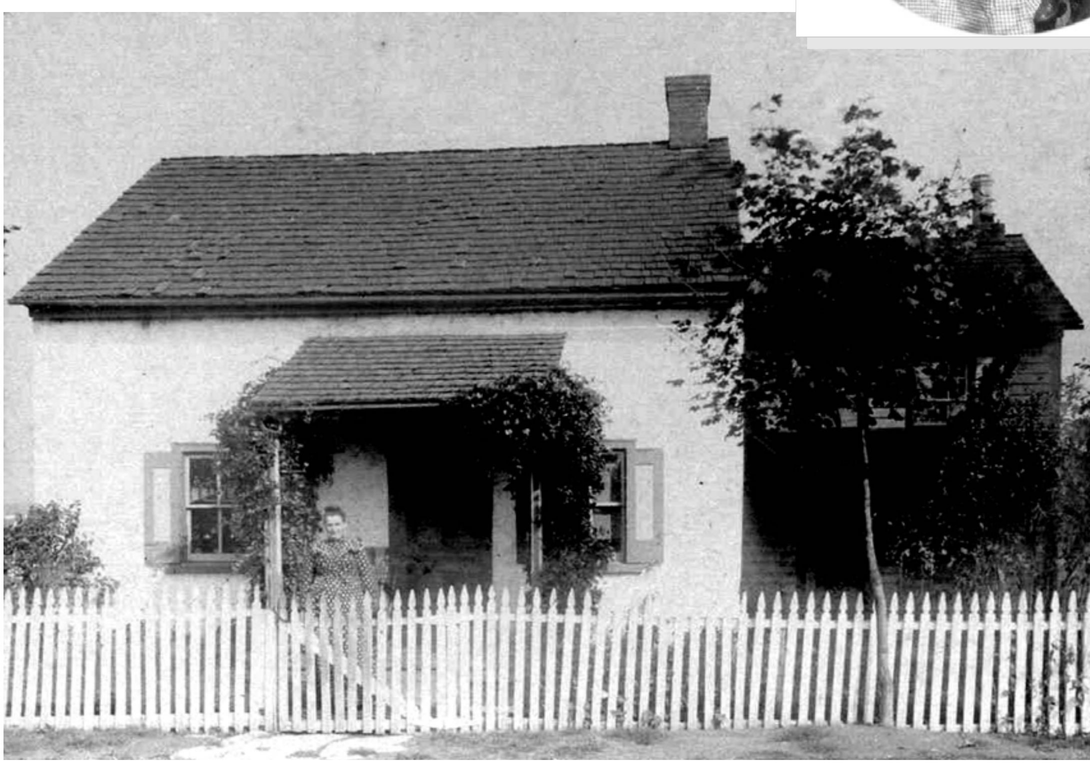
Digging Up Details of "Ordinary" Lives

An Archaeological Investigation of a 19th- and 20th-Century Residential Site in Leaman Place, Lancaster County, PA



Investigation Conducted by
Cultural Heritage Research Services, Inc. (CHRS)

Sponsored and Funded by
the Pennsylvania Department of Transportation
in consultation with
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2000

The archaeological investigation described in this publication was focused on the Good Site, which archaeologists uncovered along the north side of U.S. Route 30 ("The Lincoln Highway") in the village of Leaman Place, Paradise Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

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A Few Words About Archaeology

If you're like most Americans, you have a general sense of what archaeologists do, and why they do it. Results of a poll published in 2000 revealed that "Americans correctly view archaeologists' work as digging, excavating, finding, analyzing, researching, studying, documenting, and, more specifically, analyzing and researching the past to discover and learn what life and past civilizations were like."* Not that there aren't a few misconceptions floating around. You might be surprised to learn, for instance, that archaeologists do *not* study rocks and stones (that's the domain of geologists), nor are they experts on fossils and dinosaurs (that's paleontology's realm). And any archaeologist will tell you that the glamorous picture of archaeological adventure and romance painted by Hollywood bears little resemblance to the painstaking and quiet endeavors that fill their days—meticulously moving dirt, labeling scores of artifacts, entering data in computers, poring through tables of data.

Poll results also indicate that most Americans believe archaeology is worth the effort. There is a general perception that archaeology can help us improve the future by increasing our understanding of both the past and the present. Many people recognize that archaeological objects and sites can have aesthetic value, spiritual worth, and historical significance for cultures and individuals. For these reasons, the majority of Americans support legislation that protects archaeological resources wherever they may be.

Even with this awareness and appreciation, people are often surprised when they find an archaeological investigation underway "in their own backyard." Americans tend to regard archaeology as something that happens in the Mid-East, Europe, or Central and South America. In reality, it could (and *does*) happen almost anywhere (keep reading to find out why). Curiosity was certainly the order of the day for residents of Leaman Place—an unincorporated Pennsylvania village strung out along U.S. Route 30 (the "Lincoln Highway") in Paradise Township, Lancaster County—when they learned in 1986 that their community might be the subject of an archaeological investigation. Over the course of the ensuing months and years, they asked the same kinds of questions archaeologists entertain almost everywhere they dig: "Why are you digging here?" "How do you go about digging?" "What are you finding?" and "What do you do with what you find?"

This publication should address those questions for the benefit of curious Leaman Place residents and the wider world. The archaeological investigation that concluded in 1999 resulted in several reports brimming with raw data and expert analysis geared for an audience of professional archaeologists and preservation historians. Because non-professionals would probably find that reading a little slow-going, this publication was prepared for a general audience. In it you will find a chronological history of the Good Site, followed by an analysis of its principal building (in the section entitled "What the House Disclosed") and a summary of the artifactual findings (in "What the Ground Divulged"). Read on and find out what it means to "dig up details of 'ordinary' lives."

**Exploring Public Perceptions and Attitudes about Archaeology*, Harris Interactive Poll, February 2000.

- Philip Ruth
Director of Research
Cultural Heritage Research Services, Inc.

"Why Dig Here?"
(The Long Legal Story, In a Nutshell)

Leaman Place (the first name is pronounced "lemon") was not chosen as a subject for archaeological investigation because it purported to hold unusually high archaeological potential. There was nothing remarkable about this highway town, roughly 8.5 miles east of Lancaster City, to warrant particular archaeological attention. Archaeology was initially conducted here simply because Federal and State law mandated it. The stage had been set several decades earlier with the passing of a series of regulations designed to protect and manage America's cultural resources.

The principal piece of legislation, enacted in 1966 and known as the "National Historic Preservation Act," is the cornerstone of America's preservation policy. Amended and strengthened several times since 1966, this law established the National Register of Historic Places, the office and duties of state historic preservation officers (SHPOs), a program of grants-in-aid to enable SHPOs to carry out their work, the Certified Local Government program to identify communities that meet certain preservation standards, federal agency responsibilities concerning historic preservation activities, and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. Later in 1966, Congress signed into law a "Department of Transportation Act" restricting the initiation of transportation programs and projects involving land where historic sites of national, state, or local significance are located, unless there is "no prudent or feasible alternative." This legislation was followed in 1969 by passage of the "The National Environmental Policy Act," requiring federal agencies to prepare "impact statements" for projects that could affect the quality of the human environment, including natural and cultural resources. Yet another law with far-reaching implications—the "Archaeological and Historical Preservation Act"—was passed in 1974. This legislation extended the protections established by the Reservoir Salvage Act of 1960 to all federally funded construction projects where scientific, historical, or archaeological data might be imperiled. It also mandated that up to 1% of the total project costs could be spent on cultural resources assessment and preservation.

Listen to Cultural Resource Management (CRM) professionals talk business, and sooner or later you'll hear them use the term "Section 106." This is a reference to the section of the National Historic Preservation Act that requires Federal agencies to take into account the effects of their undertakings on historic properties, while giving the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation a reasonable opportunity to comment on potential effects. The implementation of Section 106 is often referred to as "the Section 106 process" or "Section 106 review." The Advisory Council has defined the procedure for meeting Section 106 requirements in a set of regulations it calls "Protection of Historic Properties."

Given Pennsylvania's rich cultural heritage, it should come as no surprise that the State Legislature has enacted additional laws aimed at protecting the Commonwealth's cultural resources, whether or not they are imperiled by federally funded undertakings. The lynchpin of this regulatory effort is something called "Act No. 1978-273, amended as Act No. 1988-72," which requires that State-funded undertakings be subjected to the same Section 106 review process as federally-funded projects. The State and its Department of Transportation have also published guidelines for the promotion of consistency and efficiency in the treatment of cultural resources across the Commonwealth. These directives include "Cultural Resource Management in Pennsylvania: Guidelines for Archaeological Survey and Mitigation" and Pennsylvania Department of Transportation's "Archaeological Procedures for Highway Project Developments."

What did all these laws and guidelines mean for Leaman Place residents in February 1986? They meant that when the Pennsylvania Department of Transportation (PENNDOT) began making plans to replace an aging bridge carrying U.S. Route 30 over Amtrak railroad tracks in the center of their village, a system of safeguards was in place to ensure that significant cultural resources in the bridge's vicinity—whether or not anyone was aware of any—would be thoroughly evaluated before the actual bridge replacement work could begin.

The contract for the bridge replacement project had been awarded by PENNDOT to the international engineering firm of Gannett Fleming, Inc., headquartered in Camp Hill, Pennsylvania. Gannett Fleming, in turn, subcontracted the cultural resources component of the project to Cultural Heritage Research Services, Inc. (CHRS), an archaeological and historic preservation consulting firm headquartered in North Wales, Pennsylvania, about 12 miles northwest of Philadelphia. With 15 years of experience in cultural resources evaluation, CHRS's owner and president, Dr. Kenneth J. Basalik, would serve as the Principal Investigator for the project.

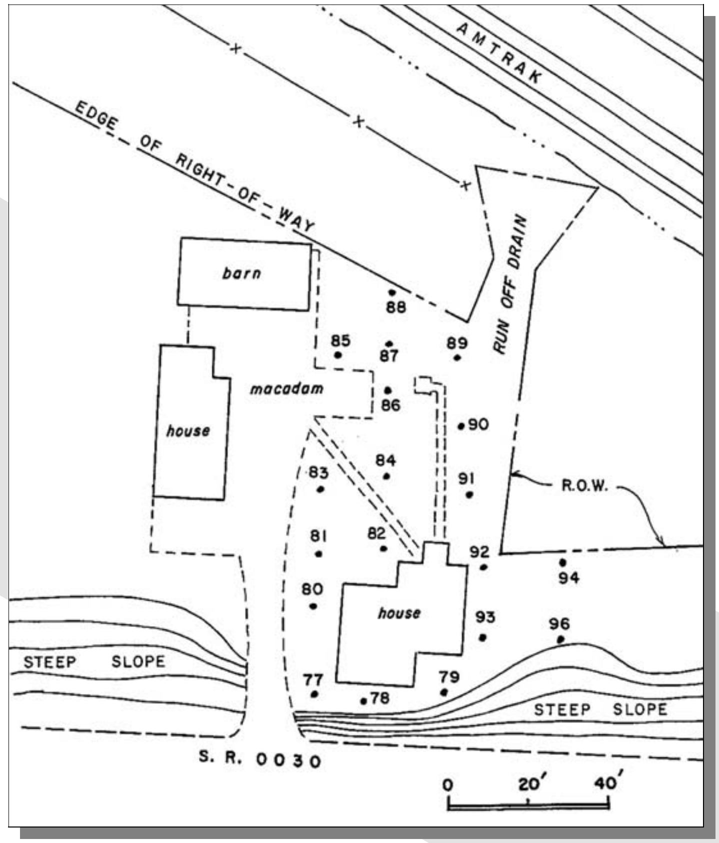
As it was originally conceived, the project did not appear to pose a threat to cultural resources. The preliminary design for the new bridge called for limited work around the bridge abutments, and then a simple replacement of the old span with a new and wider structure. Because the ground around the abutments had already been disturbed during construction of the existing bridge in 1923, it was unlikely that those areas contained either a prehistoric archaeological site (created before the arrival of Europeans in America) or a historic archaeological site (at least 50 years old, but not prehistoric). A document called "A Preliminary Archaeological Review Form" was drawn up in May 1986 to lay these considerations before Pennsylvania's SHPO (in which capacity the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission serves), and the PHMC's Chief Archaeologist responded a few weeks later with a letter indicating that no further archaeological investigation was warranted.

Over time, however, PENNDOT and Gannett Fleming found it necessary to expand the project. By the early 1990s they had developed a plan which included widening and elevating the western approach to the bridge, which would in turn block access to a number of driveways and entail construction of service roads to re-route the driveway traffic more safely onto busy Route 30 at a single location. All told, the area potentially affected by the project—the "Area of Potential Effects" or APE in technical parlance—extended approximately 2,100 feet along Route 30 from Oakhill Drive to Eshleman's Run, and several hundred feet down the sidestreets of London Vale Road, Bethany Road, Leaman Road, and Oakhill Road.

The expansion of the project's APE triggered another round of "Section 106" cultural resource evaluations. This time, CHRS's preservation specialists needed to evaluate approximately 50 properties in or adjacent to the new and enlarged APE, and its archaeologists had to assess the archaeological potential of thousands of square feet of earth, mostly within the limits of the proposed service roads. In accordance with the Section 106 process, the potential effect of the project on structures was addressed in a "Historic Resources Survey and Determination of Eligibility Report," which CHRS forwarded to Gannett Fleming in October 1992, and which subsequently made its way up the review chain to PENNDOT's District 8-0 office, to its Central Office, and ultimately to the PHMC. This report indicated that approximately 40 historic properties (more than 50 years of age) had been identified within view of the APE, and that 7 of those properties appeared to be eligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places.

As the historic preservationists were wrapping up their Historic Resources Survey, CHRS's archaeologists got to work digging exploratory "shovel test pits" (STPs), most of them placed in the front yards of the properties identified by the preservation specialists as "historic" and "eligible for listing." The 2-feet-wide STPs were excavated at intervals of 20 feet where the archaeological potential appeared to be high (in the vicinity of historic buildings, for instance), and at intervals of approximately 50 feet elsewhere. Soils were removed from these pits down to the "culturally sterile" subsoil, then screened through quarter-inch hardware cloth to separate out the artifacts. If an STP yielded at least several historic or prehistoric artifacts, they could constitute evidence of an archaeological site, and additional testing in the vicinity might be necessary to identify the age, scope, and significance of the site.

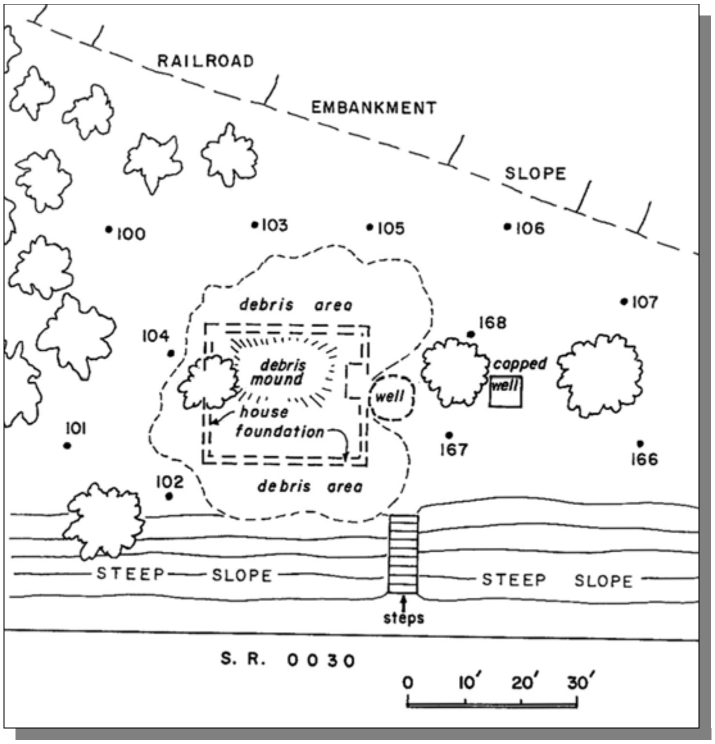
None of the STPs placed in the vicinity of eligible historic structures in Leaman Place yielded evidence of a site. CHRS's archaeologists did not come home empty-handed, however. In placing STPs along the north side of Route 30 immediately west of the bridge—where one of the new service roads was proposed to be located—they turned up a profusion of artifacts on a couple of properties that appeared to be historic, but not eligible for listing. One of the properties contained a 2½-story stucco-sided house, kept company by a one-story bungalow, a barn, and several large areas covered with debris. Eighteen STPs on this property yielded 592 artifacts (ceramics, bottle glass, nails, bone, etc.) that appeared to date from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth cen-



tury. In completing the requisite "Pennsylvania Archaeological Site Survey" form for this site—to be filed at the PHMC—CHRS archaeologists gave it the name "Good Site," because David W. Good was the property owner.

The abandoned and overgrown triangle of land to the east, lying in the V formed by Route 30 and the railroad tracks, was even more forthcoming. In placing 11 STPs beside and to the rear of a vine-and-weed infested stone foundation and adjacent capped well, archaeologists recovered 629 historic artifacts that were in many ways similar to the artifacts unearthed on the Good Site, though they appeared to date more exclusively to the late nineteenth century. Whatever their specific age, these materials unearthed at what archaeologists called the "Foundation Site" constituted more than enough evidence of significant human activity in the vicinity. In concluding their *Phase I*

Site plans from the Phase I Archaeological Survey *report showed the location of 29 exploratory "shovel test pits" (STPs) on the Good Site (LEFT) and the abutting Foundation Site (BELOW).*



Archaeological Survey report for the Leaman Place project—which was submitted for review in December 1992—CHRS's archaeologists recommended that additional research and excavation be conducted on the Good Site and the Foundation Site "in order to address the potential for both sites to provide significant data concerning local and regional history." It was particularly important that Phase II Archaeological Surveys be performed because both sites were projected to be totally or partially demolished by the widening of Route 30 and the construction of a service road. The Commonwealth was already in the process of acquiring the Good Site property in preparation for the razing of its structures.

In its response to the Phase I report, the PHMC agreed that a Phase II investigation was warranted on both sites. This work finally got underway in June of 1997, as CHRS archaeologists began excavating six 5-foot-square "test units" in areas on both properties where the STPs had indicated high densities of artifacts. Six weeks later their work was done. In the *Phase II Archaeological Survey* report they submitted the following September, they indicated that "the archaeological deposits surrounding the [foundation on the Foundation Site] include items from the late nineteenth/early twentieth century to the present. The primary artifact type present is architectural debris. Analysis of the archaeological deposits suggests that much of the non-archaeological material may have been dumped on the property after the abandonment of the building. Given [these facts] . . . it seems unlikely that [additional archaeological investigation at] the Foundation Site will add to our understanding of local or regional history."

The Good Site, on the other hand, retained much of its physical integrity, so the interesting questions it raised were potentially answerable. Almost half of the turn-of-the-century artifacts recovered from test units excavated on this property were associated with kitchen work (ceramics, bottle glass, tumbler glass, etc.). There were also many architectural items (nails, window glass, etc.), but not in quantities that suggested wholesale dumping. Because its buildings were still standing, and the property in general had not been significantly disturbed by modern intrusions, the Good Site appeared capable of shedding light on the nature of life in a rural Lancaster County village during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For this reason it was eligible for listing as an archaeological site on the National Register of Historic Places. The writers of the *Phase II Archaeological Survey* report pointed out that "few, if any, sites of this type have been examined either through documentary research or through archaeological excavations." Their recommendation: a Phase III investigation (sometimes referred to as "data recovery") should be conducted on the Good Site in order to glean from it as much information as possible before its buildings were razed and its soils permanently disturbed by construction activities. The PHMC eventually concurred with this recommendation, and Phase III excavations commenced on the Good Site in April 1998.

In conducting their increasingly focused phases of archaeological investigation, the archaeologists had the benefit of ongoing documentary research performed by a CHRS historian. Contrary to popular belief, archaeology does not only involve digging for *physical* artifacts. A comprehensive archaeological investigation also includes an exhaustive survey of documentary and oral resources which can place an archaeological site in historical context. A complete archaeological team always includes a historian trained to assemble and interpret data from a full spectrum of sources. With data and context provided by a professional researcher, archaeologists are better able to organize their "digs" and assess the significance of uncovered artifacts. Any report generated as the result of a Phase I, Phase II, or Phase III survey is expected to include a fully documented "study area history" compiled by the project historian.

The CHRS historian assigned in 1998 to support the work of the company's archaeologists, and ultimately to produce a study area history for the Phase II and Phase III Archaeological Surveys of the Good Site, was Phil Ruth. Over the course of the previous 12 years, Mr. Ruth had researched and written more than a hundred study area histories, so he knew where to begin digging for additional historical data on the Leaman Place site. If he had made a checklist of sources he intended to investigate, it might have looked something like this:

- ❑ regional history publications
- ❑ county history publications
- ❑ municipal history publications
- ❑ deed records
- ❑ tax records
- ❑ Recorder of Wills records
- ❑ Orphans' Court records
- ❑ population census records
- ❑ agricultural census records
- ❑ genealogical records
- ❑ church records
- ❑ atlas maps
- ❑ wall maps
- ❑ topographical maps
- ❑ fire insurance maps
- ❑ railroad valuation maps
- ❑ road docket drafts
- ❑ panoramic (birds-eye-view) maps
- ❑ aerial photographs
- ❑ family photo albums
- ❑ postcard collections
- ❑ road dockets
- ❑ bridge records
- ❑ Department of Highways photographs (for both roadways and bridges)
- ❑ lithographs or other historic illustrations
- ❑ Department of Transportation engineering
- ❑ environmental reports
- ❑ county or municipal architectural surveys
- ❑ diaries
- ❑ journals
- ❑ business directories
- ❑ newspapers and other periodicals (obituaries, sales notices, news items)
- ❑ industrial catalogues
- ❑ National Register of Historic Places files
- ❑ Pennsylvania Archaeological Site Survey files
- ❑ local informants (oral history)

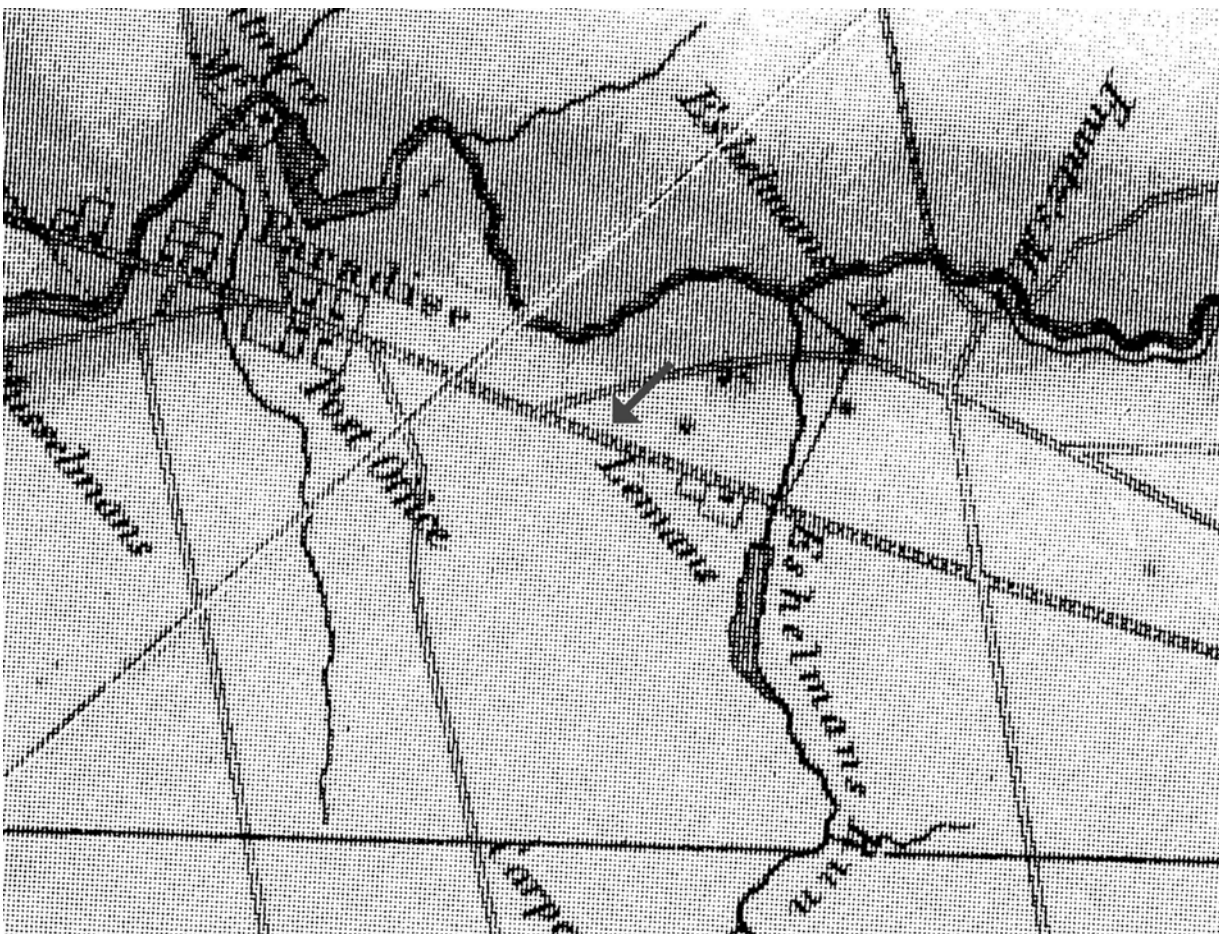
Over the course of several months, Mr. Ruth visited libraries, historical societies, archives, repositories, and the homes and businesses of local residents. He photocopied documents, plotted out metes and bounds as described in deeds, scaled historic maps to create a "visual timeline" of Leaman Place, conducted taped interviews, and made photographic copies of historic photographs. When he entered the data from these sources into his computer in chronological order, the entries formed an extensive overview of the Good Site's development from its pre-residential days up to the present. Mr. Ruth eventually turned this chronology into a narrative history for inclusion in the Phase II and Phase III reports. In the next section you'll find the bulk of that history, minus the many bibliographic citations that were part of the technical reports.

The Pennsylvania Department of Transportation's proposal to replace this bridge, built in 1923 to carry U.S. Route 30 ("The Lincoln Highway") over railroad tracks in Leaman Place, set in motion the "Section 106" cultural resources review process that resulted in the identification and archaeological investigation of the Good Site.

History of the Good Site

The first Europeans to settle along the Pequea Creek in the vicinity of the Good Site were members of a French Huguenot family named Fierre. Having fled religious and economic persecution in France and sought refuge first in the German Palatinate and then in England, the Fierres came to the New World in 1709. After two years of life in New York's Hudson River Valley, the widowed *materfamilias*—Madam Mary Fierre—purchased 2,300 acres of land in the Pequea Valley from German Mennonite land agent Martin Kendig. The patent was issued in the names of her adult son Daniel Fierre and her foster son Isaac LeFevre (who was also married with children). In September 1712, the extended Fierre-LeFevre family arrived to take up residency in the Pequea watershed, approximately 2,000 feet northwest of the Good Site.

Some five years later, the Fierres and LeFevres (whose surnames were eventually Anglicized to "Ferree" and "Lefever") were



Historic maps can be valuable tools for the archaeological historian. This map of northern Paradise Township, published in 1824, indicated to researchers that no houses or other significant structures were standing on the Good Site (marked by an arrow) as of that year. The Philadelphia & Columbia Railroad would not be built for another eight years, so the nearest notable feature was Henry Leaman's farmhouse (labeled "Lemans") on the west side of Eshelman's Run, which local historians indicated had earlier served as a tavern under "The Sign of the Practical Farmer."

joined in the Pequea Valley by the first representatives of what grew into a wide wave of Scots-Irish immigration. Because most of the newcomers were Presbyterian, the Presbytery of New Castle, Delaware sent a minister out in 1720 to conduct worship services among them. A "Pequea Presbyterian Church" was organized in 1724 near the headwaters of the Pequea, at the eastern edge of present-day Lancaster County. Within several years, members of this congregation who lived farther downstream formed a satellite congregation known as "The Leacock Presbyterian Church."

There were also Quakers among this area's earliest settlers. The first European to build a homestead within what later became Leacock Township was an Irish Quaker by the name of Hattil Varnam (sometimes spelled "Hatwell Vernon" or "Hatwell Varner"). He was joined around 1728 by Quaker members of a Brinton family who had moved out of Chester County. As early as 1728, Quakers established a "Lampeter Meeting" in the vicinity of present-day Bird-in-Hand. In 1732 they renamed their congregation "The Leacock Preparative Meeting."

German Anabaptists—including Mennonites and members of the Amish sect—arrived a little later on the scene. Throughout the second half of the eighteenth century, their hunger for superior farmland brought them in increasing numbers eastward from the more-congested Conestoga region. In general, these Eshlemans, Espenshades, Groffs, Witmers, and Zimmermans (to name but a few families still prominent in the vicinity of Leaman Place) had little trouble convincing less agriculturally-minded Scots-Irish farmers along the Pequea to take up other lines of work, or to relocate to the far side of the Susquehanna River or neighboring states.

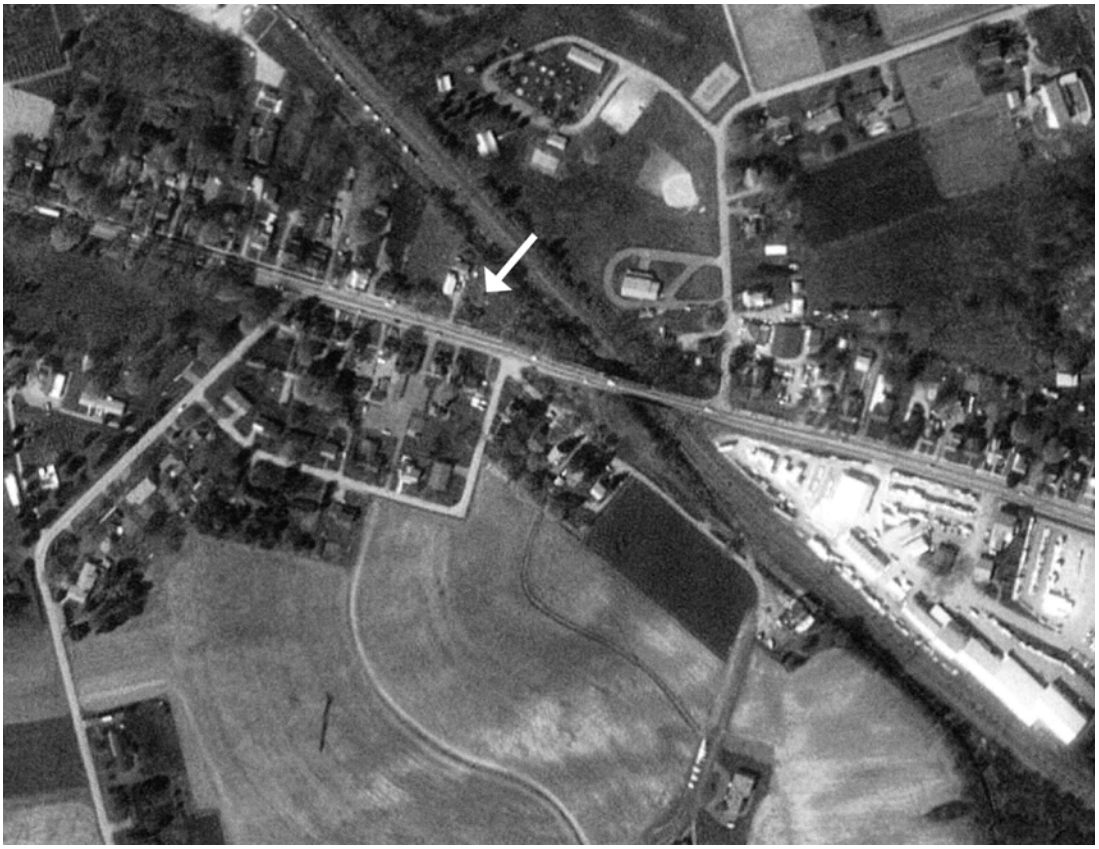
Prior to 1729, the Ferrees, Lefevers, and their neighbors on Pennsylvania's western frontier were citizens of no particular township, and their legal business had to be transacted 30 miles to the east, at Chester County's courthouse. That changed in 1729 when Lancaster County was formed out of Chester County's western half, and the new county was divided into 17 townships. One of the townships, styled "Leacock," embraced all of the land which has since been subdivided to form the townships of Leacock, Upper Leacock, Strasburg, and Paradise.

With the establishment of Lancaster's county seat only 10 miles to the west, and a municipal government now even closer at hand, residents of Leacock Township could attend to legal matters much more quickly. Even so, the large size of the Township and the rapid influx of settlers made civil jurisdiction increasingly complicated as time went on. Eventually, in 1759, the lower half of the original Leacock Township was divided off and incorporated as "Strasburg Township." As it was then configured, Strasburg embraced not only its present acreage, but modern-day Paradise Township's land as well.

The first public roadway to follow the course of modern U.S. Route 30 past the Good Site was laid out in 1748. At that year's May meeting of the Lancaster County Court of Quarter Sessions, the justices received a report from a jury appointed to review a road laid out from "the Philadelphia road" (present-day Route 340) in the vicinity of Bird-in-Hand, by "Samuel Lefever's new mill" (near present-day Paradise), to "the Conestoga road" (Route 741) near Gap. Route 30, where it passes today between the villages of Paradise and Williamstown, is laid upon the bed of this original road. The draft accompanying the jury's 1748 report showed the new road coursing approximately 2½ miles southeastward out of Bird-in-Hand to land owned by Isaac Ferree and Jacob Ferree along the banks of the Pequea Creek. This was just a few hundred yards northwest of the Good Site.

The road from Bird-in-Hand to Gap served as a primary human conduit for almost

This is how the central portion of Leaman Place appeared from an altitude of several thousand feet during the time the Good Site archaeological investigation was underway (the Good Site residence is marked with a white arrow). Contemporary aerial photographs can help archaeologists put sites and above-ground features in geographic context.



half-a-century before being superseded by a history-making new highway. Pennsylvania's General Assembly had passed an act "for opening and better amending and keeping in repair the pubic roads and highways" of the Commonwealth in 1772, but nothing came of this initiative until the State elected its first Governor, Thomas Mifflin, in 1790. Because the government did not have the money to fund such work, Mifflin promoted the idea of private companies receiving charters to build and maintain highways, which could be operated on the basis of traveler-paid tolls. A committee appointed to study this prospect reported back to the Governor that "a road may be obtained between Lancaster and Philadelphia in a straighter direction and over more level country than any of the roads now in use," and that such an "artificial road" should be "bedded with stone and gravel" in order to support the passage of "the great quantity of heavy produce" expected to be transported between the two great cities. Under the Governor's direction, a bill was drawn up for the incorporation of a company charged with constructing and operating a Lancaster-to-Philadelphia turnpike. The bill sailed through the Legislature, and when the Governor signed it on April 9, 1792, "turnpike fever" broke out as citizens of the cities at either end of the proposed "artificial road" rushed to buy stocks in "The Lancaster and Philadelphia Turnpike Company."

The 66-mile highway was built in five sections between 1792 and 1796, with work on the two westernmost sections (including the portion alongside the Good Site) taking the longest to complete. Gangs of Irish immigrants cleared a roadbed measuring 50 feet across, and then laid upon the center of this bed a wearing surface of stone and gravel to a width of 21 feet. To facilitate runoff, the stone part of the road was built up at its center line so the "lanes" on either side sloped downward at an angle of four degrees. Nine tollgates were established at approximate 10-mile intervals along the turnpike's course (more tollgates would be added later in the nineteenth century to discourage "shun-piking" or the by-passing of gates). A latter-day historian has written that "a more direct route could scarcely have been selected" by the turnpike's designers. "The descendant of the Turnpike, Route 30 or the Lincoln Highway, has many more curves and turns than the turnpike did. Of course, many of the curves and turns are due to the [twentieth-century] improvements and building along the sides of the road."

At the time of the turnpike's construction, the future site of Leaman Place was still an undeveloped section of Strasburg Township. The new road crossed "Eshleman's Run," a tributary of Pequea Creek, just east of the Good Site, then met up with a road extending between the Strasburg settlement and "the Newport road" on the west side of the site. Along the latter road (part of which exists today as "London Vale Road"), a tavern had been opened between 1760 and 1780 by William Reynolds, who had married Catherine Lefever, a granddaughter of immigrants Isaac and Catherine Fierre. Reynold's tavern stood approximately 1,000 feet northeast of the Good Site, across London Vale Road from the mill of his father-in-law Samuel Lefever. As the Lancaster and Philadelphia Turnpike neared completion, Reynolds built a new public house down along the south side of the incipient highway, 1,300 feet west of Eshleman's Run. This tavern would be known by at least three names over the course of its first few decades of operation: "The Plow

This was the state of the abandoned Good Site residence—front (ABOVE) and back (LEFT)—when CHRS personnel arrived to begin their Phase III archaeological investigation in 1998.

and the Anchor," "The Sign of the Indian King" (as of 1806), and "The Sign of the Practical Farmer" (as of 1813).

Reynolds's brother-in-law, Samuel Lefever, Jr., presented William with some competition in 1796 when he built a public house styled "The Sign of the Ship" at a crossroads along the new turnpike, approximately three-quarters of a mile west of Reynolds's tavern. The village that sprouted around this watering hole was granted a post office designated "Paradise" in 1804. The tavern built by Reynolds, meanwhile, remained a solitary landmark fifteen-minutes' walk to the east. Following Reynolds's death in 1801, his heirs sold the tavern property to Christian Leaman, a descendent of French Huguenot Peter Leaman, who had acquired a patent for land in the Strasburg area in 1723. It was probably during Christian Leaman's proprietorship in 1813 that a shingle was hung out in front of the former Reynolds tavern identifying it as "The Sign of the Practical Farmer."

This tavern was apparently still operating when a map of the area was published in 1824 (reproduced on Page 8). "Lemans" was denoted along the Lancaster Pike on this document, west of "Eshelmans Run." The only other building identified by the mapmaker in the vicinity of "Lemans" was that which housed William Reynolds's first tavern prior to 1792. "The Sign of the Practical Farmer" could not have operated long after the publication of this map. More than one local historian has reported that by approximately 1828, "there was only the farm-house of Henry Leaman where Leaman Place now is." As Henry Leaman was the son of Christian Leaman, it follows that Henry had acquired the property from his father, and at some point, either he or Christian converted the former Reynolds tavern to residential use.

While William Reynolds had planted the seed of Leaman Place in the 1790s, and the Leaman family had nurtured that seed through a dry season in the early nineteenth century, the State of Pennsylvania was largely responsible for the eventual flowering of the village. In March 1828 the State Legislature authorized construction of a railroad extending 81.5 miles between Philadelphia and the Susquehanna River town of Columbia. The railroad was to be part of canal-and-rail system known as the "State Road of Public Works," intended to win back to Philadelphia and Pennsylvania the commercial traffic lost to New York City through its recently opened Erie Canal. Plans called for the railroad portion of this system—named "Philadelphia & Columbia" for its termini—to cross over Pequea Creek on the northeastern side of Paradise, then proceed across the Lancaster and Philadelphia Turnpike near Henry Leaman's farmhouse. Construction of the railroad commenced soon after the Legislature gave the notice to proceed. For the first couple of years, construction foremen and their Irish crews concentrated their efforts on the eastern and

When CHRS archaeologists arrived to begin Phase I testing in 1992, the bungalow on the west side of the Good Site property was still occupied, as they documented in the westward-looking photographs above and on the facing page.

western extremities of the line. By the fall of 1832, the easternmost 40 miles had been completed, and steam-powered locomotives began plying that section of Pennsylvania's principal "iron highway." The remainder of the line was not ready until October 1834, so it is likely that railroad builders worked their way past Henry Leaman's farmhouse in 1832 and/or 1833.

On April 10, 1834, the first train traveled past "Leaman's place" on its way from Lancaster to the village of Gap. Five days later, the first train to travel the full length of the Philadelphia & Columbia Railroad's single set of tracks chugged past Henry Leaman's farmhouse. Leaman found himself situated quite promisingly beside the crossing of two major traffic arteries. With innkeeping in his blood, it is little wonder he was inspired to build a hotel beside his farmhouse. He flung his doors open for business in 1835, and shortly thereafter, the railroad company followed his lead by building a freight station nearby, giving it the name "Leaman Place Stop." Leaman's hotel soon began serving as an unofficial passenger depot. Within a few years, a handful of houses were built along the turnpike on either side of "Leaman Place Stop," and the tiny village became an official entity when a post office styled "Leaman Place" was established there. As of 1843, the village's postal patrons were no longer residents of Strasburg Township. In that year, a township called "Paradise" was incorporated out of Strasburg's eastern half.

For decades prior to the opening of the Philadelphia & Columbia Railroad, the village of Strasburg, roughly 5 miles southeast of Leaman Place, had enjoyed an economic prosperity fueled by a steady stream of long-haul commercial traffic along its main thoroughfare: the Strasburg Pike (also referred to as "Drovers Road"). The sun began to set on this hey-day, however, as the new railroad passing through Leaman Place brought the curtain down on central Lancaster County's era of Conestoga wagons, livestock drives, and stage coach travel. Some Strasburg merchants had seen this writing on the wall even before the Philadelphia & Columbia Railroad was completed. Rather than wait and have their village left in the dust, a number of Strasburg's leading lights made plans to build their own railroad, extending 4½ miles eastward to a junction with the area's new commercial lifeline at the nearest nexus, which happened to be Leaman Place. In response to their petition to the State Legislature, these businessmen received a charter for "The Strasburg Rail Road" on June 9, 1832. This act authorized the railroad's owners to lay a set of tracks on right-of-way measuring three rods in width (48 feet), and to allow any person whose cars or wagons fit the tracks to use the road for the transportation of people or goods, so long as they paid the appropriate tolls. Unlike the Philadelphia & Columbia Railroad, which was plied primarily by steam-powered engines, the diminutive Strasburg line was conceived as a horse-drawn system. Anyone with a horse and a wagon fitted out with railroad wheels would be able to hop on the tracks and go.

Its founding fathers had hoped to have this railroad ready for business by the time the Philadelphia & Columbia line was inaugurated, but construction of the Strasburg Railroad did not begin until 1835. Following its completion in 1837, its managers soon recognized that the

Between the barn and the railroad tracks on the Good Site property, archaeologists found this trash-strewn slope in 1992. Would it yield a wealth of historic artifacts?

horse-powered affair left a lot to be desired. In order to send or receive goods over the main line, Strasburg's merchants had to oversee the transferring of freight between the smaller horse-drawn wagons of the Strasburg Railroad and the larger Philadelphia & Columbia cars at Leaman Place. This work drove up the cost of products and delayed their delivery. Strasburgers lived with this inconvenience for over a decade before the railroad's owners set about converting the Strasburg line to locomotive power. Additional stock was issued in 1851, and enough money was raised to finance the laying of heavier rails and the purchase of a used steam locomotive, a passenger car, and several full-size freight cars.

The construction of the main line of the Philadelphia & Columbia Railroad severed a pennant-shaped piece of farmland encompassing fewer than 20 acres along the Lancaster and Philadelphia Turnpike from the main body of a plantation owned since 1823 by Mennonite farmer Christian Hershey (1780-1843). This farm, one of several owned simultaneously by Hershey in eastern Lancaster County, encompassed approximately 127 acres and lay partly in newly-created Paradise Township and partly in Leacock Township (it was, in other words, bisected by meandering Pequea Creek). As of 1841, Christian's son Benjamin was living on this farm and managing it. Christian apparently concluded that the pennant-shaped piece of farmland (including the Good Site) which now lay on the far side of the railroad tracks from the farmhouse and barn was no longer of significant value to the farm. One of the first assignments he gave to the executors of his will (dated June 23, 1841) was to sell this orphaned parcel as soon as possible following his death. The pertinent section of his will read as follows:

> I give and bequeath unto my son Benjamin . . . the plantation on which he now resides, situate in Strasburg [now Paradise] township, containing one hundred and twenty seven acres, more or less; —except that part of the said plantation which lays on the south side of the Philadelphia and Columbia Railroad, containing near nineteen acres; it is my will and I direct it to be sold as soon after my decease as can conveniently be done, at private or public sale, whichever my executors think best, and the proceeds thereof are to be used in paying my just debts etc.

Christian Hershey died in 1843. Through some arrangement between his sons and his executors, the Paradise-Leacock Township farm was not devised to his 35-year-old son Benjamin but to Benjamin's younger brother, Abraham Hershey, who was living in neighboring Salisbury Township. This conveyance was effected through a deed dated March 29, 1844. It was noted in this deed that the farm was bordered on the west by the Leacock Presbyterian Church property (on the corner of present-day Route 30 and Meadow Lane), on the south by the Lancaster and Philadelphia Turnpike, and on the east by lands of Christian Leaman and E. Cunningham.

Less than a week after receiving title to this farm, Abraham Hershey and his wife Barbara conveyed the orphaned parcel of land on the south side of the railroad tracks—embracing 18.82 acres, including the Good Site—to Benjamin Hershey, who was still living with his family in the farmhouse on the main farm property. In the accompanying deed, dated April 4, 1844, the orphaned parcel was referred to as a "tract," rather than a developed "premises." It appears, then, that no house, barn, or outbuilding had yet been constructed on this piece of farmland, which fronted on the turnpike for a distance of 1,686 feet.

It is not clear what Benjamin Hershey intended to do with this relatively small "turnpike tract." He may have purchased it as the first step in gaining title to the whole farm on which he lived, and which his father had originally intended for him to inherit. Indeed, over the course of the next few years, Benjamin purchased from his brother Abraham piece after piece of the plantation on the northeast side of the railroad tracks, until he

Because historic photographs can offer undisputable proof of the physical condition of structures and settings at a given point in time, they can be extremely useful to the archaeological historian. Historic photographs contributed valuable evidence to the Good Site investigation. In the course of gathering historic images pertaining to the Good Site, the project historian collected this atmospheric postcard image—provided by local historian Robert Denlinger—which showed the Leaman Place passenger and freight depots as they appeared around 1910. A portion of the Leaman Place Hotel (where early Good Site owner Nathaniel Trout once lived and worked) is visible on the left.

owned virtually all of it. As he acquired more land, Benjamin apparently came to regard the "turnpike tract" as expendable farmland (as had his father). Its proximity to Leaman Place, the turnpike, and the railroad made it potentially more valuable as a collection of building lots.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Benjamin eventually began selling off pieces of this tract. By a deed dated November 17, 1851, he conveyed its easternmost corner—a triangular lot encompassing 1.12 acres—to Nathaniel Trout of Paradise Township. Trout paid $337.50 for the little toehold of land tucked into the northwestern corner of the turnpike-railroad intersection, next-door to the unseated Good Site property. This parcel encompassed what was identified as "The Foundation Site" in the Phase I Archaeological Report generated for this project. A cryptic stipulation set forth in the deed from Benjamin Hershey to Trout barred the new owner and his heirs from erecting on this lot "any building for the purpose of being used or made use of by any Secret Society," for a period of ten years beginning November 17, 1851. Trout would indeed became a hotel proprietor, but only later and at another location.

Born around 1811, Nathaniel Trout was a son of innkeeper and Paradise Township resident John R. Trout and his wife Catherine. According to tax records, as of 1847, when he was about 36 years old, Nathaniel was not yet married, and was making his living as a laborer and living as a tenant on property owned by "A. Lechler" in Paradise Township. Census data compiled in 1850 indicates he was then one of several single men boarding at the Leaman Place Hotel, where Anthony Lechler was the proprietor. It must have been shortly after the compilation of this census that Trout married a woman named Susan who was many years his junior. The couple's daughter Callie was born within a year or two, or just about the time Trout bought the Foundation Site lot in 1851. It is not clear what he intended to do with the property.

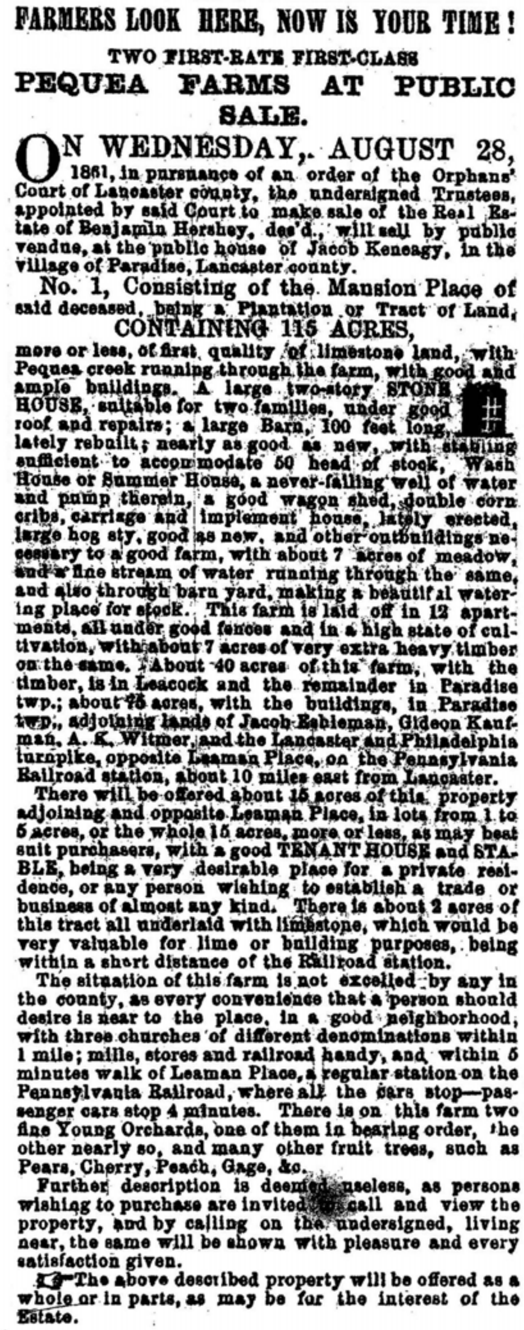
Nathaniel Trout owned the Foundation Site lot from the fall of 1851 through November 1853. During that time, he did little or nothing to improve it. The property was appraised at $100 for County tax purposes in 1852, a few months after Trout had paid $337.50 for it. Tax records indicate that in 1853 the lot was assessed at an even less valuable $90. On November 28, 1853, Trout conveyed the lot to Dr. Joseph Lefever for $150. The "no Secret Society" stipulation was reiterated in the accompanying deed. What interest Lefever had in the lot is not apparent. In any case, he did not own it long. Three months after purchasing it, he conveyed it to Amos L. Witmer, who would own it for the next four years before selling it back to Nathaniel Trout on March 31, 1858. For some reason, Trout paid taxes on this lot in 1854 and 1855, even though he was not its deeded owner.

When Trout reacquired the lot in 1858 for $200, he was still making his living as a "laborer." Apparently late in 1858, or early in 1859, he became the innkeeper at the Leaman Place Hotel. In tax records for 1859, he was identified as an innkeeper at Henry Leaman's establishment. He was taxed on a horse, a cow, and a pleasure carriage, which together had a value of $70. For some reason he was not taxed as an owner of land in Paradise Township, even though he had reacquired the Foundation Site lot the previous year. In the 1860 census Trout was identified as the 48-year-old tavernkeeper at the Leaman Place Hotel, where he lived with his 30-year-old wife Susan, 9-year-old daughter Callie, 3-year-old daughter Mary, and 1-year-old son Nathaniel, Jr. Seven other single adults were boarding at the hotel when the census was taken: four Irish immigrant laborers, one French hostler, and two Pennsylvania natives. The value of Trout's real estate was said to be $1,500 in 1860, and the value of his personal estate $1,200. Based on the real estate valuation, Trout must have owned land outside Paradise Township. That same year he was not taxed on any land in Paradise Township. In 1861, he was taxed in

Paradise only for his little unseated lot, which was valued at $400.

As noted above, Benjamin Hershey owned the Good Site property west of Trout's lot through early 1859. On May 11 of that year, he died at the age of 49 or 50 without having prepared a will. Seventeen days later, a Lancaster County Orphans' Court granted letters of administration for Hershey's estate to his 46-year-old widow Anna and his 24-year-old son Christian. At the time of his death, Benjamin Hershey owned two farms: his home farm lying primarily in Paradise Township (and en-

A family's misfortune becomes the historian's boon when a property has to be put up for sale in order to settle the estate of a deceased property owner. These "public vendues" or "outcries" (today we call them "auctions") were typically ordered by an Orphans' Court, and always included a comprehensive assessment of the deceased's property. The appointed trustees of a property were required to advertise the sale in local newspapers for several weeks leading up to the event. These advertisements generally included a property description, which can be highly informative to someone with an interest in the historical development of the property. The notice at right, announcing the sale of Benjamin Hershey's two farms, was extracted from the August 14, 1861 edition of the Lancaster Examiner & Herald*. What jumped out at the project historian was the mention of a "TENANT HOUSE and STABLE" to be sold on 15 acres "adjoining and opposite Leaman Place." This, it turned out, was the earliest characterization and reference to the Good Site house found in the course of this investigation.*



FARMERS LOOK HERE, NOW IS YOUR TIME!

TWO FIRST-RATE FIRST-CLASS

PEQUEA FARMS AT PUBLIC SALE.

ON WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 28, 1861, in pursuance of an order of the Orphans' Court of Lancaster county, the undersigned Trustees, appointed by said Court to make sale of the Real Estate of Benjamin Hershey, dec'd., will sell by public vendue, at the public house of Jacob Keneagy, in the village of Paradise, Lancaster county.

No. 1, Consisting of the Mansion Place of said deceased, being a Plantation or Tract of Land,

CONTAINING 115 ACRES,

more or less, of first quality of limestone land, with Pequea creek running through the farm, with good and ample buildings. A large two-story STONE HOUSE, suitable for two families, under good roof and repairs; a large Barn, 100 feet long, lately rebuilt; nearly as good as new, with stabling sufficient to accommodate 50 head of stock, Wash House or Summer House, a never-failing well of water and pump therein, a good wagon shed, double corn cribs, carriage and implement house, lately erected, large hog sty, good as new, and other outbuildings necessary to a good farm, with about 7 acres of meadow, and a fine stream of water running through the same, and also through barn yard, making a beautiful watering place for stock. This farm is laid off in 12 apartments, all under good fences and in a high state of cultivation, with about 7 acres of very extra heavy timber on the same. About 40 acres of this farm, with the timber, is in Leacock and the remainder in Paradise twp.; about 75 acres, with the buildings, in Paradise twp., adjoining lands of Jacob Eshleman, Gideon Kaufman, A. K. Witmer, and the Lancaster and Philadelphia turnpike, opposite Leaman Place, on the Pennsylvania Railroad station, about 10 miles east from Lancaster.

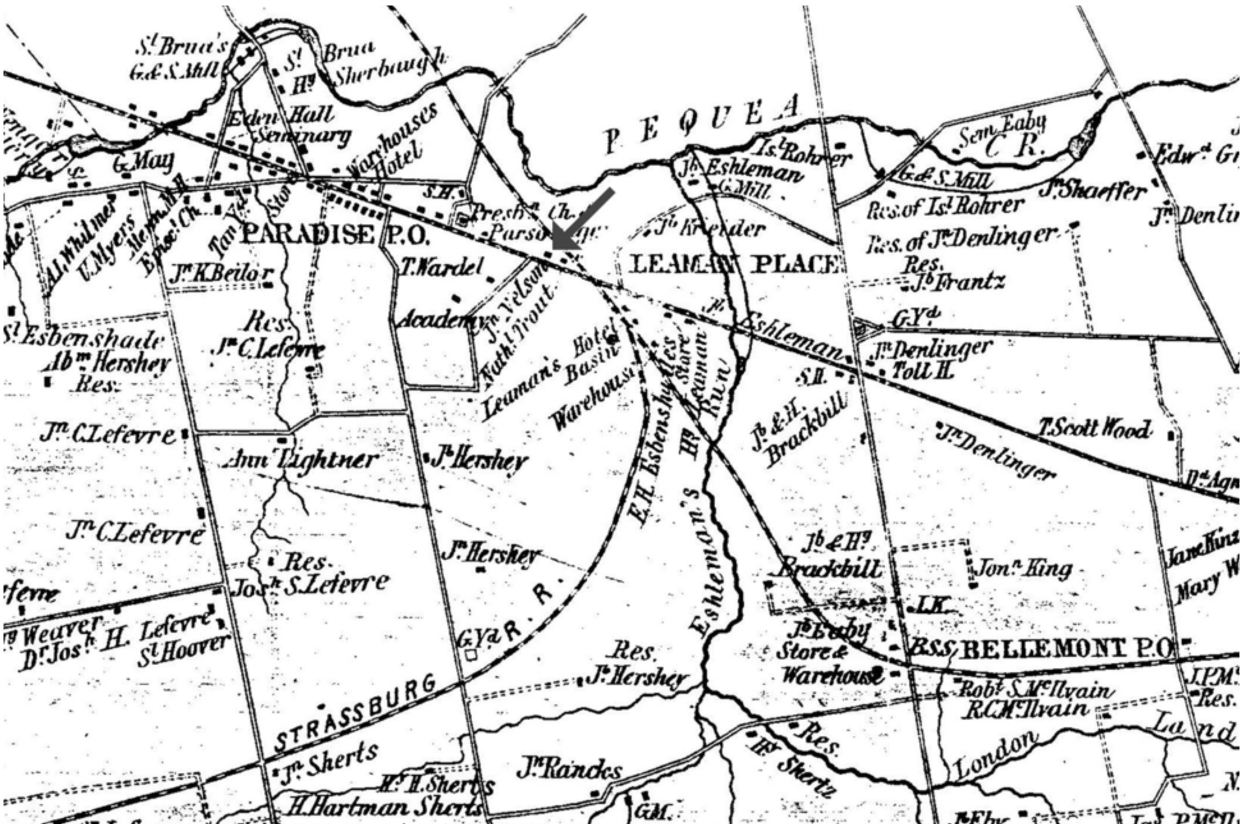
There will be offered about 15 acres of this property adjoining and opposite Leaman Place, in lots from 1 to 5 acres, or the whole 15 acres, more or less, as may best suit purchasers, with a good TENANT HOUSE and STABLE, being a very desirable place for a private residence, or any person wishing to establish a trade or business of almost any kind. There is about 2 acres of this tract all underlaid with limestone, which would be very valuable for lime or building purposes, being within a short distance of the Railroad station.

The situation of this farm is not excelled by any in the county, as every convenience that a person should desire is near to the place, in a good neighborhood, with three churches of different denominations within 1 mile; mills, stores and railroad handy, and within 5 minutes walk of Leaman Place, a regular station on the Pennsylvania Railroad, where all the cars stop—passenger cars stop 4 minutes. There is on this farm two fine Young Orchards, one of them in bearing order, the other nearly so, and many other fruit trees, such as Pears, Cherry, Peach, Gage, &c.

Further description is deemed useless, as persons wishing to purchase are invited to call and view the property, and by calling on the undersigned, living near, the same will be shown with pleasure and every satisfaction given.

The above described property will be offered as a whole or in parts, as may be for the interest of the Estate.

By the time this map of Paradise Township was published in 1864 (while the nation was engaged in the Civil War), the Good Site was occupied by a residence (marked by an arrow) attributed to John Nelson. There was also a house standing on the neighboring Foundation Site, credited to Nathaniel Trout. Situated around the intersection of the Lancaster and Philadelphia Turnpike, the Philadelphia & Columbia Railroad, and the Strasburg Railroad, Leaman Place had the appearance of a hamlet with a future.



compassing the Good Site tract), and a second farm in Salisbury Township, which he had apparently purchased for the use of one or more of his sons. Action was not taken to settle Hershey's estate for nearly two years following his death, during which time his estate paid the taxes on the Paradise Township farm, and his widow and sons occupied it. On April 15, 1861, an Orphans' Court ordered a jury of seven disinterested neighbors to appraise Hershey's two farms in order to determine if the properties could be partitioned for sale fairly and without losing too much of their value. In the Court order, Hershey's Paradise Township farm was described as "Containing about One Hundred and Ten Acres with a two Story Stone dwelling House[,] Stone and frame bank Barn[,] Wagon Shed[,] corn crib[,] Stone Wash House[,] a one and a half Story Tenant House, and other improvements thereon." This reference constitutes the earliest documentary evidence pertaining to the Good Site residence. The first 1½ stories of this structure were thus standing as of April 15, 1861.

It is not clear when this "tenant house" was erected. It was not extant when Benjamin Hershey acquired the surrounding land in April 1844. Tax records indicate that the value of Hershey's Paradise Township farm did not increase dramatically at any time between 1847 and 1859, as might be expected if he had added a tenant house to his property. Additionally, no Paradise Township resident was listed as a tenant on Hershey's farm for tax purposes during those years. Absent additional data, it does not appear possible to determine exactly when, during the period 1844 to 1861, the core of the Good Site residence was erected.

Orphans' Court records indicate that on June 3, 1861 the jury appointed to evaluate Benjamin Hershey's farms reported "that partition of the same cannot be made between all the said Heirs and legal representatives [of Hershey's estate] without prejudice to and spoiling the whole thereof." For their part, the heirs and legal representatives declared that they wanted their portion of Hershey's estate awarded in the form of money rather than real estate, so the Court ordered that Hershey's farms be sold at public "vendue" or sale. The Paradise Township farm was to be sold on August 28, 1861 at "the public house of Jacob Keneagy in the village of Paradise," and the Salisbury Township farm at "the public house of John Hess in Salisbury Township." Notices of these sales were quickly placed in local newspapers. An advertisement published in the August 14, 1861 edition of *The Lancaster Examiner and Herald* touted the properties as "Two First-Rate First-Class Pequea Farms" (a copy of the advertisement appears on Page 17).

The description of the Paradise Township farm read as follows:

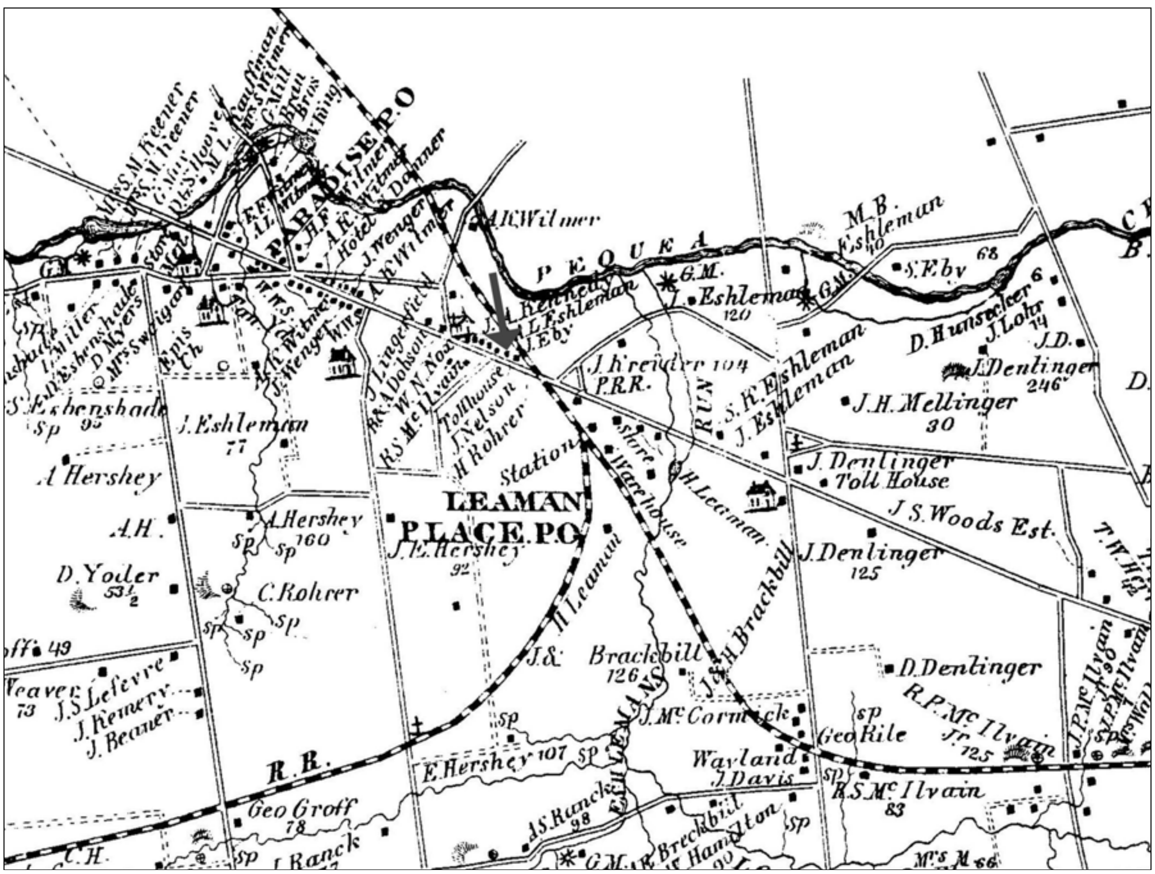
> . . . Consisting of the Mansion Place of said deceased, being a Plantation or Tract of Land CONTAINING 115 ACRES, more or less, of first quality limestone land, with Pequea creek running through the farm, with good and ample buildings. A large two-story STONE HOUSE, suitable for two families, under good roof and repairs; a large Barn, 100 feet long, lately rebuilt; nearly as good as new, with stabling sufficient to accommodate 50 head of stock, Wash House or Summer House, a never-failing well of water and pump therein, a good wagon shed, double corn cribs, carriage and implement house, lately erected, large hog sty, good as new, and other outbuildings necessary to a good farm, with about 7 acres of meadow and a fine stream of water running through the same, and also through barn yard, making a beautiful watering place for stock. This farm is laid off in 12 apart-

A CHRS archaeologist uses a trowel to scrape away a layer of soil in a 2x2-meter test unit in the backyard of the Good Site property.

ments, all under good fences and in a high state of cultivation, with about 7 acres of very extra heavy timber on the same. About 40 acres of this farm, with the timber, is in Leacock and the remainder in Paradise twp. . . .

There will be offered about 15 acres of this property adjoining and opposite Leaman Place, in lots from 1 to 5 acres, or the whole 15 acres, more or less, as may best suit purchasers, with a good TENANT HOUSE and STABLE, being a very desirable place for a private residence, or any person wishing to establish a trade or business of almost any kind. There is about 2 acres of this tract all underlain with limestone, which would be very valuable for lime or building purposes, being within a short distance of the Railroad station.

The situation of this farm is not excelled by any in the county, as every convenience that a person should desire is near to this place, in a good neighborhood, with three churches of different denominations within 1 mile; mills, stores and railroad handy,



What did this 1875 map of Paradise Township tell the project historian? John Nelson still owned the Good Site residence (marked by an arrow), but it had been joined on the west by a tollhouse associated with the Lancaster Turnpike, as well as several other new residences in the direction of "Paradise P. O." Henry Rohrer owned the Foundation Site house at this time. A description of Leaman Place accompanying this map indicated that the village contained "a general store, a warehouse, a hotel, a common school, telegraph office, and depot," as well as about a dozen dwellings.

As the excavation aspect of the project proceeded, the archaeologists conferred regularly with the project historian to make sure they had the benefit of newly-uncovered documentary evidence, such as this bird's-eye-view of the Good Site (marked with an arrow) and its vicinity, photographed in 1961 just after the razing of the Foundation Site residence.

> and, within 6 minutes walk of Leaman Place, a regular station on the Pennsylvania Railroad, where all the cars stop—passenger cars stop 4 minutes. There is on this farm two fine Young Orchards, one of them in bearing order, the other nearly so, and many other fruit trees, such as Pears, Cherry, Peach, Gage, &c.

The middle paragraph obviously referred to Hershey's "turnpike tract," with its "TENANT HOUSE and STABLE." Insofar as the notice described some of the other buildings on the farm as "lately rebuilt" or "newly erected," it appears that the merely "good" residence and stable on the Good Site were more than a year or two old by the time of the sale. When the vendue was held at the Paradise Hotel on August 28, the "highest and best" bid of $160 per acre (for a total of $18,385) was submitted by Benjamin Hershey's son John Hershey, who was then a farmer living in East Hempfield Township. An Orphans' Court confirmed the sale six days later, and the deed of conveyance was issued to John Hershey the following April 1.

The day after receiving his deed (April 2, 1862), John Hershey conveyed most of the turnpike tract—encompassing 10.49 acres, fronting on the turnpike—to Nathaniel Trout for $1,375.31, plus $762 owed to Anna Hershey as part of her widow's dower. The accompanying deed noted the presence of the house and the stable on this property, which would probably have been worth only about $1,700 (at $160 per acre) if no buildings had been erected on it (suggesting that the house and stable added approximately $400 to the value of the property). Nathaniel Trout appears to have stopped working as an innkeeper at the Leaman Place Hotel in late 1861 or early 1862, about the time he purchased the Good Site property and residence. He may have planned to make his living as a real estate developer, now that he had so much frontage on the turnpike. Indeed, he seems to have overseen the construction of a 2½-story brick residence on his 1-acre corner lot (the Foundation Site) at about this time. Midway through 1862, he was taxed on two properties in Paradise Township: one encompassing 5 acres (and valued at $600) which he occupied himself (apparently the Good Site property), and his newly-improved town lot (the Foundation Site), which was occupied by "J. Schultz" and valued at $294. Jacob Schultz was identified on the list of taxable tenants for that year as a farmer owning one horse and one cow, together valued at $56. For his part, Trout was taxed on a single cow. At the close of 1862, then, Nathaniel Trout and his family inhabited the 1½-story Good Site residence, and Jacob Schulz occupied the residence on the adjacent Foundation Site.

Where might the stable associated with the Good Site property in 1862 have been located? A map of the area published in 1899 indicated that a stable or barn stood very close to the turnpike on land between the Good Site residence (labeled "Mrs. Keen") and the Foundation Site residence (labeled "P.R.R. Co.") during that year (the map is reproduced on Page 36). The location of this barn on the map, when evaluated in the context of property boundary data provided in associated deeds, indicates that this structure would have stood in the southeastern corner of the 10.49-acre tract that Nathaniel Trout acquired from John Hershey in the spring of 1862. That property, it will be remembered, included a new house and a "stable." Thus, it appears that the barn-like structure denoted on the 1899 map was the "stable" referenced in the 1862 deed.

Other data gleaned from related deeds supports this conclusion. After purchasing the turnpike tract with house and stable in April 1862, Trout began to subdivide it. On March 6, 1863, he conveyed the western half of this tract, encompassing 4.15 acres, to Amos S. Witmer of Paradise village. Then he drew property lines around the dwelling and stable in the southeastern corner of his remaining land, creating a narrow village-style lot encompassing only one-half acre. This lot, which embraced the eastern half of the Good Site, fronted on the turnpike for a distance of only 112.2 feet. It was just wide enough to accommodate the house and the stable. By a deed dated March 31, 1863, Trout sold this parcel to John Nelson, Jr. of Paradise Township. Nelson was apparently not satisfied with such a small property: at the time he purchased the lot, he also bought a piece of vacant land encompassing 2 acres between this lot and the land Trout had sold to Amos Witmer. This gave Nelson a property fronting on the turnpike for a distance of 384.45 feet.

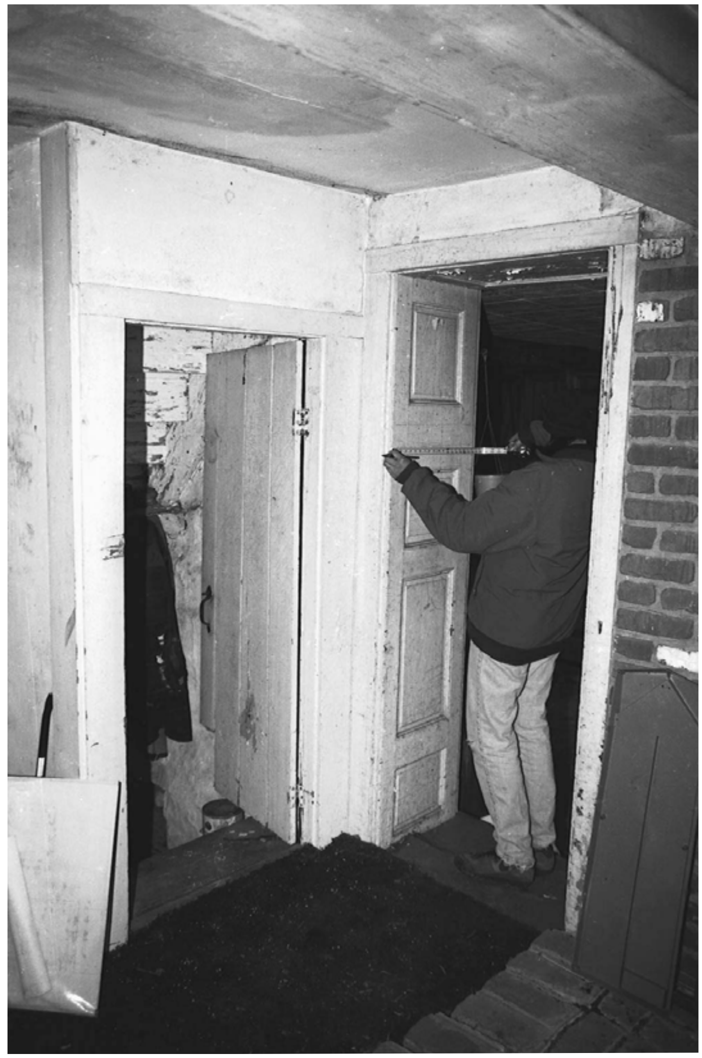
Sometime between March 31 and December 21, 1863, the boundary line separating Nelson's property and Trout's Foundation Site property was shifted approximately 12 feet to the west, enlarging the Foundation Site property by 1,905 square feet. This shift appears to have placed the property line on the west side of the stable. The stable was thus incorporated into Nathaniel Trout's Foundation Site property, which was inhabited that year by farmer Jacob Schultz, according to tax records. By a deed dated December 21, 1863, Trout conveyed these premises to Adam K. Witmer, the owner of numerous properties in the vicinity of Paradise village, including the Paradise Hotel. The Foundation Site property boundaries delineated in this deed reflected the recent enlarging of the property to encompass the neighboring stable. This conveyance was actually only half of a larger transaction through which Trout exchanged his property for Witmer's Paradise Hotel property. Because the hotel property was about three times more valuable than the Foundation Site property ($4,550 vs. $1,500), Trout had to throw an additional $3,050 into the bargain.

Adam Witmer owned this property for the next 15 months, during which time Trout appears to have been its occupant, according to tax records. Trout's Paradise Hotel, meanwhile, was operated by Jacob Kramer in 1864. By a deed dated March 30, 1865, Witmer and his wife Hannah conveyed the Foundation Site property to John Lahey of Paradise Township for $1,300. Lahey and his wife Anna were the owners until April 1, 1867, when they sold the property to John Scott of Christiana for $1,600. Scott was a 40-year-old laborer, a husband to 35-year-old Sarah, and the father of at least three children between the ages of 4 and 13. He and his family owned and occupied the Foundation Site property for a period of 8 years, from 1867 to 1875. During that time, John Nelson owned the Good Site property next-door.

Nelson was about 35 years old and recently married to a woman named Eliza when he acquired the Good Site property in March 1863. Both he and his wife had been born in Pennsylvania. The couple apparently had no children during the 18 years (1863-1881) that Nelson owned the Good Site property, and data recorded as part of the population census of 1870 indicated they were then living alone. Tax records from this period identified Nelson as a "laborer." From 1867 through 1869 this characterization was supplemented by the phrase "at the pike," a suggestion that Nelson's labor involved maintaining the neighboring Lancaster and Philadelphia Turnpike. In a Lancaster County Business Directory for 1869-70, he was identified as a "railroader." In 1870 and 1871, tax records indicated that he was in "RR [railroad] employ at the pike." For the next four years, he was noted to be simply in "RR employ." For the first four years of his residency on the Good Site property, Nelson did not own any taxable livestock, suggesting he was a man of limited means. He acquired a cow around 1868, and was taxed on this lone animal through 1875, when he and his wife apparently moved out of the area.

The two east-west railroads operating in central Lancaster County in the years following the Civil War siphoned off a significant share of the Lancaster and Philadelphia Turnpike's long-distance passenger and freight business. The Turnpike's managers held on in the face of declining revenues through 1873, then began selling off sections of their road. In March of that year, they sold the portion of the Pike extending from Lancaster through Leaman Place to Gap to a group of investors operating as "The Lancaster and Williamstown Turnpike Road Company."

Inside the main Good Site house, CHRS preservation historians recorded the measurements of the building's principal structural features, including walls, doorways, ceilings, and windows. This data would allow architectural analysis to continue after the house had been razed.



On maps of the area published in 1864 and 1875, "J. Nelson" was denoted the owner of the second property on the west side of the Leaman Place railroad crossing (see maps on Pages 18 and 20). Tax records indicate that

In his search for historic images of the Good Site property, the project historian came across this postcard photograph dated approximately 1912. Although the image preserved a view of the Lancaster Turnpike in its final years of operation, the tollhouse itself (which was later moved back from the road) blocked from view the neighboring Good Site residence.

the Nelsons moved to Lancaster in either late 1875 or early 1876. During the latter year, their Good Site residence was occupied by Samuel Eby, a carpenter who owned a horse, a cow, and a "pleasure carriage." Ownership of a "pleasure carriage" did not denote affluence; many Paradise Township residents owned these vehicles, which simply represented a step up from horseback travel. In 1877, the Nelson house was occupied by John F. Lefevre, who was engaged in a "private" occupation, according to tax records. This enterprise was probably butchering, in that Lefever was identified as a butcher in both the Lancaster County Business Directory of 1869-70 and the 1880 population census. The Lefevre family's entry in the latter provided additional data suggesting that during its year-long tenancy in the Nelson house, the family comprised 57-year-old father John, his 37-year-old wife Elizabeth, and five children: 16-year-old John, 10-year-old Maggie, 9-year-old Laura, 6-year-old Frank, and 4-year-old Emma.

Laborer Joseph Reese rented the Nelson dwelling in 1878. He was taxed on a single horse that year. John Nelson (and perhaps his wife) moved back onto the property in 1879. Nelson owned it for another two years, and was recorded as its occupant for tax purposes during that period, but for some reason he was not listed as a resident of Paradise Township in the population census compiled for 1880. By March 31, 1881, he and his wife were living in nearby Leacock Township. On that date, Nelson conveyed the property to Levi R. Rhoads of East Lampeter Township for $1,350. Rhoads, who already owned the land on the west side of this property, as well as other properties in the area, held title to the property for two years, then conveyed it to Elhanna Martin for $1,800 by a deed dated April 19, 1883.

Tax records indicate that new owner Elhanna Martin and his family had already moved onto this property at least a year earlier (in either 1881 or 1882) and lived there while Levi Rhoads was its deeded owner. Even though the property had not yet been legally conveyed to Martin, he paid taxes on it—along with a horse and a cow—in 1882. Its taxable value in that year was $1,400, or slightly more than Rhoads had paid for it in 1881. The taxable value of the property would remain at $1,400 for the next three years, including 1883, the year in which

This circa-1916 Highway Department photograph of Lancaster Pike, looking westward from the western approach to the Leaman Place bridge, provided archaeologists with a rare early twentieth-century view of the Foundation Site house (on the right). Unfortunately, the Good Site house just beyond it was hidden from view.

Rhoads finally conveyed it to Martin in consideration of $1,800. That Martin paid Rhoads more for the property than it's taxable value suggests that he was somehow indebted to Rhoads, perhaps through his occupancy of the Good Site property for a year or two before he was able to pay Rhoads for it and acquire it legally.

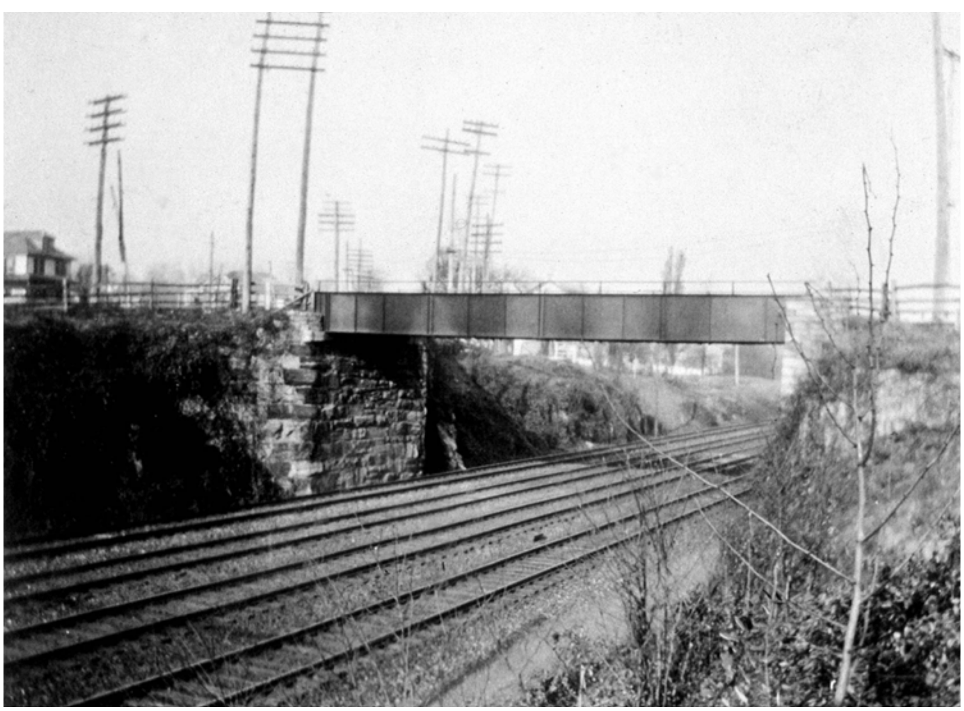
The taxable value of Elhanna Martin's real estate jumped by $200—from $1,400 to $1,600—between the time County taxes were assessed in 1885 and the same time the following year. This marked the only occasion that the taxable value of the Good Site property jumped significantly between the time a house was built on it in the early 1860s and the first years of the twentieth century. The jump in the property's taxable value—which was not repeated in neighboring properties between 1885 and 1886—appears to reflect a substantial improvement to the property. The logical conclusion is that Martin was responsible for adding the frame kitchen addition to the Good Site's 1½-story stone residence. No other data was unearthed in the course of this investigation to either confirm or disprove this conclusion.

The spelling of Martin's Christian name was apparently a point of confusion. He was referred to in a variety of official documents—including deeds, census records, and tax lists—as "Elkanah," "Elhanah," "Elhanan," "Ellhannan," and "Elhanna." Just prior to moving to the Good Site property, he had been engaged as a tenant farmer on a Paradise Township farm. As of 1880, his family included 42-year-old wife Mary R., 21-year-old son Franklin, 17-year-old son Benjamin, and 6-year-old son Harry. Tax records indicate that Martin spent all or part of his first full year in his new home as a "laborer." For at least five years beginning in 1884, he made his living as a "liveryman." In 1886, he acquired two horses to go with the one horse he already owned, and in 1889 and 1890 he was taxed on ownership of "three vehicles for hire." This suggests that he operated as a self-employed "agent" or transporter of passengers and/or goods, with patronage no doubt engendered by the busy railroad-turnpike intersection next door. As of 1891, he was back to owning a single horse, and had no vehicles for hire.

During the Martin family's residency on the Good Site property, the Foundation Site property was owned by a family named Rohrer. By a deed dated March 30, 1875, John and Sarah Scott had conveyed the Foundation Site property to 29-year-old Henry H. Rohrer of Paradise Township for $2,500. A map of the area published in 1875 reflected this recent conveyance (map on Page 20). On September 23, 1876, apparently to place the property solely in the name of Henry Rohrer's 30-year-old wife Susan, Henry and Susan Rohrer sold it for $2,500 to Philip D. Baker and his wife Susan, who turned around and immediately sold it for the same amount back to Susan Rohrer alone. This transaction may have been related to Henry Rohrer's operation of a retail coal business (with the benefit of limiting his personal liability). In the population census compiled for 1880, Rohrer was identified as a 34-year-old "coal dealer" married to 34-year-old Susan, with four children (all daughters) between the ages of 10 and 2. A business review published in 1891 provided the following synopsis of Rohrer's career:

> H. H. Rohrer founded a business in 1858. Mr. Rohrer dealt in grain and mill feed of all kinds, also straw, hay, fertilizers, etc. This mill was in a one-story brick building 30x45 feet [in Leaman Place]. Being along the Pennsylvania Railroad's main switch adjoining the freight house, he enjoyed the best of facilities for receiving his stock. One team was kept and a thriving business transacted. Mr. Rohrer was a reliable businessman, a Justice of the Peace, and Deputy Coroner of Lancaster County.

At the close of 1889, the Rohrer family owned the 1.16-acre Foundation Site property and Elhanna Martin owned the 2.58-acre Good Site property. It was at this time that the neighboring railroad underwent some changes that apparently required addi-



This is a northwestward view of the bridge that carried Lancaster Pike over the railroad tracks in Leaman Place from 1896 until 1923. To make it as short as possible, its builders placed the span on a 45-degree angle to Lancaster Pike, requiring travelers along the Pike to make awkward turns at both ends of the bridge. The structure blocks most of the Foundation Site house from from view.

Streetcars of the Conestoga Traction Company, running between Lancaster and Coatesville around 1910, passed by the Good Site house (out of view on the left) and the Foundation Site house (hidden behind the tree on the left) before negotiating the hairpin turn over the Leaman Place railroad bridge. Though they were living "in town," residents of the Good and Foundation Sites looked out over fields of corn.

tional land. On January 4, 1890, the Rohrers sold the Foundation Site property for $3,000 to the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, which had owned the Philadelphia & Columbia Railroad since 1852. Two weeks later "Elhanan" and Mary Martin sold to the railroad company a long rectangle of land bordering the railroad in the northeastern corner of their property. This parcel, which measured 419.1 feet in length and 45.7 feet in width, abutted the northwestern end of the tract purchased by the railroad company from the Rohrers. The Good Site property thus amounted to only 1.25 acres when the Martins sold it to Abram (or "Abraham") Hershey of Paradise Township for $1,600 on April 1, 1892. The 1900 census would show that the Martins were by then living in Paradise village, with 66-year-old "Elhannah" serving as a church sexton, and his 23-year-old son Harry working as a miller.

Maps of the area published in 1864, 1875, and 1899 provide graphic evidence of Leaman Place's steady development during the last three decades of the nineteenth century (maps appear on Pages 18, 20, and 31). The 1875 map was accompanied by a written description indicating that the village by then contained "a general store, a warehouse, a hotel, a common school, telegraph office, and depot," as well as about a dozen houses. Having purchased the Philadelphia & Columbia Railroad in 1852, the Pennsylvania Railroad Company added the Strasburg Railroad to its holdings in 1854. The latter resource made no money for its new owners for a number of years, so it was sold to a group of Strasburg investors in 1861. Over the years the Pennsylvania Railroad Company added a second, then a third, then a fourth set of tracks to its Philadelphia & Columbia line. It is likely that until 1896, travelers on the Lancaster Pike through Leaman Place had to cross these tracks on grade. A twentieth-century Inspector's Report indicates that the first bridge built to carry the turnpike over the tracks was erected in the summer of 1896. The 90° skew of this bridge required dogleg approaches on either end, an awkward configuration depicted on the 1899 map.

Tax records indicate that Abram Hershey made his living as a "laborer" during the six years (1892-1898) he and his wife Maria owned and occupied the Good Site property. Hershey paid taxes on a single horse and two cows during that period. By a deed dated August 22, 1896, the Hersheys conveyed a small building lot fronting on the turnpike immediately west of the Good Site residence to the Lancaster and Williamstown Turnpike Road Company. This conveyance appears to have been related to the Turnpike Company's construction of a toll-house on or adjacent to its newly-acquired lot. In the accompanying deed, reference was made to "Toll-house No. 4 as now erected." Historic maps and photographs reveal that most of this building extended out onto the bed of the turnpike, creating a partial road-block that no doubt facilitated the collection of tolls. When cars began traveling the turnpike in the early twentieth century, the building would be moved back off the highway to its present location.

By a deed dated March 16, 1898, Abram and Maria Hershey conveyed what was left of their Good Site property—now reduced to three-quarters of an acre—to widow Mary Louisa Keen for $1,150. The 1899 map identified "Mrs. Keen" as the owner of the Good Site property. The Pennsylvania Railroad Company was identified on this map as the owner of the Foundation Site property, which featured a rectangular plan building with a rectangular addition of nearly equal size attached to its northeastern corner, along with the neighboring barn.

Fifty-three-year-old Mary Keen had been a widow for less than a year when she took possession of the Good Site residence. Her 60-year-old farmer husband, Christian A. Keen, had died the previous July 17 from what was diagnosed as lockjaw (a form of tetanus) after taking a splinter in the foot (see death notices on FACING PAGE). The Keens had been living on a farm owned by Henry Leaman, approximately 2,000 feet south of the Good Site, where they were kept company by 12 children born to them between the years 1861 and 1886 (two other children had not lived to see their fifth birthdays).

In the aftermath of Christian Keen's death in the summer of 1897, his widow decided she could no longer stay on the farm.

Mary Louisa Bowman Keen (1844-1930), around 1895, several years before her purchase of the Good Site property in 1898.

With at least six of her children still living with her, Mary Keen purchased and moved into the 1½-story Good Site residence. A photograph taken shortly after her acquisition showed Keen's 27-year-old daughter Rachel Sue standing on the dwelling's front porch, with the frame kitchen-and-bedroom addition visible to the right (see photo on Page 33). Family tradition holds that shortly after Mary Keen acquired the property, she "raised the roof" of the residence by adding a second story and an attic. A stratigraphic investigation of the building's exterior walls revealed that this "raising of the roof" was accomplished by extending the height of the original stone walls with courses of brick to accommodate a second story and an attic. The additional living space came in handy, as the Keen household in 1900 included Mary Keen and six unmarried children: 36-year-old Elmer Ellsworth, 29-year-old Rachel Sue, 25-year-old John Henry ("Harry"), 18-year-old Brainerd E., 16-year-old Maurice Park, and 14-year-old William Ralph.

The news of Christian Keen's untimely death made at least two of the local newspapers. The account on the right appeared as a "Special" bulletin on the front page of The Inquirer *(a Lancaster paper), edition of Saturday, July 31, 1897. The notice on the left was published a day earlier as an obituary in the* Quarryville Sun*. Obituaries can provide historians with biographical data or leads to other sources that may be used to flesh out stories of properties and the residents who occupied them.*

A Splinter Causes Lockjaw.

Christian Keen, a well-known farmer, residing at Leaman Place, died at a quarter before one on Tuesday afternoon, with lockjaw as the result of running a splinter in his foot about a week ago. The wound apparently healed, but on Friday the symptoms of lockjaw appeared and he fell a victim to the dread disease.

Deceased was an aged man and his native home was near Kirkwood, this county. For the past twenty-four years he had been a resident of Leaman Place, all of which time he lived on the farm of William Leaman, Esq. Mr. Keen was a member of the German Reformed Church, of New Providence. He was well known through the eastern end of the county and a highly respected citizen. A stricken wife and the following children survive: Benjamin, of Coatesville; Mrs. B. S. Phenegar, of Kinzer's; Mrs. Nora Marron, of Leaman Place; Christian S., and Mrs. Harry Acker, of Leaman Place; Rachel, Elmer, Ulysses, Harry, Brainerd, Park and Ralph at home.

DEATH FROM LOCKJAW.

GORDONVILLE, July 30.—[Special.]—Christian A. Keen, a prominent farmer of Leaman Place, died on Tuesday afternoon from lockjaw. A few weeks ago he ran a splinter into his foot and having it cut out at once, the wound apparently healed in a short time.

He felt no pain last week until Friday when lockjaw set in which resulted in his death. Deceased who was about sixty years of age was a member of the Reformed church and lived for the last 24 years on the farm of Wm. Leaman, esq., at Leaman Place. The widow and the following twelve children survive: Benjamin, of Coatesville; Mrs. B. S. Phenegar, of Kinzers; Mrs. Nora Marrow, Christian S., and Mrs. Harry Acker, of Leaman Place; Rachel, Elmer, Ulysses, Harry, Brainerd, Park and Ralph at home.

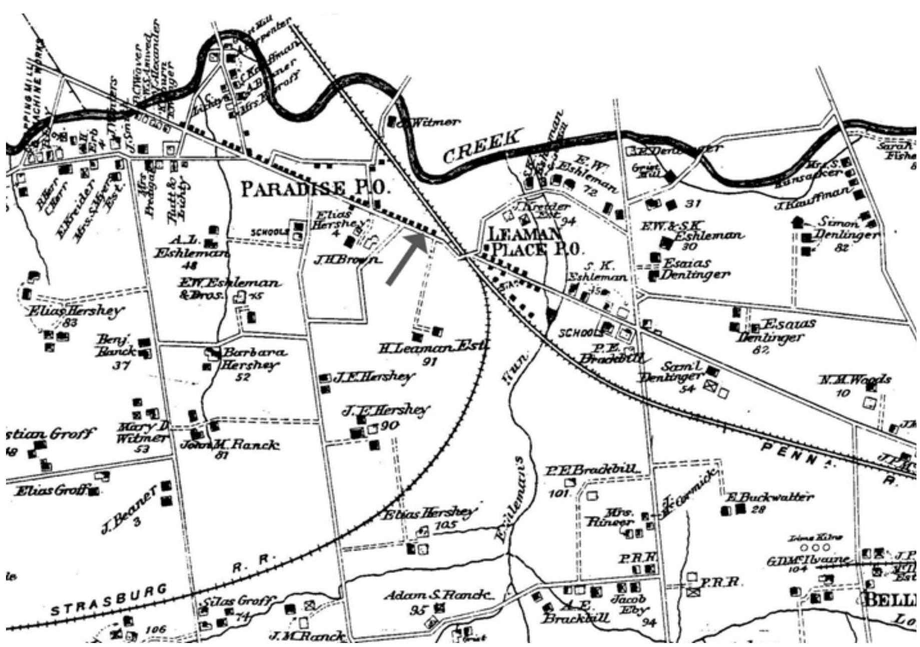
Funeral services today at the house and at New Providence with interment at the Reformed burying ground.

Mary Keen would live in this house until her death in 1930. During that time, she was kept company by at least two of her adult children. Her oldest son, Elmer ("El"), never married and lived with her as long as she lived (he is remembered by one of his nieces as a lifelong "odd-jobber" with an aversion to steady work). Rachel Sue also remained single and at home for the remainder of her mother's life. She worked as a midwife and also as a forelady in a Paradise village shirt factory. J. Henry got married in 1902 and moved onto an area farm. Brainerd, Park, and Ralph Keen lived at home off and on as late as 1912, before marrying and moving away. In 1905 or the following year, the Keen household was augmented by yet another of Mary's sons: 40-year-old Ulysses ("Les") Grant, who moved in with his mother and his siblings following the death of his wife in 1904. From 1913 to 1928, the Keen household comprised Mary Louisa, El, Les, and Rachel. Les died in 1928, after which his mother and siblings lived together for another two years until Mary Louisa's death in 1930.

Data compiled in association with the national census of 1900 documents the degree to which individual members of Mary Keen's household and the household as a whole were demographically typical or atypical within the narrow context of Leaman Place and the broader context of Paradise

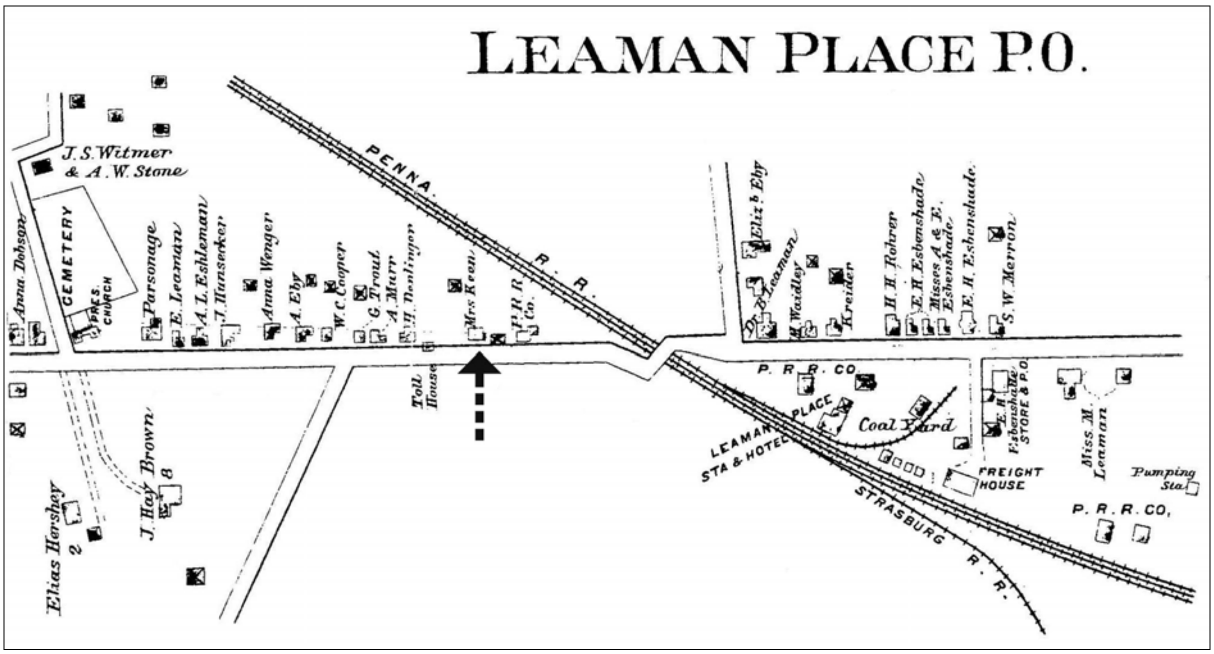
Township. For the compiling of this census, Paradise Township's 17.5 square miles were divided into two census districts, each encompassing approximately 8.75 square miles. Belmont Road, passing on a north-south axis through the center of the Township and crossing the Lancaster and Williamstown Turnpike just east of Leaman Place, served as the dividing line. The "Paradise Township" district lying on the east side of Belmont Road was home to 932 persons, with 197 families inhabiting 185 dwellings. The "West Paradise Township" district, west of Belmont Road, in which Leaman Place and the Keen residence were located, was more densely populated. It was home to 1,388 persons, with 288 families inhabiting 288 dwellings. There were thus 2,320 persons living in Paradise Township as a whole, with 485 families inhabiting 473 dwellings.

The census data indicates that farming was still the dominant occupation in this part of Lancaster County; half of western Paradise's 471 men and working-age boys were employed as either farmers or farm laborers. Two of Mary Keen's live-at-home sons—Harry and Ralph—were thus part of the Township's overwhelming farming majority. Of the 232 men and boys who earned their living through farming in western Paradise Township, 134 (57 percent) hired themselves out on everything from a per-hour to a per-year basis. Harry and Ralph Keen were among these "farm laborers" (colloquially referred to as "hired men" or "hired hands"), who tended to be younger and less-well-off than the more-established farmers for whom they worked. Half of those farmers owned farms, and the other half rented them. Nearly half of the farm laborers were men and boys living and working on farms their parents either owned or rented. Harry and Ralph Keen would probably have been part of this majority had their father not died prematurely and precipitated their mother's relocation. Another 18 percent of western Paradise's farm laborers were heads of households who lived with their families in houses they rented. About 9 percent lived as non-heads-of-households in houses rented by one or both of their parents. Only 5 per-



The project historian was able to gather data from two maps of the area published in an 1899 atlas. This large-scale view of northern Paradise Township depicted the Keen family's residence (marked by a gray arrow) as one of eight dwellings lining the north side of Lancaster Pike, west of the railroad crossing. On the opposing side of the Pike lay Henry Leaman's 91-acre farm, which had been home to the Keen family a couple of years earlier. From this graphic depiction it appeared that the Keens had simply relocated from the southern end of the Leaman farm lane to the northern end. It was a minor move geographically, but it took the family from a spacious agricultural situation into a much more constricted village setting.

This more-detailed map of Leaman Place in 1899 alerted the project historian to the presence of a barn standing along Lancaster Pike between the Keen house (marked by an arrow) and the Foundation Site house, which had been purchased by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company in 1890. This barn had not appeared on earlier maps, illustrations, or photographs. It would show up again as a one-story frame structure on a railroad valuation map published in 1918, but it would be gone by the time a map for a Leaman Place bridge replacement project was drawn up in 1920. A careful examination of deeds dating back to 1862 revealed that this structure had been a stable serving the residents of the Good Site house, but that the property line separating the Good Site and Foundation Site properties had been shifted westward in 1863 so that the stable was included in the Foundation Site property. A new barn was built in the rear of the Good Site property shortly thereafter.



cent of farm laborers lived in houses owned by one or both of their parents, as did Harry and Ralph Keen.

To the remaining adult children living with Mary Keen were attributed the following occupations in 1900: Elmer, “railroad laborer”; Rachel, “nurse”; Brainerd, “miller”; and Park, “railroad laborer.” Elmer and Park were among the 29 men in western Paradise Township employed by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company (representing 6 percent of the area’s men and working-age boys). About half of these railroad employees, including Elmer and Park, were engaged in general maintenance, which represented a low rung on the occupational ladder. The remaining railroad employees had specific assignments denoted by job titles such as “engineer,” “conductor,” “foreman,” “car inspector,” “freight agent,” “trackwalker,” and “pump engineer.” Though these titled jobs carried more prestige than “laborer,” they apparently didn’t lead to residential stability, at least as measured by home-ownership. Only Leaman Place’s “trackwalker” owned the house in which he lived. All of the other railroad employees with specific job titles lived in rented accommodations within easy walking distance of Leaman Place station. Elmer and Park Keen were unusual in that they were the only two railroad laborers living in a house owned by a member of their immediate family.

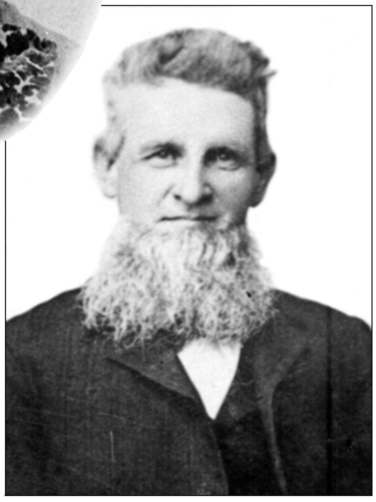
Eighteen-year-old Brainerd Keen was one of only 8 men in western Paradise Township engaged in milling in 1900. His 29-year-old sister was one of only three women in that census district making her living as a "nurse," which in this case involved providing maternity care for women and their families. Mother Mary Keen was one of the vast majority of women in western Paradise Township engaged primarily in homemaking, which the census taker in 1900 apparently did not consider an occupation worth noting. Of western Paradise's 441 women and working-age girls, 83 percent were not denoted as having an occupation. No doubt, many of these women worked in their homes. On some earlier censuses this non-remunerated form of employment was identified as "keeping house." More atypically, Mary Keen was one of only 23 female heads of households living in western Paradise Township. About half of these women, like Mary Keen, owned the properties on which they lived. Also, like Mary Keen, two-thirds of these women had been widowed. Thirteen of the 17 widows lived with one or more of their children, 2 lived with siblings, and 2 lived alone.

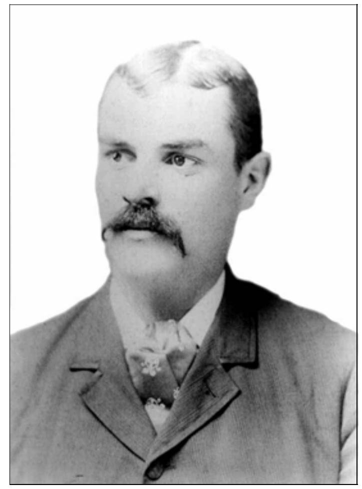
It is noteworthy that among the 15 unmarried men living with their widowed mothers were 8 of the census district's 29 railroad employees, including 5 of the 13 railroad laborers (Elmer and Park Keen among them). Unmarried men living with their widowed mothers may have tended to seek employment with the railroad because many of them lived near the railroad station in Leaman Place, rather than on out-of-town farms. Mary Keen was one of several widows at the turn of the century who had moved into the village with their children after the deaths of their husbands. The seven unmarried men living with their widowed mothers in western Paradise Township who did not find work on the railroad hired themselves out either as farm laborers (as did Harry and Ralph Keen) or as day laborers.

Census data recorded in 1900 indicates that 53 occupations were represented in western Paradise Township. Of the 545 persons in the census district with identified occupations, 68 percent were engaged either in farming,

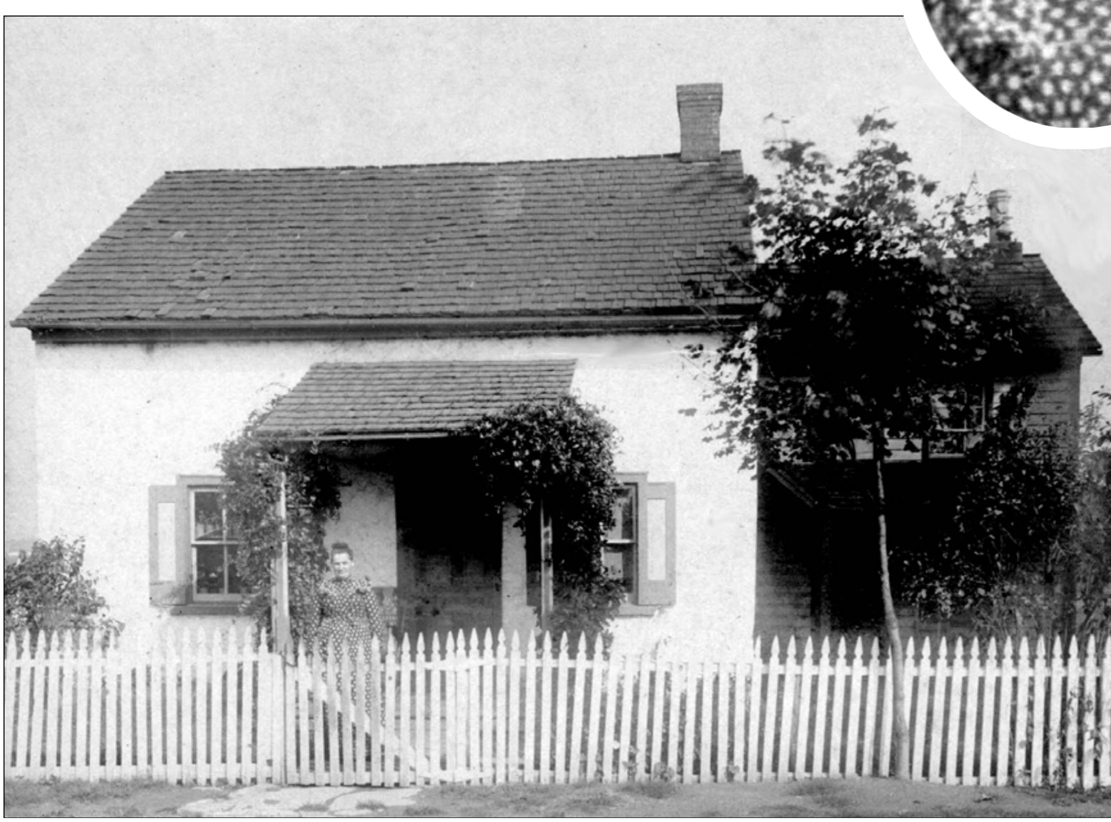
(continued on Page 34)

A Keen Family Album





Clockwise from top left: ***Christian Aulthouse Keen*** *and wife* ***Mary Louisa Bowman Keen****, circa 1874, with newborn son* ***John Henry Keen****, who reportedly weighed 1.5 pounds at birth and was placed in a teacup and kept warm in an oven;* ***Rachel Sue Keen*** *(1871-1935);* ***Ulysses Grant ("Les") Keen*** *(1865-1928);* ***Ellsworth ("El") Keen*** *(1864-1953); detail of Rachel Sue in front of the house purchased by her newly-widowed mother in 1898; the one-and-a-half-story "tenant house" occupied by the Keen family in 1898;* ***Christian A. Keen*** *(1837-1897);* ***Mary Louisa Bowman Keen*** *(1844-1930). There were 12 Keen children in all, but only Rachel Sue, Les, and El lived with their mother in Leaman Place for most of their adult lives.*



Mary Keen's granddaughter Rachel Keen Bair inherited this photo of three gentlemen about to enjoy cigars and liquid refreshment beside the railroad tracks in Leaman Place. Rachel believes the man on the left was her Uncle Les, who never had a hard time relaxing, and was certainly no neophyte in the art of tobacco and alcohol use.

serving as a day laborer or domestic aide ("servant"), or railroading. Other occupations with 10 or more practitioners included (in descending order of frequency) carriage making, cigar making, carpentry, telegraphy, landlording, and dressmaking (sometimes denoted "seamstressing"). Occupational designations with fewer than 10 practitioners included miller, teacher, housekeeper, merchant, laborer, woodworker, physician, salesman, clergyman, sexton, nurse, baker, blacksmith, innkeeper, hostler, butcher, housepainter, barber, dealer, lawyer, capitalist, machinist, marine service, stone mason, justice of the peace, clerk, stage driver, electrical engineer, assessor, matron, cotton mill worker, milk hauler, paper hanger, watchmaker, dentist, insurance agent, mail carrier, shoemaker, liveryman, cigar box manufacturer, manufacturer of fertilizer, and secretary.

The occupational profile of Leaman Place's population at the turn of the century differed significantly from that of the broader Township population. Leaman Place was, after all, a commercially-engendered village that had developed around the railroad crossing of a major highway, while the surrounding Township remained largely devoted to agriculture. When the 1900 census data is evaluated in the light of a map of Leaman Place published the previous year, it can be determined that Leaman Place's population amounted to approximately 168 persons divided among approximately 37 households. The occupations represented in the village were proportionally much more diverse than occupations of the census district as a whole. While Leaman Place accounted for only 12 percent of the district's population, nearly 60 percent of the district's occupational designations were attributed to its citizens. Among the village residents with identified occupations were 7 railroad laborers, 7 domestic aides ("servants"), 4 day laborers, 4 telegraph operators, 3 landlords, 3 farm laborers, 2 nurses, 2 cigar makers, 2 physicians, 2 coal and lumber yard merchants, and one each of the following: dry goods/grocery merchant, railroad inspector or superintendent, music teacher, coal and lumber yard laborer, railroad foreman, lawyer, liveryman, hostler, railroad freight agent, assistant freight agent, innkeeper, carriage painter, farmer, cigar box maker, manufacturer of fertilizer, woodworker, machinist, carriage smith, miller, clergyman, and butcher. The range of occupations represented in the Keen household in 1900 (2 railroad laborers, 2 farm laborers, a nurse, and a miller) was thus a reflection more of village diversity than of rural and agricultural homogeneity.

At the turn of the century, the Conestoga Traction Company set about establishing electric railway service throughout Lancaster County. The longest and last line established by this company extended from Lancaster to Coatesville, running for most of its length alongside the Lancaster and Williamstown Turnpike. A portion of this line, coursing eastward from Lancaster to Leaman Place, was opened on July 7, 1906. Two weeks later, the stretch between Leaman Place and Gap was placed in operation. Within a year or two, this branch of what became known as the "Christiana Route" of "The Lancaster and Eastern Street Railway" was opened to Christiana, then Parkesburg, and finally Coatesville. Not long afterward, the Conestoga Traction Company was bought out by the Pennsylvania Traction Company.

Amos W. Weaver, who spent some of his boyhood years in Paradise at the dawn of the trolley era, described the period in his circa-1980 memoir as follows:

> At this time, still 1904 or early 1905, I believe, there was no trolley service to Paradise yet. To go to the city to shop, rarely done, one went down to Leaman Place, about a mile to walk, to the railroad station, and boarded the local for Lancaster. There was also a stage coach still running to the city from Paradise. . . . I also recall the men working on laying trolley car tracks that ran through Paradise, from Lancaster to Christiana, and a few years later on to Coatesville. The company had imported cheap labor from Italy, then known as "Dagoes," whose speech we could not understand. I remember the little tar papered shacks near the Leaman Place railroad station where they lived.

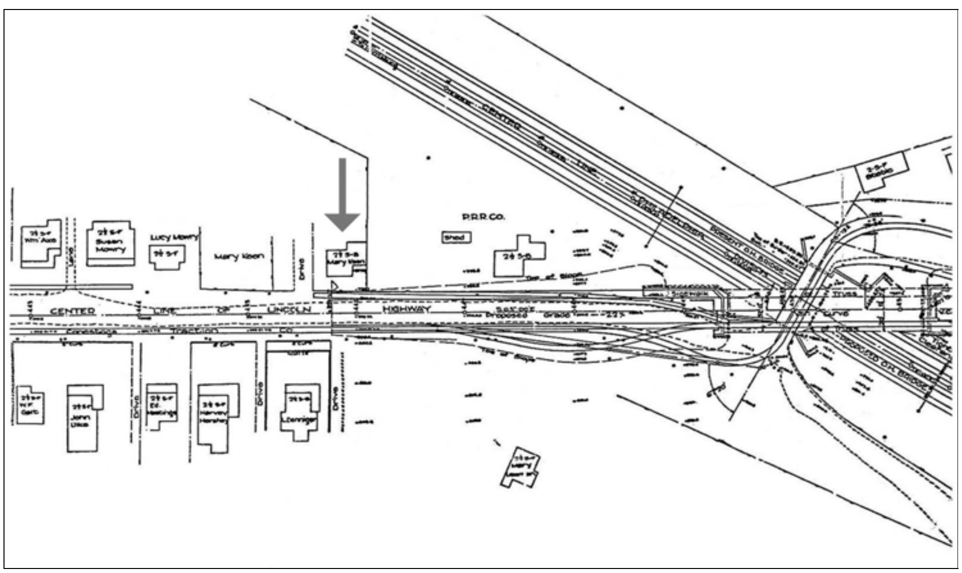
In 1918, two years after passage of the Federal Road Act, the United States Government purchased the Lancaster and Williamstown Turnpike and incorporated the road into the nation's first cross-continental freeway, christened "The Lincoln Highway." By that

Mary Keen reportedly loved to entertain, and with so many children and grandchildren, she had plenty of opportunities to play hostess. Weather permitting, she liked to spend time with guests in her backyard, surrounded by flowering plants, grape vines, and other flora. The children flanking her in this snapshot from about 1920 are believed to have been grandchildren.

time, the 1896 bridge at Leaman Place had carried trolley, automobile, pedestrian, and horse-drawn traffic across the Pennsylvania Railroad tracks for almost a quarter-century. The zigzag configuration of the bridge and its approaches had been growing increasingly problematic as traffic swelled and vehicles negotiated it at greater speeds. The old bridge was finally replaced by the present structure in 1923, and the highway was simultaneously straightened and the bridge approaches were elevated on fill to increase clearance over the railroad tracks. A map produced in 1920 in preparation for this bridge replacement depicted the footprint of the Keen residence, which was denoted as a 2½-story stone-and-brick structure. This map (reproduced BELOW) also indicated that Mary Keen owned the adjacent lot to the west, which had been detached from the Good Site Property when Abram Hershey conveyed it to the Lancaster and Williamstown Turnpike Road Company in 1892. When Mary Keen acquired this lot sometime in the early twentieth century, she did so in order to cultivate the kind of generously-sized kitchen garden and orchard to which she had become accustomed back on the farm.

An intimate depiction of the Keen household during the 1910s and '20s has been provided by Rachel Keen Bair, a granddaughter of Mary Louisa Keen, and daughter of J. Henry ("Harry") Keen. In a tape-recorded interview conducted in March 1998 at her Willow Valley apartment, the 87-year-old former Leaman Place resident shared the following reminiscences, which have been lightly edited:

> I'm picturing my Grandmother Keen's house and trying to figure out where everyone would have slept. My grandmother slept in the room above the entrance to the house. It used to be a hallway, maybe. The room above the parlor



This map was produced by the Pennsylvania Highway Department in 1920 to show the existing and proposed configurations of Lancaster Pike where it crossed the railroad tracks in Leaman Place. The old bridge, which had carried trolley, automobile, pedestrian, and horse-drawn traffic across the railroad tracks for almost a quarter-century, was set on a skew so it didn't have to be any longer than the railroad corridor was wide. This alignment meant that Pike travelers had to negotiate a zigzag course across the tracks, which was fine if they were proceeding no faster than a trotting horse. The automobile age had dawned, however, and Lancaster Pike was now part of the nation's first cross-continental freeway, christened "The Lincoln Highway." It was time for a longer, wider bridge with no zigzagging approaches. Because the new bridge was perched higher above the railroad tracks, its approaches had to be elevated on fill. According to this map, the fill extended westward as far as Mary Keen's house (marked with a gray arrow).

Informants reported that Rachel Sue Keen had worked as a midwife for part of her adult life. She also spent some years serving as a forelady in a Paradise village shirt factory. This information was supported by the circa-1915 photograph BELOW, which one of her nieces inherited. That's Rachel Sue standing on the far left, and in the detail (inset).

in the southwest corner of the house was a bedroom. Then there was a long bedroom in the northwest corner of the house, where all the boys could have slept. Uncle Les and Uncle El slept in the bedroom above the kitchen. My great aunts used to come from New York to visit. I don't know how they all fit in that house. Maybe they slept downstairs in the parlor or the dining room.

The room on the right when you walked in the front door my grandmother had as sort of a sitting room. It had a window to the highway and a window to the east. There was a big stove in there, and four doors: one to the outside, one to the parlor, one to the dining room, and one to the kitchen. To the left as you came in the entranceway room was the door to the parlor. There was a horsehair sofa in the parlor. I used to be careful not to sit on it. There was a pump organ in there too. There were also some horsehair chairs in there. So you didn't sit. You sort of roamed around.

The window sills interested me, because they curved around [that is, the window openings in the thick plastered walls were cove rather than squared off]. My grandmother always had flowers and plants on the window sills in these beautiful crockery containers. In the back of the house was this longer room. That was my grandmother's dining room. You had to go up the two steps out of the kitchen and then around the corner to get to the dining room. She entertained family a lot there—her sisters, and everybody. That was a long and narrow room. It seemed long to me as a child, after being in the other parts of the house. Aunt Rachel used to be the one who served the food when somebody was there for a dinner. At one end

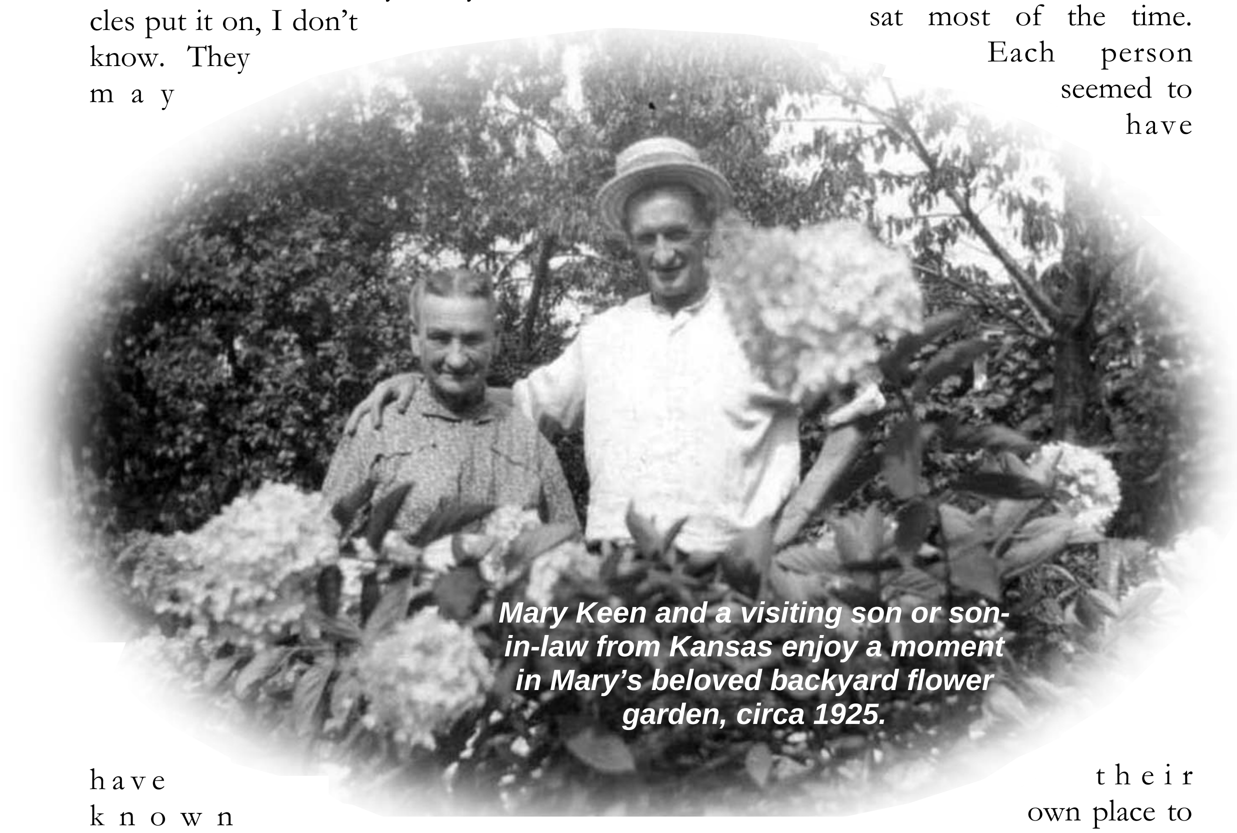
> of the dining room was where the staircase went up to the second floor.
>
> To the right, after you walked in the front door was the entrance to the kitchen. The kitchen had a door to the highway, and a little porch. Then behind the regular kitchen was the summer kitchen, which was still part of the house. Then the steps to the back yard went down from that. I remember that because my grandmother always had ice cream sent out from Lancaster, and we were always invited over when she had company because Dad was the one who had to serve the ice cream. We often sat on those back steps or in the backyard to eat ice cream.
>
> We often went into the backyard, because the well was down there, and you always had to go there to get a drink. The pump had a square wooden casing on it. There was rain water [collected by a cistern] in the kitchen for washing, but not for drinking. The outhouse was down by the barn. The butcher house was also down near the barn. And there was a chicken coop somewhere down there, too.
>
> My grandmother had a garden in back of the tollhouse, and in back of the lawn, down opposite the barn. Over in the piece in back of the tollhouse, my grandmother had a row of cherry trees and another kind of fruit tree. She had red cherries and the ox-heart cherries. We used to go up there and pick cherries. There might have been some apple trees there too.

In a second interview, conducted in April 1998, Rachel Bair elaborated on some of the recollections she had offered previously:

> My grandmother would sometimes have 15 to 20 people visiting there in the summertime. They sat outside on the porch or in the backyard, near the grape arbor. There were shade trees to sit under back there. There was a grape arbor right at the well. There were also grapevines down in the lot beside the house, where the butcher house was. And down around the barn I think there was a vine or two. She had pink grapes, and white grapes, and blue grapes. And then back behind the tollhouse, she had a good piece of ground there, and there were fruit trees in the back. And then up farther, I think that's where she raised potatoes and things, in back of the tollhouse. We always went over to that lot to pick cherries. Ox-heart cherries and sour cherries. I think she had pear trees, too, and maybe some apples.
>
> Uncle Les and Uncle El did their own butchering, for the family. They raised pigs for that. Sometimes Uncle Les came down to our house [in Leaman Place] and helped my dad butcher. Dad built a butcher house just for our family when we moved [to Leaman Place from a nearby farm]. That was the thing—to do your own butchering. You had to have a butcher house. That was the thing to do, if you came off a farm, I guess. That's why my grandmother and my uncles had their butcher house.
>
> Grandmother Keen ran the place. I imagine my aunt and uncles put in their two cents' worth, but I think Grandmother Keen was the ruler of the house. She was a

strong-willed individual. I imagine that she had some money from the farm when she moved to town and raised the roof on the new house. Both she and my grandfather both probably inherited a few dollars. Of course, a few dollars went a long way in those days. I don't imagine it cost her too much to put the second floor on. And maybe my uncles put it on, I don't know. They may have known enough about building to have done it. But I never heard them say that they did. Or if I heard them, it didn't register.

My grandmother had pride in how she kept the house, the outside in particular. My uncles did all the outside work, pruning the trees and the grapevines, and the garden. I don't think my grandmother ever worked outside, at least not when she lived there [in Leaman Place]. The yard and front porch was level with the road [before the highway was elevated in the early 1920s]. You walked in from the road, right into the house. There was a fence out around the outside. The front porch extended the length of the house. There were always lots of chairs out there for people to sit on. There were always a couple of chairs on the little porch in front of the kitchen. That's where my uncles sat most of the time. Each person seemed to have their own place to sit. My grandmother and aunt sat in the entrance hallway or room, and my uncles always sat out in the kitchen. My Uncle El, who had quite a beard, he sat in the southeast corner of the kitchen, right near the stove. He smoked a pipe all the time. The kitchen table was over against the wall [of the stone part of the house]. It could be pulled out if you needed to seat more people. In the summertime, they did the cooking out in the summer kitchen, instead of firing up the inside stove. The cistern under the kitchen was the water sup-



Mary Keen and a visiting son or son-in-law from Kansas enjoy a moment in Mary's beloved backyard flower garden, circa 1925.

ply for doing laundry and washing dishes.

I don't recall any upstairs heating except for the pipe that went up from the kitchen stove through my uncles' bedroom. I don't recall that any of the walls in the house were wallpapered. The exterior of the house was gray. I don't remember the color of the exterior trim. Something outside was painted dark green, I remember faintly. There was electricity in the house while my grandmother lived there. She had electric lights. Not too many, as I recall. She didn't have a telephone, though. Grandmother Keen always had plants on her windowsills. And she had the floors carpeted.

Also contributing to a depiction of the Keen family's living quarters in the late 1920s is a room-by-room inventory of household furnishings, compiled several weeks after Mary Louisa Keen died on April 13, 1930 at the age of 85. Keen had not prepared a will, so the May Term 1930 Orphans' Court of Lancaster County ordered that her personal estate and real estate be evaluated in preparation for their liquidation and distribution among Keen's 15 surviving heirs (3 daughters, 6 sons, 4 grandchildren, and 2 great-grandchildren). Part of the "True and Perfect Inventory and Just Appraisement of all and singular the goods and chattels, rights and credits, which were of Mary Louisa Keen, late of Leaman Place, Paradise Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, deceased" was the following list of "Personal Property" items:

Living-Room contents:
couch and pillows, 5 chairs, table, table lamp, 8 pictures, congoleum rug, and 3 small rugs

Parlor contents:
an organ and stool, sofa, table, a 3-piece parlor suit, 2 rocking chairs, 4 pictures, large rug, 2 small rugs

Dining Room contents:
sideboard and contents, meal chest, extension table, 2 rocking chairs, 3 straight chairs, 4 pictures, mirror, carpet

When the project historian turned up this aerial photograph of the Leaman Place vicinity taken on April 29, 1940, it provided the first hard evidence of the Good Site property's physical condition between 1920 and 1960. The project historian used an enlargement and digital enhancement of the Good Site portion of this image to plot the locations and footprints of the property's aboveground features.

Based on its appearance in 1998, this first-floor room in the southwestern corner of the Good Site house could harldy have been mistaken for a tidy Victorian parlor. But that's just what it was as recently as 1930, when an inventory of Mary Keen's personal property identified its furnishings as "an organ and stool, sofa, table, a 3-piece parlor suit, 2 rocking chairs, 4 pictures, large rug, [and] 2 small rugs."

Kitchen contents:
kitchen cabinet and contents, stove, settee, leaf-table, 3 straight chairs, 1 rocker

Center Bed Room [Mary Louisa's]:
bed and bedding, washstand and contents, 3 chairs

Northwest Bed Room:
5-piece bed room suit, rug

Southwest Bed Room [Rachel's]:
bed and bedding, cedar chest, bureau, washstand, carpet, 2 small rugs

Eastern Bed Room [Uncle El's]:
bed and bedding, bureau, cupboard, 3 chairs, carpet

Garret [attic]:
miscellaneous furniture

Porch:
swing and 2 chairs

It is possible that the Keen residence included other furnishings; Rachel and El's property would not have been included in an inventory of Mary Louisa's personal effects. From the completeness of the inventoried collection, however, it appears that the matriarch owned virtually every item in and around her house. The Keen family must have lived in a modestly-appointed environment, for Mary Louisa's collection of "Personal Property" was valued at only $50.85. The possession with the highest appraised value was the kitchen stove, estimated to be worth $10. Based largely on the relatively high value of this stove, the kitchen furnishings represented one-third of the total value of Mary Louisa's household furniture. At the time of her death, she had $2,687.41 in the bank. Although the internal furnishings were modest, Mary Louisa certainly had the wherewithal to add to or upgrade her furnishings. She also owned her house and lands, which were valued at $2,000. Altogether, she was worth an estimated $4,738.26 when she died.

As it turned out, Mary Louisa's heirs wound up dividing up an even larger amount. Enos L. Zimmerman, an electrician who had recently moved to Leaman Place from Intercourse, offered the Keens $3,505 for their house and lot. After determining that this was "a fair price for the premises and a better price than can be obtained at public sale," the Court authorized the sale of the property to Zimmerman. The conveyance was accomplished by a deed dated December 19, 1930. Several months later, Mary Louisa's household effects and other forms of personal property (including a number of chickens) were sold at auction, generating an additional $473.46 for her heirs.

Tax records indicate that Enos Zimmerman allowed El and Rachel Keen to stay on in their house as renters for a year or two after the change of ownership. Zimmerman's primary interest, it seems, was in the butcher shop structure, which he converted into a headquarters for his electrical business. Lee Brown, a Leaman Place resident who lived across the street from Zimmerman's shop and a couple of doors down from Zimmerman's residence in the early 1930s, remembers "electrical fixtures and lamps hanging from the ceiling in [the converted butcher shop] for customers to choose from." The building was only about half its present size at that time, according to Brown. An investigation of the present building's foundations confirmed that the older core of the structure measured only about 22 feet in length and 14 feet in width. These dimensions are consistent with the building's appearance on an aerial photograph taken in 1940 (reproduced on Page 40).

According to tax records, El and Rachel Keen moved to the farm of their brother Ralph sometime in late 1932 or early 1933. Rachel would live only until 1935. El, on the other hand, had another twenty years of life ahead of him, most of which were spent living with the family of his brother, J. Henry, in Leaman Place. Enos Zimmerman, meanwhile, did not remain the owner of the former Keen residence for very long after the Keens moved out. According to one of his former neighbors, Zimmerman "lost everything in the Depression, and he was not a very good businessman to start with." The Lancaster County Sheriff seized Zimmerman's property and sold it on February 26, 1935 to Zimmerman's primary creditor, the Fulton Bank, which turned around and sold it a month later to "single man" Harry M. Howe of Gordonville, Leacock Township for $1,500. In the accompanying deed, it was noted that the property's "improvements" included a "2½ story stone building, frame stable, and metal shop."

Howe held the property for five years, then conveyed it to widow Halye M. Kehrweider of East Lampeter Township on September 27, 1940 in consideration of $1.00. Kehrweider owned it until December 16, 1943 when she sold it to John H. Daniels and his wife Elizabeth of Paradise Township. The Daniels proved to be one of the property's longest-lived resident owners, living there about 32 years. Neighbors remember that the Danielses lived in the main house and rented out the for-

Persistent inquiries by the project historian finally led him to a couple of former residents of the Foundation Site property, who provided invaluable anecdotal history and even some mid-twentieth-century photographs of the Good Site property. The east side of the house (with the kitchen addition) was captured in the circa-1950 snow scene ABOVE, and the Good Site barn (expanded since the Keen family era) was the focus of another snapshot (FACING PAGE).

mer butcher house, which they enlarged and transformed into a bungalow. Among the Daniels' tenants was Betty Steinman, whose family lived in the Pennsylvania Railroad Company house next-door, on the Foundation Site, from 1939 to 1949. In a 1998 interview, Betty recalled moving into the Daniels' bungalow with her new husband, shortly after her marriage in 1948. "Berna Brackbill had been living in the bungalow before we began renting it," she recalled.

Thelma and Melvin ("Boot") Simpson had rented it earlier also. Thelma worked for Bell Telephone. I'm not sure what Boot did. They had a daughter Judy. I remember going over there and playing with her [when we lived next-door]. Before the Danielses, Mrs. Kehrwieder lived in the big house. There was also a man named "Housekeeper" who lived there. He was a schoolteacher. Harry Howe lived in the big house before the Danielses. He had two sons, Bill and Ted. I think Harry and his wife were divorced when he lived at Leaman Place. He raised his boys there. They didn't live there very long. Neither did Housekeeper.

We rented the bungalow from John and Elsie Daniels in about 1949. When we moved in, it had two bedrooms—one big one and one not much bigger than a sewing room—an eat-in kitchen, and a very small living room. There was a pump from a well that we used for water. We didn't have any other indoor plumbing. It was just my husband and I, and we both worked, so it didn't matter that the place was so small. My husband was a tile setter. He put new floors and countertops in the bungalow, and things like that. He didn't do it in exchange for rent; he just did it for us. They had put a bathroom in the main house before we moved to the bungalow, but there was no bathroom in the bungalow the whole time we lived there [from around 1949 until 1954].

After Betty and her husband moved out of the bungalow, the Danielses rented it to a succession of short-term tenants. John Daniels died in the summer of 1972. His widow owned the property for another five years, then sold it in July 1977 to David W. Good and his wife Rachel of Paradise Township. The improvements cited in the accompanying deed included "a one-story bungalow."

Within the next decade, the Goods divorced. Rachel remarried and moved to Wellsboro, Tioga County, after which she and her new husband conveyed her interest in the Good Site property to her ex-husband David on August 11, 1986. In recent years the deteriorating property was acquired by the State of Pennsylvania in preparation for the widening of increasingly busy Route 30. The buildings on the site were razed in July 1998.

While the Good Site property was repeatedly changing hands during the twentieth century, Leaman Place experienced a more general transformation. The growing popularity of automobile travel following World War I was mirrored by a decrease in passenger traffic on trolley and train lines serving the village. In 1935, the Conestoga Traction Company discontinued its trolley service through Paradise Township, replacing its electric railway cars with gas-powered buses. Around this time, the Pennsylvania Railroad Company stopped picking up and discharging passengers at Leaman Place. In 1955, following its abandonment of steam power in favor of more-efficient electric motors (in 1938) and diesel engines, the Company took its westbound "inside" track out of service. Six years later, it did the same with its eastbound "outside" track, leaving it with a single set of eastbound tracks and another set for westbound trains. As of 1962, carloads of freight were still being moved to and from Leaman Place by local freight trains operating between Parkesburg and Lancaster. Smaller quantities of goods were shipped in Pennsylvania Railroad trucks between Leaman Place and Lancaster. Ownership of the railroad has since been transferred to the Penn Central Transportation Company, then Consolidated Rail Corporation ("Conrail," in 1978), then Amtrak. As of 1996, Amtrak was running seven trains through Leaman Place every day, on their way between Harrisburg and Philadelphia. SEPTA trains providing service between Parkesburg and Philadelphia travel up to Leaman Place in order to turn around.

As Leaman Place's hotel, post office, gas station, and store were either closed down or moved during the twentieth century, the village lost more and more of its historic identity. This decline was the subject of discussion already in 1947, when the article reproduced ABOVE was published in a local newspaper:

What's in a Name?

Leaman Place-Paradise Boundary Lines Still Vague

Which is Leaman Place and which is Paradise? Where does one end and the other begin?

* * *

Residents of Leaman Place still are wondering about those questions but they're definite about how the village got its name.

Henry Leaman built a hotel there when workers were laying the old Philadelphia-Columbia Railroad track in 1835. And quite naturally people referred to the hotel as Leaman's place. Add, subtract, multiply or divide and you still get the same answer.

Henry wasn't the first Leaman to settle there, however. His father, Christian, purchased Reynold's Hotel about 1795 and then a little later on built himself another along the Conestoga wagon trail about one-quarter mile north of the present Lincoln Highway.

* *

The original Leaman homestead is located next to Lehman's Store and two descendants of Henry Leaman still live there. They are the Misses Mary and Lucy who are grand-daughters of Henry Leaman.

Lived In Same House

A member of the Henry Leaman family has lived in the old brown house ever since his death. But the two ladies mark the final generation of the immediate family.

However, Dr. Walter J. Leaman, a first cousin of the sisters, resides there in retirement after being a physician in Leaman Place since 1900. He has lived there since 1877.

Recalling the history of the village, the doctor explained that Reynolds Hotel was first, then then Christian Leaman's stone hotel north of the highway. But when the railroad was built, Henry Leaman constructed a frame hotel near the old station. This hotel since has been demolished.

Since Leaman Place became rather indistinguishable from Paradise it no longer has its own post office. Mail is handled by the Paradise post office and most of it is distributed at Lehman's Store..

* * *

The fire house also lost its identity in the merger with Paradise. An engine, which is outmoded and unused, still is kept at the old Leaman Place fire house. At present the volunteer outfit is composed of Paradise Twp. residents and is located in Paradise.

Regarding the western boundary of the village, residents continually disagree with Paradise and in the words of Dr. Leaman "if you start talking about that all you do is get in trouble".

In the local telephone book, Paul Beane, who lives "betwixt and between" is listed as Paradise R1. He says he lives in Leaman Place but even he isn't sure just where the boundary should be.

* *

"On my driver's license they have both. It says Leaman Place-Paradise," he remarked.

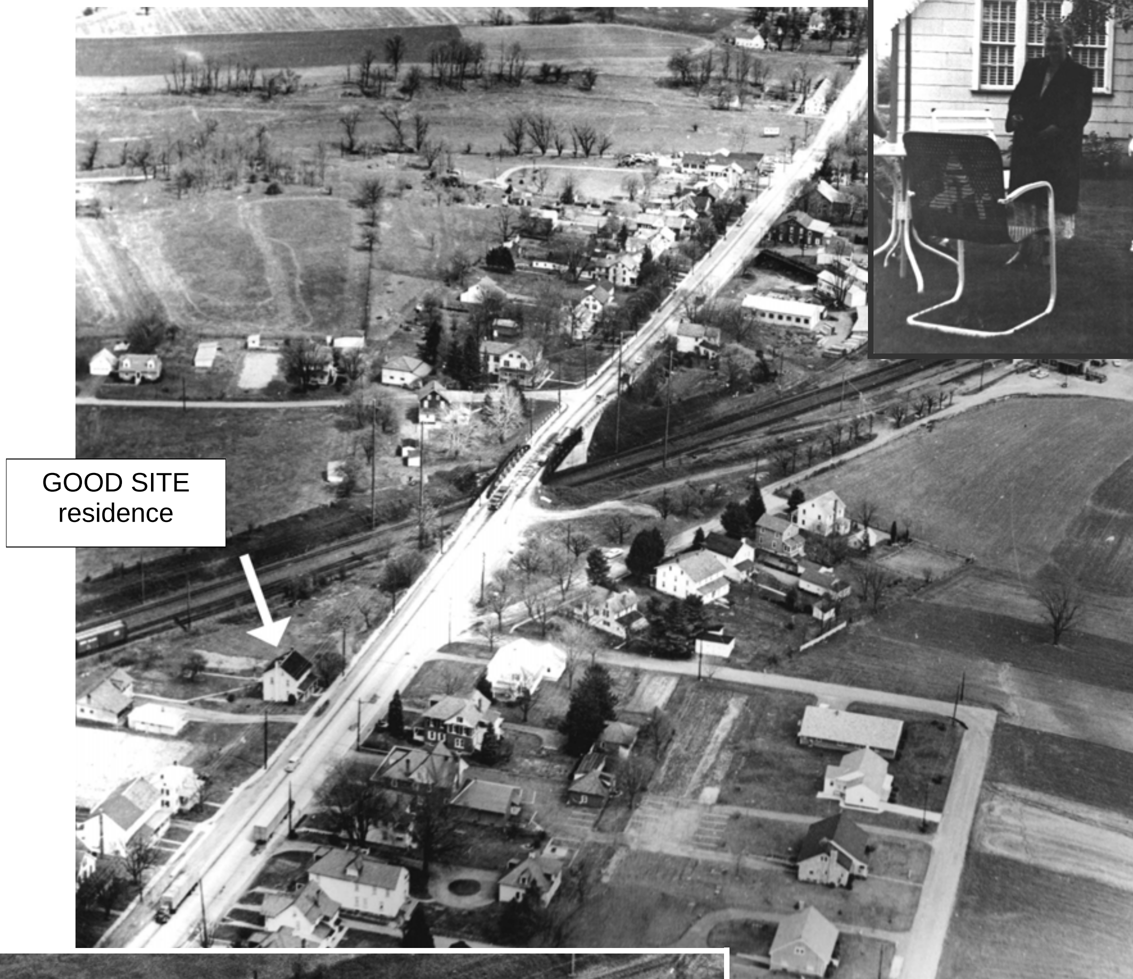
A former resident of Leaman Place, Dr. Arthur P. Mylin, county superintendent of schools, lived in the house where Beane resides now next to the railroad bridge.

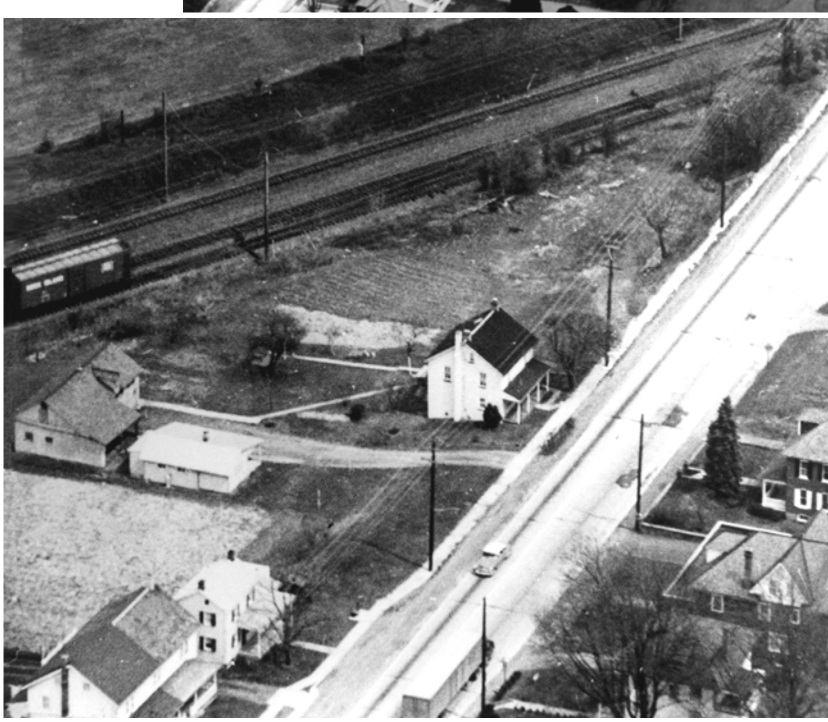
"That used to be a busy railroad terminal. People from Strasburg would change trains there to come to Lancaster," Mylin recalls.

Now there is only freight service where the Strasburg Railroad transfers parcels to the Pennsylvania.

Today, Leaman Place has little surviving communal identity. There are no churches, public schools, stores, restaurants, or a post office to confer upon it a sense of "place." The nearest institutions of this type are located either in Paradise village or the surrounding township. Modern Leaman Place comprises a loosely-associated string of residences and businesses lining busy Route 30. Its residents have come to regard it as an eastern extension of Paradise village.

A former resident of the bungalow on the Good Site property provided the photograph at RIGHT of the front yard and façade of the bungalow as it appeared around 1950, when it was a cozy rental dwelling.





The eastward-looking aerial photograph (ABOVE) of central Leaman Place as it appeared in 1961 was provided by local historian and Leaman Place resident Robert Denlinger, who had the picture taken while he was preparing a book on Paradise Township. An enlarged detail (LEFT) of the Good Site and Foundation Site portion of this image offered visual corroboration that the Foundation Site house had been demolished around the time John F. Kennedy assumed the American Presidency. The image was also useful in determining what aboveground structures still occupied the Good Site.

What the House Disclosed

Archaeologists conducting Section 106 investigations rarely have the luxury of working on a site as historically accessible—through written records, photography, and oral history—as the Good Site. Similar documentation might be obtainable for some other sites, but most cost-conscious archaeology budgets do not allow for more than a moderate level of historical research, unless a project happens to advance to Phase III or "data recovery." The Good Site was also atypical in that archaeologists were able to work within the geographical context of historic buildings (other than ruins, such as they encountered at the Foundation Site) which held the promise of yielding additional data. Because an investigation of the main residence on the Good Site might shed light on the character and fortunes of its historic inhabitants (and, by extension, the buried artifacts they left behind), members of CHRS's Historic Preservation staff were called in to see what the house might "say." They were fortunate that the dwelling was abandoned (the Commonwealth had purchased the property several years earlier in preparation for the proposed bridge replacement), and its imminent razing meant they were free to dismantle as much of it as necessary in looking for clues.

As part of their initial examination of the decaying and apparently unremarkable house in the early spring of 1998, the historic structures specialists measured and mapped the building's exterior and interior dimensions and features. Recording this data would allow interested parties to continue analyzing the structure—and comparing it to other historical structures—even after its demolition. The other aspect of their initial recordation took the form of photography, as they systematically documented the appearance of each room and prominent structural component from a variety of angles.

It quickly became apparent that the Good Site residence retained very little of its historic architectural integrity. There were indications that interior walls had been moved, that rooms had been reconfigured, that doors, windows, and trim had been replaced, and that surfaces had been repeatedly re-clad or repainted with more modern materials. These alterations did not make the building any less interesting or worthy of analysis, however. Just the opposite was true. Through a careful reading of the many changes made to the building over time, structural analysts stood to gain unusual insight into the motives and means of its former owners and occupants.

The investigation they conducted throughout the spring and early summer of 1998—like the archaeological excavation proceeding simultaneously—was informed by historical data compiled by the project historian. Thus, when Mary Keen's granddaughter produced photographic and anecdotal evidence of the building's enlargement around the turn of the twentieth century, the structures specialists expanded their examination to include the physical composition of the dwelling's stuccoed exterior walls, which appeared from ground level to be composed primarily of fieldstone. Removing stucco from the outside of the walls, and plaster from the inside, they noted that only 1½ stories of the building were built of stone, and the remaining story—added when Mary Keen "raised the roof"—was made of brick and wood, to a thickness matching the earlier stone walls. Though this was the most dramatic structural revelation coaxed from the house, it was certainly not the only one. Discovered elsewhere in the house was a hand-dug cistern beneath the kitchen floor and the foundations for a mid-nineteenth-century hearth in the basement.

Removing plaster and lath from a wall beside a window in a second floor bedroom of the Good Site residence, structural analysts discovered that whoever added a second story to the dwelling did so by laying bricks flush with the outside of the earlier stone walls, and then building out the inside of the walls with framing members and lath. Once stucco was applied to the outside of the walls, and plaster to the inside, there were no telltale signs that the upper story was not made of stone, nor that the building had once been only 1½ stories tall.

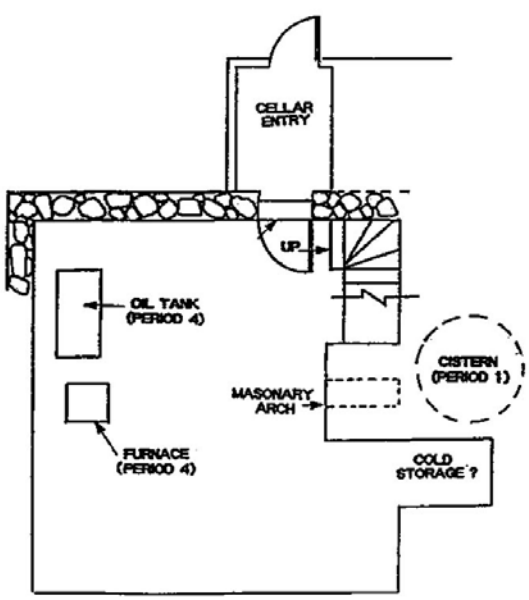
At the end of several months' investigation, the principal structures specialist assigned to the Good Site house presented her findings in a 6,500-word "Architectural Analysis" section of the *Phase III Archaeological Survey* report. Her extensive and scholarly description of the property, which made up more than half of the analysis, is probably of less interest to the lay-person than the conclusions which followed. Here, in abbreviated form, is what the house revealed to her.

CHRS personnel conducted selective demolition of the interior of the house in order to analyze changes to the dwelling over time. When this physical evidence was reviewed in connection with documentary records and historic photographs as well as information gleaned from oral interviews, five broad phases in the history of the house emerged. In the first phase, the house was built in the mid-nineteenth century as a 1½-story, stone dwelling, a form it retained for several decades. In the second phase, beginning probably in the early 1880s, a 2-story kitchen addition was built against the east side of the dwelling, a cooking hearth was removed from the older section, and several alterations were made to better accommodate interior circulation. In the third phase, commencing when Mary Keen purchased the property in 1898, the height of the house was raised to accommodate a full second story and the interior room configuration may have been modified. In addition, Mary Keen eventually installed electrical lights. In the fourth phase, beginning in the 1930s or 1940s, the house was further modernized with the installation of an oil-burning furnace, a bathroom on the second floor, and plumbing throughout the house. The fifth phase is marked by the circa-1970s remodeling of the kitchen, the interior application of modern paneling and wainscot, the modern installation of a second bathroom on the first floor, and by the more recent abandonment and deterioration of the house.

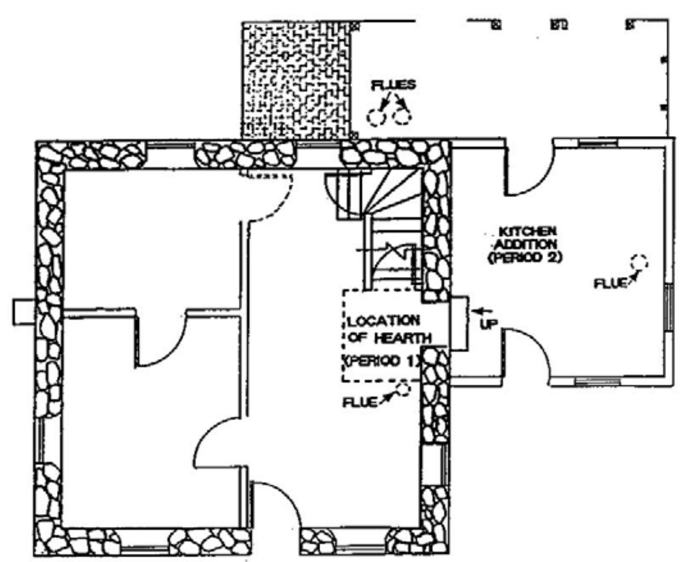
The Good Site house's vernacular three-room plan is similar to the "Continental" house type built by colonial German-speaking settlers in Pennsylvania. The Continental or *Flürkuchenhaus* dwelling is characterized by a large heated hall extending the full depth of the house, flanked on one side by two smaller rooms placed back-to-back.

A distinguishing feature of the *Flürkuchenhaus* is its off-center interior chimney, rising above a hearth in the hall. In contrast to the traditional *Flürkuchenhaus*, the hearth and chimney of the Good Site house occupied the gable end of the dwelling, in the Anglo tradition. It is possible that the house represents a convergence of Germanic and Anglo building traditions. As recognition of the Georgian-plan house became more widespread in the nineteenth century, aspects of the Georgian type were sometimes incorporated into local building traditions. The particular variation demonstrated by the Good Site house has been identified by one architectural historian as a hybrid of Georgian and Continental house types, in which the house retains the Continental three-room plan and the offset door enters into the hearth room, but the fireplace is located in one of the gable ends in the Georgian manner. Examination of historic resource files at the Historic Preservation Trust of Lancaster County did not reveal any documented nineteenth-century dwellings in adjacent townships that bear a strong resemblance to the Good Site house. The original 1½-story height of the Good Site house reflects a type seldom seen in Lancaster County today, probably because such small dwellings—like the Good Site house itself—were usually enlarged with additions.

Documentary and photographic evidence indicates that the second phase in the history of the house began with construction of a two-story addition, probably by liveryman Elhanna Martin. By the 1880s, the large interior cooking hearth would have been out-of-date and unfashionable, and Martin probably wished to remove it and make the house larger and more serviceable. Martin's effort to modernize his house was as ingenious as it was common, reflecting a more widespread pattern of enclosing or removing old cooking fireplaces that had long since become obsolete. In deciding where to construct a kitchen addition, Martin had several factors to consider. First, there was a stone-lined circular cistern located just outside the east wall of the original structure. Secondly, the large hearth and walk-in fireplace spanned nearly a quarter of the east interior wall. These two features were confirmed by physical examination of the house. A large fireplace was once located on the first floor



CELLAR

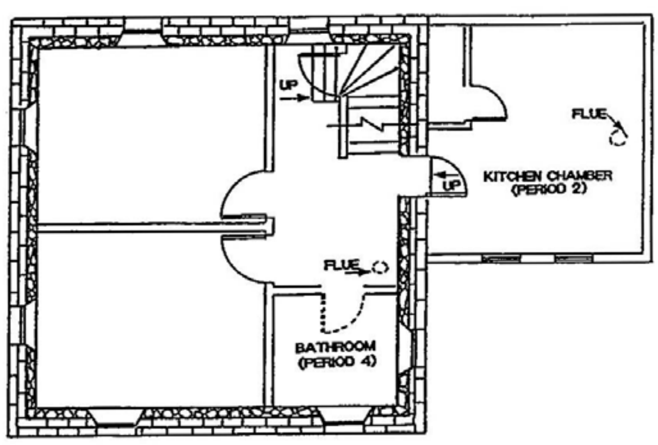


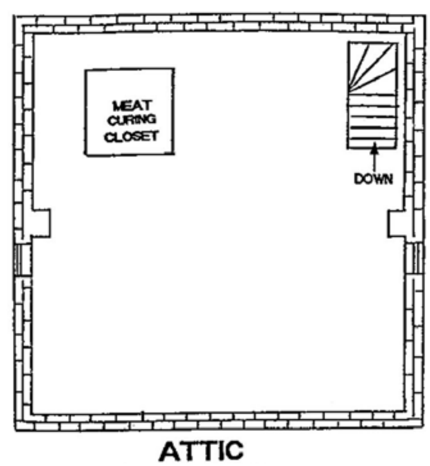
FIRST FLOOR

of the main house. The remains of this fireplace consist of a large masonry substructure in the cellar. In addition, CHRS staff identified two layers of wood floorboards beneath the carpet in the main first-floor room. The lower layer of wood flooring—the underside of which was visible from the cellar—contained a gaping hole directly over the substructure in the cellar, indicating the location of the hearth.

In undertaking alterations, Martin probably calculated that he could remove the hearth and fireplace, open space in the east wall for a doorway, and build a modern kitchen fitted with a stove directly over the location of the cistern. This particular solution would restrict construction to one side of the house and avoid changes to the two smaller first-floor rooms. The placement of the addition over the cistern would also have been convenient for the retrieval of wash water. Although the price for this added convenience may have been a rather damp and cold kitchen, the presence of an indoor water supply set the house apart from its neighbors and implied a distinction in status. (At the adjacent Foundation Site, for example, the cistern and water supply remained outside the dwelling.) In the main room, Martin also installed a second layer of wood floorboards to conceal the location of the original hearth. Finally, removal of the large hearth made another reorientation possible. The door to the cellar stairs originally occupied the same wall as the door leading upstairs. This placement was revealed by a triangle of whitewash on the raking stair joist inside the lath-and-plaster wall. By reorienting the cellar doorway adjacent to the door into the addition, Martin enabled easier access between the modern kitchen and the old cellar, which was still used for food storage. We may not know what circumstances led Martin to undertake extensive alterations to the dwelling and then sell it shortly thereafter, but his efforts improved the quality and value of the property, in ways that were both material and symbolic.

A third transformation of the dwelling occurred after Mary Keen acquired the property in 1898. Partial demolition of the second floor walls by CHRS staff revealed how the height of the house had been increased. The stone wall—which was approximately 1.85 feet thick—was made level at the top all the





Plan views included in the Phase III archaeology report (ABOVE and FACING PAGE) placed structural components of the Good Site dwelling in the context of five periods of occupancy and alteration. Period 1: ca. 1860—ca. 1880; Period 2: ca. 1880—ca. 1898; Period 3: ca. 1898—ca. 1930; Period 4: ca. 1930—ca. 1970; and Period 5: ca. 1970—1998.

way around the dwelling, including the gable ends. Once the top of the wall was level, depressions were cut into the stone for the second story windows and then brick walls approximately 8 inches thick were laid down so that the outer side of the brick was flush to the stone base. The inner side of the brick wall was then built out with framing so that it too was flush with the stone wall underneath. The window openings were then framed with wood so that they canted inward, and then coated with laths and horsehair plaster. In addition, the entire exterior of the house was treated with a new application of stucco. Thus the brick construction was completely concealed (except for the gable ends left unfinished inside the new attic) and the house retained the impression of being totally constructed of stone. Only the canted window wells betrayed a difference, one that likely arose from the difficulty of framing a coved wall. Mary Keen had the brick chimney above the east gable end of the structure rebuilt, and elected also to build a second chimney above the west gable end. Examination of the plaster walls and second floor framing against the west gable end indicated that this second chimney had likely never been connected to any flues or been at all functional, and it may have been constructed entirely for visual purposes. One other attic feature—a meat curing enclosure—was probably built by Mrs. Keen's sons, Ulysses and Elmer, who butchered meat for the family.

The manner in which the height of the house was raised reveals the physical, economic, and cultural concerns of Mary Keen. Keeping house for herself and six children, Mrs. Keen must have felt a need for greater physical accommodation within the dwelling. Nevertheless, the original attic story of the stone dwelling would have been usable space—though cramped—since the stone walls rose approximately 3.5 feet above the floor, and the original gable roof would have accommodated a nearly full-height ceiling toward the center. By deciding to erect a full second story with an attic above, Mrs. Keen may have added as much to the stature of the dwelling as she gained in headroom. Her decision to enlarge the house upward rather than outward may have been influenced by the changing character of Leaman Place. By 1900, Leaman Place was a successful commercial community, the inhabitants of which plied a wide variety of trades, professions, and other occupations. The dwellings within the village at this time were predominantly two stories tall with symmetrical facades. In contrast, the small 1½-story Good Site house must have looked awkward and out-of-date. By undertaking and concealing alterations in the manner that she did, Mrs. Keen brought the house into greater visual conformity with the other houses in the village, even adding a second chimney to create a sense of symmetry. Mrs. Keen's granddaughter, Rachel Keen Bair, recalled that her grandmother took a great deal of pride in the house. Although the visual changes to the dwelling reveal Mrs. Keen's concerns over her place in the community, the economic means with which she undertook these changes remains unclear. If "raising the roof" was less costly than a new addition, it appears to have involved a more difficult set of technical problems.

In the years after the Keen family left the property in the early 1930s, a number of owners and tenants occupied the house. It was during these years that the oil furnace and the upstairs bathroom were installed, possibly by John H. Daniels and his wife Elizabeth, who purchased the property in 1943 and resided in the dwelling for the next three decades. The Daniels appear to have had an interest in improving the property, since they remodeled the old butcher house behind the main dwelling into a bungalow-style house that they rented to tenants.

The history of the Good Site dwelling can only be understood in relation to the changing rural and urban character of Leaman Place and to larger changes in living patterns that accompanied new technology and increasingly fluid social circumstances. Physical alterations to the house reveal the motives and desires of its various owners. The construction of the new kitchen and elimination of the old cooking hearth demonstrated Elhanna Martin's concern for both new technology and the social uses of the dwelling. Removing all traces of its origin as a tenant house, Martin increased the floor space in the dwelling and improved the service functions—even as he relocated these functions outside the main spaces of the house. In undertaking these changes, Martin showed his awareness of modern taste and new standards of gentility. In "raising the roof" and creating a full second story, Mary Keen demonstrated her concern not only for physically accommodating her family, but also for her social position within the growing village. By making her house comparable to those of her neighbors, Mrs. Keen offered a material expression of her social and economic well-being. These two broad episodes in the history of the Good Site house reflect patterns of alteration and change that may be observed in many other common houses as well. The Good Site house was a worthy object of study by virtue of the fact that it had *lost* its architectural integrity, and consequently became more telling of historic changes and transformation over time than many historic houses now listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

Before Mary Keen "raised the roof" of the Good Site residence, the winder staircase in the northeastern corner of the first floor (pictured at RIGHT) must have led to a half-story loft.

On the FACING PAGE, a CHRS structures specialist examines an enclosure in a corner of the attic, apparently installed there during the Keen family's occupancy. The feature was later identified as a meat curing closet, which must have gotten plenty of use given Les and El Keen's butchering propensity.

What the Ground Divulged

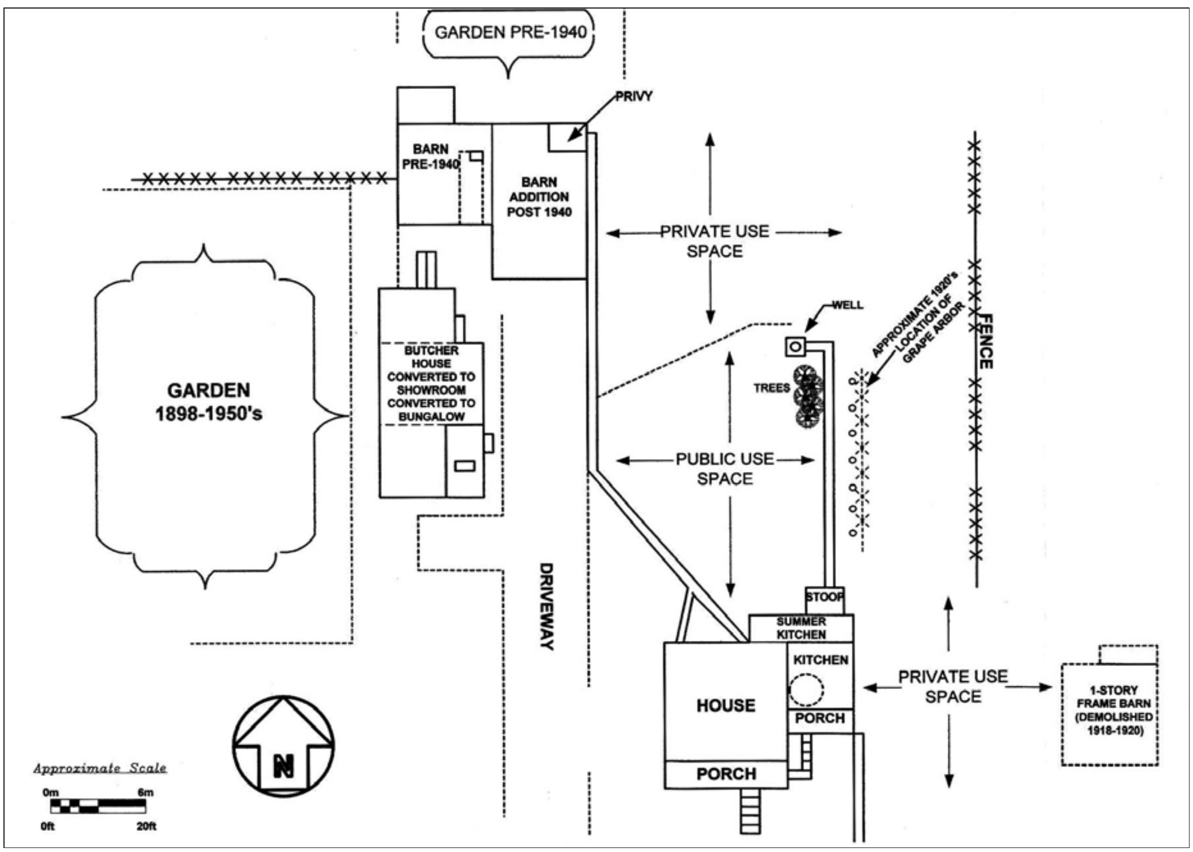
With the wealth of historical data being compiled by the project historian, and the ongoing investigation by structural specialists into the changing composition and configuration of the Good Site house, the archaeologists responsible for Phase III excavations on the Good Site had a growing body of background information to draw upon in choosing where to dig and how to interpret the artifacts and features they uncovered. In concluding the Phase II Archaeological Survey report with an assertion that data recovery was warranted, the report authors had already formulated an array of "research questions" and a strategy for wresting as much artifactual information from the Good Site as time and budget would allow. What kinds of additional data did they expect Phase III excavations would yield?

They assumed, first of all, they would find many more artifacts of the sort unearthed during the first two phases of the investigation: pieces of ceramic, bottle glass, bone, shell, hardware, nails, etc. The 2-foot-diameter shovel test pits (STPs) and 5-foot-square test units from which those items had been extracted were, however, necessarily few and far between (only six test units had been excavated across the Good Site property during the Phase II investigation). The Phase III work plan called for the digging of many more STPs (148, to be exact) and test units (17), and these holes would be excavated on a much tighter gridwork of 10-foot intervals on the east side of the bungalow (where most of the domestic activity was believed to have occurred), and at 20-foot intervals west of this building. Data from that many holes, when entered into a computerized database and plotted on a plan view of the site, could reveal patterns of deposition (the purposeful placement or careless discarding of objects). In this "spatial patterning" analysts could discern how various areas of the property were regarded and used.

A larger and broader sampling of artifacts, and the discovery of additional features, would also contribute to a more-detailed picture of the site, and allow analysts to draw finer distinctions between periods of deposition and types of artifacts. This could speak to the nature of day-to-day life for former inhabitants of the site (sometimes referred to as their "lifeways"). Written records rarely reveal what consumer goods and other commonplace items were used by former occupants of a property, and yet it is precisely these "little things," when analyzed in aggregate, that can provide the hardest evidence of the inhabitants' socio-economic standing, and whether or not that status changed over time. While informants can render judgments and supply intimate details about people, buildings, and activities associated with a property, human memory—selective and fluid as it is—cannot be depended on to tell a fully rounded story of a site. Sometimes artifactual recovery and analysis confirms what is learned through oral history and documentary evidence. Sometimes it calls such "evidence" into question, or utterly refutes popular conceptions. Sometimes it poses new questions that a researcher relying solely on documentary evidence and informant interviews might not think to ask.

And finally the archaeologists assigned to the Phase III investigation of the Good Site hoped additional data would allow them to place the site within a context of evolving social, economic, and geographic forces (the "Bigger Picture," if you will). This is generally the expectation for archaeological investigations of sites which aren't associated with famous persons or events. In investigating a historic battlefield, for instance, archaeologists are principally interested in recovering data that will shed light on the battle's progression and participants. With a site boasting no famous or "important" historical associations, by contrast, investigators hope to find evidence and draw conclusions that will add detail, refinement, and nuance to our understanding of larger patterns of human activity—such as life in a highway village surrounded by farms in southeastern Pennsylvania at the turn of the twentieth century. The expectation that data recovery on the Good Site would result in significant contributions to our understanding of the "Bigger Picture" were necessarily modest, because very few rural village or farmstead sites had been archaeologically investigated in Lancaster County, which meant there would be little comparable data for archaeologists to review and use as a lens for interpreting Good Site data. It looked as if a more reasonable hope for data recovered from the Good Site was that it would help form a statistical baseline upon which future archaeological investigations in the region could build.

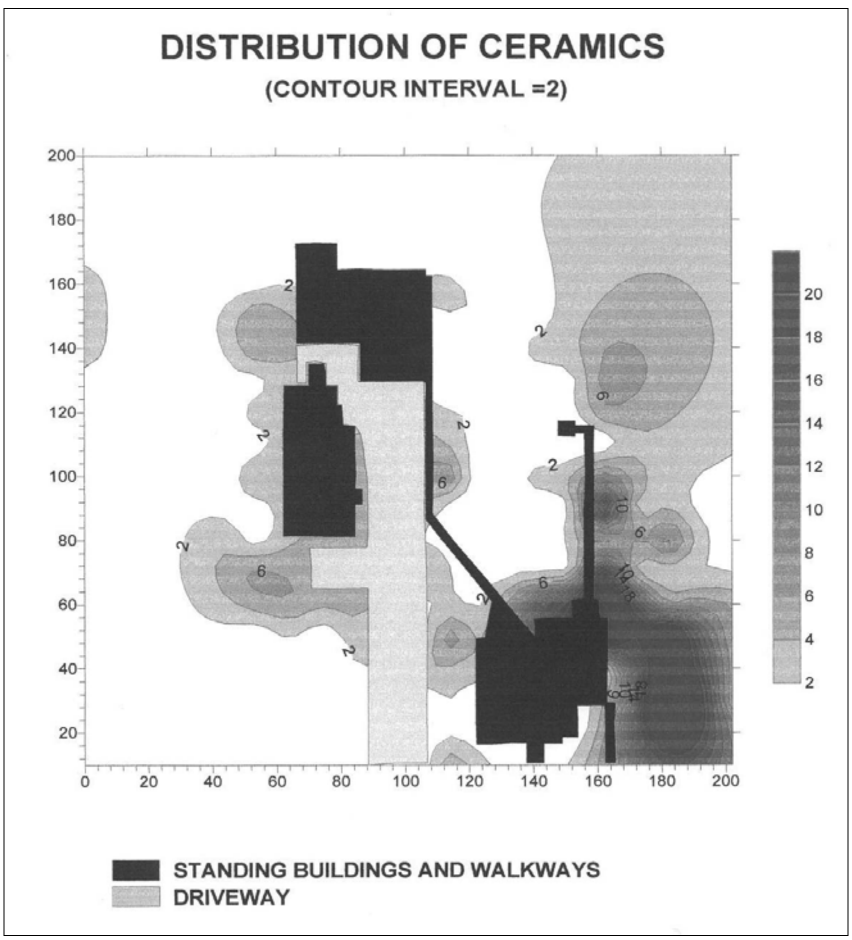
So what did CHRS's archaeologists recover from 148 shovel test pits and 17 test units during the spring of 1998? No fewer than 14,865 man-made artifacts, for starters. When they added these items to the 1,867



Using existing structures and data provided by informants, historic photographs, and artifactual analysis, CHRS's graphic artist created this plan of the Good Site property as it was configured and employed during the Keen family's occupancy in the early twentieth century. Excavating thousands of artifacts and analyzing their "spatial patterning" allowed archaeologists to delineate a "Public Use Space" and two "Private Use Spaces." Determining how parts of a property have been used over time is archaeology's strong suit. Expert excavation can bring to light data that other avenues of investigation can't reach.

artifacts they had unearthed during the Phase II investigation, they had 16,732 artifacts to analyze (and wash and sort and catalogue). Ranging in date of manufacture from the 1860s to the 1960s, the items fell into eight standard "functional" groups: kitchen-related items, structural artifacts, furniture, personal items, clothing, arms, items associated with tobacco use, and materials related to activities. As with most domestic deposits in this part of the country, the vast majority of Good Site artifacts (nearly 90%) were either associated with kitchen use or building construction. Here's how the items within these two primary groups and the remaining minor groups broke down according to the Phase III report authors:

> Within the kitchen group, ceramics made up 67% of the assemblage, bottle glass 27.8%, and other items 3.2%. The test units on the east side of the house contained the highest percentages of ceramics, while units in the northern end of the rear yard and the privy had low percentages. In addition to ceramics, the kitchen group included bottle glass and other items. High percentages of bottle glass were observed in the privy, east of the house, and in the northeast section of the rear yard, but were limited elsewhere on the property. Other kitchen-related items included metal artifacts, such as an enameled pot lid.
>
> Of the architectural materials, 62% were nails and 35.4% were window glass, leaving only 2.6% as "other." Architectural materials were mostly concentrated around the house and in the rear yard. The



When data from more than 16,000 man-made artifacts recovered from 165 holes was entered into a computerized database and plotted on plan views of the Good Site property, archaeologists could discern patterns of artifactual "deposition." The Phase III report graphic reproduced at LEFT depicts the distribution of recovered ceramics across the Good Site, with the darkest areas (other than the buildings) reflecting the densest concentrations of ceramic pieces. Other graphics included in the report depicted the distribution of whiteware, redware, yellowware, bottle/vessel glass, architectural items, pig bone, cow bone, and chicken bone. Analyzing patterns of deposition in this manner can help archaeologists make conclusions about how different parts of a property were used over time.

At the end of another day of digging, a CHRS archaeologist covers a partially-completed test unit alongside the Good Site driveway with a protective tarpaulin.

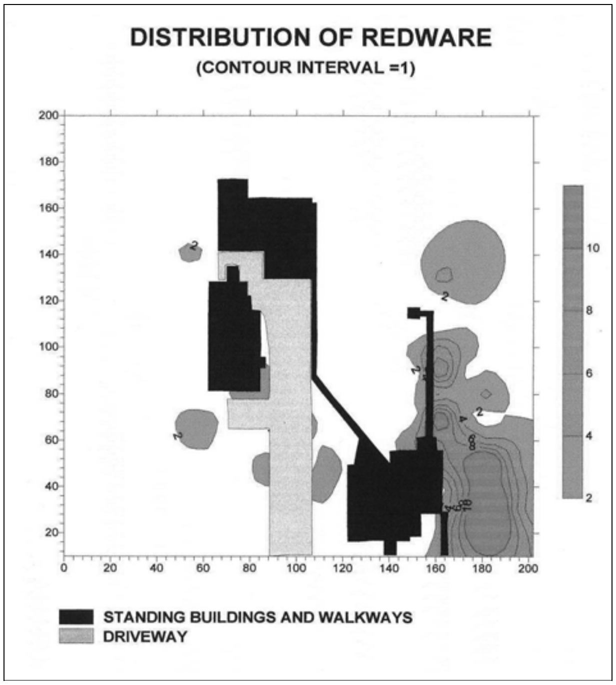
artifacts in the remaining functional categories were small in number. Furniture items were primarily glass lamp chimneys, personal items included comb fragments and coins, and clothing items were mostly buttons, although shoe pieces and part of a purse were also present, as were shell casings, kaolin and bakelite tobacco pipe stems, and a variety of activity items.

Though they may have been disappointed, CHRS's archaeologists were not surprised to find nothing extraordinary among the 16,732 artifacts they unearthed on the Good Site. "Extraordinary" is the rare exception to the rule in their line of work, and nothing they had learned about the Good Site had suggested that anything exceptional awaited discovery beneath the surface. As usual, it was their mission to find meaning in "little things," and they had no paucity of little things to analyze.

Nearly one-quarter of the recovered artifacts were ceramics (objects made from baked clay), which can be classified along two dimensions: the nature of the "paste" from which the object is made, and the type and style of the surface treatment. In their composition, ceramics range from coarse paste redwares to glass-like porcelain. Redware is a kind of "earthenware" (along with delftware, yellowware, creamware, pearlware, whiteware, and ironstone) characterized by a relatively soft paste body that would not contain liquids without a glaze. Stoneware, by contrast, has an extremely hard and durable body that holds water even in an unglazed state. For this reason it is often used to form utilitarian objects such as crocks and jugs. Porcelain (which includes what is commonly called "china") represents the third and most highly fired type of ceramic. Redware and porcelain represent poles on a continuum of relative value, with redware being the cheapest to produce, and porcelain the most expensive. The 3,705 ceramic artifacts recovered from the Good Site fit into this continuum as follows:

Redware: 1,634 pieces
Yellowware: 118 pieces
Whiteware: 1,630 pieces
Ironstone: 56 pieces
Non-porcelain stoneware: 96 pieces
Porcelain: 148 pieces
Other: 23 pieces

It would have been nice if some of the ceramic items came out of the ground unbroken, with their manufacturers' marks intact (which would have greatly aided in their



Ceramics were found across the property, but were concentrated around the house, mainly clustered around the rear door of the kitchen addition and in the east side yard. A smaller concentration was also noted slightly north of the addition on the east side of the path leading from the kitchen to the well. A breakdown of the two major ceramic groups present—redwares and whitewares—showed a slight difference in their disposal pattern. Whitewares were more concentrated around the rear door of the kitchen addition, while redwares were mostly concentrated in the east yard of the house.

identification and dating). All of the ceramics were in pieces, however, so that many of the excavated holes yielded what amounted to several ceramic jig-saw puzzles tossed in together. Still the archaeologists were able to reassemble all or parts of 152 vessels (though as luck would have it, none of the manufacturers' marks were legible). Among the reassembled items were 39 redware bowls, three redware milkpans, 75 whiteware plates, bowls, saucers, and cups, about a dozen yellowware bowls, and two porcelain teacups.

The quantitative breakdown of ceramic types recovered from the Good Site was presented in the Phase III report in a series of tables that might make the lay-person's eyes glaze over. More visually engaging, perhaps, were the graphic representations of how various types of ceramics were concentrated in particular areas of the property (the "spatial patterning" alluded to earlier). A representative graphic, illustrating the distribution of redware on the Good Site, is reproduced ABOVE. Analysis of spatial patterning, together with a consideration of documentary and informant evidence, allowed the Phase III report authors to make the following observations and conclusions about ceramic use on the Good Site:

The area of redware concentration appears to be midway between the front door to the kitchen and the barn foundation on the edge of the adjacent property [a reference to the barn, demolished around 1920, that had stood between the Good Site house and the Foundation Site house]. This concentration overlaps somewhat with the whiteware distribution, and may represent in part discards from the kitchen. The data also suggest that at least a portion of the redware in this area may have resulted from breakage along a path between the [now-demolished] barn and front door of the kitchen. The prevalence of bowls in the assemblage suggests the movement of milk between the barn and the house. The small number of milk pans is perhaps suggestive that the residents either separated the milk in the barn or brought the milk in larger containers to the kitchen for separation, and thus milk pans were less subject to breakage as they were not moved between buildings. In the absence of a spring house or creamery, the cistern under the floor of the kitchen would have provided a cooler environment for processing milk into cheese, whey, or other products.

Unlike the redware, the whiteware distribution is likely reflective of breakage inside the house. The vessel forms represented by the whiteware are generally serving vessels (plates, saucers, cups) rather than food preparation items (such as the bowl and hollow yellowware forms). Although there is substantial overlap between the redwares and whitewares, the whitewares appear most abundant near the doorway to the kitchen. Both ceramic types have secondary concentrations at the well in the rear yard and along the walk leading to the well, emphasizing the importance of [the well] in the life of the property's occupants.

The distribution of yellowware artifacts is interesting. The shovel test pit data show yellowware primarily located at the rear of the house and off to the west of the summer kitchen. The test unit data show that this is not the only place where yellowware is located. Yellowware was encountered in the units both in the rear and east yards. The rear yard area, however, is off of the stoop of the summer kitchen. It is apparent that the yellowware is primarily concentrated around the summer kitchen at the rear of the house, and around the kitchen addition. The yellowware is comprised primarily of bowls, but flat vessel forms such as plates are present, as is at least one cup. The summer kitchen was presumably used from spring through fall or whenever the weather was warm enough to permit. The distribution of yellowware suggests that this "exterior" room and the stoop area were another focus of the occupants' yard use. The stoop provided a location for food processing related chores (e.g. corn husking, clam/oyster shucking, pea shelling, etc.) and presumably social interaction. The yellowware distribution fits well with this interpretation. Yellowware bowls are likely to have been used for the food processing activities. The presence of flatwares, such as platters and plates, and cups, suggests that this area may also have been used for less formal meals (the white bodied wares being used for more formal service).

Among the thousands of man-made artifacts unearthed on the Good Site were (from left) a molded glass tumbler fragment, a banded yellowware teacup fragment, an amethyst glass lampshade fragment, and a miniature Chinese porcelain lid with molded decoration.

Three glass forms that archaeologists recovered intact were (from left) a Mason food storage jar, an unlabeled widemouth condiment jar, and a bottle embossed with the company name "Watkins," which probably contained medicine or "tonic."

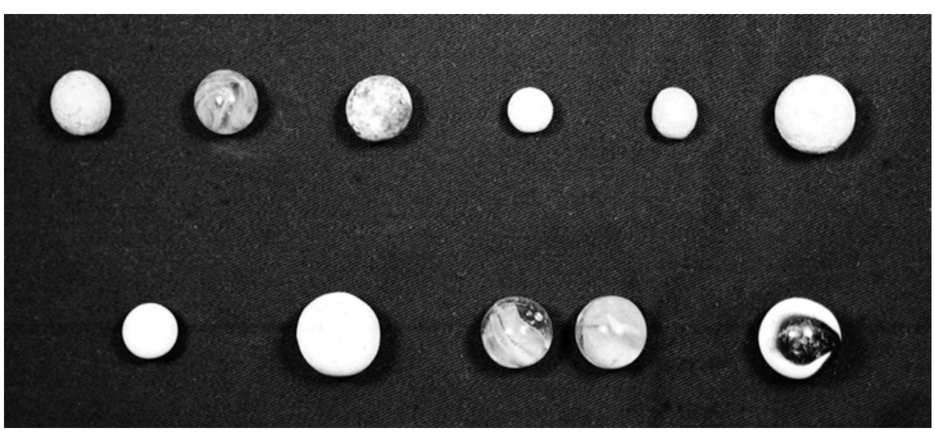
The absence of ceramic concentrations in some areas provides further information about the occupation of the Good House. There are few concentrations near the butcher shop/lighting salesroom/tenant house building or the stable/barn at the rear of the property. There also appears to be an absence of toiletwares at the site, despite the use of privies up to the 1950s and their reported location near the stable/barn during this period. The only probable explanations for the absence of these deposits is that the expansion of the two buildings during the mid-twentieth century has destroyed them.

After ceramics, bottle and vessel glass constituted the most numerous of the artifact types unearthed on the Good Site. Although several complete bottles were found, the glass items were generally just as fragmented as their ceramic counterparts. Archaeologists were able to reassemble only 41 forms, and only 31 of these were identifiable. They included 8 food storage vessels (such as Mason jars), 7 medicine bottles, 5 extract bottles, and a handful of cosmetic and water containers. Some of the bottles featured embossed labels which were useful in identifying not only their contents but also their places of origin. One aqua-colored glass fragment proclaimed it had once been part of a bottle containing "Mrs[.] S. A. Allen's Worlds Hair Balsam," concocted at "355 Broome St., New York." Consultation of a bottle glass reference guide revealed that this product had been manufactured between 1840 and 1907. Another glass fragment was embossed with the words "Gargling Oil, Lockport, New York." The guide indicated that this bottle's former contents were produced sometime between 1870 and 1948, and the garglers of its "oil" received the benefit of a 44% alcohol solution. Yet another bottle bore a "Watkins" label. According to the reference guide, the Watkins Company of Winona, Minnesota manufactured products such as "Pain Oil," "Lax-tone Liniment," cough medicine, and "Skin Alterative Tonic" early in the twentieth century. Partially labeled fragments of other bottles suggested they had once contained alcohol-based solutions.

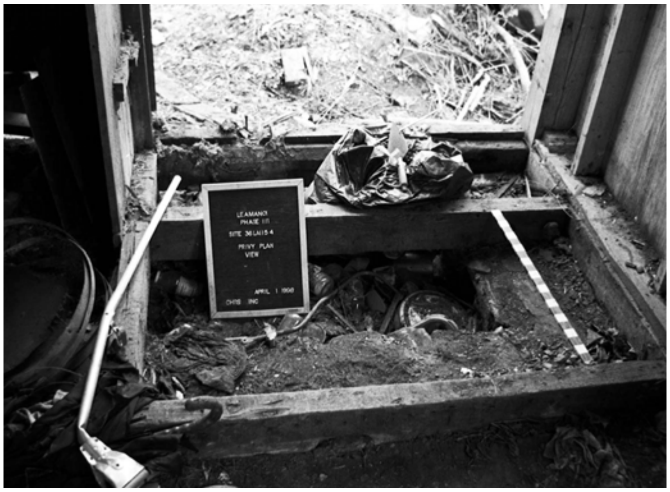
Here's how the Phase III report authors summarized their analysis of the recovered glass artifacts:

Bottle glass was most heavily concentrated in the east side yard, at the edge of the property, with another smaller concentration in the northeastern section of the rear yard, near the well. Other small areas of lesser concentration occurred next to the front porch, behind the [bungalow], and on the west side of the driveway. The concentration on the east side of the house might have been associated with the stable/barn or an unknown building since it does not concentrate around the rear door of the kitchen addition. As with the ceramics, there is a concentration of bottle glass in the vicinity of the well. Interestingly, there appears to be a bottle glass connection between the front door of the [bungalow], similar to that found along the walk between the kitchen and the well. The bottle glass data are difficult to interpret clearly. The concentration of material near the well could easily be seen as the reuse of bottles/ jars as drinking vessels. The apparent path of glass from the [bungalow] to the well could be seen in a number of lights. Obviously the tenants used the well as they needed, but why is there a pattern of breakage between the front door [of the bungalow] and the well, and a less detailed deposit between the main house and well? One is tempted to think the [bungalow] "path" is the result of discard or breakage in a portion of the rear yard which is not viewed as public space, whereas the lack of such deposits between the main house and well is related to a conception of this portion of the rear yard as being subject to formal family and visitor activities. None of the artifact distributions show any concentrations of material which extend extensively into the west yard or the rear yard area between the well and the stoop of the summer kitchen. The line between the well and the front door of the [bungalow] may be the boundary between the property's private and public space.

More than 2,000 nails emerged from the shovel test pits and units. The overwhelming majority of these nails (86.6%) had been "machine cut," meaning they were formed sometime after 1790 by machine (rather than by hand), and given a rectangular shank (in cross-section) tapering to a blunt point. Cut nails typically date to the nineteenth century, though they can still be purchased. The type of round-shank "wire nails" in widest use today became the dominant variety in the 1890s. Almost all of the non-cut nails recov-



Three types of gaming marbles—clay, glass, and ceramic—were recovered from yard areas on all sides of the main Good Site house.



Almost all of the recovered "faunal remains" of geese, rats, rabbits, and cats were located in this privy (or "outhouse") pit, suggesting the animals had died elsewhere and then were cast into this hole.

ered from the Good Site were of the wire variety. The high percentage of cut nails on the Good Site bespoke its occupants' continued preference for purchasing "old-fashioned" nails, and/or their frugality in recycling previously used nails.

Archaeologists were interested not only the *types* of nails present, but also their *forms*. If a recovered nail is straight, that means it was either dropped and never used, or it was driven straight into a softer material (almost always wood). If a nail is curved, that indicates it was pulled from its seat by a hammer or crowbar, imparting a gentle arch to its shape. If a nail is bent at a ninety-degree angle, that suggests it was hammered over while only partially inserted, giving its head extra length and holding power. Approximately half of the nails recovered from the Good Site were straight, 27% were curved, and 22% had been bent.

Archaeologists have learned that the number of recovered nails and the ratios of nail forms within a given area can help determine if a building with wooden components had ever been constructed in that vicinity, if a structure on the site had been dismantled or left to decay, or if the site had simply been utilized for used lumber storage. Sites where buildings have deteriorated in place yield high percentages of straight nails, with lesser frequencies of curved and bent nails. Sites where wooden structures have been razed yield an equal percentage of curved and straight nails, with relatively few bent nails (the ratio generally works out to about 3:3:1). In areas where previously used lumber has been stored, the ratio of curved nails to straight and bent nails is often about 3:1:1.

Once the data from recovered nails had been plotted on plan views of the Good Site, archaeologists could see concentrations of straight nails around the house and around the privy at the other end of the walkway (once freestanding, this "outhouse" had been incorporated into the barn when an eastern addition was constructed sometime during the mid-twentieth century). These straight nails had most likely been dropped during the construction of the privy, the barn addition, the house, or the kitchen addition.

High frequencies of curved nails were discovered in two test units excavated on the east side of the Good Site house, where documentary evidence indicated a stable had stood from about 1860 to 1920. The relatively high ratio of curved nails to straight and bent nails in this area strongly suggested that the building had been taken down rather than left to deteriorate. The highest concentrations of bent nails turned up in two test units: one located across the driveway from the main entrance to the bungalow, and the other on the east side of the walkway leading from the house to the well. The recovery of a piece of board in one of these test units provided additional evidence that these areas were used at least briefly for lumber storage.

The relatively few artifacts that weren't ceramics, bottle glass, nails, or bones were assigned to a category labeled "other." This miscellany included a molded lamp shade of amethyst glass, some machine-crimped oil lamp chimney glass, a purse frame fragment, slate pencils, a die, a small pair of scissors, a shoe heel, buckles, combs, some toy soldiers, a wide variety of buttons, a handful of marbles, and a number of kaolin pipe stems and bowl fragments. The largest concentration of tobacco pipe fragments was discovered in the east yard of the main house, beside the front porch of the kitchen. Based on informant interviews, it was not hard to imagine brothers Les and El Keen whiling away the hours of clement days on this porch, enjoying one good smoke after another.

Mixed into the profusion of man-made artifacts scattered across the Good Site were the "faunal remains" (chiefly fragments of bone and shell) of 14 identifiable animal species, and a few others that defied identification. While more than half of the 2,687 recovered bone and shell fragments could not be attributed to a specific species, there were plenty that retained enough integrity to permit identification. The identified species in descending order of frequency, were as follows: oysters, chickens, pigs, dogs, geese, cattle, rats, cats, rabbits, gray squirrels, voles, clams, and deer. The dog bones were parts of skeletons of two animals (presumably pets), both of which had been buried in the northeastern corner of the property. The goose, rat, rabbit, and cat bones were largely limited to the privy deposit, suggesting the animals had died elsewhere and been cast into the outhouse pit. Much more could be read from the many pig, cattle, and chicken bones found in varying densities across the Good Site property. Concentrations of pig bones were apparent in the rear yard areas of each building on the property. Most of the cattle bones were located in the east yard of the main residence. Chicken bones were concentrated in three areas: along the south and west sides of the bungalow, along the west side of the barn, and to the rear of the summer kitchen of the main residence.

Markings on some of these bones revealed to archaeologists the circumstances and manner in which the animals had been dispatched and butchered. "Many of the pork cuts show evidence of having been hand sawn," the report authors noted. "Some bones contain evidence of knives being used along the surface of the bone in a way that suggests that some deboning was performed. Cuts include pieces from all parts the animal, from snout to hind feet. The large number of cuts, the relatively large number of each type of cut, and the less skillful butchering techniques used on the animals suggests that the pigs may have been butchered on site and consumed in their entirety by the site's inhabitants. That few pieces of the pigs are missing suggests that the swine were raised for the inhabitants' own consumption, and, if sold, were sold on the hoof rather than as butchered meat. Fewer cuts of beef are present. Most of the steak cuts were performed with a hand saw. While a variety of cuts were being consumed, the absence of neck cuts and cranial and foot bones suggests that the beef consumed was being purchased from elsewhere. The cuts were small, suggesting the purchase of individual cuts rather than the purchase of meat in bulk (i.e. beef quarters)." Unlike the collection of cattle bones (and like the pig bone collection), the chicken bone assemblage included all parts of the fowls (including heads and feet), indicating the birds had been living occupants of the Good Site property until the time they were killed, plucked, and butchered—often near the stoop attached to the summer kitchen.

With nearly 20,000 artifacts and pieces of bone and shell recovered, CHRS's archaeologists concluded their excavation in the last days of May 1998. Over the course of the next months they would finish washing, sorting, and cataloging those many items, and then sit down with their artifactual data and the findings of the project historian and structural specialists to see what kinds of additional meanings emerged when they put it all together.

And When You Put It *All Together . . .*

In an attempt to fit the Good Site into a larger social, economic, and geographic context (that elusive "Bigger Picture"), CHRS's archaeologists marshaled data from the few intensive archaeological surveys that had been conducted on farms, farmhouses, and rural village sites in south-central and southeastern Pennsylvania. They confirmed that the only Phase III survey conducted on such a site in this region—at least the only survey that had resulted in a report filed with the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission—was one they had themselves recently concluded on a site in Cumberland County. Because of the unique spatial limitations of that site (it was wedged into a V formed by two highways), the data recovered was only marginally useful for the purposes of comparison to the Good Site. So the CHRS analysts reached a bit further and acquired reports detailing the results of six Phase II investigations of rural residential sites in the Pennsylvania counties of Lancaster, York, Chester, Dauphin, and Berks. When data from these reports also proved of limited comparative value, the archaeologists ranged even further afield to review reports of investigations conducted on a handful of small tenant farms in Delaware State. While these reports included more comprehensive data on ceramic vessel assemblages, they provided little information that could be used to interpret Good Site data more clearly.

CHRS's archaeologists turned next to an interpretive model of "the urban farmstead," developed in recent years by a leading American archaeologist. Based on studies of American farms operating in village or urban settings between the Civil War and 1950, this model characterizes properties containing "a complex assemblage of buildings and spaces that paralleled the inventory and structure of rural farmsteads." Late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century urban farms, according to the model's developer, incorporated structural and landscape components such as gardens, barns, stables, chicken houses, and butcher shops which appear from a modern perspective to have been out-of-place and unnecessary in an urban environment. It has been pointed out, however, that not all village or urban dwellers in the first half of the twentieth century had access to conveniences such as water and sewer services, electricity, and supermarkets. Without such amenities and services, an urban farm family might need to maintain a significant measure of self-sufficiency, at least in terms of food production.

It might also *want* to remain largely self-sufficient, as seemed to be the case with the Keen family. Mary Keen and her children had lived on a full-sized farm for two decades before moving to a village lot, so it is not surprising they chose to continue some farming practices in their new home, albeit on a smaller scale. The most conspicuous marker of the Keen family's agricultural persistence was the butcher shop, apparently erected by Mary Keen for the use of her sons El and Les. As one of the Phase III report authors put it, "Having a butcher shop in Leaman Place at the turn of the century was not simply about the processing of meat. It was a conspicuous means of perpetuating traditional and highly esteemed agricultural skills within a village setting. It was a visual assertion of one's farming roots."

The number of urban farms across America dwindled steadily throughout the twentieth century. This nationwide decline has been attributed to five factors, several of which were cited by authors of the Phase III report in the demise of the Good Site farmstead:

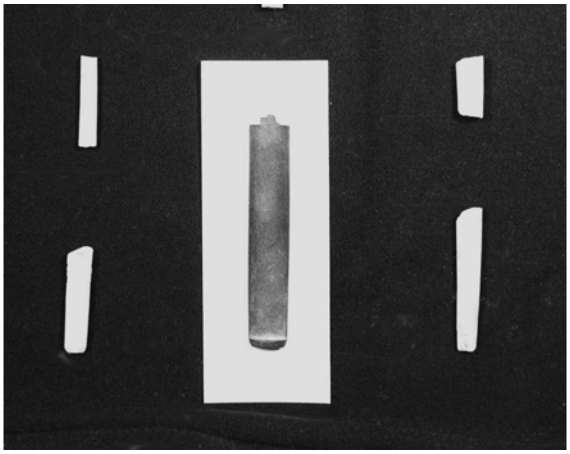
> The first is in-filling, which occurs when larger lots in urban areas

> are reduced in order to accommodate more buildings. Less open land means less room for farm activities. . . . The second factor contributing to the decline of the urban farmstead is the development of public services. As municipal water and sewer services are made available, wells and privies become obsolete. The main Good Site house had indoor plumbing by the 1940s, while the converted bungalow did not have these services until 1954. It was probably around this time that the well was capped and the privy abandoned. The third factor is municipal zoning. There is no evidence that zoning ordinances kept residents of the Good Site from raising livestock. Chickens were housed on this property through at least the 1950s. The fourth factor is improved public transportation. . ., and the fifth factor is the development of more efficient methods of transporting and storing food. Improvements in transportation and storage mean people have ready access to food products produced elsewhere. Developments in mechanical refrigeration mean that meat can be kept without being cured. Smokehouses and curing enclosures, like the one in the attic of the Good Site house, are thus rendered obsolete.

In its development and demise, the Good Site property certainly fit into this "Bigger Picture." "In general," wrote one of the report authors by way of summary, "the documentary, architectural, and archaeological investigations revealed that the evolution of this 'unexceptional' property—like the story of the Keen family that occupied it for more than three decades—reflected a broader demographic shift from traditional agriculture, embodied in the family farm, to a more economically and culturally diverse village setting. Both the house and the family, it may be said, had one foot back on the farm and the other in town."

Beyond its contribution to an understanding of what one archaeologist characterized as "the diachronic and synchronic evolution and development of rural America," the Good Site investigation allowed archaeologists to examine the lives of "ordinary" individuals and families on a very intimate level. The human portraits that emerged from the cloud of details were remarkably colorful, and sometimes surprising. Members of the Keen family stood out from the host of other Good Site residents, because they seemed to have made the deepest imprint on the property. Not surprisingly, they received the lion's share of attention when it came time for the report authors to bring their account of the Phase III investigation to a close. Their summation read as follows:

> The Keen family was trying to deal with changing social circumstances. While many of these circumstances are viewed today as recent societal problems, others are seen as having a longer history. The Keens dealt with a single parent household, the issue of home ownership, the maintenance of children who remain at home rather than establish their own households, the return of married children to the home after separation from a spouse, the maintenance of their standing within the community, and the reaffirmation and preservation of their identity. The data suggests that they were successful in their attempts.
>
> Mary Keen overcame the death of her spouse. She chose a different economic course to ensure the survival of her family than she and her spouse had been pursu-



The Good Site's largest concentration of tobacco pipe fragments—including these kaolin pipe stems (on the outside) and the bakelite stem in the center—was discovered in the east yard of the main house, beside the front porch of the kitchen. According to a member of the Keen family, brothers Les and El Keen whiled away many an hour on that porch, enjoying their pipes and cigars.

ing. Instead of renting a farm and farm house, Mary Keen moved her family into town. Significantly she bought, rather than rented, the property on which the family would live the next 30 years. Although a small property, it already possessed some amenities (such as an interior water supply for washing and cleaning). Mary was to add others. First the house was expanded to two stories. This action allowed Mary Keen to shift her children's bedrooms upstairs, permitting her to use the downstairs as formal parlor and dining spaces. The use of this space for entertaining appears to have been very important to Mary Keen. The choice on how to expand the building was apparently just as important. There was obviously a desire for the second story to emulate the first. However, whether for financial or structural reasons, the second story was not done in stone. The exterior wall was frame. To hide the difference in use of material, the entire building was re-stuccoed. But Mary Keen did not stop there. She chose to thicken the interior walls to add to the illusion that the second story brick and frame walls were just as thick as the first story stone. The maintenance of this fiction was more important to her than the loss of interior space. The other conspicuous change Mary Keen made to the house was the addition of electricity for the downstairs. The introduction of electricity was so dramatic an event at the time, that it stuck in the memory of a small girl who recalled with wonder nearly seventy years later that her aunt had electric lights. The changes that Mary Keen made to the house helped to establish her family in the village community. Her small house was now similar in exterior appearance to many of the other houses in town, and the new spaces and electric lights allowed her to host and entertain her neighbors.

The Keens had been a farming family. Mary Keen appears to have taken pride in this fact, as many current Lancaster County farmers still do. The move from the farm into town must have weighed heavily on her. The change from farm to town would have meant not only a change in the location of her household, but also a change in the social community in which she functioned. Despite the widespread knowledge of circumstances for her move into town, her status in the farming community was at stake when she moved. In an effort to maintain her farming community ties, she had a butcher house erected on the property. This building was a visible affirmation of her ties to the farming community in which she, and her children, were no longer employed. The butcher house was not the only symbol she used to maintain her standing, as she also went to great lengths to maintain garden areas, an orchard, and grape arbors. The extent of these plantings on the property appears to have been greater than plantings on other properties in Leaman Place, even though many of the residents, like the Keens, kept pigs, chickens, and dairy cows on their home lots. It is probable that Mary Keen had practical reasons for the construction of these "farm" items on her village lot. The gardening activities would have enabled her to grow food for household consumption, and for barter and/or resale. The working of the gardens would have provided ready-made activities for her sons, some of whom are remembered as having an "aversion to steady work." As with the changes to the house, the butcher building and gardens would seem to go beyond the practical, providing insights into early twentieth-century social group interaction in the area surrounding Leaman Place.

The interaction between the Keens and their neighbors seems to have been a cordial one. Photographs taken on the property show relatives and friends. The proximity of the front of the house to the road appears to have shifted most of the formal entertainment to the rear yard area. Portions of the public use area of the rear yard appear to have been bounded by vegetation (grape arbor, trees, etc.), hiding the fence between lots to the east and the work area north of the well. The path to the privy appears to be the western boundary of this public area. When not entertaining, or performing household maintenance activities, the women of the household used the front parlor or front porch. The activities undertaken in this area could not be defined archaeologically, but reading, organ playing, needle point, and other recreation activities seem likely. In contrast to the women of the household, the men used the kitchen addition, and the porch to the kitchen addition as one of their primary non-work areas. Among other possible activities, it is apparent that the men spent part of the time here smoking tobacco and consuming alcohol. Because of the disturbances associated with the existing road, little evidence of the interaction of the Keens with passersby could be discerned, although this was likely an important aspect of the social interaction within the village setting.

In many ways the Keens seem very typical of those in a village setting. The artifacts they left behind do not appear, in aggregate, to differ significantly from those of their neighbors to the east. The durable goods, for which location of manufacture is known, seem to have been manufactured in western New York, New York City, and Minnesota. Surprisingly, no local or regional city products could be confirmed within the artifact assemblages. Unfortunately, the significance of this data cannot be addressed within the confines of the current study. Although the Keens and their neighbors possessed similar material in similar quantities, their life histories are not the same. The property to the east of the Keens contained tenant, as well as owner occupants, the neighbors did little truck farming, and seemed to have less interest in incorporating household amenities into their dwelling. In other words, the neighboring families were faced with different social circumstance and made different choices in their efforts to function in the community and live their lives.

The Good Site investigation yielded valuable artifactual data and documentary evidence that may now contribute to future archaeological surveys in the region. But the usefulness of this information does not end there. Because the Good Site property was occupied by more than a dozen families over the course of one-and-a-half centuries—each family with its own set of practices, traditions, and relationships between individual members and representatives of the wider community—the results of the Good Site investigation may be useful to social scientists and other scholars exploring topics such as occupational patterns, social change, and class and gender issues in this part of the world.

Indeed, the Good Site data has already contributed to one such exploration. CHRS preservation specialist Nancy Holst, who wrote the analysis of the Good Site house for the Phase III report, was so intrigued by the gender-related aspects of the Keen family's occupancy of the Good Site that she mounted an extracurricular investigation into what she described as "the relationship between gender and material life in the context of a lower middle-class family adjusting to changed circumstances in a small turnpike village." This study resulted in an illustrated lecture entitled "'She Raised the Roof': Retrieving the Untold History of an Ordinary House," which Ms. Holst delivered as a paper at the Third National Conference on Women and Historic Preservation in May 2000. In her concluding comments, we may perceive the utility of archaeological investigations in helping us formulate questions and craft conclusions about our ancestors' "ordinary" lives:

> Despite her modest means and outdated furniture, Mary Keen used material culture to construct and present a carefully crafted self-identity. The care and pride that Mary demonstrated in her yard and her house indicate that she was conscious of social impressions—both in the context of Leaman Place and in relation to her extended family. She clearly subscribed to middle-class cultural codes of gentility and respectability, although her standards might have been old-fashioned by the 1920s. Her story represents an unusual instance in which the activities and personality of an ordinary woman have rather extraordinarily come to light against a backdrop of documentary records and artifactual analyses. Oral history, in this case, allowed us to perceive in Mary Keen a strong woman who fashioned her own identity as the dynamic matriarch of a laboring family. Her story challenges some of our expectations about gender norms and gendered spaces. She was not just a homemaker, but also a homeowner and an architect, roles we still tend to attribute historically to men.