (Dicks 2003) in the form of a tourist destination that outsiders can patronize. Other interviewees took the opposite view, considering that the project could never stimulate the economy and will not be a sustaining force in the city. Since the project has not yet reached completion, it is too early to evaluate whose opinions are correct.

However, my interviews did indicate that the project has unarguably created cultural capital and that this has had a tangible effect on the various categories of stakeholders. Many interviewees suggested that the creation of the museum and interpretive center offers an opportunity to create a site at which social injustice including inequality and racism can be discussed within the context of a space that is owned and mediated through public discourse. Based on my interviews, it is also clear that the making of this space has led to some conflicts about who has the right to create and own a historical narrative. Consequently, the site is already serving as a space for mediation within the community, by using myth and ritual from the past to discuss conflicts in the present.

Conflicts of this type, about who controls heritage sites and narratives, are a direct response to social issues of the present day being articulated through an interpretation of history. More specifically, such conflicts throw light on how “history” frequently goes unquestioned when it is based on objective facts. This can especially be seen through the

interviews with members of the African-American community in Lancaster. Rather than discussing the forms of racism that currently exist in Lancaster, it becomes easier and in many ways more tangible to discuss these same issues of inequality through heritage, and in particular the Stevens and Smith Historic Site and Interpretive Center.

As discussed above, there is a mediation of history into heritage. The conflicts over the legacy of Stevens and Smith indicate that disempowered groups can seek to claim control over the interpretation of history and heritage, through the creation and perpetuation of myths and rituals. Such initiatives are more likely to succeed when these practices are supported by the results of archaeological inquiry, which is viewed as constituting objective evidence, thereby making the many intangible aspects of history — in this case, the notion of inequality — come alive with the tangible artifacts of the past that can be accessed with archaeology.

As noted above, another concrete example of this can be seen in the President's House archaeological site in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This site provided a truly community-based archaeological endeavor intended to explore the inequalities of slavery in colonial America. The archaeological excavation took place as a result of support from local African American grass roots activists, the Mayor of Philadelphia, a NPS policy of civic engagement, and legislation introduced by local members of Congress. Archaeologists at the President's House site were thus able to work together to investigate the place where the first Presidential residence and the institution of slavery had existed at the same time; it is also the present-day location for exhibiting the Liberty Bell — which is a tangible symbol of freedom and equality (Levin et al. 2007). The only real tangible evidence of George Washington's slaveholding past was the building

foundations of the first “White House” or presidential residence, which had been undisturbed for over two centuries. Opening and closing ceremonies marked the beginning and ending of the excavations, which were attended by hundreds of local Philadelphians, including students from the area. Speeches were made by the Mayor, the NPS archaeologist supervising the project, and the project’s Public-Outreach Cultural Heritage Specialist, whose job is to bridge aspects of the project with the community and vice versa.

Even though most local African Americans do not visit the NPS park and feel that it does not represent their history, they came to the ceremonies and literally dug into its heritage (Levin et al. 2007). At the groundbreaking ceremony, there were numerous participants who gathered bricks and dirt as mementos from this site, and who took pictures of themselves in front of the spot where the bricks and earth were removed. One person set a baby in the exposed dirt while two adults jointly held a brick for a picture, and one of the adults stated that he “would show this boy when he is a grown man that he was here on the day the government did this” (Levin et al. 2007). The archaeological inquiry of the President’s House turned history into heritage, and allowed a disempowered group of African Americans to exert some measure of power over the interpretation of their history.

For reasons outlined in Chapter Four, the Stevens and Smith site did not benefit from a similar level of direct participation from the local community in Lancaster. At the President’s House site in Philadelphia, the public’s desire for dialogue with their history and heritage was a motivating force behind the initial archaeological inquiry. By contrast, at the Stevens and Smith site, it was the archaeological inquiry and its findings

that prompted the local community's desire to engage with the past and has led to debates about the interpretation of this past in the present. The findings of the archaeological inquiry into the Stevens and Smith site do seem to have caught the imagination of the public in Lancaster. The opening of the new museum will demonstrate whether the narrative can appeal to a broader audience. It is not possible to gauge the extent to which the archaeological excavations may have influenced the revival of Juneteenth, the commemorations of Lydia Hamilton Smith, the writing of the new play about Stevens and Smith, and other cultural initiatives. However, it seems unarguable that the creation of this place did create a sense of "here-ness" which enabled the community to remember Stevens and Smith, and to start reclaiming a heritage that had been lost for some time.

However, it is certainly possible to see that the advocacy efforts of historical preservation did lead to the conversion of the site into a heritage tourist destination. These efforts were led by the elite, and the primary focus of their interest was in Stevens who is relatively famous and who was himself a member of the elite. Nevertheless, the site also provided a space for other segments of society to learn about Smith, who is far less well known. The efforts to save her houses and to tell her story show how preservation is slowly making its way into more popular, non-elite culture, though admittedly the museum will likely focus considerably more attention on Stevens' life and achievements.

Among the advocates of preservation that I interviewed, a few appeared to consider their role within the preservation movement as being something like a spiritual calling, based on a sense of duty to the architecture and the past. Yet despite all these faithful preservation efforts, the history of the excavations of the Stevens and Smith site

also showed the disjuncture between policy and action. Without the work of the preservationists, including both the purists and the pragmatists, it is very likely that the buildings would have been lost forever, including any knowledge of what lay beneath the ground.

Further time will be required in order to assess the effects of the historic site and interpretive center on the economy of the community. But already it seems clear that the identity of the community will ultimately be affected through the enactment of these various rituals and commemorations. In this sense, the narrowly scientific work of the archaeologists has helped to create a greater awareness of history among the broader community in Lancaster. Future research on this theme may focus more directly on whether there are lasting effects from this changed perception on the self-image of the community, and on its various ethnic and social groupings.

Archaeologists do play an active role in capitalism, and the making of tourist sites. Consequently, it is precisely in this context that archaeologists may make efforts to create a democratic mode of engagement. Archaeology can expose the idea of a site, and archaeological results can mediate social action between archaeologists and host communities. As archaeologists, we are responsible for authenticating historical processes by interpreting the archaeological record. However, such authentication cannot be completely objective: our choice of sites, our decisions about what artifacts to focus on, and our understanding of those artifacts are all linked to our own experiences and desires.

In order to serve the community in which we work, we must be conscious of community interests, allow those to have some influence the research endeavor, and

make an effort to collect, record, and understand those interests (Matthews 2006). As Jed Levin et al. noted in their work on the President's House site in Philadelphia and its role in the community as a space for social justice,

when it comes down to it, just as you can't "give" people their past, you can't *give them* civic engagement. In a democracy, it is the responsibility of the Civitas to *demand* such things. The public should not expect to be invited in and it shouldn't be expected that the public needs to be invited in. The public *should* be engaged — it should engage itself — and we in positions of power need to be honest in our dealing with them. We must articulate our own positions and interests and then assimilate — *with the full understanding and comprehension that in true civic engagement things can and will go in directions not of our choice*. True civic engagement means relinquishing control (Levin et al. 2007).

Civic movements, museums and heritage sites can create spaces in which the public can engage with its own past, and in which different groups can engage with each other in the present as well. Such environments can help to encourage new civic dialogues, opening the past up to critique, and bringing a new focus on individual and group identities. It is also possible that such institutions can help create a space in which new memories of the past can be formed, and thus can also help to develop new identities in the present.

Appendix A

Summary of Archaeological Investigations and Findings 2002-2003

Locus 1

Locus 1 was the small courtyard that lay between Stevens' house and law offices and the Kleiss Tavern, at the southwest corner of the project area. This section of the property was located several feet below grade. It was made accessible by concrete steps located in the southeast corner of the courtyard, and was maintained by a cinder-block retaining wall. A concrete-slab pavement, which had covered the courtyard, was removed prior to excavations. The removal of the concrete-slab exposed a layer of fill that was primarily composed of coal ash and architectural debris. While the Locus was comprised of a large amount of fill, it also held 14 features, including the cistern complex that will be discussed below (Figure 1).

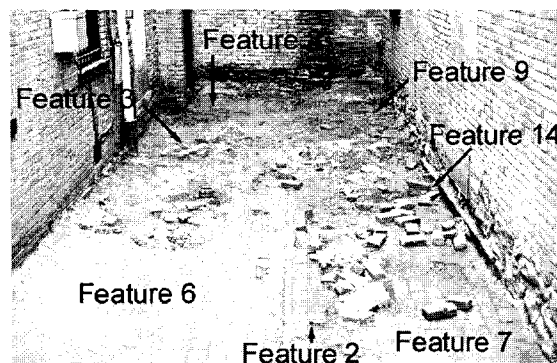


Figure 1: Location of features in Locus 1 prior to the removal of brick pavement. North is to the right of the image. Photograph courtesy of James A. Delle, Mary Ann Levine and *Northeast Historical Archaeology*.

Fill

Fill Level 1 laid beneath the concrete slab dates has a Terminus Post Quem (TPQ) of 1864, based on the mean ceramic date from the ceramic assemblage recovered. Of this assemblage, seven earthenware vessels were recovered including a creamware fragment (ca. 1762-1820), a blue edge-decorated pearlware fragment (ca. 1780-1830), 17 fragments of blue transfer-printed whiteware with a “John Alden” motif (ca. 1900), fragments of ironstone teacup (ca. 1840-2002), an undecorated whiteware sherd (ca. 1820-1900), a hand-painted polychrome whiteware plate fragment (ca. 1825-1900), and a green transfer-printed whiteware plate fragment (ca. 1830-1900) (Delle and Levine 2004:140-141).

In addition to ceramics, numerous glass objects were recovered. The most significant of these objects appears to be an intact Hoyt’s 10¢ Cologne bottle. F. Hoyt & Company perfumers was located in Philadelphia, PA. During the middle to late nineteenth century, “Hoyt’s Dime Cologne” was sufficiently popular to inspire imitations. The Hoyt Cologne bottle recovered from Locus 1 appears to be such an imitation (Delle and Levine 2004:141). In addition to the cologne bottle, fragments of bottles with crown lips were uncovered. Crown lips are still in use today, but were patented in 1892 (Delle and Levine 2004:141). Another noteworthy artifact was a cobalt blue poison jar that dated to 1920-1930. Finally, the fill also contained fragments of gramophone records, which suggest that some of Fill Level 1 was created post-1890 (Delle and Levine 2004:141).

Within Fill Level 1 was a construction trench feature, which appears to have been created to install or maintain water lines into Stevens’ house and law office. The trench

penetrated Fill, Level 1, but was laid above a brick pavement (Feature 7). Two complete milk bottles were recovered from this trench. They were embossed with the names of local dairies, Ideal Milk Products Company and Lancaster Sanitary Milk Company. In the city directories, these dairies were first listed in 1907 and 1911, respectively. While the Lancaster Sanitary Milk Company could be seen in the city directories until 1928, the Ideal Milk Creamery was not listed in the directories after 1912. It may be inferred that if the bottles were deposited immediately after consumption of the contents, then the trench was probably dug and filled in 1911 or 1912. However, it is also possible that the Lancaster Sanitary Milk Company reused bottles of their former competitor after they ceased operations in 1911 or 1912 (Delle and Levine 2004:141-142).

Fill Level 2 was a sterile dark brown hard-packed soil. Fill Level 3 had a similar composition to Level 1, except that it included a high concentration of loose bricks (Delle and Levine 2004: 142). Artifacts recovered in this level include fragments of embossed bottles with the name Lancaster Sanitary Milk Company (1911-1929), two crown-lip bottle caps (post 1982), and two fragments of electric light bulbs (Delle and Levine 2004:142).

Analysis of the several levels of Fill would therefore indicate an early twentieth century filling episode. There appears to be no significant difference in composition or in date range between the levels of Fill, and these characteristics suggest that the area was probably filled during a relatively short period of time. In addition, since the construction trench penetrates Fill Level 1, it seems that the concrete slab lying above the Fill layers was probably not the initial pavement placed after the Fill in 1911-1920, and that the site was probably paved with concrete during the 1910s-1920s (Delle and Levine 2004:142).

The Brick Pavement

After the removal of the concrete slabs and levels of Fill, the excavation revealed a brick pavement that lined the courtyard (Features 6 and 7). Feature 6 was a brick pavement in the southern section of the courtyard, and Feature 7 designated the brick pavement in the north of the courtyard. These two features are bisected by a clay-lined channel between the two sections of brick pavement (Feature 2) that served as a conduit that serviced the two cisterns in the courtyard (Features 10 and 11). The bricks were designated Level 1 based on their features. After photographs and drawings were completed, the bricks of Feature 6 were subsequently removed, to expose a level of orange-brown sand, designated as Level 2. Several isolated pockets of soil were removed separately (Feature 6 Level 3, and Feature 6 Level 5). A dark brown mixed Fill level (designated as Feature 6 Level 4) comprised the majority of the soil beneath the brick pavement. Level 4 overlaid two distinct strata, one lying above the vaulted cistern (Feature 10) and another of heavy green-gray clay that was used to cover the cistern except at the top. This stratum was designated Feature 6 Level 6, and was only excavated between the southern wall of the cistern and the northern wall of the eastern wing of the Kleiss Saloon (Delle and Levine 2004: 143) (Figure 2).

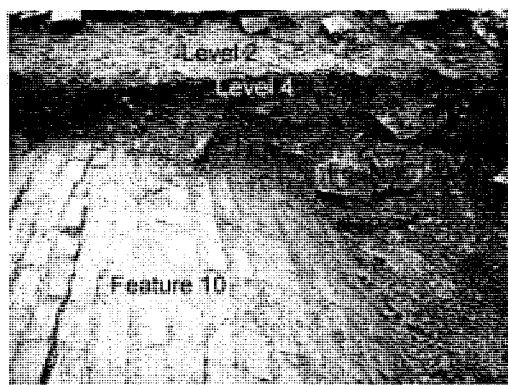


Figure 2: Primary Stratigraphy underlying Feature 6. Photograph courtesy of James A. Delle, Mary Ann Levine and *Northeast Historical Archaeology*.

Artifacts from beneath the brick pavement provided indications of possible construction dates for the cistern and the pavement for the courtyard. Feature 6 Level 1 yielded only five ceramic fragments

which all dated to the late 18th to early nineteenth century. Feature 6 Level 2 seems to have been deposited during the laying of the brick pavement, and can be used to estimate the date when the courtyard was built. Datable ceramics from Feature 6 Level 2 included undecorated creamware, transfer-printed pearlware, and one edge-decorated pearlware, as well as a sherd of yellow-ware, which was discounted as being an outlier or a possible intrusion. Excluding the yellow-ware sherd, the mean date of these ceramic fragments was 1805 (Delle and Levine 2004:143).

Feature 6 Level 4 was a mixed brown and gray fill, comprised of many more ceramic fragments including creamware, pearlware, whiteware and mochaware, which included a fragment that featured a green fish-scale motif only produced from 1800-1820, bringing the mean ceramic date of this level to 1804 (Delle and Levine 2004:143).

Feature 6 Level 5 was a mixed sandy fill lens. Feature 6 Level 6 lay immediately below Level 4, and contained fewer datable objects than Level 4. The artifacts recovered from Level 6 included undecorated creamware and pearlware comprised of handpainted polychrome, green edge decorated, and blue transfer print. The mean ceramic date for Level 6 was 1800 (Delle and Levine 2004:143). From this analysis, it was determined that the construction of the brick courtyard and the vaulted cistern (Feature 10) was most likely undertaken early in the nineteenth century, probably between 1800 and the 1810's (Delle and Levine 2004: 143).

Locus 2

Information and analysis on the excavations that took place in Locus 2 come directly from the 2002 site report on file with the Trust written by James A. Delle, as the

final analysis of these excavations is still pending. Locus 2 was the courtyard behind Lydia Hamilton Smith's house located at the east end of the lot. A concrete slab pavement capped the courtyard but no evidence emerged that indicated that like Locus 1, under the concrete were bricks that paved a courtyard. Test excavation units showed that the area was heavily disturbed during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, due to the installation of a series of water pipes. The general soil of the locus was an orange-brown mixed fill including ironstone vessels that are believed to post-date 1884, the year of Smith's death. The recovery of modern sewer lines below this fill indicates a late date for disturbance.

There were two brick features recovered from Locus 2, these being Feature 1 which was believed at first to be a well, and Feature 2 which was a larger brick feature believed to be a privy. Feature 1 produced only late nineteenth century artifacts, and an iron gas line was exposed with a lead pipe, valve and a lighting fixture still attached. This feature appears to be a conduit through which the gas line could be accessed, and it appears likely that this conduit was filled in when electricity was brought to the house (Delle 2002).

Feature 2 produced a small water line that ran parallel to the sewer line that would have been used in a flush toilet. The privy turned into a flush toilet, mostly likely installed prior to the bathrooms in 21 and 23 East Vine Street (Delle 2002).

Locus 3

To date there are no preliminary data or site reports on the particular features excavated in Locus 3, and the only available information comes from student reports on

artifact type analysis, such as redware, ironstone, etc. I will therefore briefly discuss the features found by referencing information produced from student papers from Mary Ann Levine's archaeology classes taught at Franklin & Marshall College.

Locus 3 is located to the north of the extension that was placed on Stevens home and continued west. During the twentieth century this entire area was covered and used as a garage for car repair. Features found in this section included a lime kiln and a blacksmith's forge, as well as a very large quantity of ceramics. Most of these ceramics were redware, which can be attributed to Henry Gast Sr., a local Lancaster potter who ran Eagle Porcelain Works with his son. Their pottery works was located directly north of Stevens' property, in what was subsequently known as Oblender's Furniture Store. This store began operations in 1850, but was no longer in existence by 1868 (Hagadorn 2007:26). There are no available data at present on the materials recovered from the lime kiln and the blacksmith forge found in Locus 3, so my discussion will focus on the ceramic assemblages attributed to Henry Gast's pottery works.

According to Hagadorn's report, there were 2,987 fragments of redware and 100 pieces of stoneware recovered from Locus 3. These fragments were from vessels that were primarily utilitarian wares used for storage, preparation, and serving of food. However, the ceramic fragments also included vessels that had been used for hygiene, decoration, recreation and kiln furniture (2007:46). The majority of the pottery appears to be wheel-thrown, though there are also molded vessels such as a drape-molded plate and a molded plaque. Glazes varied, but consisted mostly of clear, brown, black or unglazed. Some vessels were slip decorated in Rockingham or sgraffito (scratched) designs (Hagadorn 2007:46). Of the 14 pieces of kiln furniture found, two were actually

stoneware, indicating that Gast was producing both stoneware and redware at this pottery works.

The stoneware fragments found are from dishes, bowls, a crock, a cup and kiln furniture (Hagadorn 2007:49). These fragments were either salt glazed or had a Rockingham glaze, where a brown glaze is dripped over the vessel to create a mottled appearance (Hagadorn 2007:49). A few sherds did not fit typical type descriptions. One sherd was red-bodied, but fired at a high temperature and was not porous, and was also salt-glazed with cobalt blue, a process usually reserved for stoneware. In addition, eight sherds were red-bodied but fired to an almost black before being glazed black. While the hardness of the ceramic classifies this as stoneware, it may have been from redware clay (Hagadorn 2007:51).

Based on these anomalous artifacts, it seems that Gast was experimenting at this location with different manufacturing techniques transitioning from redware to stoneware. The kiln furniture for both redware and stoneware makes this apparent, as well as the wasters that were also found on site. In addition, a redware plaque that would be purely used for decoration also shows experimentation going on at the kiln. Redware is primarily used for utilitarian wares, and these fragments show Gast's willingness to try new techniques to serve his clients and the growing market (Hagadorn 2007:52).

Appendix B

Interview Schedule-SAMPLE

1. Where are you from? If not Lancaster, what brought you to Lancaster and what keeps you here?
2. Can you tell me how [COMPANY OR ORGANIZATION] first became involved with the proposed hotel and convention center project?
3. Do you feel archaeology has a role in the heritage tourism initiatives in Lancaster? If so, explain
4. What role do you feel a museum dedicated to Stevens and Smith has in the community?
5. Do you feel the history of contention with members of the community over the hotel and convention center has affected the plans for the proposed museum?
6. What role do you see historic preservation in future downtown revitalization projects?
 - a. What are your feelings about the use of historic preservation as a tool for urban revitalization and economic redevelopment?
7. What role do you see heritage tourism play in future downtown revitalization projects?
8. What themes or subjects would you like to see the proposed museum address?
9. What would you like to see on exhibit/display or highlighted at the proposed museum?
10. Do you feel the history of contention with members of the community over the hotel and convention center has affected the plans for the proposed museum?

11. If you could describe the Lancaster community in a few words-what would they be?

Appendix C
Statistics from Interviews

Total interviews: 22

Demographics:

Age:

Adult	22 (100%)
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Gender:

Male	12 (54%)
------	----------

Female	10 (45%)
--------	----------

Currently live in Lancaster County:

YES	16 (72%)
-----	----------

NO	6 (27%)
----	---------

Originally from Lancaster County:

YES	2 (5%)
-----	--------

NO	20 (95%)
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Occupations:

Archaeologist/Anthropologist	4 (18.%)
Historian	2 (9.1%)
Historic Preservation organization	2 (9.1%)
Museum related	2 (9.1%)
PHMC/ State employee	2 (9.1%)
Architect	1 (4.54%)
Art History	1 (4.54%)
Business Owner	1 (4.54%)
Philanthropist	1 (4.54%)
Physical Therapist	1 (4.54%)
Religious leader	1 (4.54%)
Retired	1 (4.54%)
Tourism	1 (4.54%)
Urban Planner	1 (4.54%)
No information	1 (4.54%)

Appendix D

Survey Form-SAMPLE

IRB Title: *Representing Community Identity in Heritage Tourism: A Case Study of the Thaddeus Stevens and Lydia Hamilton Smith Historic Site, Lancaster, PA.*

Would you mind answering a few quick questions on heritage tourism in Lancaster for my dissertation project that I am completing at Columbia University in the City of New York?

How many people in group?

- a. Men
- b. Women
- c. Children-age range

1. What is your place of origin?

2. Do any historical sites in Lancaster County such as a historic house, battlefield, or museum dedicated to a specific event, person or culture, hold any personal meaning to you? If so, which sites and why?

3. Do you think there is value in preserving history-whether it is through a historic house, archaeological site or museum?

4. Do you know who Thaddeus Stevens is? If so, who or what is he known for?

5. Do you know there is a proposed museum at the site of the proposed convention center and hotel in downtown Lancaster?

6. How do you think this museum would impact you and/or the city of Lancaster? Would you be willing to be mailed a short follow up questionnaire? If so-provide mailing/email address where you can be reached.

Appendix E

Survey Follow-up Questionnaire-SAMPLE

Thank you for completing my short survey on [DATE] outside Lancaster's Central Market. Your answers will be used to help me complete my dissertation research at Columbia University in the field of anthropology. I would greatly appreciate if you could complete the following few questions and mail them back in the enclosed self-addressed stamped envelope. Your participation has been very helpful and your answers to these short questions will only add more information to the research. Please use the back of this questionnaire or additional sheets if necessary, and please label each question you are answering on the additional sheets.

1. Do any historical sites in Lancaster County such as a historic house, battlefield, or museum dedicated to a specific event, person or culture, hold any personal meaning to you? If so, which sites and why?

2. Do you have an opinion of the proposed hotel and convention center that is planned for downtown Lancaster? For example, "I am in favor of ...or I oppose..."

2a. Do you think there is a relation between the proposed convention center and hotel and the planned Thaddeus Stevens and Lydia Hamilton Smith Historic Site Museum?

3. If the proposed hotel and convention center is not built, do you think the Thaddeus Stevens and Lydia Hamilton Smith Historic Site Museum should be constructed?

4. I'm interested in the ethnic backgrounds of the residents and visitors to the city of Lancaster, to see how they overlap with the heritage sites of Lancaster as well as determine who is visiting these sites. What ethnicity(ies) would you identify with?

5. For similar purposes to question 4, what occupation or industry do you work in?

Thank you again for participating.

Kelly Britt

Appendix F
Statistics from Surveys

Surveys 1 & 2 May 21, 2005, and August 2, 2005

Taken outside of Central Market, Lancaster, PA

People picked at random

Total number of surveys completed: 11 (some had more than one person/survey)

Demographics:

Age:

Adults:	15 (94%)
Children:	1 (under the age of 4) (6%)

Gender:

Adult females:	6 (38%)
Adult males:	9 (56%)
Child: (was not counted)	N/A

Group Size:

1 individual in group:	8 (each counted as one survey) (73%)
2 individuals in group:	1 (each counted as one survey) (9%)
3 individuals in group:	2 (each counted as one survey) (18%)

Race/Ethnicity:

(This was based on self-identification if it came up in conversation when discussing where they were originally from, or my own identification of them)

White:	13 (81%)
Black:	1 (6%)
Hispanic:	1 (6%)
Bi-racial:	1 (6%)

Race/Ethnicity:

(This was based on the follow-up surveys I received back. These categories were self-identified by the interviewee. Not all people interviewed returned a follow-up survey)

Follow-up surveys completed: 5 (45 % of total surveys)

Anarchist (as a heritage)	1 (20%)
Caucasian	2 (40%)
Jewish	1 (20%)
White	1 (20%)
Did not answer	1 (20%)

Currently residing in:

U.S.

Connecticut:	1 (6%)
Michigan:	1 (6%)
Pennsylvania:	14 (88%)
Lancaster County:	14 (100%)

Originally from:

U.S. Residents (94%):

Connecticut	1 (6%)
Louisiana	1 (New Orleans) (6%)
Michigan	2 (12%)
Pennsylvania	10 (59%)
Chester County	1 (10%)
Lancaster County	9 (one couple residents of NY and PA)
[some gave specific address town/city] (90%)	
Ephrata	1 (11%)
Lancaster	7 (78%)
Lititz	1 (11%)
New York	2 (one couple residents of NY & PA)(12%)
West Virginia	1 (6%)

Outside of U.S.

Haiti 1 (6%)

Questions: (6 total first question asked what is your place of origin-address above)

1. Do you feel a personal or family connection with any historic sites or local history presented in Lancaster?

YES 4 (25%)

NO 8 (50%)

SOME 2 (13%)

N/A 2 (13%)

2. Do you think there is a value in preserving history-whether it is through a historic house, archaeological site or museum?

YES 15 (child under 4 not counted) (100%)

NO 0

N/A 0

3. Do you know who Thaddeus Stevens was?

(Child under 4 not counted)

YES 8 (53%)

Answers varied in correctness:

Legislator/Civil Rights	2 (25%)
Signer of Declaration of Independence/Abolitionist	1 (13%)
Civil War	2 (25%)
Senator	1 (13%)
Just "YES"	2 (25%)
NO	5 (33%)
Heard of him	2 (13%)
Knew a school was named after him	2

4. Do you know there is a proposed museum at the site of the proposed convention center and hotel in downtown Lancaster? [location of site is across the street from Central Market where the survey took place] (Child under 4 not counted)

YES	5 (33%)
NO	8 (53%)

(of this 6 are currently Lancaster County residents)

Thought museum already existed	2 (13%)
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5. How do you think this museum will impact you and/or the City of Lancaster?

Community/church impact	2 (13%)
Impact for children	2 (13%)
Economically	7 (46%)

Tourism	4 (57%)
People interested in history	1 (7%)
Just "YES"	1 (7%)
Just "NO"	1 (7%)
Minimal impact/though important/probably more than James Buchanan	
1 (7%)	

When asked why they felt there would be minimal impact-response "not earth shattering. Too much competition during his time"

Follow-up surveys:

Questions:

1. Do any historical sites in Lancaster County such as a historic house, battlefield, or museum dedicated to a specific event, person to culture, hold any personal meaning to you? If so, which sites and why?

YES 2 (40%)

Examples:

Stevens & Smith/Christiana because of the examples of anti-racism

Amish Farm and House

Strasberg Railroad

Museum at Franklin and Marshall College

NO 3 (60%)

2. Do you have an opinion of the proposed hotel and convention center that is planned for downtown Lancaster? For example, “I am in favor of ... or I oppose...”

Favor of 3 (60%)

Opposed to 2 (40%)

2a. Do you think there is a relation between the proposed convention center and hotel and the planned Thaddeus Stevens and Lydia Hamilton Smith Historic Site Museum?

YES 2 (40%) (but one stated “there need not be one”)

NO 2 (40%)

N/A 1 (20%)

3. If the proposed hotel and convention center is not built, do you think the Thaddeus Stevens and Lydia Hamilton Smith historic Site museum should be constructed?

YES 4 (80%)

NO 1 (20%)

4. Question on heritage and race-listed above in demographics

5. For similar purposes to question 4, what occupation or industry do you work in?

Retail	1 (20%)
Freight RR	1 (20%)
Unemployed	1 (20%)
Printing	1 (20%)
Retired	1 (20%)

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