

University of Nebraska - Lincoln DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln

University of Nebraska Press -- Sample Books and Chapters

University of Nebraska Press

2016

Rebuilding Shattered Worlds

Andrea L. Smith

Anna Eisenstein

Follow this and additional works at: http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/unpresssamples

Smith, Andrea L. and Eisenstein, Anna, "Rebuilding Shattered Worlds" (2016). *University of Nebraska Press -- Sample Books and Chapters*. 327.

http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/unpresssamples/327

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the University of Nebraska Press at DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln. It has been accepted for inclusion in University of Nebraska Press -- Sample Books and Chapters by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln.

Rebuilding Shattered Worlds

Anthropology of Contemporary North America

SERIES EDITORS

James Bielo, Miami University Carrie Lane, California State University, Fullerton

ADVISORY BOARD

Peter Benson, Washington University in St. Louis John L. Caughey, University of Maryland Alyshia Galvez, Lehman College Carol Greenhouse, Princeton University John Hartigan, University of Texas John Jackson Jr., University of Pennsylvania Ellen Lewin, University of Iowa Bonnie McElhinny, University of Toronto Shalini Shankar, Northwestern University Carol Stack, University of California, Berkeley

Rebuilding Shattered Worlds

Creating Community by Voicing the Past

Andrea L. Smith and Anna Eisenstein

University of Nebraska Press Lincoln and London © 2016 by the Board of Regents of the University of Nebraska

Parts of chapter 2 first appeared as "The Language of 'Blight' and Easton's 'Lebanese Town': Understanding a Neighborhood's Loss to Urban Renewal" (with Rachel Scarpato), in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 134, no. 2 (2010): 127–64; parts of chapter 3 first appeared as "Thoroughly Mixed Yet Thoroughly Ethnic: Indexing Class with Ethnonyms" (with Anna Eisenstein), in *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 23, no. 2 (2013): EI–22.

All rights reserved. Manufactured in the United States of America \circledast

Library of Congress Control Number: 2016948027

Set in ITC Charter by Rachel Gould.

Contents

List of Illustrations	vii
Acknowledgments	ix
Terminology and Transcription Conventions	xiii
1. Ethnography of the Expelled	I
2. The Language of Blight	31
3. Narrating Diversity	63
4. Voices from the Past	89
5. The Material of Memory	107
6. Nostalgia as Engine of Change	131
Notes	153
Bibliography	169
Index	183

Illustrations

MAPS

1. Greater Easton area	33
2. Syrian Town with place-names identified	35
3. Easton's urban renewal projects, ca. 1967	42
4. Entire Sheet Urban Renewal Area	133
FIGURES	
I. A "nonplace" at 4th and Ferry Streets	5
2. Introductions at a reunion	9
3. Meeting in the church basement	25
4. Resident brings photograph to reunion	28
5. Bird's-Eye View of Business Section, Easton PA, ca. 1930	36
6. Aerial view of 5th Street before redevelopment	38
7. Lehigh-Washington Streets Demolition	47
8. Radical changes proposed by developers	49
9. Lehigh Street: Satisfactory	51
10. South 4th and Lehigh before redevelopment	108
11. Demolition picture from Stella's collection	108
12. Viewing remnants of the past	109
13. Signs of history: bottles from the past	III
14. Signs of history: napkin from the Circlon Restaurant	III
15. Mingling of the generations	116
16. Pedagogical discourse in action	146

Acknowledgments

Ethnographic research is possible only through the generosity of others, and because this study spanned nearly ten years, a large number of people are owed our deepest gratitude. From the community members suggesting research topics and meeting with us at length, to the student participants signing up for a class, to the college administrators and colleagues who supported the project with funding and by approving new courses: we are grateful for people's enthusiastic engagement with us across so many years of research.

We first acknowledge community members who provided early direction, including Jane Moyer of the Northampton Historical Society, who met us on many occasions; and Deacon Anthony Koury from Our Lady of Lebanon Maronite Catholic Church, who introduced us to key former neighborhood residents. Reverend Sue Ruggles of the St. John's Evangelical Lutheran Church masterminded the initial Taylor School reunion and shared with us address lists that allowed us to reach beyond Lebanese neighbors to a wider world of former neighbors. St. John's hosted our reunions and student scanning and interview sessions for years, and Pastor Ruggles often greeted our participants with words of welcome. Patsy Woodson and Norma Rosner worked behind the scenes, setting aside the vital meeting space. Barbara Kowitz of the Sigal Museum helped us find funding and hosted two large end-of-the-year parties for students, participants, and the wider community.

Our project never would have taken the direction it did had it not been for George Bright, then associate athletic director at Lafayette College; his grandfather plays an important role in the story told here. An Easton native, George knew potential speakers well and handpicked, it seemed to us later, the very best interlocutors we could imagine. This project would have been very different had George not been willing to meet with us, at length, that fateful day in 2010.

Most of all, we thank the participants, who shared with us their stories, photos, and memories of their former neighborhood and its demolition, especially Robert Apgar Sr., Ronald Apgar, Gloria Armstrong, Mary Azzalina, Lois Bachman, Sadie Bader, JoEllen Bartolacci, George Baurkot, Marlene Bedway, Katherine Benton, Jim Canone, Oscar Canone, Ralph Cianci, Diane Coker, Beverly Cook, Charmaine Crouse, H. Robert Daws, Mary Alice Delk, Marion Estephan, Eva Farhat, Sadie Ferreira, Carol Free, Doreen Free, David Freytag, Frank A. Galasso, Frank J. Galasso, Mary Galasso, Gina Germano, Irene Gilbert, Vincent Gioieni, Don Hicks, Raymond Hunt, George Jabbour, Sharon John, Annie Jones, Roseann Joseph, Beverly Karam, Yasmine Karam, Frances Ketchen, Pete Keyser, William Keyser, Katie Kmetz, Barbara Miller, Terry Langen, Tony Lisinichia, Charlene Loprete, Donald Miller, Verna Miller, Patricia Morris, Ross Oliver, Agnes Pellicotti, Perry Pellicotti, Carolyn Pokrivchak, Verna Piraino, Joan Price, Mita Prime, Herbert Robinson, Clifford Rose, William Sanderson, Carmelo Saveri, Norman Seidel, Livingston Smith, John Squarcia, John Thomas, Josephine Thomas, Vita Torcivia, Sam Vilari, and Folee Williams. We'd like to give special thanks to members of the reunion organizing committee: Len Buscemi, James Edwards, Maddie Hannah, Mary Pleiss, Vivian Richetta, John and Sonja Shaheen, Bob Simons, Bob and Rosemary Smith, Carl Taylor, and Melvin Taylor. We will be forever grateful for their willingness to meet with us regularly to plan the reunions and to serve as subjects for student interviews. Their stories of life in Easton continue to influence how we see our town.

An early version of chapter 4 was presented at the panel "Strategies and Performances of Temporal Heteroglossia," co-organized by Jacqueline Messing and Andrea Smith and held at the 2013 annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association. We thank Jacqui and fellow panelists Evelyn Dean-Olmsted, Aurora Donzelli, Adam Harr, Sarah Hillewaert, Marco Jacquemet, Patricia Lange, Kathe Managan, Julia McKinney, Ashley Stinnett, and Camilla Vasquez for their engaging and insightful comments. This presentation was preceded by an earlier version presented at the panel "Voices Inside Voices Inside Voices: Interpreting Multivocality," organized at the 2012 Oral History Association annual meeting by Henry Greenspan. We thank Hank and fellow panelists Susan Clemens-Bruder, Amy Kesselman, and Judy Ridner for their suggestions.

From Andrea:

I first recognize the many talented students who worked on different facets of this project since its inception. Eduardo Sanchez and James Sommers undertook independent studies with me that led downtown, and Marvin Snipes, Amy Spooner, and Rachel Scarpato carried out pilot projects as a Mellon-funded "Community of Scholars" in 2006–7. Rachel Scarpato worked on this full-time in the summer of 2007, and I will never forget how much fun we had sleuthing in city archives. She conducted expert interviews with many of the early consultants, and is thus partly responsible for the project's initial direction. Together we wrote the article "The Languages of Blight," on which chapter 2 is based. Kelsey Boyd, Walter Burkat, Emily Mulford, and Molly Leech were exemplary research assistants. Whole classes of students in my research methods seminar, A&S 244, carried out further interviews, culminating in a communitydirected, student-authored book of neighborhood memories that students presented to their consultants at the end of the term. Finally, this book would never have been written without the amazing partnership with Anna, who stayed with the project for all four years of college while developing her own interests and during the first grueling years of graduate school. John Meier, of the Provost's Office, was always able to find ways to continue funding student research through the Lafayette Excel Scholars Program.

Several of the images are due to the efforts of Eric Luhrs, digital librarian at Lafayette's Skillman Library. He supported the creation of a digital map of the neighborhood, which involved lengthy scanning sessions carried out expertly by Paul Miller, also of the library. Amy Abruzzi first suggested this digital component. Diane Shaw of Skillman Library Special Collections helped us find sources. The maps are courtesy of our library's GIS and cartography whiz, John Clark, and illustrations drawn by Kristin Leader.

The project has benefited throughout from the support of department heads Howard Schneiderman, Dave Shulman, and Bill Bissell. Susan Niles was the first to suggest that I turn this project into a full-fledged course, and Dan Bauer's "tech clinics" provided me with a model of just how that might work. Alison Alexy's students in her research methods class collected early transcripts. Rebecca Kissane, herself a housing policy expert, suggested sources early on regarding urban renewal, and Caroline Lee took the time to provide comments on early drafts and suggested ways it could become a project about memory.

Finally, I thank my family for being there throughout.

From Anna:

Professor Smith's wonderful mentorship has defined my ability to contribute to this project, as well as my broader introduction to anthropology. As our writing and thinking continued beyond our shared time at Lafayette, and into my time at the University of Virginia, Ira Bashkow provided incisive comments on various drafts, as well as his consistent support. I thank members of the UVA Linguistic Anthropology Seminar in the fall of 2013 for feedback on an early version of what is now chapter 4. Many of the ideas in chapter 5 first began to develop during Adria LaViolette's course, Archaeology of Everyday Life, that same semester. And thanks to Nathan Hedges and Arsalan Khan for helpful conversations. My family, too, has been part of this project all along by way of constant encouragement.

Terminology and Transcription Conventions

Much of this book concerns a former way of speaking. Our speakers use many different and sometimes old-fashioned-sounding ethnic labels when describing each other or the neighborhood, for example, "Syrian" for Lebanese immigrants and "Afro-American" for black people, a practice we discuss at length in the chapters that follow. "Syrian Town" is used as a place-name even though it is a misnomer: the people about whom we write are Lebanese. Throughout the text, we continue to use our speakers' archaic terms, introducing them with quotation marks at first. The reader should keep this in mind and imagine quotation marks throughout the text. Where we do use quotation marks subsequently, it is to indicate particular instances of usage.

This work includes extensive excerpts from audiotaped interviews. We use the following transcription conventions:

- ... pause in speech
- sudden break in speech, usually to indicate that the speaker has changed topic midsentence

word speaker's emphasis

word authors' emphasis

[] information provided by the authors

Rebuilding Shattered Worlds

1. Ethnography of the Expelled

In a small city in eastern Pennsylvania, elderly men and women have been gathering to talk about the past. Ostensibly planned as elementary school reunions, these meetings allow participants to recollect a whole neighborhood. We have been following this activity since 2007; this book is the result of this inquiry.

What makes this reunion activity especially intriguing is the fact that the neighborhood these men and women are so keen to discuss is completely gone: it was obliterated during 1960s urban renewal projects. Many of the eighty- and ninety-year-olds meeting up in the dingy basement social hall are encountering each other for the first time since they were "scattered" by the demolitions. Now, a half-century after wrecking balls "took the heart out of the city," as one speaker puts it, they are reuniting to reminisce about the past. What is prompting them to meet, to meet here, and to meet now?

This is a study of memory and place, of place-loss and recovery. The effects of midcentury urban renewal on minority communities and urban landscapes are well documented in studies focusing on the nation's largest cities, such as Chicago, Boston, and Detroit.¹ Less examined have been the smaller cities, which also took advantage of generous federal funds to remove so-called blighted landscapes. This ethnographic study, conducted a half-century after renewal struck Easton, Pennsylvania, explores the ways a demolished neighborhood continues to reverberate in the imaginations of its former residents. This neighborhood, once known locally as "Syrian Town," was densely packed and inhabited by Lebanese Americans, Italian Americans, and African Americans, among others, and was noteworthy for its unusually integrated nature. Our book follows neighborhood reunions and the intersecting languages of blight,