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July 1, 2024

Dear Friend,

AECOM is pleased to provide you with the enclosed copy of the revised technical report for the archeological excavations conducted at the President's House Site in 2007. A draft version of the report, entitled *The Archeology of Freedom and Slavery: Excavations at the President's House Site in Philadelphia*, was circulated in 2009. This version has been revised, edited, and corrected, and represents the complete and final documentation for the project.

The Philadelphia Archaeological Forum (PAF) and several of the original authors assisted the staff at AECOM in the completion of the revised report. AECOM would like to acknowledge the efforts of PAF, as well as authors Jed Levin and Patrice L. Jeppson for their contributions to the report.

The report reveals the exceptional nature of the President's House project and highlights the broad array of individuals, institutions, and organizations who contributed to its gestation and, ultimately, to its successful completion. The leadership roles of the National Park Service and the City of Philadelphia were critical, but it was the determined efforts of community groups and individuals that propelled the project forward. We hope this report does justice to those extraordinary efforts.

Sincerely,

Stephen W. Tull

Stephen W. Tull
Vice President
AECOM

The Archeology of Freedom and Slavery

Excavations at the President's House Site in Philadelphia

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA · SEAL

URS

The Archeology of Freedom and Slavery:
Excavations at the President's House Site in Philadelphia

Prepared for:

National Park Service
and
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Abstract

The following report documents archeological investigations at the site of the former President's House in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The City of Philadelphia and Independence National Historical Park jointly sponsored this project, and archeologists with URS Corporation (now AECOM) conducted the investigations. These investigations sought to uncover evidence related to the house that served as the Executive Mansion for Presidents George Washington and John Adams during the ten-year period that Philadelphia was the nation's capital, from 1790 to 1800. Research efforts were initiated in large part because of the grass-roots activism of concerned citizens and historians who wanted to learn more about an important site that was unknown to many people, and that was for the most part overlooked in the interpretation of Independence Park's history. In particular, these local efforts were sparked by research revealing that President Washington had kept nine enslaved Africans on the property during his administration, and that some of those individuals were housed in a location that today sits at the entrance to the new home of the Liberty Bell—the symbol of American freedom. Archeological excavations at the site were designed to document whatever evidence remained of the house itself, to recover material that would document the lives of all the people who lived on this property, and to explore the juxtaposed and contrasting themes of slavery and freedom inherent in this site.

The President's House itself was first built in 1767–1768 and served for many years as one of the finest private residences in Philadelphia. Over the next few years, it served as the home of an astounding cast of historical figures, including Mary Masters, widow of one of the city's former mayors; Lieutenant Governor Richard Penn and his wife, Polly; British Generals Sir William Howe and Sir Henry Clinton, who used the house as their headquarters during the occupation of the city; Benedict Arnold; and the "Financier of the American Revolution," Robert Morris. During this time, the property also became inextricably linked with the "peculiar institution" of slavery. Slave labor was probably used to build the house itself and, until John Adams moved there in 1797, nearly all its occupants had held African slaves in bondage on the site. After the capital moved to Washington, D.C., in 1800, the house was used for a time as a hotel, and then as a commercial storefront and boardinghouse. By the 1830s, however, the property had fallen into disrepair, and in a nation that was ever looking toward the future, had outlived its usefulness and become more valuable as a piece of real estate ripe for development. In 1832, the house was finally torn down and replaced with a series of four large commercial buildings with deep basements. These structures stood on the site until the middle of the twentieth century before they too were demolished in 1952 to make way for the creation of Independence Mall. For the next 50 or so years, the site laid largely forgotten beneath a grassy lawn and women's toilet, and was marked only by a small—and publicly unnoticed—brass plaque.

Primarily because of the site's treatment during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, initial archeological assessments considered it unlikely that significant portions of the main house, related outbuildings, and intact artifact deposits were still preserved below ground. Indeed, earlier archeological investigations of the new Liberty Bell Center, which encompassed parts of the rear of the property, had found only the deepest remnants of the icehouse that Washington had built within the site, but no evidence of eighteenth-century structures or associated in situ President's House–era artifacts.

Archeological explorations at the President's House Site were conducted between March 12 and August 31, 2007, and because of safety and other considerations targeted only a portion (approximately 5,400 square feet) of the larger property. Specific elements of the historic President's House parcel that were excavated included rear parts of the main house, the kitchen ell and First Family living quarters, the

presidential office, the servant's hall, and the adjacent yard space. At a depth of approximately 10 feet below ground surface, and beneath the basement floors of later buildings, excavations exposed expansive, well-preserved foundations for the President's House that included structures directly associated with both Presidents Washington and Adams, and with the enslaved Africans that Washington brought with him from Mount Vernon. Foundations related to the presidents included sections of the south and east walls of the main house and approximately one-half of the bow or bay window that Washington had added onto the rear of the main house just before his arrival. Of these remains, perhaps the bow window was the most significant, given that both Washington and Adams used this space during state functions to visually symbolize the office of the president for invited guests and visitors to the house. The shape of this space was subsequently mimicked in the design of the oval rooms, including the Oval Office, in the present White House. Foundations associated with Washington's enslaved African workforce included remarkably well-preserved portions of the back kitchen, where the cook Hercules prepared sumptuous dinners for the First Family and state events, and a complete root cellar. A subterranean passage or hallway was also found, connecting work areas in the kitchen basement with those in the main house cellar, allowing both servants and slaves to carry out their domestic chores without disturbing the affairs of state or guests upstairs.

Excavations revealed a total of twenty-nine individual historical features within the site, including five brick-lined shafts (wells and privies) and a variety of pits and other excavations dating to the late eighteenth through twentieth centuries. Systematic exploration of these features resulted in the recovery of nearly 19,000 individual artifacts. Unfortunately, the artifact assemblage either derived from imported fill deposits or was associated with later nineteenth- and twentieth-century occupants of the site. No intact artifact deposits dating to the President's House period were recovered, and none of the collected cultural materials could be positively connected with any of the individuals who lived here during or prior to that time. No artifacts were recovered that could in any way be directly associated with either the enslaved individuals kept here over time or with the larger practice of slavery.

Archeological investigations of the President's House Site were designed and intended to be at all times open and accessible to members of the general public. The public response to these excavations, however, was significantly greater and more intense than anyone could have predicted. Over the four months the site was under excavation, it is estimated that a total of more than 300,000 people came to view the site and interact with members of the archeological team. Discoveries at the site also sparked the interest of online and print media, and more than 400 media organizations—including local, national, and international newspaper, television, and radio outlets—reported on the archeological investigations at the site.

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Introductions

Archeology and Awareness at the President's House Site

Douglas Mooney
URS Corporation

In many ways, the archeological investigation of the President's House Site was one of the most extraordinary, challenging, and rewarding opportunities those of us who were fortunate enough to be part of it have ever experienced. Begun as a relatively straightforward search for long-buried evidence—of a complex of buildings that in the late eighteenth century served as the Executive Mansion for Presidents George Washington and John Adams, for artifacts related to members of the presidential households who lived and worked on this site, or for insights into what life was like for nine enslaved Africans kept here in bondage by Washington during his administration—this project soon became something much bigger than the sum of its parts, and grew into an event far more dynamic than the simple discovery and interpretation of archeological remains. Driven by intense public interest, this project was transformed over the span of four short months into a frank, unvarnished, often emotionally charged discourse about the compelling story of this site and the juxtaposed themes of freedom and slavery embodied in it; about the institution of slavery and the role that free and enslaved African Americans played in shaping the history of Philadelphia and the new nation; about the meaning of liberty as seen through the eyes of those who were denied it; and about the subjective and selective nature of historical memory. While visitors may have been initially drawn to this site by the excitement of witnessing the act of archeological discovery firsthand, it became apparent over time that archeological findings were secondary to the discussions and interactions that transpired *among* these visitors as they sought to digest and draw meaning from this site's powerful history. In the end, we, as archeologists and interpreters, came to realize that we had become participants in, and witnesses to, a more intense process of historical discovery than anyone could have previously anticipated, or could have reasonably expected.

In purely archeological terms, the project met with mixed results. Yes, significant and in many cases unexpected portions of the original building fabric were found; however, no artifact deposits were identified that could shed light on what life was really like for the occupants of this place during the President's House era. While this outcome may have somewhat disappointed the members of the archeological team, the tens of thousands of people who came from near and far to see the site expressed no similar sentiment or discontent. For these visitors, the unadorned fragments of the President's House foundations became portals into the past through which they were able to make a tangible, sometimes deeply personal connection to this place, and to the individuals, both free and enslaved, who lived here some 234 years ago. Public reactions to the President's House investigations befuddled and caught completely unaware many officials who had been involved in the project since its inception, leaving some wondering aloud what other nearby areas could be dug up to keep the interest going. Twice, the archeological team was actually instructed to slow down to extend the project timeline. Ultimately, the prospect of having to rebury the site at the conclusion of fieldwork, in order to preserve it, triggered a public outcry that forced project officials to rethink completely the design of the historical commemoration intended to be built on this site. Once again, the collective voice of the people prevailed, and the plan was altered so that the most historically critical and emotionally

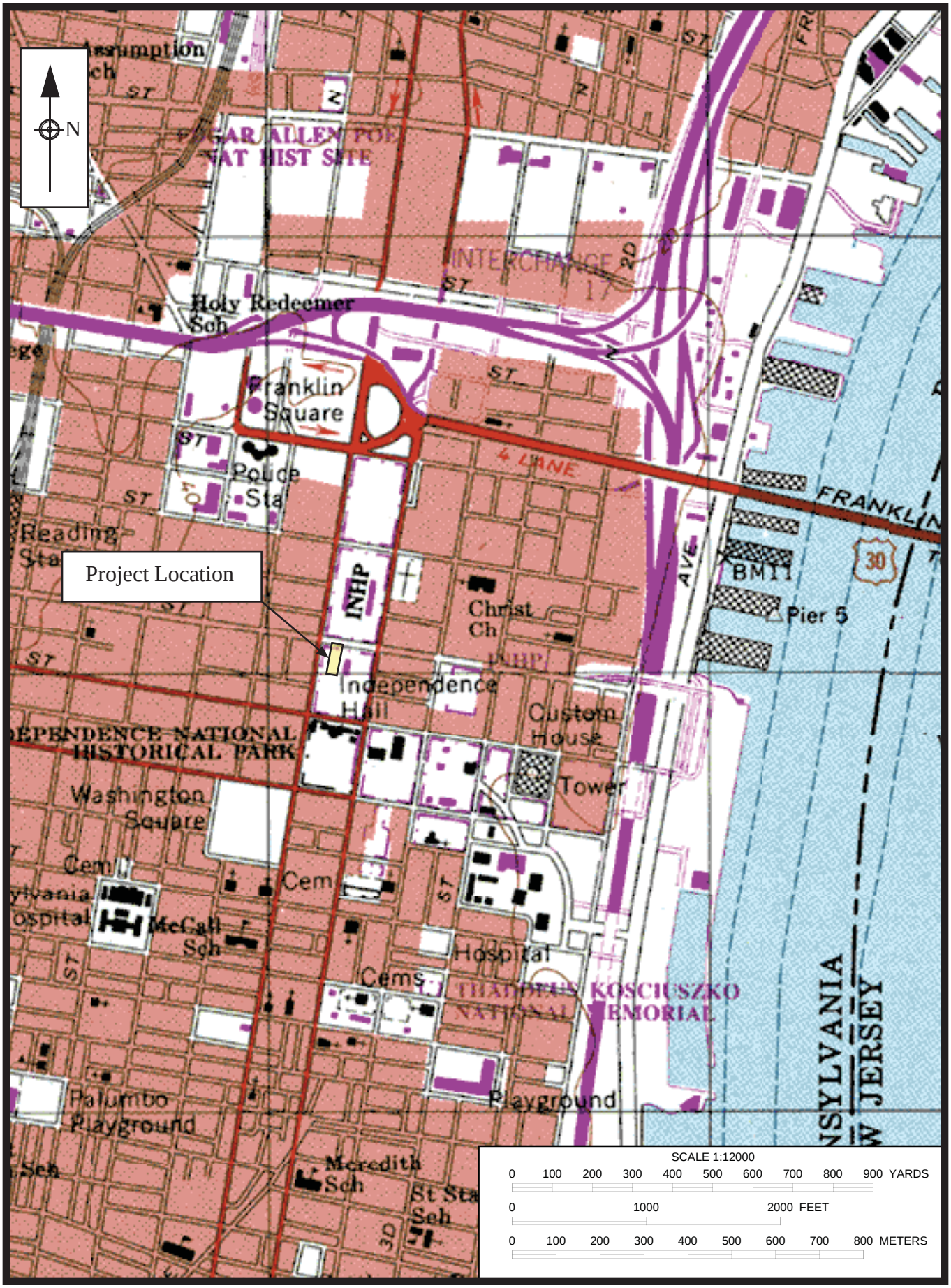
poignant archeological remnants of the President's House would be re-exposed, conserved, and permanently incorporated into the commemorative exhibit.

The President's House Site

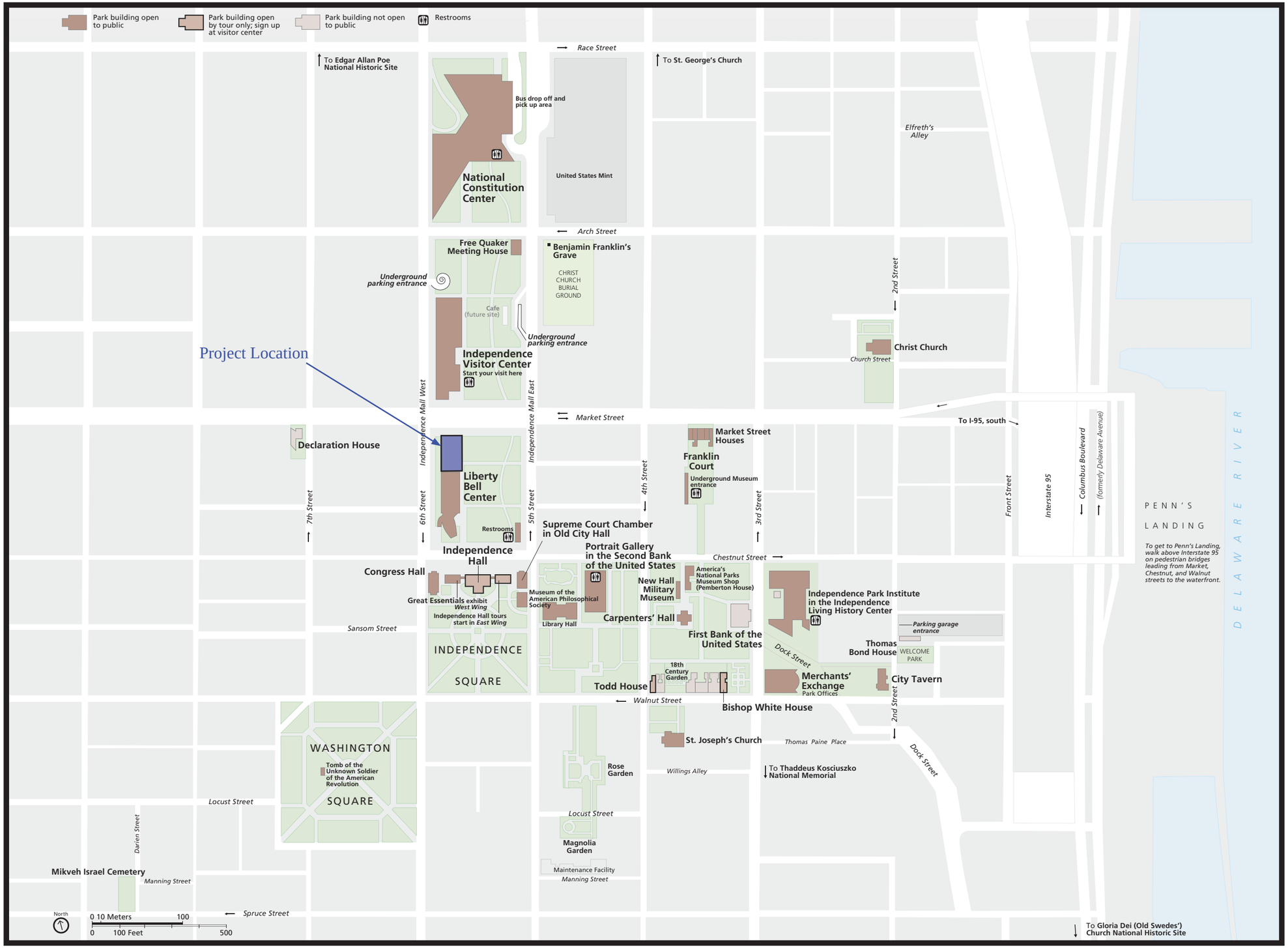
The historic property that once contained the Executive Mansion of Presidents Washington and Adams sits near the southeast corner of 6th and Market Streets in Philadelphia, on Block 1 of Independence Mall and within the boundaries of Independence National Historical Park (INHP). The original property was quite large for its day and fronted on Market Street, the city's main east-west thoroughfare. In its entirety, the lot measured 75 feet across (east-west), extended 180 feet to the south, and encompassed an area of approximately 0.31 acres. At the time this investigation was begun, an open, well-manicured grassy lawn covered much of the property; however, the northernmost portion of the site, including much of the area where the President's House itself once stood, extended out under the adjacent modern Market Street sidewalk. Ground that once formed the rear of the site, including the location of the slave quarters Washington built for lodging his African stable hands, were covered over by the north end entranceway of the recently built Liberty Bell Center.

The complex of buildings that once stood within this property was very much a grand residence for its time, but differed greatly in form from the present-day White House in Washington, D.C. Structures on these grounds consisted of a Colonial-era main house measuring 45 feet, 6 inches by 52 feet in size, as well as a variety of smaller back buildings. From 1790–1800, when Philadelphia served as the second, temporary capital of the United States, this disparate assortment of structures formed the epicenter of American political power. On these grounds, George Washington and John Adams literally invented from scratch the concept of what it meant and looked like to be an American president. Yet, during Washington's term in office, at the very same instant that he projected the larger-than-life embodiment of our nation's newly won freedom, this house also held a group of men and women of African descent who were not free. Here in this house, while Washington worked to protect and ensure American liberty, he also knowingly acted to prevent these people of color from ever realizing or achieving the blessings of liberty guaranteed to other citizens in the national Constitution. It was this reality that led many people in the city, and in particular those in the African American community, to see this site as the living incarnation of the essential and inescapable contradiction of American history—that ours is a nation established around the keystone principles of individual freedom and equality for all, but one that is built on a foundation of slavery.

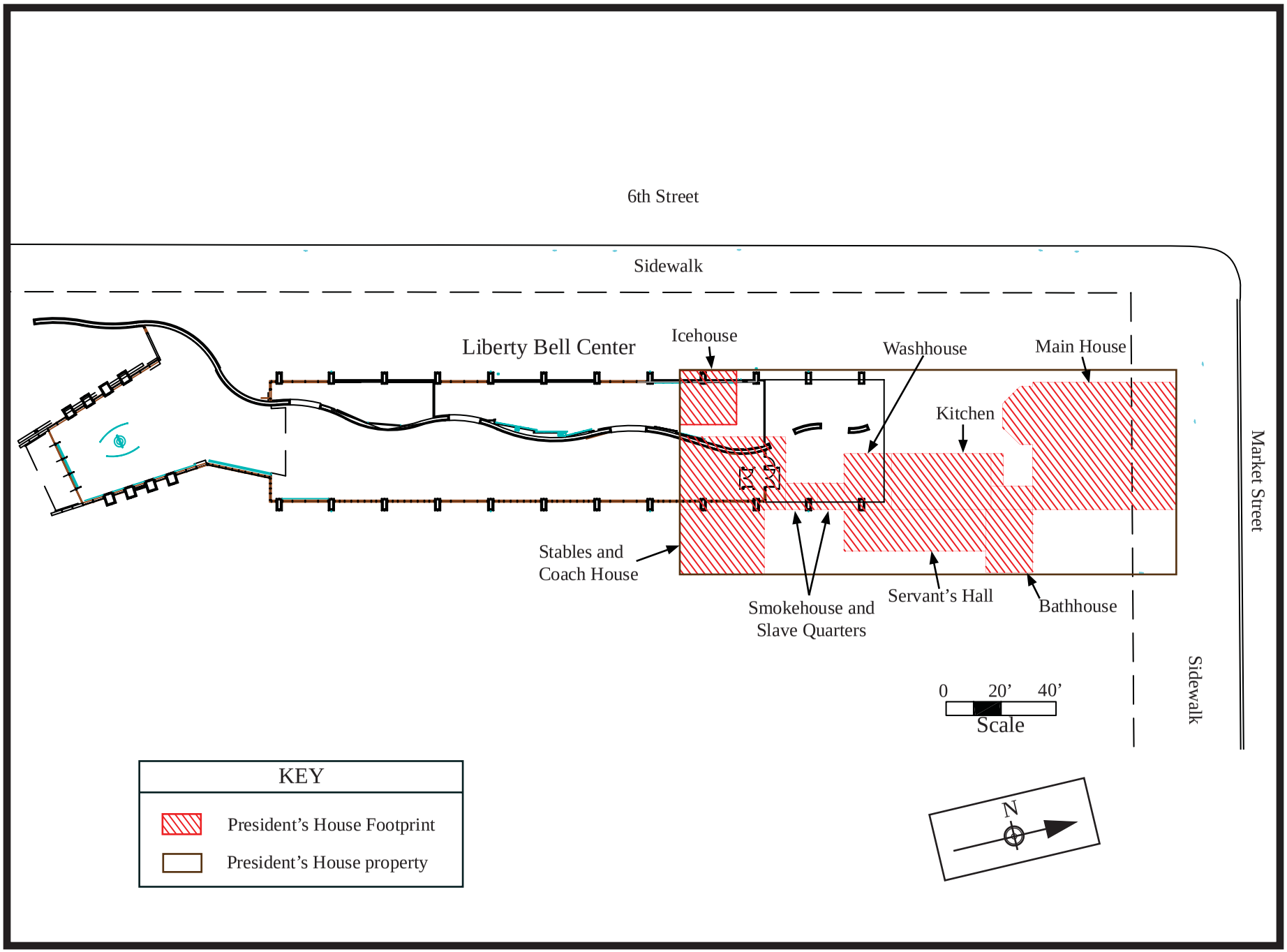
As hard as it seems to believe today, the President's House was torn down in the early nineteenth century and was quickly buried beneath the ever-changing cityscape. Since the 1950s, this site lay sealed beneath the surface of Independence Mall, with its former location only barely acknowledged via an insignificant bronze plaque, and information regarding its former existence all but absent from park historical interpretations. To the thousands of people who crossed these grounds every day, the site was completely unknown. Now, thanks to the efforts of countless citizen activists, the public memorial the City of Philadelphia erected on this spot, and the findings of these archeological investigations, a much fuller story of this important historic site and the lessons it holds can be shared with everyone who visits here now and into the future.



President's House Site location map (Source: Philadelphia, 2008 My Topo).



Location of the President's House Site within Independence National Historical Park (Source: Independence National Historical Park).



Location and orientation of the President's House property within Block 1 of Independence Mall.

Report Organization

In keeping with the unique nature of the President's House investigation, and the multifaceted and unexpected way it unfolded, the authors of this report have adopted a somewhat non-traditional format for documenting this project. While this document does still contain all the usual elements typically found in reports of this kind, including detailed discussions of what was found within the site and found out about the site, we felt strongly that an account limited exclusively to the technical description of archeological details would not do justice to the larger experience we and others shared. In the end, the format that follows is one in which each chapter represents something like an independent essay. To some extent, the use of this approach happened by accident, and only started to evolve as the various sections came together. Written in a variety of styles—some in first person, others from a third-person perspective—each chapter focuses on a separate aspect of the project, and in part reflects the authors' unique perspectives on their selected topics. Together, these report sections work to document the President's House archeological investigations as a whole, at the same time striving to capture and preserve something of the excitement this project generated, the unprecedented public outpouring that both initiated and fueled the entire effort, and the many different meanings the investigations indelibly imprinted on all who participated in them. The paragraphs below describe the organization and subject matter of the different report chapters.

The archeological investigation of the President's House Site was, on several levels, an unusual project and certainly did not come about overnight. Undertaken as a joint venture between the City of Philadelphia and INHP, this project was not conducted in compliance with any legislative mandate, unlike most archeological investigations in this country, but rather represented an elective, research-driven study of a historical site with obvious national significance but very uncertain archeological potential. The roots of the investigation extend back to 2001, when the existence of this site and the jarring news that the residents of President Washington's house—the "White House" of its day—included nine enslaved persons of African descent first became public knowledge. From that point, another five years of tumultuous discussion, public agitation, and behind-the-scenes wrangling passed before the decision to excavate the site was finally reached. Chapter 2 recounts the long, complex, and often contentious story of how the President's House excavations came to be, highlighting the individuals and groups that played prominent roles in getting the project off the ground.

While a handful of professional historians and select INHP officials may have previously known about the existence of the President's House Site in Philadelphia, members of the general public only became aware of it through the work of local historian Edward Lawler Jr. Published accounts of Lawler's research into the history and architecture of the President's House first appeared in the winter of 2002, and served to open the public's eyes about the house, long since destroyed, where Presidents George Washington and John Adams guided the new nation through ten of its turbulent early years. Subsequent efforts by Lawler and researchers of national repute further expanded upon the rich and storied history of this property, the remarkable cast of historical figures who inhabited it over time, and, most specifically, the site's deep and tragic association with the "peculiar institution" of slavery. Chapter 3 traces the history of the President's House Site from the eighteenth through the twenty-first centuries and details the physical development and alteration of the property over time. This section particularly focuses on the decade during which the site housed the nation's Executive Mansion, on the nine enslaved Africans Washington kept here in bondage and who were systematically denied the newfound blessings of American liberty, and on our first president's complex relationship with those individuals and the institution of slavery.

The archeological excavations of this site were a complex undertaking that involved considerable advance planning and required that all stages of the overall effort were carried out as a fully collaborative

effort between the members of the URS excavation team and National Park Service (NPS) staff. Although initially assessed only a moderate chance, at best, of producing any findings related to the President's House era, the project succeeded in identifying a number of important archeological remains directly associated with Presidents Washington and Adams, as well as with the servant and enslaved individuals who shared these grounds. Chapter 4 takes a detailed look at all aspects of the archeological excavations themselves, including the selection of an appropriate excavation area, what goals the excavations hoped to achieve, and the anticipated likelihood that anything of real historical significance would be found. The primary focus of this chapter is the description and interpretation of the varied archeological resources uncovered within the 5,000-square-foot study area established for this project.

From its inception, the President's House project was envisioned as an exercise in public archeology, or at least publicly accessible archeology. Indeed, perhaps no other site in Philadelphia could have been more ready-made for just such an undertaking. On one hand, the site is associated with an incredibly compelling narrative involving the nation's first Executive Mansion, our first two presidents, and the institution of slavery. On the other hand, the site is situated at one of the busiest pedestrian intersections in Philadelphia and near some of the city's most popular tourist destinations, including Independence Hall, the Philadelphia Visitor's Center, and the recently completed new home of the iconic Liberty Bell. Chapter 5 not only details the various outreach measures devised to help make this site and its associated story more accessible to the public, but also describes the many different aspects of the public outpouring the project inspired and received.

The final chapter in this report serves to weave together the various themes, discoveries, observations, and strands of historical information discussed in previous sections, along with aspects of the project not addressed elsewhere, into a unified overview of the larger President's House story. In so doing, it considers the project, its struggles, and the resulting outcomes from the unique perspective of the African American community. In addition, this section touches on issues pertaining to the ownership of American history, the role that social activism can play in challenging long-standing paradigms of historical understanding, and the importance of heritage to the development of personal and community identity. This chapter also addresses the role of archeology in the President's House project and considers the power of archeological exploration to revitalize historical interpretation, galvanize and inspire community interest in its shared past, and instill a strong sense of civic pride among the members of the public.

Lastly, a variety of supporting documentation related to this project is contained in the appendices. Included in this section are the NPS briefing statement for the President's House archeological investigation, relevant additional documentation that accompanies individual chapters, a detailed account of all field and laboratory methodologies employed during the investigation (not for the faint of heart), and a full inventory of artifacts recovered from the site.

Acknowledgments

The President's House archeological investigation was a joint venture involving both the City of Philadelphia, administration of the Honorable John F. Street, Mayor (2000–2007), and INHP. Under this partnership, all site excavations, artifact processing and analysis, and report preparation were sponsored and funded by the city and were administered and supervised by INHP and NPS staff. Mayor Street's Chief of Staff, Joyce Wilkerson, and Rosalyn McPherson provided oversight for the city's role in this project. INHP personnel providing key roles included Park Superintendent Dennis Reidenbach, Division of Cultural Resources Management Chief Doris Fanelli, and Chief of Curation Karie Diethorn. NPS (Northeast Region) archeologist Jed Levin devised the overall project approach and guidelines, while also serving as project

manager. The Mayor's President's House Oversight Committee provided additional critical assistance with this project. The committee members included:

Clarence Armbrister, Esq.: Chief of Staff, City of Philadelphia (Administration of the Honorable Michael A. Nutter)

Michael Coard, Esq.: Avenging the Ancestors Coalition (ATAC)

Doris Fanelli, Ph.D.: Chief, Division of Cultural Resources Management, INHP

Hal Fichandler: Special Assistant to City Council, City of Philadelphia

Tanya Hall: Executive Director, Philadelphia Multicultural Affairs Congress

Charles Hayden, Esq.: U.S. House of Representatives, Office of Chaka Fattah

Mayor John F. Street, city staff, and INHP officials observing the President's House excavations (Photo: Douglas Mooney 2007).

Melanie Johnson: City Representative, City of Philadelphia

Edward Lawler Jr.: Independence Hall Association

Charlene Mires, Ph.D.: Associate Professor of History, Villanova University, Ad Hoc Historians

Romona Riscoe Benson: President/CEO, African American Museum in Philadelphia

Karen Warrington: Director of Communications, Office of the Honorable Robert Brady, U.S. House of Representatives

Joyce Wilkerson, Esq.: Chief of Staff, City of Philadelphia (Administration of the Honorable John F. Street)

Rosalyn McPherson: Owner's Representative for the Project

URS Corporation (URS, now AECOM), Philadelphia Office, performed the archeological investigations of the President's House Site under the direct supervision of NPS archeologist Jed Levin. Stephen W. Tull provided project management for URS. Senior Archeologist Douglas Mooney served as field director and principal investigator, while the members of the field crew included John Gill, Eileen Krall, Daniel Eichinger, Anthony McNichol, Mara Kaktins, Lovely Elysee, Sean Cassidy, and Matthew Olson. Laboratory Director Robert Weincek and Material Culture Specialists Meta Janowitz, Rebecca White, Mara Kaktins, and Brian Siedel performed the laboratory studies of the President's House artifacts. Gary McGowan of Cultural Preservation & Restoration provided artifact conservation services.

D'Angelo Brothers Inc. (Michael D'Angelo, Project Manager; Michael "Big Mike" and Anthony D'Angelo, Site Supervisors) provided construction support during the site excavations and was responsible for designing and installing all site shoring systems, conducting bulk excavation and soil management activities, relocating and/or stabilizing active utility lines, as well as backfilling and restoring the site at the conclusion of the investigation. McKinney Drilling Company performed the installation of steel soldier piles for the shoring system. Riddick & Riddick Construction Inc. (MBE) designed and constructed the public-viewing platform adjacent to the excavations under the direction of Michael Green and Kym Riddick.

Members of the President's House archeological and interpretive team. From left to right: Jed Levin (NPS), Patrice L. Jeppson (INHP Volunteer-in-Park), Cheryl LaRoche, Eileen Krall, Lovely Elysee, Douglas Mooney, Matthew Olson, Sean Cassidy, Stephen W. Tull, and John Gill (all URS).

The City of Philadelphia and INHP jointly coordinated and supervised site interpretation and public-outreach activities during the excavations. Roz MacPherson of the Roz Group Inc. acted as primary public liaison on behalf of the city, while Public Affairs Officer Jane Cowley provided INHP oversight. On-site interpretive activities were shared among NPS staff, members of the INHP Volunteers-in-Park Program, INHP rangers (on evenings and weekends), and URS. Jed Levin, Patrice L. Jeppson, and Joseph Roberts performed primary interpretive duties for NPS/INHP staff. Cheryl J. LaRoche served as Cultural Heritage Specialist, lead public-outreach liaison, and chief site interpreter for URS. Members of the URS field crew performed additional on-site interpretive services, as necessary. URS team members Douglas Mooney, Meta Janowitz, Richard Affleck, and Anthony McNichol developed interpretive text for the project, with assistance and guidance from INHP Interpretation and Visitor's Service Division staff (Steve Sitarski, Chief) and representatives for the city. Paul Elwork and Scott Hood (URS) designed site signage, which was manufactured by Imprints Unlimited Inc. (MBE), Jimmy W. Sams, CEO.

This project report was also a collaborative effort among URS, NPS, and INHP personnel. Douglas Mooney, Cheryl LaRoche, Historian Ingrid Wuebber, and Material Culture Specialist Meta Janowitz authored the URS sections of this document. Jed Levin, Patrice L. Jeppson, Joseph Roberts, and Karen Lind Brauer authored the NPS and INHP portions. Scott Hood created the report graphics; Paul Elwork designed the report format and edited the text. Unless otherwise credited, URS/NPS personnel took all the photographs in this document.

Historical research incorporated in this document was primarily drawn from the published works of Edward Lawler Jr., who has written the definitive account of the President's House in Philadelphia, and from information compiled at the Independence Hall Association website (USHistory.org; Douglas Heller, webmaster). Historians with INHP provided additional historic material—in particular, the recently discovered runaway advertisement for George Washington's enslaved housemaid Ona Judge.

Chapter 2

Uncovering the President's House

From Activism to Excavation

Jed Levin
Archeologist, National Park Service

On March 21, 2007, an extraordinary groundbreaking ceremony took place in the heart of Independence National Historical Park (INHP). The air was crisp and seasonable as several hundred community activists, high-school students, city officials, construction workers, National Park Service (NPS) representatives, and local reporters gathered on a sodden plot of grass dotted with icy patches, the remnants of a recent late-winter snow squall. Carpenters hastily pounded the final nails into a temporary viewing platform as Mayor John F. Street arrived to address the crowd and officially kickoff an archeological excavation on a busy street corner in downtown Philadelphia. The President's House archeological excavation almost didn't happen; the tense, expectant crowd was there to witness a triumph of public activism. But for a concerted grassroots effort and an unlikely coalition of African American activists, academic and avocational historians, reporters, staff from the mayor's office—and a group of slightly shell-shocked NPS officials—the corner of 6th and Market Streets would, that morning, have exhibited nothing more than the usual mix of office workers and park visitors.[1]

Carpenters from the firm of Riddick & Riddick Construction worked to complete a public observation platform for the groundbreaking ceremony (Photo: National Park Service).

What happened there that morning, and during the excavation of the site over the succeeding four months, has much to say about how Americans see their history and how they relate to institutions like the NPS, who preserve, protect, and interpret that history. The President's House Site speaks to the power of archeological sites as resources that communities can draw on as they struggle to understand and communicate who they are and where they came from. But, more importantly, when viewed as a community resource, archeology can be an important tool and, sometimes, a weapon wielded in struggles for power.

1. Conversations with numerous project participants shaped my understanding of the profound significance of the groundbreaking ceremony discussed here. The meaning of the groundbreaking was explored in a paper I coauthored with my colleagues Dr. Patrice L. Jeppson and William Hoffman, a paper we presented at the 106th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association in Washington, D.C., on November 30, 2007. The paper, entitled ""Telling the Truth' about American History: Social Justice and the Archaeology of Slavery and Freedom at the President's House Site," was presented in the Pathways to Justice: Exploring the Intersections between the Global Justice Movement, Archaeology, and Anthropology symposium. A version of this chapter was presented in The President's House Site Archaeological Investigation: Theory, Community, and Practice symposium, presented at the 68th Annual Meeting of the Society for Applied Anthropology in Memphis, Tennessee, on March 16, 2008.

How a small plot of ground, little more than 1,500 square feet in area, in Independence Park became the focus of such intense public interest and controversy can only be understood through a consideration of both the history of the site and how that history reverberates through disparate contemporary community notions of truth and power.

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On September 5, 1790, George Washington wrote to his secretary, Tobias Lear. The president reported his arrival in Philadelphia after a "pleasant Journey" and described arrangements that had been made to accommodate the removal of the presidential household from New York City to Philadelphia, a city that had only a short time before been designated the temporary capital of the United States: "The House of Mrs. R. Morris had, previous to my arrival, been taken by the Corporation for my residence. It is the best they could get. It is, I believe, the best *single House* in the City; yet, without additions it is inadequate to the *commodious* accommodation of my family [emphasis in original]" (Sparks 1906:3).

The house Washington would soon move into was large and grand, a three-story masonry structure with an attic, or garret, and a basement. It was an imposing townhouse. A string of outbuildings stretched behind the main house: a large kitchen, a washhouse, a smokehouse, stables, and a carriage house. Certainly, it was one of the largest and finest residences in Philadelphia at the time—though, by 1790, the house was already two decades old and, as such, perhaps not up to the latest architectural fashion.

In his 1790 letter to Lear, the president outlined changes to the property that he wished his secretary to oversee. The most visually striking alteration Washington ordered was the addition of a two-story bow or bay window to the rear elevation of the main house (Sparks 1906:6). The new bow window served to enlarge the house and added what was to become a ceremonial space in which the president received guests and dignitaries. It also added weight and gravity to the building by introducing a then-stylish architectural element to the house. Significantly, this grand bow later served as the inspiration for the fully oval rooms that were a prominent feature of the White House (Seale 2008:8). These rooms, in turn, were the architectural antecedents of the modern Oval Office.

The bow window was more than an architectural accent. Measuring 21 feet wide and 9 feet deep, this addition would have provided significant additional floor space to the President's House. And space was what the president was fretting about when he alerted Mr. Lear that alterations were needed to ensure "the *commodious* accommodation" of the family. Here, Washington—following the rhetorical style of the times—referred to a household encompassing those tied to him via bonds extending well beyond familial limits. During the seven years Washington resided in the President's House, some 35–40 other people lived and worked on the property at any given time. Those in residence also included Martha Washington and two Washington grandchildren. A staff of secretaries lived and worked in the house. A household staff of cooks, stewards, valets, porters, washerwomen, housekeepers, maids, coachmen, and footmen, variously indentured or wage servants, lived on the premises. Nine other souls spent time in the Washington's Philadelphia household by compulsion. Austin, Christopher Sheels, Giles, Hercules, Joe Richardson, Moll, Oney Judge, Paris, and Richmond were all enslaved Africans brought from Washington's Mount Vernon plantation to the city.

It was the jarring, deeply disturbing image of Washington, the larger-than-life symbol of the American struggle for freedom, juxtaposed against the largely anonymous enslaved men and women who toiled in obscurity in the shadow of the great man that sparked a controversy ultimately leading to the groundbreaking ceremony for this most unlikely archeological dig. The site of the President's House perfectly encapsulates the central contradiction—the inextricably intertwined themes of slavery and freedom—that runs through American history, and that remains a searing presence on our contemporary cultural landscape.

In her book, the *Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History*, Dolores Hayden (1995) examines how historic sites serve to nurture public memory and community. The power of a building or other landscape element to jar memory and invoke the past is profound. The corpus of history is always constructed through an active process of remembering and an equally active process of forgetting, obscuring, or erasing. Where a community's history has been suppressed, the power of place can be particularly potent in lifting the veil of invisibility (Barton 2001:1).

But the power of the President's House Site derives not simply from the fact that this was the spot on which Washington held people in bondage and that the house stood almost literally in the shadow of Independence Hall, where the Declaration of Independence was adopted and where the Constitution of the United States was debated, drafted, and signed. Nor is it simply in that the building now housing the Liberty Bell lies partially covering the President's House Site. This spot and its historic connections resonate more powerfully because of the interplay here *between* past and present; it is situated at a unique locus of symbolic and political significance on the contemporary American landscape.

The President's House Site is located on perhaps the busiest corner in any national park and is visited by eight million people yearly. People come from across the United States and from around the world because INHP occupies a singular place in American memory. In the national creation story, this, more than any other place, is where the nation was born. It was the struggle over how the federal government would tell this creation narrative that resulted in the excavation of the President's House Site.

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It was planning and development of the Liberty Bell Center, which opened in 2003, that focused renewed public interest on the President's House Site. In 1997, after several years of planning and public input, the NPS issued a general plan that would guide management of the park into the future (NPS 1997). The plan called for major redevelopment within the park designed to enrich interpretive and educational opportunities, improve visitor services, and enhance heritage tourism. The Liberty Bell Center was a key element of these new developments.

Significantly, the northernmost 35 feet of the center extends over the southern (or rear) portion of the President's House lot, and covers the location of a carriage house, a stable, and an icehouse that existed on the site during the tenure of Presidents Washington and Adams. Prior to construction, the NPS conducted historical research on the block on which the center stands. This research resulted in the preparation of a historic resource study (Toogood 2001) documenting the eighteenth-century history of the area, including the President's House lot.

Independent scholar Edward Lawler Jr. also conducted extensive research on the President's House property. Detailed results of Mr. Lawler's efforts were initially published in 2002 (Lawler 2002), and in a subsequent article in 2005 (Lawler 2005). While largely concerned with the architectural history of the site, Lawler's research drew public attention to the fact that George Washington brought eight enslaved Africans to Philadelphia and housed them at the President's House. Utilizing available primary sources, Mr. Lawler revealed that, during planning for renovations on the site to prepare it for his occupancy, Washington ordered that an existing smokehouse on the property be altered and extended as housing for the "stablepeople" (Lawler 2002:27). Among the slaves Washington brought to Philadelphia were three men named Giles, Paris, and Austin. The three served, variously, as stable hands, postillions, and drivers. Lawler concluded that the most likely reading of the evidence is that Washington's order for conversion of the smokehouse was carried out, and that the finished structure was then used to house some or all of the enslaved Africans working in the stable.

In his 2002 article, Lawler pointed out the striking fact that the design for the new Liberty Bell Center—intended to house the preeminent symbol of American liberty—would involve a layout in which "[t]he last thing that a visitor will walk across or pass over before entering the Liberty Bell Center will be the slave quarters that George Washington added to the President's House" (Lawler 2002:93).

On December 5, 2001, noted historian Gary Nash was interviewed on a local Philadelphia radio program. Nash had read an advance copy of Lawler's first article on the President's House and had come to fear that the NPS's interpretation for the new center "would be simplistic and vainglorious and that this piece of history-soaked land where the new pavilion would soon rise would be ignored" (Nash 2006:79). During this radio interview, Nash aired his concern that the NPS not "perpetuate the historical amnesia about the founding fathers and slavery" at the new site (Nash 2006:79). These two historians (both white, one avocational and the other professional) sounded alarm bells that rang in a controversy.

The controversy initially centered on the content of the new building's interpretive component and then broadened to focus on what, if any, interpretive attention should be focused on the President's House Site and the enslaved Africans who resided there. Following Nash's lead, a group of historians organized themselves into a loose organization styled the Ad Hoc Historians. Michael Coard, a prominent local African American attorney, founded a group called ATAC—Avenging the Ancestors Coalition—in response to the controversy, and Generations Unlimited, a local African American activist group, mobilized around the issue.

A small group of people within INHP's division of Interpretation and Visitor Services directed the initial interpretive plan for the Liberty Bell Center. While the planners had solicited input from the public and from scholars outside the NPS, the actual work of formulating an interpretive plan had been closely held. Even park personnel outside the responsible division were kept at arm's length. The initial position of the park's Chief of Interpretation was that any effort to incorporate a discussion of the President's House or of slavery into the plan would confuse the public and draw their attention away from the Liberty Bell (Nash 2006:80). NPS officials responded to increasing public pressure, and increasingly critical media coverage, by suggesting that the interpretation of Washington's slaves should be featured at sites other than the President's House (Salisbury and Saffron 2002).

After months of discussion, the impasse over the interpretive program for the new Liberty Bell Center was effectively broken at a meeting held on May 13, 2002. In attendance were representatives of the Ad Hock Historians and, significantly, three community representatives who attended at the request of Congressman Robert Brady. The NPS Regional Chief of Interpretation and the NPS's Chief Historian were also included in these discussions. The Chief Historian, who had been brought into the process by Professor Nash, had reviewed the original interpretive plan and concluded that it was "an exhibit to make people feel good but not to think" (quoted in Nash 2006:86). His intervention at the May 13 meeting was critical in convincing the park that the interpretive plan required fundamental revision. With the logjam broken, the interpretive program for the Liberty Bell Center, then under construction on the site, was redesigned in a flurry of activity stretching over little more than a month's time. Revisions were extensive and involved input from the outside critics and additional academic subject-matter experts. For the first time in the process, the park's historian and ethnographic specialist were given substantial roles in the exhibit design process. The resulting exhibit script forthrightly presents the history and meaning of the Liberty Bell within the context of the institution of slavery and the larger theme of the continuing struggle to live up to the promise of the ideals of liberty and equality that the bell has come to symbolize.

With the issue of the interpretive plan for the Liberty Bell Center satisfactorily resolved, attention shifted directly to the President's House Site located partially under, at the doorway to, and extending directly adjacent to the center. On July 3, 2002, five hundred mostly African American protesters gathered on Independence Mall directly adjacent to the Liberty Bell Center construction site to press for construction of a

memorial acknowledging the enslaved and, specifically, the nine people serving in bondage in the President's House during Washington's tenure.

The work of local activists and the intense local media scrutiny surrounding the President's House controversy now began to propel events to a rapid conclusion. Saying, "It is important that the Park Service, which is funded with taxpayer dollars, understand the importance of and acknowledge the existence of slavery at the Executive Mansion" (Salisbury 2002), U.S. Representative Chaka Fattah moved an amendment to the Department of Interior's 2003 Appropriations bill through the Appropriations Committee. The amendment, which the committee passed unanimously, called on the NPS to "appropriately commemorate the existence of the first Executive Mansion and the slaves who worked in it during the first years of our democracy" (Kirszner 2002).

On October 9, 2003, the new Liberty Bell Center was officially opened. On that day, Mayor Street committed $1,500,000 in city funds toward completion of a commemorative project on the President's House Site. On October 30, 2004, the NPS assembled stakeholders at a forum designed to foster ongoing discussions concerning the most appropriate interpretative approach for the President's House Site. The forum generated passionate and sustained discussion concerning the appropriate form and guiding themes for the commemoration. Out of that discussion emerged consensus on six themes, five of which had been advanced in a conceptual design study the NPS commissioned:

1. The house and the people who lived and worked there;
2. The Executive Branch of the U.S. government;
3. The system and methods of slavery;
4. African American Philadelphia (including an emphasis on free African Americans);
5. The move to freedom; and
6. History lost and found (how knowledge of the President's House and the presence of slavery was forgotten and recovered; why we must remember).

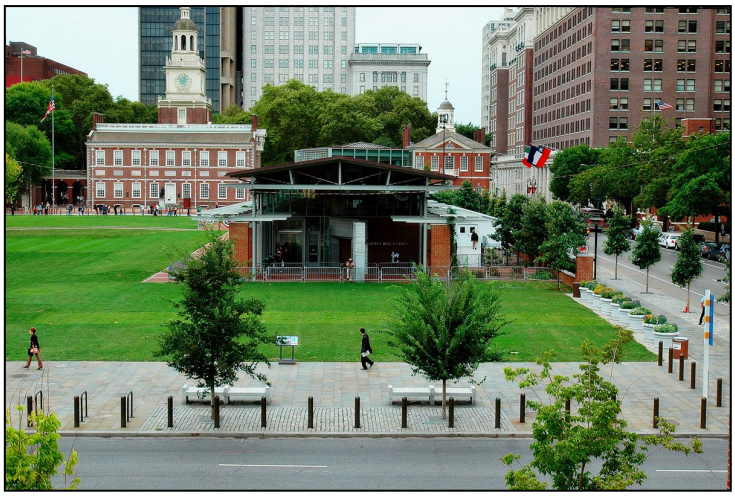
Five cultural values also emerged from the October 30, 2004, public forum. These guiding principles were:

1. Identity
2. Memory (a sense of influence of the past on the present)
3. Agency
4. Dignity
5. Truth

The city, in partnership with the NPS, conducted a design review to select a compelling plan for the President's House commemoration. On February 27, 2007, Mayor Street and Superintendent Dennis Reidenbach announced that a preliminary design for the commemoration, submitted by a local architectural firm, had been selected from among the five finalists.

The design selected for the commemoration incorporated interpretive elements intended to present to the public a complete picture of the President's House during the Washington and Adams administrations, and that would recognize the central significance of the enslaved residents who toiled there during Washington's tenure. On September 6, 2005, U.S. Congressman Chaka Fattah, joined by U.S. Congressman Robert Brady, announced a federal grant in the amount of $3,600,000 to complete the project.

Concurrent with the announcement of the semifinalists, the City of Philadelphia and the NPS announced that an archeological research excavation would be conducted prior to construction of the commemorative installation. The decision to conduct this excavation was reached after consultation with the President's House Oversight Committee. This committee, composed of leading public advocacy groups, was convened to advise the city on all aspects of the President's House project. The City of Philadelphia provided full funding for the archeological project; the NPS provided technical oversight and issued the contract for the work, using the funds the city provided.



Before the 2007 excavation began, the project area revealed no hint of what lay beneath a grassy plot adjacent to a busy street corner in downtown Philadelphia. This photograph shows the area as it appeared in September 2006 (Photo: National Park Service).

The decision to undertake an archeological research project on the site was reached after consideration of a briefing paper the NPS completed (see Appendix A). This document, issued January 12, 2006, reviewed the mandatory and discretionary archeological work that might be conducted before construction of a commemoration on the site and reviewed the probability of survival and the research potential of archeological resources on the President's House Site. Following a review of the briefing paper, a consensus was reached among the City of Philadelphia, the NPS, and a majority of the community representatives on the President's House Oversight Committee that the President's House Site is of very great historical value and that it carries tremendous cultural, historical, and emotional significance for the nation.

The prevailing view was that if archeological evidence relating to the President's House period had survived on the site, it would have the potential to teach us about the birth of our nation and the intertwined themes of slavery and freedom. The parties joining the consensus agreed that the effort to bring that evidence to light was warranted, even if there was only a modest likelihood that significant intact archeological evidence survived. That effort was judged particularly justified where such evidence may relate to the lives of the enslaved Africans Washington brought to Philadelphia during his tenure. It was recognized that archeology may be the only way to substantially enrich our understanding of their lives because, in the past, the historical record has been constructed with a systematic bias that largely excluded these pioneering Americans.

Among the most compelling points raised during the broad and free-ranging discussions among members of the President's House Oversight Committee and city and NPS officials was the observation that excavation, even in the face of an unlikely outcome, was an act of respect to those whose history had previously been denied.

Considering these views, the city, with the concurrence of the NPS, concluded that an archeological research project was warranted.

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This process brought us all to the corner of 6th and Market Streets for the groundbreaking in March 2007. As I finished my brief remarks to the crowd that day, I could not help but wonder over the months, the years, of conflict, frustration, and dialogue that had led to this occasion.

Many attending the groundbreaking ceremony, where Mayor John F. Street, seen here, was the featured speaker, contributed to the public dialogue and protest that animated this project (Photo: Patrice L. Jeppson).

When the last of the speakers finished, the mayor descended the platform and made his way across the wet grass to a large mechanical excavator, its engine idling noisily. After settling in at the controls—and after the machine operator provided a quick refresher on how to operate the machine—Mayor Street deftly lowered the bucket. The crowd edged expectantly forward, pressing against the thin plastic caution tape held at both ends by members of the archeological team. In planning for the event, we had discussed how we would keep people at a safe distance from the machine. A fence did not seem appropriate. Not here, not for this. Not given that these people had come to have such a fierce sense of attachment to this place. Plastic caution tape would have to do.

The steel teeth of the machine cut through the sod and into the soft topsoil beneath. Digging deeper, the mayor manipulated the controls and curled the bucket upward, drawing it back with a full load of dirt. When the bucket reached shoulder height, he released the load in a cascade of soil and brick fragments.

A palpable sense of excitement hung in the air as Mayor Street released the controls and stepped from the excavator. And then something that I had never anticipated occurred. The crowd surged forward as a body, passing through the flimsy tape. In a moment, a jubilant crowd surrounded the machine and the mound of fresh dirt. My first thought was for the safety of the assembled crowd, one that included both young children and senior citizens. I quickly scanned the scene in front of me. The operator had prudently secured the machine, the bucket was resting safely on the ground, and the hydraulic monster was still. My mind at ease concerning safety, I watched as people milled around the pile of soil and others stood gazing at it. I was standing to the side, some distance from the crowd. From my vantage point, I did not see one man reach down and place his hand, palm down, on the soil. I did see, however, as other people quickly followed suite. One elderly woman, too frail to bend over, prodded the soil with her cane. Others held up handfuls of dirt and brick bats. Cameras were raised as many in the crowd posed against the pile of earth. Then, in utter astonishment, I watched as a young child was gently placed on the ground in front of the pile, posed for a photograph.

The expectant crowd surged forward as soon as the hydraulic excavator released the first ceremonial bucket of soil (Photo: Patrice L. Jeppson).

Within a few minutes, people began drifting toward the exit. But as some began leaving, others produced plastic bags or small glass jars and filled them

with soil, others clutched bricks in muddy hands as they headed toward Market Street. It struck me with a jolt: some in the crowd were taking soil or rubble fragments as souvenirs. As an NPS archeologist, my first responsibility is to protect archeological sites from damage. I quickly reassured myself that no damage was being done. This was twentieth-century demolition rubble and recent landscape fill placed on the site only three or four years prior. Significant archeological deposits were sealed safely 7 to 10 feet below where we stood.

And I was not alone in this view. As I stood wondering at the meaning of this unexpected turn of events, I saw the park's Assistant Superintendent winding her way through the crowd toward me. She drew near and, with a bemused expression and some urgency in her voice, said, "You know, some people are taking dirt and bricks?" Yes, I said, I had seen the same thing. Then I emphatically assured her that there was no possibility of damage to the archeological resources. No archeological damage, but none the less, the NPS has a rule—take nothing from a park. Though a technical violation of a park rule, it was a rule neither of us were inclined, or able, on this occasion, to enforce.

Before the end of the day, the Assistant Superintendent and I, as well as others on the team, had occasion to speak with people who had collected mementos. Our experiences during these interactions were the same. We explained that everything dug up during the groundbreaking was unrelated to the President's House, but our attempted clarifications made no difference. More truthfully, they only betrayed our own collective failure to fully fathom this moment. The dirt and debris came from *this* place—a plot of ground that had come to have deep significance to many in the crowd. This was the stuff of history, a tangible, authentic link to a history that for some was very personal.

Those bags of soil or fragments of brick were also, I think, portable symbols of a political victory. Lin Washington, a Temple University journalism professor, brought students to the groundbreaking and told a local reporter that he doubted anything significant would be found during the excavation, but still felt it important to mark the activism that led to the archeological dig (Toomer 2007). That activism had led an agency of the federal government to reverse course and change profoundly what future visitors to the park will learn about the origins of our country. Those clods of dirt were, simultaneously, links to long-buried historical truths and, also, symbols of how current generations made history on this spot.

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The groundbreaking on March 21, 2007, marked the start of four months of excavations. As subsequent chapters of this report reveal, the extraordinary events of that day were prologue to an equally surprising series of discoveries and a stunning outpouring of public interest.

Chapter 3

"The Best Single House in the City"

Historical Summary of the President's House Lot

Ingrid Wuebber and Douglas Mooney
URS Corporation

The President's House was only sixty-five years old when it was demolished in 1832 to make way for what were considered to be more useful buildings. More than three decades had passed since the days when it had been one of the largest townhouses in Philadelphia and the Executive Mansion for the first two presidents of the United States. Few private houses could claim to have hosted such a varied crowd of historical figures, whether as owners, tenants, or guests. The house was designed to be a showplace and to entertain visitors in an opulent setting. It was also a family home and, at various times, a government center. Underpinning all these aspects were the men, women, and children whose labor enabled the house's inhabitants and guests to enjoy a privileged lifestyle. The domestic staff was a combination of free whites, indentured servants, and usually two or so enslaved Africans. The tenure of George Washington has highlighted the dichotomy between the ideals of freedom associated with the new American republic and the brutal reality of human bondage. The stories of the nine enslaved Africans that President Washington included in his Philadelphia household must now stand for the others who served the former residents of the President's House.

Edward Lawler Jr. has researched and written the definitive President's House history, and except where otherwise noted, this historical summary is drawn from his work (Lawler 2002, 2005). Amazingly, no pictorial representations of the President's House were made during the period it was used as the Executive Mansion. Drawings of the former President's House were made beginning in the 1820s. Despite the seemingly short elapse of time, the building and its surroundings had changed so markedly that the drawings were conjectural, based on what remained and what people remembered.

During the period that the President's House was occupied as the new nation's Executive Mansion, its street address was 190 High Street. High Street was otherwise known as Market Street, but the latter name did not become the official street name until the consolidation of Philadelphia in1854. Before consolidation, street numbering was inconsistent. As new buildings filled previously vacant lots, street addresses became even harder to locate. For thirty-two years, buildings on the former President's House property suffered with an array of awkward addresses that included 190, center 190, middle 190, upper 190, and next 192. Some logic was at last achieved in 1832, when the four buildings that occupied the site on High Street were designated as 190, 192, 194, and 194½. A full citywide conversion of old house numbers took place in 1856–1857. The buildings here were thereafter known as 524, 526, 528, and 530 Market Street, until they were demolished to make way for the creation of Independence Mall in the 1950s.

The Masters-Penn House (1767–1781)

Mary Lawrence Masters built the first house on this site in 1767–1768. At the time of the house's construction, she was one of the city's wealthiest women, the widow of William Masters. William was the son of Thomas Masters, a wealthy merchant and former mayor of Philadelphia. William Masters followed his

father's example and was active in the colony's civic life, serving as a mayor of Philadelphia and a provincial assemblyman. He was one of the founders and trustees of the University of Pennsylvania (University of Pennsylvania Archives n.d.).

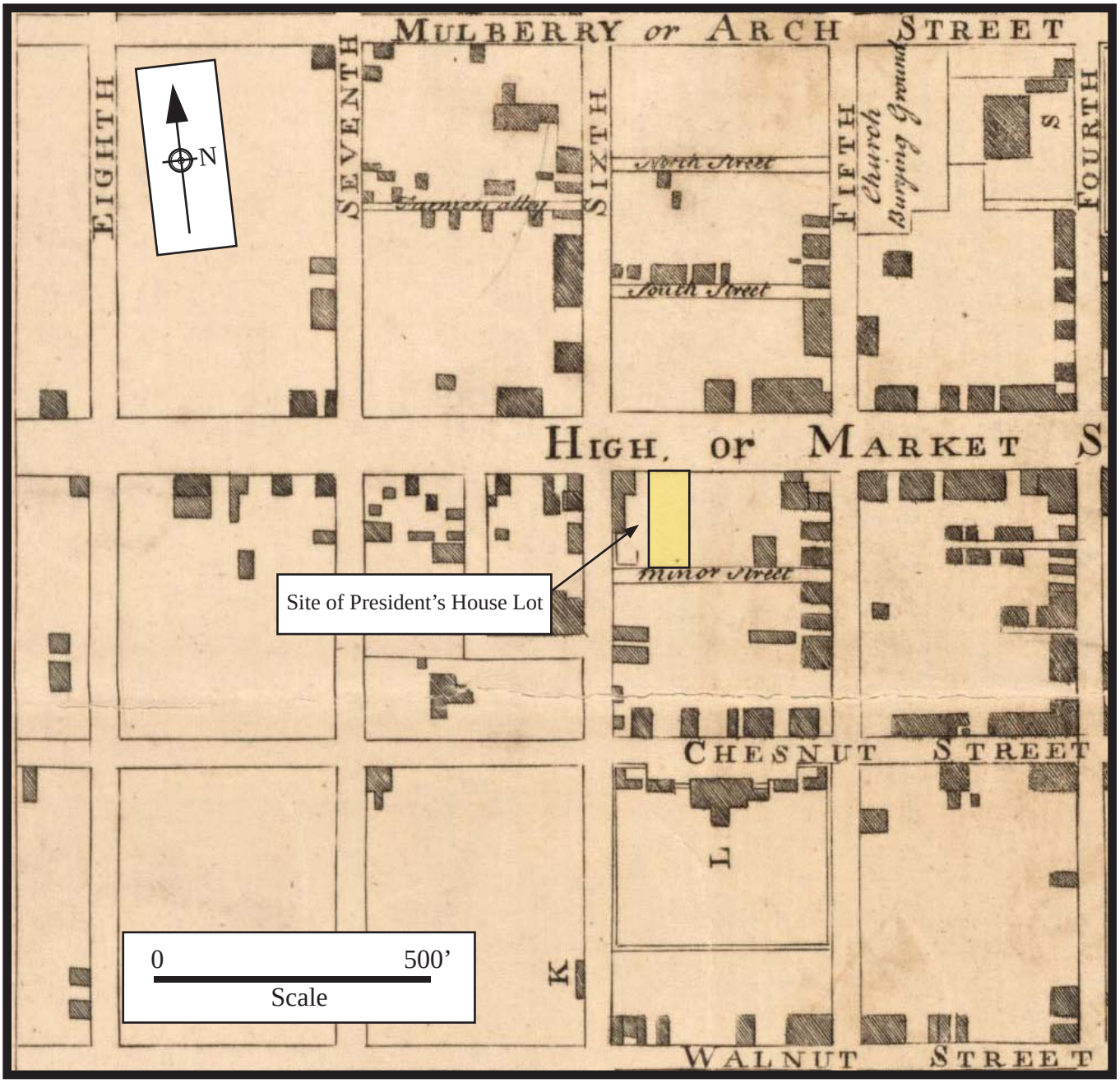
After his father's death in 1724 and his brother's death in 1740, William Masters became the sole male heir to a large estate that included a house on the Delaware River in the commercial heart of Philadelphia, Green Spring plantation in Northern Liberties, part ownership in a merchant ship, the Globe Mill in Kensington, and merchandise warehoused on the island of Bermuda. He also inherited five enslaved Africans and the services of five German indentured servants (Philadelphia County Will Book D:380/1723 #302). Indeed, William Masters is infamously known as Philadelphia's largest slave owner. When he died in January 1761, his probate records listed the names of thirty-three slaves of African descent (Nash 1988:285*n*).

Mary Master's father, Thomas Lawrence, was from the same upper stratum of Philadelphia society as the Masters family. He was also a politically active and wealthy merchant. He served as the mayor of Philadelphia on several occasions and was a member of the Provincial Council. Like William Masters, he was a founder and trustee of the University of Pennsylvania. Like William Masters, Thomas Lawrence was a slave owner. When he died in April 1754, his will directed his wife, Rachell, to choose four of his slaves along with half of his household goods. Thomas Lawrence's will left his two sons large farms in New Jersey, but left his townhouse, wharf, and warehouses in Philadelphia to his wife for the duration of her lifetime. Upon Rachell's death, according to his wishes, Thomas Lawrence's house and mercantile business passed to his only daughter (Philadelphia County Will Book O:205/1768 #154). Entrusting his mercantile business to his wife and unmarried daughter suggests a strong belief in their capabilities as financial managers. Mary did not have to wait for her mother's death in 1768 to be considered an heiress to a sizable estate. She also received large grants of land in New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Besides the generous legacies left to his children, Thomas Lawrence made his daughter, Mary, an equal partner with her two brothers in the residual part of his estate (Philadelphia County Will Book K:138/1754 No.108).

On August 31, 1754, a few months after her father's death, Mary Lawrence married William Masters (Linn and Egle 1878:152). He and Mary established their home in the Bank House, at the southeast corner of Front and Market Streets (Nash 2003). They had three children, all daughters, before William Masters fell ill and wrote his will in November 1760. He ensured that upon his death, his wife would be one of the wealthiest women in Philadelphia. William left Mary their Front Street townhouse and the Green Spring plantation for her use during her lifetime. After her death, the Masters estate would pass to his daughters. Mary Masters was given an annual income of £350 from the estate to provide for her maintenance. William chose his friends, Benjamin Franklin, Joseph Fox, and Joseph Galloway—along with his wife, Mary—to be the executors of his will (Philadelphia County Will Book M:38).

William Masters died a few days after making his will (*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 27 November 1760:3). His daughter Rachel died before the will was probated in January. His two remaining daughters, Mary (better known as "Polly"), age four, and Sarah, age two, became heiresses to a large estate. He asked his friends, Franklin, Fox, and Galloway, to become the guardians of his daughters' estates. These guardians were among the most influential men in Philadelphia. Each had served with William Masters in the Pennsylvania Assembly. In fact, just a month before his death, William Masters had been elected with Benjamin Franklin to represent Philadelphia in the assembly (Hoban 1935:5157).

On October 20, 1761, Mary's brother John Lawrence sold her a vacant lot on the south side of High Street in the block between 5th and 6th Streets that he had purchased from the Kinsey family earlier that year. This neighborhood was an area of scattered houses. Indeed, at the time, the area west of 8th Street was open country. The lot of ground Mary Masters bought measured 48 feet in width and 180 feet in length. The lot covered the entire distance between High Street and Minor Street, a road that bisected the block between High



Site of the President's House, 1762 (Source: Scull 1762).

and Chestnut Streets (Philadelphia County Deed Books I-14:459, D-15:117). The townhouse she had shared with her husband was in the bustling and noisy commercial center of the city. As one of the city's wealthiest women, she was able to build a home where more space, not to say, peace and quiet, were available—a home that would rival any in the city (Jenkins 1898:87–88).

The widow Mary Masters was listed in tax records as a resident of the Bank House in the Lower Delaware Ward in 1765 and 1767. In the latter year, Mary Masters was taxed on a new house and lot in the Middle Ward; i.e., the High Street house. The new house was under construction in 1767 and probably completed in 1768 (Nash 2003).

In 1768, Mary Masters purchased the adjoining vacant lot from the Kinsey brothers, adding another 24 feet onto the eastern side of her existing lot. She also purchased a 3-foot-wide strip of land on her western boundary line (Philadelphia County Deed Book D-15:117). In total, her lot had 75 feet of frontage on High Street and the full depth of 180 feet to Minor Street. She financed the construction of the High Street house with the £2,500 she got from her brother Thomas in exchange for the house, wharf, and warehouses on Front Street she had inherited from their father (Philadelphia Deed Book H-13:531).

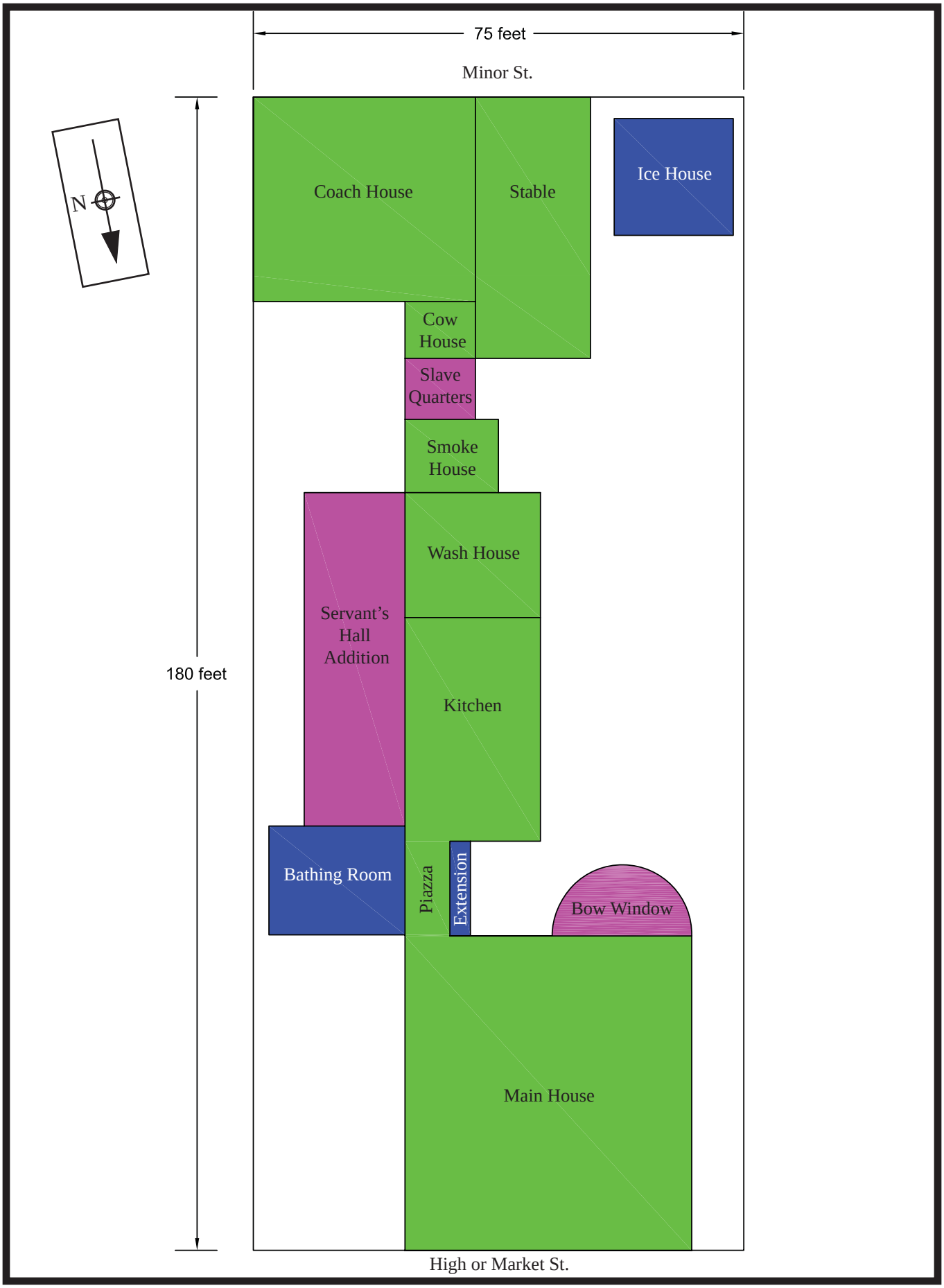
The house she had built was three stories high and four bays wide, with an asymmetrical facade—a type of house popular in London but unusual for the American colonies. The main house was 45 feet wide and 52 feet deep. A brick wall ran on a north-south axis through the center of the house. Another brick wall ran on an east-west axis through the west half of the house. The most valuable of the back buildings was the one-story combination kitchen and washhouse. It was 18 feet wide and 54 feet long, and connected to the main house via a ground-level 7-x-14-foot covered passageway called a "piazza."

On May 21, 1772, having just turned sixteen, Polly Masters married Richard Penn, the lieutenant-governor of Pennsylvania. Richard was the grandson of William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania. With his brother John, the governor of Pennsylvania, in England, Richard was acting governor. Two days before the wedding, Mary Masters conveyed the title of her High Street house to Polly as a gift (Philadelphia Deed Book I-14:459). Richard Penn moved into the house with his bride, his mother-in-law, and thirteen-year-old sister-in-law. Penn, who had no fortune of his own, now had control over his wife's sizeable inheritance and one of the finest houses in the city. The family that Richard married into came with the onus of slave ownership (Nash 2003).

Mounting political tensions made a prolonged conflict with Great Britain almost inevitable. Early in 1775, Richard and Polly Penn decided to return to England. Mary Masters, a loyalist, made plans to accompany them with Sarah in tow. One of her final tasks before leaving was to record the deed that gave Polly ownership of the High Street house (Philadelphia County Deed Book I-14:459). Richard Penn put his Pennsylvania affairs in the hands of his agent Tench Francis and sailed for England with the three women in the summer of 1775. He carried with him the Continental Congress's "Olive Branch Petition," an effort to open negotiations on trade and tax regulation and circumvent a war for independence. When George III rejected the petition, he provided added impetus to the independence movement. Richard Penn and his family did not return to Philadelphia until 1808 (Flagg 1911:9).

Revolutionary War (1775–1783)

During Richard and Polly Penn's time in England, it is unknown if there were any renters of the Masters-Penn house. In 1777, British General William Howe entered Philadelphia at the head of the British Army. The High Street house became his residence and the headquarters of the British military that occupied Philadelphia from September 1777 until June 1778. The army entertained themselves through the winter and



Ground floor alterations, 1767–1800 (Source: Based on plans drawn by Nathaniel Burt in 1875 and Edward Lawler, Jr., 2000-2009).

the Masters-Penn house became the center of social life for those Philadelphians who opposed the War of Independence and remained loyal to King George III. After Howe was recalled to England and Sir Henry Clinton took control of the British Army, the new commander occupied the house briefly before the army abandoned Philadelphia and moved to New York City in June 1778. During their occupation of the house, both generals used enslaved Africans as domestic help (Nash 2003).

After the British withdrawal from Philadelphia, American General Benedict Arnold was appointed military governor of Philadelphia and the surrounding area. He made the Masters-Penn house his residence and headquarters. Arnold entered the city ostentatiously in a coach drawn by four horses and attended by liveried servants. The British had stripped the mansion of its contents before leaving, so Arnold bought new expensive furniture with which to outfit it. He hired a steward, a cook, three maids, a coachman, and a washerwoman. Two of his domestic staff were enslaved Africans (Nash 2003; Randall 1990:410–411). Benedict Arnold occupied the house for just over a year. He resigned as military governor in March 1779 and married Peggy Shippen, loyalist belle of Philadelphia, a few weeks later. They moved into the Masters-Penn house with his sister and a son from Arnold's previous marriage. Feeling bitter and betrayed by civil and military authorities, in May 1779, Arnold, while still living in the Masters-Penn house, began a secret treasonous correspondence with British military leaders in New York City, eventually sending them information regarding American troop strengths, dispositions, and destinations. By September 1779, he and his wife had moved to a house her father owned (Randall 1990:449, 452).

John Holker, the French Consul at Philadelphia and agent for the French navy in American ports, next occupied the Masters-Penn house. Holker worked with Benjamin Franklin and the other American commissioners to secretly supply the Continental Army before France officially entered the war. He made a fortune as a war contractor for American and French forces. When the French government forced Holker to choose between his lucrative military contracts or his official post, he chose to remain in the United States and expand his entrepreneurial interests. He was living in the Masters-Penn house on the morning of January 2, 1780, when it caught fire (William L. Clement Library n.d.; Mansfield 2004:37).

The Fire and Robert Morris (1780–1795)

The fire destroyed the upper two stories and garret of the house. Richard Penn wrote to his agent in Philadelphia, directing him to find a buyer for the house and the lots of ground belonging to the property. Robert Morris signed a sales contract with Tench Francis, Penn's agent, to buy what remained of the house for £3,750 sterling once a clear title was established. In June 1781, Mary Lawrence Masters, Richard and Polly Penn, and Sally Masters deeded the house to Tench Francis, so that he could convey it to Morris. Robert Morris took immediate possession of the property. By August 1781, he had rebuilt and repaired the ruins and made "divers [sic] other very valuable improvements" (Philadelphia County Deed Book D-15:117).

The Morris house had a four-bay-wide facade, a boxed cornice with modillions (an ornamental bracket), "eared" window frames, a stone belt course aligned with the sills of the second-story windows, and parapets (low walls rising above and running parallel to the roof on the gable ends). The building was three stories high with an attic (Mason 1832).

A British traveler visiting Philadelphia between December 1781 and May 1782 noted that Morris had added hothouses and an icehouse to the High Street property. Diarist Jacob Hiltzheimer mentioned Morris's icehouse in an entry dated February 12, 1782. Morris had first built hothouses and an icehouse at his country estate overlooking the Schuylkill River in 1770. This might be the first example of an icehouse built for a private home in America (Oberholtzer 1903:292; Wagner 1976:21).

The deed conveying title of the Masters-Penn property to Robert Morris was drawn up in August 1785 (Philadelphia County Deed Book D-15:117). In the meantime, Morris had begun buying up adjoining lots. In October 1781, he paid the heirs of John Kinsey £1,837 in Spanish milled dollars for a 49-foot-wide vacant lot on the east side of his new house on High Street (Philadelphia County Deed Book D-25:449). He expanded the property another 47 feet to the east in purchasing an adjoining vacant lot for £1,500 sterling (Philadelphia County Deed Books D-25:449, D-39:520, D-18:128).

Conjectural drawing from 1830 of how the President's House looked in 1795 (Breton 1830, Courtesy of the National Park Service).

More than likely, it was Robert Morris who added a second story to the back kitchen when he renovated the main house in 1781–1782. Built on the foundation of the Master-Penn house, the Robert Morris house was also three and a half stories high and four bays wide. Two bedrooms were created on the second story of the kitchen. Sheltered from the street, with a walled garden on one side and a paved yard on the other, these rooms must have been comfortable and quiet. Morris also built a three-story addition (21 x 16 feet) on the east side of the back building in the wood yard. The piazza was widened when the second story was added to the back building. The well was located adjacent to the piazza in the paved yard.

Robert Morris had made a fortune in trade and land speculation. By the beginning of the American Revolution, he was one of the country's wealthiest men. He was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the United States Constitution. He was elected to the Pennsylvania Assembly and became the chairman of the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety, as well as a member of the Second Continental Congress (Wagner 1976:27, 32, 48, 53). Morris became known as the "Financier of the Revolutionary War" because of his role in raising money for supplies and pay for the Continental Army, often using his own credit. Morris made a great deal of money during the war from the seizure and sale of English shipping. However, he claimed to have broken even due to the loss of many of his own shipping investments. His business interests included acting as the commercial agent for John Holker, the tenant of the Masters-Penn house when it caught fire. He was one of Pennsylvania's original pair of U.S. senators, serving in Congress from 1789 to 1795 (Wagner 1976:79, 118).

Morris began his financial career as an apprentice in the shipping and banking firm of Philadelphia merchant Charles Willing. In 1757, at the age of twenty-three, he became the partner of Willing's son and heir, Thomas (Wagner 1976:12). They built the business into one of the most prosperous shipping firms in the city, trading as far away as India, China, and the eastern Mediterranean. Their trading business included the importation and auctioning of enslaved Africans. Morris himself owned one or two slaves who worked as household servants. He was also a partner in a Gulf Coast indigo plantation, where one hundred enslaved Africans were forced to labor (Oberholtzer 1903:299). Morris's ownership of enslaved Africans as domestic servants ceased after Pennsylvania passed the gradual abolition law in 1780. By 1790, there were no longer any slaves in his household (U.S. Bureau of the Census, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1790:129).

During the period in which Robert Morris bought and began the renovation of the Masters-Penn property, the fledgling United States was in a financial crisis. The British controlled coastal waters, New York City, and the western frontier. The treasury was in debt for $25,000,000, hard currency was in short supply, and

public credit had collapsed. The Continental Congress turned to Morris to manage the new nation's economy. From 1781 to 1784, he served as the superintendent of finance. At the same time, he controlled the Continental Navy as the agent of marine (Wagner 1976:75–76).

On August 31, 1781, American and French forces arrived in Philadelphia on their way to Yorktown, Virginia, for what would become the final battle of the war. Robert Morris had taken an active role in financing and coordinating the movement of these armies. He entertained George Washington and the Comte de Rochambeau, along with their military staff, at his townhouse on Front Street (Wagner 1976:80). Washington used Morris's Front Street house as his headquarters for the week. Although the British surrender at Yorktown brought an end to the fight for independence, Robert Morris spent the next three years scrambling for funds to supply and pay Continental forces, government creditors, and foreign loans. He returned to private life in November 1784 (Wagner 1976:101, 106).

Morris probably did not move into the High Street house until the winter of 1781–1782. In June 1782, Robert Morris moved the Office of Finance and the Marine Office from Front Street to a commercial building on High Street at the corner of 5th Street. His new office was close to other government offices and his new home (Oberholtzer 1903:76–77).

The new Morris home on High Street must have been a decided improvement over the old Front Street townhouse. The new place was in a quieter part of town and surrounded by open space. Robert Morris had a generous-sized house suited to the constant social activity that characterized his lifestyle. The ground floor had an entrance hall, a magnificent staircase, and two dining rooms—one for the family's use and one for formal dinners. The second floor had two drawing rooms and bedrooms. A hot- and cold-water bathing room was available on both the first and second floors. On the third floor was a summer room with bowed windows that might have been used as guest quarters. The garret contained additional bedrooms. The domestic staff included a butler, a housekeeper, footmen, coachmen, a confectioner, and a French cook (Wagner 1976:109). Robert and Mary Morris had seven children. Their two oldest sons were sent away to school in Europe, while their three younger sons received their formal education at the University of Pennsylvania (Wagner 1976:117). The Morris family enjoyed a luxurious lifestyle, and no cost was spared for furniture, clothes, jewels, wines, or foods. Robert Morris used his many trading contacts throughout the world to import the highest quality goods solely for his family (Oberholtzer 1903:270–272).

In 1786, Robert Morris purchased the Stedman-Galloway house at the southeast corner of High and 6th Streets from the state of Pennsylvania at a public auction. The Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania had confiscated the house from loyalist Joseph Galloway. It was made the official residence of the president of the council. Joseph Galloway had been an active Tory, serving as the civilian leader of the city during the British military occupation. Galloway fled with the British Army, leaving his wife behind to be evicted by Benedict Arnold's staff. With the purchase of the Stedman-Galloway house and lot, Robert Morris owned more than half of the total frontage on the south side of High Street between 5th and 6th Streets.

The President's House: George Washington (1790–1797)

George Washington was sworn into office as the first president of the United States on April 30, 1789, in New York City, the temporary site of the new government. Martha Washington, on the way north to join her husband, was an overnight guest at the Morris home on High Street. Mrs. Washington and her friend Mary Morris met their husbands at the ferry port of Elizabeth, New Jersey. The president and the senator escorted the ladies on the presidential barge to Manhattan (Wagner 1976:119).

In July 1790, Congress chose Philadelphia to be the temporary capital of the United States, for a ten-year period, while the new federal city (Washington, D.C.) was under construction. The first Philadelphia

session of Congress was to meet in December 1790 (Wagner 1976:123). Robert Morris leased his Market Street home to the City of Philadelphia, which in turn rented the house to the president of the United States. Robert Morris's house was considered the best suited, in size and elegance, to accommodate the president. All rent and household expenses, including public entertainments, were the president's personal responsibility and he frequently overspent his $25,000 annual salary. Washington was well acquainted with the Morris house, having been a frequent houseguest, including a four-month stay in the summer of 1787 during the Constitutional Convention.

The President's House served not only as the residence of the first family, staff, and servants—the house functioned as the headquarters for the Executive Branch of the federal government and the presidential entertaining venue. Although the Morrises had one of the largest houses in Philadelphia, alterations were necessary to accommodate the thirty or more people comprising Washington's household. Those living in the house and on its grounds included family members, Washington's personal staff and their families, some fifteen white servants and, at various times, a total of nine enslaved Africans brought to Philadelphia from Mount Vernon.

In September 1790, George Washington, with Robert Morris's permission, began planning the necessary renovations before moving into the President's House. Morris hired the workmen to carry out the additions and alterations. Public rooms occupied most of the first two floors of the main house; i.e., the family dining room and state dining room on the first floor and the yellow drawing room and state drawing room on the second floor. The third floor housed the presidential business office. The president's cabinet and advisors met and conducted public business in this room looking out onto High Street. Several bedrooms on the third floor were set aside for Washington's secretarial staff. The attic of the main house was divided into rooms to serve as quarters for a dozen or more servants, both free and enslaved.

George and Martha Washington, like Robert and Mary Morris, chose for themselves a bedroom located above the semidetached kitchen behind the main house. The other room above the kitchen was partitioned to provide separate space for each of the two grandchildren who lived with the Washingtons. The enslaved nursemaid who attended the Custis grandchildren slept in their bedrooms. Washington thought the remainder of the kitchen's second floor (above the laundry) could be used as sleeping quarters for the laundresses and probably the kitchen maids. The president converted the second-floor bathing room of the bathhouse into his private study and dressing room.

His domestic staff was so large that Washington felt it necessary to build an addition to the kitchen/laundry building. The one-story addition added another 15 feet onto the east side of the kitchen, extending it into the wood yard lot. It measured 51 feet in length and was wedged between the bathhouse addition and the wall of the stable yard. The kitchen addition was divided into the servants' dining hall, servants' quarters, and the steward's room. A coach house and stables were located along the back lot line on Minor Street. Washington brought so many horses to Philadelphia from Mount Vernon that the Morris cowshed had to be converted into horse stalls.

A room over the stable was outfitted for the coachman and postilions (coach attendants who either rode the horses or clung to the back). The Morris smokehouse, adjoining the south wall of the washhouse, was converted into servant quarters, probably for the white coachman. A room was constructed in the open space between the smokehouse and the cowshed. This new room, about 9.5 feet wide and 12 feet long, was to accommodate three male enslaved Africans who worked in the stable.

The most dramatic alteration to the main house was Washington's addition of a two-story bow or bay window onto the south facade, overlooking the paved rear yard. Bow windows had become fashionable in England during the eighteenth century and wealthy Americans still sought to emulate the architectural styles of the landed gentry. One of the earliest examples of residential use of bow windows in Philadelphia was at the

country villa of William Hamilton, an acquaintance of Washington's. Hamilton added bow windows to his large central saloon (drawing room) at The Woodlands about 1774 (Hamilton 1784). Morris had probably utilized a bow window in his third floor "summer room" that looked out onto the gardens. The two-story bow window Washington added on the President's House was constructed of brick with stonework over the second-story windows and an iron roof.

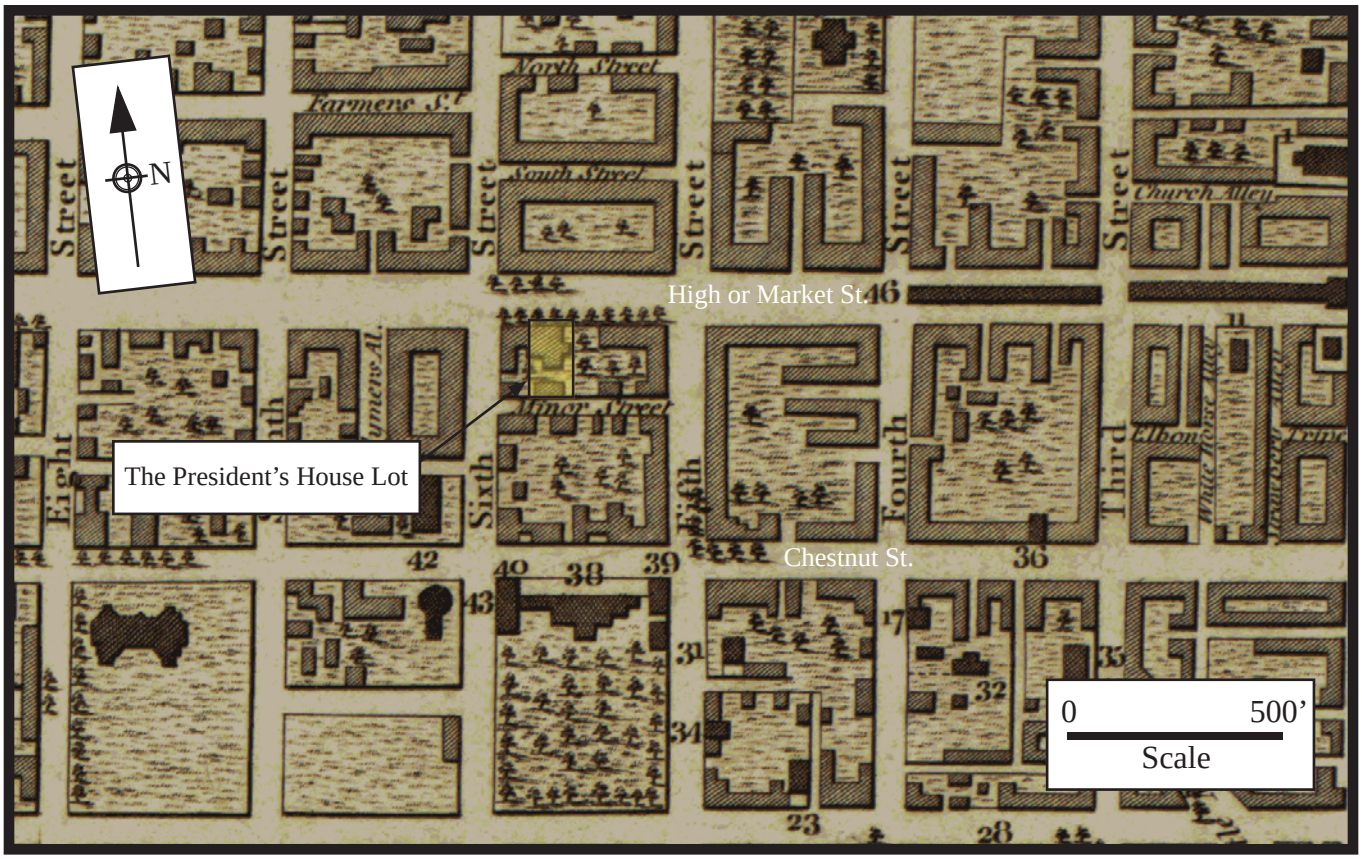
The so-called bow window was in reality not a window, in the sense we might think of that term today, but rather a large apse, or semicircular room. The addition of this feature served to enlarge the formal public rooms in the President's House—the state dining room on the first floor and the state drawing room on the second floor. Official entertaining, including state dinners and levees (a formal open house the president held for one hour every other Tuesday), was conducted in the state dining room with President Washington dramatically positioning himself in the bow window to greet his guests. Washington was keenly aware that he was creating a set of social practices that all presidents after him would follow. His unusual bow window additions to the state reception rooms created an impressive setting that symbolically combined the courtly formality of the Old World with the republican simplicity of the new nation's presidential office. The architectural surroundings of the President's House in Philadelphia became closely entwined with George Washington, himself, and thus the power and prestige of the office of president. The bow window Washington ordered added to the President's House in Philadelphia can be regarded as the progenitor of the oval rooms that were prominent elements of the original design of the White House in Washington, D.C., and of the modern Oval Office (Seale 2008:10, 33). Robert Morris, ever conscious of improving his own surroundings, had bow windows added to the Stedman-Galloway house, into which he moved in October 1790.

The configuration of the main house and back buildings is represented on the John Hills map published in 1796. The house clearly has an attached back building and an addition on the east side that extends into the large open space lying there. Another large building is drawn on the Minor Street side of the property that represents the stable/carriage house block.

The First President's Household in Black and White

During the seven years that George Washington lived in Philadelphia, more than ninety different people were employed in some capacity to support his family's gentrified lifestyle and meet the demands incumbent in the executive office. George and Martha Washington moved into the President's House in Philadelphia with a group of their Mount Vernon slaves to serve as the core of their domestic staff. During Washington's tenure in the house, a total of nine enslaved Africans were brought up from Mount Vernon, at various times, to work in the Philadelphia mansion. Eight of the nine were dower slaves whom Martha Washington had inherited from her first husband's estate. When she died, they would revert to her former husband's estate to be divided among her grandchildren from her first marriage.

Martha chose 16-year-old Ona Judge (commonly known by the nickname "Oney") to accompany her to the first Executive Mansion in New York in 1789. When the Washingtons moved from Mount Vernon to Philadelphia in 1790, she acted as Martha's personal maid and household seamstress. Ona's half-brother Austin had been a household waiter at Mount Vernon. In Philadelphia, he was one of the postilions and a stable hand. He died on December 20, 1794, after falling from a horse, leaving behind a wife and five children. Giles was a driver, postilion, and stable hand. He was injured while on a tour through the southern states with President Washington. He was returned to Mount Vernon and died sometime before 1799. Joe Richardson, a postilion, was one of the slaves freed upon the death of George Washington. Paris, a stable hand, was returned to Mount Vernon in 1791 after he was disobedient; he died in 1794. Moll was the nursemaid to Martha's grandchildren. Christopher Sheels was George Washington's personal attendant. Christopher had followed in the footsteps



The President's House lot in 1796 (Source: Hills 1796).

The Escape and Later Life of Ona Judge

Ona Judge knew she must make her own way to freedom when Martha Washington calmly informed her that she would be "bequeathed" to a Custis granddaughter in Virginia, a girl that Ona despised. Ona carefully planned her escape. She waited until the spring of 1796, when the entire household was distracted with packing for a trip to Mount Vernon. With split-second timing, Ona and her baggage exited the President's House when the family sat down to dinner. She went into hiding among the free blacks she had befriended in Philadelphia, biding her time until a trustworthy ship captain could safely whisk her out of Philadelphia to Portsmouth, New Hampshire. When the Washingtons detected her escape, the president's personal secretary, Frederick Kitt, placed an advertisement in several local newspapers offering a bounty of $10—at the time about the equivalent of a barrel of flour—for anyone who could assist in her recapture and return to Philadelphia (Dunbar 2017:99–115).

Ona lived daily with the danger of possible recapture. Her anonymity came to an abrupt end when one day she ran into a friend of the Washingtons in Portsmouth. Over the next three years, despite having married a free man and started a family, Ona Judge Staines had to fight against the Washingtons' repeated attempts to lure or abduct her back into slavery (Wiencek 2003:321–334).

Following Washington's death in 1799, Ona and her family moved to the outskirts of Portsmouth, where she lived her final years working as a maidservant in a state of continued poverty. On February 25, 1848, having outlived her husband and all three of her children, she drew her final breath and died a free woman (Dunbar 2017:177-186).

***Philadelphia Gazette & Universal Daily Advertiser*, May 24, 1796, page 1**

Advertisement

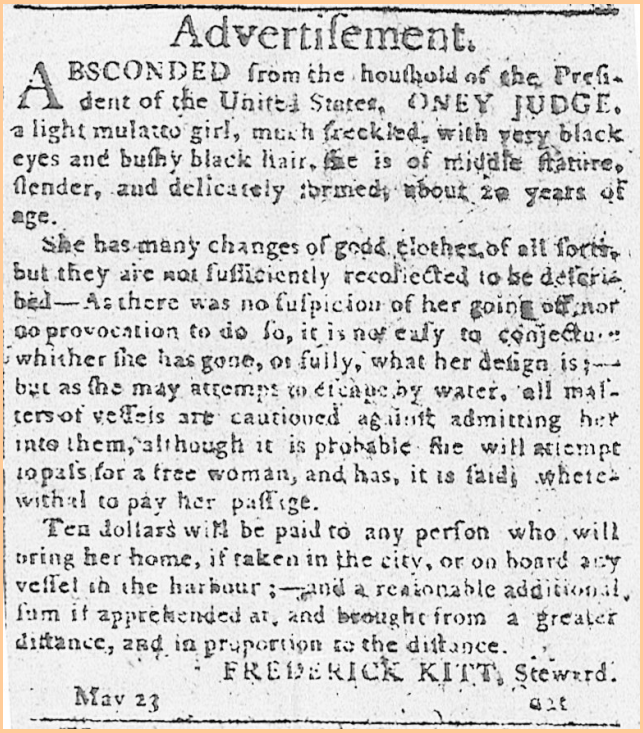
Absconded from the household of the President of the United States, ONEY JUDGE, a light mulatto girl, much freckled, with very black eyes and bushy black hair, she is of middle stature, slender, and delicately formed, about 20 years of age.

She has many changes of good clothes, of all sorts, but they are not sufficiently recollected to be described—As there was no suspicion of her going off nor no provocation to do so, it is not easy to conjecture whither she has gone, or fully, what her design is;—but as she may attempt to escape by water, all masters of vessels are cautioned against admitting her into them, although it is probable she will attempt to pass for a free woman, and has, it is said, where-withal to pay her passage.

Ten dollars will be paid to any person who will bring her home, if taken in the city, or on board any vessel in the harbour;—and a reasonable additional, sum if apprehended at, and brought from a greater distance, and in proportion to the distance.

FREDERICK KITT, Steward

May 23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FREDERICK KITT, Steward.

May 23 d2t

of his uncle Billy Lee, who had been at General Washington's side throughout the Revolutionary War. Christopher Sheels attempted an escape from Mount Vernon in 1799, but an intercepted letter revealed his plans. His fate after Martha Washington's death in 1802 is unknown. Hercules, the household's chief cook, escaped from Mount Vernon on George Washington's birthday in 1797. The loss of such a fine cook shook the Washington household. Richmond, the 11-year-old son of Hercules, worked in the kitchen. Richmond was returned to Mount Vernon in 1791 after he was caught stealing money (Hirschfeld 1997:17; Wiencek 2003:320).

A few months after arriving in Philadelphia, Washington was distressed to learn that the Pennsylvania Gradual Abolition Law of 1780 put his control over the slaves he had brought north in jeopardy. According to state law, enslaved Africans became emancipated when they fulfilled the Pennsylvania residency requirement of a six-month stay. Should one of his dower slaves claim emancipation, he would not only lose their labor, but be responsible for paying restitution to the Custis heirs. Even more alarming to Washington was that "if they conceived they had a right to [freedom], [it might] make them insolent in a State of Slavery" (letter from George Washington to Tobias Lear, April 12, 1791, as quoted in Wiencek 2003:316).

The president rotated his slaves between Philadelphia and Mount Vernon to circumvent the state law. This rotation of enslaved Africans was itself a violation of Pennsylvania law, and should have resulted in their immediate emancipation, but the state law was not enforced. The president and first lady, in league with his chief secretary, Tobias Lear, attempted to mask the true reason for the trips back to Virginia. The slaves, however, immediately recognized the ramifications of the plot. George and Martha were shocked when Ona Judge, who attended Martha on a daily basis, took advantage of their location in the midst of a large free black community to escape from bondage. Washington generally kept a domestic staff in Philadelphia of between twenty and twenty-four—of these, the number of enslaved Africans ranged from eight at the beginning of his tenure in the city to two or three at the end of it. German indentured servants took the place of many of the enslaved servants in the President's House.

Hercules

Like Ona Judge, Washington's renowned chef Hercules (sometimes referred to as "Uncle Harkless") also successfully made his flight from enslavement during the president's second term in office. In his case, Hercules made his run to freedom from Mount Vernon after the president sent him back to Virginia. The date of his escape, February 22, 1797, corresponded with George Washington's sixty-fifth birthday and occurred while the First Family was in Philadelphia celebrating the event. After absconding, he eventually made his way to New York City, took the name Hercules Posey after a former owner, and found employment as a sometime cook and laborer. He remained in New York City until his death from consumption (tuberculosis) on May 15, 1812, at the age of sixty-four. He was buried in the Second African Burying Ground in that city (LaBan 2010, 2019; *AP News* 2019).

John and Abigail Adams (1797–1800)

John and Abigail Adams moved into the High Street house in mid-March 1797. They arrived on the heels of a public auction of Washington's household furnishings on March 10. Although John Adams had been George Washington's vice president and supporter, his main role in the government was to preside over the Senate. As resident of the Executive Mansion, Adams presided over a fractious cabinet and partisan government that divided into two political parties, the Federalists and the Democratic-Republicans.

The Adamses kept a smaller household staff than the Washingtons and adhered to a modest lifestyle that reflected their frugal New England rural background. Adams was not comfortable with the pomp and circumstance that had seemingly come so easily to Washington. They also differed considerably with their predecessors on the issue of slavery. John and Abigail Adams left ample correspondence testifying to their aversion to slavery. No enslaved Africans lived in the President's House during the Adams years.

The Residence Act of 1790 called for the District of Columbia to officially become the national capital on the first Monday of December 1800. Adams occupied the President's House in Philadelphia until late May 1800. After the usual summer recess spent on his Massachusetts farm, he moved to the new federal city on November 1, 1800.

Robert Morris and Financial Ruin

Robert Morris believed that a rapid development of the frontier would take place in the postwar era. He staked his formidable fortune on land speculations that involved millions of acres of land. At first, Morris was successful, but then the French Revolution and European wars caused economic upheaval in the 1790s. To make matters worse, Morris embarked on the construction of an opulent mansion in 1793. The mansion, designed by Pierre L'Enfant, had been given an estimate of $60,000. When construction was halted in 1797, nearly $1,000,000 had already been spent on the uninhabitable house (Oberholtzer 1903:297–299, 317). Morris's finances progressively worsened. He could not find enough buyers for his unsettled lands, could not afford the taxes, and finally ran out of credit. He began divesting himself of his more valuable properties to raise cash, including his interest in his mercantile business.

In 1794, while Washington was still in residence at the President's House, Robert Morris sold 30 feet of open space between the President's House and the Stedman-Galloway house to Robert Kid. Kid built a house on the property. A 4-foot-wide alley separated Kid's house from the President's House—a passage shared by both property owners (Philadelphia County Deed Book D-45:422).

The President's House property and the adjoining wood yard were sold in March 1795 for $37,000 to Andrew Kennedy (Philadelphia County Deed Book D-46:298). Kennedy, a wealthy Irish merchant, continued to rent the property to Philadelphia for its use as the Executive Mansion. Robert Morris also sold his own residence, the former Stedman-Galloway house, and moved into a rental property (Oberholtzer 1903:298). In 1795, with his personal finances sinking fast, Robert Morris ordered chinaware from Canton for his wife; silks, nankeen, and the finest Hyson tea for their own use. Accustomed to entertaining lavishly, he ordered dozens of bottles of the finest Bordeaux and Madeira, even though he was besieged by creditors (Oberholtzer 1903:270–272). In February 1798, the once-great merchant and financier was jailed for debt, where he was to remain for the next three and a half years (Oberholtzer 1903:314–315; Wagner 1976:128–129, 132).

Commercialization of the President's House (1800–1935)

During the period when Presidents Washington and Adams occupied the President's House, High Street began to develop as a commercial thoroughfare. Therefore, it was not surprising when a few weeks following the departure of President John Adams, the former Executive Mansion was converted into a hotel. Ironically, the hotel proprietor, John Francis, had kept the boardinghouse in which the vice presidents lodged. Abigail Adams later stayed at Francis's hotel on her way from Massachusetts to join her husband in the new capital.

Watercolor of the divided President's House as it appeared circa 1803–1832 (Source: Mason 1832).

The President's House was used as a hotel for only three years (1800–1803). Perhaps its grandeur was out of place on the rapidly commercializing streetscape surrounding it. By 1805, the south side of the 500 block of High Street had become entirely commercial. In 1810, the market sheds that ran down the center of High Street were extended westward through the 500 block to 6th Street. Anthony Kennedy, who had inherited the property from his brother Andrew, converted the first story of the President's House into two storefronts. Much of the exterior ornamentation was stripped from the facade of the building during alterations and remodeling.

The Wood Yard (aka 524 Market Street)

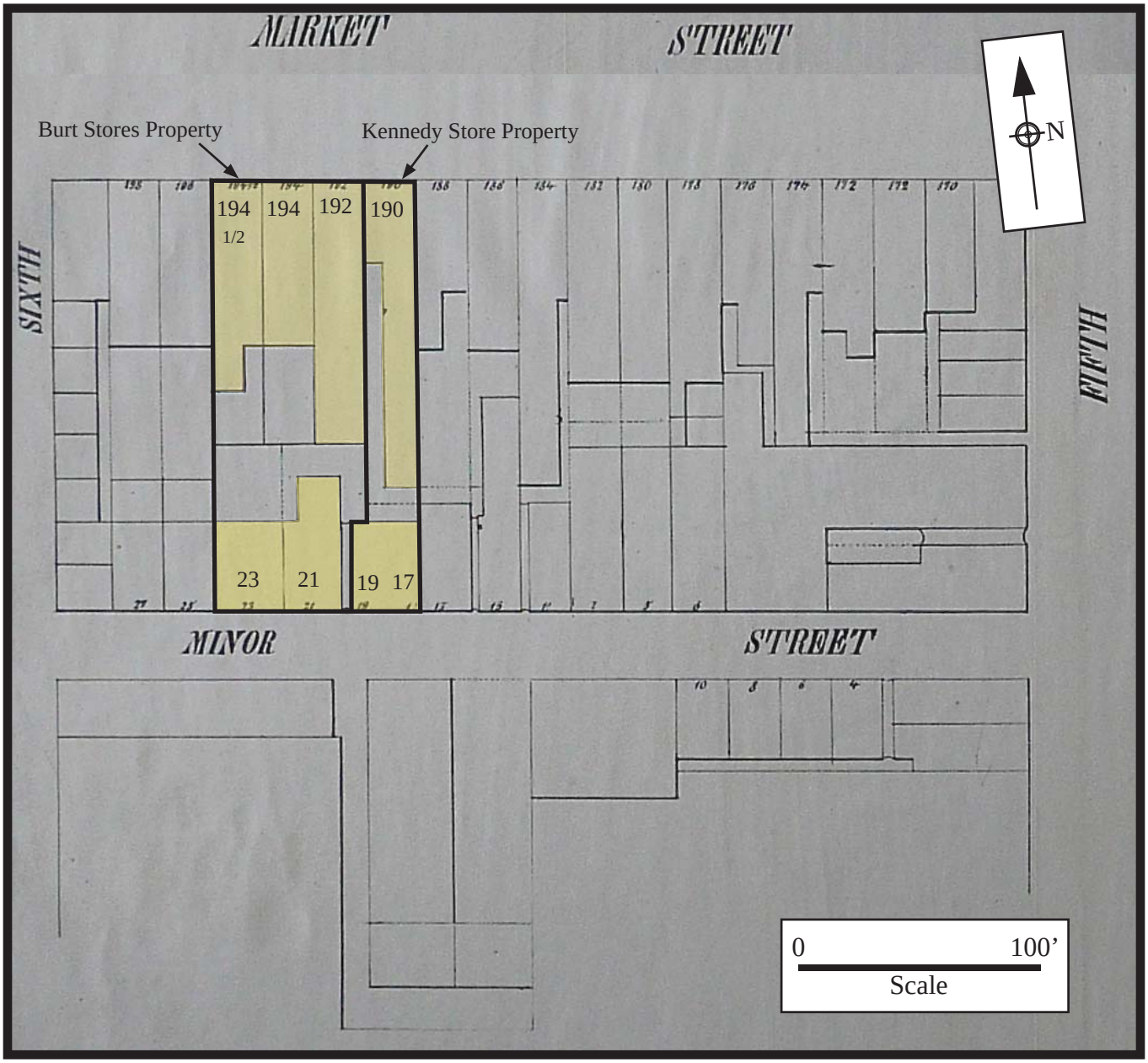
Anthony Kennedy inherited the President's House with the adjoining wood yard in 1800, following the death of his brother Andrew. A few years later, probably in 1804, Anthony Kennedy used 25 feet of vacant frontage on High Street adjoining the President's House to create a lot on which he built a four-story brick store. The store was 25 feet wide and 50 feet deep. An addition was put on the rear of the store sometime between 1804 and 1849. The addition extended another 50 feet, leaving about 20 feet of open space to the back lot line. The addition did not span the entire width of the lot. About 7 feet of open space was left along the west line of the lot. The store that Anthony Kennedy built covered the site of the President's House wood yard. The store addition covered the site of the bathing room addition and the servants' hall addition. The open space contained the sites of the bathing room and the servants' hall (Hexamer and Locher 1860:plate 12; Philadelphia County Deed Book GWC-22:115; Smith 1849).

Kennedy's store was more ornate than others lining the street and led later writers to surmise it had formed part of the President's House facade. The store used the eastern wall of the President's House as a party wall and subsequent deeds recite the shared ownership of this wall. The first tenant of the store was merchant William S. Smith (Robinson 1805). Most of the merchants who rented Kennedy's store remained only a short while. This changed in the 1830s, when Peter and Joseph Conover brought their shoe, boot, and trunk store to this address. Their retail business remained at this location until the 1870s (DeSilver 1835:51; Costa 1870:379).

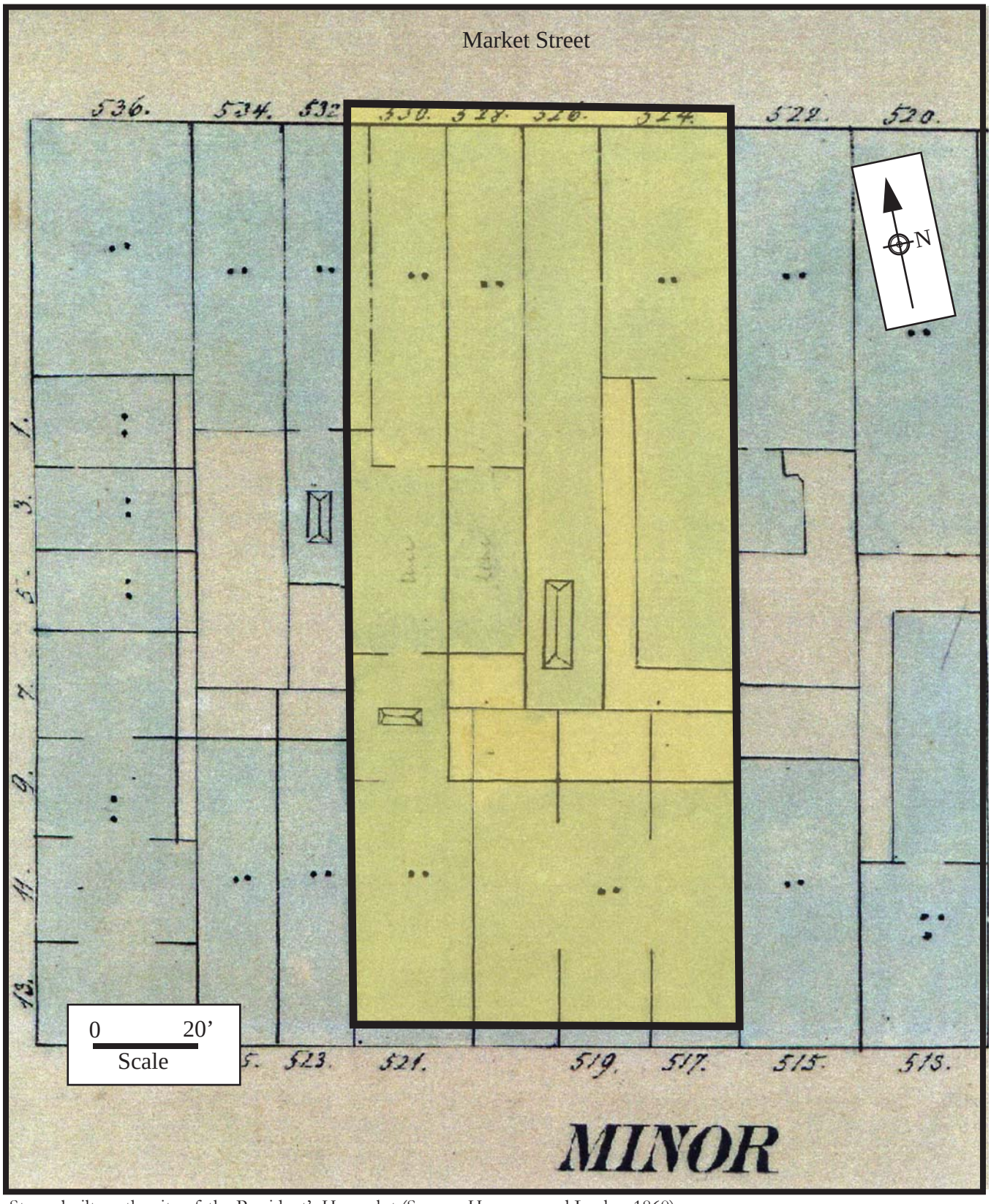
Anthony Kennedy also created a lot, 35 feet wide and 60 feet deep, on the north side of Minor Street that abutted his store lot on High Street. The Minor Street lot contained two three-story brick houses. The houses covered the entire width of the lot and were about 50 feet in length. About 10 feet of open space was behind each house. The house at 517 Minor Street covered the site of the President's House coach house and stable yard. The house at 519 Minor Street also covered parts of the coach house and stable yard; in addition, it covered the entire site of the cowshed and smokehouse extension used as slave quarters (Hexamer and Locher 1860:12; Philadelphia County Deed Book GWC-22:115).

Anthony Kennedy's Minor Street houses had become a glass warehouse by 1828. William M. Muzzey, an agent for several glass manufacturers, was a long-term tenant. A bookbindery became the tenant of the Minor Street houses during the 1850s (McElroy 1859:54; DeSilver 1828:58; O'Brien 1841).

Anthony Kennedy died in 1828. His great-nephew Anthony K. Joyce inherited Kennedy's commercial properties on High and Minor Streets. Joyce used the property to fund a trust with Caleb N. Taylor in 1849. Taylor's job was to sell all the moveable property in the buildings and use the proceeds to pay off Anthony Joyce's debts. All income derived from future rents was to be used to support Joyce and his wife. After Anthony Joyce's death, the trust estate was supposed to be transferred to the Joyce heirs. A lawsuit brought by the heirs of Anthony Joyce was in progress in 1887 when Caleb N. Taylor died. His son Benjamin J. Taylor assumed the role of substitute trustee and conveyed the trust property to the widow and children of Anthony Joyce (Philadelphia County Deed Books GWC-22:115, GGP-351:228).



Property division between the Kennedy store (1804–1951) and the Burt stores (1832–1935/1951) (Source: Smith 1849).



Stores built on the site of the President's House lot (Source: Hexamer and Locher 1860).

In 1888, the widow and heirs of Anthony K. Joyce sold their property on High Street and Minor Street to George Zorn for $28,000 cash, plus the assumption of a $40,000 mortgage (Philadelphia County Deed Book GGP-405:302). George Zorn and his son George Jr. sold smoking pipes and novelty items (C. E. Howe Company 1915:1815). The Zorns were unable to keep up the payments on their $60,000 mortgage. In 1909, they sold their property to Isaac W. Sutton, who agreed to assume the mortgage and pay the Zorns $35,000 in the form of a mortgage. The Zorns continued to sell pipes and novelties at this address throughout this period. The mortgages and title to the property passed through several more hands before Penn National Bank took over the property in a sheriff's sale in 1915. It remained in the bank's hands until George Zorn Jr. bought it for $60,000 in 1924. Zorn held onto the property until 1949, when it was sold to Morris Abraham for $14,500 (Philadelphia County Deed Books WSV-1108:447, WSV-1120:489, ELT-224:590, ELT-273:592, ELT-433:426, ELT-515:350, JMH-1766:544, CJP-2274:577). Two years later, in 1951, the building was torn down.

During the 1930s, the cellar of 524 Market Street, then the Zorn store, was examined to ferret out any information regarding the President's House. Researchers noted a depression in the cement floor. George Zorn Jr. reported the depression was caused by "the old Washington well," which he remembered as "round, about three or four feet in diameter and fifty feet deep" (Morgan c. 1938, sheet 97 cited in Lawler 2002:79).

The President's House Divided

The first tenant in the east half of the President's House was businessman William Turnbull (Robinson 1804:239). Turnbull had emigrated from Scotland around 1770, when he was about nineteen years old. He rapidly succeeded in business, establishing a cloth-dealing firm in 1772. During the Revolutionary War, he put his business acumen at the service of the American cause and was entrusted with the task of procuring provisions for the Continental Army. By the close of the war, he was one of Philadelphia's most prominent merchants. In 1780, William Turnbull established a shipping and flour business that eventually expanded into iron foundries and distilleries. His silent business partners in these enterprises were Robert Morris and John Holker (William L. Clements Library n.d.).

Turnbull's business dealings with these men coincided with the period in which Holker was Richard Penn's tenant in the President's House and during its subsequent reconstruction by Robert Morris. In all likelihood, Turnbull had been a guest here, both before and after the fire. Turnbull relocated to Pittsburgh, where he became the city's premier business leader during the 1780s and 1790s (Baldwin 1937:115; Ferguson 1999:37). Following a decline in his business affairs, William Turnbull returned to Philadelphia in 1799 (Stafford 1799:141). He lived on South Front Street while the former President's House was remodeled into twin houses. Turnbull was a resident of the east half of the President's House for about six years. His attempts to repair his fortunes were unsuccessful and he eventually abandoned his firm and moved his family in with relatives near Baltimore (Dickinson College n.d.; Robinson 1809, 1810:39).

In 1810, Frenchman John Joseph Borie Jr. became the next tenant in the east half. Borie immigrated to the United States in the early 1800s. He established an importing and shipping business and married the daughter of his boardinghouse proprietor in 1808. John J. Borie appears to have had his residence and business located in the President's House for only a few years. The census taker found the young couple and their first child at this address in 1810. Their household also included a young white woman and a free black person (U.S. Bureau of the Census, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1810:207). Beginning in 1814, Borie's business address was elsewhere on the block and his family moved to 8th Street (Historical Society of Pennsylvania 2005; B. & T. Kite 1814; Whitely 1820). Subsequent city directory listings suggest that later tenants of the President's House were commercial tenants who lived elsewhere (B. & T. Kite 1814; Paxton 1818). John Fanning Watson reported

Burt stores: 526, 528, and 530 Market Street, circa 1903–1908 (Source: Society collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania).

that one half of the President's House was used as a boardinghouse and the other half as a confectionery (Watson 1905:583).

Anthony Kennedy died in 1828. His heirs sold the former President's House property to Nathaniel Burt in 1832. Burt, an Irish-born dry-goods merchant, saw a way to increase his rental income from the property by replacing the two High Street stores with three. Artist William G. Mason made a watercolor sketch of the house on May 1, 1832, not long before it was torn down.

Nathaniel Burt gutted the President's House and replaced the 45 feet of frontage on High Street with three four-story brick commercial buildings. He placed the stores on three lots that were approximately 120 feet in length (Smith 1849). The President's House east wall remained intact, functioning as the party wall with the Kennedy store at 190 High Street (later 524 Market Street). The west wall also remained intact as the party wall shared with the former Kid house. The exterior foundation walls were reused. According to Nathaniel Burt's son, part of the coach house was incorporated into the stores built at 21 and 23 Minor Street (later 521 and 523 Ludlow Street). The alley between the President's House and the Kid house was built over at this time. The back wall of the President's House that had included the bow window was demolished and the cellar expanded south to meet the new back wall of the stores located approximately 75 feet south of High Street.

The Burt family's store at 192 High Street (later 526 Market Street) was built on the site of the President's House entrance hall and steward's room in the main house, as well as the piazza and part of the kitchen and laundry in the back building. The store lot also included the site of the well. This store building was extended to the back lot line on Minor Street by 1849. The neighboring store at 194 High Street (later 528 Market Street) was built on the site of the President's House central passage; it also included part of the family and state dining rooms, as well as the bow window. The store lot also included the site of the paved yard and part of the kitchen and laundry back building. This store building was extended nearly to the back lot line by 1860. The building at 194½ High Street (later 530 Market Street) was constructed on the site of the President's House family and state dining rooms and included part of the Washington bow window. The store lot also included the site of the paved yard. This store building was extended to the back lot line by 1860.

The stores at 526, 528, and 530 Market Street remained in the ownership of the Burt family for over a century. John Wanamaker, founder of the department store chain, opened his first store in a section of a six-story commercial building on Market Street at the corner of 6th Street. Wanamaker expanded until he took over the entire commercial building on the corner. He called his department store Oak Hall. He eventually took over Alexander Henry's stores at 532–534 Market Street. Wanamaker raised the height of the Henry stores to six stories and expanded them south through the block to Minor Street. He unified the 65 feet of frontage along Market Street with a new stone facade. Oak Hall covered the entire distance from the corner of 6th Street to the President's House west party wall. The Burt family derailed Wanamaker's plans to expand his store farther eastward. They either refused to sell or demanded too high a price for their buildings. In 1874–1876, Wanamaker moved his department store to the corner of 13th and Market Streets.

Demolition and Independence Mall (1935–Present)

Two of the Burt family stores (526–528 Market Street) were demolished in 1935. The eastern party wall of the President's House was left exposed in the wall of the Zorn store at 524 Market Street. The western party wall was still intact between the stores at 530 and 532 Market Street. Oak Hall (532–536 Market Street) was demolished in 1941 and replaced by a one-story hardware store. The western party wall of the President's House was destroyed, except for the first story that now formed the party wall between the one-story clothing store called Washington Hall at 530 Market and Devitt's Hardware Store at 532 Market Street.

The destruction of all aboveground vestiges of the President's House occurred in October and November 1951, when the buildings at 524–536 Market Street, along with all other structures on the block, were demolished to make way for the creation of Independence Mall. Several construction projects adversely affected what remained of the belowground portions of the main house and back buildings foundations and basement areas. In 1954, a public toilet was built with an underground pump facility within the footprint of the presidential property's main house. Additional damage may have occurred during landscaping and utility work associated with the development of Independence Mall. The toilet was expanded in 1968 to include an ADA-compliant wheelchair ramp along its south side and the expansion of the toilet in 1984. The public toilet building was demolished in 2003 (Levin 2006:6).

The stores fronting Market Street in 1947. 526 and 528 Market Street were demolished in 1935; photo taken circa 1947 (Source: Peterson 1947).

Looking south at the President's House lot. The last vestiges of the President's House party walls in 524 and 530 Market Street were demolished to create Independence Mall. Photo dated November 1, 1951 (Source: *Evening Bulletin*).

Chapter 4

The President's House Revealed

Archeological Excavations and Discoveries

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While archeological excavations conducted in urban environments like Philadelphia are never simple affairs, the President's House Site represented a particularly complex project that required extensive advance planning, close coordination of efforts between the various groups and individuals taking part, and constant attention to detail at every step of the process. Preparation for this investigation required an in-depth review of available historical research about the site and its transformation over time, familiarization with the existing site and the specific obstacles to excavation present, the creation of an approved site organizational design that provided for public access and safety, as well as an overall excavation strategy and the preparation of a public-outreach plan. The excavations themselves were also complex, owing largely to the fact that the site turned out to be much better preserved than anyone had thought possible. Ultimately, these investigations produced a number of discoveries that served to expand our understanding of this important historic site, and of the lives of the free and enslaved persons who lived within its grounds. The information below tells the story of how the President's House was excavated and discusses both what was uncovered and what was not found during the project.

Initial Expectations

Chapter 2 of this report discussed the fact that the decision to move forward with the excavation was made despite fairly pessimistic initial expectations that structural remains or artifact deposits from the President's House period were potentially still preserved within the area targeted for investigation. Before moving on to descriptions of the discoveries themselves, it is worth first briefly looking back and revisiting just what project officials and field personnel did think they might reasonably find beneath the ground in this place. Doing so helps emphasize the fact that archeology is very much a process of revealing the unknown, or unanticipated, and will help to place the discoveries in clearer context.

The arguments for the kinds of archeological resources anticipated within the President's House Site were first laid out in a briefing statement the National Park Service (NPS) compiled in January 2006 (Levin 2006; see Appendix A). For that document, NPS archeologists reviewed the known historical information pertaining to the site and how the property was progressively altered over time (primarily cited in Lawler 2002 and 2005), as well as the findings generated by earlier archeological investigations for the adjacent Liberty Bell Center. This information, in turn, allowed predictions to be formulated regarding what aspects of the original President's House Site were likely to have survived below ground, and assessments to be made related to what might be learned from the parts that might yet remain. The conclusions reached through this analysis were reasonable, supported by the available data, and not overly encouraging from an archeological perspective. The picture that emerged from this study was one of a site extensively and deeply disturbed during later

nineteenth- and twentieth-century construction and demolition activities, and that possessed only limited potential for producing significant historical data about the President's House Site and its occupants.

In order to estimate what archeological deposits might remain on a site today, one must first determine the full range of possible resources that existed in the past. Based on the available historical research, and insights gleaned from other sites in Philadelphia, the NPS study identified a broad range of archeological resources present within the President's House Site at the close of the eighteenth century and that, if all were still preserved, could probably provide a great deal of information about this property and the people who lived in it. Those resources fell into three general categories and included: 1) historic ground surfaces and any artifact deposits contained in those soils; 2) foundations and related structural remains associated with the President's House and its back buildings; and 3) brick- or stone-lined shaft features representing the belowground parts of privies (outhouses), water wells, and cisterns (for catching and storing rainwater). Considered together, data contained in these various archeological features and deposits could help answer questions about the physical makeup of the President's House complex and the nature of the different social spaces within it, as well as about the different living conditions and life experiences of the free, indentured, and enslaved people who shared these grounds.

Unfortunately, the President's House Site has not remained as it was in the eighteenth century, but rather has been extensively altered over time through a series of events and activities that disturbed many of the archeological resources originally present. The first, and most devastating of these events, involved the redevelopment of the property after the President's House was torn down in 1832. After that date, four commercial buildings (numbered 524–530 Market Street) were constructed on the site, and these were gradually enlarged over subsequent decades until they covered virtually the entire former President's House property. Each of these later structures was built with deep basement levels extending perhaps 8 to 10 feet below the surface. The second event to impact the site occurred in the early 1950s, when all these commercial buildings were themselves demolished to make way for the construction of Independence Mall. In this second event, the aboveground portions of the buildings were knocked down, the basement voids were filled with brick and other demolition rubble, the entire site was graded down to a depth of at least 4 feet below the present ground surface, and the property was capped with several feet of soil fill and sod. As if this were not enough, the site has also been impacted several more times since the creation of Independence Mall, although in more localized ways. These recent disturbances include the construction of a women's toilet, with underground pump house and plumbing, in 1954; the addition of ADA ramps to that facility in 1968; the construction of the new Liberty Bell Center, completed in 2003; and the occasional installation of various underground utility conduits.

A view of the Liberty Bell Center archeological investigations showing exposed nineteenth-century basement foundations and other features (Source: Yamin and Benedict 2006).

All of these impacts worked to lessen the archeological potential of the President's House Site in one way or another, and to reduce what might be learned through the excavation of the property. Taking all this into consideration, the NPS briefing statement reached the following conclusions about the resources that might still be preserved within the site.

Intact Historic Ground Surfaces: These surfaces had almost certainly been completely destroyed during

earlier construction and demolition episodes, along with any artifact deposits once contained in former near-surface soils.

Foundation and Other Structural Remains: Walls, floors, and other structural elements of the nineteenth-century commercial buildings on the site were almost certainly preserved within the site, and likely were only partially truncated during the construction of Independence Mall. The President's House itself was known to have had a deep basement level, and foundations associated with this building had probably survived later disturbance. The NPS report noted that researchers with the Works Progress Administration (WPA), who visited the site during demolition activities in the early 1950s, did identify a series of foundation walls thought to be part of the President's House, and that had been incorporated into the basement levels of later nineteenth-century buildings. Unlike the main house, available historical data suggested that the back buildings within the property, with the possible exception of the bathhouse (which might have had a basement), were much less substantial in size, and were most likely built "at grade" or with only very shallow foundations. While structural remains associated with the back buildings were considered to be of high research value, it was believed that most, if not all, had been destroyed during the construction of later basements. As noted in the briefing statement, the findings of previous (1999–2001) archeological excavations for the Liberty Bell Center footprint, part of which overlapped the southernmost end of the President's House property, found no evidence of either the President's House stable or the upper portions of the icehouse Robert Morris added to the property. Instead, the parts of the site where these back buildings should have been were occupied entirely by the remnant deep cellar holes of nineteenth-century commercial buildings (Yamin and Benedict 2006).

A view of the truncated Robert Morris icehouse pit discovered during archeological investigations for the Liberty Bell Center (Source: Yamin and Benedict 2006).

Shaft Features: The site was known historically to have had at least one water well, and likely also contained one or more privies for the convenience of the inhabitants. Because shaft features in this part of the city often extend to depths of between 15 and 30 feet below ground surface, the lower portions of these, and any other shaft features within the property, almost certainly survived subsequent construction and demolition activities. WPA researchers in the early 1950s were able to positively identify at least three shafts within the former President's House Site, two of which were sealed below later nineteenth- and twentieth-century basement floors. In addition, previous Liberty Bell Center archeological investigations did uncover two truncated shaft features at depths of about 9 feet below ground surface. While one of these was probably part of a nineteenth-century well, the other one, consisting of the bottom section of Robert Morris's octagonal stone ice pit, did exist on the site during the eighteenth century. The discovery of that feature, in particular, strongly suggested that other shaft features from the President's House period were likely to be preserved within the site.

Although the predictions generated in the NPS briefing statement were bleaker than hoped for, they were not entirely negative. On the contrary, this analysis maintained that at least some remnants of the President's House Site were probably preserved below the ground and artifact deposits associated with the first families, their serving staff, and the Washingtons' enslaved workforce might still be found. However, it was

anticipated that any President's House archeological remnants would most likely be encountered below the 8- to 10-foot-deep basement levels of the later nineteenth-century buildings. While the possibility of making significant discoveries was judged to be a relatively remote outcome, city officials, concerned members of the local African American community, and other advisors clung to that hope and the decision was made to move ahead with the excavations.

The Excavation Area and Research Goals

The selection of an appropriate archeological excavation area within the President's House Site was also based on recommendations presented in the NPS briefing statement. Those recommendations sought to strike a balance between a number of critical and sometimes competing concerns that would have to be overcome in order for the project to be successful. Some of the issues that needed to be taken into consideration were more purely archeological in nature; for example, where within the property were buried resources most likely to be found, and what was the relative research value of specific resource types? Were some resources likely to tell us more than others? Other concerns involved practical limitations associated with the technological, logistical, and safety factors that might come into play, and those imposed by the proximity of adjacent congested city streets and sidewalks, as well as nearby historic and tourist attractions. Another hurdle pitted the scientific, historical, and public benefit of the project against the cost of completing the work. Ultimately, the selected excavation area targeted as much of the President's House Site as was reasonably feasible, but without encompassing the entire property.

The target excavation area established for this project specifically focused on a location that effectively represented the middle third (about 37%) of the larger President's House property, and which enveloped the space between the south end of the main house and the north end of the former smokehouse. In total, the study area circumscribed approximately 5,000 square feet (0.11 acres) and was rectangular in shape with a small projection extending northward from its northeast corner. The main body of the study area measured some 78 feet across and extended a few feet beyond the eastern and western historic property line boundaries—to envelope the full historic width of the President's House lot—and measured 58 feet from north to south. The northeast projection was 32 feet east-west by 12 feet north-south and fell within the open yard to the east of the main house. In terms of specific historical elements, this excavation area encompassed the southern foundations of the former main house, including the location of the bow window Washington added; the bathhouse, kitchen, and piazza (connecting the main house to the kitchen) in their entirety; approximately 75% of the former servant's hall; and some 45% of the open yard space that once existed behind the main house. In the end, this area was selected because it posed the fewest technological and logistical problems, and was believed to hold the greatest potential for generating significant historical information about the property and its occupants. More specifically, it represented an area with a high probability of yielding one or more preserved shaft features containing (hopefully) rich intact deposits of President's House–era artifacts.

Regarding the portions of the site left out of the target excavation area, each was excluded for its own unique reasons. While it would have been technically possible to excavate the entire footprint of the main house, this space was eliminated from consideration because doing so would have required closing the adjacent pedestrian sidewalk, and because the main house, about which a good bit of historical data is known, was considered unlikely to produce a significant amount of new information about either the structure or its occupants. Areas at the southern end of the President's House Site, although they did exhibit high research value, were excluded primarily because of fears that archeological excavations could not be safely completed without potentially undermining or damaging the adjacent Liberty Bell Center.

In terms of its specific goals and objectives, this project was, in a sense, very straightforward—to find, document, and recover any and all archeological evidence related to the President's House complex and to those individuals who collectively made up the executive households of George Washington and John Adams. Archeological evidence sought in this case encompassed a wide variety of specific resources, including architectural remnants of the buildings once existing on this property, privy and well shafts, pit features, and so on down to the individual pottery sherds, glass fragments, animal bones, shellfish, seeds, and other artifacts the residents of these premises used, manufactured, consumed, and discarded. As a purely elective research-driven investigation, the focus of this project was very narrow, directed at a ten-year window in the site's history, from 1790 to 1800. Nonetheless, its primary purpose was to recover some evidence of an even smaller, more elusive target—those enslaved Africans George Washington held in this place, and who, in the everyday conduct of their lives, were required to be as invisible as possible.

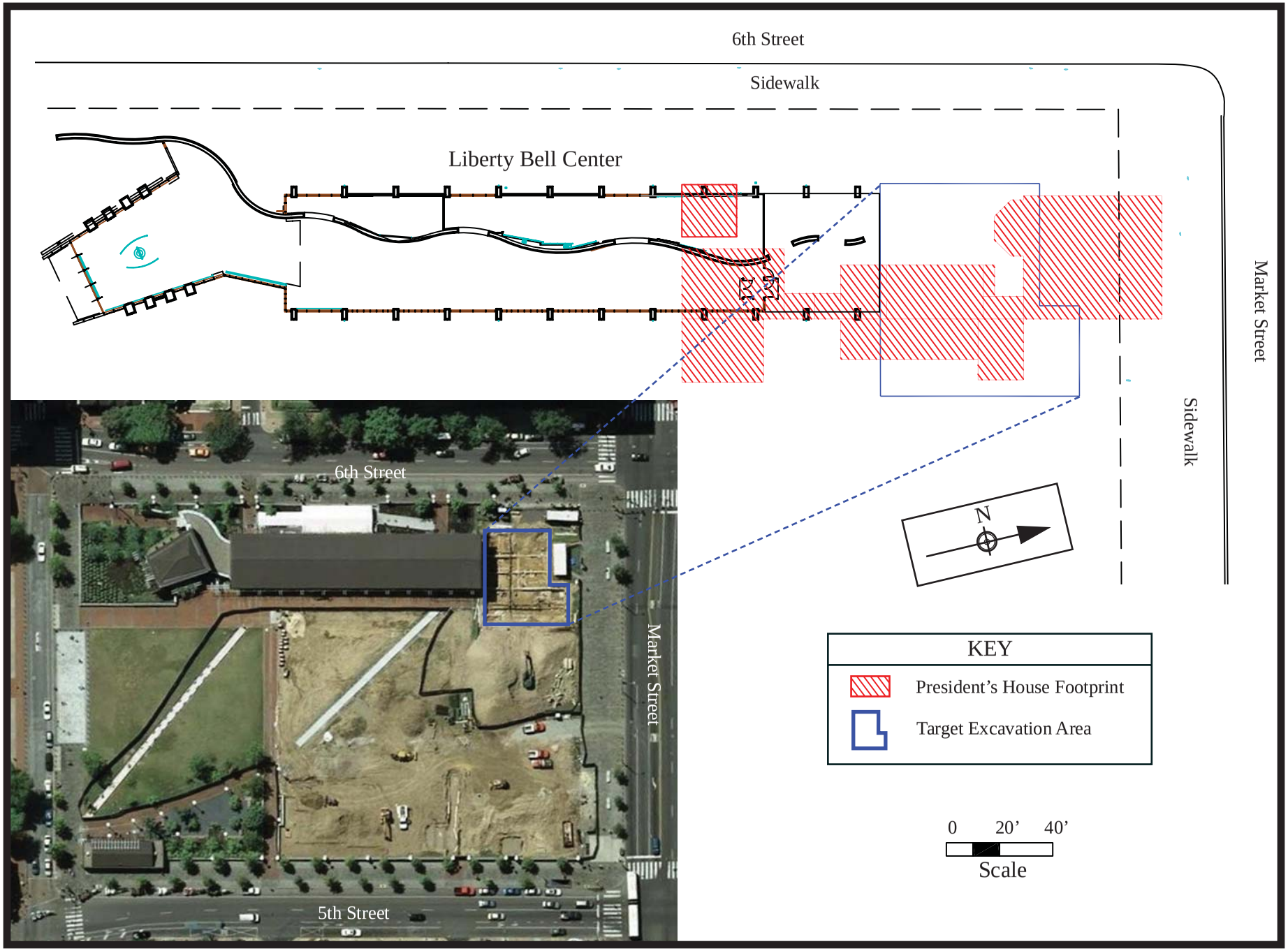
Although the investigation specifically targeted the President's House period, it was conducted in accordance with all commonly accepted professional standards and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for archeological documentation (36 CFR Part 61), and also followed the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission's (PHMC) *Guidelines for Archaeological Investigation in Pennsylvania* (2001). As a result, this investigation did not ignore archeological deposits dating to other time periods, but rather exposed and fully documented all features and deposits contained within the site, including those that might predate or postdate the President's House. All artifacts from the site, regardless of their age or historical association, were fully analyzed, cataloged, and inventoried in accordance with the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and all pertinent Independence National Historical Park (INHP) guidelines.

Planning the Excavation

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the initial effort for the President's House dig involved a great deal of planning to work out on paper how the entire project would unfold. The main goal in this exercise was to take into account and head off any technical problems before the excavation got underway. One truth about archeologists is that they revel in the discovery of the unknown but hate having to deal with unexpected crises after a project gets going.

For the President's House, the primary planning issues revolved around establishing a workable site plan; in other words, figuring out where all the parts would go and how everything, and everyone, would move within the site. Other planning tasks involved devising an appropriate site shoring system, determining what to do with the various live utility lines that crossed the excavation area, and organizing the public-outreach components of the project. Fortunately, NPS archeologists largely took care of the first task—formulating the site plan—in advance of excavation. The site design they came up with was simple and imminently workable, requiring only a few very minor changes to finalize.

Resolving the issues associated with site shoring and utilities took a bit more effort. The shoring system was a critical factor of the overall dig plan and was required in order to brace back the sides of the excavation as the layers of soil and 1950s-era demolition rubble that capped the site were removed. Once again, for this project it was anticipated that archeological deposits associated with the President's House would only be exposed after the 8- to 10-foot-deep nineteenth-century basement foundations had been cleared of fill. Shoring, therefore, was necessary to allow the archeological crew to work safely at the bottom of the excavation, and to prevent damage to the adjacent streets, sidewalks, and park buildings. Ultimately, a shoring system employing cantilevered soldier piles, a common approach to stabilizing construction sites throughout the city, was adopted



Location of the target excavation area within the President's House property (Source: Philadelphia, 2008 MyTopo).

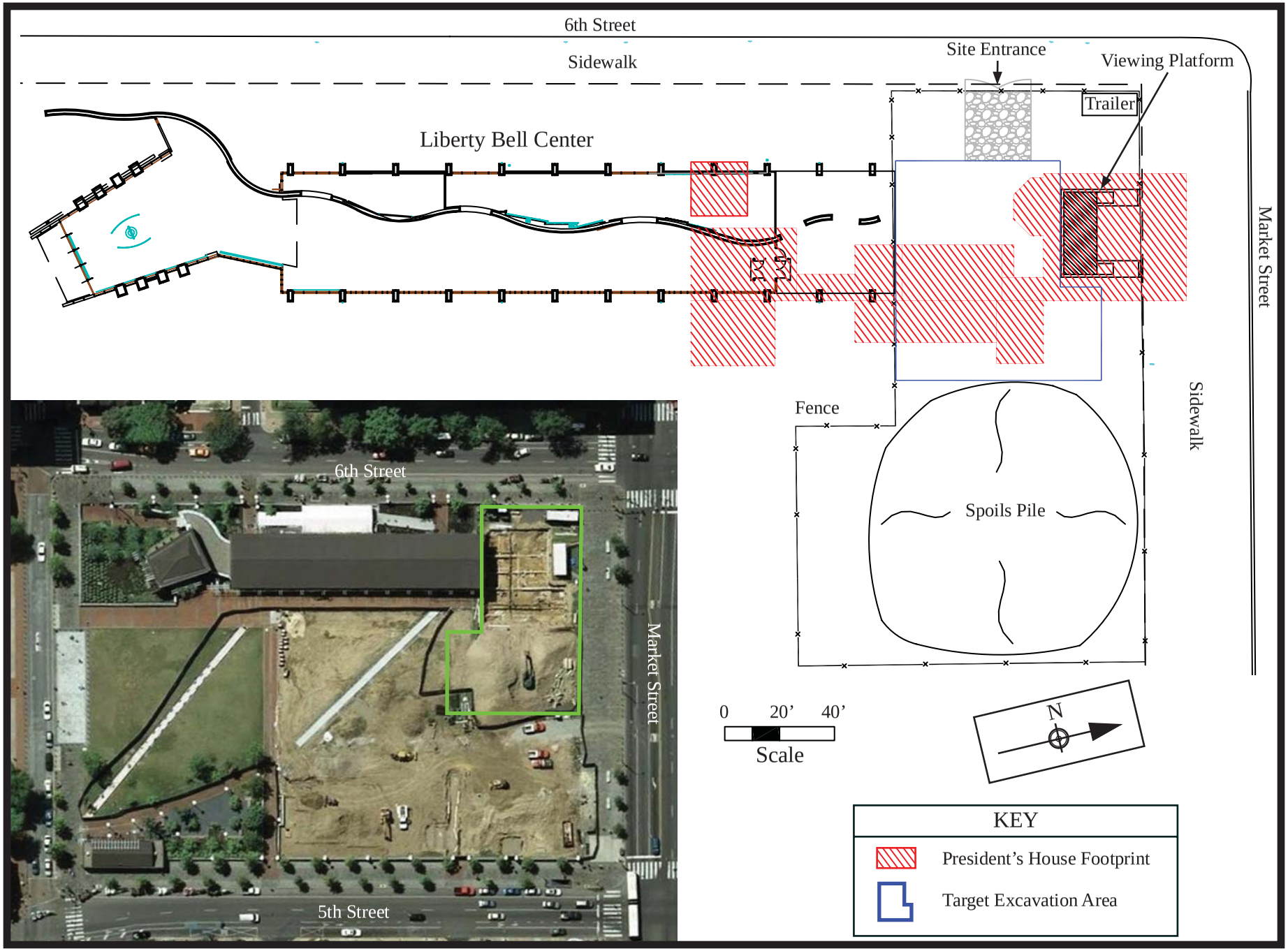
and approved. Use of this shoring method involved pre-drilling 2-foot-diameter holes to a depth of 20 feet below ground, into which the soldier piles—basically steel I-beams—would be inserted and cemented in place. Later, as the ground was excavated, heavy 3-inch-thick wooden boards ("lagging") would be fixed in place between the soldier piles to support the surrounding ground.

Utility lines within the excavation area included an electrical conduit, a 4-inch water main, a cast-iron 10-inch stormwater outfall line, and a fiber-optic "data highway" communications cable utilized by both Independence Park and the city's Visitor's Center. While it was determined that the water and electric utilities could either be rerouted around the perimeter of the excavation or braced in place, specific instructions were issued that the data highway could not be moved, and in fact had to remain totally immobile as the site was excavated around and under it. Accommodating this stipulation required the design of a separate support system to bridge the fiber-optic line across the site and involved the installation of additional steel soldier piles. More detailed information about the technical aspects of the shoring system and overall site plan can be found in Appendix B.

Information related to the public-outreach portions of the site plan, including the creation of interpretive signage and the construction of an ADA-compliant viewing platform, are presented in the following chapter. One component of the original outreach plan not discussed later involves an attempt to specifically capture and preserve for posterity the reactions and impressions of visitors to the site. In a number of public meetings held before the archeological dig began, members of the public—and in particular those from the local African American community—repeatedly voiced impassioned opinions about the site, its historical meaning, and how it should be commemorated. These public expressions were not isolated or random, but were an integral part of the larger President's House project. In anticipation that similar public sentiments and outpourings would be experienced during the archeological excavations, especially if the dig succeeded in finding something extraordinary, the public-outreach plans for this site originally incorporated a provision for the construction and installation of a so-called "Spoken History Booth"—a self-contained, fully automated mobile recording studio patterned after National Public Radio's StoryCorps project. With assistance from the staff of Drexel University's College of Media Arts and Design, plans for this booth were developed with the intention of allowing site visitors to record their personal thoughts about, and reactions to, the excavations and their findings. The goal in doing this was to create an electronic oral history of the project's public response that would have been digitally archived and made part of the project's permanent record. Unfortunately, and especially in light of the public reaction the excavation did receive, this specific outreach provision was never adopted or realized.

The Lead Up to the Groundbreaking

Work to prepare the site for excavation began on March 12, 2007, when the archeological team and INHP personnel arrived on site to mark out on the grassy ground surface the excavation perimeter, the alignment of underground utilities, the outline of the President's House and back buildings, and the location of the viewing platform. Over the course of the next two weeks, the site became a blur of activity as it was made ready for the dig and the official groundbreaking ceremony. During this period, the chain-link fence surrounding the dig site was installed, the job site work and storage trailer was maneuvered into position at the site's northwest corner, a temporary gravel access road for the excavation machinery was created along the 6th Street side, portable toilets were delivered, temporary electrical hookups were installed, the locations of the individual steel soldier piles for the shoring system were carefully mapped and marked on the surface, and construction of the public-viewing platform got underway. While these activities were progressing,



Site organizational plan for the President’s House excavations.

archeologists were busy establishing a reference grid over the entire site, for use in mapping and recording all finds, and positioning a series of mapping stations around the perimeter of the excavation area where laser-based total station survey equipment could be set up during the dig (for more information on the detailed excavation and mapping methodology used during this project, as well as the laboratory procedures for analyzing artifacts, see Appendix C). Away from the site, other team members reviewed logistic plans, readied dig equipment and field forms, worked to finalize the text and overall design of site interpretive panels, and checked and rechecked everything.

For the most part, this phase of the project went according to plan—for the most part. No matter how thorough a project is planned, no matter how often the details are poured over and verified by multiple sets of eyes, something inevitably goes off track. In this case, that "something" was the construction of the viewing platform. The problems encountered were not the fault of the very skilled and enthusiastic crew building the platform; rather, a variety of unanticipated and unavoidable early snags served to throw the construction schedule off course. Initially, these delays were caused by a late winter cold spell and snowstorm that arrived as the footers for anchoring the platform into the ground were being excavated. At first, the ground froze solid, then melted, turning the platform site into a quagmire. After that dilemma had passed, it was discovered that the platform was at least partially situated over the ruins of the women's public restroom that was once located within this site. The dense concrete and brick rubble from that structure lay a foot beneath the surface and quickly put a halt to the footer excavations. In the end, the intrepid construction crew had to rely on a combination of gas-powered augurs, large power drills, and old-fashioned stubborn persistence to break up the rubble and get construction up and running again.

The public-viewing platform being constructed within the site.

By the morning of March 21, the day of the official groundbreaking for the archeological investigations, the viewing platform still was not completed. To make sure it was finished in time for Mayor John F. Street, a host of assorted dignitaries, and invited guests to climb onto its surface and open the dig, all hands gathered at the site before sunrise and busily raced to assemble the last remaining pieces. Members of the archeological team joined the construction crew and lent a hand wherever possible. A few hours into the day, the interpretive panels for the platform finally arrived (last-minute changes had delayed their getting to the printer); however, the mounting surface on which they were to be installed had not yet been finished. By the time maintenance crews from INHP arrived to set up the mayor's podium and loudspeaker system, the panels were finally nailed in place, but the deck flooring was not yet completely installed, and the ADA-compliant access ramp was only

partially done. While the mayor's car sat idling on Market Street and guests started to arrive, the last screws were driven into the platform, but the entire area remained strewn with tools, lumber scraps, and other unsightly construction debris. As Mayor Street proudly climbed onto the platform to greet the other speakers and assume his seat, a small army of archeologists and construction workers frantically stuffed wood and trash into contractor bags and, when those ran out, under the platform itself. In an act of desperation, the last remaining bits of construction debris that could not be removed or disposed of before the ceremony were very unceremoniously hidden out of site beneath a bright blue tarp. With that last act, everyone assumed their appointed positions, the first speaker took the podium, and without incident, an appropriately reverential and honorable commencement for the archeological excavations started right on time. In the weeks to come, this unassuming, solidly built viewing platform would be transformed into center stage as the archeological excavations unfolded.

Getting the Dig Started

Immediately after the crowd dispersed following the groundbreaking, the work of excavating the President's House Site began. For the next few weeks, most of the digging would be done by a large mechanized trackhoe armed with a 4-foot-wide bucket, as the 10 feet or so of fill that capped the site was gradually removed and stockpiled in a designated area east of the excavation. In lesser hands, this formidable piece of machinery might have ended up being the equivalent of a weapon of mass archeological destruction, but under the skilled control of this operator, the bucket carefully and steadily cut through the soil and rubble fill without ever disturbing a single wall, feature, or artifact deposit.

Initial work involved the digging of a 4-foot-deep trench around the perimeter of the target excavation area to facilitate the drilling and installation of soldier piles. Other digging was simultaneously done to positively locate the position and depth of all utilities crossing the site. These trenches did not go deep enough to expose any intact archeological materials, but did provide a few insights as to what exactly was contained in the site fill. Most of the excavated matrix consisted of whole and broken bricks from the buildings demolished in the early 1950s, along with fragments of concrete, crushed cement and mortar, and shards of window glass. Intermixed with these materials, however, were sometimes large sections of those former buildings, including massive chunks of steel reinforced concrete, blocks of decorative molded cornice, stone door and window lintels, and a wide variety of rusted and twisted metal, some of which was architectural in nature, some of which could not be identified.

Immediately after this preparatory work was completed, a large truck-mounted drilling rig was brought to the site and the work of installing the shoring system began in earnest. In all, a total of forty-two individual drillings needed to be completed around the perimeter of the excavation area to accommodate the soldier piles, plus two more to support the fiber-optic data highway conduit. Although the drill was more than powerful enough to cut through the rubble fill of the site, progress on this task proved to be slower than expected. Delays were primarily caused by large architectural obstructions buried within the site matrix or by especially dense pockets of brick and other debris. Archeological team members were on site throughout this process to monitor the drilling and to make sure that no artifact-rich deposits were impacted by the intended placement of soldier piles. When the drilling process was finished on April 13, no evidence of intact feature deposits had been observed anywhere within the site, which encouraged the archeologists that no deposits of any great importance had been damaged in the process.

This did not mean that drilling for the soldier piles was completed without a hitch, or that no anxious moments were experienced along the way. One specific case in point—drilling along the south side of the excavation area near the Liberty Bell Center proved to be particularly harrowing because of the proximity of the original shoring line to the center's very expensive (as it was repeatedly and strenuously emphasized) roof and decorative features. In the end, it was deemed necessary to move the southern limits of the excavation area and shoring line some 2 feet to the north to allow the drill rig enough room to work safely. Even that adjustment only left about 4 inches of clearance between the rig's perpetually swaying tower and steel cables and the Liberty Bell Center's roofline. More than a few audible sighs of relief were exchanged among the crew when the drill rig finally moved out of reach of the center without incident.

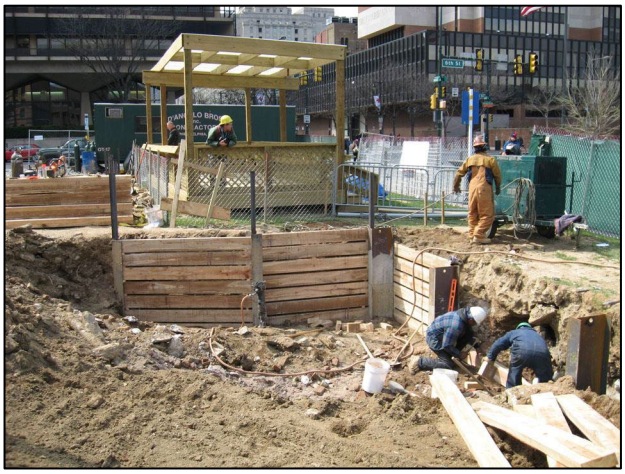
Drilling for soldier piles in front of the Liberty Bell Center.

The large-scale or bulk excavation of fill deposits within the excavation area commenced on April 10 as the drilling and soldier pile installation was wrapping up. Beginning first in the far northeast corner, then moving across the site from west to east, the mechanized excavator methodically bit into the earth and removed the rubble fill in great gulps. As it did, construction crews moved in behind and began installing the wood lagging for the exterior shoring. In a short time, parts of the nineteenth-century basements below began to gradually emerge and take form. As various walls, floors, and other objects were cleared of their rubble blanket, the archeological team moved in to carefully remove the remaining fill

Construction equipment bulk excavating fill from within the excavation area.

with shovels, and soon began to systematically peel back the layers of nineteenth-century material that lined the bottom of the excavation and search for evidence of the President's House.

The start of bulk excavation ushered in a period of great excitement for the project and a time of stunning discoveries. As work progressed, the appearance of the excavation changed rapidly from one day to the next. This activity, in turn, progressively brought more members of the public to the viewing platform to see the dig unfold. Early on in the project, these visitors were probably drawn to the site out of pure curiosity or the prospect of watching construction equipment up close and personal, but as the excavation started to take shape, and more and more long-buried building fragments were gradually exposed, people started coming in ever greater numbers. At first, they numbered in the hundreds, then more than a thousand visitors a day came to see for themselves as tangible fragments of our shared history were rediscovered in front of their eyes.



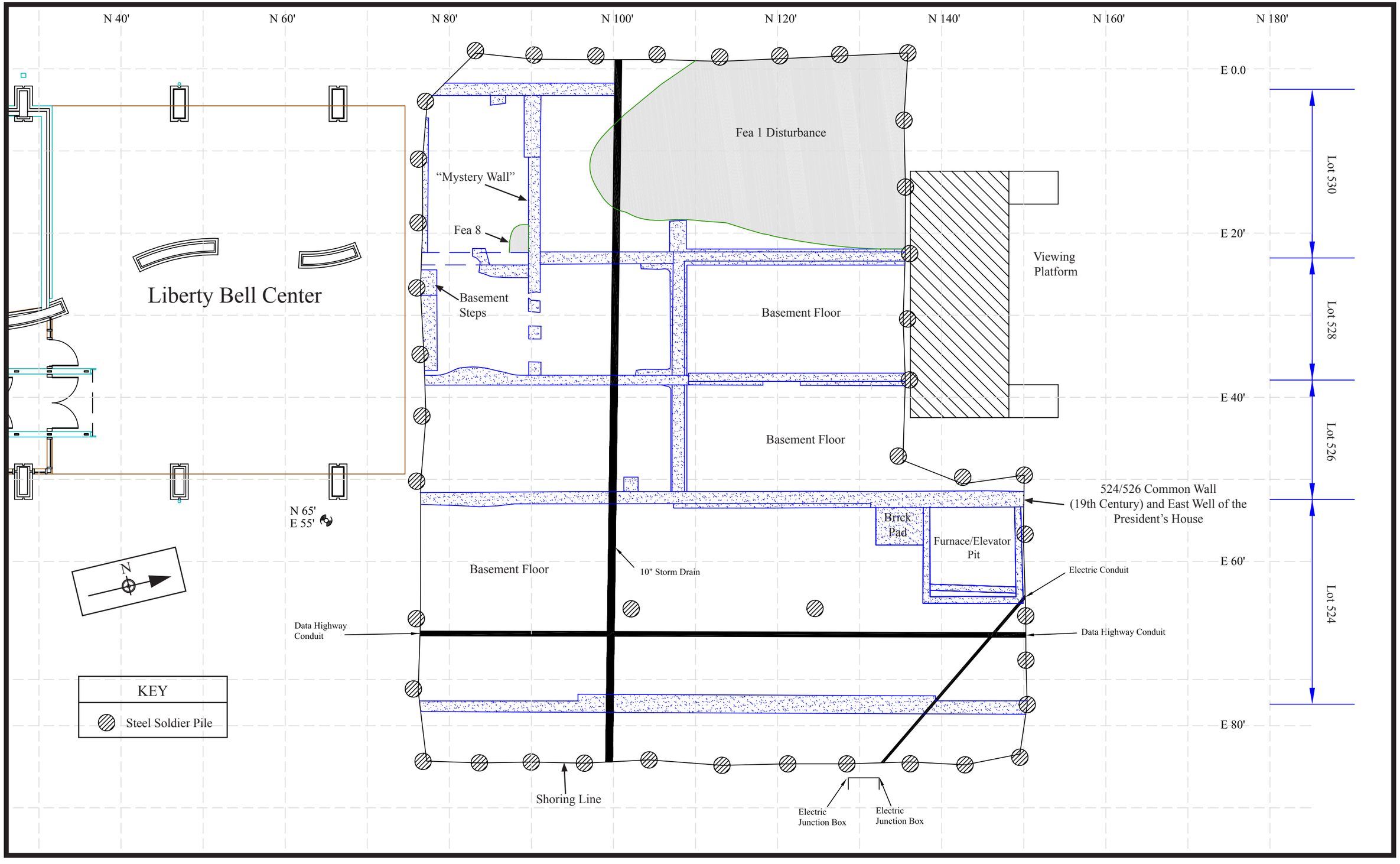
Construction crews installing wood lagging between steel soldier piles.

Nineteenth-century basements beginning to emerge from the rubble fill.

The First Discoveries

As expected, the first archeological evidence exposed within the excavation area consisted of the basements and foundations of the commercial buildings built after the President's House was torn down (numbered 524 through 530 Market Street). Once cleared of fill and demolition debris, these remains appeared within the site as a series of four long, narrow rectangular bays running north to south and framed by partially truncated brick and stone foundation walls. These historic building lots served to break the site up into convenient sections subsequently used as general spatial and locational references for other archeological features and deposits (e.g., Feature 5 in Lot 524). Lot locations and sizes corresponded precisely with what was expected from historical information, which, in turn, provided confidence that any underlying President's House remains should also closely match available historical accounts.

Initially, these separate basements appeared to be preserved reasonably well, but additional exploration found that this was not the case. As the rubble fill was cleared from Lot 530, at the western side of the excavation, it soon became evident that much of this basement had been extensively impacted in the past. Disturbed areas here were eventually determined to encompass roughly the northernmost two-thirds of the lot and took the form of a large elliptical area that extended beyond the northern and western limits of the excavation shoring. Designated Feature 1, this disturbed area was subsequently tested with the trackhoe and found to consist of a massive pit that extended to a depth of at least 16 feet below ground surface, and was



Nineteenth-century foundations associated with the 524–530 Market Street commercial buildings.

filled with dense building rubble. While the exact age and cause of this disturbance was never determined for sure, it is believed to have been created during the demolition of Block 1 in the early 1950s, prior to the construction of Independence Mall. Best guesses suggest that it may have been some sort of borrow pit used to extract deeper sandy soils, or possibly simply represented a convenient means for disposal of plentiful demolition debris. Because the pit extended outside the limits of the President's House excavation, its full size could never be completely determined. It is known that this pit was sufficiently deep to have completely destroyed any and all archeological remains that might have once been located in this space.

The archeological team working within one of the nineteenth-century basements (528 Market Street).

Outside of Feature 1, the nineteenth-century basements were in much better shape. Of these, the three properties built over the President's House in 1833 were all very similar in size and internal configuration. The middle two lots (526 and 528 Market Street) were the narrowest, and measured 15 feet across; Lot 530, at the west side of the excavation, was 20 feet wide (measured at the undisturbed south end). On the interior, each building was divided by a series of east-west oriented cross-walls that partitioned the available space into separate rooms. All three basements, at least within the excavation area, terminated in floors that appeared at a depth of approximately 8 feet below ground surface. At the far south end of the excavation area, however, foundations partially exposed at the shoring line suggested that portions of the basements farther to the south, and currently sealed under the Liberty Bell entrance portico, probably were shallower and only extended to depths of about 6 feet below the surface. The presence of a set of steps leading up from the basement at the south end of Lot 528 helps to support this interpretation.

The south end of Lot 528, showing the cellar steps rising out of the basement (visible beneath the shoring near top right).

While the 526–530 Market Street basements may have had a more or less common overall configuration, the individual walls that framed these basements were anything but uniform in terms of their appearance. Individual wall sections varied between 14 inches and 2 feet in thickness and extended between 2 and 5 feet above the basement floor, with taller foundation fragments being preserved in the southern half of the excavation area. In terms of the materials used to build them and the relative care with which they were constructed, individual walls showed even greater variability—a condition that was itself an artifact of the way these commercial buildings were progressively expanded southward throughout the nineteenth century. Based on evidence contained in these walls, it appears that the buildings first erected after the demolition of the

The shoddily built section of the Lot 526/528 common wall built over the President's House root cellar.

President's House were well built and terminated at the northernmost east-west cross-wall. Later foundations to the south exhibited a variety of construction methods and suggest that the expansion of the individual 526, 528, and 530 Market Street structures did not occur in a uniform fashion, but rather as a series of incremental sections. As they were expanded, new building sections were constructed right over or through earlier buildings, including those from the President's House property, and their walls were sometimes built in an almost haphazard, seemingly structurally unsound manner. For example, the 526/528 common wall built over the in-filled President's House root cellar incorporated a foundation that was little more than a pile of randomly placed stones held together loosely with mortar.

One specific foundation remnant that does deserve further discussion has been dubbed the "mystery wall" in early published accounts of the excavations (see previous nineteenth-century foundations map). Located at the southern end of Lots 528 and 530, this east-west oriented wall segment was initially thought to be associated with a structure that might predate the nineteenth-century commercial buildings on this site, and that was maybe a part of a previously unknown back building within the President's House complex. At the time, this interpretation was based largely on the fact that a shallow pit immediately next to the wall (designated Feature 8) was found to contain a small handful of fragmentary ceramic artifacts (creamware, polychrome painted pearlware) that could have been manufactured in the eighteenth century. If the pit dated to the eighteenth century, then it was reasonable to conjecture that the wall adjacent to it did as well; and if this was part of a previously unknown President's House structure, it would indeed be a major discovery, but that does not appear to be the case. This wall segment was intensively studied from every conceivable angle during the investigations, and it was eventually concluded that it was instead part of the expanded nineteenth-century buildings that replaced the President's House. To some extent, this wall fragment remains something of a mystery in terms of how it was built—for example, it consists of at least two separate abutting wall sections of different sizes and built to different depths—but it is not from the President's House period. Neither, it would appear, is the adjacent Feature 8 pit. The pit did yield a few artifacts that may have been originally made in the late 1700s, but those objects were probably deposited in the ground when the "mystery wall" was built, sometime in the nineteenth century.

Detail of the "mystery wall" showing the abutment of two unequally sized wall segments.

An overview of the nineteenth-century basement floor level (Lot 528). The parallel depressions in the floor are from the floor joists, now decayed. The small flat gray section to the right is a remnant of the overlying twentieth-century cement floor.

Archeological exploration of the 526, 528, and 530 Market Street lots revealed that all three basements did have prepared floors, and in fact produced evidence that each contained two separate floor levels stacked one on top of the other. In some places, these floors were preserved almost entirely intact, while in other sections their presence was indicated only by a few crumbled remnants clinging to the adjacent foundation walls. Of the two floor levels found, the upper and more recent floor surface was comparatively thin and consisted of poured cement over a loose gravel substratum. Although the dating of this upper floor is not known with any certainty, general impressions maintained that it was probably added sometime in the early twentieth century. The second, older floor level was found immediately beneath the upper one and was represented by an approximately 4-inch-thick layer of coarse mortar mixed with brick fragments. This mortar layer would have originally been the base of the earlier flooring, with the actual floor surface formed via wooden boards nailed to parallel wooden joists. Impressions of the east-west oriented joists were still preserved within the underlying mortar/brick base, and in some instances decayed wood from the joists themselves was found.

While the Lot 526, 528, and 530 basements were all fairly similar in form, the basement within Lot 524, at the eastern side of the excavation, was in several ways quite different. Associated with a building that had been built within the former President's House "wood lot" in 1804, and then subsequently expanded throughout the nineteenth century, this basement was larger than the others and measured 24 feet across. In addition, this basement showed no obvious signs of interior room divisions, but rather appeared to have been a single open space. Sections of poured cement flooring were found within this space, at both the far north and south ends, as were smaller areas of brick floor, but no evidence of an older, underlying floor was found here. In terms of the search for President's House remains, the most significant aspect of this basement was the fact that it was slightly deeper than the others. Based on floor elevations recorded across the site (which vary slightly from place to place), the basement for Lot 524 had been excavated about 12 to 18 inches deeper than any of the other three.

Beyond the intact sections of cement and brick flooring, the dominant feature found in Lot 524 was a large rectangular brick-walled pit at the far northwest margins of the basement. Measuring approximately 12 feet square, this pit was filled with dense coal ash and cinder deposits that extended at least 8 feet below the floor of the surrounding basement level. The exact function of this pit is not known for sure, but its position near the front of the basement suggested that it may have represented some sort of furnace pit. Alternately, and perhaps more likely, it may be associated with the elevator known to have existed within this property when the Zorn family owned it in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

As integral as the nineteenth-century structural remains are to the larger story of this site and its development over time, they were not the main focus of this investigation—the President's House was. As it turned out, the exposure of these later basements inadvertently resulted in the identification of the first surviving structural remnant of the President's House within the site. In his architectural history of the

Executive Mansion, Edward Lawler Jr. shares evidence that portions of the main house's east and west exterior walls were not completely demolished in 1832, but rather had been in part preserved and incorporated into the party walls of later adjoining buildings. While any trace of surviving walls on the west side of the main house had been destroyed during the creation of Feature 1 in the early 1950s, the archeological team looked very closely at the common wall shared by the nineteenth-century 524 and 526 Market Street buildings and suspected that it might represent the preserved east wall of the President's House. Certainly, the northern portion of that wall seemed to be consistent with Lawler's findings—it was in the right location, and its construction seemed to indicate an older age than any of the obviously nineteenth-century walls around it. But other parts of the wall had been covered over by brick veneer at some point in time, and still others appeared to have been rebuilt or heavily modified in the nineteenth century, making a clear determination difficult. As it turned out, it would take a great deal more investigation before archeologists were ready to declare that this wall was, in fact, a surviving remnant of the President's House, and before it was fully realized just how critical this one discovery was for fitting together the entire site puzzle.

The President's House Found

From the time this investigation was still in the planning stages, it was recognized that in order to find any archeological evidence of the President's House, it would be necessary to get below the nineteenth-century basements built on the property after 1832. Accomplishing this task meant peeling up those later basement floors so that archeologists could peer into the soil below, and in some cases required that portions of intact basement walls needed to be physically removed to expose older structures and deposits buried beneath them. In actuality, this process was performed simultaneously in the field alongside bulk excavation activities and the documentation of nineteenth-century remains, and took several weeks of hard work to complete. The big payoff finally arrived in the last few days of April and first weeks of May when, in rapid succession, a string of amazing discoveries radically changed what was known about the President's House. As word of these finds were made known, the news captured the public's imagination, and members of the print and electronic media descended around the site, sometimes going into it as well, to report each new revelation.

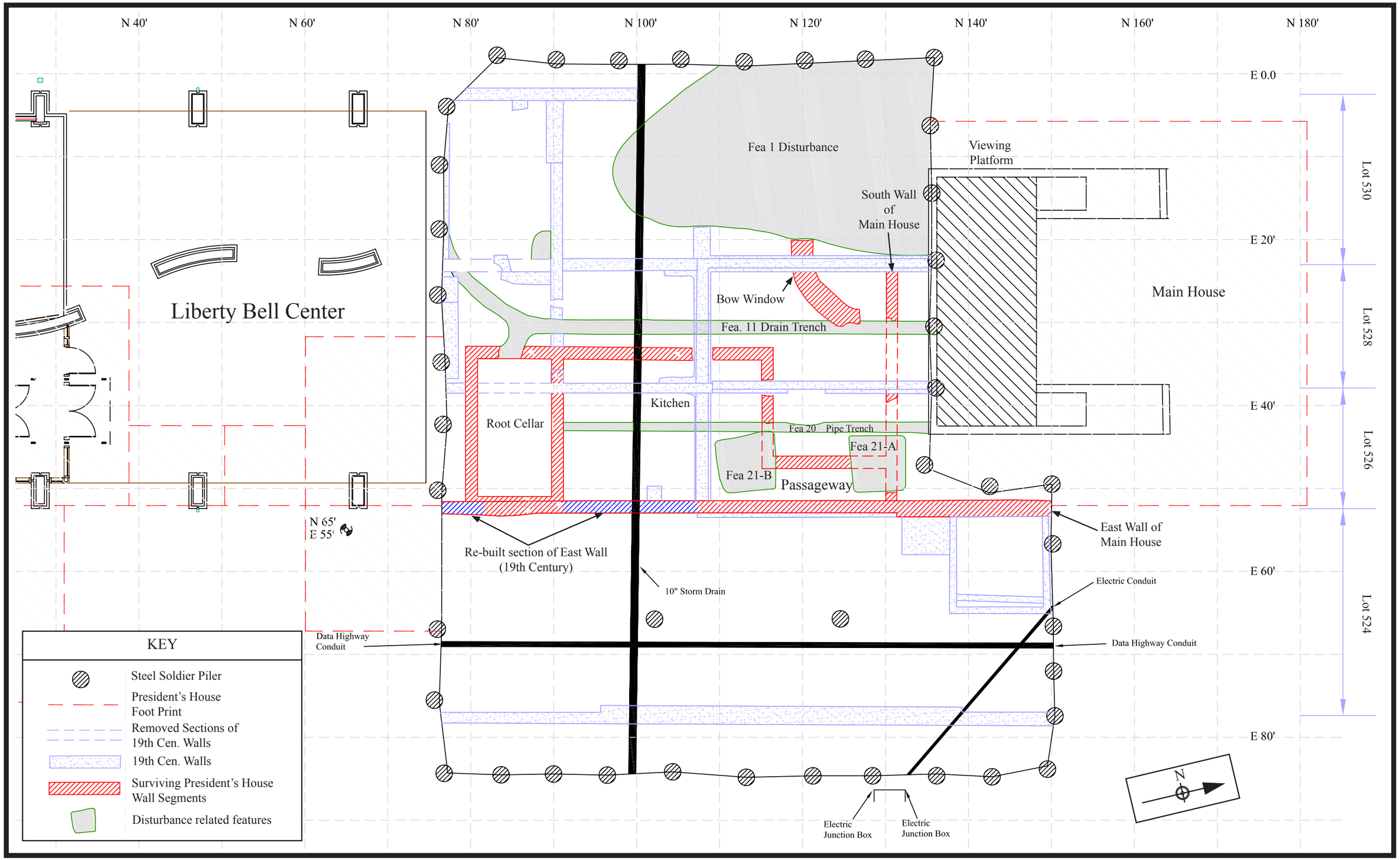
Although by this point members of the archeological team had begun to strongly suspect that the Lot 524/526 common wall was a part of the President's House, the first confirmed discovery of physical remains associated with the Executive Mansion complex occurred when portions of the kitchen foundation were unexpectedly exposed. This event happened in the absence of great fanfare, as rubble fill and crushed nineteenth-century basement flooring were being hand cleared from the south end of Lot 528. Suddenly, there in the dirt, a beautiful section of well-made wall appeared from nowhere. At first, this wall barely caused a single eyebrow to be raised, and the crew busily went about shoveling brick out of the basement. As time passed, however, that wall became a bit more troubling, because there was not supposed to be a nineteenth-century basement wall in that location, and everyone began to more actively ponder just what it might be. Eventually, it was NPS archeologist Jed Levin who first raised the possibility that it might be part of the President's House kitchen, but that notion was half brushed away because at the time it seemed just too crazy—it couldn't be the kitchen, because the President's House kitchen wasn't supposed to have had a basement, and the kitchen must have had a basement if this wall was to be part of it. Just to be sure, the lead archeologists went back to the maps and site history in an attempt to sort this mystery out. After some thought, a test was devised to verify whether or not the kitchen foundations were preserved within the site—an expedient excavation would be performed to see if the northwest corner of the kitchen was present in the place that historical research said it

should be. After the rubble fill was pulled back enough to permit access, archeologists carefully measured on the ground to establish the presumed location of that corner, in the northern part of Lot 528, and then used sledgehammers and shovels to punch a 2-foot-diameter hole through the nineteenth-century basement floor. At first, as the archeologists cleared away the crushed floor matrix, nothing appeared but the sandy, culturally sterile subsoil below. After a few more anxious minutes, a handful of mortared stones were found at the very edge of the test pit—definitely part of a wall. With a bit more searching, there it was—a corner to that wall—not in the precise location it was expected, but pretty close. The test had worked, and the kitchen had been officially found.

With the discovery of the President's House kitchen, everything about this excavation changed instantly. All the previous historical research suggested that the kitchen building didn't have a basement, and therefore it was initially presumed that no trace of that structure would be found during this investigation. And yet, there it was—the foundations for the kitchen were preserved within the site. That much was now incontestable. This single discovery opened a world of possibilities for the archeological team members, who now wondered openly about what other previously unthinkable remnants might be preserved within this site. Over the next few weeks, those questions would quickly be answered as, one after the other, surviving parts of the President's House itself—Washington's bow window, a root cellar in the kitchen basement, and the remains of an underground passageway connecting the kitchen to the main house—were unearthed in the central portions of the site and shared with the thousands of visitors who came to the viewing platform each day.

With each of these discoveries, it was becoming clearer that the President's House complex in its entirety was much better preserved than anyone had dared hope for; however, continuing archeological exploration was also finding evidence that these various surviving remnants had not completely escaped later disturbance. As it turned out, all of the individual segments of the President's House and back buildings contained within the excavation had been impacted to some extent throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by a number of different construction-related activities, including the installation of a terra-cotta drainage pipe system, a cast-iron gas pipeline, the building of foundations for later commercial structures, and the addition of pier-supported wheelchair access ramps for the 1950s-era public restroom. When each of these later modifications occurred, surviving President's House foundations and other architectural elements were viewed simply as obstructions to be removed, and sections of the various walls were cut through and discarded. As a result, many once interconnected remnants of the President's House buildings were reduced to a series of separate individual wall segments.

Although remnants of the President's House were preserved within the central areas of the site (Lots 526 and 528), archeological work in the eastern part of the excavation area, within Lot 524, unfortunately found a much different situation. This area once contained a number of important President's House back buildings, including the servant's hall Washington added and the Robert Morris bathhouse that Washington and Adams adapted for use as a personal study. Whether these structures were originally built with basements or deep foundations is not known for certain, but it is clear that the subsequent construction and expansion of the 524 Market Street building in the nineteenth century made it impossible to answer that question archeologically. As discussed before, the commercial building at this location had a basement that extended deeper than any of the three adjacent structures. While the difference in basement depth here was only slight, about a foot or so, it was just deep enough to remove any trace of earlier foundations that may have previously existed. Despite much concerted effort, archeological exploration of Lot 524 found not a single shred of evidence relating to the servant's hall or bathhouse.



Eighteenth-century architectural remnants associated with the President's House.

A portion of the President's House kitchen wall showing how a later nineteenth-century foundation wall cut through it.

The construction of this terra-cotta drainpipe required upper portions of the root cellar walls to be removed.

The Main House

Archeological remnants of the President's House itself (the main house fronting on Market Street) were unearthed at about the same time as the kitchen and in a similar manner, and consisted of a series of individual stone foundation fragments associated with the south wall of that building. At the time of this wall's discovery, the northern parts of Lots 526 and 528 were still covered by intact nineteenth- and twentieth-century basement floors. As in the case of the northwest kitchen corner, the archeological team went about finding the south wall of the main house by carefully measuring its supposed location on the ground, and then punched a test pit through the floor layers. This search for the south wall was attended by much excitement among the crew members, who watched intently as the excavation pushed past the bottommost floor level. As the last bit of rubble was removed, there—sitting in the bottom of the test pit—was absolutely nothing. There was no wall anywhere to be seen. Undaunted, the crew immediately proceeded to open a larger section of the basement floor. The thrill of the chase proved to be infectious among the crew, as even the interpreters up on the viewing platform left their post to join in the hunt for this elusive foundation. Finally, after much adrenaline-fueled exertion, the first section of the south wall foundation finally emerged, just a foot and a half to the north of the original test pit.

If the discovery of the wall itself was not exciting enough, what happened next represented one of those too-good-to-be-true-moments that archeologists only occasionally get to experience. After the wall was initially exposed, the crew moved in to further clear it off and follow it eastward. Fine-bristled brushes and trowels were used to remove the thin layer of dark brown soil that separated the south wall from the basement floors above it, when suddenly—and unexpectedly—a single green-tinged copper coin appeared from nowhere. As visitors on the viewing platform above craned their necks to get a better look at this discovery, the first artifact recovered from intact deposits within the site, the excavators applied a little saliva to the task of cleaning the coin to look for details on its surface. Almost immediately it became apparent that the coin was a U.S. half-penny piece, with the date of its minting, 1833, clearly visible below the bust of Lady Liberty. Although perhaps not all that significant in purely archeological terms, the discovery of this coin was important in that it testified to the specific point in time when the President's House was torn down (1832) and replaced by commercial

properties (1833). How the coin came to sit directly on top of the main house's southern foundation wall is not known. Perhaps it was accidentally dropped by one of the workers putting up the new buildings, or maybe it was left there on purpose, in accordance with the time-honored tradition of placing dated objects within new buildings during construction. Whatever the reason for its presence, this coin represented a unique find that further served to fuel the public's interest and involvement in this project.

The south wall of the main house at the moment of its discovery. The arrow points to the 1833 penny in situ.

Detail view of the 1833 half-penny.

When the search for the south wall of the President's House was all said and done, it became apparent that later site development extensively disturbed this architectural component, which was represented by only three relatively small surviving fragments. The section first identified, and described above, measured 17 inches wide and extended from the nineteenth-century Lot 528/530 common wall to a point just 6 feet to the east, where it was truncated by a later terra-cotta drainpipe trench (Feature 11). To the west, the foundation was completely destroyed in the excavation of the Feature 1 rubble pit. Farther to the east, in Lot 526, the wall had been almost entirely destroyed by one of a pair of disturbances (Feature 21A) associated with the installation (in 1968) of deep support piers for the 1950s-era women's public restroom handicap access ramp. Within Lot 526, only two small end pieces of the south wall still survived. Testing along these various segments determined that they, like many other surviving President's House foundation remnants, represented only the very bottommost few stone courses of those former walls, and only extended about 6 to 8 inches farther down into the subsoil below.

The first section of the main house's south wall as found beneath the nineteenth- to twentieth-century basement floor.

Although this was all that remained of the south wall, these few fragments were not the only remnants of the main house to have survived within the site. As discussed previously, it was subsequently determined that parts of the adjacent Lot 524/526 common wall were, in fact,

also intact surviving elements of the main house foundations. Because the east wall of the main house was incorporated into the walls of the later nineteenth-century commercial buildings, these portions were able to survive and were preserved remarkably intact. At the eastern side of the main house, approximately the lower 3 feet of the original foundation survived in place and extended northward beyond the limits of the excavation shoring. Unlike the south main house foundations, the east wall was situated within the site more or less exactly where it was anticipated in historical reconstructions. For reasons unknown, the east foundation wall of the main house was of a more massive construction than the back (or south) foundations, and measured a total of 24 inches in width. It should also be noted that the surviving east wall of the main house abuts the adjacent furnace/elevator pit within Lot 524 and was somewhat modified when that pit was constructed. The furnace/elevator pit extends deeper than the President's House basement, and the pit's brick eastern wall sits directly under the stone eastern foundation of the main house.

The Bow Window

Archeological remnants of the bow window that President Washington had added to the back of the President's House prior to his arrival in 1790 were initially discovered shortly after the kitchen and south wall of the main house, although its actual function was not recognized at first. The bow window wall was first exposed after the overlying nineteenth/twentieth-century basement floors were removed. However, at that time, it appeared to be nothing more than a rather formless, nondescript mass of shell- and lime-tempered mortar of unknown function, and it was largely ignored for a period of days after. In fact, it was not until an adjacent utility trench (Feature 11) was investigated that the archeological team members even recognized it as a foundation wall at all. Only after the wall was further exposed and investigated did its smoothly arcing, semicircular shape emerge from the surrounding sandy subsoil; yet even then, it took another day of measurement checking and historical research review before this architectural feature was positively identified as Washington's bow window. Ultimately, the problem in identifying the bow window lay in the fact that no prior historical research had even hinted at the possibility that this addition might have had foundations extending to the depth of the main house's basement, and therefore such a circumstance at the time seemed utterly inconceivable to the archeological team. In hindsight, the fact that the bow window had deep foundations makes perfect sense, especially when it is remembered that this feature was less a window than a two-story half-round room within which the president and others could and did stand. The deep foundations, then, would have been necessary to bear the full structural weight of this addition.

The truncated west end of the bow window beneath the Lot 528/530 common wall. Note Feature 1 disturbance in the foreground.

As identified within the site, only about a third of the full original bow window foundation remained preserved in place. On its eastern side, the arc of the foundation was truncated in the nineteenth or twentieth century by the installation of the adjacent terra-cotta drainpipe (Feature 11). Following it around, the arc of the foundation passes underneath the nineteenth-century Lot

528/530 common wall, then terminates at the apex of the curve, with the entire western half of the foundation having been destroyed by the Feature 1 rubble pit. The surviving fragment of the bow window measured approximately 32 inches in total width and extended not more than about a foot into the underlying subsoil. It is not known for sure whether the interior of the bow window space had ever been completely excavated to the bottom of the foundations, whether they framed an effective extension to the main house basement, or whether the foundations were simply constructed within a narrow builder's trench.

When built, the Washingtons' bow window formed an impressive addition to the south end of the state dining room on the first floor of the President's House. In reconstructing the bow window based on this surviving foundation fragment, it appears that the room framed by this structure spanned the full width of the dining room, with a total overall diameter of approximately 21 feet. From the back wall of the dining room, the bow window would have projected southward some 10 feet, 6 inches into the paved yard behind the main house. Prior speculation about the overall shape of the architectural feature maintained that it was probably semi-octagonal in shape, but the existing foundations revealed no indications of this. Rather, the smoothly curving shape of the foundation strongly suggested that the exterior of this room was almost certainly semicircular in appearance.

The Kitchen

In many ways, the kitchen that stood behind the President's House was the epicenter of all activity that took place on this site. On the second floor, both the Washingtons and the Adamses had their personal quarters, while on the first floor and in the basement, Washington's acclaimed chef Hercules prepared sumptuous meals for the first family and the many state affairs hosted in the main house, and a host of enslaved, indentured, and free servants carried out many of the tasks required to keep the Executive Mansion running smoothly. Yet despite the importance of the kitchen to the entire executive complex, little more was known about this back building other than raw physical dimensions included on two historical surveys. The unexpected discovery of the kitchen basement foundations, therefore, provided an unprecedented opportunity to expand our knowledge of this structure, the spaces it defined, and those who labored within its walls.

Overview of the President's House kitchen. The root cellar is at the top of the image, in the rear. The wood box is Feature 4, the Robert Morris water well.

As anticipated via historical documents, the President's House kitchen was identified within parts of Lots 526 and 528, directly south of the main house, and in alignment with the eastern main house foundation. The kitchen basement was represented by a series of walls defining exterior dimensions exactly matching those indicated on the circa-1781 Burnt House survey of the property (Lawler 2002).

Overview of the main house south wall and bow window. Note the northwest corner of the kitchen, top left.

East to west, the kitchen measured 20 feet across, while its north-south axis stretched 37 feet, 6 inches in total distance. In terms of its spatial relationship to the main house, the kitchen was found to sit approximately 1.5 feet farther south than expected, with the kitchen's northwest corner located just a few feet away from (southeast of) the foundations of the bow window.

In terms of its interior organization, the basement space of the kitchen, which must have been built as a feature of Mary Master's original house complex, was broken up into two separate and functionally distinct spaces. The northern two-thirds of the kitchen consisted of a single open room, possibly used as storage or workspace, with interior dimensions of 17 feet (east-west) by 23 feet, 10 inches (north-south). The southern one-third (discussed in greater detail below) was occupied by a deep subbasement that probably functioned as a root or cold cellar. Although the root cellar portion of the kitchen (designated Feature 2) was found to be preserved largely intact, the same could not be said for its northern section. Portions of the kitchen outside of the root cellar showed evidence of having been repeatedly impacted by later nineteenth- and twentieth-century construction, which transformed once-intact foundations into a series of distinct and separate wall fragments, each of which measured 17 inches wide and extended not more than 6 to 8 inches into subsoil. Specific impacts affecting the preservation of these walls included the construction of nineteenth-century basements, the installation of a cast-iron gas pipeline (Feature 20) through the middle of Lot 526, and the construction of the women's toilet access ramp in the late 1960s (Feature 21B).

None of the disturbed parts of the kitchen were affected more than the east foundation wall. Representing essentially a southward extension of the east wall of the President's House, this structure showed signs of having been substantially altered at some point in the nineteenth century. Evidence contained in the mortar used to build the wall, and differences in the manner of construction along the wall's length, suggested that the east wall had been preserved essentially intact to the point where it meets the northernmost nineteenth-century cross-wall. However, sections between that point and the north wall of the root cellar appeared to be entirely rebuilt using different materials and with a much poorer overall quality of workmanship. While the east wall of the root cellar was intact, the wall segment extending north from that structure also showed signs of nineteenth-century tampering. Unfortunately, the distinction in this location between what was original and what was added later was more difficult to discern with clarity.

Archeological testing within the interior of the northern basement room revealed no evidence that it ever contained a prepared floor of any kind during the eighteenth century. Likewise, no sign of any clearly defined living surface was found. The absence of this sort of evidence is not conclusive in any way, but it could indicate that interior parts of the kitchen were themselves altered or truncated in some way when nineteenth-century basements were extended southward over this space. Archeological examinations of the kitchen interior did uncover a number of pit-like features. More information about these features and the findings they generated will be discussed later in the chapter.

The Root Cellar (Feature 2)

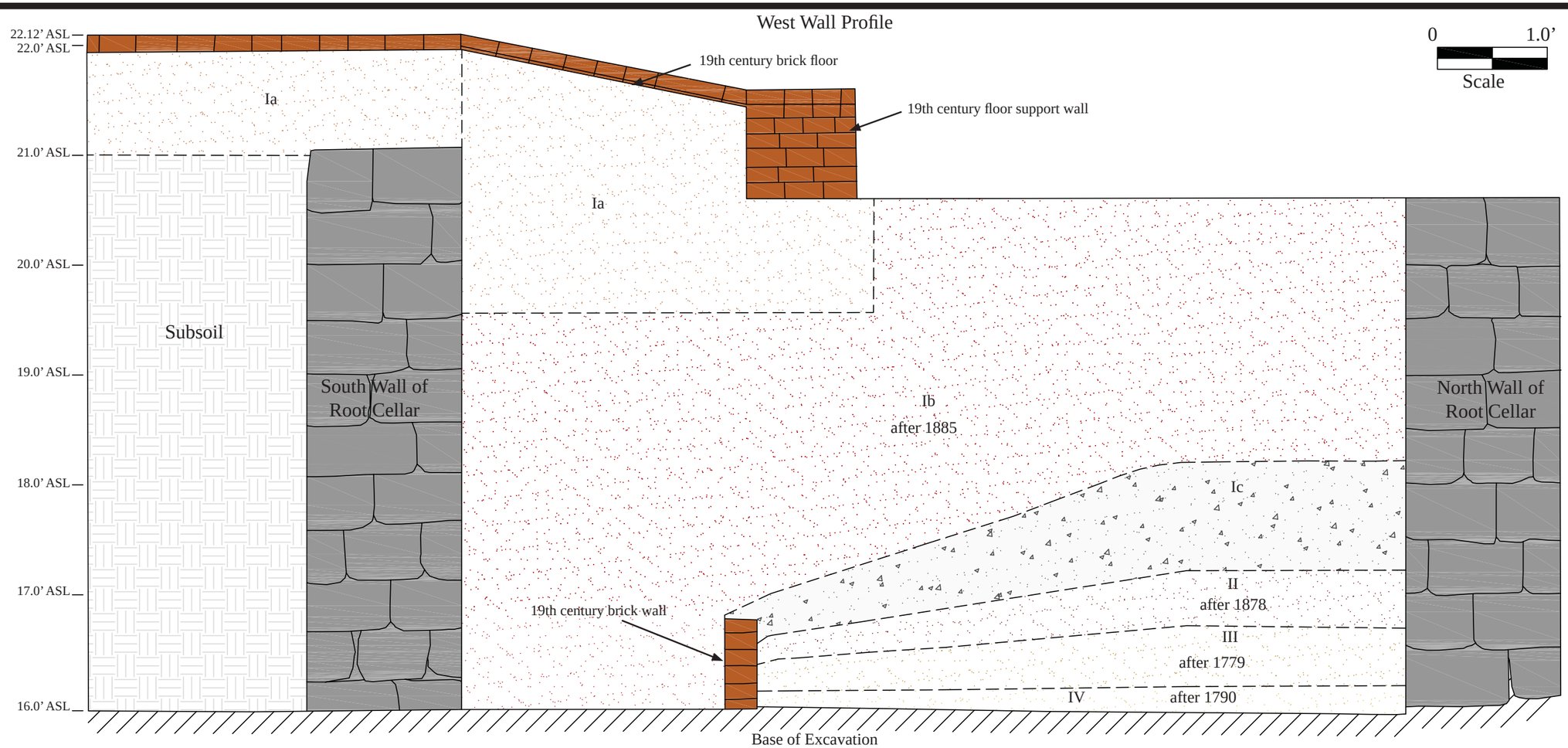
In addition to the basement itself, the presence of a cold or root cellar within the President's House kitchen was yet another component of this building not previously known or indicated in historical research. That is not to say its presence within this site is in any way odd or unusual. On the contrary, root cellars and other similar storage facilities were common features of many of the most fashionable homes in late eighteenth-century Philadelphia, and especially within homes whose owners possessed the financial means and desire to entertain frequently. Catering to the needs of varied houseguests—some of whom may have stayed for extended periods—and dinner companions required wealthy Philadelphians to maintain a large pantry stocked with ready

supplies of all manner of food and drink. Commodious root cellars and other cool storage spaces, therefore, were often necessary elements of the best homes, where stocks of perishable foodstuffs could be stored for longer periods of time. While its mere presence in this site is not out of the ordinary, the President's House root cellar's overall massive size is unusual—with interior dimensions measuring 9 feet by 16 feet, 6 inches—and probably attests to the rich social life of its original builder, Mary Masters. During the Washingtons' time in the house, when up to 30 people lived or worked here and lavish entertaining was a common occurrence, this vast storage space would have been in constant use.

The root cellar was discovered at the same time as the rest of the kitchen basement and was filled with a mix of soil and rubble. Its interior was partially covered over by a number of nineteenth-century structural additions, including a partial brick floor, a segment of the Lot 526/528 common wall, and portions of a terra-cotta drainage system (Feature 11). Although these later elements eventually had to be removed so that the interior of the root cellar could be investigated, they did provide some clues as to this structure's later use. For example, the haphazardly built Lot 526/528 common wall that divided the root cellar space (discussed previously) was almost certainly never a load-bearing element and was probably added to the nineteenth-century basements at a relatively late date. Prior to that, the root cellar appears to have been an open space both properties shared. What specific function it may have served at that time remains unknown.

While the root cellar was discovered early on in the investigation, the presence of deep fill and nineteenth-century obstructions caused it to be one of the last features excavated within the site. The excavation of the interior fill was eventually completed over the course of several weeks, revealing an internal stratigraphy comprised of multiple overlying fill layers. Although it was hoped that the interior of the root cellar might hold intact artifact deposits associated with the President's House period, this was not to be the case. Most of the soil layers appeared to be secondary deposits brought in to fill in the interior space of this room during the nineteenth century, after it no longer served any useful purpose. Historical artifacts were contained within the fill matrix, but the manufacturing date ranges of diagnostic pieces indicate that all but the lowest layers were deposited well after the President's House period. Artifacts within the uppermost fill layer, which occupied most of the root cellar space, indicate that this room finally ceased being used sometime after 1880.

Of all the nineteenth-century fill layers present, only Stratum 2, near the bottom of the root cellar, was found to contain especially dense artifact deposits, and presented a broad range of different materials generally consistent with domestic refuse. The sample of artifacts recovered from this deposit consists of 5,458 individual artifacts and contains architectural debris (brick, mortar, nails, and window glass), large numbers of ceramic and glass vessel sherds, animal bone and shellfish remains, a variety of iron hardware, and numerous personal items, including buckles, buttons, smoking pipe fragments, straight pins, and a single perforated Swedish coin dated 1764. Ceramic vessels are represented by a wide range of individual forms and decorative treatments and are dominated by various redware, creamware, pearlware, and export China porcelain. Although many of the ceramic items collected from this deposit are consistent with what might be anticipated from a President's House–era artifact assemblage, the presence of a number of more recent objects in the collection as a whole indicates that this layer of materials was created solidly in the nineteenth century. Key diagnostic artifacts found in the collection indicate that this deposit must have been made sometime after 1878. Of all the soil layers within the root cellar, only the very bottom one—Stratum 4—produced artifacts with sufficiently old date ranges to potentially be associated with the President's House era. But the artifacts recovered from this fill layer are few in number and consist of very small and rather nondescript fragments of creamware and redware ceramic vessels. Even if these objects were deposited in the root cellar during the late eighteenth century, and that situation could not be determined with any reliable degree of certainty, they presented essentially no opportunity for generating specific information about either the use of this storage facility



KEY	
Ia	Strat I: Yellowish Brown (10YR5/4) silty loam Fill
Ib	Strat I: Brown (10YR4/3) medium sand mottled with brown (10YR5/3) silty loam
Ic	Strat I: Ash Layer
II	Strat II: Very Dark Brown (10YR2/2) medium sand
III	Strat III: Yellowish Brown (10YR5/4) sandy loam mixed with mortar
IV	Strat IV: Light Yellowish Brown (10YR6/4) medium sand

Removing fill from the inside of the root cellar

West root cellar profile showing exposed fill layers

Feature 2 (root cellar) profile and excavation images.

or the occupants of the President's House complex.

The removal of the interior fill material revealed the root cellar extended to a depth of approximately 5 feet below the adjacent kitchen level and exposed a mysterious series of low brick walls of uncertain purpose. These walls formed a series of six individual rectangular boxes along the bottom of the root cellar, one in each corner and two smaller connected ones along the middle of the south wall. Constructed a single brick wide, the boxes extended upwards only some three or four courses, although shadows preserved on the outer root cellar walls indicated that these structures originally extended to a point approximately 3 feet above the bottom. Based on an examination of the bricks used to build these boxes, it was believed that they represent features added to the root cellar in the nineteenth century. While it is not known for sure what function these structures served, their overall form and appearance suggests that they may have been some sort of storage bins created for holding unknown contents.

Beyond the evidence of these brick boxes, the excavation of the root cellar provided little in the way of additional information, and in fact left many questions unanswered. No evidence of a prepared or formal floor was found at the base of the root cellar, only naturally occurring coarse sands. The interior wall surfaces were comprised of tightly fitted stones firmly mortared together, and may have once been parged or plastered. A 6-foot-wide notch or cut-out at the top of the north wall marked the entrance to the root cellar, but it could not be determined if a set of wooden stairs or some sort of ladder was used to descend into it. This entrance notch was narrowed in the nineteenth century through the addition of several courses of brick, and the presence of two large nails in the north wall suggests that a ladder may have been affixed there at some later date. No evidence was identified that indicated what the roof or ceiling of the root cellar might have looked like or what it was made from.

Of all the remaining questions, the one that vexed members of the archeological team the most was the location of the hearth or fireplace that must have been part of the larger kitchen building. Previous reconstructions of the kitchen by Edward Lawler Jr. (2002) conjectured that the kitchen hearth might have been located along the far south wall, above the southern edge of the root cellar. If this positioning had been

Feature 2, Stratum 2

These saucers, made of a type of earthenware known as pearlware, were manufactured in England between about 1795 and 1830. Pearlware was a very common type of pottery and sherds of it have been found wherever English merchants traded. The United States did not have its own pottery industry for making these kinds of tea and dining dishes until later in the nineteenth century, and English goods continued to be popular, despite the political break at the end of the Revolution. Flowers and scenes from nature or of country life were popular decorations for teawares.

Clockwise from left:
INDE 113369 and 112312. The decoration on this saucer is a blue printed scene of a milkmaid in a rural landscape.
INDE113371. This brown printed picture of a passerine warbler was taken from the book *A History of British Birds*, published in various editions during the early nineteenth century.
INDE 113358. Saucer rim painted in polychrome colors with a large-scale floral border.
INDE 114573. Saucer rim painted in blue with a Chinese-inspired floral motif.

correct, the archeologists would have expected to find some physical evidence of the hearth foundation in the surviving walls of the root cellar. Unfortunately, no definitive evidence was identified. Nevertheless, one feature of the root cellar that could possibly in some way relate to the hearth is represented by the east wall of this structure. For reasons unknown, the east wall appeared to be built more robustly than the others. The other three root cellar walls all measured 17 inches thick; however, the east wall extended an additional 11 inches toward the interior of the room and exhibited a full width of approximately 28 inches. The east wall may have been built in a more massive scale so that it could itself act as a sort of footer or support for the hearth and chimney above. Regrettably, there was no way to verify if the east wall did serve this additional function because to do so would have required demolishing a portion of the intact wall section that sat on top of the east root cellar wall.

The Kitchen Passageway

The final piece of the President's House structural remains to be identified within the excavation was represented, in part, by a single 9-foot-long wall segment found in the northern portions of Lot 526, and which originally formed the west side of a narrow underground passageway between the main house and the kitchen. This wall segment would have originally connected with the basement foundations of both structures, but now exists as an isolated member because 1960s-era restroom access ramp disturbances (Features 21A and B) truncated and destroyed its north and south ends. The wall that forms the east foundations of both the main house and kitchen represents the east wall of this structure, as well, and defines a tunnel or passageway that was part of the original Mary Masters house that measured approximately 4 feet wide by 14 long.

View to the south of the underground passageway connecting the kitchen and main house basements. The two dark squares truncating each end of the western passageway wall are from the restroom handicap piers.

At the time it was uncovered, members of the press reported widely on the discovery of this passageway and commonly described it as a "slave tunnel." For many members of the public, this description conjured up images of cleverly concealed escape routes by which Washington's slaves and others held in bondage attempted to leave the house and take back their freedom. Unfortunately, the true

Overview of the root cellar showing the nineteenth-century brick boxes constructed inside.

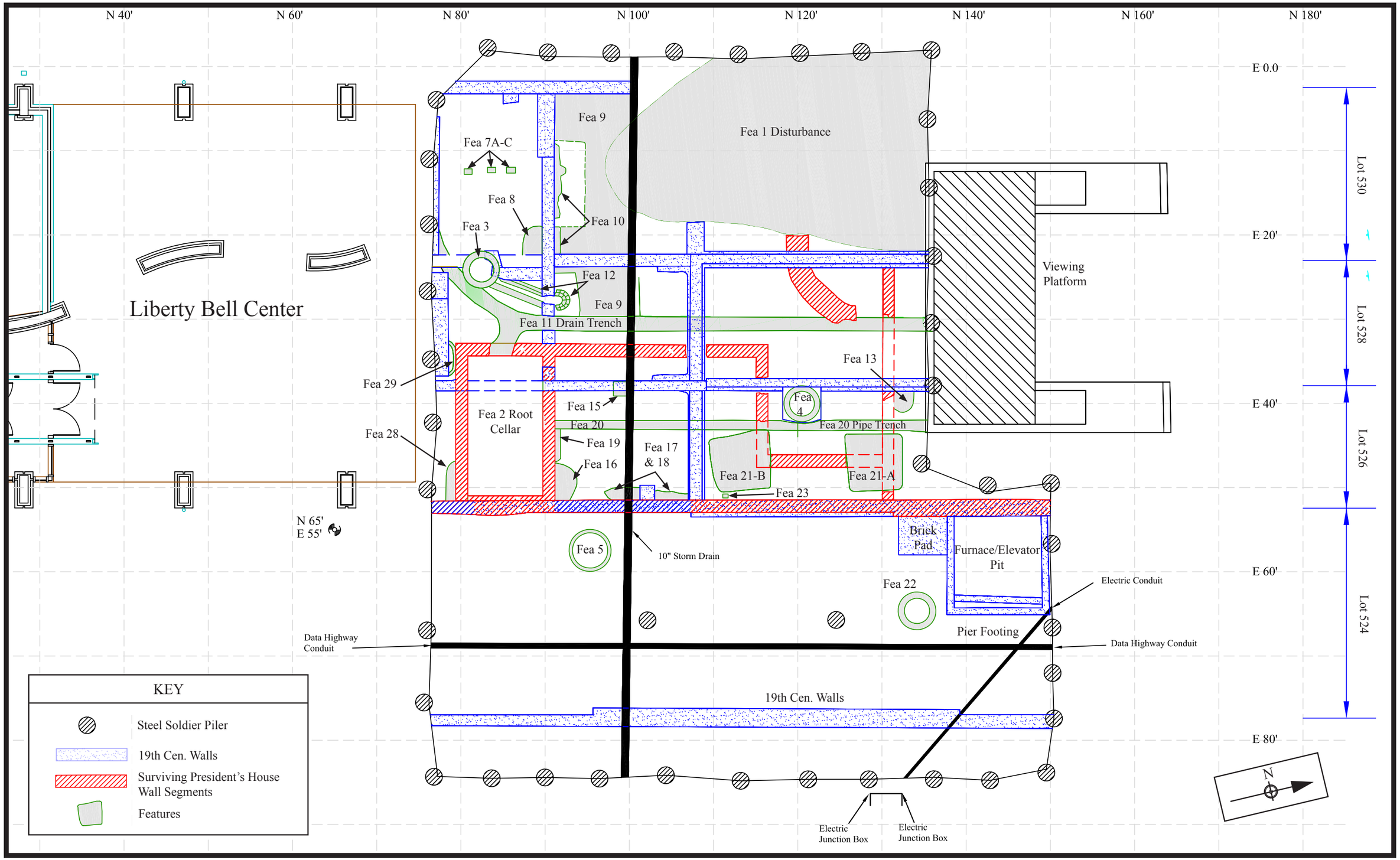
purpose of this passageway was much more mundane than that, and its use was purely functional in nature. Underground passages of this sort, like other elements of the President's House, were not uncommon features in the homes of wealthy families of this period and were used to allow serving staff to perform their domestic duties without disturbing the master or his guests in the house above. In the President' House, this passageway allowed both Washington's enslaved workforce and his free and indentured servants to move unseen between workspace in the kitchen basement and similar areas beneath the main house. Although those individuals whom Washington kept in bondage on these grounds were never completely invisible, features of the house like this underground passageway were intended to keep their labors as discreet as possible.

Features and Artifacts

While the discovery of unexpected structural remains associated with the kitchen provided a previously unimagined opportunity to learn about the physical space of the President's House complex, the primary targets of the excavations were the remnants of any features that might lie buried behind the main house. In particular, members of the archeological team hoped to be able to identify one or more brick-lined shaft features associated with former privies, wells, or cisterns. In the days before public trash services became available, these deep pits within the backyards of just about every property served as convenient receptacles for the disposal of domestic refuse, and a wide range of materials used and consumed within individual households often ended up in these spaces. As known from other archeological sites throughout the city, privy and other shaft features sometimes contain astonishingly well-preserved records of the material culture of former residents, held together in the form of dense artifact deposits. The discovery of such artifact deposits within the President's House Site would have provided the best chance of learning detailed information about the lives of those who once lived and toiled on these grounds.

One important implication of having found the preserved remnants of the President's House kitchen was that it raised the possibility of finding a variety of feature types not previously thought possible. The interior of the kitchen represented a place where both serving staff and enslaved members of Washington's household worked to meet the daily needs of the Executive Mansion. Since these workspaces were preserved within the kitchen's foundations, they could potentially contain artifact deposits within shallow, more fragile features, such as small pits, which in other settings would not have survived later development. Such features, if present, would not likely hold the same number or range of artifacts as a privy pit, but they could nonetheless provide additional pieces to the larger puzzle and allow a much clearer picture of life within the President's House to be reconstructed.

Archeological investigations within the overall excavation area ended up identifying a total of twenty-nine individual historical features. These features were found dispersed throughout the site and, in many instances, were associated with a variety of later nineteenth- and twentieth-century disturbances. The causes of some of these disturbances have been discussed previously and included the installation of gas and drainage related pipes, the construction of twentieth-century support piers associated with a public restroom, and the digging of a large borrow or rubble disposal pit. Yet many others were found to be related to the construction of nineteenth-century foundations or other structural elements, and consisted of a series of shallow builder's trenches that typically contained not more than a handful of fairly nondescript or undatable artifacts. However, this total encompassed at least eleven features, including five brick-lined shaft features, that did have a potential for containing President's House–era artifacts, and which were fully excavated and investigated (see the table on page 73).



Features identified within the President's House Site.

Features identified at the President's House.

FEATURE NO.	LOT NO.	DESCRIPTION
1	530	Large, irregular pit filled with brick and other architectural rubble; created for debris disposal during site demolition in the late 1950s associated with the creation of Independence Mall
2	526	Probable root cellar or other cold storage room; located at the far south end of the President's House kitchen
3	528	Brick-lined shaft (4.5-foot diameter); nineteenth-century well
4	526	Brick-lined shaft (4.5-foot diameter); eighteenth-century well, possibly the one Robert Morris installed circa 1781
4A	526	Mortared brick cap sealing top of Feature 4; nineteenth-century modification
4B	526	Builder's trench associated with construction of Feature 4A brick cap
5	524	Brick-lined shaft (5-foot diameter); nineteenth-century privy
6	530	Shallow irregular trench or elongated pit, adjacent to wall #9; nineteenth century – uncertain function
7	530	Series of four postholes; nineteenth century, probable ceiling supports
8	530	Irregular shallow pit at southeast intersection of walls #2 and 9; nineteenth century – uncertain function
9	528/530	Large irregular pit filled with architectural rubble; nineteenth century – probable foundation construction associated
10	530	Linear soil stain within Feature 9; nineteenth century
11	528/530	Branching pipe trench with associated terra-cotta sewer pipe; nineteenth to twentieth century – segments of the trench connect with Features 2 and 3
12	528	Mortared brick drain; nineteenth century – southern end intersects Feature 3
12A	528	Builder's trench associated with construction of Feature 12; nineteenth century
12B	528	Possible second builder's trench associated with construction of Feature 12; nineteenth century
13	526	Shallow irregular pit within southeast corner of President's House; eighteenth century? – possible builder's trench remnant
14	526/528	Concentration of rubble fill; nineteenth century – subsequently determined to be associated with later basement construction
15	526/528	Rectangular deep pit within President's House kitchen, with associated wooden post fragment; probably eighteenth century – uncertain function
16	526	Shallow semicircular depression within President's House kitchen floor; unknown age – possibly rodent associated
17	526	Elongated, irregular, shallow depression adjacent to east wall of President's House kitchen; unknown age – possibly rodent or construction related
18	526	Small, irregular pockets of loose dark soil (three) below Feature 17; unknown age – possibly rodent related
19	526	Irregular linear depression along north wall of root cellar (Feature 2); unknown age – probably rodent related
20	526	North-south running pipe trench with associated metal gas pipeline; nineteenth to twentieth century
21A and B	526	Approximately 6-foot-diameter square disturbances; twentieth century – created by construction of reinforced concrete pier supports for restroom handicap ramp
22	524	Brick-lined shaft (4.5-foot diameter); eighteenth-century well – possibly associated with bathhouse Robert Morris constructed
22A	524	Builder's trench associated with Feature 22
23	526	Small, shallow rectangular pit containing portions of a glass bottle base; possibly eighteenth century – unknown function or historical association
24	524	Squarish cluster of unmortared brickbats; nineteenth century – possibly pier support or drain related

Feature identified and investigated at the President's House (cont'd).

FEATURE NO.	LOT NO.	DESCRIPTION
25	524	Branching pipe trench with associated iron pipe, portion intersects Feature 22; nineteenth to twentieth century – drain related
26	524	Pipe trench with associated iron pipes (two), portion intersects Feature 22; nineteenth to twentieth century – drain related
27	528	Probable builder's trench; nineteenth century
28	526	Elongated shallow pit or trench adjacent to the south root cellar (Feature 2) wall; unknown age or historical association
29	528	Brick-lined shaft (4–4.5-foot diameter, estimated); nineteenth century – probable well

The Kitchen Discoveries (Features 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, and 23)

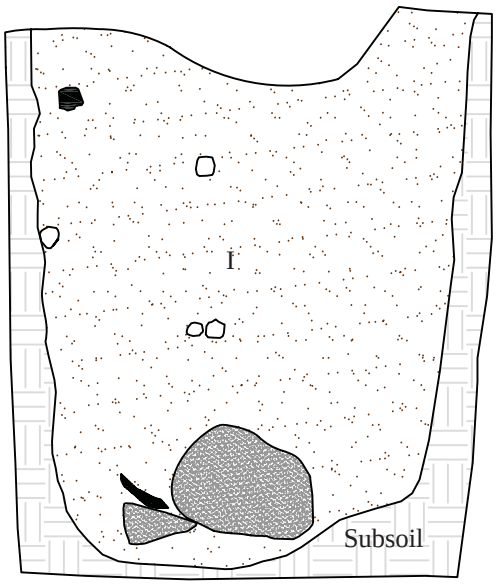
As the interior of the kitchen was being cleared of rubble fill, it quickly became apparent that a number of in-filled shallow depressions and pit-like features were preserved in the exposed sandy subsoil floor within its foundations. These features appeared as a series of dark stains or discolorations in the ground to the north of the root cellar. In many cases, these discolorations were rather amorphous in shape and poorly defined, while others were represented by more linear outlines that hugged the adjacent kitchen foundations. At least one was very clearly outlined in the ground and was obviously the product of prior digging. Unfortunately, while all of these features did contain artifacts of one type or another, excavation revealed that most had been created either in the nineteenth century or were likely the product of natural causes, and none produced cultural materials that could be reasonably associated with the President's House period or the individuals who lived here at that time.

The first feature identified within the northern two-thirds of the kitchen foundations was designated Feature 15 and consisted of a crisply defined rectangular discoloration located directly beneath part of the nineteenth-century Lot 526/528 common wall. Because this feature was beneath the wall, it clearly predated the construction of that structure and could potentially be eighteenth century in age. When the feature was bisected, the exposed profile revealed the presence of a large vertically sided pit measuring 2 feet, 2 inches by 1 foot, 6 inches in size and extending 3 feet into the ground. Soil fill within this pit consisted of myriad interfingered lenses of redeposited subsoil with no clear evidence of recognizable internal stratigraphy. When the remaining half of the feature was bisected again, a thin badly decayed wooden post was found standing vertically within the pit. This post was broken into fragments, with the longest section measuring more than 2 feet in length. In addition, the main section of the post contained a series of large iron machine-cut square nails, with machine-made heads, driven in at right angles to one another. These nails did not appear to serve any discernible purpose with respect to the post itself, and the likely function of this wooden artifact remains unknown.

Excavation of the entire feature produced only a handful of artifacts, including examples of blue-painted pearlware and salt-glazed stoneware ceramic sherds, a piece of green wine bottle glass, a large quartz rock, numerous rodent bones and teeth, brick fragments, mortar, shell fragments, and charcoal flecking. Based on the artifacts recovered, and specifically the dates of manufacture for the nails in the post, this feature was determined to date to sometime after 1805. The presence of rodent bones and teeth also suggest that this pit may have been used at some point as a rodent den, and the burrowing activities of these animals could have introduced some of the other artifacts into the feature.

West Wall Profile

Wooden post in situ



0 1.0’

Scale

Detail of the wooden post

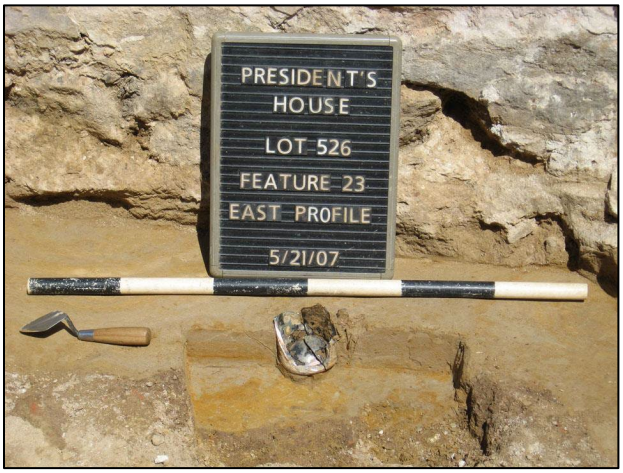
KEY	
I	Strat I: Dark Yellowish Brown (10YR4/4) sandy loam mottled with Strong Brown (7.5YR5/8) sand, and Strong Brown (7.5YR4/6) sand. All these materials are components of sub matrix
	Stone
	Flake
	Mortar
	Glass

Feature 15 profile and excavation images.

Features 16 through 19 consisted of a series of variably sized, rather amorphous and shallow (less than 1 foot deep) depressions or pits lining the exterior north wall of the root cellar and interior of the east kitchen foundation. Excavation of these depressions produced nearly 650 total artifacts, the majority of which were either not diagnostically datable or represented by non-descript brick and mortar fragments, coal and charcoal, and rodent and other animal bones. Glass and ceramic artifacts from these features include objects manufactured in both the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, some of which are quite interesting. Feature 16, located outside the northeast corner of the root cellar, contained a clear wine glass stem and foot (circa 1780–1805) and several sherds of British slipware ceramics; Feature 18, along the east wall of the kitchen, produced fragments of a black glass dip-mold wine bottle (circa 1730–1820); and Feature 19, at the north wall of the root cellar, contained large numbers of rodent-gnawed animal bone, a handful of painted pearlware (circa 1775–1810), creamware, and redware ceramic sherds, as well as a clear wine glass stem with a baluster and two ball knops (likely dating to the first half of the eighteenth century).

Despite the relatively large numbers of artifacts recovered from them, none of these features were determined to contain significant cultural deposits, and none could be unquestionably dated to the President's House period. Features 17 and 18 contained very loose interior soil deposits and appeared to be associated with construction disturbance caused during the nineteenth-century reconstruction of the adjacent section of the east kitchen wall, and may also have been rodent impacted. Feature 19, with its high concentration of gnawed animal bone, almost certainly represented a rodent burrow. Feature 16 seemed to have a bit more integrity than the other three, but exhibited an overall form that was more consistent with a rodent burrow or den than with any sort of intentionally excavated pit. It is possible that individual artifacts found within these features may have been used and discarded by individuals living on the President's House property; nonetheless, there was simply no clear evidence produced that could be used to verify that contention. It does appear that many of the recovered artifacts could have been brought to these depressions in the kitchen floor through the natural collecting behaviors of mice or rats.

The final feature consisted of a small rectangular pit discovered in the northwest corner of the kitchen, near the entrance to the underground passageway. Designated Feature 23, this pit measured only 7 inches by 5 inches in size and extended approximately 4 inches into the kitchen subsoil. When excavated, it was found to contain a partially intact base of a glass bottle that sat upright in the center of the pit, as if having been placed there intentionally. The interior of the bottle contained a few additional broken fragments of glass, but no evidence of the mouth or upper bottle sections were found. Soil from the interior of the bottle was carefully excavated, examined by hand, and screened (through 1/16-inch hardware cloth) but no trace of any other artifacts was found. Likewise, no other artifacts, other than additional glass fragments, were recovered from the feature soil around the bottle. Although the bottle did appear to have been purposely placed within this small pit, the absence of other associated artifacts meant that the true nature (whether intentional or incidental) or function of this feature could not be determined.



A view of the Feature 23 bottle as it was found in the ground.

The Shaft Features

After the excavation of the kitchen features, the site's shaft features once again held the best hopes for containing artifacts associated with the presidential households. The five brick-lined shaft features found within the excavation area were located within Lots 524, 526, and 528; none were present in Lot 530. When excavated, these were found to all vary between 4 feet, 6 inches and 5 feet in diameter, and extended to depths of between approximately 19 and 32 feet below the adjacent ground surface. Based on their locations within the site, as well as their manner of construction, it was determined that one (Feature 5) was likely to have been associated with a privy. The other four shafts almost certainly all originally functioned as wells, although in some cases individual well shafts displayed evidence of having been later adapted for alternate purposes. Based largely on historical data, only one of these shafts (Feature 4) was likely to have been constructed in the eighteenth century, and therefore had any potential at all to contain artifacts from the President's House or earlier occupations.

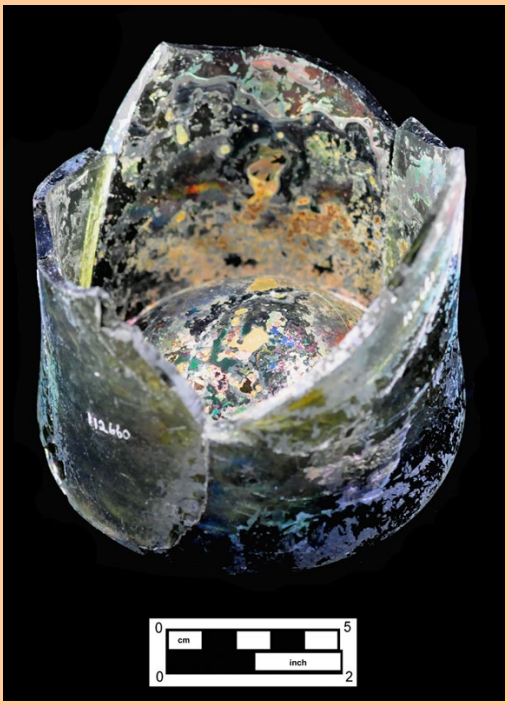
Of the five total shafts, only one, Feature 29 (well), could not be excavated. Located immediately adjacent to the southwest corner of the root cellar, this shaft was only partially contained within the excavation area and was largely buried under a nineteenth-century wall. To make matters worse, one of the steel soldier piles for the exterior site shoring was installed directly through the middle of the shaft (this piling was monitored during the drilling stage and no intact artifact deposits were disturbed; the piling probably does not extend to the bottom of the Feature 29 shaft). In this position, the only way this feature could have been excavated would have required the partial dismantling of the President's House root cellar and would likely have seriously undermined the stability of the adjacent shoring.

Feature 3

The Feature 3 well shaft had a maximum diameter of 4 feet, 6 inches, and was identified at the

Feature 23

This bottle base (**INDE 112660 and 112661**), made between 1730 and 1820, was found in a small rectangular pit in the floor of the kitchen area. When archeologists find single bottles in small pits, within structures occupied or used by enslaved people of African descent, they are sometimes identified as "witch bottles," used as protective charms to ward off evil. However, this find does not have the classic characteristics of such an artifact. Many witch bottles have been found buried neck down under or near hearths or thresholds and, if the contents are intact when found, often include human urine and straight pins—sometimes iron nails and human hair, as well. Witch bottle charms have been found in several other archeological sites in the northeast United States (Becker 1978 and in preparation; Alexandrowicz 1986; Fennell 2000) and in or near many old houses in England. African Americans used bottles in a similar fashion, as recorded in oral traditions (Fennell 2000). According to these traditions, a witch could be caught in a bottle with a stopper full of pins. Bottles buried under doorways or paths were supposed to hold powerful items used to influence people who walked there. The bottle found during the President's House excavations is only partially complete, and no other artifacts were found in or around it, so it cannot be determined what actual purpose this artifact served.



far southern side of the excavation area, on the boundary between Lots 526 and 528. At the time of its discovery, the well was partially covered over by a nineteenth-century foundation wall segment and was associated with a later nineteenth- or twentieth-century brick drainage duct that extended out from the shaft some 8 feet to the northeast. The presence of this drainage feature, which probably originally connected to a downspout of some sort, indicates that Feature 3 evidently had been reused as a sump for getting rid of rainwater during the later years of its use. In addition, while the main portion of the shaft had been built using header-laid bricks, the upper few feet had been rebuilt at some point in time using double courses of stretcher bricks.

Overview of Feature 4 (the brick circle in foreground) with the nineteenth-century drain (Feature 12) attached.

Initially, the archeological team members pondered whether or not this shaft might not represent the new well President Washington was known to have added to the property after he sealed up and abandoned the earlier well Robert Morris used (see Feature 4 discussion below). According to historical documentation (Lawler 2002), Washington closed the Morris well specifically because he did not want his free and enslaved workforce to be visible from the bow window vantage when they used the well. However, if Feature 3 was the new Washington well, its location would have put it in an even more direct line of sight from the bow window and the same problem would have persisted, just from a slightly different perspective. Beyond that, the brickwork within the Feature 3 shaft was very shoddily executed and showed a pronounced lack of

Feature 3, Stratum 7

Two small muffin plates and a saucer, recovered together from Stratum 7 in Feature 3, were all probably used as part of a tea service. The plate on the left (**INDE 114067**) has a line-engraved printed variant of the "Curling Palm" motif. It has very heavy wear on both its front (from use) and back (from stacking), and was probably made between 1790 and 1815. Several of the sherds are rust stained from close contact with nails or other iron objects during their time in the ground. The middle plate (**INDE 114071**) has a simple blue shell-edged design and was probably made between 1800 and 1820. The saucer on the right (**INDE 114068**) is decorated with a so-called milkmaid pattern.

craftsmanship, with irregularly laid, non-level, and deformed brick courses occurring throughout its entire depth—not at all what would be expected for a presidential well. Ultimately, it was decided that Feature 3 was most likely not Washington's well, and that it had probably been constructed later, in the nineteenth century.

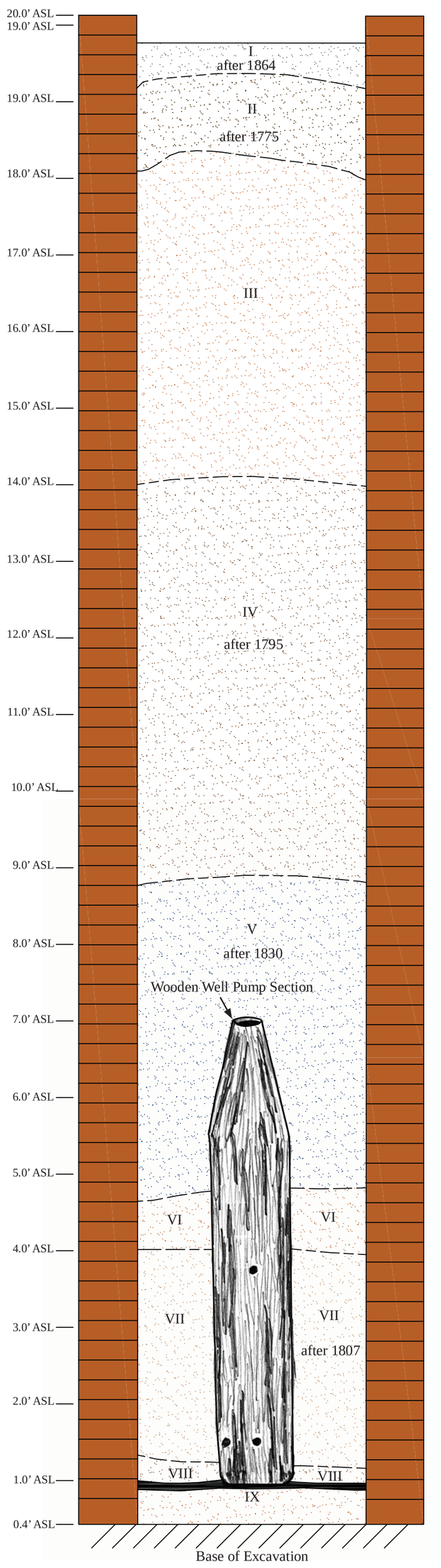
Excavation of Feature 3 revealed that it extended approximately 19 feet, 6 inches below the floor of the excavation area and contained a total of eight distinct fill layers. No evidence of any intact primary artifact deposits was identified. A total of 617 historical artifacts were collected from the various fill levels, the majority represented by highly fragmented items with indistinct manufacturing date ranges. Diagnostic artifacts indicate that Stratum 1 was deposited sometime after 1864, while Strata 2 through 5 accumulated in the shaft after 1830. Stratum 7 contained the largest number and most complete assortment of artifacts, all of which entered the well after 1807. Included among the objects found in this level were three nearly complete dark green wine bottles, a variety of pearlware and Chinese porcelain teaware, a creamware mug, a blue shell-edged plate, and a fragment of a brass candlestick. The lowest level in the feature contained few diagnostic artifacts that could be used to determine an accurate date of deposition.

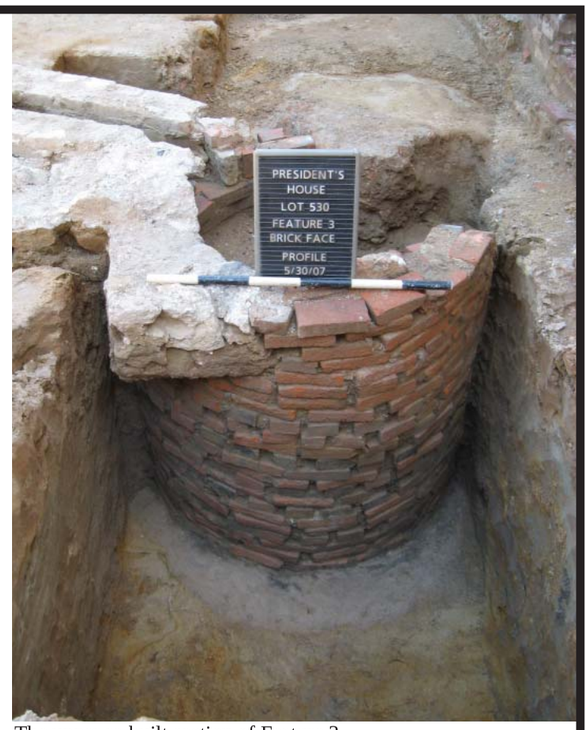
By far the most interesting artifact recovered from Feature 3 is a 6-foot-long intact and well-preserved section of the original wooden pump mechanism. Resembling a hollowed-out section of telephone pole, this artifact was found standing upright in its original position at the bottom of the well and was eventually removed intact. The exterior of the pump section exhibits visible traces of the tools used to shape it, as well as a series of small drill holes for the admission of groundwater into the pump conduit. The upper tip of the wooden pump shaft is tapered to allow it to be joined with other sections originally located above. Because well pumps such as this represented the earliest form of firefighting apparatus used in the city, members of the Philadelphia Fire Department took special interest in this artifact after its discovery became known. Following the conclusion of the President's House investigations, an agreement was reached with INHP that allowed the conserved pump section to be loaned to the Fireman's Hall Museum on 2nd Street for long-term public display. It is still on public exhibit as part of the museum's collection.

Feature 4

Crew member Eileen Krall Hood water screening soil removed from Feature 4.

The Feature 4 well shaft was identified in the north side of the excavation area, immediately adjacent to the north kitchen foundation wall, and—like Feature 3—had a diameter of 4 feet, 6 inches. Based on available President's House historical research (Lawler 2002), this feature was the water well used during Robert Morris's residency at the property, and the one Washington closed up shortly after his arrival. Depending on how long this well was in operation after Washington began his tenure at the site, it was possible that artifacts associated with both Morris and the President's House residents might be contained at its bottom. When first discovered, this shaft was covered by a fairly substantial rectangular and flat-topped brick cap that eventually had to be removed to allow excavation to move forward. The outer surface of the brick cap contained a small square opening that may have been used to drain rainwater into the shaft long after it ceased being used as a well.





The upper re-built section of Feature 3

The wooden well pump section in situ

KEY	
I	Strat I: Black (10YR2/1) coal ash and klinker building debris
II	Strat II: Mixed fill Black (10YR2/1) silty loam mottled with Dark Yellowish Brown (10YR3/4) loam with pockets of Dark Yellowish Brown (10YR4/4) loam inclusion, brick mortar, voids present.
III	Strat III: Light Yellowish Brown (10YR6/4) silt
IV	Strat IV: Dark Yellowish Brown (10YR4/4) mottled with Yellowish Brown (10YR5/6) Micaceous clay
V	Strat V: Dark Gray (10YR4/1) and Black (10YR2/1) silty sand
VI	Strat VI: Yellowish Brown (10YR5/4) coarse medium sand mottled with Dark Yellowiah Brown (10YR4/6) medium sand lens of Dark Brown (10YR3/3) clay sandy
VII	Strat VII: Dark Brown (10YR3/3) and (10YR4/3) coarse medium sand
VIII	Strat VIII: Grayish Brown (10YR5/2) and dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) medium sand
IX	Strat IX: Yellowish Brown (10YR5/6) and Brown (10YR5/3) coarse medium sand
▬	Wood

Feature 3 profile and excavation images.

Once the brick cap was removed, excavators were greeted by a feature that appeared to be completely empty. A tape measure lowered into the shaft void descended 17 feet until the bottom was reached. The first task of excavation involved the dismantling of the empty shaft to get to the bottom and see what deposits, if any, might be preserved there. Eventually, the shaft terminated at a depth some 19 feet, 6 inches below the excavation floor. Approximately 3 feet of fill material, representing three separate artifact-bearing layers, were removed from this feature and water screened.

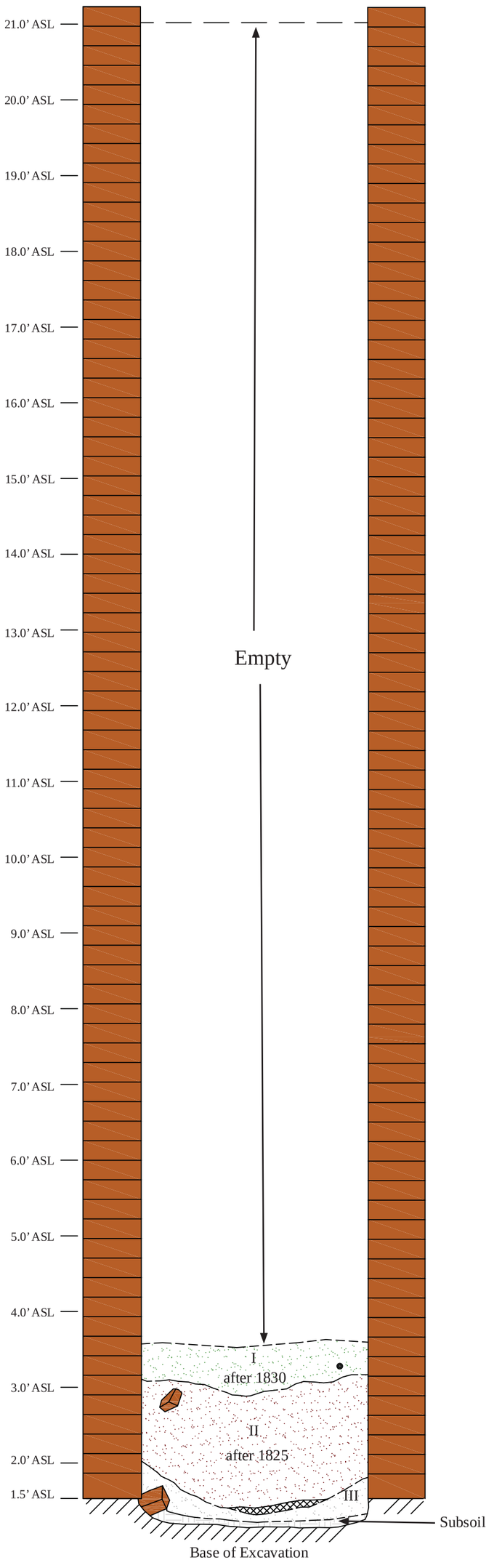
A total of 4,585 artifacts were recovered from the three fill soils and produced an artifact assemblage dominated by quantities of architectural debris (brick, mortar, window glass, and nails), mammal and fish bones, and highly fragmented pieces of household glass and ceramic vessels. Glass vessels from the feature are primarily represented by sections of numerous dark green mouth-blown bottles, possibly wine bottles. Ceramic sherds include numerous examples of blue transfer-printed and both blue and green shell-edged pearlware vessels, along with lesser numbers of creamware plates or bowls and redware storage pieces. Although most of the artifacts tend to consist of fairly small, highly fragmented items, at least one ceramic vessel—a large redware storage jar—was retrieved completely intact.

Subsequent analysis of these artifacts indicated that all had been manufactured, and therefore deposited in the feature, during the nineteenth century. Based on dates of manufacture for the various diagnostic ceramic sherds recovered, the lowermost fill level, Stratum 3, was deposited in the well sometime after 1809, while Strata 2 and 1 were introduced after 1825 and 1830, respectively. Given these dates of deposition, it is possible that material in Feature 4 could have been deposited at around the time that the President's House was torn down, in 1832. When the larger commercial stores were built here the following year, the basement level of the main house was expanded southward, requiring part of the backyard to be excavated. If Washington had sealed this shaft sometime around 1790, this later basement excavation would have truncated the upper 10 feet or so of the shaft and reopened its empty interior space. The artifacts found in the bottom of Feature 4 may then represent a relatively short-term trash disposal episode before the shaft was sealed up once more, about the time, or shortly after, the commercial buildings were completed.

Feature 4

This redware jar (**INDE 114468** from Stratum 2 in Feature 4) was one of the few intact artifacts found during the President's House excavations. Philadelphia and its surroundings had a thriving craft tradition of potters making red earthenwares during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This jar was probably made here in the city and used as a storage vessel for foodstuffs.

East Profile



The brick cap seating Feature 4

Dismantling the brick cap and the empty upper part of the shaft below

Artifact deposit at the bottom of Feature 4

KEY	
I	Strat I: Dark Yellowish Brown (10YR4/6) silty sand with charcoal
II	Strat II: Very Dark Brown (10YR2/2) sandy clay mixed with Dark Yellowish Brown (10YR4/4) sandy loam
III	Strat III: Light Gray (10YR7/1) sand
	Brick
•	Bottle Neck

Feature 4 profile and excavation images.

Feature 5

Representing the lone privy identified within the President's House excavation area, Feature 5 was located at the south end of Lot 524 and, because this parcel was not developed until 1804, was unquestionably constructed during the nineteenth century. This shaft was the first to be subjected to excavation and the first to be completed. Found to extend some 9 feet, 8 inches below the bottom of the excavation floor, this feature contained only a series of stacked secondary fill layers and produced no evidence of any intact artifact-bearing deposits. Given that no other privies were found within Lot 524, it seems likely that this shaft was originally added to the property either in 1804 or shortly thereafter. The soils that filled the feature were almost certainly deposited at the time it ceased to serve a useful purpose. Artifacts contained in the uppermost layers include a number of clay pipe fragments associated with the Zorn family occupation of the property, beginning in 1885 or 1886, and indicate that the shaft was finally abandoned shortly after that time.

Feature 22

Just a small sample of the thousands of clay pipe fragments recovered from Feature 22.

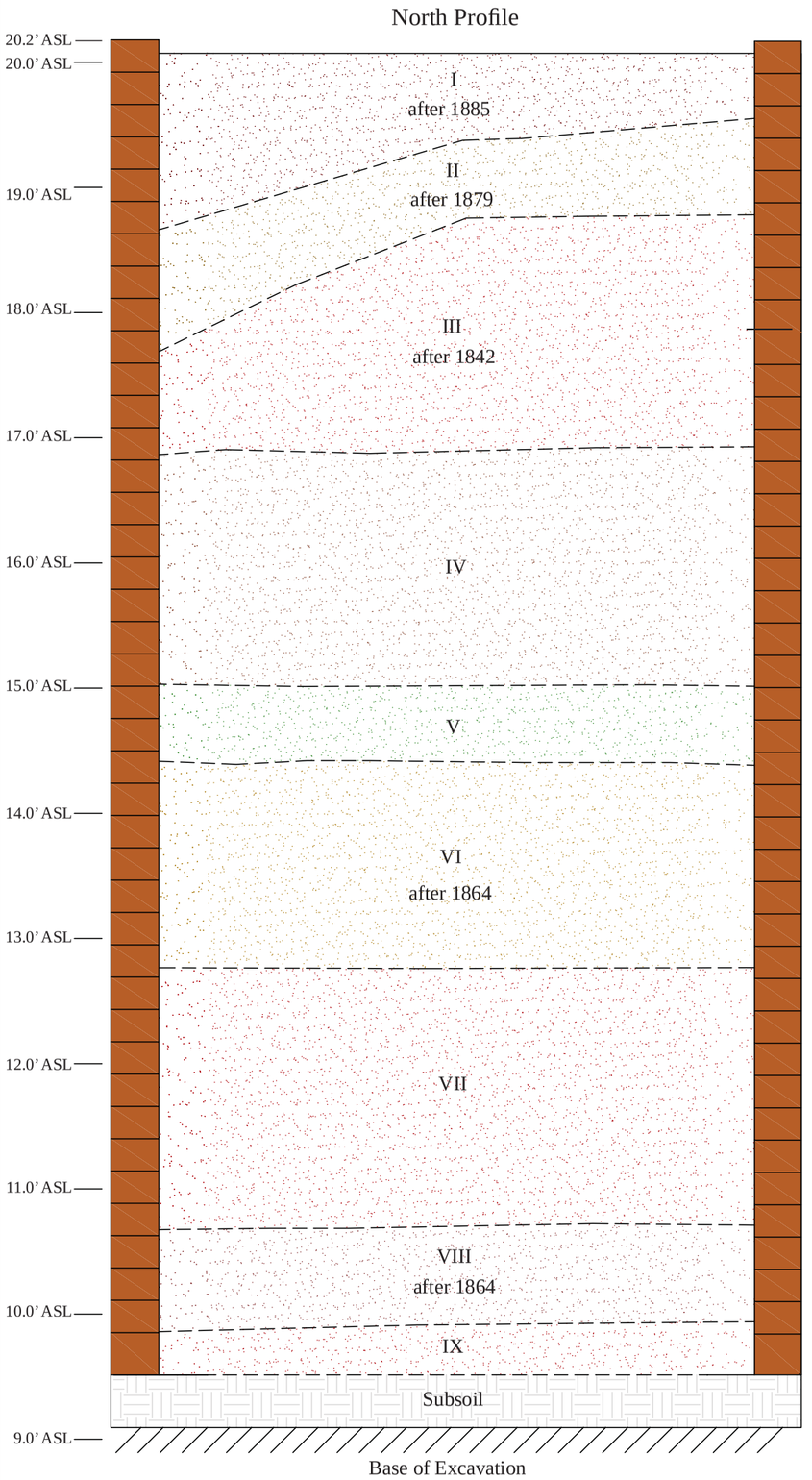
Feature 22 was yet another water well with a diameter of 4 feet, 6 inches, and was located in the northeast corner of the excavation area, within Lot 524. Almost certainly, this shaft is the same one WPA investigators recorded in the basement of the Zorn family store in the 1950s. At that time, the shaft was identified via a depression in the basement where the cement floor had begun to slump down into the feature below. George Zorn Jr. remembered the well from before the floor was created and referred to it as "the old Washington well," which was "about 50 feet deep" (Lawler 2002). In his research, Lawler refutes Zorn's claim that this was a well Washington used, instead believing Andrew Kennedy more likely added it when he first developed Lot 524 in 1804. Based on the results of these excavations, it appears that Lawler's interpretation is likely correct.

When this shaft was excavated, it was found that its uppermost 2 to 2.5 feet had been dug up at some point in the past, and the upper courses of brick removed and discarded. The area around the shaft was then packed, at least in part, with quantities of dense red clay. The Zorns may have tried to stave off the eventual subsidence of their new floor by using the clay to firm up and stabilize the ground around it, and by using ash, cinder, and trash from their family store to fill in the open top of the shaft itself.

Beneath this clay level, the brick of the shaft reappeared and extended for another 19 feet, 6 inches into the ground, to a point nearly 2.5 feet below sea level, making it the deepest of all the features identified within the site. When excavated, the shaft was found to contain a series of thirteen stacked fill deposits, divided into two main components, and produced a total of 6,416 artifacts. The upper eight levels in the feature represented the first component and consisted of various layers of coal ash/cinder and soil. The artifact collection from these layers is overwhelmingly dominated by huge numbers of broken clay smoking pipe fragments from the George Zorn & Company inventory. The Zorn family was involved in the business of importing, manufacturing, and selling all manner of smoking accessories, especially pipes, and first established their store in this location in 1885 or 1886. The pipe collection recovered from Feature 22, although not

Exposing the shaft and getting ready to install the shoring box

Bisecting the shaft within the shoring box



KEY	
I	Strat I: Very Dark Brown (10YR2/2) and Very Dark Grayish Brown (10YR3/2) sandy clay loam brick, mortar fill
II	Strat II: Dark Yellowish Brown (10YR4/4) sandy clay loam pipe stems and bowls 19th cent. brick
III	Strat III: Brown (10YR5/3) sandy loam loose mortar fill
IV	Strat IV: Dark Grayish Brown (10YR4/2) silty clay loam mottled with Grayish Brown (2.5Y5/2) clay
V	Strat V: Dark Yellowish Brown (10YR4/6) and Yellowish Brown (10YR5/6) silty clay loam
VI	Strat VI: Yellowish Brown (10YR5/4) and Yellowish Brown (10YR5/6) silty sand and Grayish Brown (2.5Y5/2) and Strong Brown (7.5YR4/6) clay
VII	Strat VII: Yellowish Brown (10YR5/6) and Brown (10YR4/3) silty clay loam and Grayish Brown (10YR5/2) silty sand
VIII	Very Dark Gray (10YR3/1) coarse silty sand
IX	Brown (10YR5/3) silty clay

Feature 5 profile and excavation images.

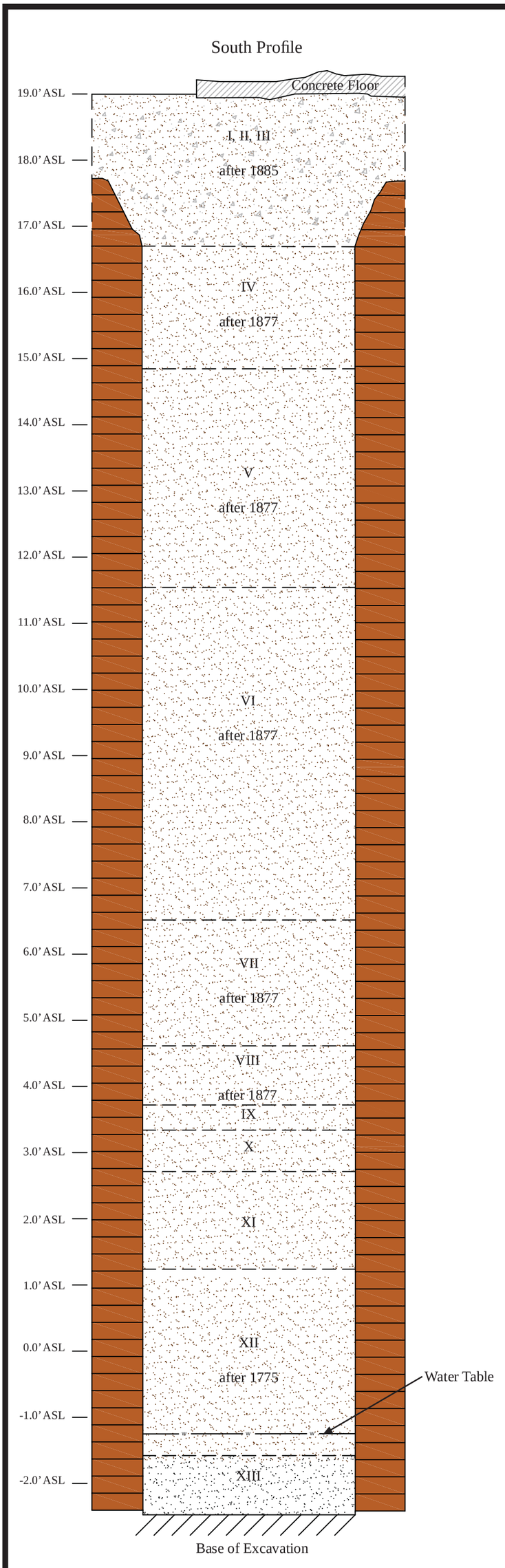
President's House related, does represent a significant archeological collection of materials related to the pipe and smoking industry of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (a more detailed analysis of the Zorn pipe collection is included in Appendix D). Among the many, sometimes very decorative, molded pipes recovered from this feature are several examples of pipe bowls formed in the so-called "Negro Head" style, bearing very exaggerated racist caricatures of African American men.

The Zorn-related levels in Feature 22 were underlain by a sterile layer of lime, followed by three more layers of older soil fill. These lowest levels in the shaft were located just above, at, or slightly below the current water table, and were thoroughly waterlogged and extremely difficult to excavate. Historical artifacts were dispersed in variable quantities throughout these lower layers, with the greatest concentration in Stratum 12. Items recovered from Stratum 12 include architectural debris (brick, mortar, window glass, nails, and wood), mammal and fish bone, oyster and clam shell, various nut shells, seeds, and pits, along with substantial amounts of glass and ceramic domestic refuse. Other items found include two carved bone handles for forks or knives, straight pins, part of a pair of scissors, and a folding (pocket) knife with bone or antler side panels. Most of the glass and ceramic artifacts are small, highly fragmented, and not part of complete vessels, suggesting that they had been redeposited in the well from some other location, and therefore do not represent an intact household deposit. Glass in this assemblage is largely represented by pieces of green glass wine bottles, along with smaller amounts of lead glass tumblers and stemwares. Datable ceramics from Stratum 12 include numerous examples of creamware, pearlware, and Chinese export porcelain table and teawares, along with a variety of redware serving vessels, storage vessels, and flowerpots. One of the most interesting and best-preserved artifacts found in this deposit is a small porcelain bowl decorated with a dragon motif.

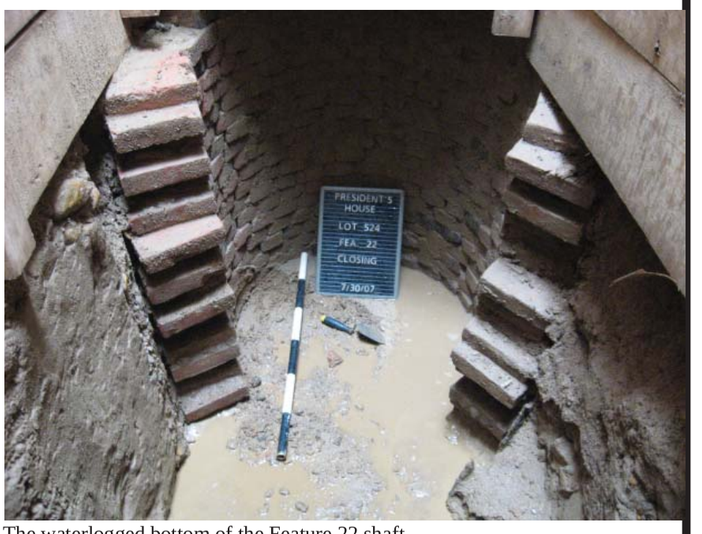
While the various dates of manufacture for diagnostic ceramics indicate that these lower artifact layers were created sometime after 1775, all the artifacts recovered from the deeper portions of Feature 22 are consistent with what would be expected from deposits created in the early years of the nineteenth century, and fit nicely with a possible construction date of around 1804 for this shaft. It cannot be determined what individual or household these lower deposits might be associated with, but at least some may have originated with the residence of Andrew Kennedy, the first developer of the 524 Market Street property after the President's House period.

Feature 22: Caricature Pipe Bowl

This pipe (**INDE 106944**), molded as "the head of a Negro" and dating from about 1888, was one of four identical pipes found in and around Feature 22. Although it was manufactured almost 100 years after the time of Washington and the enslaved people in his household, the pipe can still inform us about what had happened to the state of race relations in Philadelphia and the United States in general. The end of the nineteenth century was a time when virulent racism became more institutionalized and perceptions of people of African descent became more negative. These pipes with their exaggerated features are an iconographic statement about the derogatory images that many white Americans at the time sought to assign to African Americans.



Crew excavating inside Feature 22



The waterlogged bottom of the Feature 22 shaft

KEY	
I, II, III	Strat I, II, III: Yellowish Brown (10YR5/4) Mixed fill, ash deposits, red clay
IV	Strat IV: Dark Yellowish Brown (10YR4/4) sandy clay mixed with Yellowish Brown (10YR5/4) silty clay
V	Strat V: Mixed Fill of Yellowish Brown (10YR5/4) silty sand, Strong Brown (7.5YR4/6) sandy clay, ash pockets, inclusions of brick, mortar, and iron staining
VI	Strat VI: Yellowish Brown (10YR5/4) sand with Light Yellowish Brown (2.5Y6/3) silty sand with brick, mortar, and two large masonry pieces
VII	Strat VII: Yellowish Brown (10YR5/4) loose sand with looses bricks
VIII	Strat VIII: Dark Gray (2.5Y4/1) silty clay, high density of artifacts
IX	Strat IX: Olive Brown (2.5Y4/4) silty clay mottled with Dark Yellowish Brown (10YR4/4) coarse medium sand, and Yellowish Red (5YR4/6) iron staining
X	Strat X: Pinkish White (7.5YR8/2) Lyme mottled with Dark Grayish Brown (10YR4/2) silty clay, Dark Yellowish Brown (10YR4/4) loamy clay, Dark Yellowish Brown (10YR4/6) clayey sand
XI	Strat XI: Dark Yellowish Brown (10YR4/6) coarse sand mottled with Light Olive Brown (2.5Y5/6) fine sand
XII	Strat XII: Dark Yellowish Brown (10YR3/6) coarse loamy sand with coal
XIII	Strat XIII: Dark Yellowish Brown (10YR4/4) sandy loam mottled with Reddish Brown (5YR4/4) sandy loam and Brown (7.5YR4/4) silty loam

Feature 22 profileandexcavationimages.

Feature 22: Dragon Bowl

This saucer or small dish (**INDE 107003**) is a puzzle for the archeologists. Other dishes with this same motif have been found at nearby sites in deposits dating after 1780 or 1790 (Juliette Gerhardt, personal communication 2007), so it appears that this dish may have been one of several that somehow were dispersed in the neighborhood. This artifact was probably made either in China for the Southeast Asian market or in Southeast Asia itself. The decoration might be a variant of the "dragon chasing pearl" motif, a popular design of that era—the dragon seeking to catch the pearl that represents wisdom, truth, or essential life force.

Closing the Site

With the completion of Feature 22, the archeological investigations of the President's House quickly drew to a close. After that, work on the site largely consisted of taking final photographs, doing final mapping, and making preparations for backfilling the site. It was always known that the site would eventually have to be filled in again—in the end, it was the only way to ensure the long-term preservation of the uncovered walls and foundations. But much had changed over the course of this excavation. The public attention the site received, and later the public outcry resulting from the news that the site and its finds would be permanently reburied, ultimately caused public officials to rethink and reimagine the public interpretive memorial intended to be built on this spot. After much deliberation and discussion, city officials eventually decided to redesign the commemoration so that some of the most important archeological discoveries—including portions of the main house, the bow window, the kitchen, and the underground passageway—would be incorporated as permanent exhibits within the site. For these elements of the President' House, at least, reburial would be a temporary matter.

On July 31, 2007, some 132 days after Mayor Street first launched this investigation, the President's House dig officially came to an end. A public ceremony marked the occasion, attended with much fanfare, and involved the participation of numerous dignitaries from city government and Independence Park, the African American community, and the Philadelphia Fire Department—who had in a sense adopted the site after the discovery of the well pump in Feature 3. The event included many stirring speeches, a site blessing by a Yoruba priestess, and the placement within the site of a number of

Backfilling the site.

commemorative modern artifacts related to both Presidents Washington and Adams and to Washington's nine enslaved African servants.

A few days after the closing ceremony, archeologists met back at the site to prepare it for backfilling. A layer of protective geotechnical fabric was first draped over all the walls to protect them, then the same trackhoe that had first excavated the site carefully began to place the fill back into the ground. Within a few more days, grass seed had been spread and the site was returned to its original condition. After backfilling the site, the task of cleaning, studying, and analyzing the recovered artifact assemblage began. From August through October 2007, laboratory personnel worked on the collection, like the excavation itself, in full view of the public at the Independence Living History Center.

Concluding Thoughts

The excavation of the President's House Site was indeed a memorable experience, and in one way or another, deeply and lastingly affected all who took part in it. In the end, the excavation succeeded beyond all expectations in achieving the adventurous goals it set out to accomplish. While the site itself proved to be artifact poor, in the sense that no intact domestic deposits associated with the occupants of the Executive Mansion were identified, it was on the other hand architecturally rich and produced remnants of the house itself that nobody thought could possibly be preserved. Although it would have been indescribably meaningful to have found at least a handful of evocative artifacts once used by Washington, Adams, or others in their households, especially Washington's enslaved workforce, it may be that the results of the investigation represent the best of all possible outcomes. The thousands of visitors who flocked to the site each day didn't seem to notice the absence of President's House period artifacts. Instead, they looked down on the site and were able to, in their minds, transport themselves back to that time, to this place, and into the spaces defined by the bare foundation fragments below. With the aid of the archeologists and interpreters, they were able to imagine for themselves what life was like for the free and enslaved people who shared these grounds, and to form their own interpretations regarding the struggles faced each day by those nine souls who were denied the right to be free. As a result, visits to the President's House Site embodied a kind of self-teaching experience that created a more lasting memory than could have been imparted by mere static museum displays or artifact exhibits.

Despite the lack of recovered eighteenth-century artifacts, these excavations did generate important and previously unknown information about the physical structure and makeup of the President's House. For one, it was learned that the so-called "Privy Yard" east of the servant's hall (far east side of Lot 524), whatever its true function might have been, did not actually contain any privies—or at least none that had extended at least 10 feet into the ground. Information from the dig bore out the accuracy of previous surveys of the property with respect to the location and size of both the main house and kitchen. Although the kitchen and the south wall of the main house did not fall precisely where they were expected, the error between where these structures were found and where they were supposed to have been on paper was less than a foot and a half. A great deal was also learned about the spaces contained within the back buildings, where many of the household workforce and enslaved Africans lived and toiled in service of President Washington. Especially significant was the discovery of previously unknown basement spaces, including a root cellar subbasement beneath the kitchen. Years of research by a raft of historians had never turned up any inkling that such structures once existed, and their discovery here serves to both highlight the incomplete or selective nature of historical documents, and to also reinforce the capabilities archeology has in generating new information about historic sites that is not available through any other source—archeology finds and documents what *was* there, not what was *reported* to have been there.

The President's House property consisted of a series of buildings which, at least during President Washington's administration, defined a hierarchy of social space that simultaneously accommodated the most powerful men in the nation, government employees, wage-earning citizen serving staff, indentured immigrants fulfilling their periods of prescribed servitude, and a handful of men and women of African descent who were intentionally and institutionally deprived of personal autonomy or liberty. In one way or another, the archeological investigations of this site found structural evidence associated with all of these persons and social positions: the main house where civil servants conducted the business of government; the bow window where Washington and Adams stood to receive guests, and which defined a space that even today—through the modern Oval Office—serves to symbolize the power, authority, and office of the president; and the kitchen, root cellar, and passageway where Washington's enslaved Africans, chef Hercules in particular, and the other servants labored to keep the Executive Mansion running. From the standpoint of the nine unfree individuals kept here in bondage, it is perhaps more clearly illustrative that the identified spaces relating most directly to their experiences were basements—underground places. These rooms and corridors—hemmed in by the cold earth, dark and claustrophobic, where free movement was confined and systematically controlled—represent an apt metaphor for what life for those held in slavery must have been like, and for the specific existence the African members of this household lived.

The people who came to watch the excavations understood the symbolism inherent in the various foundations found within the site. The spatial relationship between the bow window and the kitchen represents one of the most powerful symbolic connections within this site. During the 1790s, President Washington occupied the very pinnacle of American social and political power. In contrast, those enslaved Africans he kept on these grounds were relegated to a polar-opposite existence, at the extreme bottom of the social ladder, held by legal means and prevailing world views in a state of utter powerlessness. Yet on this site, the distance between these physical spaces—the bow window and kitchen—which were most directly associated with the president and the enslaved, and between the living symbol of American freedom and the brutal reality of American slavery, was less than 7 feet.

Finally, the President's House project also helped to illustrate just what a powerful tool archeology can be for engaging the public's interest and attention, for connecting people today with past events and experiences in ways that are not otherwise possible, and for exposing them to issues of our shared heritage that they might not otherwise be inclined or able to learn about. At the President's House, the dominant discussions held on the viewing platform revolved around the painful issue of American slavery, a subject that in other public settings normally would not, or could not, be freely talked about. Yet at this site, friends and strangers alike on the platform, taking in all they saw and heard, conversed about the issue without fear of reproach. The lessons the President's House archeological investigations presented were not lost on those who came to see the excavations, and they were not lost on Philip Kennicott, a reporter with the *Washington Post*. He understood clearly what was transpiring on the viewing platform, recognized how this experience contrasted with the usual public presentations of history, and appropriately summed up the experience this way:

> All around this muddy little hole, private tour buses clog the streets, new and undistinguished buildings have risen, and the latest in interactive history with all the bells and whistles has been marketed to visitors. Yet in a low pit on a street corner near the Liberty Bell, a few archaeologists are carefully excavating some very minimal foundation walls, uncovering old wells and privies and sifting dirt for shards of crockery. And they're stealing the show… Architects and civic planners and exhibit designers and tourist companies are struggling all

around this little patch of earth to make people *feel* something about history; and here, for now, people are gathering, spontaneously, to look in and *think* about it.

Washington Post, July 4, 2007

Chapter 5

Public Archeology at the President's House

The People's Platform above the Excavation

Patrice L. Jeppson, Ph.D., Joe Roberts, and Karen Lind Brauer
Volunteers-in-Park Program
Independence Living History Center Archeology Laboratory
Independence National Historical Park

and

Jed Levin
Archeologist, National Park Service

The authors thank the visitors to the President's House Site in 2007 and the active local community—especially the members of Avenging the Ancestors Coalition and Mayor John Street. We acknowledge that without their efforts, none of this would have happened.

An unusual thing happened during the President's House excavation: to the astonishment of many, not least of all the excavators, more than 300,000 individuals came to visit the site during the four months of archeological fieldwork. Still more visited remotely over the Internet via a webcam, and literally millions of people across the United States and around the world followed the developments, earnestly or casually, through voluminous news and web coverage of the excavation—an archeological exploration done in advance of construction of the first U.S. federal commemoration recognizing enslaved persons. For a multitude of reasons, the research findings enthralled the public. The discoveries at the President's House complex included the foundations of a bow window that framed a ceremonial space marking the office of the presidency and, 6 feet away, the remains of basement areas and an underground passageway where enslaved and indentured persons toiled out of view. The ruins revealed the social landscape of the new government's Executive Branch, dramatically highlighting how democracy existed side by side with the institution of slavery at the birth of the country. This truth was now visible in the ground—literally set in stone.

Such intense public focus on an archeological discovery is unusual in the United States. Rarely has an archeological project had such an immediate impact on the understanding of American history and public memory. The President's House archeological excavation involved the exploration of forgotten, obscured, and denied aspects of the American past. The public's engagement with the excavation connected people to not just the physical past, but sparked for many a reexamination of this history's meaning, as well. The hundreds of hours of dialogue about the dig, *at the dig*, was an episode of racial negotiation about contemporary America, as much as it was about the past. The President's House excavation proved to be a unique exploration in community history and national heritage in which archeology played more than just a supporting role. Indeed, this was truly public archeology. The excavations would not have occurred if it weren't for the public outcry, and the public's response to the resulting archeological findings, in turn, reshaped the proposed design of the commemoration that ultimately rose on the site.

The authors of this chapter are archeologists who were involved in the public interpretation of this archeological project; we record here some of our professional and personal observations of this exceptional experience. Toward this end, we attempt to document developments as we saw and understood them, and we reflect on what we learned as archeologists, as Philadelphia residents, and as American citizens. Some of us were involved at the site explaining the archeological process and the research findings to those visiting members of the public who came to see the excavation in progress. Others monitored the public's response to the archeological research on television, in print, and through online media. We attest here to how visitors, both on site and remote, engaged with the archeology of the President's House Site. We shed light on their interests and on some of what we believe they came away with. We comment, in turn, on what the President's House project (that is, its participants, sponsors, and stakeholders) learned from the public's response.

An assessment of the full impact of the public's participation in these events, like the full impact of the President's House excavation itself, awaits the passage of time. In the short term, however, this chapter testifies to public archeology undertaken in conjunction with the excavation, and it bears witness to the public's engagement with the archeology of slavery and freedom at the President's House Site during the excavation period.

In this effort, we present here two different kinds of information gleaned during public archeology activities. The first type comprises observations archeologists gathered as they interacted with a diverse range of people who had come to see the excavation. This is firsthand description (also called ethnographic data) and it characterizes the verbal exchanges and the observations that took place atop a wooden platform constructed to facilitate site interpretation and foster transparency. From the outset, the decision was made not to employ prepared scripts for interpretation of the site. We recognized the visiting public came with multiple needs, interests, and agendas. We were aware that a flexible approach was needed in this case. Instead, the archeological interpretation emerged in a feedback loop between the physical site remains that comprised the newly revealed archeological evidence and the visitors' diverse perspectives, along with the archeologists serving to facilitate the encounter between the two. We believe this approach expediated the process of moving a suppressed part of our national story into broader public memory.

The second type of information presented here addresses the intense print, television, and online media interest that the excavation generated. This data includes blog entries, discussion threads, and news stories, all of which provide a useful point of entry for examining the meanings the public ascribed to President's House archeology after the archeological message was delivered—they offer a view of how the dig's meaning was shaped as the project's findings began to move through different hands into different contexts for different uses.

The archeology and the response to it examined here were an important part of a larger undertaking with an ultimate goal to create a commemorative installation to recognize and interpret the Executive Mansion, 1790–1800, and all those, including enslaved persons, who resided in it. The interplay of disparate objectives, agendas, and voices that surrounded the excavation continued a critical dynamic at play in the larger commemorative effort. With its high visibility, accessibility, symbolism, and significance, the President's House Site excavation provides unique insights into the practice of public archeology. Indeed, publicly engaged archeologists will continue to learn from visitors and their involvement with this site for a long time to come. Importantly, the public's involvement with the President's House Site clearly demonstrates the vital role that historical archeology, Independence Park, and the City of Philadelphia have to play in exploring the nation's past racial landscape and addressing race and heritage concerns in contemporary America.

The Site's Many Publics

Visitors to the President's House Site included local Philadelphians—stakeholders, descendants, neighbors, school groups, politicians, and businesspeople—as well as people from across the country and around the globe. Visitation numbers during peak periods topped 4,000 persons a day (Appendix E). The vast majority of these individuals were heritage tourism visitors exploring Independence National Historical Park and Philadelphia. Many informed us they specifically planned to view the site after seeing news stories in their hometown press, in the Philadelphia press (after arriving in the city), or after seeing locally generated tourism publicity, particularly the efforts of the Greater Philadelphia Tourism Marketing Corporation. Many others stumbled upon the excavation in the course of their visit to the area. Like many U.S. visitors, many international visitors to the excavation were visiting Philadelphia, drawn by Independence National Historical Park, which commemorates the birthplace of American democracy, and specifically to the World Heritage Site of Independence Hall, which resonates internationally as a symbol of broadly recognized principals of freedom and democracy.

Visitors to the site were of all ages, genders, and ethnicities, and represented numerous nationalities. People came individually, as couples, in nuclear and extended family groups, with business colleagues, religious groups, school groups, and specific interest groups—architects, museum specialists, educators, archeologists, National Park Service (NPS) personnel, and stakeholder groups. One notable audience was comprised of print, television, radio, and online reporters from local, national, and international mainstream and niche media. These visitors were news agency correspondents, writers and stringers, editors, photojournalists, freelance magazine and book authors, independent and aggregate web bloggers, video documentarians, representatives of the U.S. Spanish-language press, student newspaper reporters, and news people from as far away as India. Television and radio presenters, personalities, and commentators also visited the excavations, and some broadcast news of the event live from the site, or did so remotely via live telephone interviews. Many millions had access to the site and its discoveries remotely through these media channels.

Notable groups of repeat visitors included members of the Avenging the Ancestors Coalition (ATAC), a group who, since 2002, had advocated for building a memorial to the enslaved at the site, and who had representatives on site daily observing the work in progress. Other frequent visitors included an advisory group impaneled by the City of Philadelphia, a group known as the Ad-Hoc Historians who were involved with the memorial process, the architects building the memorial and their design partners and subcontractors, NPS interpretive rangers, representatives of the Independence Hall Association (including historian Ed Lawler, whose research was central from the inception of the President's House project), representatives of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission and the Pennsylvania Department of Transportation (the latter of which was involved in the funding for the commemoration), and elected officials and staff from several local, state, and national legislative offices and the Mayor's Office of Philadelphia.

The Structural Aspects of the On-Site Interpretive Program

Public education and transparency were stated objectives of the commemoration project and were accommodated from the earliest stages of planning. A major component of this endeavor involved engaging and educating the public at the site of the archeological dig. For this purpose, a large wooden platform was built along the northern boundary of the excavation. The structure, 12 feet wide and 30 feet long, had a roof offering shelter from late winter snow, early spring rains, and the extreme heat of the summer sun. Sturdy and utilitarian—and, to many, reminiscent of a front or a back porch—the platform overlooked and provided a full view of the work in progress. The floor of the structure was raised above the ground to ensure adequate

visibility and access was provided via both a staircase and ADA-compliant ramp. This structure was open to the public during the hours of active fieldwork, including while the site was covered because of rain, as well as on most weekends, when Independence Park provided rangers at the location.

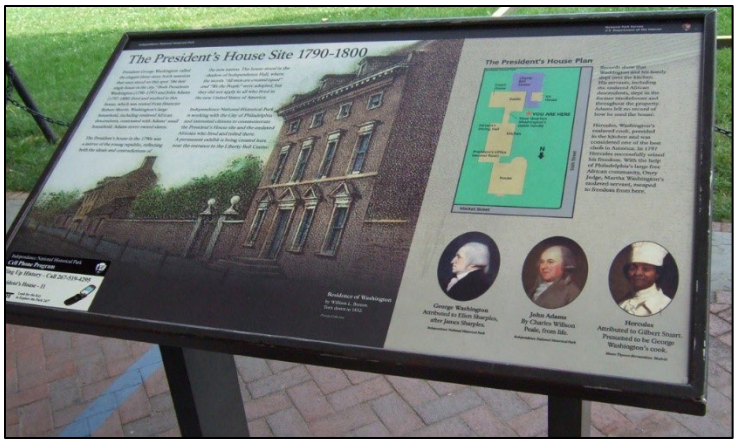
The viewing platform constructed by the Philadelphia company, Redick and Redick (Photo: P. L. Jeppson 2007).

Interpretive panels briefly explaining the project's intent and purpose were installed along the front (south) edge of this viewing platform. These panels included a list of the sponsors and advisors; a short chronology of the President's House Site history, mainly focusing on the time of its use as the Executive Mansion; a listing of the property's occupants, including a panel dedicated to the nine enslaved Africans that toiled in the Executive Mansion during President Washington's administration; a map of the excavation area showing property details known from historical documents; and a panel describing the process of archeological research and explaining what this unique resource offers for the understanding of American history.

The platform was positioned to allow observation of the entire excavation (Photo: P. L. Jeppson 2007).

Project participants composed the interpretive panel text (e.g., the Mayor's Office staff, Independence National Historical Park [INHP] Cultural Resources staff), with guidance from the Interpretive Staff at INHP (Photo: P. L. Jeppson 2007).

Signs of the Times: Interpretive Signage for the President's House Site

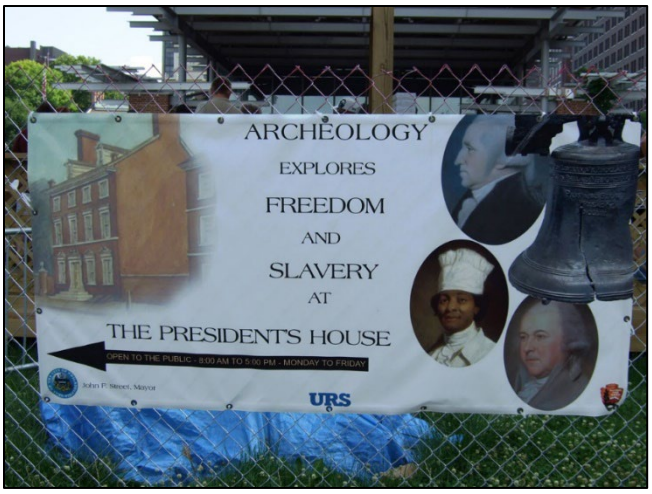


Independence National Historical Park wayside (Photo: P. L. Jeppson 2007).

Independence Park positioned one temporary wayside on the Market Street sidewalk near the entrance to the viewing platform, and placed another adjacent to the entrance to the Liberty Bell Center, where visitors regularly paused to view the excavations from the southern edge of the excavation pit before entering the Bell pavilion.

In addition, project signage was anchored to the construction fence along the north side of the project area. These banners, 3 x 6 feet in size, bore the tagline "Archeology explores freedom and slavery at the President's House." Also included were images of the Liberty Bell, George Washington, John Adams, and an individual who was initially thought to be Hercules, Washington's famed chef, an attribution that is now known to be inaccurate.

The west side of the excavation, along 5th Street, had no signage or waysides; this was the location of the equipment trailer, port-a-john, and construction gate. Nonetheless, visitors daily viewed the archeological work through the closed chain-link gate from along the sidewalk. While no formal public interpretation took place in that area, archeologists regularly briefed the press in that spot, and setups for live television coverage were often positioned there.



Project signage (Photo: P. L. Jeppson 2007).

From August 2007 through August 2009, following completion of the excavation and the backfilling of the site—and before construction of the commemoration was complete—this signage was used to provide information to the public about the commemoration project and the archeological excavation.

Remote Visitation via Webcam

During the excavation a park installed webcam was trained on the dig site to allow remote visitation over the Internet. The camera was located on the northwest corner of the Liberty Bell Center. All parts of the excavation with the exception of the extreme southwestern corner, just below the camera's position, were visible to the remotely visiting public.

The Philadelphia PBS affiliate station (WHYY), Independence Visitor Center Corporation, Independence National Historical Park, and the City of Philadelphia collaborated to provide this interpretive

opportunity and maximized its impact exponentially via links to the webcam from their home web pages. Thus, the webcam was hosted at the Independence Park web page, at the project's official web page (http://www.phila.gov/presidentshouse/index.html), and at the WHYY web page. Major traffic to the webcam came via the ushistory.org/Independence Hall Association's web page (*The President's House in Philadelphia;* http://ushistory.org/presidentshouse/index.htm). The most comprehensive coverage of the President's House project was posted, or published, on this latter website and at the City of Philadelphia's web page established for the project.

A Platform Beyond the Excavation: Contextualizing Visitor Experience at the President's House Site

The connection between past and present resonates unusually strongly at the President's House Site because of its location within Independence National Historical Park, a place that functions as a veritable shrine to American democracy. This federal property commemorates the birth of the nation and, as such, it plays a civil religious role (Jeppson 2006a, 2006b, 2007a; Jeppson and Roberts 2009; Jeppson, Levin, and Muschio 2009; Levin, Jeppson, and Hoffman 2007). American visitors to the park engage with the symbolism and rituals of the civil faith of American Democracy, which helps to regenerate the social order (Jeppson 2007b, 2005, 2004). But this place has meaning beyond an American audience, as well. Because of the events leading to the founding of a democratic republic that took place here, portions of this national park are recognized as representing a "cultural heritage of outstanding value to all humanity" under the UNESCO treaty for world heritage sites (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2009). Foreign visitors make pilgrimages to Independence Park, too, to see where a set of Enlightenment ideas emerged to challenge and transform the West, helping to create the modern world and, in turn, contribute to the restructuring of their own home culture, be it for good or bad.

Today, nearly 250 years after the founding of the country, and more than a half century after the park's founding, this national shrine is becoming much more representative of all Americans with new national narratives that address how the nation was created with a foundation in the institution of slavery. One part of that change revolves around this piece of ground that once held a house complex that served, between 1790 and 1800, as the President's House—in other words, "the White House before the White House." This property was once the seat of the Executive Branch, one of the three branches of the U.S. government. For the first seven years, it was home as well to as many as nine enslaved Africans that George Washington brought from his personal home to this property, which had been rented for the needs of the new American nation (Lawler 2002).

The archeologists interpreting on the platform found this to be unfamiliar history to many visitors. Frequently, even those who knew that George Washington was a slaveholder did not know that the institution of slavery existed under the same roof as the Executive Branch, in a northern, ostensibly free state. Visitors often had no idea that Washington brought enslaved people to "*our house*"—the People's House. This aspect of the site, the story of slavery at the birth of the nation, was compelling to many, and deeply disturbing to others. This was not just another late eighteenth-century house foundation. Not just another typical set of stone foundation walls. There was nothing typical about the President's House Site. To the public, the meaning of this place was firmly rooted in the ironic juxtaposition represented by enslaved people in the "House of Democracy."

The Platform as a Space for Social Negotiation

Mayor John Street addresses a crowd of local residents from the platform during the groundbreaking ceremony for the President's House excavation (Photo: P. L. Jeppson 2007).

Beyond providing a physical space from which to watch the excavation in progress, the platform also comprised *social space* for negotiating the meaning of the past. Beginning at the groundbreaking ceremony on the first day of excavation, archeologists, together with the public, engaged with how the events on this spot were inextricably tied to our contemporary social order. On the day the platform debuted, representatives of the project's organizers—the park's superintendent, the mayor, the supervising NPS archeologist, and the contracted cultural heritage consultant—shared with the public why they thought conducting an archeology excavation was important. On that day also, the public responded with how they thought the archeology was important. After the speeches were finished, and the first ceremonial backhoe cut was made, the visitors at the event surged through the caution tape separating the crowd from the earthmoving machine. The archeologists watched with amazement, and concern for public safety, at the demonstration of the assembled visitors' deep connection to the site: person after person reached down to touch the dirt (Levin, herein, chapter 2; Jeppson 2008; Levin, Jeppson, and Hoffman 2008, Levin 2009, 2011, 2014). Others used cameras and cell phones to take pictures of the soil, rubble, and brick bats (construction debris created during the razing of structures during the development of Independence Park Mall in the 1950s), and of themselves positioned against the dirt. Among the many who personally investigated the soil cut was an elderly and infirm woman who could not bend down, so instead pushed her cane into the dirt. Two men nestled a baby in a carrier into the freshly turned soil and then announced, "I will show this boy when he is a grown man that he was here on the day that the government did this."

Local residents examining the overturned soil from the ceremonial shovel cut.

The specific source of this soil (demolition rubble from the nineteenth and twentieth century) was not the point to this viewing public. The park's rules and the standards of archeological practice were likewise not relevant factors (Levin, herein, chapter 2). Though the dirt became a symbol, it was not what was important. What happened here, and what was now happening in this place—at the behest of the public—was what mattered. As we watched what unfolded that day, it became unquestionably clear that *this* was the essence of true civic engagement, not the speeches to an invited audience that preceded it.

The failure of the archeologists (and everyone else) to anticipate the level and type of public response at the groundbreaking made dramatically clear that when archeologists engage the public, they are inevitably doing so from an interested perspective. The developments on this first day highlighted the fact that the groundbreaking was an orchestrated event and an example of manufactured civic engagement. We realized that in true civic engagement, it should be anticipated that there will be other positions, other agendas, and other needs. What we learned on the first day, and took with us as we went forward, was that archeologists must articulate their own positions and interests and then expect and welcome that things will, and should, go in directions not driven by our interests, concerns, or even choice (Levin, herein, chapter 2; Levin, Jeppson, and Hoffman 2008; Jeppson 2008; Levin 2009, 2011; Jeppson and Levin 2014; Levin and Jeppson 2014).

Local residents photographed themselves with the soil overturned during the ceremonial shovel cut to document their participation "on the day that the government did this" (Photo: William Hoffman 2007).

The Mechanics of Interpreting at the President's House Site

The lessons learned from the groundbreaking informed the interpretive activities at the President's House Site, which immediately commenced alongside the excavation. Interpretive scenarios included standing on and in front of the platform, speaking with and without a microphone, talking to groups, large and small, and speaking to visitors one to one. The group of archeologists engaging the public had only loosely structured interpretive strategies—such as naming and talking about individual enslaved residents, in an effort to personalize the history—and the use of narrative lines that contextualized the discovered foundation remains, which were marked with blue and red flags. But each of the archeologists worked out their own routines and paths through the material to explore the intertwined themes of slavery and freedom, utilizing their own voices and perspectives, leaving open the flexibility to respond to what the visitors brought to the site. Interpretation was never given the same way twice: "We were inventing and reinventing and listening and reacting. It was improvisatory and it was fresh, and it seemed to be working out quite well because of it" (Roberts 2008).

The visitors were active participants in this dialogical examination of the site alongside the emerging discoveries. The sheer volume and intensity of the vigorous, animated, and insistent contributions of the public initially caught the archeologists off guard. However, we happily embraced the obvious truth: that we were merely participants in a very public reassessment of a vital part of the nation's founding story. Instead of being an event about "discovering" the past, the archeology was providing an occasion to reexamine what we thought we knew about key parts and people from that past, most particularly George Washington. The archeologists' authoritative role began to fade from view as the public's grappling with their contentious history took center stage (Roberts 2008; Jeppson and Roberts 2009).

In short, the visitors were working on the material just as the archeologists were, which was just as well. Discoveries, including many that came as a surprise to both the excavation team and the public, were

occurring so rapidly, and in full view of a torrent of visitors with diverse interests and perspectives, that it would have been difficult to craft a coherent narrative line even if we had wished to. Instead, interpretation at the site unfolded in real time and along multiple narrative storylines. There was little time for the interpreters on the platform to collaborate with each other; our time and effort was consumed by an ongoing dialogue with a broad and sometimes contentious "audience": "We were giving and receiving back from the visitors somewhat raw reactions to the site. What we were looking at and talking about was really big, really significant, and it was very much in the works" (Roberts 2008).

Ethnographic Data and Participant Observations: A Public Archeology Sample

Visitors to the President's House Site were very often visibly moved—angry, happy, proud, ashamed—revealing their experience at the site as anything but neutral. It was evident to us that people took the dialogic exercise very seriously; their intense level of engagement was palpable. People's eyes welled up with tears. Some stood silently for a long time with a small smile. Visitors offered us blessings several times a week and regularly thanked us "for doing this." Others expressed anger or shame. Hundreds asked to shake our hands. What follows are several vignettes that capture some of the interactions between the visiting public and the site, and the visiting public and us (for a breakdown of the visiting audience, see also Appendix E):

- Many times over the sixteen weeks of the dig, we heard African American visitors, and less frequently white visitors, say, "I never thought I'd be alive to see this history being told," or similar words. Others offered remarks intimating or directly stating, "This is a story that needed to be told" and "that it had to come out," which we understood as a statement that acknowledging past historical injustice was necessary for achieving justice today.
- The rector of Christ Church came to tell us that the previous Sunday, when he had walked by the site, he saw a woman standing all alone on the platform singing "Oh Freedom."
- One evening, after locking the gate, the field director watched as a man walking past on the sidewalk blew a kiss at the site.
- In addition to a loose, ongoing association of regulars who showed up daily, weekly, or biweekly, nearly every day during the excavation representatives from ATAC stood silently at the back of the platform keeping watch. We respected why they were there and their presence served as a reminder of why we were doing this.
- We noted with surprise that some visitors were keeping their own "field notes."
- While many park personnel appreciated and valued the interpretative engagement taking place, a few park interpreters told us that, with the focus on the archeology, we were not telling the whole story of the President's House, and maintained that the conversations we were having about slavery at the President's House was "a side story" (personal communication to P. L. Jeppson). A few did not believe that the excavation was producing new insights and was merely replicating what was known from historical documents. What some failed to grasp was that the shape of the bow window addition and the fact that it extended to the basement level had been unknown, as were the presence of a belowground cellar level in the detached kitchen and its subcellar cold storage area, the underground hallway or passage connecting the main house with the kitchen cellar, and

the location of the closed-off water well—all of which attested to the social landscape of freedom and slavery at the President's House. These new findings formed the basis of the visitor experience on the platform.

- On one occasion, after listening to the archeologists, a small group of older African American women stated that what we talked about "was disgraceful and shouldn't be talked about publicly."
- The platform came to function as a rare public forum, where members of the public could meet and discuss the topics of race and slavery, or just spend time contemplating these realities as they play out in our society. In one of any number of examples, two Hispanic women attending a conference in Philadelphia turned and engaged two African American women standing nearby on the platform to talk about how the Three-Fifths Compromise in the Constitution had parallels to President Bush's (then-current) plan to give provisional residency to illegal immigrants.
- We often observed visitors, previously unacquainted with each other, standing on the sidewalk outside the fence comparing notes on what they saw or what they thought about the archeologists' remarks. In some cases, people would linger for hours chatting and comparing notes. Some visitors would return a day or two later with others in tow, and we watched and listened to them as they interpreted the site to the newcomers.
- The archeologists interpreting on the platform understood from verbal comments and body language that some of the visiting public disagreed with what they heard. The interpreters understood their role was to facilitate engagement with a painful past. Opposing points of view were expected. Faced with the stone-and-mortar reality, these disgruntled visitors undoubtedly learned something or at least had their thoughts challenged.

URS Cultural Heritage Consultant Dr. Cheryl LaRoche talks to mayoral candidate Michael Nutter during his visit to the excavation.

A visitor is provided with a microphone when asking a question.

Fox News Network broadcasts live from the site for the evening news on July 4.

Ambassador, former senator, and one-time African American female presidential candidate Carol Moseley Braun was one of the many notable people to visit the President's House Site excavation.

Summer camp participants visiting the site on Juneteenth (June 19). Community groups have undertaken commemoration events at the President's House Site on Juneteenth for a number of years.

- One visiting reporter from India insistently exclaimed, multiple times, "But we didn't know that George Washington had slaves," and "But we didn't know in India that when America started there were slaves." From this and similar encounters, we became more cognizant of how the project was resonating at an international level. This was at a time when many of those living outside our borders had moved beyond befuddlement to irritation and even anger at the Bush-Cheney administration's then-active effort to bring American democracy to the Middle East. With this archeological project's findings, and the intensive media interest they generated, America's historical hypocrisy was exposed in a whole new way. Once again, this type of encounter reinforced our understanding that our interactions with the past are as much about contemporary society and politics as they are about the past.

- As archeologists, we were particularly struck when we repeatedly heard something that most of us had never heard before in all our combined years of archeology: "You can't cover this up. This needs to be preserved." This was a marked change from things we were used to hearing, like "How much does this cost?" or "Is this holding up construction?"—though we did occasionally field such queries, too. Even

more unprecedented was a request from both park management and the City of Philadelphia to "dig slower, keep it open longer for the visiting public to see."

- Many of the more invigorated civics discussions were in response to the design for the commemoration created for this spot, which garnered a lot of attention. This design was completed before the archeology was undertaken and therefore before relatively complete ruins of the house complex were known to exist. To many of the archeologists, it seemed rather self-evident that the level of public interest in the foundations indicated that the ruins were already a memorial. After all, thousands of people were coming every day to see them. Dozens of times an hour, people would suggest to us ways to cover the site so that the ruins could be protected. People told us about places where they had seen such efforts, which we began to write down for our own information and which were incorporated into a summary the regional archeologist needed (Jeppson 2007b). One frequent visitor, a news anchor, did research on a new DuPont transparent flooring material he had heard about and brought the information to us. Moreover, hundreds of people a week mentioned how they valued seeing the archeology ruins at Franklin's house (just a few blocks away at Franklin Court), asking why the same could not be done for the President's House. We rejoiced as archeologists that our fellow citizens were valuing their archeological heritage, even equating their ruins with the civilizations they saw while traveling on vacation in the "Old World."

- Our participant observations of the public's engagement with the President's Site, and our interpretive engagement with these visitors, in turn led to several independent and ever-evolving interpretive themes. This hermeneutic process is demonstrated in the two examples discussed below.

- One interpretive thread often employed evolved on site through engagement with stakeholder Dr. Shirley Parham, an African American history professor at Cheyney University (the nation's oldest historically black college) who was also the historian for the ATAC. While shepherding one of her groups of African American high school summer school students on a tour of the excavation, Parham grabbed the microphone from the archeologist sharing information about the excavation and began to describe instead the history of actions ATAC and other community groups and activists had undertaken in trying to bring the history of those enslaved at the President's House Site to light as part of official American history. The story she told was one of a community using their freedom of assembly and freedom of speech rights to gather in protest on the nearby sidewalk, as well as employing their freedom to petition elected officials. By demanding a say in what was to be done at the site, activists were deploying rights that were codified in the Constitution, a document debated and signed in nearby Independence Hall, and its amendments—rights denied to their metaphorical, and in at least Parham's case, actual ancestors. And in doing so, these engaged citizens had moved the U.S. government. The history of this community's efforts to bring ignored and suppressed U.S. history into the national park commemorating the genesis of modern democratic ideals shaped the interpretive repertoire going forward. Visitors on the platform were made aware that they were standing in the exact spot where the first electorate would come to see their first elected president, and that they were only standing on this platform at this spot today because a concerned group of citizens used their rights to make the government address the fact that the national story presented at Independence Park left their history out.

- Significantly, we were asked thousands of times a week, "What are you going to do now?" One common response on our part was a question: "What are *you* going to do now? You own these. They belong to the American people. The NPS, which cares for our cultural treasures, wants to hear what

> you want done here. Contact your elected officials. Call the mayor." The park and the city had formally and publicly expressed a desire for public input. Many visitors however would scoff at this suggestion, saying, "Elected officials never listen." One interpretive thread that emerged in response to this understandable distrust encouraged visitors to understand that by sharing their thoughts about the ruins with their elected officials and the park—namely, civically participating in their government—they "would be taking action for future generations." Their input would "be helping decide how we interpret this past today, not just for their kids today, but for those kids' future grandchildren, who, seventy years from now, will be visiting this park and seeing what we decide, here and now, is the story of our nation." We would ask, "What do we want *them*—the citizens of the future, our descendants—to know about *this* history that we are discovering, and commemorating, today?" This interpretive thread generally concluded with the statement, "We aren't just deciding who we *were* back then, but we are determining who we are *going to be*."

And visitors did take action. They emailed and wrote to the park, they called radio shows, contributed to blogs, wrote editorials, and in at least one case started a petition. In the end, based on strongly articulated public demand, the commemoration design was expanded to include an in-ground exhibit of the most important of the archeologically excavated site features.

Public Archeology Beyond the Platform

While participant observation (ethnographic archeology) was taking place *on* the platform, public archeology research was also underway to learn from the public's use of the President's House archeological research *beyond* the platform. At the time of the excavation (2007), electronic publication and virtual engagement had reached new capacities, with milestones that year including the release of Amazon Music, Soundcloud, the Amazon Kindle, and the Apple iPhone. Whereas previously the public passively consumed media about archeology as presented by either archeologists or professional reporters, now diverse communities of interest were acquiring and exploring newly available platforms to produce and disseminate content for their own needs. These developments allowed for a broader, more anthropologically theorized and context-sensitive approach to the study of an archeological site's media coverage. Just as archeologists identify ceramic sherds, projectile point types, and faunal remains to elucidate cultural patterning, we hoped to study the artifacts, digital and otherwise, created and left by the public as they engaged with the President's House Site information. Archeology is the exploration of how material culture transforms and constructs everyday life, and the media "signatures" created in response to the President's House archeological project are cultural residues of public memory making. This study offered an opportunity to look at some of what the public *did* with this new archeological information—to observe how and by whom the new information was claimed and how it was used to reinvent, reshape, or reclaim narratives about the past.

Throughout the summer of 2007, NPS Volunteers-in-Parks historical archeology researchers collated the substantial radio, print, and television news coverage about the site, as well as a vast range and number of blog entries and discussion threads that the site generated. To capture the various Internet representations referencing the President's House archeology, Google Alert subscription searches were established using the relevant terms "president's house," "slave," "Washington," "Jed Levin," "Independence Park," "Oval Office," "Hercules," and "excavation." Manual searches were conducted using sections of text from wire service or primary local news stories to opportunistically sample where and how these stories were repeated, discussed, and reiterated on blogs and various other special-interest websites. A screen capture program (*SnagIt*) copied each entire web page. Uncertain which file format would be best in the long run, copies of each web page were made in three formats: JPEG, TIFF, and PDF. An inventory list logs each file name, linking it with its URL on

the date of capture. Implementation software (*Picasa*) was used to tag images that expanded the cross-referencing utility.

In "excavating" these media artifacts in cyberspace, the researchers recognized and respected the engagement of the public with archeology information, regardless of the intended purpose of the media coverage. As such, the public's understanding and use of the President's House archeological findings was treated as equal to and *alongside* those of the professionally trained archeologist. This meant that no distinction or qualitative judgement was made between primary research and its secondary dissemination. The most important assessment index used in the creation of the database was an obvious one: *Who cares?* Who cares about a particular historical controversy that archeological findings are helping clarify—or exacerbate? Who cares enough to discuss archeological findings from the President's House Site with a friend of someone in their social networks or broader forums?

Built using both new and old media, the resulting database documents the extent of the public's active interest in the site findings and records how news about archeology at the President's House was absorbed into different storylines as it moved through different hands into different uses and contexts. As such, it provides a point of entry for examining meanings ascribed to the President's House by the public after the archeological message was delivered (Jeppson and Brauer 2009). What follows below is a small sample of data from remote visitors—secondhand witnesses—who cared about the archeology of slavery and freedom at the President's House Site.

- During the period of the excavation, the President's House archeology was found to be referenced, linked to, and discussed in organizational newsletters, blogs, and the content on professional group web pages. These platforms included, among many hundreds of examples, the *Afarensis Anthropology Evolution and Science* web page, *The Civil War Living Historian* web page, the web page of the *African Diaspora Archeology Network*, the public web pages project of the *Society for American Archeology* (*Archeology for the public*), and sites like *SparkNotes*, which exist to help students learn and practice basic academic skills.

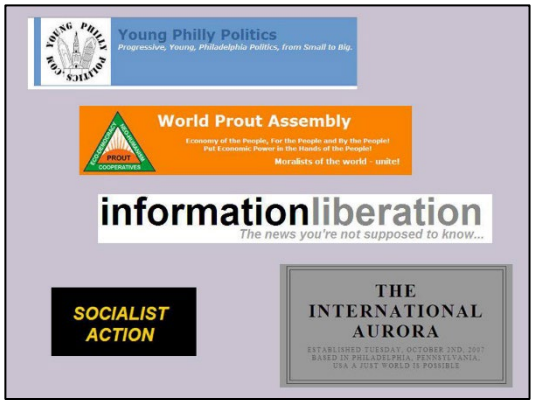
Online newsletters and blogs with links or articles about the excavation and its findings (Photo: Jeppson and Lind Brauer 2008).

- Local, state, and national government websites, tourism websites, and African American heritage touring sites either linked to, abstracted from, or cut and pasted content from national news. Other examples include:

Workers World
Obit Magazine
ScienceDaily.com
The Philadelphia Tribune
The Philadelphia Inquirer
The Philadelphia Daily News
Philadelphia City Paper
BrooWaHa Citizens Network News
EinNews media moderator
Earth Times
Radio Times
Philly Mayor Radio Address
USA Today (Travel Destinations)
TravelVideo.TV
Preservation Alliance of Greater Philadelphia
InsideNPS
Federal News Radio

- Online news stories and broadcasts from far and wide covered the excavation, representing the gamut of the political spectrum and source voice—city government, travel interests, preservation concerns, federal agencies, and niche markets. Political websites and blogs ranging from *Libertarian Classical Values*, a website in support of ending the culture wars by restoring classical values, and *Family Security Matters*, hosted by a group disgruntled with the archeology findings, to social justice entities, civic and progressive groups, charity industry concerns, and stay-at-home mom blogs. *Other selected examples:*

  Liberator Magazine
  RaceWire Colorlines
  Three Brothers and a Sister
  Where Most Needed: The Charity Industry
  Observer Probing the Deeper Links & Linkages
  Ramblings by a Stay at Home Mom



Internet sites from across the political spectrum provided links to and commentary about the President's House Site (Photo: Jeppson and Lind Brauer 2008).

- Social networking sites of all kinds ran with the story (often reposting coverage) and commented on the story, including *FullFigures.com*, the website of America's largest plus-sized women organization, and *My parent connection*, to name just two.

- Some professional blogs used the archeology results for work needs, including a chef who referenced the site in relation to Washington's enslaved cook Hercules, *Rev Peep* (reflections on faith, life, love, politics, culture, and whatever else crosses the mind of a progressively minded minister), and a historical mystery author writing to her fans about background research, among others.

Blogs indicated niche public interest in the President's House history (Photo: Jeppson and Lind Brauer 2008).

The range, extent, and type of print and online interests incorporating the news of the President's House archeology was exciting as well as surprising. While only a sprinkling of the President's House media coverage from the period of the excavation is presented here, this sample conveys clearly how this database offers an invaluable view of the diverse purpose, intent, and use of the President's House information by publics removed from the archeological site. The blogs, websites, and news articles represent the structuring of personal constellations of meaning created independently and subsequent to any authoritatively delivered archeological messages. Their assessment provides a useful understanding of the trajectories that archeological messages about the President's House Site followed as they moved through different hands, uses, and contexts, and were often ascribed different meanings. As witnessed on the platform, remotely based publics became active participants in conveying—and creating—the story and meaning of the President's House Site discoveries.

Examining this relationship between media products and their social production, we get a glimpse into public memory making 231 years into the American experiment. The print and online news stories and blog posts are contemporary artifacts revealing perceptions of, and understandings about, George Washington, the

institution of slavery, the founding of our country, and the story we tell ourselves about who we are as a nation—in light of the President's House project results. It remains for future public archeology researchers to determine whether or not, and to what extent, any new understanding about our past brought forth as a result of the President's House project came to impact and transform life experience within our society.

Learning from the Public Engagement at and with the President's House

There were many interpretive threads employed, refined, and constructed during this project, and there were any number of one-off conversations, engagement experiences, and media postings. While only briefly summarized here, our experiences interfacing with the public about the material residues of the President's House helped us to understand something about how people actually read heritage into a site, and to tease out some of the relationships between the public's reading of that heritage and the intentions of archeologists. These findings can be summed up as follows:

- We all realized we became active collaborators and participants in community and regional developments related to the negotiations of both heritage and tourism resources.
- It was obvious to us that archeologists are holders of only a particular and negotiable stake in the representation and uses of the past, and that our role in revealing a site's past can and should be challenged by others.
- This project exposed the need for debate about who controls heritage interpretations, and it showed the importance of building community-institutional partnerships for interpreting the beginnings of this country.

In sum, we saw that public archeology can be, indeed must be, a team effort, with the public playing an active and integral role in that team (Roberts 2008; Jeppson and Roberts 2009). We learned that listening to site visitors compels you to revisit, critique, rethink, expand, and refine interpretations. When archeology proceeds as a public partnership, as it did here—including public involvement in framing research questions and in the fashioning of interpretive dialogue around site discoveries—a project becomes as much about uncovering and creating contemporary social meaning outside the field of professional archeology as within it. What the President's House public archeology tells us is that public archeology is *truly* public archeology when archeologists participate in their community's projects by sharing, assisting, observing, and listening, rather than assuming the authoritative voice, and allowing the public to be a part of our projects.

Chapter 6

The Public Takes Command

Race, Place, and Space at the President's House

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Archeology at the President's House affected historical knowledge and contemporary thinking. Exposing the foundations of the house brought the relationship between the presidency and slavery to the forefront of American history. The lasting benefits of the monument planned to commemorate the site forever will mark 6th and Market Streets in downtown Philadelphia as an important site of slavery and freedom in African and American heritage. Through archeology, dedicated individuals acting collectively defined historical value and meaning for themselves. There would have been no President's House archeological project without sustained public activism. The public demanded that archeology be done and formed partnerships for each phase to make certain its vision would be realized.

The President's House Archeological Project, Philadelphia

Although New York City served as the nation's first capitol in 1785, the seat of government was relocated to Philadelphia in 1790. The first president of the United States, George Washington, and his wife, Martha, moved from New York to the Executive Mansion at 5th and Market Streets in the new capitol city. They chose to bring with them eight out of the two hundred and sixteen enslaved Africans held in slavery at their Virginia plantations. Two among the eight were siblings. Ona Judge and her brother Austin were separated from their enslaved mother, Betty, left behind at Mount Vernon—giving her children reason to want to return to the Virginia plantation. The new president's prized chef Hercules came to Philadelphia with his son, Richmond. Moll, Christopher Shields, Giles, and Paris formed the remaining enslaved workforce. Between 1790 and 1797, President and Mrs. Washington illegally held a total of nine Africans in slavery at the President's House, with postillion Joe Richardson laboring at the house about five years after the family arrived.

Martha Washington enslaved seven of the nine, known as dower slaves, and they were ultimately under the control of her estate. After six months of continuous residency in Philadelphia, all nine were entitled to their freedom under the amended personal liberty laws of Pennsylvania's Gradual Emancipation Act of 1780. Instead, the president and the first lady chose to illegally hold them in slavery in Philadelphia. According to the Gradual Abolition Act, enslaved persons residing in the city were entitled to their freedom after a six-month residency period. Washington consistently rotated his enslaved workforce out of state before the end of the time limit (Lawler 2005). The commander-in-chief, along with the majority of the statesmen he led, perpetuated the practice of slavery. America's second president, John Adams, occupied the house from 1797 to 1800. Although he did not actively work to end slavery during his presidency, Adams was one of the few early statesmen who did not own slaves.

The President's House, located in what is now the grounds of Independence Park Mall in front of the new Liberty Bell pavilion, was the subject of archeological investigations between March and July 2007. The multilayered project held rich historical and contemporary meaning, encompassing the promise of a new

democracy as expressed in the Executive Branch of the young republic, as well as the nation's continuing relationship with slavery.

The story of the house, however, is not only about bondage, but also about the precepts of liberty, as two of the nine enslaved captives defied Washington and the new government. Each escaped from the Washingtons to seek the freedom promised but not granted in the Constitution. Martha Washington's personal maid, Ona Judge, escaped from the President's House to New Hampshire in 1796. At the time of her escape, the twenty-two-year-old Ona had been Martha's personal maid and seamstress, and had started working at the age of six. Ona first accompanied Washington's family to New York City at the age of sixteen, after which time, her duties expanded and her workload increased tremendously to meet the social demands of office. No matter how rich the surroundings or how high the price, President Washington's talented cook Hercules also chose to exchange bondage for a life of freedom by escaping from Mount Vernon in 1797. In doing so, both Hercules and Ona were forced to sever ties with family and loved ones.

The Anatomy of Public Involvement

In recognition of the dishonesty that lay between the rhetoric of liberty and the unconscionable reality of slavery, and in meeting the demands of a galvanized public, the project required historical reinterpretation as well as the redefinition of contemporary archeological, institutional, and municipal practices. Prior public insistence forced the redesign of exhibits at the adjacent Liberty Bell Center to reflect the contradictions among slavery, freedom, and democracy at the founding of the nation. The same vigilance and activism also brought about a fundamental reconsideration of how the President's House Site would be marked and interpreted. Commemoration at the site now includes the footprint of the President's House *and* the spaces enslaved workers occupied. Archeology and public participation provided fruitful opportunities for reexamining American history. From the Executive Branch of government to escape from slavery, archeological and historical interpretations based on excavations of the foundations at the President's House are pushing American history in new directions.

In a 2002 article, architectural historian Edward Lawler Jr. brought much of this information to public light. In that now-famous article, "The President's House in Philadelphia: The Rediscovery of a Lost Landmark," Lawler effectively laid out several research parameters. Archeology had the chance to clear up one hundred and fifty years of confusion about the private home that served as the first Executive Mansion for Washington and Adams between 1790 and 1800. During that ten-year period, Philadelphia became the temporary capitol while the new federal city, Washington, D.C., was under construction. In dispute were the size, appearance, and exact location of the mansion that stood between 5th and 6th Streets on the south side of Market Street, "less than six hundred feet from Independence Hall" (Lawler 2002:5). The site stands at the epicenter of modern and historic Philadelphia.

Its nearness to Independence Hall, as well as to the new Constitution Center, was overshadowed, however, by the significance the public attached to the fact that the entrance to the newly relocated Liberty Bell pavilion stood atop a disturbing archeological resource. Nothing about Lawler's article "caused more controversy or received more public attention… than the revelation" (Miller 2005:n.p.) that "the last thing that a visitor will walk across or pass before entering the Liberty Bell Center will be the slave quarters that George Washington added to the President's House" (Lawler 2002). Lawler concluded his article by stating that the quarters for George Washington's livery men were buried a mere 5 feet from the entrance to the pavilion. Ironically, the Liberty Bell, one of the nation's most important and recognized artifacts of liberty and freedom, gained iconic status when abolitionists adopted it as a symbol in their efforts to put an end to American slavery; the President's House, on the other hand, was gaining recognition as its antithesis.

The National Park Service (NPS) thought so little of the mansion site as a historical resource that from 1954 through 2003, a public toilet, with a bronze commemorative plaque attached to a wall outside the bathroom, stood at the footprint of the main portion of the house (NPS 2005:3). Independence National Historical Park (INHP) announced it had no immediate plans for archeological exploration when Lawler first described the President's House Site. The NPS announced "that it would not change its interpretive plans for the site" (Lawler 2002:9–94; Miller 2005:n.d.). Controversy erupted as the Philadelphia public conceived of the President's House project in terms of its ability to contribute to African American history and set the record straight about slavery and the founding of our nation. African American community groups demanded that a fuller history be told, one that included the story of George and Martha Washington's enslaved workers. From the inception, Philadelphia activists demanded and received representation and worked in tandem with scholarly and professional communities—as well as with city and federal government officials—to align INHP and the NPS with the public's declaration of the site's archeological and historical significance.

The NPS initially insisted that the story of Washington's slaves was distinct from the story of the Liberty Bell and best told elsewhere (Salisbury and Saffron 2002). The metaphor of a trampled history of slavery, buried and forgotten beneath the entrance to the symbol of liberty, inflamed a level of public indignity that would not allow such an injustice to continue. "The stories of American slavery and American freedom came together in a single, and very significant, site" and what better place to tell the story than "on the threshold of the Liberty Bell?" (Miller 2005:n.d.; NPS 2005:2).

As construction for the Liberty Bell Center began, public comments of noted historian Gary Nash in March 2002 directed attention to Lawler's work. In their article for the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Stephen Salisbury and Inga Saffron (2002) brought the power of the press, a critical element in ensuring positive outcomes for community or publicly based activism, to bear on the issue. The article brought widespread public attention to Lawler's work and community interest erupted into controversy around the interpretive component of the new pavilion (SOW 2006). Self-appointed oversight, advocacy, and activist support groups formed, such as Avenging the Ancestors Coalition (ATAC), Generations Unlimited, and the Ad Hoc Historians, a coalition of area historians, among others. ATAC started an extensive letter-writing campaign that played a pivotal role in the struggle and mobilized "both Philadelphia's mayor and U.S. congressional delegation behind a demand that the story of enslaved people in the President's House get the attention it deserves" (Holt 2008).

Together, the coalitions began insisting the NPS commemorate not only the President's House, but also the long-obscured story of slavery within it. Their principal unifying theme, constantly advanced by Philadelphia's famed curator and bibliophile Charles Blockson, stressed that "the experience of the Liberty Bell could not be complete without a full portrayal of the economic role enslaved and free Africans played in this country's formation" (NPS 2005:4). A formally sanctioned oversight committee included Edward Lawler Jr., representatives from the advocacy groups ATAC and Generations Unlimited, Philadelphia's African American Museum, the Convention and Tourism Bureau, Independence Hall Association, the mayor's chief of staff's office for the City of Philadelphia, and the director of communications for U.S. Representative Robert A. Brady, among others. Thus, the public, armed with Lawler's findings, intervened at the outset of the process and remained a vital co-participant throughout every new development.

Local African American grassroots activism at the President's House Site, civic engagement, involvement by city officials and congressional representatives, combined with a practical approach to archeology, helped move this overlooked and evaded national story into broader public memory (Jeppson 2007c). In a letter dated October 8, 2003, from Mayor John F. Street to defense attorney Michael Coard, a private citizen at the helm of ATAC, the mayor committed the city to $1.5 million toward commemoration efforts and further pledged to lobby at state and federal levels for full funding of the project. By 2005, after a heated and contentious fight, NPS and INHP, in partnership with the City of Philadelphia, announced in the

request for qualifications (RFQ) that they now considered the project "to be one of the top interpretive opportunities that the National Park Service has to offer" and an "opportunity to tell a story of national importance in an honest, inspiring, and informative way" (NPS 2005:2). From the outset, the RFQ called for a "permanent, outdoor commemorative installation" to be erected on the footprint of the President's House. Not quite two years after Mayor Street pledged the $1.5 million of city funds, U.S. Congressman Chaka Fattah, joined by U.S. Congressman Robert Brady, announced a $3.6 million federal grant to fund the project (NPS 2005:2, 4, 5). By the time of the archeological investigation, the project had raised $11.1 million, largely from city, state, and federal contributors.[1]

Public Demands

The public insisted on reinterpretation at the site where "our first two presidents literally invented what it meant to be the Chief Executive of the United States," where Washington signed the notorious Fugitive Slave Act of 1793, and from which one trusted and valued captive out of the nine people held in bondage by George and Martha Washington escaped slavery. The impetus for the excavation of the President's House was not simply an exploration of George Washington as America's first president, but rather a framework for George Washington, the icon, as the first of America's twelve slaveholding presidents, eight of whom held blacks in captivity while they served as president of the United States. Looking at Washington's actions and at the actions of the presidents who followed him recasts slavery as part of the national agenda rather than a question of state's rights.

A central demand for racial diversity at all levels of the project also sparked controversy. ATAC spokesperson Michael Coard distilled the demand to its essence: "It would be the height of historical hypocrisy" that the project would move forward "without the paid contributions of the sons and daughters of those who were enslaved here and built here in the first place." Black activist Sacaree Rhodes of Generations Unlimited, a faithful and vigilant guardian, was even more direct: "We will raise hell if they [African Americans] don't get the work." Rhodes's focus was on minority participation virtually from the beginning of planning for the project. City officials said they agreed with their critics. "From the project's beginnings under Mayor John F. Street, officials indicate that maximizing minority participation in the design, interpretation, and construction of the memorial has been a priority" (Salisbury 2009a).

Moreover, demands for racial inclusiveness impacted the archeological community as well. As the work moved forward, the project met head-on the problem of the lack of diversity within the archeological community as they searched for African American archeologists to participate. Questions about racial diversity were consistently aimed at the archeology team, which led to numerous discussions about the lack of diversity within the archeological profession and the relatively small number of historical archeologists of color in the United States. How to use high-profile sites such as the President's House to increase diversity in the profession was a topic of discussion without an action plan. The activists were far more concerned about the immediately attainable goals of including available minority contractors.

The Impact of Archeology

As the excavation got underway, a sturdy, utilitarian wooden public-viewing platform was erected to give visitors visual access overlooking the site. Text panels placed along the length of the structure contained a brief history, a historical drawing of the original house, listed the names and the labor required of the

1. Funding for the project broke down as follows: Mayor John Street, 2003, $1,500,000; 2007 $1,500,000; 2007 $800,000 (Archeology). Congressmen Chaka Fattah and Robert Brady, 2005, $3,600,000. Mayor Michael Nutter, 2008, $200,000 (Fundraiser). Pennsylvania Governor Edward Rendell, 2009, $3,500,000 (Delaware River Port Authority).

enslaved workers the Washingtons held captive in the house, and provided the winning designs for the planned memorial.

All along, it had been presumed that a substantial portion of the original footprint of the presidential living space had been destroyed and that recovery of the foundation of the main building was unlikely. Excavation of the outbuildings was central to the research and, fittingly, the foundation of the kitchen where the enslaved Africans would have worked and perhaps slept was the first feature exposed. Archeologists also uncovered the foundation of a bow window, "the ceremonial space chosen by our first president to express his power as chief executive" not 6 or 7 feet away from the foundation of the kitchen where "Washington exploited his power as slaveholder." At the President's House Site, the "immeasurable distance between freedom and slavery was lived out under one roof" (LaRoche 2007a).

The surprise discovery of the remnants of the bow window Washington had added to the house inspired Americans to revere our first president as he found new ways of expressing the power of his office through architectural elements. The bow window evoked patriotic feelings as the public learned that its prototypical elliptical shape reemerged as inspiration for the oval rooms at the center of the White House that continue to define the modern presidency. Alternately, the public reviled Washington when the remains of the kitchen foundation and narrow basement passageway connecting the kitchen to the main house were uncovered. Many of the illegally held enslaved African captives who toiled in the main house worked in the kitchen and would have moved the food from the kitchen to the main house out of sight along the passageway. The opposing discoveries left the archeologists working from that simple wooden platform charged with the daunting task of helping the public grapple with the incoherence of a nation founded on the principals of democratic ideals while its leaders condoned and encouraged the enslavement of their fellow human beings.

From our daily interactions, it fell to archeologists rather than NPS-scripted public interpreters to patiently (for the most part) lead the public into deeper discussions of both the meaning and the price of freedom and to handle the challenging, often painful aspects of race, slavery, and the presidency. For many of our visitors, it was the first time they had thought about the founding of the nation

Samuel Fraunces

After the completion of the President's House dig, controversy arose over the racial identity of Samuel Fraunces, a free black man who served as George Washington's steward and the former proprietor of New York's well-known Fraunces Tavern. Fraunces's presence at the President's House, where he worked from 1790 to 1794, complicates race and slavery and the coexistence of slavery and freedom inside the President's House, as well as in the "free" state of Pennsylvania. Slavery and freedom coexisted among African Americans. It was a fact of life. Freedmen and women had enslaved spouses; freed children had enslaved parents, and vice versa. This same coexistence found its way into the Executive Mansion as well.

Known as "Black Sam" in the historical record, Charles Blockson found references to Fraunces as Negro, colored, Haitian Negro, Mulatto, "fastidious old Negro," and swarthy (Blockson n.d.). Conflicting census data identifying Fraunces as mulatto and as a white slaveholder in the United States Census of 1790 have thrown his racial identity into dispute. Fraunces joined a group of white masons opposed to black participation. There are historians who claim that references to "Black Sam's" racial identity may refer to his temper, to his "exceeding swarthy complexion" (Eberlein 1953:167), or to his appearance from working in the kitchen (Booker 2009). Such undocumented simplistic conjecture, however, will not erase the harsh consequences or the implications of race for African Americans during the years before the Civil War. Conflicting interpretations coupled with census descriptions of Fraunces as white should serve as important instructive tools for highlighting the fluidity of racial categories and shifting classifications, rather than as a firm and unchanging question around race where one side stands to lose and another gain an important historical figure.

through the lens of African American history. Ad Hoc Historian Randall Miller observed, "Something remarkable has happened" at the site; linking Washington and slavery has visibly placed African Americans at the "center of the American story" (Salisbury 2009b). Several older African American visitors openly wept after hearing our presentations. Never, they thought, would they witness a historical interpretation discussing the role of the enslaved labor of African Americans in building the foundation for the mighty nation we are today. In a 2007 letter to Mayor John Street and then INHP Superintendent Dennis Reidenbach, the Ad Hoc Historians (2007) also expressed how deeply moving they found "the substantial archeological finds at the President's House site and the honest and challenging conversations about race, history, and truth that take place daily on the observation platform."

In addition to knowing the history of presidential steward Samuel Fraunces, a free man of color, having the names of the nine enslaved workers deepened the human dimension. Cornel West identifies the dehumanizing, devaluing, degrading uses of "black namelessness" to force subordinate roles, stations, and identities on blacks. Understandably, knowing the names of those who had been held in slavery in the nation's first Executive Mansion added great meaning for the public. When charged with helping to devise an appropriate closing ceremony, at the end of the initial excavations, I drew inspiration from Moll, Ona Judge, and her brother Austin; from Hercules and his son, Richmond; and from Joe Richardson, Christopher Shields, Giles, and Paris. I drew inspiration from the power of artifacts, even newly minted ones. With permission from Fire Chief Daniel Williams and the help of the Philadelphia Fire Department, we impressed each of the nine names on small brass name plates and placed them in the corner of the kitchen during the closing ceremonies. The subterranean markers were intended to function as placeholders to be retrieved during excavations for the final memorial building phase. A Pennsylvania quarter with Washington's likeness and a John Adams presidential dollar coin were also buried to represent the two presidents who had occupied the house.

Cultural Production, Commemoration, and Memorialization

Cultural production represents an important and integral aspect of archeological projects that attract significant African American involvement. Cultural expression can take many forms, including music, theatre, art, literature, and commemoration. The life of Ona Judge has inspired two children's books and two plays. In *A Thirst for Freedom*, a play performed in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, Emory Wilson turned local history into drama. After her escape from the President's House, Judge lived the remainder of her long life as a "free, albeit fugitive woman until her death at the age of seventy-five in Greenland, New Hampshire, on February 25, 1848, nearly fifty years after the deaths of George and Martha Washington" (Gerson 2000).

Yoruba observance at the President's House Site closing ceremonies.

Drawing directly from the archeological project, Philadelphia playwright Thomas Gibbons turned to the controversy at the Liberty Bell pavilion and the President's House Site to premiere *A House with No Walls*, a play loosely based in part on Ona Judge's life at the Executive Mansion. In addition to depicting Ona's life in Philadelphia, Gibbons chose the medium of

theatre to probe the historical dimensions and contemporary social issues the archeological project raised (Zinman 2007).

Commemoration took multiple forms. On February 25, 2008, the City of Philadelphia issued a citation honoring the memory of Ona ("Oney") Judge on the 160th anniversary of her death. Each July 3, ATAC, under the leadership of Michael Coard, holds annual demonstrations at the Market Street site to commemorate "Black Independence Day," much in the spirit of Frederick Douglass's "What to the Slave Is the Fourth of July?" (Douglass 1852). For the closing ceremonies at the archeological site at the end of the excavation phase, Yoruba practitioners poured libation and prayed in honor of the ancestors.

From the beginning of the project, the public insisted that a memorial be built, and the City of Philadelphia agreed to manage a design competition. Guidelines for that competition mandated that not only should the outer boundaries of the President's House be clearly demarcated, but also that the footprint of the slave quarters "be conspicuously highlighted and a solemn 'sense of place' clearly established" (NPS 2005:9). The design team of Kelly/Maiello Architects & Planners won the competition prior to the archeological excavations.

Archeology had been intended to yield as much information about the ten-year period that George Washington and John Adams had occupied the house, between 1790 and 1800. No artifacts directly relating to either president were recovered. However, the unearthing of the building foundation, particularly the remnants of the kitchen, bow window, and passageway, represented the major archeological findings that the public insisted be incorporated into the Kelly/Maiello design. After much debate and technical considerations, the design team reconfigured their plans to include display of the archeological elements. Although the final design was not received without controversy (see *Issues* 2009), the project moved ahead, and the commemoration was completed and opened to the public in 2010.

Final Thoughts

As a site centered on African American history, archeology, and preservation, the President's House is of overarching and, many thought, unparalleled importance. However, such a compelling archeological and now national resource was not deemed worthy of exploration on its own historical and archeological merit at the time of discovery. This is why public activism and protest—the process of protest—is so necessary. Dissimilar values and divergent interpretations between landowners at historical sites and grassroots self-appointed stewards of public history consistently have proved to be catalysts for sustained, effective public protest. It would appear that the educational process—teaching municipalities, institutions, and organizations in control of land below which such resources exist—is an ongoing effort. A knowing and committed public must define the significance that such major archeological finds represent. Archeology feeds the hunger for a usable past; more than 300,000 visitors came to hear a revised version of American history.

Paradoxically, archeology destroys resources as it safeguards particular facets of heritage to ensure that they do not disappear from the consciousness of current and future generations. At the President's House Site, we were fortunate that a portion of the archeological finds were preserved in place and displayed. Endangered sites of unparalleled relevance and disturbing realities around America's racial history provide a tangible African American–centered history that lies at the foundation of the American nation.

Media attention, adequate funding, the support of important and influential government officials, and sustained activism rescued this historic resource. Monumentality, an important aspect of commemoration, has ensured that the site remains at the forefront of America's conscience; there will continue to be a place to visit—a touchstone, a memorial using the original building materials. For too long, plaques and signs have

been the primary markers of African American heritage. With the building of commemorative monuments, public action has and is altering the landscape of American history and memory.

Battles about heritage take a tremendous toll on the people who wage them. The public relied on effective coalition building at the Philadelphia site to unlock the multiple, conflicting, and deeply unequal relationships centered on saving heritage sites. Activists turned to collaboration and partnerships as important tools for remembering and honoring the past. African Americans have always had to safeguard their history and never has that been more important than today, when change and development threatens to wipe out what is left of local heritage. If this compelling history is ever successfully erased, the United States will not have to confront its past or grapple with the major contributions of African Americans in the face of incredible hardship and abuse. This is what lay at the core of the public response to the President's House excavation. The processes of dislodging outdated histories, dictating archeological importance, tampering with and ultimately altering architectural designs, and responding to public demands head-on are the liberating and daunting results of the collaborative effort.

Archeological projects have solid, explainable elements, as well as difficult-to-quantify abstract, spiritual, and emotional components. At the President's House, the public engaged with the intangible and grappled with the deeper meaning of freedom and personal liberty in the face of slavery. At the site, archeology was used to introduce the American public to a story substantially different from the national narrative. It is a story of George and Martha Washington as told by how they lived their lives, rather than how they may have wished to be remembered (LaRoche 2007b). Slavery, the presidency, and the story of Hercules and Oney Judge, and all the other Africans enslaved by our first and subsequent presidents, collided with patriot rhetoric at the Liberty Bell pavilion.

As the President's House Site demonstrates, public interest in archeology will fuel increasingly engaging projects in which the public will participate as contributors, excavators, laboratory workers, researchers, and as oral and local historians. A shared common past may be a predictor of what people deem historically important; race, however, is no predictor of solidarity. For the President's House project, activists formed solid twenty-first-century coalitions that transcend race, class, and gender, and reached across professional, educational, and social ranks. What began as a fight about race, place, and space soon fused with expressions of cultural production, commemoration, and national symbolic meaning.

Archeology was the proving ground for public inclusion and civic engagement. The President's House project put government entities, activist groups, archeologists, the scholarly community, and the public on equal footing. In the end, if I may speak for the archeological team—Jed Levin, Patrice Jeppson, Douglas Mooney, Stephen Tull, and myself—we were as much altered by the process as were the visitors to the site. We were able to accomplish something that has eluded the nation for centuries. With archeology as the catalyst, we engaged in a compelling unscripted, open, and honest public dialogue around race on that plain, sturdy wooden platform. Sharon Holt, one of the Ad Hoc Historians, observed that as archeologists "encouraged expressions of emotion as well as curiosity, the excavation viewing platform became, in the words of singer-songwriter Leonard Cohen, one of the 'holy places where the races meet'" (Holt 2008:11).

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Appendix A
National Park Service Briefing Statement

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
BRIEFING STATEMENT

DATE: January 12, 2006

REGION/OFFICE: NORTHEAST REGION
INDEPENDENCE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

PROJECT/ISSUE: Archeology at the President's House Site

AUTHOR: Jed Levin, Archeologist, Northeast Region Archeology Program, National Park Service

BACKGROUND: This paper discusses the type of archeology to be performed at the President's House site in connection with the development of the commemoration there. The National Park Service recognizes two types of archeological investigations: archeological studies required to comply with Federal regulations, and studies not expressly required by legislative mandate, but designed to address significant research questions. This document addresses both types of archeological studies in the context of the proposed commemoration of the President's House.

[For further information, please contact Jim Lowe, Capital Program Office, City of Philadelphia, 1515 Arch St., 11th Floor, Philadelphia, PA 19102-1677, 215-683-4422.]

Executive Summary

Based on a review of previous archeology conducted on portions of the President's House Site and adjacent areas, and on review of the historical documentation available for the site, the NPS concludes that research excavations on the site hold a low to moderate potential of recovering artifacts and information relating to the period of presidential occupancy. Further, it is likely that if such information is recovered from the site it will bear on day-to-day life in the household as a whole rather than providing detailed information on specific individuals or groups.

The option to conduct research excavations at the site is discretionary. Even if the city elects not to conduct research excavations a review of the potential impact the project might have on historic and archeological properties will be required in order to comply with the requirements of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) and with the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA). This review will have to be complete before construction can begin and will determine the extent of any required archeology.

The actual cost and duration of a research excavation on the site will depend on the extent of the area selected for excavation, as well as the engineering requirements necessary to render the area safe for excavation and the number of artifacts recovered. An engineering study will be needed in order to develop an excavation plan and to help refine cost estimates. If the limited study area recommended by the NPS is adopted, research excavations would likely cost between $400,000 and $800,000. These excavations would require between six and eight weeks to complete. An expanded study area would require additional time and would increase project costs.

If research excavations are not done, NHPA and NEPA compliance related archeological costs could be as low as $30,000-$50,000. Archeological costs could be kept to this level if a design is developed, following archeological guidance, which entirely avoids impacts that might adversely effect archeological resources. In addition, this approach would mean that there would be no need to build time into the project schedule to accommodate pre-construction archeological excavations.

If a strategy of avoidance of archeological resources is not feasible, then archeological costs are likely to range from $250,000 to $350,000, or possibly higher. Completion of this level of archeological work would require approximately four to six weeks of access to the site prior to construction.

(end of Executive Summary)

I. Required Compliance Archeology at the President's House

The proposed commemorative installation on the site of the President's House involves significant Federal participation. This Federal component triggers a requirement for compliance with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act and with the National Environmental Policy Act. An important aspect of Section 106 compliance is the review of any Federal undertaking that has the potential to affect below-ground historic resources. Both the cited legislation and the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation detail the procedures for meeting obligations imposed by this Federal regulation. If a site containing significant historical resources is subject to disturbance as a result of a construction project, then the integrity of that site must be considered as compromised. Such action is considered to be adverse and appropriate mitigation is required. Mitigation of disturbance to an archeological site typically involves excavation of the site and the cataloging, analysis, and curation of all recovered artifacts. Mitigation of a site is not complete until all laboratory work is done and a detailed report on the project has been prepared.

Prior to the construction of the Liberty Bell Center (LBC) and associated site improvements the NPS completed historical background studies of the area potentially

affected by this construction. These studies covered an area including the President's House site. In addition, archeological excavations were completed for the area where the LBC now stands. These excavations covered a portion of the President's House site.

This previous research provides information on what archeological resources are likely to be present within the area planned for the commemoration and at what depth they are likely to be encountered.

In order to discharge our joint responsibilities under Section 106, NPS would work with a qualified resource management firm retained by the City to follow our standard practice of attempting to design new construction so as to avoid, where possible, impacts on known or suspected archeological features or deposits. That is, the firm would work with the commemoration designer to avoid deep ground penetrations in areas where resources are believed to exist. In areas where this practice is not feasible archeological excavations would be required to mitigate unavoidable site disturbances. Archeological review, and any required mitigation, would follow the Secretary's Standards (cited above) and would be guided by the terms of the Programmatic Agreement that the interested parties (NPS, FHWA, PENNDOT, the City, and the State Historic Preservation Officer) are developing.

Based on past research, we know that there is at least 4-5 feet of fill covering the President's House site. If adequate guidance is provided to the design team we are confident that a plan for the commemoration can be developed that does not require excavation below this depth. This could greatly reduce potential archeological costs and eliminate altogether the need for archeological mitigation.

If this approach proves feasible and a design is developed which entirely avoids impacts that might adversely effect archeological resources, archeological costs will be limited to those necessary to provide archeological guidance to the design team, and, possibly, to provide precautionary archeological monitoring during construction. These costs would likely total no more than approximately $30,000-$50,000. In addition, this approach would mean that there would be no need to build time into the project schedule to accommodate pre-construction archeological excavations.

If a strategy of avoidance proves impossible or undesirable archeological compliance costs would be considerably higher. In this eventuality the cost of archeological testing and mitigation to address construction related archeological impacts would likely range between $250,000-$350,000. Completion of this level of archeological work would require approximately four to six weeks of access to the site prior to construction.

Lacking a specific design from which we can gauge potential archeological impacts this estimate remains imprecise. Depending on the actual design, and the extent to which it threatens potentially significant archeological resources, costs could be significantly higher and the time needed to complete pre-construction archeological excavations could also increase.

II. The Potential for Research Based Archeological Excavations at the President's House

Independent of any compliance related archeology which might be required, careful consideration should be given to the possibility of conducting research oriented archeological study of the President's House site. Archeology can broaden and deepen our understanding of the past. Under favorable circumstances it can fill in gaps that result from an incomplete historic record. Archeology is sometimes the only means of filling gaps that result from longstanding neglect in the gathering and curation of historic records, or from historic biases that operated to select some things as suitable for inclusion in the historic record while excluding others.

The NPS conducts research excavations considerably less frequently than compliance based excavations. Compliance archeology is always required if archeological resource are threatened by imminent construction, otherwise important information might be lost to bulldozers and earthmoving equipment. Research projects, on the other hand, must be carefully considered because they involve the excavation of sites that would otherwise be preserved. When an archeological site is excavated it is essentially destroyed as the soil layers are striped and historical features dismantled and when artifacts are removed from their contexts. Recognizing this, there must be a compelling reason to conduct an archeological excavation a site that would otherwise be preserved.

Research excavations are justified if the excavations are conducted within the framework of a research design that is of compelling interest to scholars and the public and is likely to provide information which can advance our understanding of the past. The President's House site is unquestionably of historical importance. Equally certain is the demonstrated interest that the site's history holds for the public and scholarly researchers. If archeology offers significant potential to deepen our knowledge of the site, then research excavations of the site would be justified. Below, we turn to a consideration of the archeological resources that are likely to be preserved under the President's House site, and the potential they may have for addressing important research questions.

A. Potential for Preserved Archeological Resources and their Likely Research Value

The discussion that follows is informed by the extensive historical research on the site that has been conducted by the NPS and the detailed research amassed by independent scholar Edward Lawler. Important additional information is drawn from the archeological background research and excavations conducted prior to construction of the Liberty Bell Center for the NPS by John Milner Associates (JMA).

Three major classes of archeological resources may be preserved within the area of the President's House site. We will discuss each resource class in turn, proceeding from those resources that are least likely to be preserved, to those that are most likely to have survived the ravages of time. In each case we will also assess the potential that the resource has for advancing research on the President's House period. A summary table of these findings follows the text.

1. Intact Historic Ground Surfaces

The term "historic ground surfaces" refers to the actual preserved surfaces on which people in the past carried out their daily activities. These areas primarily include exterior areas such as yards, walkways, and gardens, but can also include interior floor areas.

Preserved historic ground surfaces provide archeologists with the opportunity to study how space was used in the past. These resources can inform us about the environment in which people lived and worked and how they altered that environment to suite their needs and desires. The persistence of original surfaces can, for instance, show how the landscape was altered to conform to contemporary tastes and utilitarian needs. Historic ground surfaces can reveal the location of former garden areas and paved paths and walks. We can potentially also learn about areas where people worked and identify portions of a site that were reserved for special functions.

Unfortunately, Historical research and archeological evidence suggests that there is virtually no likelihood that any ground surfaces dating to the President's House period have survived later developments on the site.

The documentary background research conducted for the NPS by JMA during planning for the construction of the Liberty Bell Center suggests that several small areas, totaling about 240 square feet, may have survived nineteenth and twentieth century construction activities. While excavation for the basements of later buildings appears not to have occurred in these limited areas, demolition in 1951 in preparation for the construction of Independence Mall included the excavation of the entire block to a depth of at least four feet below street grade. These excavations would have almost certainly destroyed the last surviving President's House era ground surfaces. Archeological work conducted in preparation for the LBC confirmed that that the demolition for the new Mall stripped all the eighteenth century ground surfaces within that project area.

While historic ground surfaces can be a very valuable resource for the study of the past, there appears to be virtually no likelihood that resources of this class exist for the President's House period. Therefore, the research value of this class of resource is judged very low to nil.

2. Foundation and Other Structural Remains

This class of resource includes primarily the below-ground portions of building foundations and basement areas. These might include masonry building supports and basement floors.

Structural remains can provide information on the location, size, and shape of buildings. This information can be critically important when it is otherwise absent in the historical record. Structural remains can also reveal information on the material and techniques used in the construction of buildings and provide clues as to how structures were altered over time.

Research recently published by Edward Lawler indicates that it is highly likely that portions of the foundations of the President's House remain preserved beneath the Market Street sidewalk and in the grassy area running thirty-five feet to the south of the south edge of the sidewalk. The main house was a substantial masonry building with a basement and, as such, would have required a robust and deep foundation. These are precisely the kind of structural remains that would be likely to survive the demolishing of the President's House and the later construction on the site. And, indeed, David Howell Morgan, while working for the Works Progress Administration (WPA), recorded structural remains believed to be associated with the building. Later, in 1952, he returned to the site and mapped the foundation remains that appeared to be those of the President's House.

Today, it is not possible to determine with certainty how much of these foundations still exist. While it is very likely that at least portions of what Morgan observed remain preserved below ground, other portions of the foundations may have been destroyed during the construction of a public toilet in 1954. Additional damage may also have occurred during landscaping and utility work associated with the development of the Mall and during the expansion of the toilet in 1984.

In any case, the truncated and fragmentary foundation remains of the President's House are unlikely be of significant research value. In the light of available historical documentation concerning the house, and Morgan's notes concerning the remains he observed, excavation and additional study of the foundations would not materially advance our knowledge of the site.

Notwithstanding the low research value of these remains, they do represent a tangible link with the past. Following NPS policy they will be protected and preserved in the ground. Design plans for the current commemorative installation, as well as any future construction activities on the site, will be reviewed to ensure that no unnecessary damage is done to possible remains of the President's House.

Unlike the main house, aside from possible exception of the bath house (discussed below), there is no evidence that any foundations or structural remains of the back

buildings and additions survived the nineteenth and twentieth century development of the site. These structures would not have had basements or been of such a size as to require the kind of deep foundations that the main house had. Their shallow foundations would have been destroyed during later alterations to the site.

Excavations conducted by JMA in 2000 and 2001 for the NPS within the site of the Liberty Bell Center extended into the south end of the President's House site. These excavations took in the area where the brick stable and ice house stood and documented the existence of the basement floors of buildings constructed in the nineteenth century. The floors of these later basements were at a depth that would have been approximately nine feet below the historic ground surface. Construction of these basements would have destroyed the floors and foundations of the earlier out buildings dating to the President's House period.

Historic documentation suggests that the later buildings that replaced substantially all of the back buildings on the President's House lot would have had basements similar to those found during the JMA excavations. Construction of these basements, and the later demolition associated with the construction of the Mall, are likely to have destroyed all traces of the structural remains of the site's back buildings.

The extension that contained the bath house remains a possible exception to this pattern. Edward Lawler has uncovered historical documents which he reads as possible evidence that this extension might have had a basement. The evidence on this point is inconclusive, but the possibility that the bath house had a basement can not be ruled out.

If the bath house did have a basement (and if remains of the basement and associated foundations have survived) their excavation and study could provide precise evidence on the size, location, and orientation of this building. Such a result would be a valuable supplement to the meager historical record and would help confirm aspects of the site's layout.

In summary, for this class of resources, structural remains of the main house are highly likely to have survived, but the research potential for these remains are low. On the other hand, the research value of the foundations and structural remains of the back buildings and extensions is very high, but, with the possible exception of the bath house, the likelihood of their survival is very low.

3. Shaft Features

Shaft features are historic pits generally lined with brick or stone. They were used for a variety of purposes, but the most commonly encountered shaft features are privy pits (outhouses) and wells. Other less commonly found shaft features include ice pits, cisterns, dry wells and other specialized structures.

Shaft features often served a secondary function as receptacles for disposal of trash from adjacent homes and businesses. They may contain household items that were deposited while the feature was in use or after it was abandoned. The upper portions of deep shafts often contain material, primarily soil and furnace ash, intentionally deposited to fill the shaft for safety reasons after it was abandoned.

Archeologists study the placement and physical construction of shaft features to learn about sanitary practices and about how people in the past arranged and used space. When deposits of household trash are found within these features, the study of this material can reveal in great detail aspects of daily life (including behavior, beliefs and cultural patterns) that are otherwise underrepresented or absent in historical documents. Such deposits can illuminate the lives of all strata of society; they are particularly useful in the case of individuals or groups who have been systematically excluded from historical records.

The archeological excavations for the LBC included excavation of the south end of the President's House site. Two shaft features were uncovered in that area. One, the lower nine feet of an ice pit, was built when Robert Morris owned the property and is believed to have been in use later, during the President's House period. The other shaft feature uncovered during these excavations was probably a well. Analysis of artifacts recovered from the upper four feet of this truncated shaft suggests that it was filled during the early twentieth century, and that it is probably not associated with the President's House period.

Research conducted by the WPA and other documentary evidence suggests that three other wells existed on the site. The lower portions of these features may remain preserved on the site. However, based on available documentary evidence, only one of these wells is likely to been constructed and used during the President's House period. One or more additional undocumented wells dating to various periods, including possibly the President's House period, may also exist on the site.

If one or more wells dating to the President's House period are, as appears likely, preserved on the site, they would have moderate research potential. These features are unlikely to contain significant deposits of household refuse dating to the President's House period. Typically, in eighteenth century Philadelphia wells would have been capped and water drawn from them through use of a pump. This would have made it difficult to use an active well shaft as a receptacle for trash deposit, a use that would have been discouraged, in any case, because it would potentially lead to the contamination of the supply of drinking water. Similarly, given the very public nature of the site it seems unlikely that an abandoned well would have been left open to receive trash during the President's House period. Neither George Washington nor John Adams was likely to have permitted such a use on the site of the executive mansion.

Even though well shafts are unlikely to contain domestic trash deposits that would shed light on the President's House period, preserved shafts, if they could be dated to that

period, would serve to locate these features on the President's House landscape plan. This, in turn, would help us better understand how the lot was arranged and used.

The WPA identified one feature in the basement of a building constructed on the site in the nineteenth century which they identified as an old privy. If their identification of this feature is correct, this would represent the only privy pit currently known to exist on the President's House site. Base on archeological experience gained at comparably sized sites in the vicinity, it is likely that a total of between four and ten privy shafts are located within the confines of the site. These shafts would date to various periods in the site's history, including the periods before and after the Washington's and Adam's residency. In most cases privy shafts encountered on archeological sites must be fully excavated and their contents studied before it is possible to precisely determine the dates when they might have been constructed and used.

Based on likely patterns of use, between one and four of the privy shafts that might be encountered on the site are likely to date to the President's House period. As was the case with well shafts, discussed above, the identification of privies dating to the President's House period would, even if they contained no significant refuse deposits, reveal information absent from the documentary record on the physical arrangement of the property.

Privy shafts are considerably more likely to contain refuse deposits than are wells. Privy shafts were, by definition, open during their period of use and are therefore more likely to have been used for trash disposal. In contrast to wells, the issue of contamination would obviously not apply in the case of features designed to receive waste. On the other hand, privies were often cleaned out at multiple intervals during their active period of use. Considering the one to four privies likely to date to the President's House period, the probability appears low that any of these would have escaped episodes of cleaning and would, therefore, contain significant deposits of household material dating to the target period.

However, if privy deposits dating to the President's House period are present on the site they would represent a significant research potential. Analysis of such material is likely to reveal much about day-to-day life at the site. Generally archeological studies of privy deposits from eighteenth century urban contexts provide a broad overview of the inhabitants of a household. Rarely do these studies allow us to look at a particular individual in any detail. Items carrying the name or other unique identifier of an individual are exceedingly rare.

It is more often possible to recognize items used by discrete social groups such as women or children. Similarly, it sometimes possible to identify people who share a unique cultural identity through the recovery of items associated with a particular set of beliefs or traditions. People of African decent, for example, may, following long held traditions, have chosen particularly meaningful objects that they used as items of personal adornment. Items of this nature are sometimes found on archeological sites.

The above examples notwithstanding, typically material recovered from common trash deposits can not be confidently linked to individuals or particular groups who lived and worked together on a site. Instead, they tell us about the inhabitants of the site considered as a group.

In summary, shaft features dating to the President's House period have a high probability of being preserved on the site. Viewed more specifically, wells dating to the target period are very likely to exist on the site, but they are unlikely to contain significant artifact deposits dating to the President's House period. Therefore wells can be considered to have a high probability of occurrence but only a low to moderate research potential. Privies also have a high probability of occurrence and are more likely to contain significant artifact deposits dating to the President's House period. Given the common pattern of cleaning out privy pits, the likelihood of finding such deposits is still not particularly high. Privies can be considered to have a high probability of occurrence and a moderate research potential.

B. Research and Logistical Considerations

The President's House site is situated within a congested and heavily used urban environment. Excavation of the site would involve significant logistics challenges and would require the implementation of a research design that maximizes the research potential of the site while minimizing cost and disruption. The salient research and logistical considerations are addressed below.

1. Logistical Issues

Archeological study of previously unexcavated portions of the President's House site would require very deep excavations. On average these excavations would have to extend to at least about ten feet below current grade. Excavation of any shaft features encountered would require additional excavation in and around these features to a depth of twenty-five feet or more below current grade.

An extensive system of shoring would be required in order to provide safe working conditions and to protect surrounding infrastructure. Given the limited space available and the public nature of the site, all the excavated overburden and fill would have to be trucked off-site. Continuous access for heavy equipment during excavation and site restoration would have to be maintained, probably from Sixth Street. Existing utility lines (including the park's data highway and the chilled water line) which cross the work area would require temporary relocation or protection and support throughout the duration of the project. A safe access route for visitors to the LBC would have to be maintained.

Restoration of the site would require filling of the excavated areas and cosmetic landscaping to leave the site presentable until construction begins. The specific requirement for fill material to be use in the restoration, and any necessary compaction, would depend on the engineering requirements for the pending construction.

An engineering survey would be necessary to determining an appropriate shoring system. The engineering study will also provide critical guidance on how close excavations can approach the LBC building and its exterior piers without damage to the building or undue danger to staff and park visitors.

The President's House site has attracted significant public attention. An ongoing program of public education should accompany the excavation of the site in order to address this high level of interest. At a minimum this program should include viewing platforms around the site, frequent bulletins about the work in progress, and possibly interaction with archeologists at work. Such a program will serve to educate about the President's House and about the process of archeological discovery. It will also help to ensure that the archeological excavations are conducted with maximum transparency and will instill confidence that the work is being completed with appropriate vigor and care.

2. Recommended Potential Study Area

The figure accompanying this briefing paper shows the preliminary NPS recommendation of a target area suitable for an archeological research study. The area delineated was drawn to maximize the research potential of the study while minimizing disruption and possible damage to critical existing infrastructure. The area that encompasses the main house, as well as the north end of the yard to the east, has been excluded from the recommended study area. In the discussion, above, the research potential of possible foundations of the main house was found to be minimal. In addition, excavation of the northern portion of this area would require excavation under the existing Market Street sidewalk. This would necessitate closing most or all of the width of the sidewalk to pedestrian traffic during the period of excavation and site restoration.

The southern end of the President's House site is excluded from the study area because it is situated under or directly adjacent to the LBC buildings or its exterior piers. Excavation of these areas would impede access to the LBC and might compromise the structural integrity of the building. An engineering study will be needed in order to determine with certainty how close excavation can safely come to the building; the southern boundary of the possible study area might have to be adjusted accordingly.

The area within the recommended study area includes approximately 45% of the previously unexcavated yard areas which are believed to have existed on the President's House site. The former yard areas are the locations within which there is the highest potential to uncover shaft features dating to the President's House period. In addition, this area includes the location of the bath house. As noted above, this is the only building

extension which seems at all likely to have had a basement and corresponding foundation which might have survived twentieth century construction activities.

3. Project Costs

Only very preliminary cost estimates for an archeological research program can be offered at this time. The NPS estimates the costs for the program outlined here would range between $400,000 and $800,000. A well-written research design and a carefully considered engineering plan will help to contain costs.

It is anticipated that the cost of shoring and other excavation support will account for fully one third to one half of the anticipated project costs. In order to develop more accurate cost estimates it will be necessary to define the project area and to commission an engineering study on the costs of shoring and excavating that selected area.

Archeological costs will, by necessity, be contingent on the number of features investigated and the volume of artifacts recovered. These are cost factors that can only be estimated prior to excavation and will not be known with precision until excavation is completed.

NPS standards and professional ethics require that the cost of all aspects of an archeological project be included in the projects budget. This includes the cost incurred for processing, cataloging, analysis and curation of all recovered material and associated documentation. Production of a complete final report is also required. It is important to keep in mind that this structure applies even if material is recovered that is not directly germane to the particular research focus of a project.

4. Scheduling and Duration

Research excavation of the President's House site is estimated to require between six and eight weeks. This estimate does not include the time required for restoration of the area. Restoration of the soil to a safe, stable condition for construction of the commemoration could require a considerable amount of time and will be contingent on engineering requirements and specifications. Additional time will be required prior to the start of field work to allow for necessary contracting actions and design of a suitable excavation strategy. Completion of the analysis of recovered material and the preparation of a final report could take as long as eight to twelve months following the completion of field work.

5. Applicable Guidance and Regulations

Because of its location within the boundaries of Independence National Historical Park, excavation of the President's House site would have to conform to the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation and to NPS policy. The NPS would have to maintain review and approval authority over the project's research design, and would maintain oversight during the execution of that research design.

III. National Park Service Position

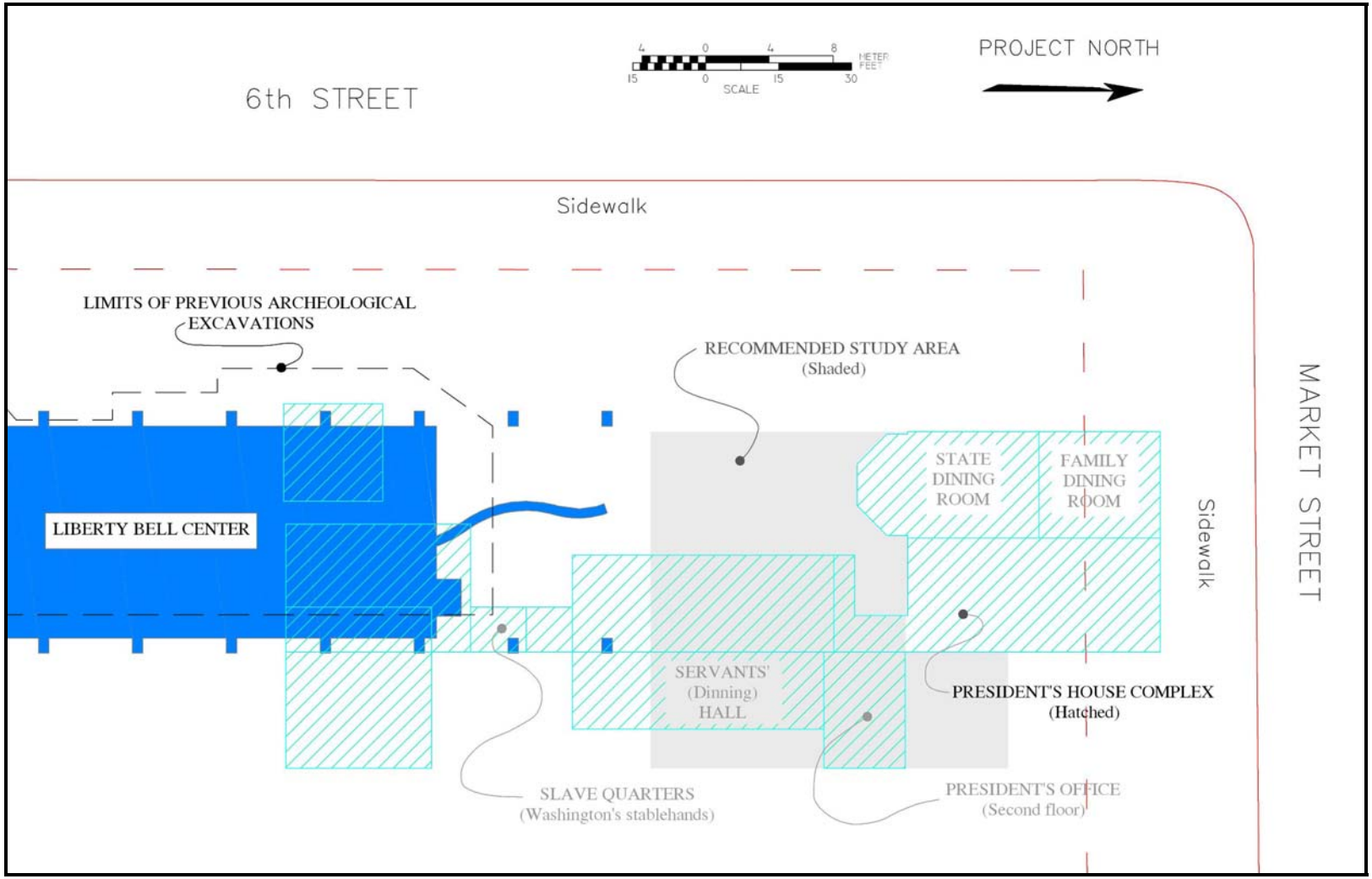
NPS fully recognizes that the President's House site is one of very great historical significance and that it carries tremendous cultural and emotional significance for community groups. The site has much to teach us about the birth of our nation and the intertwined themes of slavery and freedom.

In the face of what is known concerning the later development of the site, we cannot confidently predict that research excavations will yield information that will substantially increase our knowledge of the site and the people who lived and worked there during the President's House period. There is, however, at least the possibility that new knowledge could be gained from excavations at the site. If a consensus emerges among our partners and stakeholders that such an effort is desirable, the NPS would endorse a well designed archeological research program.

PROBABILITY OF SURVIVAL AND RESEARCH POTENTIAL OF LIKELY RESOURCES AT THE PRESIDENT'S HOUSE SITE

RESOURCE	RESEARCH POTENTIAL	SURVIVAL PROBABILITY
Historic Ground Surfaces	High	Very Low
Foundation and Structural Remains – Main House	Very Low	High
Foundation and Structural Remains – Extensions and Out Buildings	High	Low
Shaft Features - Wells	Moderate	High
Shaft Features - Privies	Moderate	High

RECOMMENDED POTENTIAL PRESIDENT'S HOUSE SITE ARCHEOLOGICAL STUDY AREA



Appendix B
Proposed Bulk Excavation and Logistics Plan

Archeological Investigations at the President's House Site
Independence National Historical Park
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Proposed Bulk Excavation and Logistics Plan

Prepared for
The City of Philadelphia
and
Independence National Historical Park

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February 12, 2007

Table of Contents

1 Introduction

AECOM is pleased to present the City of Philadelphia and Independence National Historical Park with the following bulk excavation and logistics plan for upcoming archeological investigations of the President's House Site, located in Block 1, Independence Mall. Activities outlined in this document encompass all requirements outlined under Phase 1 (a) of the project statement of work (September 18, 2006) and will result in the removal of overlaying fill deposits within the target excavation area (approximately 5,030 square feet), as well as the preparation of the site for controlled archeological investigation. More specifically, this plan addresses issues pertaining to the overall bulk excavation strategy and sequence, excavation shoring, utility bracing and relocation, site fencing, sediment control, equipment circulation, public-viewing platform design and placement, and trailer location. The final section of this document will also present an anticipated schedule for completing all required tasks.

For the most part, the plan outlined in this document adheres to the proposed site layout included as Exhibit A of the statement of work (reproduced as Figure 1 in Appendix A). Specific instances of proposed deviations from this basic model are discussed in detail in the appropriate sections below. These changes are also clearly indicated in the set of plan maps accompanying this document (Figures 2–6, also in Appendix A).

2 Bulk Excavation Strategy

The overall goal of this plan is to provide a bulk excavation and logistics strategy for the President's House Site that will allow the removal of all historical and recent fill materials from within the target excavation area, while at the same time minimizing any potential disturbance to potential archeological resources located below these deposits. Work carried out during this phase of the project will primarily involve the use of mechanized excavation equipment, and members of the AECOM archeological team will closely monitor this work at all times. Archeological monitors will direct all machine excavations and will have full authority to stop or redirect these activities when active utility lines or intact archeological resources of any kind are encountered. It is understood, in accordance with the requirements of the statement of work, that members of the AECOM team will secure any and all necessary permits from the city prior to the start of excavation, and that all active utilities contained within the target excavation area will be clearly delineated prior to the initiation of any digging. In addition, members of the AECOM team will coordinate all on-site activities performed during this phase with NPS staff in order to maintain security and minimize disruption of visitor services.

It is anticipated that bulk excavation work will adhere to the following basic sequence of events:

1. Site set up and mobilization, fence installation, and viewing-platform construction.

2. Removal of the upper four feet of fill over the entire target area to remove obstructions in the pile line and locate utilities that need to be supported and/or relocated; establishment of the spoils storage pile.

3. Installation of soldier beams and utility shoring.

4. Relocation of any active utility lines as required.

5. Excavation of the target area to maximum 10-foot depth and installation of wood lagging and utility supports.

6. Exposure, identification, and mapping of all archeological resources contained within the target area.

Bulk excavation of the President's House Site will involve the use of a variety of mechanized equipment, depending on the specific task being accomplished. The excavation of soils from within the target area will be completed using a standard rubber-wheeled backhoe. These machines are extremely maneuverable and afford the most effective means of navigating within the relatively limited space of the archeological study area. Soils will be transported from the target area to the spoils storage area by means of a tri-axle dump truck. Additional mechanized equipment to be employed in this phase of work will be discussed in the appropriate sections below.

Based on existing knowledge, the proposed initial four-foot bulk excavation cut is almost certain to encounter only recent Mall-related fill deposits and will proceed across the entire target area of the site. During this process, the machine will expose any active utility lines traversing this area in order to prepare them for subsequent shoring and/or relocation. Should any utilities be buried at a depth greater than four feet below the present ground surface, initial excavations may extend to depths below this point in limited sections of the site in order to complete the exposure process.

Excavations below this initial cut will likely encounter intact archeological resources of one kind or another, and as such will proceed in a more systematic, patterned fashion. It is anticipated that machine access into the target area will require the establishment of both entry and exit ramps, most likely located at or near the southeast and southwest corners of this space, respectively. Because the presence of such earthen ramps could cover and impede access to any archeological resources below them, excavations extending below the initial four-foot cut will target these areas first, and will proceed to the point at which intact historical deposits and features, or culturally sterile subsoil, are encountered. Should any intact archeological resources be identified in these locations, they will be thoroughly documented prior to the creation of the ramps. Any ramps established over intact archeological resources (because of spatial issues within the target excavation area) will be considered temporary, and will be eventually removed in order to permit the full and complete investigation of those deposits or features. Ramps located in areas that contain no such intact deposits may be considered permanent and left in place for the duration of the investigation. A similar process of localized excavation as described above will also be followed in any areas where the anticipated bracing or shoring of active utility lines could impact or impede access to intact archeological resources. If such a potential is identified in any of these planned locations, shoring will be relocated as appropriate.

The bulk excavation of the remainder of the target area is expected to proceed in a pattern moving generally from west to east. Based on the known historical development of the President's House property, this parcel was transformed during the nineteenth century into a series of four long, narrow commercial buildings. Moreover, it is anticipated that the remnants of basements associated with those structures are likely to be preserved within the target area, and that these foundations will, at some point, serve to divide the target area into a series of four north-south oriented compartments or sections. Consequently, bulk excavation is expected to follow the pattern of these basement sections, again moving in sequence from west to east, with soil removal within each section progressing from north to south.

Bulk excavation within the target area of the site will progress until the AECOM archeological monitors identify intact archeological features and/or deposits or sterile subsoils. It is understood that any historical resources present may not be located at a uniform depth across the site, and all necessary precautions will be taken to ensure that no inadvertent disturbance is inflicted on these materials. It is currently anticipated that any remaining intact resources will be encountered at depths of approximately six to 10 feet below ground surface. Furthermore, it is assumed that no undisturbed archeological resources, other than those associated with more deeply constructed shaft features, will be contained in any portion of the target area. During bulk excavation, all possible efforts will be made to preserve in place any and all identified foundation walls, including those associated with later-nineteenth-century structures built on the site. While not directly related to the President's House itself, or to the target time period of this investigation, these features could provide important information regarding how this parcel developed and changed over time, and help to enhance the experience of visitors to the site. All identified or suspected eighteenth-century architectural remains that may be directly associated with the President's House will be preserved in place without exception.

Once the machine excavation of fill deposits has been completed, any temporary access or exit ramps will be removed with machine assistance. At this time, members of the AECOM archeological team will remove any remnant fill materials throughout the target excavation area, using only simple hand tools, in order to expose any and all archeological features and/or deposits that may be present. Once fully exposed, all features and deposits will be thoroughly documented via high-resolution digital, color slide, and black-and-white photography, recorded on standardized paper forms, and precisely mapped using sophisticated total station survey equipment. All archeological documentation will strictly conform to those requirements outlined in the project scope of work.

All work completed during the bulk excavation phase will be carried out in compliance with all appropriate OSHA guidelines and regulations.

3
Site Excavation Shoring

The archeological target area for this investigation will conform in size, shape, and location with that indicated in Exhibit A of the project scope of work. This space will be shored during bulk excavation through the installation of steel soldier pile beams (grade 50) and associated wood lagging (Figure 2). Based on the size of the target area, it has been calculated that a total of 41 individual soldier piles will need to be installed. The soldier piles themselves will measure 14 x

34 inches x 22 feet and will be spaced at intervals of approximately seven feet, eight inches around the perimeter of the target area. In order to prevent any unnecessary damage to the adjacent Liberty Bell Center, all steel piles with be set into pre-drilled holes, as opposed to being driven into the ground. Soldier piles will be installed immediately following the removal of the uppermost four feet of fill within the target area, and a conventional rubber-tire caisson drill will be employed to pre-drill the associated holes (width of drill holes = 24 inches). Piles will be set at a maximum depth of 22 feet below ground surface (so that the tops of each are flush with the existing grade) and will be grouted in place. A rubber-tire hydraulic crane will be employed to unload steel and other materials onto the site.

In developing this shoring system, available maps of the President's House Site were consulted; soldier piles were placed in a pattern that both maximizes the efficiency and safety of the shoring, while at the same time is unlikely to directly impact any known or currently anticipated archeological resources within the site. Standard three-inch wood lagging will be installed within the soldier pile framework as bulk excavation proceeds. Based on an assumed maximum bulk excavation depth of 10 feet below present grade, no tie-backs or similar supplemental shoring elements will need to be installed in order to ensure maximum safety for members of the AECOM team or visitors to the site. As an extra safety precaution, an OSHA-compliant wooden handrail and kickboard will be attached to the top of the soldier piles around the entire perimeter of the target excavation area.

4
Utility Shoring and Relocation

Plans of existing active utilities contained within the target excavation area were obtained at the Independence National Historical Park Research Library, located within the Merchant's Exchange Building, and transferred into CAD-based maps of the site. This research indicates that four separate utility systems directly traverse portions of the target area, and will need to be either braced within the site or temporarily relocated. These systems include a fiber-optic data highway conduit, four-inch sanitary sewer and eight- and 10-inch storm water lines, and an electric power supply (Figure 3). A system of PVC sprinkler lines also criss-crosses the target area; however, according to the specifications of the scope of work, these will be simply cut and capped during bulk excavation, with no need to preserve them in place or relocate them. Electric lines installed immediately adjacent to the western and northern sidewalks bordering the site will not be harmed or impacted by this investigation, and will not require relocation.

Under this bulk excavation plan, the data highway conduit, electric line, and eight-inch storm water drain lines that currently run parallel to the eastern margins of the target area (approximately seven to eight feet west of this boundary) will be preserved in place via an internal shoring/bracing system. As shown in Figure 2, this utility bracing system will consist of two steel beams (14 x 34 inches x 20 feet, grade 50 steel) with attached outlooker and continuous support beams (both 6 x 15 inches, grade 50). As with the perimeter soldier piles, the utility support beams will be set in pre-drilled holes extending below the maximum depth of bulk excavation, and will be grouted in place for extra stability. Data highway, electric, and storm water lines traversing the eastern margins of the target area will be hung across this bracing system by means of nylon straps affixed to the continuous support beam.

The remaining utilities, including the four-inch sanitary sewer and 10-inch storm water lines (presumably PVC), will not be similarly preserved in place, but will rather be relocated around the perimeter of the target area. It is proposed that the four-inch line will be rerouted along the western and northern margins of the target area shoring system and reconnected to the existing four-inch effluent line extending into Market Street. The 10-inch line will instead be relocated along the southern and eastern sections of the peripheral shoring, and reconnected to the existing southwest-northeast aligned sewer outfall traversing areas to the east of the target area. In these instances, relocated utilities will be mounted directly to the target area peripheral sheeting wall in such a manner as to preserve existing line gradients, thereby preserving their continued operation.

As required in the scope of work, all existing utilities will be clearly marked on the ground surface prior to the start of bulk excavation. All utilities that currently lie outside the archeological target area will not be affected by this investigation, but will remain marked on the ground surface throughout the duration of the project.

5
Exterior Site Fencing

Proposed exterior site fencing for this project will closely follow the plan shown in Exhibit A of the scope of work, with one key variation. In this plan, fencing at the extreme northwestern corner of the project area is proposed to extend all the way to the corner of Market and 6th Streets, rather than cutting back to the western margins of the target area shoring (Figure 4). Given the limited size of the project area, this change results in the creation of critical additional space that can be used for the placement of the construction trailer, provides for a more convenient location of portable toilets (near the trailer), and facilitates the movement of mechanized equipment (see Section 7 below). This configuration also serves to clean up the exterior lines of the project area and removes a potential blind spot near the western entry gate, where curious pedestrians could gather.

All portions of the exterior fence are to be comprised of 6-foot-high chain-link fencing (new material) mounted to poles driven two feet into the ground. This configuration is much more sturdy and stable than conventional freestanding panel fence, and provides an added measure of security for the site during off-work hours. Moreover, the use of new material for fence construction ensures that the site will maintain a much more appealing and tidy overall appearance. Portions of the fence along Market Street will additionally be fixed with a nylon-fabric windscreen to enhance site security and to help prevent traffic disruptions on Market Street that might be caused by the project.

It is understood that additional space at the northwestern corner of the site created by this proposed revised fencing plan will need to be restored to its original condition at the conclusion of the project. It is also understood that any reseeding or other measures that may need to be taken to accomplish this will be completed at AECOM's expense, with no attendant changes to the accepted project budget.

6
Stockpile Sediment Control Measures

In accordance with the scope of work, all excavated fill material and soils will be temporarily stockpiled in a designated area bordering the eastern margins of the President's House Site. In order to prevent these largely unconsolidated materials from spreading out onto the adjacent sidewalks and other portions of Block 1, primary sediment control will be provided through the installation of three-foot-high nylon-fabric silt fencing (Figure 4). Silt fencing will be mounted directly into the ground and will extend around the entire perimeter of the spoils stockpile. Additional sedimentation control will be gained through the use of a loader or bulldozer to both shape and compact the soils as they are excavated from the site. If it becomes necessary, large reinforced vinyl tarps will be used to cover the stockpile and prevent any wind-driven movement of fine soil particles.

7
Equipment Access and Circulation

As indicated in the scope of work, primary access to the site, for both mechanized equipment and personnel, will be from a 24-foot-wide entry gate located along the 6th Street side of the project area. However, AECOM proposes to establish this main gate some 25 feet north of the location indicated in Exhibit A (see Figure 1 in this document) to avoid obstructions caused by an existing brick wall and curbside tree plantings. As configured in Figure 5, the new proposed gate is situated between tree plantings and allows an unobstructed entry for construction equipment into the site. From the main gate, access into the excavation target area will be via a temporary road constructed of crushed gravel. Though not specifically depicted in Figure 5, existing sidewalk adjacent to the main site gate will be protected through the use of steel construction plates.

Inside the site fence, primary construction access into and out of the archeological site will be by way of earthen ramps constructed at, or near, the southwest and southeast corners of the target area. Ultimately, the exact placement of these ramps will depend on a number of factors, including the presence/absence of archeological resources and the location of live utilities. It is currently anticipated that any ramp located along the western side of the target area will be maintained throughout the course of the excavation, in order to provide for the final extraction of mechanized equipment, as well as continued site access for the archeological crew during Phase 3 activities. In contrast, any ramp along the eastern side of the site is liable to fall within areas that have a very high potential for containing intact archeological features or deposits, and is expected to be removed at the conclusion of bulk excavation.

In order to allow for additional freedom of movement within the site for machinery, this circulation plan incorporates a proposed alternate exit path for bulk excavation equipment. This route runs along the northern and western margins of the site and is intended to be used only at the conclusion of this phase of work, in the event that the removal of the ramp at the east side of the target area prevents any other means of exit for the machinery. As indicated in the section below, the design of the public-viewing platform incorporates specific measures that would permit this one-time use.

8
Public-Viewing Platform, Construction Trailer, and Sanitary Facilities

Exhibit A from the scope of work depicts the public-viewing platform located immediately adjacent to the eastern margins of the target area, and indeed this makes sense given that this eastern portion of the site is most likely to contain features dating to the 1790s. However, the concentration of active utilities in this portion of the site (proposed to be shored in place) is very likely to obstruct visitor's views of the archeological work in progress below them. Consequently, this plan proposes to relocate the viewing platform to the northern edge of the target area, where a more wide-open overview of the entire excavation target area can be maintained (Figure 6). Such a placement also offers the benefit of a more direct access to proposed Market Street entranceways to the platform.

The viewing platform proposed for this project will consist of a raised deck or stage measuring 12 x 30 feet in total size. The platform will be constructed of pressure-treated wood, will rest on a shallow cement block foundation, and will have a floor level raised approximately two feet about the surrounding ground surface. In addition, it will incorporate a wooden shed-style roof to help protect visitors from the elements during periods of less-cooperative weather, as well as a low railing along its front (south) and side exposures. Entry onto and exit from the platform will be via simple entranceways located at the back left and right corners, respectively. The viewing platform will be constructed in compliance with all applicable ADA regulations, and will incorporate ramped entrances to accommodate wheelchair-bound visitors.

Entry to the viewing platform will be from the south Market Street sidewalk via an access controlled four-foot-wide gate in the exterior site fence. Once inside the gate, visitors will move down a fenced passageway to the entrance ramp at the northeast corner of the platform. On the platform, prepared interpretive signage will be available to help the visitors understand what they are seeing in the ground in front of them, the project and its goals, and the history of the President's House and its former occupants. Site signage will be organized in a manner that will encourage visitors to move along the platform from left to right, so as to minimize congestion, and ultimately toward the exit. Visitors will exit the platform via a doorway and ramp at the northwest corner, where they will be led through another fenced passage to the exit gate in the Market Street fence. Both the entrance and exit gates for the platform will be equipped with locking capabilities, so that the site can be secured during non-work hours. Like all gates into the site, these will be double-locked, with both AECOM and NPS locks incorporated, so that both the members of the archeological team and the NPS security personnel can have ready access into the site.

While exterior fencing is proposed to be six feet high, interior platform-related fencing will be a more hospitable four feet in height, and will circumscribe entry/exit passages, as well as the fronts and sides of the platform itself. Fencing along the front and sides of the platform will consist of secured, post-in-ground chain-link material similar to that used to enclose the site exterior, preventing visitors from gaining direct access into the excavation area. In contrast, fencing used for the entrance and exit passages will consist of removable, freestanding panel fence. The use of this different fencing will serve to channel visitors onto the viewing platform, while at the same time preventing them from moving into other, unauthorized portions of the

site, and can also be rapidly dismantled to allow the one-time passage of mechanized equipment at the close of bulk excavations (as discussed in Section 7 above).

As with the viewing platform, AECOM proposes to relocate the site construction trailer from the suggested placement shown in Exhibit A. Instead of placing it within the soil stockpile area, on the eastern side of the site, we believe that locating it at the far northwestern corner of the site would make it more accessible and better suited to the needs at hand (Figure 6). In this location, the trailer would be closer to the viewing platform and main site entrance, as well as the primary entry/egress ramp into the site (at or near the southwest corner of the target area). It would also be out of the way of all bulk excavation equipment, and thereby provide less restricted movement for that machinery.

This plan also allows for the placement of two portable sanitary toilet facilities within the project area for use by all members of the AECOM team for the duration of the project. Given the above proposed placement of the construction trailer, the most logical location for these facilities is also in the northwestern corner of the site, just to the north of the main site gate in 6th Street (Figure 6). Placed here, the toilets could be readily and easily dropped off, regularly serviced, and removed from the site at the conclusion of the investigations.

9
Schedule for Completing Phase 2 (Bulk Excavation) Work

For the purposes of this plan, it is assumed that archeology-related fieldwork on the President's House Site will begin on or about Monday, March 5, 2007. Based on current estimates, and assuming there are no unforeseeable weather or related delays, it is believed that activities performed under Phase 2 of the scope of work (bulk excavation) will require approximately 15 to 18 workdays to complete. In other words, it is anticipated that work outlined under this plan will be completed on or about March 28, 2007 (based on the above start date). A more detailed breakdown of expected duration for specific tasks outlined in this document is provided below (note that the start and end times for specific tasks may partially overlap one another).

- Site set up and mobilization, fence installation, and viewing platform construction = three days
- Bulk excavation to four feet = four days
- Installation of soldier beams and utility relocation/shoring = seven days
- Excavation to maximum 10-foot depth/installation of wood lagging = six days
- Identification of archeological resources = five days

10
Deliverables

Following the review of this document by representatives of the City of Philadelphia and the National Park Service, AECOM will incorporate all comments and suggestions and produce a revised bulk excavation and logistics plan. AECOM will submit five (5) copies of the revised plan upon the completion of shoring and bulk excavation operations. The revised document will incorporate all information obtained during the bulk excavation and archeological monitoring of the target excavation area, as well as specify any additional shoring,

ramps, and safety features that will be required in order to support controlled archeological excavation proposed for Phase 3 of the project.

Appendix A
Figures

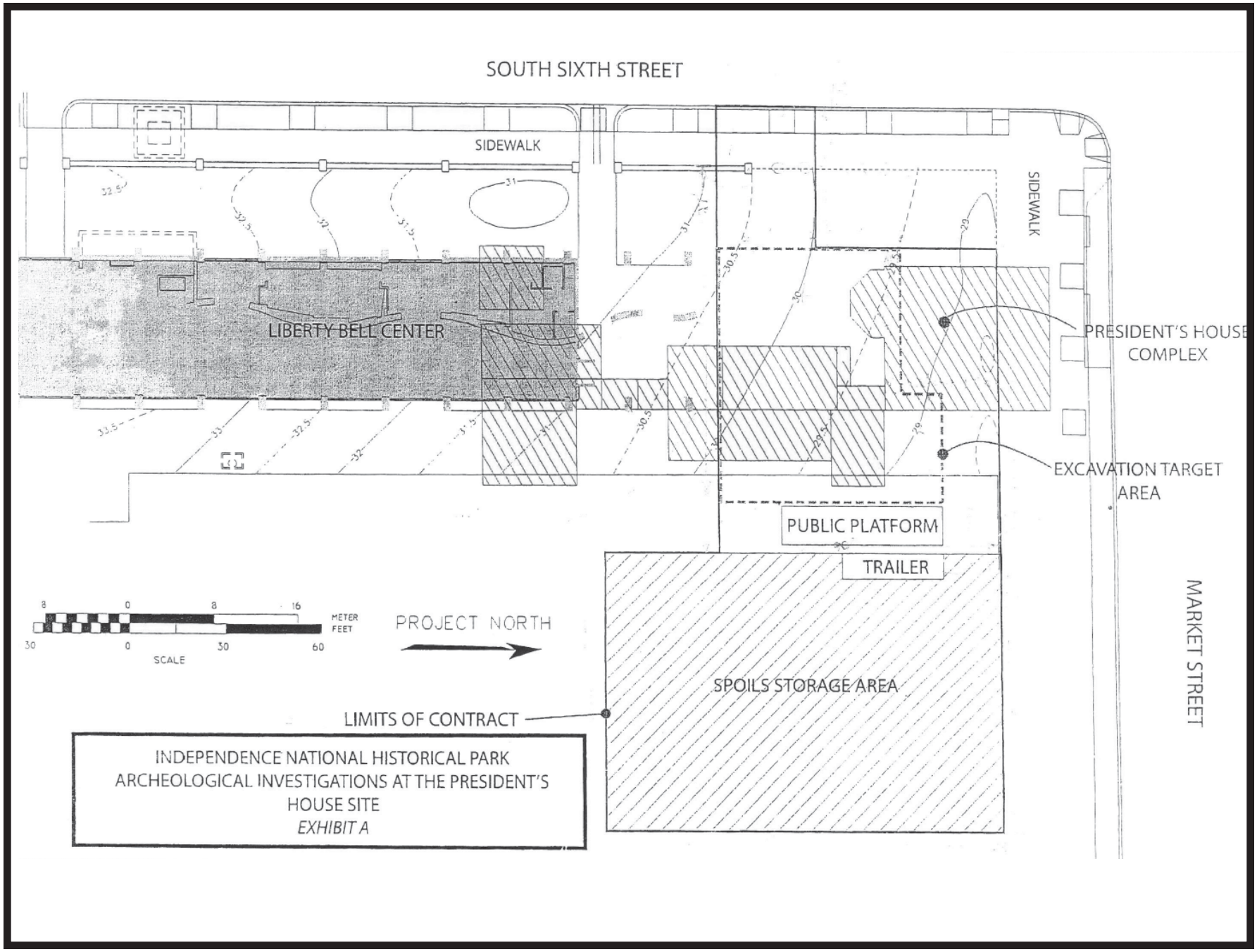


Figure 1 Exhibit A from the project Scope of Work.

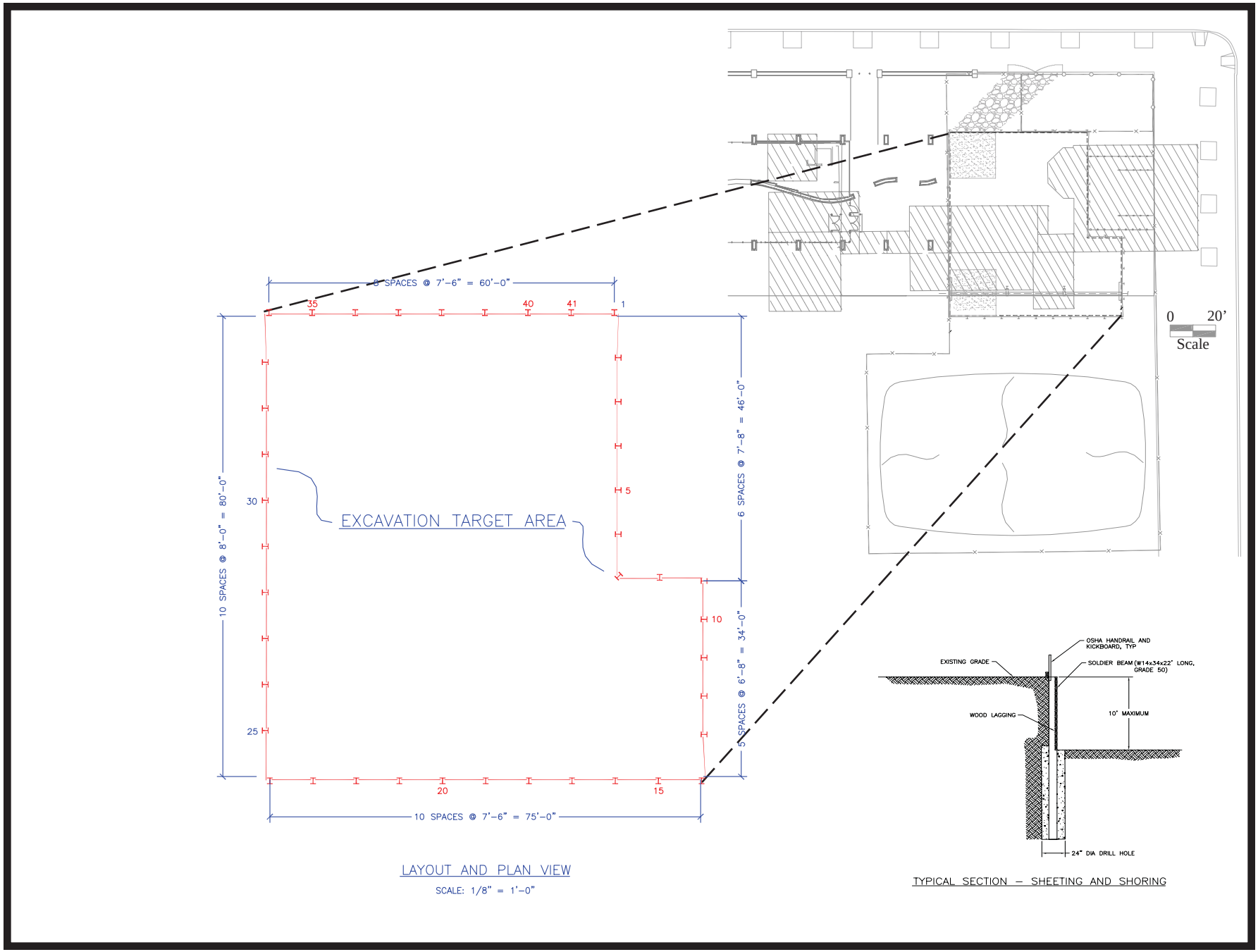


Figure 2 Proposed shoring system plan and design specifications.

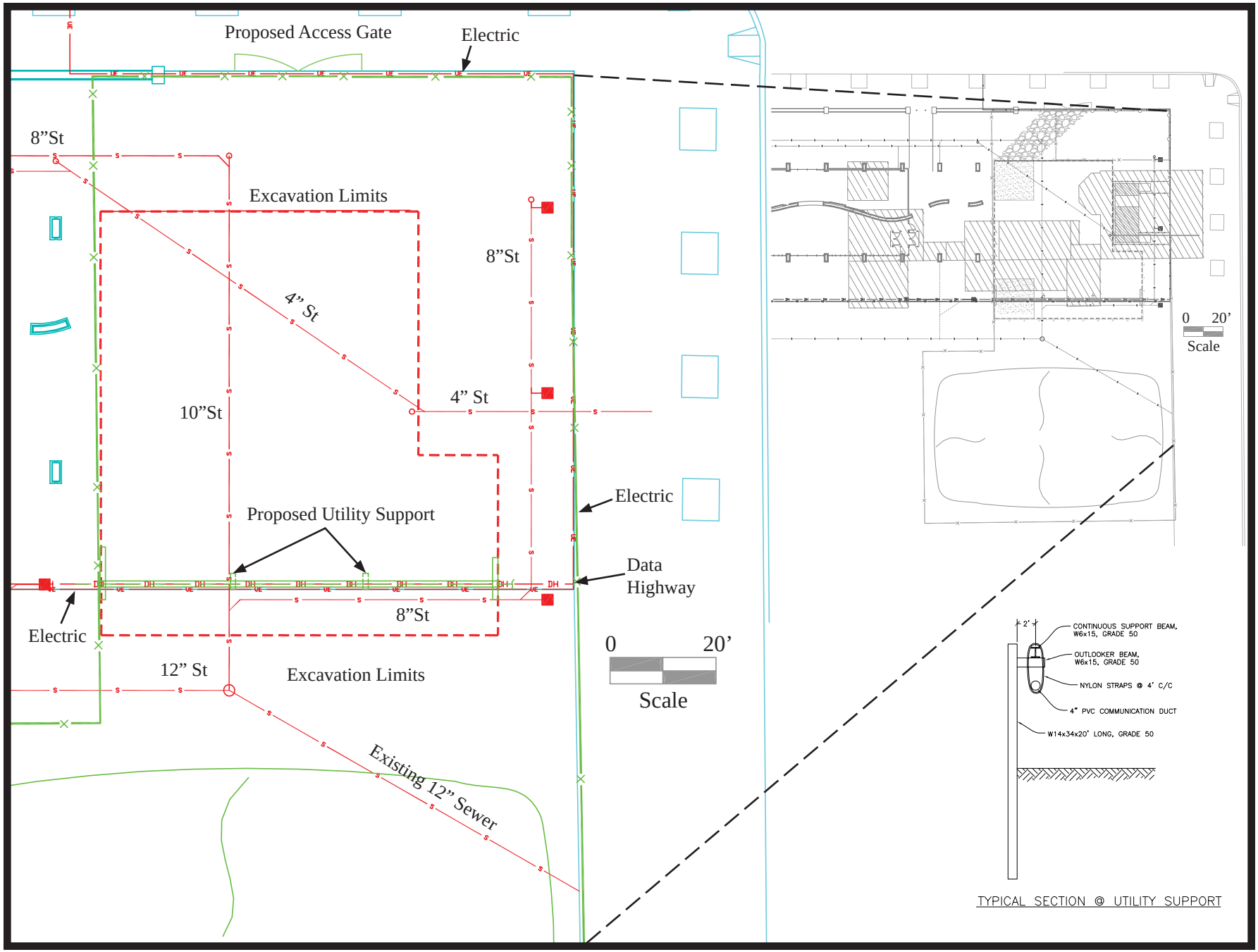


Figure 3 Poprosed utility shoring and relocation plan.

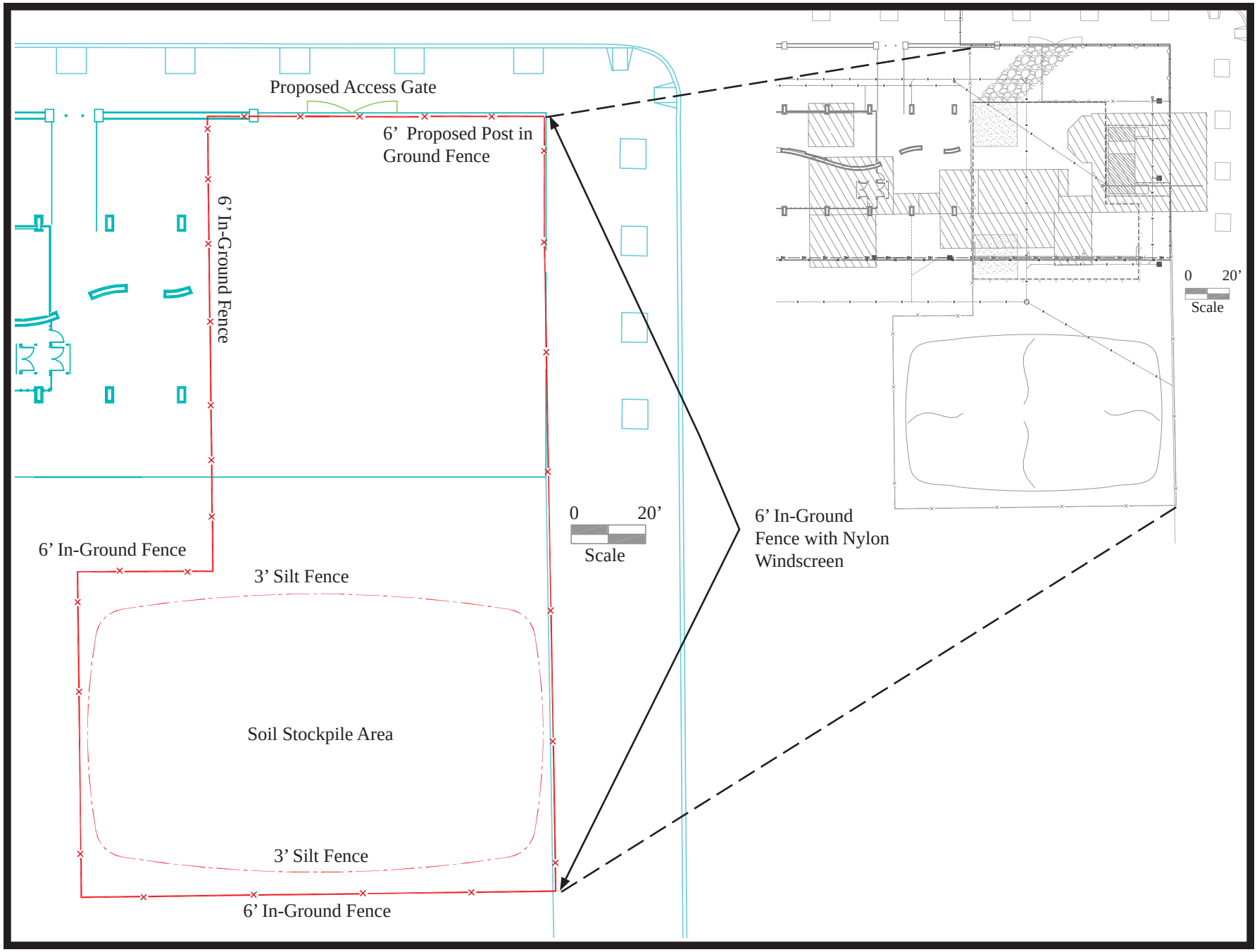


Figure 4 Proposed exterior site fencing and soil stockpile sediment control plan.

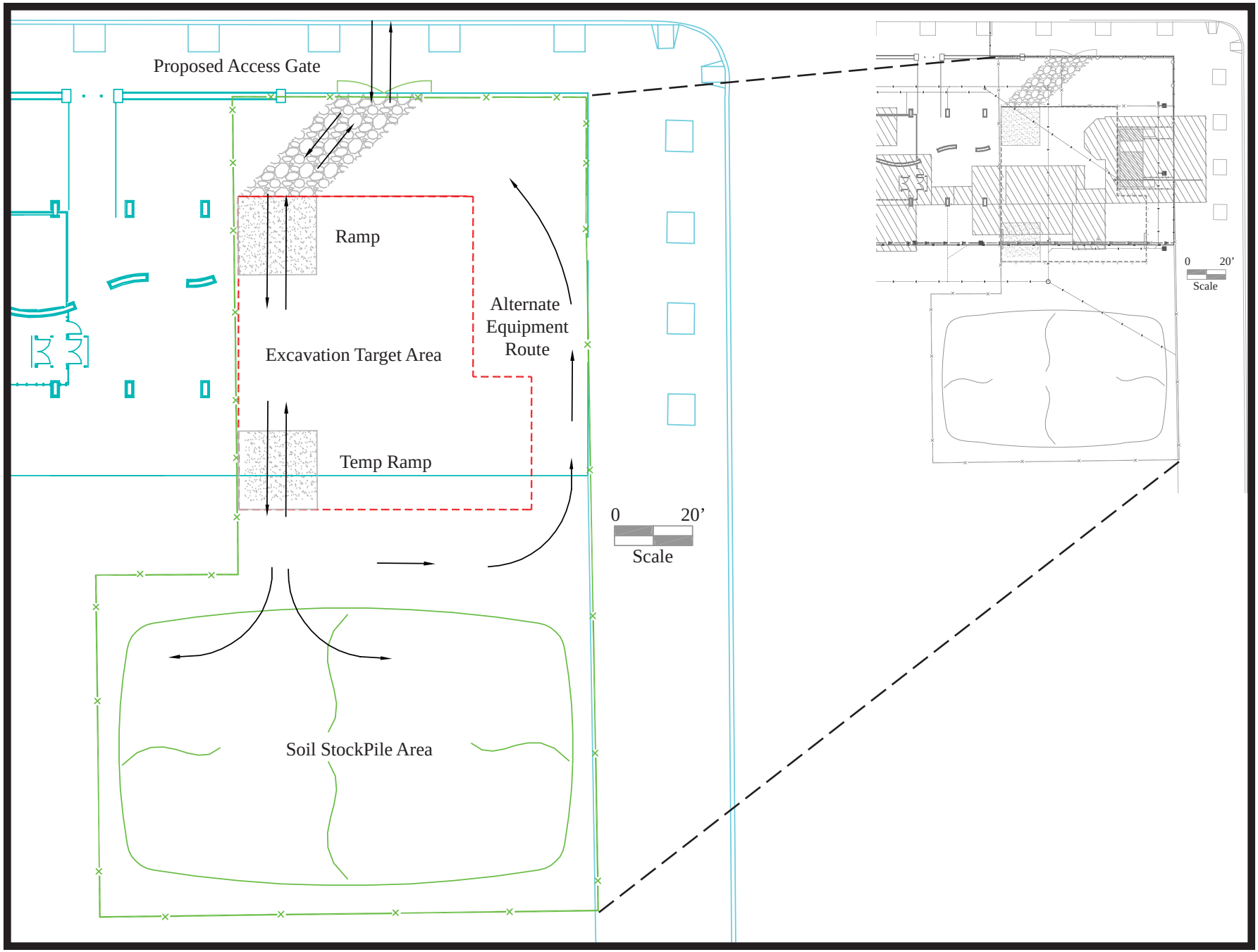


Figure 5 Proposed equipment access and circulation plan.

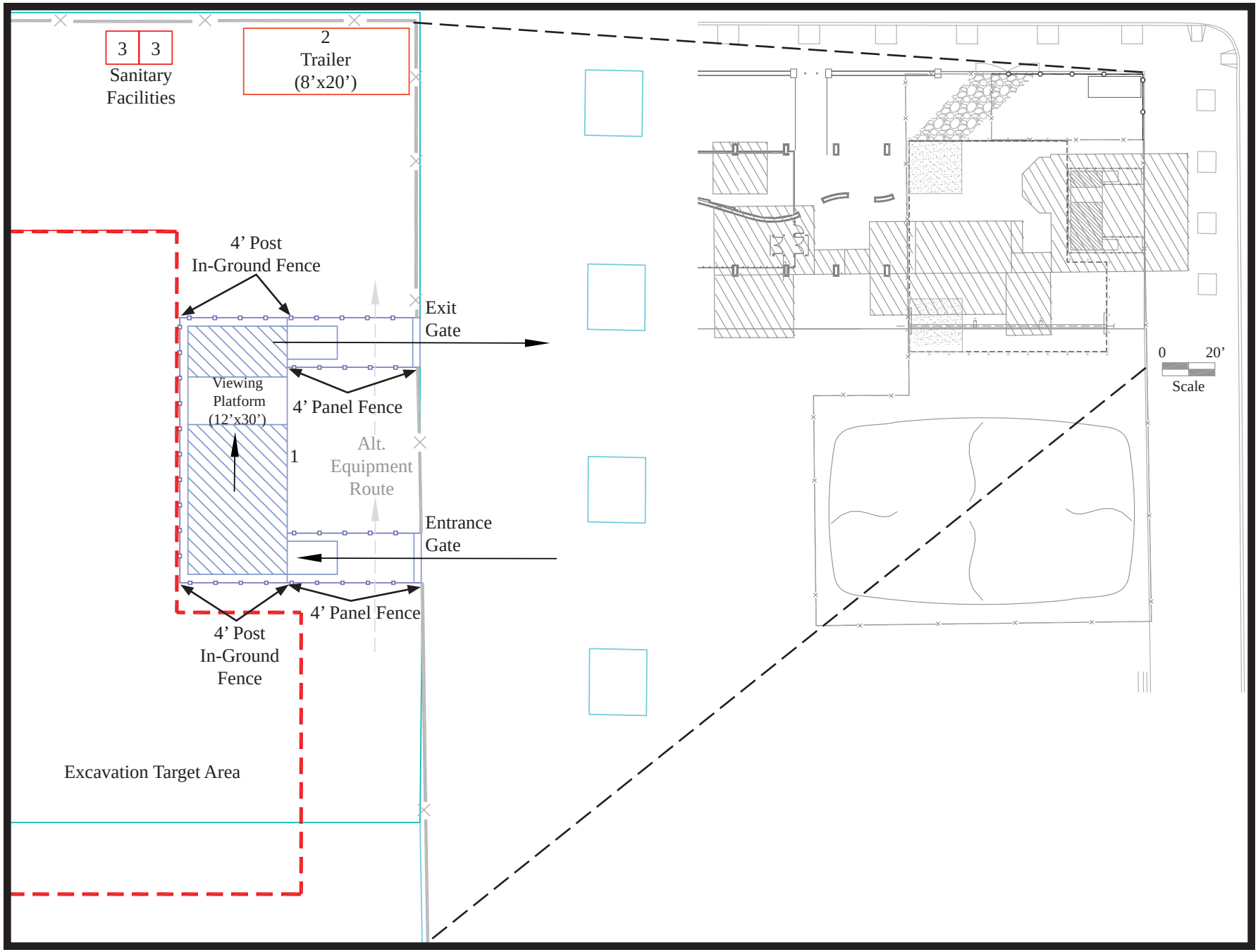


Figure 6 Proposed public viewing platform and construction trailer plan.

Appendix C
Field and Laboratory Methodology

Field Methods

Field methodologies used during the archaeological investigation of the President's House were derived from those used during prior archaeological excavations of portions of Independence Mall, including the National Constitution Center and James Oronoco Dexter Sites, located on Block 3. While some specific excavation procedures were adapted to better suit the unique circumstances and limitations of the President's House Site, the overall approach employed for both sites was the same. All methodologies used during this investigation were consistent with the requirements of the NPS's *Guidance for Archaeological Work at Independence Mall* (Inashima 1998), as well as with the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission's *Guidelines for Archaeological Investigations* (1991), as amended.

Archaeological investigations of the President's House Site in their entirety were contained within the present boundaries of Block 1. As discussed in greater detail in the main body of this report, the excavated portions of this property circumscribed an area of approximately 5,000 square feet, and encompassed most of the open space between the north side of the Liberty Bell Center and the south Market Street sidewalk. The excavation study area for this investigation encompassed the space that once contained portions of the President's House's kitchen wing, main house, steward's room, passageway, and interior courtyard.

Preparatory Activities

Preliminary work on the project was undertaken in February 2007 and involved preparations for the installation of shoring along the perimeter of the study area. These activities were initiated in order to ensure the continued stability of the Market and 6th Street roadways, as well as to provide for the safety of the archaeological crew during field investigations. The Liberty Bell Center, immediately adjacent to the project area, is the attraction with the single highest visitation rate in the city of Philadelphia, and as such the safety of visitors to the Center as well as their continued access to the Center was of concern during the development of the shoring plan. The installation of shoring required the mechanical excavation of a series of large auger holes inside the existing Market Street and 6th St. sidewalk lines, immediately north of the extant Liberty Bell Center entryway, and across the eastern extent of the proposed area of investigation. This drilling permitted the installation of a number of large vertical steel beams, or soldier piles, into these holes; the driving of soldier piles without preliminary auger holes carries an unacceptable risk of negative impact to subsurface archaeological resources. All piles were set into holes excavated a maximum of 22 feet below ground surface, and were grouted into place. During the subsequent archaeological investigations, these piles formed the supportive framework into which wooden planks were inserted to complete the shoring process. In developing this shoring system, available maps of the President's House Site were consulted; soldier piles were placed in a pattern that both maximizes the efficiency and safety of the shoring, while at the same time was unlikely to directly impact any known or anticipated archeological resources within the site. AECOM archaeologists monitored all auger drilling and examined by hand all excavated material for any evidence of subsurface artifact deposits or features.

Preliminary preparations for the archaeological investigation also included the installation of fixed 6-foot high chain-link fencing around the entirety of the proposed site area, as well as the construction of a wooden 12 x 30-foot viewing platform at the northern extent of the excavation. This stage was configured so as to permit a venue for the safe observation of the archaeological investigation by park visitors, while also creating a controlled arena for interaction between interested parties and the archaeologists.

Grid System

The site reference and mapping grid used for the President's House excavation was based on the engineer's scale measuring system (feet and tenths of feet) and extended north and east from an origin (N-0, E-0) corresponding to the far southeast corner of the original property. The exact location of the property and of its southeast corner within Block 1 was taken from historically accurate CAD maps provided by the

National Park Service. Grid north within this system paralleled the north-south alignment of the extant Liberty Bell Center and its associated wall and exterior columns.

The establishment of an initial grid reference point on the ground was accomplished by first digitally overlaying the grid framework across the President's House property within the site CAD map, then searching for a known, easily identifiable feature on the site surface that closely corresponded to a known grid location. In this instance the known feature selected was the far northeastern column associated with the Liberty Bell Center. Careful measurement from the column to a designated whole integer grid point, corresponding to coordinates N 65 E 55, was the means by which the grid reference point was finalized. The second reason for using the northeast Bell Center column as the grid datum point was because the ground surface elevation at the base of this column had been previously surveyed and established by the NPS. As such, it also provided a known vertical reference elevation within the overall site grid (30.29 feet above mean sea level [asl]) that could be used as a benchmark for establishing similar readings for archaeological resources identified within the site. All President's House Site mapping was accomplished from this datum point using Total Station surveying equipment, capable of determining horizontal and vertical location (measured in feet above sea level [fasl]) within the study area to an accuracy of 1/100th of a foot. Additional mapping stations and known elevations around the perimeter of the excavation area were subsequently established with the Total Station from this initial grid reference position. The overlay of the archaeological grid atop historically accurate block maps permitted the correlation with and subsequent assignment of historical lot numbers to specific grid coordinates; this information was used to define subsections within the area of investigation, and the President's House Site archaeological discoveries (walls, features, etc.) were assigned 19th century lot designations (e.g., Lot 524 = 524 Market Street) in addition to precise archaeological grid coordinates. These lot assignments helped to provide context and define the construction period for some of the archaeological discoveries.

Bulk Excavation

Initial excavations of the President's House Site were begun on March 21, 2007 and involved the use of large mechanized backhoes to remove the preliminary four feet of fill and rubble that covered the site. This initial four-foot bulk excavation was designed to expose any active utility lines that traversed the project area, and to prepare them for subsequent shoring and/or relocation. Machine access into the project area required the establishment of a temporary ramp that traversed the middle of the site from west to east. This ramp was removed as the final step of the bulk excavation actions.

Bulk-excavated soils were transported from the excavation area to the spoils storage area, located adjacent to and immediately outside the eastern project area boundary. All machine-assisted excavations were monitored by AECOM archaeologists and extended only to the depths at which intact resources were encountered. Once undisturbed resources were identified, the remaining fill material was removed by a combination of manual and machine effort, so that any potentially significant features would not be inadvertently impacted prior to their controlled testing and excavation, as well as to facilitate the search for any possible intact soil deposits.

Feature Excavation Methodology

Once the site had been completely cleared of rubble and other debris and all intrusive utility lines had been either shored or relocated, exposed foundation walls and features were thoroughly mapped using the Total Station and recorded on hand-drawn site maps. Features were also assigned identifying numbers in sequence. Architectural elements were next fully documented using high resolution digital, color slide, and black-and-white photography, and were examined to determine if any components of the President's House's dwelling were preserved within the site. Wherever possible, foundation walls and other architectural elements were left preserved in place during subsequent feature testing efforts. Only in instances where their presence impeded access to underlying or adjacent feature deposits were they dismantled.

Historical features identified within the President's House Site included both brick-lined shaft (privy) and non-shaft pits, along with a series of utility and construction related disturbances, and were excavated

using a standardized overall approach. Prior to the start of excavation all features were first mapped and photographed *in situ*, and were then bisected in order to establish internal stratigraphy, to facilitate the preliminary dating of any artifact-bearing horizons present, and to enable the identification of intact deposits that might be associated with the period of the President's House's occupation of the site. Bisected deposits were removed by observed strata (layers), without any subdivision of individual horizons by arbitrary excavation levels. During this process excavation data (opening and closing elevations, samples recovered, photographs taken, etc.) were recorded on standardized field forms, as were detailed notes describing the material composition, color, texture, and artifact content of each stratum. Once the bisection was completed, the exposed feature cross-section was photographed, documented on hand-drawn profile maps, and the remaining intact feature deposits were carefully excavated using the same methodology.

While the excavation of identified privy shafts adhered to the above basic methodology, the unique circumstances of their construction mandated the adoption of some procedural changes. Given the limited space within the confines of the President's House project area, along with the extreme depth to which these structures were likely to extend, all shaft features were excavated within wooden shoring boxes which resembled something akin to vertical mine shafts. At the commencement of the archaeological investigation, the possibility of incorporating undisturbed and *in situ* feature elements into a post-excavation public site commemoration had not been dismissed. Box shoring was therefore scaled and situated so as to bisect the diameter of the shaft feature, thereby permitting the retention of half of the feature shaft in an undisturbed state. Testing of shafts within the box shoring involved the use of machine assistance to remove undisturbed soils from around the upper exterior of the feature so as to expose sections of the shaft in a series of approximately four (4) foot segments. Once each four-foot section was exposed, AECOM archaeologists dismantled the brick shaft walls by hand and examined the internal feature contents. Secondary fills and rubble contained within the each shaft feature were randomly sampled to determine the content and approximate age of associated artifacts, but were not screened or further examined, and were subsequently discarded. This procedure was repeated for every four-foot section of each shaft until either intact artifact-bearing deposits were identified, or the bottom of the feature was reached. In cases where intact deposits potentially dating to the period of the President's House's occupation were encountered the process of bisection and full excavation described above was followed.

Artifact/Sample Collection and Treatment

One hundred percent of all excavated intact shaft feature soils, as well as retained random samples of secondary shaft feature fill deposits, were water-screened on site using water transported via standard garden hoses from the adjacent Liberty Bell Center. The screening system employed a two-tiered, graduated screen configuration, consisting of common 1/4 - inch hardware cloth over 1/16-inch window mesh, and was designed to permit the recovery a more complete artifact sample than that produced by most archaeological investigations. Water screening activities were confined to the margins of previously and deeply disturbed portion of the site (Feature 1 in Lot 530 and the furnace/elevator pit in Lot 524) in order to minimize any potential impacts to intact site areas. The presence of these deep disturbances also facilitates the leeching of screen water into the underlying ground surface. The contents of the few non-shaft features encountered during the President's House investigation were dry-screened through 1/4 - inch hardware cloth only. Artifacts collected from both wet and dry screens were assigned a unique, sequential Field Sample (FS#) number (each linked to data regarding the feature and stratum from which the associated artifacts were recovered), afforded any appropriate temporary stabilization procedures that may be required, retained in plastic bags labeled with precise horizontal and vertical provenience information, and temporarily stored in sturdy cardboard Banker's Boxes within the secure onsite construction trailer. Artifact boxes were periodically transferred to the nearby Independence Living History Center Archaeology Laboratory, operated by the National Park Service, for subsequent processing and analysis by AECOM material culture specialists.

In addition to the artifacts themselves, constant-volume soil samples were collected from all fully excavated feature strata and retained for flotation and subsequent macro-botanical, micro-botanical, and parasitological analyses studies. Where permissible, a standardized volume of six (6) liters of soil was retrieved from each intact stratum. These soils were transferred to the AECOM laboratory facility in

Burlington, New Jersey for processing. A more detailed discussion of flotation processing can be found below.

Following the conclusion of all excavation activities the President's House Site was carefully prepared for temporary reburial in such a manner as to ensure the continued preservation of architectural elements. All architectural elements were lined with a protective geotechnical construction fabric, and the entire excavation footprint was carefully capped with clean fill and broadcast with replacement grass seed.

Laboratory Methods

Laboratory Analyses and Artifact Conservation

Artifacts excavated during the President's House investigation were processed and inventoried in a public setting within the Independence Living History Center Archaeology Laboratory in Philadelphia. All artifacts and samples recovered from the President's House Site were fully processed, analyzed, conserved, and curated in accordance with NPS standards. Processing of recovered materials was conducted by qualified AECOM laboratory staff under the direction of NPS laboratory supervisors, and included the specific tasks outlined and discussed in greater detail below.

Computerization of Artifact Data

To facilitate information collection, record a high level of detail, and to allow complex relational analyses of artifact data, AECOM utilizes a centralized, but unconstrained three-tiered artifact data management and analytic system. Through the creation of databases with free-flowing structures, AECOM is able to maximize computable information while minimizing data-entry time. AECOM's three-tiered system allows for the recording of artifacts in increasing levels of detail, dependant on the quality of the artifact's archaeological context. AECOM employs Microsoft *Access* (2003), augmented by text editing programs, to prepare and display information for complete and timely completion of research. This software is compatible with the NPS-required ANCS+ database software.

The first tier of analysis records the provenience, count, type, and form of artifacts. For the sake of consistency, artifact types are drawn from a master list, although new types can be added at any time. The second tier of analysis involves spatial and qualitative artifact patterning. The third tier of analysis concerns specialized studies of artifacts from site contexts with good integrity. Such specialized studies include, but are not limited to, frequency analyses, minimum vessel counts for ceramic and glass artifacts, and vessel reconstruction.

Analysts enter information directly into the computer database by using English terms, rather than codes. AECOM has developed a database for the inventory and analysis of archaeological collections that facilitates data input and report generation. The database has pull-down menus that include standard terms (i.e., red-bodied earthenware, pearlware, etc.), but that can also accept unique items. Direct input from the analysts eliminates two steps in the artifact analysis process: recording on paper forms and having a non-material specialist enter information into the database. This procedure also reduces errors in data entry, since the individuals who analyze the data input the information. AECOM maintained a daily computer backup file of all data.

The data-entry form encompasses, at minimum, information about artifact numbers, types, forms, and decorations. Weight is also recorded for some artifacts (i.e., window glass; brick, mortar, and plaster fragments; and coal), where weight can be more significant than simple count. Further information—about part present, condition, wear, etc.—was also tabulated. Additional fields are available for the description of glass and ceramic vessels and the comments field is a memo (i.e., unrestricted in length) field. This system is able to accommodate all classes of artifacts. A variety of reports and queries was generated using Microsoft *Access* (2003 version), according to the needs of the project. Microsoft *Excel* (2003 version) was then used to manipulate the data and to generate tables, charts, and graphs, as needed.

Artifact Conservation

Concurrent with artifact processing and analyses, materials recovered from the site were examined by AECOM laboratory personnel for the purpose of identifying any specific objects, or groups of objects that may have required immediate stabilization or conservation measures. Any required stabilization measures were initiated immediately to ensure that significant artifact degradation did not occur. Assessment and conservation of artifacts was an ongoing laboratory process throughout the project. Passive conservation measures, such as the use of proper storage bags and archival materials, were applied to the entire collection. The only artifact recovered from the site that required more involved conservation measures was the wooden pump section removed from Feature 3. The full conservation of that artifact was completed by the firm of Cultural Preservation & Restoration, Inc. of Blairstown, NJ, under the direction of Dr. Gary McGowan.

Artifact Processing

All artifacts and samples recovered from the President's House Site underwent standard processing in preparation for their subsequent analysis and interpretation. During this stage of work artifacts were washed with soft-bristle brushes using water mixed with a mild, non-ionic detergent (such as Orvis) and were air-dried on racks. Artifacts with fragile surfaces (such as tin-glazed ceramics or porcelains with over-glaze decorations) were washed separately. Objects requiring special stabilization were separated from the larger collection and prepared for their specified treatments.

Once artifacts were allowed to thoroughly dry, artifacts from each depositional context identified were sorted by gross raw material category (e.g., ceramic, glass, metal, etc.). A sample of artifacts of each represented type, and from each represented archeological context will then be labeled with appropriate identifying numbers (ANCS+ catalog numbers) using quill pens and ink.

After artifacts are washed, labeled, and sorted by gross type, they were placed in various sized 4-mil polyethylene bags labeled on the outside with appropriate provenience information using permanent markers. If there is more than one bag per context, the bags were clearly labeled as "Bag 1 of N," etc. Within each context bag, artifacts were separated by type (ceramic, glass, metal, etc.). Artifact bags were stored in Hollinger archival quality, acid-free storage boxes measuring 15" x 12½" x 10. Box contents were identified on their exteriors. Any artifacts that did not fit in a standard sized box were wrapped in protective, archival material and labeled appropriately. The paperwork (field records, maps, profiles, etc.) for the project will also be stored in acid-free archival boxes labeled with their contents. Oversized documents were rolled and placed in document sleeves.

Artifact Analyses

Basic analyses performed on recovered historical artifacts included the identification of key characteristics for each object, including general form and function (e.g., cut nail - architectural), material composition (ceramic, glass, metal, etc.), ware type (creamware, lead glass, white ball clay, etc.), manufacturing technique, decoration, date of manufacture, and maker's marks (if present), following accepted standards delineated in Hume (1969), South (1977), and Miller et al. (2001), among others. Dated artifacts were utilized to establish *terminus post quem* (TPQ), *terminus ante quem* (TAQ), and mean dates for specified intact archaeological deposits. Artifacts recovered from intact and/or primary deposits additionally underwent more intensive analyses designed to facilitate the interpretation of these materials and the context in which they were found, as well as to help answer the research questions developed for this project. In particular, glass and ceramic artifacts were cross-mended (where possible) both within and between appropriate depositional contexts, and the mending information used to calculate the minimum number of vessels present (MNV). Additional artifact characteristics were recorded for identified vessels, including that related to details of decoration, use-wear, and specific functions. Comparative statistical data were generated for artifacts recovered from each identified depositional/study unit within discreet features.

Photo-documentation of the Artifact Assemblage

Selected diagnostic artifacts were photo-documented during the analytic process. Photographs were taken primarily for two reasons: 1) to use in reports, exhibitions, brochures, professional presentations, and other public outreach projects, and 2) to provide a visual record of some of the artifacts and artifact processing, particularly during conservation. The photographs were primarily high-resolution (7 megapixels or greater) digital color images, with some black and white prints taken as needed for recordation purposes. The artifacts chosen for photography were from significant contexts or were noteworthy as examples of particular classes of material, styles, or manufacturing techniques.

Faunal Remains

The basic identification, quantification, and analysis of faunal artifacts were performed by AECOM lab staff. Because no substantial intact artifact deposits dating to the 18th century, and to the President's House period in particular, were identified within the site the analysis of faunal remains from this assemblage was limited. All faunal remains were identified at the genus level (i.e., mammal, bird, fish), with occasional refinement to the family level (e.g., rodent) where possible. No analysis to study patterns of butchery or other bone modification was conducted; however, where relevant the appearance of rodent gnaw marks were documented.

Macrobotanical Remains

The identification and analysis of floral (botanical/plant) remains was also conducted by AECOM lab staff, for the same reasons stated above. Botanical materials recovered from soil floatation samples were sorted according to taxonomic categories (e.g., wood, seed, nutshell) and quantified by weight and fragment count. Specimens were analyzed under low magnification (10X-40X) and identified as to species, family, or genus, depending on the degree of preservation and representation. Analytical findings were included in the electronic database created for this project.

Soil Flotation

Of the three total liters collected from feature deposits, approximately one to one and a half liters of each sample were subjected to flotation so as to isolate appropriate samples for archaeobotanical examination. Flotation samples were processed using a custom-made system that utilized pressurized streams of water to agitate the soil matrix, and separate out all vegetative material present. The use of this system resulted in the recovery of both heavy and light fraction botanical sub-sets for each sample provenience. Heavy fraction materials were collected in 1/16th-inch nylon mesh, while light fraction materials were strained from the float effluent using high-density nylon hosiery fabric. The isolated light and heavy fraction samples were subsequently allowed to air-dry before being placed into clearly labeled plastic bags and prepared for transfer to the project botanical specialist. Artifacts recovered from each sample context were subsequently sorted by type, placed in plastic bags labeled with all appropriate provenience and other identifying information, and prepared for subsequent specialized studies or other analyses. The remaining portions of each soil sample were retained in labeled plastic bags and set aside for long-term curation and for use in microbotanical/ parasitological portions of the analysis.

Permanent Curation of the Collection

All artifacts were packed for permanent curation following NPS requirements. Artifacts were packed using only acid-free, durable materials. Subsequent to the completion of the technical report, the NPS will receive all project related products, including the artifact collection, final report, and additional project documents including field notes, field records, maps, and photographs.

Appendix D
George Zorn & Co. Pipes

Appendix D

George Zorn & Co. Pipes

Although not part of the focus of the project, a unique assemblage of smoking pipes and smoking-related artifacts was found in two features during the excavations of the President's House Site: Feature 22, near the front of 524 Market Street, and Feature 5 to the rear and side of that same lot.

Features 22 and 5 contained large numbers of white and red clay pipes and smoking-related artifacts (Tables D.1 and D.2—the relevant artifacts are in the commercial and manufacturing functional groups).

Table D.1. Feature 22 functional groups.

Group	Count	Percent
Architectural	597	9.3%
Arms	1	0.0%
Commercial	4046	63.1%
Fauna	413	6.4%
Flora	155	2.4%
Fuel	33	0.5%
Hardware	11	0.2%
Household	1004	15.6%
Manufacturing	41	0.6%
Personal	14	0.2%
Tool	1	0.0%
Unidentified	100	1.6%
TOTAL	6416	

Table D.2. Feature 5 functional groups.

Group	Count	Percent
Architectural	119	21.9%
Commercial	299	55.1%
Fauna	10	1.8%
Fuel	3	0.6%
Household	107	19.7%
Personal	4	0.7%
Unidentified	1	0.2%
TOTAL	543	

The feature deposits were soon linked to the firm of George Zorn & Co., importers and manufacturers with premises at 524 Market Street from the late nineteenth through the mid-twentieth centuries. The analysis of the smoking pipes and smoking-related paraphernalia from Features 22 and 5 was immeasurably aided by comparisons of the artifacts to a circa-1892 catalog of George Zorn & Co. reprinted by Paul Jung, a scholar of smoking pipes (Zorn 1989). Mr. Jung also visited the AECOM laboratory in Burlington to discuss the collection with the authors of this appendix.

George Zorn & Co. imported, manufactured, repaired, and sold smoking pipes of all kinds at retail and wholesale. George Zorn Sr. was born in the town of Leutkirch in southern Germany on April 23, 1854 (United States Passport Application, 1881). He came to the United States in 1871, according to the 1910 census, and was in Philadelphia at least by 1877, when the city directory noted him as a "segar" (cigar) seller at 729 South 6th Street; in 1878, he was selling pipes at an address on North 5th Street (Gopsill 1877; Costa 1878). In the 1880 census, he was listed as a 26-year-old pipe maker living at 158 3rd Street with his 24-year-old German-born wife Annie and their four-year-old Pennsylvania-born daughter Lydia (United States Census 1880). The census of industry for that year included him in the 6–14 employees category and noted he had a capital investment of $600 and gross sales of $3,000 annually, not a paltry sum (Jung preface in Zorn 1989). A city business directory for the same year identified him as an importer of pipes (Boyd's 1880:510, cited in Zorn 1989). His pipe business was probably conducted from his residence, as there were only single entries for him in the 1879 through 1885 directories (Costa 1879–1885). For one year, however, he might

have had separate living and working establishments: his listing in the 1878 directory was "256 ½ & h [home] 254 No 5th," indicating that his business and home were close by each other, but not in the same structure.

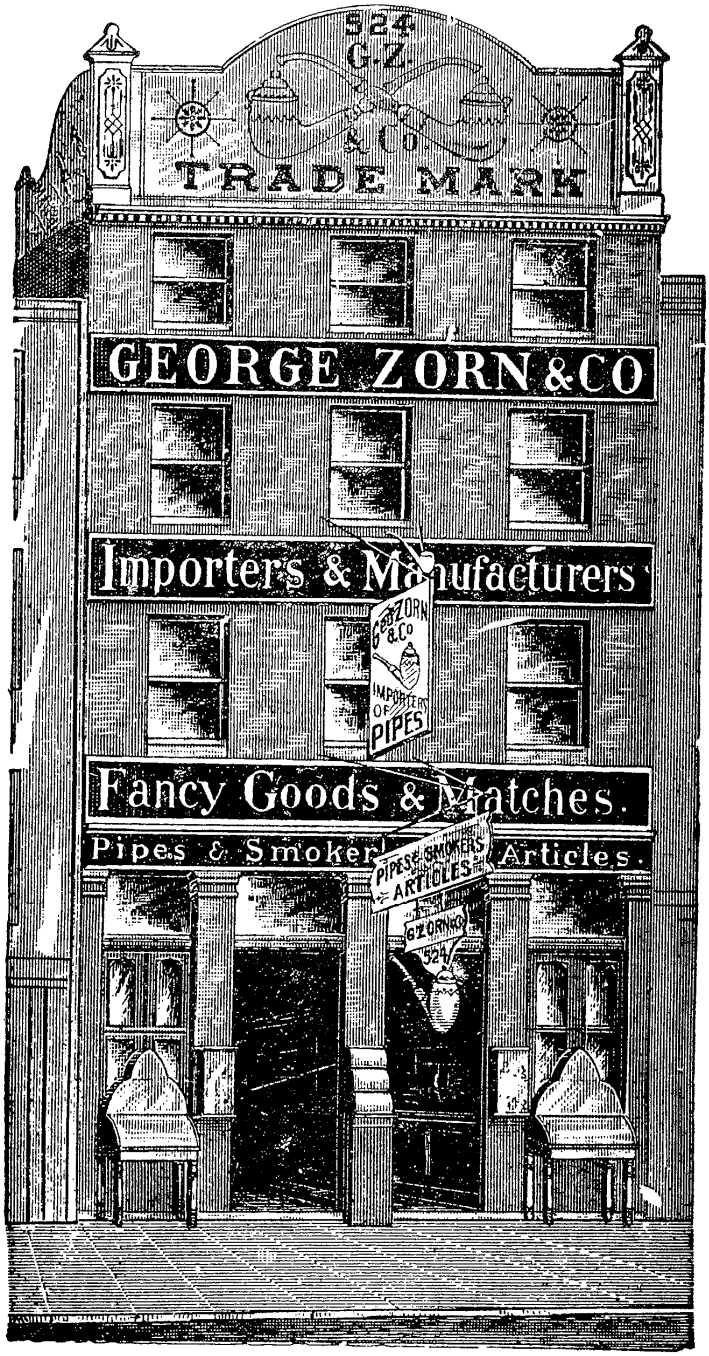
Sometime in 1885 or 1886, he moved his business to 524 Market Street and his home to North 3rd Street (Costa 1885, 1886). The Zorn business remained at this Market Street address until the late 1940s. By 1895, the family resided at North 15th Street, where they stayed until at least 1910 (Howe 1910). In the 1910 census, Zorn was at that address with his son George Jr., his daughter Lydia, her husband Otto[1] Pfatteicher, and daughter Dorothy, and a German-born niece. Zorn's occupation was listed as "manufacturer," while his son and son-in-law were "salesmen," probably in the family firm (United States Census 1910). Zorn died "suddenly" July 13, 1922 and his burial was from his son-in-law's house at South 51st Street (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, July 14, 1922).

George Zorn (or his family) either came to the United States with some means or was able to amass enough resources within a relatively short time to become successful. Within nine years of his arrival in this country, he was an employer of others rather than a worker for others; by 1889, his business was noted as selling "in every State and Territory of the Union" from its "great wholesale establishment" (extract from *Tobacco Record*, transcribed in Zorn 1889:156). The *Tobacco Record* described it as:

> …an establishment, Philadelphia and the tobacco world in special, can be proud of. It is the monstrous, handsomely and well equipped Pipe Store, owned and conducted by the well-known, active and enterprising firm of George Zorn & Co., 524 Market Street. This firm supplies all and every article needed in a tobacco store, outside of the weed itself, or in other words, all fixtures, show cases, cigar and tobacco cutters, lamps, lights, show figures, pipes from the cheapest clay up to the finest meerschaum, matches, both foreign and domestic, embracing parlor, sulphur, safety, wax and wind matches, all of the best make and at manufacturers' or importers' prices. Also playing cards in endless variety—the leading brands only. … The store and entire building [four floors and basement, all occupied by Zorn & Co.] is equipped with ALL THE MODERN IMPROVEMENTS and the cash is conveyed by the Lamson Cash Carrier system. Polite and attentive salesmen attend to the patrons who come to the store, and the outside trade is done by a beautifully illustrated 160 page catalogue, with over 1000 illustrations, mailed free to any dealer … once on the record of this house, he [the dealer] is mailed a monthly sheet regularly, which announces all the novelties as they appear in the World's market, also reports any bargains which may be on hand, and of which there is no scarcity with a house, having their purchasing agent both here and abroad, in all manufacturing centres.

We cannot tell from the vantage point of the present day if an unbiased observer or Zorn himself wrote this encomium. Nevertheless, Zorn's reprinted catalog is evidence of a thriving business circa 1890 (Figure D.1). As already noted, he continued working at 524 Market Street and living at 1425 North 15th Street until 1910. Something, however, went wrong between 1900 and 1910. The 1900 census listed the Zorn household as consisting of Zorn, his wife, their two sons and one daughter (Zorn and both his 18- and 20-year-old sons are listed as "merchants"), a young woman boarder, and two young women servants, recent immigrants from Germany (United States Census 1900). The 1910 census included no servants. In 1903, according to the August 12, 1903 *Philadelphia Inquirer*, the district attorney prosecuted Zorn—along with three other wholesale and retail merchants—at the urging of the coroner, for selling toy pistols. Apparently a dozen boys had died from tetanus that summer as a result of injuries sustained playing with toy pistols while celebrating the Fourth of July. Zorn was accused of selling pistols at wholesale to a retail merchant, who in turn sold one of the toys that resulted in the death of a 10-year-old boy. Zorn and the others were the victims of prosecutorial zeal: the "authorities are determined to stop the sale of such pistols, so as to prevent deaths from a similar cause next year" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, August 12, 1903). The outcome of the case has not yet been found in newspaper

1. Zorn's daughter and her husband are listed as Laura and Oliver, but their correct names were Lydia and Otto, as evidenced by other censuses, Zorn's obituary, and their gravestones. Whether the name change came from a member of the family or was the census taker's mistake is unknown.



Front View of Building
524 MARKET ST.

Figure D.1. Zorn's Store, circa 1892 (Source: Zorn 1989:156).

or court records, but it could not have done Zorn's business any good. A later notice in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, for August 13, 1910, noted that George Zorn & Co. was bankrupt. The firm's property at 524 Market Street was to be sold that summer by the Penn National Bank, but the sale was halted due to the absence of the bankruptcy judges from the city. Some accommodation must have been reached with the creditors (see Chapter 3), because the firm continued to be listed at the same location in the 1911 and 1912 directories. The 1913 directory listing, however, is for George Zorn Jr. & Co. "pipes" at 524 Market Street. Directories were prepared in advance and information was not quickly updated, so it is possible the 1913 directory reflects changes made a year or two earlier. After 1913, the firm is always listed as George Zorn Jr. Co.

In 1915, in addition to the "pipes" at 524 Market Street, a new listing appeared for George Jr.: "Zorn Novelty Co & George Jr. & Co," with no business address but a home address at 5826 Pine Street. The next year, both the "pipes" and the novelty company are listed at the Market Street address and continue to be listed this way until 1922 (the last year included in the online directories at footnote.com). Paul Jung stated that the two businesses continued at Market Street until 1925, after which only the novelty company appeared in the directories (Zorn 1989: Jung preface). The business under George Jr. was long-lived (Figure Z.2). On his 1942 World War II draft registration card (he was part of the group of men born between 1877 and 1897 required to register but never called up), he described himself as self-employed in his business at 524 Market Street. He and his wife now lived in Drexel Hill and had done so since before 1934, based on the evidence of a list of ship's passengers who arrived in New York City from Kingston, Jamaica, in that year. The building was sold, and presumably closed, in 1949 (see Chapter 3).

Figure D.2. 1947 Photograph of the George Zorn Jr. store.

George Zorn & Co. was in business during the waning years of the clay pipe industry. The industry in general declined during the first decades of the twentieth century; in England, for example, "clay-pipe manufacture as an industry had virtually come to an end [by 1914, the start of the First World War], leaving only a few well-established makers to meet the small but continuing demand" (Ayto 2002:10). Clay pipes were used for blow bubbles after they were no longer popular for smoking tobacco, but they were finally replaced by cheaper and more colorful plastic in the 1950s. George Zorn Jr.'s concentration on novelties of all sorts rather than tobacco pipes was probably due not only to his firm's own particular circumstances, but also to the state of the industry as a whole.

Features 22 and 5

Most of the Zorn materials were found in Feature 22 (see Tables Z.1 and Z.2). Out of a total count of 6,416 artifacts and pieces of faunal material for the fill in and above Feature 22, 4,086 (or 63.7%) were smoking pipes or pipe-related artifacts. The pipes were not distributed evenly. In the first three levels—which consisted of an ash deposit that overlaid and extended beyond the brick-lined feature shaft—pipes made up between 89.7% and 98.9% of the artifacts (Table D.3). However, these levels were not screened and the artifacts were collected by grab sampling from what was identified at that point as an ash layer surrounded and intermixed with red clay (see Chapter 4). The pipes themselves are not burned. Only thirty-five artifacts were collected from the first level (Stratum 4) within the shaft itself, but twenty-three were pipes. Strata 5 through 7 had varying amounts of pipes, but in each they were the majority of the collected artifacts; Stratum 8 was a concentration of clay pipes and related artifacts. At its base were two large pieces of wood separating it from Stratum 9, a sterile layer. Stratum 10 was a lime layer, over 1 foot thick, mottled with sterile soils. The artifacts in the strata below this lime layer were very different than those in the strata above; there were very

few smoking pipes and the datable artifacts in these lower strata (with the possible exception of the almost whole Asian porcelain saucer discussed in Chapter 4) were manufactured during the eighteenth century. (The high count of artifacts in the household group in Stratum 12 is due mainly to large amounts of bottle glass.) The only artifacts recovered from the lowest stratum (13) were from the flotation sample: small pieces of shell, bone, brick, mortar, charcoal, redware, and bottle glass.

Table D.3. Artifact groups from Feature 22.

Stratum	Group	Count	Percent
Stratum 1	Architectural	23	6.3%
	Commercial	330	89.7%
	Fauna	5	1.4%
	Household	6	1.6%
	Personal	1	0.3%
	Unidentified	3	0.8%
Stratum 1 Total		368	
Stratum 2	Architectural	1	0.1%
	Commercial	1042	98.9%
	Fauna	3	0.3%
	Household	2	0.2%
	Unidentified	6	0.6%
Stratum 2 Total		1054	
Stratum 3	Commercial	251	98.8%
	Fauna	1	0.4%
	Personal	2	0.8%
Stratum 3 Total		254	
Stratum 4	Architectural	4	11.4%
	Commercial	23	65.7%
	Fauna	7	20.0%
	Household	1	2.9%
Stratum 4 Total		35	
Stratum 5	Architectural	75	30.4%
	Commercial	90	36.4%
	Fauna	23	9.3%
	Fuel	3	1.2%
	Hardware	2	0.8%
	Household	12	4.9%
	Manufacturing	25	10.1%
	Personal	2	0.8%
	Unidentified	15	6.1%
Stratum 5 Total		247	

Table D.3. Artifact groups from Feature 22 (Cont'd).

Stratum	Group	Count	Percent
Stratum 6	Architectural	50	18.7%
	Commercial	165	61.6%
	Fauna	18	6.7%
	Fuel	4	1.5%
	Household	3	1.1%
	Manufacturing	14	5.2%
	Unidentified	14	5.2%
Stratum 6 Total		268	
Stratum 7	Architectural	2	3.1%
	Commercial	61	95.3%
	Household	1	1.6%
Stratum 7 Total		64	
Stratum 8	Architectural	315	12.3%
	Commercial	1997	78.0%
	Fuel	13	0.5%
	Hardware	4	0.2%
	Household	196	7.7%
	Manufacturing	2	0.1%
	Personal	1	0.0%
	Unidentified	31	1.2%
Stratum 8 Total		2559	
Stratum 9 was sterile			
Stratum 10 was lime			
Stratum 11	Architectural	1	2.4%
	Fauna	7	16.7%
	Flora	26	61.9%
	Fuel	3	7.1%
	Household	5	11.9%
Stratum 11 Total		42	
Stratum 12	Architectural	124	9.2%
	Arms	1	0.1%
	Fauna	329	24.4%
	Flora	68	5.0%
	Fuel	10	0.7%
	Hardware	5	0.4%
	Household	770	57.0%

Table D.3. Artifact groups from Feature 22 (Cont'd).

Stratum	Group	Count	Percent
	Personal	13	1.0%
	Tool	1	0.1%
	Unidentified	29	2.1%
Stratum 12 Total		1350	
Stratum 13	Architectural	0*	0.0%
	Fauna	20	22.0%
	Flora	61	67.0%
	Fuel	0*	0.0%
	Household	8	8.8%
	Unidentified	2	2.2%
Stratum 13 Total		91	
General Excavations	Commercial	82	
	Architectural	2	
General Excavations Total		84	
GRAND TOTAL		6416	

***** Brick, mortar, and coal from the heavy fractions were weighed rather than counted.

It was obvious from the stratigraphy and the recovered artifacts that there were at least two different deposits in this shaft feature. The lower, beneath the lime layer (Stratum 10), was probably deposited while the shaft feature was in use. The upper was connected with the Zorn firm and was probably done to fill the shaft before the basement floor was covered with cement. However, two questions were outstanding: What was the original purpose and date of the feature and when was it filled? Lawler cites Works Progress Administration (WPA) research notes, which record a conversation with George Zorn Jr. The WPA team observed a depression in the cement basement floor of 524 Market Street that Zorn told them was "'the old Washington well' which he remembered from before the floor was laid as 'round, about three or four feet in diameter and fifty feet deep.'" Lawler is of the opinion that Zorn was wrong and that this well was actually connected to the four-story building constructed in 1804 by Anthony Kennedy (see Chapter 3). Lawler thought that the original wellhead would have been at the old grade level, and that the top 8 to 10 feet were truncated. This seems to assume that the 1804 building did not extend in front to the sidewalk line, which Zorn's store did, or that the 1804 building did not span the width of the lot (see Figures Z.1 and Z.2). Thus, either there was extensive remodeling or rebuilding of the four-story building at 524 Market Street between 1804 and 1892, which included extending either the front or the side wall of the building to cover the well, or the well was in the basement of the 1804 building.

The inclusion of a lime layer in a shaft feature usually indicates the feature was used as a privy, no matter what its original function. Whether or not this feature was so used, George Zorn Jr. described it as a well, although it is possible he either did not know about any later function or did not care to mention it as an unseemly use for a water source associated with the founding father.

It is unfortunate that the WPA researchers did not ask Zorn, or Lawler did not record, the date the cement floor was laid. Based on the presence of the pipes in the fill and on George Jr.'s memory of the feature, it must have been after 1885 or 1886 when George Zorn Sr. moved his business to this location. He bought the property in 1888 (see Chapter 3) and might have made some renovations at this time. The 1889 extract from the *Tobacco Record* stated that

> The basement is fairly filled with clay pipes, and from 8,000 to 10,000 1 and 3 gross boxes are constantly kept in stock. A strong elevator, with automatic improvements, combines these five floors [four upper levels and the basement], and facilitates the shipping and receiving of the heavy goods [Zorn 1989:156].

It is thus not unlikely that the shaft was filled and the cement floor laid circa 1888. The artifacts do not contradict this date, as none have beginning dates of manufacture after this time. Two pipe stems are stamped "Germany," but this does not automatically mean they were made after the implementation of the McKinley Tariff in 1891, which mandated that country of origin be placed on imported goods, as other imported pipes are not marked. George Jr. would have been nine years old in 1888 and could well have remembered the feature and its purported connection with Washington.

Another shaft feature in this same lot, Feature 5 (identified as a privy), also contained a number of smoking-related artifacts: 299 (55.1%) of the 543 artifacts in the feature's fill. The strata in Feature 5 were a series of fill deposits (see Chapter 4). Most of the artifacts recovered from Feature 5 were in Stratum 2 (Table D.4). The latest artifact in this stratum was a blob-top bottle embossed "A. WAGNER & CO./ PHILADELPHIA." The bottle was dated via its manufacturing technology to 1879–1909. The termini post quem (TPQs) for the lower strata are 1864. The small number of artifacts recovered from Feature 5 makes these dates not particularly strong indicators of dates of deposition, and ceramics manufactured during the eighteenth or early nineteenth centuries were present in most strata, although in low numbers and small sherd sizes. It thus appears that Feature 5 was filled with secondary refuse, possibly yard deposits included in soils from other areas within the lot, in addition to the clay pipes, which probably came directly from Zorn's store.

Table D.4. Artifact groups from Feature 5.

Stratum	Group	Count	Percent
Stratum 1	Architectural	7	38.9%
	Commercial	7	38.9%
	Household	1	5.6%
	Personal	3	16.7%
Stratum 1 Total		18	
Stratum 2	Architectural	2	0.6%
	Commercial	285	90.5%
	Fauna	1	0.3%
	Household	27	8.6%
Stratum 2 Total		315	
Stratum 6	Architectural	51	42.9%
	Commercial	7	5.9%
	Fauna	7	5.9%
	Household	53	44.5%
	Personal	1	0.8%
Stratum 6 Total		119	
Stratum 7	Architectural	1	8.3%
	Fauna	2	16.7%
	Household	9	75.0%
Stratum 7 Total		12	100.0%

Table D.4. Artifact groups from Feature 5 (Cont'd).

Stratum	Group	Count	Percent
Stratum 8	Architectural	50	70.4%
	Fuel	3	4.2%
	Household	17	23.9%
	Unidentified	1	1.4%
Stratum 8 Total		71	
Stratum 9	Architectural	6	
Stratum 9 Total		6	
General Excavations	Architectural	2	
Grand Total		541	

There is no evidence for any significant temporal difference between the pipes in Feature 5 and those in Feature 22. Therefore, they will be discussed together as one assemblage, although there are differences in the variety of items in each, with Feature 22 having a greater assortment due to the much higher number of artifacts in the feature. Another concentration of pipes was found near and over Feature 22 (FS 100) and these will also be discussed as part of this assemblage. Based on the likelihood that Zorn had the concrete basement floor laid after he bought the property and before the elevator was installed, the pipes were probably deposited circa 1888. The catalog Jung reprinted was dated by him to circa 1892. The catalog and the artifacts together provide a detailed picture of the products this firm sold.

White and Red Clay Pipes

The white and red clay pipes found in Features 22 and 5 were just a part of the wares Zorn offered, as evidenced in the republished catalog (Zorn 1989). Clay pipes were on pages 4 through 21 (with some other things interspersed), wooden ("applewood, rosewood, ivy, briar, and olivewood, etc.") were on pages 27 through 50, and meerschaum and imitation meerschaum pipes were on pages 59 through 73. Pipe enthusiasts have written much about the qualities of these different materials, and each has its staunch—even fanatic—advocates, but a good explanation of the advantages of clay pipes can be found at http://groups.google.com/group/alt.smokers.pipes/msg/c232a2c42b06a2bd.

To summarize this information, clay pipes are preferred to wood pipes by some for these reasons:

- They give a cooler, drier smoke, as clay absorbs more heat.
- They are easier to clean and do not absorb the flavors of different tobaccos, nor do they add any flavor of their own.
- They do not require a breaking-in period.
- They are generally the cheapest type of pipe.

Their disadvantages are that they can be fragile if dropped or knocked, and that they can be uncomfortable and difficult to hold in the teeth.

Possibly the most pertinent factor is the relative cost of clay pipes. The Zorn catalog clearly illustrates the cost differentials. The cheapest clay pipes ("penny pipes") were sold to retailers at between $1.30 and $1.90 for a box containing three gross (432 pipes) (Zorn 1989:5, 9). When the same style of pipe was offered in both white and red clay, the red pipes were slightly more expensive than the white; on page 5, for example, a number of white pipes were listed at $1.80 per three gross, while the red ones were $1.90 for the same amount. Pipes with bent stems were also about 10 cents more per three gross than those with straight stems.

The most expensive white clay pipes (figural French Crème Gambier pipes) were $.090 per dozen, or $2.40 per 3 dozen-box (Zorn 1989:17). In comparison, the least expensive wood pipes were $.040 per dozen or $4.50 per gross, but these were the exception; many more wood pipes were in the $1.75–$2.00 per dozen and $21.00–$22.50 per gross range (Zorn 1989: 28–41). Meerschaum pipes were even more expensive: the cheapest bowls (with horn stems) were $2.00 per dozen ($23.00 per gross), but many were in the $36.00–$99.00 per dozen range (Zorn 1989:68–71).

Breakage of clay pipes during shipment was inevitable. The catalog stated, in a paragraph with the heading "IMPORTANT FOR SHOOTING GALLERIES":

> In opening from 10 to 15 three-gross boxes of Clay Pipes every day, no matter how sound they run on the average, a good deal of Breakage accumulates. To make use of it we put it up in barrels, (a barrel holding about 25 to 30 gross broken pieces) and offer it for the nominal sum of $2.00 a barrel [Zorn 1989:19].

The clay pipes found during the current excavations were obviously not disposed of in this way, possibly because they made good filler material for the shaft features. Other artifacts—raw meerschaum pieces, amber and rubber mouthpieces, and pieces of plaster molds—are less easy to explain as the result of breakage, but they were found with the clay pipes, although in small quantities and only in Feature 22 (Table D.5).

Table D.5. Pipes and related materials (sherd counts).

Material	Count
Ball Clay	3511
Terra Cotta	480
Porcelain	167
Rubber	52
Stone (Meerschaum and "Meerschaum Chip"	51
Powhattan Clay	48
Bone	24
Amber	23
Wax	20
Amberoid	3
Plaster	3
Other	2
Amber/Bone	1
Unknown	1
TOTAL	4386

Origins

Some pipes have maker's marks, but the majority is unmarked. Country or city of origin was assigned to some pipes using their maker's marks and by noting attributions in the catalog to certain pipes as "domestic" or "imported" (Table D.6).

Table D.6. Pipe fragments with identifiable manufacturing localities.

Origin	Count
Philadelphia	205
Imported [catalog attributions]	180
France	63
Domestic [catalog attributions]	47
Glasgow (Scotland)	17

Table D.6. Pipe fragments with identifiable manufacturing localities (Cont'd).

Origin	Count
Germany	16
Dublin (Ireland)	9
Brosley (England)	3
Cork (Ireland)	2
TOTAL	542

The majority of the French pipes were made by the Parisian firm of Gambier, a well-known manufacturer of high-quality pipes, in particular figural ones (Duco 1987). Two were made by another Parisian firm—Noël Brothers, and another by the St. Omer firm of Fiolet. The Glasgow-marked pipes, with one exception, either had illegible maker's marks or were not complete enough for both marks to appear. The one exception was marked "78 WHITE." The White firm was in business in Glasgow from 1805–1955, and during the late nineteenth century was one of the largest pipe manufacturers in the world (Walker 1977: 1031–1032). It is thus probable that White made all the Glasgow pipes. The only marks of a German firm found was "M & T 543" and "M & T 563" for the firm of Müllenbach and Thewald from the town of Höhr in the pottery district of the Rhineland (Reckner and Dallal in Yamin 2000:Vol VI p. 39). The identifiable Irish-made pipes are marked "O BRIEN'S MAYO STREET, DUBLIN" or simply have "CORK" on their stems. The English pipes are marked "W. SOUTHORN & CO, BROSLEY." The nineteenth-century ceramic historian Llewellyn Jewitt noted in 1878 that "Broseley has long been famous for its tobacco-pipes… a 'Broseley' is a term familiar to smokers all over the world" (Jewitt 1985:296).

The pipes noted as "Philadelphia" made (Table D.7) are somewhat problematic.

Table D.7. Philadelphia pipes.

Maker Mark	Decor Motif	Color	Count
"GZ" and "PHILA PA" molded on either side of stem	Unknown	Red	52
"GZ" and "PHILA PA" molded on either side of stem	Unknown	White	46
"GZ" and "PHILA PA" molded on either side of stem	Stamped "HOME RULE" w/ rouletted rim	Red	1
"GZ" and "PHILA PA" molded on either side of stem	"SHORT DERRY" stamped on front	White	2
"GZ" and "PHILA PA" molded on either side of stem	"TD" stamped on front	White	2
"GZ" molded on stem	"TD" stamped on front	White	2
"GZ" molded on stem	Unknown	White	70
"GZ" molded on stem with "REM …" on opposite side	Unknown	White	1
"PHILA " molded on stem	Unknown	White	1
"PHILAD ..." molded on stem	Unknown	White	1
"PHILADELPHIA" molded on stem	Unknown	Red	3
"PHILADELPHIA" molded on stem	Unknown	White	17
"PHILADELPHIA" molded on stem	Fly clinging to bottom of bowl base	White	4
"PHILADELPHIA" molded on stem	Unidentified molded linear motif	White	1
"PHILADELPHIA" on one side of the curved stem and "SPIECE MILLER & CO." on the other	Unknown	White	2
TOTAL			205

In the circa-1892 catalog, the only pipes described as "Domestic, our own make" are pipes marked "T.D." (Zorn 1989:8). (T.D. marked pipes were a common type made by many makers and the initials do not

denote any particular manufacturer.) The T.D. pipe illustrated in the catalog shows no maker's mark on its stem or bowl; however, the illustrations in the catalog generally do not show maker's marks, so this omission might not reflect the way the Zorn-made T.D. pipes actually appeared. The initials "G.Z." were apparently used as a quality assurance by Zorn, as several places in the catalog (e.g., pages 5, 8, and 9) feature this statement:

> All our clay pipes are packed in strong boxes and are marked in large letters, **G.Z.** Be careful to buy no others than those marked as "G.Z." with the number of the Pipe on one side, and stating the number of gross on the other, as these are the only Pipes in which you are sure to have full count.

Although the wording of the first sentence is somewhat ambiguous (i.e., are the boxes or the pipes marked G.Z.?), it appears from the rest of the paragraph that this mark was regularly placed on boxes shipped to retailers.

Paul Jung (personal communication 2008) is of the opinion, based on the pipes in the catalog, that Zorn did not make any other pipes in addition to the T.D. ones. In support of this, pipes with the clinging fly motif (Figure D.3) illustrated in the catalog were identified as imported (Zorn 1989:6 and 9), although in the archeological collection, the fly pipes were marked G.Z. The one pipe marked with "PHILADELPHIA" and "SPIECE MILLER & CO." was probably made for the firm of Louis D. Spiece and W. Bigler Miller tobacconists, who, according to the city directories, were in business from 1883 or earlier until 1888.[2] If Jung's opinion is correct, the Spiece Miller & Co. and the G.Z. marked pipes were made by another pipe manufacturer for sale by Zorn, but it is perhaps more likely that both were made by Zorn; some for his own retail and wholesale trade and some for sale by the tobacconists in their establishment.

Figure D.3. INDE 113901: Pipe with a fly on the bottom of the bowl and "PHILADELPHIA" molded on the stem. Probably made by George Zorn & Co.; similar pipes were advertised on pages 6, 9, and 12 of the Zorn catalog, without the "PHILADELPHIA" mark.

Motifs

A variety of motifs are on the white and red clay pipe bowls, ranging from simple initials to elaborate figural designs. Pipes marked with G.Z. exhibit four motifs, one of which, the fly on the bottom of the bowl, is figural. At least four white clay and two terra-cotta pipes have the fly figure, a rather bizarre motif for modern tastes but apparently popular enough at the time for Zorn to copy imported examples (or to have his mark put on pipes made elsewhere). Four of the fly pipes are complete enough to include stem portions marked "GZ" and "PHILADELPHIA," but the other two are just bowls and their maker(s) uncertain. The other marked G.Z. pipes are simply stamped: two with "SHORT DERRY," another with "HOME RULE," and four with "T.D."

Pipes marked "SHORT DERRY"[3] and "HOME RULE" were made by many makers. The one definite Zorn Short Derry pipe has "SHORT DERRY" stamped on the bowl facing the smoker and "PHILA, PA/G.Z." molded on its stem (Figure D.4). The "Short Derry" and "Genuine Derry" pipes on pages 10 and 11 of the Zorn catalog (identified as imported) had "DERRY" or "SHORT DERRY" molded on their stems, but no stamped words on their bowls. The excavated Short Derry pipes all have "SHORT DERRY" on their bowls, possibly indicating they were made by Zorn rather than imported (all except the one already noted were too incomplete to see if their stems were marked). The excavated Derry pipes,

2. The directories have no entry for the firm in 1889, and in 1890 Spiece and a Charles H. Buckman were listed as partners. The dates for this firm support the postulated date of deposition for the pipes in Feature 22.
3. "Derry" in this case indicated a style rather than a place of manufacture.

however, have "DERRY" on their stems; none have a maker's mark. Only one can be matched to a bowl, and this one has the same garland design on the bowl as illustrated in the catalog (Zorn 1989:11 #548).

Figure D.4. INDE 112824: Almost complete Short Derry pipe with "GZ" (George Zorn) and PHILA PA" mark.

The "HOME RULE" pipes (Figure D.5) have variations in their motifs that probably indicate multiple manufacturers, although none but the Zorn pipe have a maker's mark. Most are made of white clay, but the Zorn one and several others are of red clay. Two white and one red clay Home Rule pipes have harps on the sides of their bowls. The Harp design was also found alone (Figure D.6). This precise design was identified as German in the Zorn catalog (page 8, although on a white clay pipe) and the initials "M & T" on the stem of this well-made pipe verified it as a product of the Müllenbach and Thewald firm.

Figure D.5. Three different variations of "Home Rule" pipes.

Figure D.6. INDE 113885: Right and left sides of a Müllenbach and Thewald-made pipe with an Irish Harp motif.

The "Genuine Derry Pipes" were touted by Zorn as the "Best Pipes for the Irish Trade" (Zorn 1989:11), meaning the trade to the Irish in Philadelphia and other regions where Zorn sold pipes to retailers. Other pipes designed to appeal to the Irish trade have "IRELAND FOREVER" stamped on the bowl along with a shamrock (Figure D.7). Much has been written about the meanings of Irish nationalistic symbols on pipes at the end of the nineteenth century, a time when Home Rule for Ireland was a topic of discussion not only in the English Parliament but also among Irish nationalists in the United States (see, for example, Cook 1989, Reckner 1999, Brighton 2004, Reckner and Dallal 2000), and whether or not these pipes were indicators of political, ethnic, and/or class solidarity. For Zorn, at any rate, the target market for these pipes was people identified as "Irish" by himself and the retail dealers to whom he sold his pipes. Identification as Irish might have been based on a number of factors, including residence, occupation, accents, physical appearance, and names.

Figure D.7. INDE 113936: "Ireland Forever" surrounding a shamrock molded on the bowl. "243" molded on the stem and rectangular rouletting around the rim.

In addition to the Derry, Harp, and "Home Rule" and "Ireland Forever" pipes, another, more subtle, reference to the Home Rule question was on a pipe stem with the words "THE GLADSTONE." The Gladstone in question was British Prime Minister William Gladstone, who, during the 1880s and early 1890s, supported Home Rule for Ireland. A different pipe had symbolism that at first analysis appeared to espouse different sentiments (Figure D.8). This pipe had on one side a hand and on the other a heart with cross-hatching. The meaning of the cross-hatched heart has not been determined, but the hand is probably the Red Hand of Ulster.[4] The Red Hand of Ulster was originally part of the crest of the O'Neill family, but in the early seventeenth century it was used by King James I to symbolize Protestant British ascendancy over Catholic Ireland, and is still used as such today (Brighton 2002:155). Its presence alongside pipes showing symbolism of the Irish national cause could be considered an anomaly. However, during excavations of a late-nineteenth-century working-class neighborhood in Paterson, New Jersey, three Red Hand pipes were found: two had cross-hatched hearts (Brighton 2002:153). Steven Brighton (2002:161) noted that:

> The use and meaning of the Red Hand of Ulster symbol in Ireland is contested and multidimensional, but within the broad social and historical context, the symbol has always symbolized empowerment and a sense of social position… The Irish and Irish-American workers…

4. Ulster is one of the ancient provinces of Ireland; today, as Northern Ireland, it remains part of the United Kingdom, unlike the more southern provinces.

> defined their group membership, not by ridding themselves of their cultural and social history and assimilating into American society, but by integrating into the social fold on their own terms and using specific Irish symbols that expressed their ethnic and social distinctions and consciousness.

Judging by the excavated Zorn collection, Philadelphia's Irish used pipes to express the same distinctions and consciousness.

Figure D.8. INDE 112876 and INDE 112758: Mending pieces of a pipe with the Red Hand of Ulster on one side and a cross-hatched heart on the other.

In contrast to the Irish-market pipes, only one pipe, a bowl with an eagle on the front, was unearthed that possibly could be linked with American patriotism; in the catalog, only two varieties of eagles and one other design—a flag and drum motif—might have represented a smoker's pride in the United States (Zorn 1989:5, 8, and 12). This lack of United States patriotic motifs could be because people who were part of the mainstream culture did not need to demonstrate their political and ethnic allegiances to themselves or to others.

Figural bowls are the most elaborately decorated pipes. One common category of figural bowl is naturalistic motifs. A number of pipes have their entire bowls molded in shapes from nature: bunches of grapes (Figure D.9); thorn stems (Figure D.10); acorns (Figure D.11); pears; and roses. Animal shapes include, in addition to the fly clinging to the bottom of the bowl, pony's hooves (Figure D. 12) and a dog with a dead bird in its mouth (Figure D.13). This dog-with-bird pipe also has the mark of Müllenbach and Thewald.

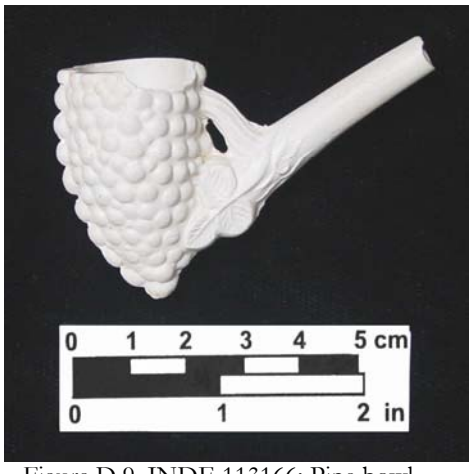


Figure D.9. INDE 113166: Pipe bowl molded as a bunch of grapes. Similar pipes were advertised on pages 5 and 7 of the Zorn catalog.

Figure D.10. Pipes with this motif were described as "Red Thorn" pipes on pages 6, 8, and 15 of the Zorn catalog. This pipe has remnants of a brown coating, possibly the "meerschaum-coating" noted in the catalog.

Figure D.11. INDE 113920: Pipe bowl with base molded as an acorn cup and a small acorn as the heel. Similar pipes were advertised on pages 5 and 6 of the Zorn catalog.

Figure D.12. INDE 112825: Pipe molded in the shape of a horse or pony foot. The partial mark on the stem ends in "T."

Figure D.13. INDE 112645: Bowl with a retriever dog holding a dead bird. The partial mark on the stem is " M & T 59…," probably for Müllenbach and Thewald.

Figure D.14. INDE 113849: Pipe molded as a basket with a light brown shellac-like coating.

Thorn pipes were found on pages 6, 8, and 15 of the catalog and the latter described as "meerschaum-coated… warranted to color." The thorn pipe illustrated in Figure D.10 has a thin brown coating, worn away in spots, which could be this meerschaum coating. Other pipes in the collection have this same thin brown coating and others—like one bowl molded in a basket form (Figure D.14)—have a thicker coating that resembles shellac. The chemical compositions of neither the thick nor the thin brown coatings have been determined, but the thin coating in particular might well be a formula that includes meerschaum as an ingredient. In any case, both the thin and thick coatings were designed to mimic more expensive meerschaum, which turns brown as it is smoked and absorbs oils from the tobacco.

Another group of molded figural decorations on pipes could be classified as anatomical. Among this group are at least two pipes molded in the shape of a lady's well-rounded leg adorned with a red boot (Figure D.15). This pipe was described on page 9 of the catalog as of domestic make and one of the "Novelties in

Penny Pipes." Another set of pipes, in both white and red clay, were molded with a hand holding the bowl with the stem molded to mimic a sleeve (Figure D.16). In the catalog (on page 10), these pipes are listed among those described as "Imported Clay Pipes. Full Assortment of Two-Cent Clay pipes." The white pipes wholesaled for $1.00 per gross and the red for $1.10 per gross. Other pipes have a bird's talons grasping their bowls. According to Ayto (2002:10), the bowl in the talon belonged to an eagle and the bowl was the bird's egg. The exact makers of the lady's leg and the hand pipes could not be identified, but at least three of the six pipes held in molded bird claws were made by the French Gambier firm (Figure D.17).

Figure D.15. INDE 113114 and 113798 Pipes formed as women's legs with red painted boots. These pipes were described as domestically made on page 9 of the Zorn catalogue as a "Novelty in Penny Pipes."

Figure D.16. INDE 113845: Pipe with a hand holding the bowl and the stem molded to mimic a sleeve. Similar pipes were advertised on page 10 of the Zorn catalog.

Figure D.17. INDE 113858: French Gambier-made pipes with eagle's (or other raptor's) claws holding the bowls.

The Zorn catalog devoted two separate pages to pipes made by Gambier, and the excavated collection contains a variety of pies with this mark. The "CRÊME GAMBIER" cartouche on bowls is on at least ten plain pipes, and two very finely made and unusual pipes with figures. One (Figure Z.18) has Cupid on the front of the bowl extending down onto the stem. He is shown in the act of reaching for an arrow, possibly to shoot at someone who caught the eye of the smoker. The other pipe has an entirely different scene (Figure D.19). The central figure, on the base of the bowl extending down onto the stem, is a nude female with what appeared to be devil's horns and bat ears. The smaller figure on her right, a naked chubby child, might also have had small horns, but the similar figure on her left had curly hair and might have been holding a star. In addition to the cartouche on the bowl, the stem was marked "Ga[mb]ier/ à [Pari]s/ [M*M Depos]é. (The complete Gambier à Paris mark was on other stems, including one of the claw pipes.)

Figure D.18. INDE 113809: French pipe with Cupid (Eros) and "CRÈME GAMBIER" facing the smoker.

Figure D.19. INDE 113165: French pipe with an erotic or supernatural figure of a nude woman with bat ears (possibly a vampire or succubus) and putti (winged naked babies). Marked "CRÈME GAMBIER," facing the smoker.

One distinctive figural bowl shows a nude woman with a lion (Figure D.20). At first glance, the lion appears to be gnawing on the lady's thigh, however, this might be a depiction of the legend of Una and the lion, an episode in Spencer's *The Faerie Queen*. The lion came upon Una, a very fair maiden, asleep in the wilderness; he at first sought to devour her but, upon seeing her beauty and innocence, became her protector. This allegorical story was popular during the reign of Queen Victoria (1837–1901), as shown in the many paintings and sculptures with this theme. Victoria was the innocent maiden protected by and at the same time guiding the lion of the British State. This pipe might share this iconography, albeit at some remove.

Figure D.20. INDE 113808: The lady and the lion pipe. On page 14 of the catalogue, these pipes were described as "Liverpool Pipes" and "meerschaum coated."

Another group of bowls exhibit smaller figures in miniature genre scenes. This group includes pipes with steam trains, steam ships (**Figure Z.21**), and boxers. The steam trains and ships are offered in the catalog (pages 5 and 6), but the boxers were not. Four other figural bowls are illustrated on page 11 of the Zorn catalog (**Figure Z.22**), one of which, lover's embracing under a tree, was another genre scene (**Figure Z.23**). The other three on this page are portrait heads: the head of British Generals Gordon (killed in the Sudan in 1885) or Wolseley (who had attempted to rescue Gordon); Punch (a comic puppet character with an oversized nose and a long lineage in European theater); and a Negro head. Pipes molded as portrait heads began to be produced around 1830, and by 1860 were very common.[5] The Generals Gordon/Wolseley and Punch pipes were part of the late-nineteenth- through early-twentieth-century tradition of pipes formed as the heads of powerful or at least well-known people or characters. For example, Ayto (2002:17–18) illustrated pipes made as the heads of, among others, General Gordon, a jockey (probably a famous one named Fred Archer), Ally Sloper (an early cartoon character), Chamberlain, King Edward VII, and Gladstone. The Negro head pipe was an example of another type of pipe—the ethnic stereotype. The first portrait head to be made, according to the Amsterdam Pijpenkabinet Museum, was of a Turk, a nation much on the minds of Europeans during the mid-nineteenth century (http://pijpenkabinet.nl/Pijpenkabinet/00-E%20frame.html). Portraits of other people soon followed. An 1868 Gambier catalog (Duco 1987) contained over forty pages of illustrations of portrait head pipes, ranging from those of famous people (including Napoleon, Lincoln, and Jesus), representatives of various occupations (musician, concierge, drum major, jockey, etc.), and depictions of people of many different ethnicities, such as Poles, Belgians, Chinese, Tyroleans, Siberians, Bedouins, and

5. The portrait head pipes discussed here had bowls with attached stems. Another very popular type at the time was elaborate portrait heads with stub stems. None of the stub-stemmed pipes were recovered from the President's House collection, and they were mentioned only once in the Zorn catalog (page 17) as "Selection 426. Consists of 16 different patterns, richly decorated and painted character heads, fitted with Reed stems and Corks." These pipes were made by Gambier.

Negros. The portrait heads illustrated in the Gambier catalog are very well drawn, and presumably well made, with only a few caricatures or exaggerated features. The only portrait heads offered in the Zorn catalog are the Negro, Punch, and generals heads on page 11, as well as a skull pipe shown in a very small illustration on page 16. The skull pipe was made by Gambier, but the pipes on page 11 are simply identified as "Bargains in Imported Fancy Clay Pipes" without identification of their country of origin.

Examples of the Punch and Negro heads were found during the present excavations (**Figures Z.24 and Z.25**): at least three Punch (two white and one red clay) and four Negro (all white clay) pipes were found. The Punch pipes in the archeological collection closely resemble their illustrations in the Zorn catalog, as can be seen in **Figures Z.22 and Z.25**, but the Negro head pipes had much more exaggerated features than the drawing. As discussed in Chapter 4, the Negro head pipes were part of the codification of negative stereotypes of African Americans that became common in this time period.

In addition to the Negro head pipes illustrated in the catalog and found during the excavations, a larger sized "jumbo" Negro head pipe was offered in the catalog (page 12). This pipe and a large plain bowl are described as "OUR JUMBO CLAY PIPES/Imported Fine Finish Clay Pipe. Best Pipe for Show in Windows." Both pipes were 30 cents per dozen or $1.50 per six dozen box (the plain pipe in red was slightly more expensive). The plain pipe is unmarked, but the Negro head pipe has "NEGRO SHOW PIPE" molded on the stem. Two of the large plain pipes are in the archeological collection, but no pieces of the large Negro head style were recovered.

The only other example of a figural pipe in the archeological collection, and one not in the Zorn catalog, is a pipe stem formed like the neck of a violin with blue enamel (**Figure Z.26**). The pattern number ("N 1157") is on the stem perpendicular to and above the mark "Noël/Paris." This stem was probably part of a portrait head pipe of the celebrated violinist Paganini, as illustrated in the Gambier catalog (Duco 1987:44).

Three other pipes could be classified as advertising for different blends of tobacco: two are stamped with "SMOKE GOLDEN EAGLE" on the bowl and the other with "SMOKE BLUEBELL."

Porcelain Pipes

The porcelain pipe bowls in this assemblage are part of composite pipes called "student pipes" in the Zorn catalog (pages 103–106), but identified as *stummels* or *Holländisches Modells* on the web site of the Amsterdam Pijpenkabinet Museum (http://pijpenkabinet.nl/Pijpenkabinet/00-E%20frame.html). The composite pipes consist of elongated porcelain bowls (sometimes with metal covers), porcelain sockets, and long stems made from different types of wood. Zorn offered stems made of cherry, imitation cherry, ebony, pepper, and weichsel, a type of wood imported from Germany specifically for use in pipes. The pipes could be embellished with tassels to complete their elegant look. Porcelain bowls lent themselves to painting and, after about 1780, according to the Pijpenkabinet Museum, miniature paintings of elegant scenes, portraits, landscapes, or historical subjects could be found. After about 1850, according to this same source, hand painting began to be replaced by transfer printed or decal decorations, and hunting scenes dominated; after about 1900, "the stummel disappears as serious smoking pipe and becomes a souvenir item" (*ibid.*). Even though they were made during the 1880s, all of the porcelain bowls in the President's House collection are delicately hand painted. The motifs include portraits, landscapes, flowers, and hunting scenes (**Figures Z. 27–Z.31)**. Four of the pipes have lettering in German but only one—"Das Rathhaus in Berlin"—is complete enough to read. Sherds from more than thirty porcelain pipe bowls and eight porcelain sockets are part of the President's House collection.

Other Smoking-Related Artifacts

The Zorn catalog illustrates and the excavated collection contains a few examples of white clay cigar/cigarette holders. Cigars became popular in the United States in the early 1800s, and cigarettes at mid-century (Bradley 2000:126). The four holders identified in this collection were three with recumbent foxes and one showing a horse running over rocky terrain; both are illustrated on page 15 of the catalog, where the

horse is described as "Meerschaum-Coated… These Tubes are nicely varnished and will color like meerschaum…"

Meerschaum-Coated pipes and cigar/cigarettes holders were, based on their appearances in the Zorn catalog, popular items. As already discussed, the process of meerschaum coating is not described nor is the term explained except in the following statements:

> Irish Meerschaum… of chestnut brown color, which makes them appear like genuine meerschaum [Zorn 1989:12].
>
> [and]
>
> Liverpool pipes-warranted to color. The figured Meerschaum-Coated (so-called Liverpool pipes), run assorted patterns… styles constantly changing. These pipes are nicely varnished, and will color like Meerschaum; gum ends, making them soft in the mouth [Zorn 1989:14].

Whatever the process, the goal was to make cheaper pipes appear to be genuine, expensive meerschaum.

Meerschaum, a German word meaning "sea foam" was, and is, the premier material for smoking pipes. Originally thought to be petrified sea foam because of its white color and light weight, it is a metamorphic rock that is very soft and easy to carve when it is first dug from the earth. The highest quality meerschaum comes from Turkey, where it has been carved since the early 1700s, although only the rich could afford it until the discovery of new deposits in the nineteenth century made it more affordable; by mid-century, meerschaum pipes were popular with middle-class smokers (Bradley 2000:121). Even so, in the Zorn catalog, a relatively simple thorn design pipe made of meerschaum still cost roughly ten times more than a thorn pipe in ball clay. Carving meerschaum was the work of craftsmen and the meerschaum pipes in the catalog were almost certainly imported, nevertheless the "Tobacco Record" description of 524 Market Street stated that "The third floor is for manufacturing meerschaum and amber and here also the repairing [of meerschaum pipes?] is done" (Zorn 1989:156). The manufactured articles were probably meerschaum cigar/cigarette tubes and amber mouthpieces: "These tubes being made under our own supervision and on our own premises, we know exactly what material is used, and therefore we can guarantee every one to color nicely" (Zorn 1989:79). Zorn also offered meerschaum "buttons" to be placed in pipe bowls "to prevent the nicotine getting in [the] stem" (Zorn 1989:74); three such buttons were found. Fragments of raw meerschaum (**Figure Z.32)** with evidence of carving or turning into preformed shapes indicate that at least some working of this material was done at the Zorn shop, although it is unclear if actual pipe bowls were being carved in addition to the cigar/cigarette tubes. Thirteen bowls and fifteen stem meerschaum pieces were found in the Feature 22 fill, but they were too fragmentary for determination of their shapes.

Two "meerschaum-coated" pipes, illustrated on page 15, are described as "half-brown" and "half-calcined." A pipe in the archeological collection might be an example of the latter, as its lower half is completely blackened (**Figure Z.33**). Unlike almost all the other pipes from the collection, it appears to have been smoked. Another pipe (not illustrated), which might also have been smoked, is made of either meerschaum or "meerschaum chip" (the term is not precisely defined in the catalog but, by inference, these pipes were made of compacted meerschaum dust recovered during the process of carving). It has a simple egg-shape with a hole for a reed stem and a carved wheat motif running around the bowl. In shape, it most closely resembles Zorn's "Summer Pipe" made of "imitation (chip) meerschaum" (Zorn 1989:63).

Zorn specifically stated in his catalog that he and his staff were well equipped to repair all manner of pipes. This type of custom work would require raw materials of all kinds. Twenty-two amber mouth pieces were excavated (**Figure Z.34)**; some appear to be roughly preformed and some were already threaded. They were probably intended for use with meerschaum pipes or cigar tubes in both new purchases and as repair/replacement parts. On page 75 of the catalog, a variety of shapes for amber mouthpieces were illustrated, with prices based on both length and thickness. "Amberoid" or "Improved Amber" mouthpieces were also offered at 50%, the price of real amber.

In addition to the amber examples, bone and hard rubber or vulcanite stems/mouthpieces are both advertised in the catalog and found archeologically. Hard rubber mouthpieces were offered in a variety of sizes and shapes, although they came in only two colors—black and orange/red with black more common

than red in the archeological collection. A red pipe stem and mouthpiece (**Figure Z.35**) was identical to one illustrated on page 35 of the catalog, where it is used with a briar pipe bowl. Briar pipes always had bits (mouthpieces) and often had stems of some other non-wood material. Bone, especially goose long bones, was used for stems, and bone was also used as part of composite mouthpieces. Several of the bone mouthpieces in the Zorn collection are stained green from contact with copper.

Another hard rubber artifact is a fragmentary "bugle" tube cigarette holder (**Figure Z.36**). Cigar or cigarette tubes (this is one of the few instances in the catalog where a distinction is made between the two) were twisted (**Figure Z.37**) and described as both "stylish and of practical use" (Zorn 1989:109).

Some American-made (but not by Zorn) "Powhattan" pipes were part of the collection: there are at least thirteen stub-stemmed red clay pipes, similar to those illustrated on pages 20 and 21 of the catalog. One (**Figure Z.38**) has "ORIGINAL" on the side of its hexagonal stub stem. It is identical to a "GENUINE POWHATTAN BOWL" sold in small, medium, and large sizes and touted by Zorn as "Actual chemical analysis shows these Pipes to be equal to the famous Meerschaum in the properties of absorbing the Oil and Nicotine of Tobacco" (Zorn 1989:21). These pipes were made of Virginia clay from Powhattan and Appomattox Counties.

Conclusion

Although not part of the focus of the excavations at the President's House, the thousands of pipe fragments from the G*e*orge Zorn & Co. shop found in Features 22 and 5 have created a unique opportunity to study the material culture of smoking in Philadelphia and on a national level from the perspective of a merchant's discarded artifacts. The excavated artifacts—including pipes and pipe parts made of white and red earthenware clays, porcelain, hard rubber, "imitation meerschaum," and amber—provide tangible evidence of daily life at the end of the nineteenth century. Perhaps the most informative artifacts are the Negro head pipes, with their wordless messages of racial stereotyping and prejudice, and the Irish Home Rule–themed pipes. One of the aims of archeology is to explore how material culture influences and is influenced by culture in general; these pipes are one avenue to approach this goal.

Appendix E
Visitor Counts and Categories

MAY 2007

Visitor Number Sample
(INHP visitors + visitors specific to site)
1000+ visitors Saturday May 12
(counted by NPS Rangers)

Specific to see Site:
Press Visits (sample)
Philadelphia Inquirer Reporter
Philadelphia Inquirer Photographer
Philadelphia Inquirer (telephone contact)
ABC Television, Local Affiliate, Reporter and Camera
NBC Television, Local Affiliate, Reporter and Camera
CBS Television, Local Affiliate, Reporter and Camera
Fox Television, Local Affiliate, Reporter and Camera
WHYY Local Affiliate, Reporter and Camera
Philadelphia Daily News Reporter & Photographer
Philadelphia City Paper Editorial Writer
Associated Press Reporter
NBC Television, Local Affiliate, Reporter and Camera
Fox Television, Local Affiliate, Good Morning Philadelphia (Live from site)
Fox Television, Local Affiliate, Reporter and Camera News at 10
Philadelphia Inquirer Reporter
CBS Television, Local Affiliate, Reporter and Camera
Philadelphia Inquirer Reporter
NBC Television, Local Affiliate, Reporter and Camera

WHYY Local Affiliate, Reporter and Camera
Syndicated Local Radio Talk Show host (interview live by phone)
Philadelphia Inquirer Video Intern
KYW Television news
Colorado-Based *Education Journal* (Christian) Reporter
Black Talk Radio (Interview by Phone)
Daily Pennsylvanian Reporters
WHYY Video
Philadelphia Inquirer Race and Culture Reporter
Philadelphia Daily News Reporter & Photographer
Philadelphia Inquirer Columnist

Officials Visiting (sample)
Penndot
City Archives (Photographer)
Mayor's Office, Chief of Staff
Deputy Fire Chief
Mayor's Office Staff
Advisory Group visit
State Senator Visit
Philadelphia Mayoral Candidate Representative
Penndot Archaeologist

School Groups (sample)
Strawberry Mansion High School
Unid. City School group
Unid. School group
Unid. School group
Unid. School group
Unid. School group
Unid. School group
Phila. Charter School (Elementary)

Others (sample)
NPS Rangers
INDE Superintendent
Temple University Professor
Rutgers University Professor/Project Advisory Board Member
International Civil Rights Court Lawyer
Bryn Mawr Peace and Conflict Center Scholars
Univ. of Penn. Urban History Course Instructor
Temple University Professor
Archaeology Colleague
Independent Film Group

JUNE 2007 (*Not comprehensive)

Visitor Number (Samples)
(INHP visitors + visitors specific to site)
1132 on June 11 (includes one hour of hard rain with no visitors)
1489 on June 12 (counted during a 6 hour period)
2003 on June 14 (counted during a 7 hour period)
4082 on June 15 (counted during an 8 hour period)
1930 on June 20
1753 on June 21 (counted during a 7 ½ hour period)
3481 on June 22 (counted during a 7 ½ hour period)
2570 on June 25 (counted during a 6 ½ hour period)
4050 on June 29 (counted during a 5 ½ hour period)

Specific to site:

Press Visits (sample)
Philadelphia Inquirer Reporter
Boston Globe Reporter
Freelance Reporter
Associated Press Photographer
Associated Press Reporter
ABC Television, Local Affiliate, Reporter and Camera
WHYY Radio
NBC Television, Local Affiliate, Reporter and Camera
WHYY Radio Talk Show host
Visions (local affiliate weekend news show)
Australian Press
Philadelphia Inquirer Editorial Page
Philadelphia Lifestyle Magazine reporter
CN8 used site as backdrop for Weather Report
Ebony Magazine
New York Times Freelance writer
KYW TV reporter
Fox Network (not affiliate)
National Geographic Traveler Reporter and photographer
Philadelphia Daily News Reporter and Photographer
Washington Post
Philadelphia Daily News Reporter
Philadelphia Daily News Reporter
Courrior Post

Officials Visiting (sample)
U.S. Congressman and Staff
GPTMC
U.S. Congressman Staff/Advisory Board Member
GPTMC
ADHOC Historians
GPTMC
Lt. Governor of Pennsylvania
Mayoral Campaign Candidate Representative
Mayoral Candidate
GPTMC film crew
NPS Regional Director

School Groups (sample)
African American & Jewish H.S. Civil Rights Tour
Juneteenth School Group of approx. 300 students
Christian School Group

Others (sample)
Friends of Independence Production Team
City Capital Program Office
City Official
Diversity Training Expert
Soap Opera Actress
Cheyney Professor of African American History
Cultural Leadership Group
Pew Trust and William Penn Group
ATP Assoc. for Preservation Technology
University of the Arts History Professor
NEH Teacher's Group
Vice Provost, Bryn Mawr
NPS Regional Federal Leadership Group

JULY 2007 (*Not comprehensive)

Visitor Number (Samples)
(INHP visitors + visitors specific to site)
7000+ counted on July 4th (stopped counting at 7000)
4000+ counted on Friday July 6th (stopped at 4000)
3654 on Tuesday July 10
2786 on July 17 (counted during a 5 ½ hour period)
2700 on July 18 (rainy day)
2350 on July 23 (counted during a 5 hour period)
3845 on July 27 (counted during an 8 hour period)
3942 on July 30 (counted during an 8 ½ hour period)

Specific to Site:

Press Visits (sample)
CN8
NY Times Reporter
Al Dia (Spanish Language Newspaper)
Channel 3 Live
Philadelphia Daily News Reporter
NY Times reporter
Philadelphia Inquirer Reporter
Fox Cable TV
Philadelphia Daily News photographer
Washington Post Reporter
San Diego Reporter
Spanish Language newspaper reporter
CN8
CN8
WHYY
Philadelphia Lifestyle Magazine
Conservative Talk Radio Show (by phone)
*Philadelphia Daily News Urban Journalism**
WHYY radio
Philadelphia Inquirer Web Feature

Reporter from India
Emeritus reporter, Channel 3 (news story research)
Talk Radio interview (by phone)
Metro News reporter
Philadelphia Daily News reporter
Philadelphia Daily News reporter
WRT Radio
Philadelphia Daily News reporter
WHYY Radio
Helicopter (TV)
Metro News reporter

Officials Visiting (sample)
Ambassador/Former Presidential Candidate
Mayor's Office Staff
Mayor's Office Staff
City Archivist & Photographer
Fire Commissioner
NPS Senior Cultural Resources person
PHMC
Mayor Presumptive
City Council person's staff
PHMC
Ranger Briefing (by Archaeologists)
Regional Director, Acting
Fire Commissioner

School Groups (sample)
JUMP School Journalists Group
Cheyney University History Class
Police Youth Summer Program Group
*Philadelphia Daily News Urban Journalism**
African American H.S./Cheyney Program Group
Univ. of PA class

Others (sample)
Bryn Mawr Peace and Conflict Center Scholars
Society for American Archaeology Manager of Public
Education
NYU Historical Archaeology Professor
Documentarian
Art Photographer
Rabinowitz
Peter Hinks
Previous Residents at the site
ADHOC Historian
National Park Conservation Assoc.
Teacher's Group
Millersville U. ED MA Teachers Group
African Burial Ground Task Force
½ dozen Baltimore Talk Radio Listeners
UK Heritage Interpretation Scholar
Midwest retired Archeologist (gift from Son)
City's Project Art Photographer (J. Dowell)
NPS Photographer (INDE Archives)
Documentary film maker
Society for Pennsylvania Archaeology Chapter 21