

Eduard Führ

## Becoming Americans

### Colonial Williamsburg as a Founding Myth

Complimentary translation, please quote always:

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translated by Klaus Zehbe

#### **Introduction: The Surprise of an European in Discovering the History of America**

As a German you may be surprised at first, that Williamsburg in Virginia presents itself as the cradle of the American nation, since we learned in school, that the USA has its historic roots in New England – where the Pilgrim Fathers, who had at the start of the seventeenth century emigrated for religious reasons on the ‘Mayflower’, had settled in their search for freedom and thus founded the future USA. This can not only be read in German schoolbooks, but it seems also to be one of the founding myths of the USA, which is presented not least of all in the museum of “Plimoth Plantation“.

To this national identity of the Americans, which is founded on the Pilgrim Fathers and Plimoth Plantation, contributed and still contributes Alexis de Tocqueville, who travelled with his friend Gustave de Beaumont from May 1831 until February 1832 the USA, in order to learn for France from the reforms of the American prison system. After their return both published their insights into American prisons,<sup>i</sup> additionally de Beaumont wrote a book about slavery in the United States<sup>ii</sup> and de Tocqueville his very influential volumes “Democracy in America”.<sup>iii</sup> The ultimate aim was not to present an account of the political structures in the USA, but rather to actively intervene with these volumes in the social and political struggles in France at the time. De Tocqueville criticised the newer democracies, that they had freed themselves from all ethical con-

ventions and religious principles and thus developed into a tyranny of democracy – to a suppression of the individual through the masses.

In contrast he held, that democracy would work – like in America – if it was decentralized and developed from a grass-roots level. Additionally, the people should have religiously mediated values, however, the church and the state should be institutionally separated. ‘Democracy in America’ was for de Tocqueville a concept for democracy in France and an appeal to the French (catholic) church, not to side with the feudal forces of restoration against democracy. Rather the catholic church was called to change sides and teach values within democracy – a demand, which was not only voiced in France. This demand was later realized both in politics as well as in town planning in the remodelling of Paris. In principle de Tocqueville sees two identities, the North, where this democracy had been realized, and the South:

„Virginia was given the first English colony. The emigrants arrived there in the year 1607. At that time Europe was still wholly caught in the belief, that gold and silver mines create the wealth of a nation: a pernicious thought, which brought the European nations worshipping this idea more poverty, and which destroyed more people in America than the war and all bad laws considered together. Consequently they sent gold hunters to Virginia, people without means and without manners, whose restless and unrestrained mind disturbed the beginning of the colony and threatened its development. [...] No noble thought, no higher plan determined the foundation of the new settlements. Soon after the creation of the colony they introduced slavery; this was the most important event, which was going to have an immeasurable effect on the character, the laws, and the whole future of the South.“<sup>iv</sup>

De Tocqueville’s statement furthers the initially mentioned surprise about the ‘Williamsburg’ project, because he describes Virginia and thus ‘our’ – in the sense of an indicator of familiarity or cosiness – *Colonial Williamsburg* as a place of adventurers, lower class people, and slaveholders. Without spending more time on discussing why the myth of the foundation of the United States’ identity by the Pilgrim Fathers still ex-

ists today or even explaining, why the myth of the Pilgrim Fathers and the interaction of democracy and religion fits in the founding period of the Federal Republic of Germany and consequently could be found in the schoolbooks, I would like to contrast de Tocqueville's colonies of adventurers, lower class people, and slave-holders with *Colonial Williamsburg*

In this study I shall focus on 'mental maps' and 'cognitive images' of Williamsburg, how and by whom these are made, and how their contents changes in the course of time. In so doing I shall refer mainly to architectural and urban aspects; it is dispensable for me to describe and analyse here the 'living history', as two excellent studies on the topic by Cary Carson<sup>v</sup> and Sabine Schindler<sup>vi</sup> have already been published. In the following study I shall criticise from a scientific perspective some of the decisions, processes, and activities in the founding phase of *Colonial Williamsburg*. At the same time I would like to stress, that this had also been possible due to the fact that the historical documentation of the whole enterprise is today scientifically extremely well processed and made publicly accessible by the *Colonial Williamsburg Foundation*.<sup>vii</sup>

My judgement in some of the 'mental map' issues is based on a survey which I carried out with American students of architecture from the Southern and Northern states of the USA, which I shall discuss in more detail further below.

## **1. The Development of Williamsburg, VA towards *Colonial Williamsburg***

### 1.1. From the Middle Plantation to Williamsburg

In 1607 the first permanent settlement was founded by English settlers in what was later to become Virginia. The settlement was given the name Jamestown. Further settlements followed. In 1630 John Pott from Yorkshire in England was granted the right to establish a plantation in the middle of the peninsula between James River and York River. He then founded in 1632 in this location a settlement, which was called 'Middle Plantation'. In 1683 a brick church was built, in the year 1693 the 'College of William and Mary in Virginia' was founded in continuation of an already existing institution. When in 1698 the 'Statehouse' in Jamestown burned down for the fourth time, it was decided to move the seat of the governor and the 'House of Burgesses' to Middle Plantation and to re-

erect them as fireproof buildings, while expanding the settlement into a town. In the course of this relocation the settlement was renamed Williamsburg. A royal charter declared in 1722 the settlement a town with its own ‘municipality’ (with a ‘common council’ as well as a ‘mayor’, ‘recorder’, and ‘alderman’).

Williamsburg consisted at the time of the revolution of roughly 230 buildings and had approximately 2000 inhabitants, out of which respectively half were Europeans and enslaved Africans. When the ‘House of Burgesses’ was in session (‘the publick time’), the number of people living in Williamsburg increased significantly. Quite a high proportion of ‘founding fathers’ of the United States of America are connected to the city of Williamsburg, in part they lived permanently in Williamsburg (George Wythe), in part they went to the ‘William and Mary’ College or stayed during the sessions of the ‘House of Burgesses’ in Williamsburg (George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry). In 1780 the capital of Virginia was relocated to Richmond. This is where usually the overview of Williamsburg’s history ends. Williamsburg “lapsed quietly into a state of somnolence and decay”,<sup>viii</sup> followed by “destruction and neglect”.<sup>ix</sup>

### 1.2. The *Colonial Williamsburg Foundation*<sup>x</sup>

Let us pass for the moment the events in the period from 1780 to 1926, which are considered a dark time, and supplement the first phase of the development of Williamsburg (from the Middle Plantation to Williamsburg) by recounting the development and progression of the second phase, the renaissance of Williamsburg, or perhaps more precisely, the birth of *Colonial Williamsburg*. The official publications point out two persons as originators of this new history, the reverend of Bruton Church, William Archer Rutherford Goodwin and John D. Rockefeller.

However, we have to note, that the history of the restoration, reconstruction, and invention of *Colonial Williamsburg* doesn’t start in 1926. Nevertheless Goodwin and Rockefeller are the undisputed key figures. W. A. R. Goodwin, the principal of Bruton Parish Church in Williamsburg, had already in 1903 forcibly succeeded in restoring Bruton Church. He bought in 1926 the George Wythe House with the financial support

of the *Colonial Dames Of America*, which he had restored to use it for Bruton Parish as a Parish House. After clumsily approaching Henry Ford and being turned down as a consequence,<sup>xi</sup> Goodwin succeeded in interesting John D. Rockefeller, who put in the following ten years 79 million Dollar into the town. Rockefeller may thus be considered as the real founder. He had already given funds to similar projects, such as the restoration of Versailles Palace of Louis XIV. or Sleepy Hollow with its monastery in Upper New York City. He funded many other projects at the same time of his activities in Williamsburg, like the building of the Riverside Church in New York. Rockefeller also donated considerable sums to the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

But let us return to the history of the activities of the *Colonial Williamsburg Foundation*. The first ten years had been defined by the purchase of properties and buildings in Williamsburg, which was concealed at first and subsequently done with due caution and in clever cooperation with the owners and inhabitants. This was followed by restoration measures and – where the buildings of the eighteenth century no longer existed, as it was the case in many instances – demolition of the newer structures and reconstruction of the preceding buildings. This was possible because Williamsburg was not a rich town, and on top of it these measures were carried out at the time of the recession and the big crash at the stock exchange. Many citizens of Williamsburg regarded Rockefeller's activities as the only chance to bring money and work to Williamsburg.

At the start of the 1930s the work was seen to be completed. On 3 March 1931 president Herbert Hoover signed a law, which classified Williamsburg as a 'Colonial National Monument'. The first reconstructed and publicly accessible building, the Raleigh Tavern, was opened on 16 September 1932 by governor John G. Pollard. With the menace of a second big international conflict at the end of the 1930s the activities in Williamsburg were expanded, which were formerly mainly aimed at the protection and conservation of architecture. In presentations on site it was tried to put *Colonial Williamsburg* to use in the creation of a national identity. At the time particular visitors' programmes were carried out for soldiers, who were about to be sent to Europe. Simultaneously, facilities were established to entertain visitors also in the evening. Through the increasing motorization of the population and consequently easier accessi-

bility, *Colonial Williamsburg* developed into a popular and frequently visited location in the decades after World War 2.

Today, *Colonial Williamsburg* has many functions: it shows, how it was, when the USA constituted themselves and how the American revolution took place. It teaches, how you build the ‘right’ way and how you decorate your home tastefully, how you cook well, and how you make yourself at home – especially for Christmas. At the same time people try to bring history to life, for example by staging historic events and by actors re-enacting the everyday life in the eighteenth century. There is a well structured weekly programme so that you can stay in *Colonial Williamsburg* for a couple of days without getting bored or experiencing any repetitions. In the usual publications there are sections, in which individual people’s lives are portrayed under the heading “Meet the People”. In special nationwide broadcast talk shows these people played by actors can be called and questioned on air. All of this is done with extreme professionalism and with an overwhelming intensity.

The number of visitors increased from 31,000 in the year 1934 to more than 300,000 in the year 1953; 729,000 tickets were sold in 2003.<sup>xiii</sup> Nevertheless, the actual number of visitors should be far greater, as you do not need a ticket for entering the town. On the internet there are some hundreds of thousands pages on and about *Colonial Williamsburg*.



Fig. 1: Courthouse 1911-1933 and 1771-1911/1933-today

*Colonial Williamsburg* pretends to scientifically found and authentically reconstruct the historical reality of the eighteenth century; and if necessary, without consideration for classical rules of architecture or good taste. This ‘scientific character at all cost’ can be seen for example in the removal of the columns of the Courthouse’s portico. The portico had survived the centuries without columns, until in 1911 – in the course of a

reconstruction after a fire – the columns had been placed there, which was not only aesthetically a more satisfactory solution. But the *Colonial Williamsburg Foundation* in its search for historical truth doesn't have aesthetic doubts, it removed the columns during the restoration again, so that the building presents itself today – historically correct, aesthetically wrong – again without the columns. This scientific rigour is shown again and again during reconstructions and in all publications of the *Colonial Williamsburg Foundation*, so that no doubts about the authenticity of the whole complex of *Colonial Williamsburg* may arise.<sup>xiii</sup>

The new buildings required for shops and tourist amenities near 'Merchants Square', the Shopping Mall at the end of the Duke of Gloucester Street in front of the William & Mary College, are from the outset held in the style of *Colonial Williamsburg*. Today even the periphery is transformed into *Colonial Williamsburg*, as can be seen on the example of the station, which had been moved out of the city in the 1930s, the Prince George Parking Garage, which has been erected in the last few years, and the Williamsburg James City County Courthouse (competition of 1996), which lies approx. six miles outside of town.



Fig. 2: Williamsburg James City County Courthouse, 1996

Out of pride and perhaps also to justify the construction work in retrospect, comparisons of 'before and after' are frequently shown. In the process, a positive '*ancien*' world is contrasted with a destructive modernism of decay, bad taste, chaos, and of technological domination.

In 1988 appeared a persuasively presented book by George Humphrey Yetter, which also concentrates on contrasting ‘before and after’.<sup>xiv</sup> Here, too, the time between 1780 and 1926 is presented as a dark period of non-existence, this becomes particularly apparent in contrasting images of the unearthed remains of the foundations of the Governor’s Palace, i.e. the presence of non-existence, and its rebuilding after 1926. The climax is the comparison of a view from William & Mary College down Duke of Gloucester Street.



Fig. 3: Duke of Gloucester Street, “before and after”

If you try to take the same picture with your own camera, you won’t succeed very often: more often than not, cars will disturb the seemingly historical authenticity. This impossibility of photographic reproduction shows the unreality of the published photos – and even of those photos taken by yourself – and the actual perception of *Colonial Williamsburg*

Because if we look closely, we will discover electric lights, central heating, smoke alarms, sprinkler systems, air conditioners, as well as a well-functioning shuttle bus service, parking lots, restaurants, and souvenir shops (the view down Duke of Gloucester Street terminates actually at a new mall, which was constructed at its other end with shops and restaurants for tourists and the usual branches and franchises of such companies as Talbot or Barnes & Noble). All these devices and facilities are hidden in a peculiar way, though. Everything is there and visible, but you overlook it with open eyes. You are already tuned into the spirit of the eighteenth century, if you visit *Colonial Williamsburg*, you want to see the eighteenth century. Consequently you look away from the life of the twenty first century and create your own appropriate perception. America looks at Williamsburg and doesn’t see it. It sees *Colonial Williamsburg* the myth – but it doesn’t see Williamsburg, the reality.

There is also a ‘beside’: the periphery of Williamsburg of tourist hotels, shopping malls, and factory outlets. There is the town of George Washington, who you can meet on ‘Court Day’, while you can see Thomas Jefferson on ‘Muster Day’ and Lord Dunmore on ‘Revolutionary Day’. There is also the town of all those other actors, who get out of their uniforms or costumes at 5 p.m. every day, dress in their normal clothes, get into their car, and go shopping for their dinner. *Colonial Williamsburg* is a modern museum, it can only exist on condition of the existence of Williamsburg as a modern city and its contemporary infrastructure.

What happened between 1780 and 1926? A protocol of the hearings in the ‘Committee on the Public Lands’ in the House of Representatives in Washington on 6 Mai 1930 in preparation of passing the law on the Creation of the Colonial National Monument in Virginia<sup>xv</sup> raises several questions. Apart from some serious financial concerns and questions on the status of public property also some citizens of Williamsburg were heard. Mary M. Galt stated in the hearings, that there was considerable pressure on the owners of houses in the centre to sell their properties, and by passing this new law this pressure would even increase. In the final analysis this law would give “a weapon into the hands of people who are trying to deprive us of our homes”. This should not be:

“Now, gentlemen, in this section there are still people, who love their homes. They love their homes. They are the homes where their ancestors have lived and died. They don’t want money for them. They don’t want the Government to take care of their homes. They don’t want Williamsburg to take care of their homes. They don’t want anybody but themselves to take very good care that they are taking of their homes.”<sup>xvi</sup>

Where did these citizens go? What happened to Williamsburg, when it was replaced by *Colonial Williamsburg*?

## 2. Cooking the Monuments

### 2.1 Cooking the Town

#### 2.1.1. Remarks on Town Planning in the Eighteenth Century

After the foundation of Middle Plantation in 1632 and the erection of a brick church in 1683 (Bruton Church) Williamsburg was founded in 1699 with two harbours.<sup>xvii</sup> Subsequently it was planned in a systematic

way. Near the end of this time Williamsburg had developed from a settlement into a small town. The form of the boundaries on the ‘Bland Plan’, but also the partitioning of the blocks and the distribution of the buildings on the ‘Frenchman’s map’ show, that you can talk of an east and west part of the town, presumably these are also different planning stages of the town.

### 2.1.2. The Fable of the ‘Decline’ of the City Between 1780 and 1926

One of the most important institution in Williamsburg is the ‘Eastern Lunatic Asylum’, which had already been established in 1773 as the first public hospital in North America. It received attention beyond the borders of Virginia after Dr. John Galt became director of the institution in 1841. Galt developed and implemented ‘moral management’ as a therapeutic concept, in which mentally challenged patients – quite in the sense of contemporary and modern therapies – were no longer imprisoned, but were able to move relatively freely and were given specific tasks for work. There existed also a wealth of church buildings for European-American and African-American believers of different Christian congregations in downtown Williamsburg as well as schools for African-American children.<sup>xviii</sup>



*Fig 4: Williamsburg Survey 1930 (detail)*

You can see in a survey of 1930 that the Duke of Gloucester Street had turned by the 1920s into a lively main street with fully developed modern roads for vehicular traffic, shops, increasing car traffic, and filling stations. With the ‘Colored Odd Fellow Hall’ on Nicholson and Botetourt Street there existed also a social meeting point. African-Americans lived also in downtown Williamsburg, mostly in an area around York Street, Nassau Street, and the Duke of Gloucester Street, where they ran their downtown businesses on a larger scale.<sup>xix</sup> For the small town of Wil-

Williamsburg you can actually talk of an intermixture of European-Americans and African-Americans.

Even though Williamsburg was before 1926 no longer the most important town in Virginia, it experienced in the nineteenth century a remarkable development. During this period the struggle about slavery took place, which was brought to a happy ending by the victory of the Union. The women gained the right to vote. It was an important time ‘to become free and equal’, certainly not the dark times, as which this period is portrayed in the books.

### 2.1.3. Reconstructive-Destructive and Constructive Town Planning in the Twentieth Century

The reader rightly assumes, that I mentioned several buildings because they have been defined as manifestations of Williamsburg’s ‘decline’ and were consequently demolished. All church buildings in the town centre – with the exception of the Anglican Bruton Church – have been demolished and re-erected in different locations, the schools have been relocated to the outskirts, and the shops have been scattered in the periphery. The shops underwent the common transformation unrelated to *Colonial Williamsburg* from individual shops run by their respective owners to globally operating chain stores. European and African Americans lived on the periphery, at first in segregated quarters in the northeast of town (Scotland Street) and south of Francis Street on Henry Street. One single building of the ‘Eastern Lunatic Asylum’ still stands today, its original function of the eighteenth century is not integrated into the activities of the ‘living museum’, though.

The ‘Comprehensive Plan’ of 1953<sup>xx</sup> lists next to residential areas also five important public institutions in the old centre: the Courthouse (among others it is used by the ‘commissioner of revenue’, the ‘treasurer’, as well as the ‘clerk of the court’; the ‘county board of supervisors’ and the ‘city council’ hold their sessions there), the Municipal Building for the city administration (which houses the offices of the ‘city manager’, the ‘water department’, and the police), the fire station, the public library, and the post office.

Thus – especially with the Public Library, which always had for the communities in the USA a special significance – the old downtown was still an urban centre for the whole city. In the following years the ethnically mixed population of downtown Williamsburg was displaced, the institutions still used by the citizens of Williamsburg, VA were removed, and the remaining buildings of the interim period demolished. As I shall demonstrate later, these processes of change represent a ‘colonization’ in a double sense.

#### 2.1.4. The New Williamsburg

We are used to talk about Williamsburg and only to look at *Colonial Williamsburg*. With the exodus of the inhabitants from the town centre and the remodelling of downtown Williamsburg into *Colonial Williamsburg* with the enormous increase in visitors, who stay most of the time for several days, with the building of hotels, restaurants, souvenir shops and other facilities aimed at tourists, as well as the lavish interpretative activities of the *Colonial Williamsburg Foundation* the job opportunities and consequently the number of inhabitants in Williamsburg increases. Their apartments and houses as well as the other institutions which enable their daily lives make up the New Williamsburg after the Second World War. At the beginning of the 1950s the city administration realized that this area also belonged to Williamsburg and consequently had to be included in town planning. The city administration commissioned thus in 1953 a ‘Comprehensive Plan’, which was followed by three other plans until today.

The ‘Comprehensive Plan’ of 1953 applied the formal and informal rules of a good urban structure and organization of the time and analysed especially the planning of residential buildings. The ‘Comprehensive Plan’ hereby assumed that the old downtown was the centre for the whole town. It did not make aesthetic prescriptions. The traffic flows were improved and new parking areas designated. Lafayette Street was laid out as a by-pass. In the subsequent ‘Comprehensive Plan’ of 1968 it was recommended to remove all public institutions and buildings – i.e. public for the city of Williamsburg and for the inhabitants of the region – from *Colonial Williamsburg*. Public buildings which had been erected after 1926, such as the James City Courthouse or the Conoco Service Station, were

consequently demolished.<sup>xxi</sup> Thus downtown Williamsburg was run clear for *Colonial Williamsburg*. The town centre is since then no longer the centre of the New Williamsburg, but rather a museum and a leisure area for tourists from other places. The new city thus lost its old centre, its historical and cultural identity. The ‘Comprehensive Plan’ of 1981 was in principle a continuation of old approaches. Additionally, the plan massively insisted on establishing more green spaces throughout the city, not least to hide the ‘messy corners’ (lower class habitation and production) from the tourists. More so than the previous plans it is an embellishment plan, which primarily aims at presenting a homogenous historical town. The new city Williamsburg, VA had become a glaxis for *Colonial Williamsburg*.

## 2.2. Cooking the Architecture

Above I have already pointed out, that an enormous stock of buildings from the nineteenth century had been demolished after 1926, and how this destroyed Williamsburg as a town handed down from generation to generation and the day to day life within it. The question remains, how the architectural specialists of the *Colonial Williamsburg Foundation* dealt with the monuments of the eighteenth century. I shall demonstrate this on the example of two buildings, the Capitol and the Custis/Maupin residential building. These buildings are exemplary for my discussion, because we are dealing here with the rebuilding of a lost structure and with the demolition and rebuilding of a wooden structure, which was in the 1920s still very well preserved.

### 2.2.1. The Capitol

The construction of the first Capitol was begun in 1701; as early as 1704 it was already used for sessions, even though it was completed only in 1705. It had been built without heating and consequently without chimneys, in order to reduce the risk of fire. Due to complaints from its users (among others the archivist saw his files at risk) this was changed in 1723, and fireplaces were built in. From then on the rooms were heated. On 30 January 1747 this building burned down.<sup>xxii</sup> After a brief and inconclusive discussion whether to relocate the building to a different place, a second Capitol had been erected by using the foundations and

some still intact walls. This Capitol was completed in 1753. The first Capitol, which is seen to be representative of the early phase of Williamsburg's colonial period, is rebuilt in the twentieth century.<sup>xxiii</sup>



*Fig 5: Capitol, North- and South façade*

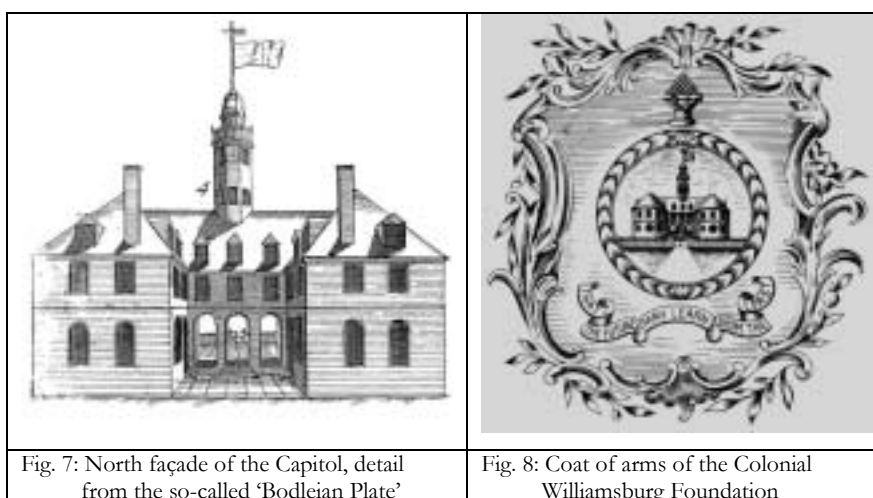
In a specially produced publication for this occasion it is stated, that one had researched with the outmost conscientiousness, how the building may have looked like and that „fortunately this evidence is so extensive that the reconstructed building may be accepted as the counterpart of the original Capitol as completed in 1705.“<sup>xxiv</sup>

Carl R. Lounsbury presented in 1990 a critique of the first Capitol's reconstruction by Perry, Shaw & Hepburn.<sup>xxv</sup> He formulates the thesis, that the reconstructing architects were influenced by a beaux-arts understanding of architecture and consequently did not react at all times appropriately concerning the history of the building. Lounsbury bases his thesis on the unearthed foundations and refers mainly to one semicircular foundation facing the city on the west side of the building. He recognizes here a foundation for a small structure for the west entrance, which Perry, Shaw & Hepburn in their reconstruction had moved further to the north for symmetry's sake. Apart from the foundations, Lounsbury's reconstruction has also the entrance then being in line with the central tower speaking for it, which doesn't work in the design of Perry, Shaw & Hepburn. Lounsbury draws up an alternative façade, which does justice to the foundations and which appears in this respect more coherent than the realized design. However, the preference for the beaux-arts design over the historical truth of the building appears to me not to be the only and not the most important question regarding the reconstruction of the Capitol.



Fig. 6: Capitol, West façade (realized) by Perry, Shaw & Hepburn compared to the plan of Lounsbury

One of those further-reaching questions is where the main entrance was actually located and how this expressed the relationship of the city to the Capitol or respectively of the citizens and their daily lives to the administrative and political representation of the whole of Virginia. On the ‘Capitaine Plan’ of 1781 you can clearly see a path from the Capitol extending northwards to the ‘Capitol Landing’, a harbour from which you can reach the York River. However you could not only reach the harbour from the Capitol, but you could also reach from the harbour the Capitol and the town. I have to put such peculiar emphasis on this since so far nobody has apparently thought or dared to talk publicly about the north side of the first Capitol actually being the side of the main entrance. This is also clearly and unambiguously supported by the depiction of the Capitol’s north façade on the ‘Bodleian Plate’,<sup>xxvi</sup>



This orientation has in the final analysis a triple significance: it shows the idea of the initial land surveyors and town planners of a divide between

capitol and the city and thus between 'government' and everyday life. It also makes it clear, that the south side, which due to its curvature appears like a bulwark, was just the rear. Consequently the fortress-like character was not as important as it is made today, where people consider it to be the front. Finally it becomes also evident, that the architects consciously turned the second Capitol to the city and thus achieved a direct connection to the city.



*Fig. 9: The second Capitol, 1753*

This raises the question, why exactly the first Capitol had been reconstructed, and why in its state before 1723 (and now it presents itself in the same world as the Courthouse of 1770/71, without the two buildings ever having existed at the same time); and why not the second one of 1753, which as a building was more authentically involved in the revolutionary phase of Williamsburg. In retrospect the architects argued, that they had more precise information on the building of the first Capitol. The existence of plans for the reconstruction of the second Capitol in the archives of the *Colonial Williamsburg Foundation*, which are even older than those which have been used for the construction of the first one, casts at least a doubt on this statement.



Fig. 10: Plan of 15 April 1927 for the rebuilding of the second Capitol

How does it come to the later change of plans and to the reconstruction of the first Capitol? What kind of ideas and concepts are behind this? The comparison between the proposed reconstruction of the building for the second Capitol and old depictions shows on the latter a more modest structure without elaborate features. In contrast, the reconstruction glorifies the building – mainly because of the tower, chimney, dormer windows, and the relative increase of the roof's height. What shall we make of this discrepancy? To answer this question we have to consider, that the Governor's Palace had been further extended at time when the second Capitol was built. We realize now, that there has been an architectural shift and a shift in signification of the two buildings' importance and consequently of its two respective institutions within the town; at the time of the revolution the governor increased in importance and presence in the townscape, while the Capitol decreases. *Colonial Williamsburg's* architects were apparently not satisfied with this reduced presence of the 'parliamentary' representation of Virginia's population and thus tried to glorify the second Capitol building at first. However, as the first structure is far better suited for this purpose, this will have been one of the reasons leading to change their plans.

The second reason may have been that the building of the second Capitol looked too 'Southern'. Before I shall discuss this in more detail and in a wider context (cf. chapter 3), I have to mention, that there existed also a third alternative for a reconstruction. The *Colonial Williamsburg Founda-*

*tion* could have equally reconstructed the ‘Female Academy’. You discover more or less by chance that this building existed; in the information given out by the *Colonial Williamsburg Foundation* you will hardly find anything on it.<sup>xxvii</sup> After the second Capitol was in part demolished at the end of the eighteenth century to salvage building material, and after the other part having burned down in 1832, a ‘Female Academy’ was erected in 1851 on the land of the Capitol.<sup>xxviii</sup> The foundation of this ‘Female Academy’ was an important step for women to gain equal rights. The ‘Female Academy’ faced the ‘College of William and Mary’ and thus set up the town between two educational institutions.

### 2.2.2. Custis/Maupin House

The building is situated on the west side of Duke of Gloucester Street, facing directly Bruton Church. The restoration began in August 1931 with the demolition of the existing structure and ended in January 1932 with the completion of the reconstruction. John Custis had built at the end of the second decade of the eighteenth century a building on the property, which was probably rented already in 1733 to Peter Scott. This building burned down in 1776.<sup>xxix</sup> The house which stood till 1931 on the property was possibly erected in 1846.

As the restorers saw the ‘wrong building’ on an important property (“This explains the motive of the architects” as the restorers say “in completely demolishing the house, as illustrated in this report, and then constructing a house in the early eighteenth century manner to the dimensions of the foundations.”)<sup>xxx</sup> the existing structure was demolished except its brick foundations in order to erect a new building in the style of the eighteenth century on the basis of the ‘Frenchman’s Map’. But how can you reconstruct from the ‘Frenchman’s Map’ drawn in 1782 a building which burned down in 1776? Isn’t it highly likely, that apart from Custis’ house of around 1720 and apart from the building of 1846 there existed a third – or more precisely – a second building, which the surveyor of the ‘Frenchman’s Map’ included in the map? Was it perhaps a bookstore, since the owner is marked in a later plan (‘Bucktrout Map’ of 1803) as ‘Dixon’, who was known as a postmaster and bookseller?



*Fig 11: 'Custis/Maupin House' (early nineteenth century) before its demolition and the 1932 erected building in the style of the eighteenth century*

Consequently you have to ask further: Why is a historical building of 1846 demolished for the sake of historical authenticity, why is it so important to reconstruct a building of before 1733? The solution to the mystery is actually George Washington! The owner John Custis is important to the restorers, because – as it is emphasized in the report on the restoration – his daughter-in-law Martha Dandridge Custis married 1759 George Washington as her second husband and thus – as Martha Washington – became later the ‘first lady’. Most certainly neither Martha nor George Washington had ever set foot in the building, most probably they hadn’t even noticed that it existed. Perhaps they passed it once walking down Duke of Gloucester Street. In principle it is only the structural kinship relations, which connect George Washington primarily with Martha Washington, the latter to her father, and then in turn her father with the house as its owner. In the end, you are at a loss how to categorize the motivation of those people responsible for the demolition and the rebuilding of the house. This has nothing to do with the – self-imposed and above mentioned – scientific criteria or with the principles of careful building conservation; but also as a token of respect for George Washington this would have to be called rather esoteric.

### **3. ‘Becoming Americans’**

*Colonial Williamsburg* presents itself as a location, where you can comprehend how the territory and the population of America became the American nation and Americans. If we forget for a moment, that this process is possibly even today far from completed, if we also forget, that many ‘natives’ have only in the last few decades become to be considered as Americans and equally have only begun to understand themselves as such, if we furthermore ignore, that America signifies a whole continent with culturally independent states, we still have to ask, what is actually

meant by the origins of ‘America’ in or through *Colonial Williamsburg*. A comparison shall help us to clarify this issue.

### 3.1. Alternative Founding Myths<sup>xxxii</sup>

In the introduction I have already shed some light on the myth propagated by de Tocqueville. In the 1960s the influence of religion on the development of the identity of the USA is also highlighted by other authors. Carl Bridenbaugh<sup>xxxiii</sup> and Alan E. Heimert<sup>xxxiii</sup> see in the increase of religious feelings and activities in the 1730s and 1740s a strong supporting influence on the American revolution or respectively see religion as an important part of it. The birth of America out of the ‘American Revolution’ is another myth. Here you have to ask not only the question, what was actually the revolution, but also, when, where, and how it happened – and whether it was a revolution after all. If you follow the scientific literature, you can conceive the revolution as a realization of democracy,<sup>xxxiv</sup> as the development and implementation of a specific conception of a state,<sup>xxxv</sup> as a social revolution,<sup>xxxvi</sup> as asserting the interests of an upper class founded on economic activity against the ‘turmoils of democracy’ (Governor Robert Morris),<sup>xxxvii</sup> or the revolution can be even understood as a rebellion or respectively as a civil war between loyalists and revolutionaries,<sup>xxxviii</sup> only to quote some of the positions here. Colonial Williamsburg could also have been an example for an understanding of revolution, which defines the latter as a victory of an urban lifestyle.<sup>xxxix</sup>

In *Colonial Williamsburg* however, the revolution is portrayed as a spiritual feat and moral achievement of great men, as you can gather directly from the official self-presentation of *Colonial Williamsburg* on one hand, and as you can see it on the other in the architectural references – such as for example the Custis/Maupin House. In *Colonial Williamsburg* revolution is a fight (at least in the last decades of the twentieth and at the start of the twenty first century). The fight – not war, though – was a ‘Prussian’ business and as such extremely orderly. In contrast to the cover of the official guide of 1998 and the visitors’ guide offered by the chambers of commerce in 2005 you encounter recently the term ‘leadership’ more frequently.

As an alternative myth of a ‘birth of a nation’ Turner’s ‘frontier theory’<sup>xi</sup> would have been equally available. This theory is not only valid for the west, since Turner in his discussion is able to show, that also the east coast has been a ‘frontier’ of “fisherman, fur trader, miner, cattle-raiser, and farmer“ (Turner). Under these conditions it would have been rather the harbours, with their workshops and huts for living, which led to the creation of an identity. *Colonial Williamsburg* on the other hand particularly neglects its harbours and reduces the city to the upper town, as a place of an intellectual and cultivated upper class. While Turner saw the ‘log cabin’ as the epitome of American architecture,<sup>xii</sup> *Colonial Williamsburg* even denies their very existence, as Harold R. Shurtleff – one of the managers of *Colonial Williamsburg* in the 1930s – demonstrates in his book ‘The Log Cabin Myth’ (1939). The strict turn against all aspects of secular culture and against the conception of a ‘frontier’ lifestyle can also be seen in the contemporary setting and presentation of the Duke of Gloucester Street. It is characteristic, that you will not see McIlvaine’s picture – with its covered wagons, which are almost iconographic for the trek westwards and which thus represent the ‘frontier’ element in American identity – in *Colonial Williamsburg*. The ‘melting pot’ is equally not an issue for *Colonial Williamsburg*. Most recently we can observe the attempt to pick out the topic of ‘free and equal’, however, this presents due to the enslavement of Africans in the eighteenth century a big challenge to argumentation.<sup>xliii</sup>



Fig 12: William McIlvaine, *A View in Williamsburg VA 1862*

### 3.2. 'Colonial'

As Williamsburg claims to be 'colonial', the question arises what this could mean and how you would date it. You can regard those times to be 'colonial' when the lands on the east coast were colonies of England; 'colonial' would thus be a term defined by international law, the colonial times would consequently start with the first English settlements in 1607 and end with the independence of the USA. You could also assume the period as 'colonial' which ranges from the first settlements to the end of the seventeenth century (Wertenbaker), when the lifestyles changed from the rough times of the pioneers to a more elaborate and cultured lifestyle.

Equally, you can see the colonial period as a phase of the 'Europeanization of America' (such as in Andrews in several editions since 1912)<sup>xliii</sup> or as an 'Americanization of the Europeans' in Abbott.<sup>xliv</sup> *Colonial Williamsburg* pursues a third approach with the 'Europeanization of the Europeans in America'. This process is dated before the time of the actual revolution in which the European element is defined as an English lifestyle of a wealthy 'gentry'. Consequently you can also talk of 'gentrification'. This myth was particularly present in the phase of the establishment of *Colonial Williamsburg*.

To posit the term 'colonial' has a lot to do with the social disputes in the USA in the period after World War 1. The 'Europeanization / gentrification of the Europeans in America' works as a concept of social closure especially against the heavy influx of European lower class people, who pressed into the USA at the time.

### 3.3. '1780'

To establish the relocation of the capital to Richmond as a 'deadline' for Williamsburg's existence, has already become open to debate. To posit it as the terminal point for *Colonial Williamsburg's* history, on the other hand seems to make sense at first. Nevertheless, this in particular calls the sense of the whole *Colonial Williamsburg* enterprise into question. If the American revolution, urban culture, religion, and colonial life have in fact something to do with the development of an American identity, then this cannot end at the point when the capital is relocated to Richmond. If this was the case, it would have been purely virtual and could

not have been able to express itself in the behaviour, identity, and architecture of its inhabitants. Especially in the period after 1780 you could find evidence that we are now dealing with ‘Americans’ (in the sense of ‘becoming Americans’), independent of the physical presence of Thomas Jefferson and George Washington’s wife Martha. After 1780 you could observe and examine, whether and how the event of the ‘revolution’ changes into a lifestyle and a democratic culture.

#### 3.4. ‘Cavalier and Yankee’

*Colonial Williamsburg* however, establishes yet another posit of great importance. It makes a significant decision in the long dispute between the Northern and Southern states, which after World War 1 is now led as a cultural struggle,<sup>xlv</sup> and is led largely as a personified conflict between the civilisation of the ‘Yankee’ versus the culture of the ‘Cavalier’, quite along the same lines of the distinction between civilisation and culture in a German tradition. The position of the South was heterogeneous, the ‘University of North Carolina’ became the cradle of a modernist understanding of the South.<sup>xlvi</sup> On the other side stood the ‘agrarians’ of Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee with their book *“I’ll Take my Stand”: The South and Agrarian Tradition* (1930), which is still on sale in the museums of the Confederation in the Southern states. In literary criticism people talk of a ‘Southern Renaissance’, which adds to the wealth of light fiction, such as the books written by Gwen Bristow and Margaret Mitchell. Further publications supported this trend, but also here the scope is great and ranged from the modern and critical Henry Louis Mencken<sup>xlvii</sup> – even though he is quite biologicistic in his argumentation – via Wilbur J. Cash,<sup>xlviii</sup> who writes ironically about all clichés, but seems in the final analysis to affirm them, to the racist Thomas Dixon<sup>xlix</sup> in his glorification of the Ku-Klux-Klan and its adaptation in Griffith’s movie ‘The Birth of a Nation’ (1915).

The second and the third decade of the twentieth century in the USA marks a period where the South demonstrates a new self-confidence. This is particularly apparent in ‘Stone Mountain’, a monument near Atlanta, which the ‘United Daughters of the Confederacy (U.D.C.)’ had proposed in 1915 to be built, in which ‘our cause’ and the ‘confederates’ Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, and Stonewall Jackson are glorified. In the 1920s began also the processing of the culture of the Southern states,

such as by William Spratling.<sup>1</sup> In this context the reconstruction and restoration work in Williamsburg takes place. And Williamsburg has been – I deliberately use here the past tense – a city in Virginia, which has been a Southern state and member of the ‘Confederation’ in the ‘Civil War’.

### 3.5. Walking City

If you recall the decision against rebuilding the second Capitol, and if you pay attention to stylistic differences in the many comparisons between ‘before’ and ‘after’ (it is striking that particularly the typical Southern porches are eliminated and the ornaments associated to the South are replaced by an aesthetically reduced classicism) and if you look at what kind of buildings are demolished, you will realize that Williamsburg as a whole is shifted to the North on the ‘mental map’ of the USA.



*Fig. 13: Spencer's Hotel, 1840*

Everything that has a ‘Southern’ look is not celebrated, but removed, as you can see it on the example of ‘Spencer’s Hotel’ in the town centre, which has been demolished even though hotel accommodation was desperately needed for the tourists. By the rigorous capping of the presented history of Williamsburg to the time up until 1780, it is legitimized to demolish all structures, which present architectural evidence, that Williamsburg was a ‘city in the Southern states’.<sup>li</sup>



Fig 14: Lightfoot House, “before and after”

In order to substantiate this claim I have carried out a survey with American students of architecture – both male and female – from different universities from the south and the north of the USA. The results make it apparent, that the vast majority of students perceives *Colonial Williamsburg* to belong to the Northern states.<sup>lii</sup>

Greenspan talks of a ‘Yankee reconstruction’; he quotes an inhabitant saying „that she has lived through one Yankee reconstruction and could probably survive another“,<sup>liii</sup> he basically says, that the architects and managers came from the Northern states. I would even go one step further than this: With the remodelling of Williamsburg, VA into *Colonial Williamsburg* the ‘cradle of the republic’ was shifted to the north and thus a congenital defect was corrected.<sup>liv</sup>

If we assume that the USA was born in Williamsburg, we are now able to demonstrate that the USA has at the core a Yankee identity. We can talk of a ‘Yankeefication’, if we understand with it also an ideal typical conception of man. But this Yankee is not the “Yankee from Connecticut at the court of King Arthur“ (Mark Twain), because we are not dealing here with the presentation of industrial efficiency, but it is neither the “hefty and bigot mixture between grocer and priest, with rough manners and lacking all imagination”,<sup>lv</sup> *Colonial Williamsburg* is rather about the programmatic presentation of a ‘homo politicus’ with a British upper class culture, who is freed from the toils of everyday life and who passes himself off as enlightened.

## Illustration Credits

Carl Lounsbury, 6

George Yetter, 3, 14

Colonial Williamsburg Foundation 9, 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13

Library of Congress, Washington DC, 12

Eduard Führ, 1, 2, 5

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<sup>i</sup> Gustave de Beaumont and Alexis de Tocqueville, *Du Système Pénitentiaire aux Etats-Unis et de son Application en France* (Paris : 1833).

<sup>ii</sup> Gustave de Beaumont, *Marie, ou l'esclavage aux Etats-Unis. Tableau des Mœurs Américaines* (Paris : 1835).

<sup>iii</sup> Alexis de Tocqueville, *Über die Demokratie in Amerika* (Stuttgart: 1959) (original edition Vol. 1 Brussels: 1835/ Paris: 1836, Vol. 2 1940).

<sup>iv</sup> De Tocqueville 1959 (note. 3), pp. 35 f.

<sup>v</sup> Cary Carson, "Colonial Williamsburg and the Practice of Interpretive Planning in American History Museums," *Public Historian. A Journal of Public History* 20, no. 3 (1998): 11-51.

<sup>vi</sup> Sabine Schindler, *Authentizität und Inszenierung. Die Vermittlung von Geschichte in amerikanischen historic sites*. Heidelberg: 2003.

<sup>vii</sup> For simplicity's sake I shall hereafter use *Colonial Williamsburg Foundation*, even in the case when it was still 'Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated'.

<sup>viii</sup> Carl Bridenbaugh, *Seat of Empire: The Political Role of Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg* (Williamsburg: 1950), p. 29.

<sup>ix</sup> Fiske Kimball, "The Restoration of Colonial Williamsburg in Virginia," in *The Architectural Record* 78, no. 6 Dec 1935, p. 359.

<sup>x</sup> I follow here the works of Thomas T. Taylor, "The Williamsburg Restoration and its Reception by the American Public 1926 – 1942" (Ph.D. diss., Washington University, 1989); Andrea Kim Foster, "'They're Turning the Town All Upside Down': The Community Identity of Williamsburg, Virginia, Before and After the Reconstruction" (Ph.D. diss., George Washington University, 1993); and Anders Greenspan, *Creating Colonial Williamsburg* (Washington/London: 2002).

<sup>xi</sup> He accused Ford of having contributed with his car production to the decline of Williamsburg.

<sup>xii</sup> <http://www.history.org/Foundation/Annualrpt03/results.cfm> (official web pages of the *Colonial Williamsburg Foundation*).

<sup>xiii</sup> On the other hand the conservation of the gable with its columns of 1911 as a historical document – in the sense of a modern understanding of building conservation – would have contributed to the authenticity of the building.

<sup>xiv</sup> Georg Humphrey Yetter, *Williamsburg before and after: The rebirth of Virginia's colonial capital* (Williamsburg: 1988).

<sup>xv</sup> Washington 1930 (Library of Congress: F 232 C 7 U 43).

<sup>xvi</sup> Protocol of the hearings in the 'Committee on the Public Lands' in the House of Representatives in Washington on 6 May 1930 in preparation of passing the law on the Creation of the Colonial National Monument in Virginia; Washington 1930 (LOC; F 232 C 7 U 43), S. 81.

<sup>xvii</sup> The 'Queen Mary Port' is located at the confluence of Queens Creek and York River, the 'Princess Ann Port' is situated at the mouth of Archers Hope Creek into James River. Later they were called 'Capitol Landing' and 'College Landing'.

<sup>xviii</sup> See also: John Turner, "Three Hundred Years of Faith," in Robert P. Maccubbin, ed., *Williamsburg, Virginia. A City Before the State 1699 – 1999* (Williamsburg: 2000).

<sup>xix</sup> Linda Rowe, "African Americans in Williamsburg 1865 – 1945" in Mac-cubbin 2000 (note. 20), p. 125.

<sup>xx</sup> In the 'planning department' of the city government.

<sup>xxi</sup> Carol Kettenburg Dubbs, *Defend this Old Town: Williamsburg During the Civil War* (Baton Rouge: 2002).

<sup>xxii</sup> The building of today presented as the Capitol is consequently not the Capitol of the time of the revolution, but an earlier structure, which was moreover reconstructed in its state of the period between 1705 and 1723, as can be deduced from the missing chimneys.

<sup>xxiii</sup> I shall not dwell here on the furnishings. However, for the Capitol there exists a list, where the architects took their inspiration from. Mostly, these are from the second half of the eighteenth century: details of the interior design were taken from Hampton Courtroom, the wooden panels are imitations of the Governor's House at Chelsea Hospital and Glenham in Suffolk. Waterman and Dearstyne on 5 February 1932 in the Architectural Records on the Capitol in the archives of the *Colonial Williamsburg Foundation*.

<sup>xxiv</sup> Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., ed., "The Capitol in which the General Assembly of the Colony and Commonwealth of Virginia met from 1704 to 1778" (Williamsburg: 1934), preface.

<sup>xxv</sup> Carl R. Lounsbury, "Beaux-Arts Ideals and Colonial Reality: The Reconstruction of Williamsburg's Capitol, 1928 – 1934," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 49, no. 4 (Dec 1990): 373-389. Lounsbury is the first person to discuss in more detail, that in 1751 a second Capitol had been erected on the foundations of the first one, after the first Capitol had burned down and it had been discussed to relocate the Capitol to a altogether different location. He also shows this Capitol. Additionally he asserts, that it was initially intended to rebuild the second Capitol and that Perry, Shaw & Hepburn had already produced a design for it (which he doesn't show, though).

<sup>xxvi</sup> The other buildings shown on the 'Bodleian Plate' present themselves also with their main façade. It would be extremely strange to show the rear of a building, if you present just one façade. The 'Bodleian Plate' had been found in 1929 by an employee of the *Colonial Williamsburg Foundation* in the Bodleian Library in Oxford. On it College, Capitol, and Governor's Palace are portrayed schematically. Since the building has chimneys it has to be dated after 1723.

<sup>xxvii</sup> Likewise on the official web pages:

<http://www.history.org/Almanack/places/hb/hbcap.cfm>.

<sup>xxviii</sup> This lets us also doubt about the 'dark phase' in Williamsburg's history. The structure equally fell prey to the flames.

<sup>xxix</sup> Colonial Williamsburg Library: History File Custis/ Maupin House, p. 5.

<sup>xxx</sup> *ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>xxxi</sup> Naturally, I also refer here to secondary literature on a larger scale.

<sup>xxxii</sup> Carl Bridenbaugh, *Mitre and Sceptre: Transatlantic Faiths, Ideas, Personalities, and Politics 1689-1775* (New York: 1962).

<sup>xxxiii</sup> Alan E. Heimert, *Religion and the American Mind from the Great Awakening to the Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: 1966).

<sup>xxxiv</sup> Georg Bancroft, *History of the United States, from the Discovery of the American Continent* (Boston: 1834 – 1882).

<sup>xxxv</sup> Gordon S. Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic 1776 – 1787* (Chapel Hill: 1969);

J. G. A. Pocock, *The Macchiavellian Movement: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton: 1975).

<sup>xxxvi</sup> J. Franklin Jameson, *The American Revolution Considered as a Social Movement* (Princeton: 1926).

<sup>xxxvii</sup> Heide Gerstenberger, "Revolution und Staatsgründung" in Hans-Ulrich Wehler, ed., *200 Jahre amerikanische Revolution und moderne Revolutionsforschung* (Göttingen: 1976), 38-58.

<sup>xxxviii</sup> Marion Breunig, *Die amerikanische Revolution als Bürgerkrieg* (Münster: 1998).

<sup>xxxix</sup> John Fiske, *The Critical Period of American History 1783-1789* (Boston: 1888).

<sup>xl</sup> Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association 1893* (quoted from: <http://xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/TURNER/>).

<sup>xli</sup> Please see also the final shot of Griffith's movie 'Birth of a Nation' (1915).

<sup>xlii</sup> I shall deal with this issue in another article.

<sup>xliii</sup> Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History*, vol. 1, *The Settlements* (1934; reprint, New Haven, Conn.: 1964).

<sup>xliv</sup> William W. Abbot, "The Colonies to 1763," in William H. Cartwright and Richard L. Watson jr.: *The Reinterpretation of American History and Culture* (Washington: 1973), 249-258, here p. 249.

<sup>xlv</sup> King talks of 'Kulturkampf' (he uses the German term) in Richard H. King, *A Southern Renaissance: The Cultural Awakening of the American South 1930 – 1955* (New York/Oxford: 1980).

<sup>xlvi</sup> Edwin Mims, *The Advancing South* (Garden City: 1926).

<sup>xlvii</sup> Henry Louis Mencken, „Die Sahara der Bozart,“ (1915) in idem, *Gesamtelte Vorurteile* (Frankfurt am Main/ Leipzig: 2000), 97-111.

<sup>xlviii</sup> Wilbur J. Cash, *The Mind of the South (1929/1941)* (New York: 1969).

<sup>xlix</sup> Thomas Dixon, *The Clansman: An Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan* (New York: 1905).

<sup>i</sup> William Spratling and Natalie Scott, *Old Plantation Houses in Louisiana* (New York: 1927).

<sup>ii</sup> The new building of the 'Williamsburg Inn' outside of *Colonial Williamsburg* supports this theory, if you read Kenneth Chorley on this matter in the November edition of *The Architectural Record* (1936), who was at the time the president of 'Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated'.

<sup>iii</sup> So far, this survey is far from representative. However I shall continue working on it – whenever the opportunity presents itself. Detailed data is available on the internet at <http://www.tu-cottbus.de/BTU/Fak2/TheoArch/Lehrstuhl/engl/fuehr/questionnaire.html>.

In the following some results of the survey in detail:

- Spencer's Hotel is placed by 9 students in the Northern states and by 30 students in die Southern states.
- The reconstructed first Capitol is located with 6 votes in the Southern states, with 33 votes in the Northern states (out of which 20 votes for the New England states). The second Capitol has a more or less even spread over all states (with the exception of Florida receiving 0 votes), the 'Female Academy', on the other hand, is placed with 32 votes in the Southern states, with 8 votes in the Northern states.
- The Taliaferro/Cole Shop is located before the restoration with 9 counts in the Southern states and with 27 votes in the Northern states (out of which 13 for the New England states), after its restoration with 1 (Southern states) versus 42 (Northern states) (out of which 29 for the New England states).
- Robert Carter House in its appearance in the nineteenth century is located with 24 against 16 counts in the Southern states, in its renovated version with 10 versus 27 counts in the Northern states.
- Lightfoot House was before its restoration regarded by 10 students to belong to the Southern states versus 28 for the Northern states (out of which 6 in Washington, DC / Maryland, 8 in Pennsylvania/New Jersey, and 13 in the New England states), after its reconstruction (removal of the porch) it was placed with 4 to 34 in the North, out of which 25 placed it in the New England states.
- The Bush-Everard House is placed before its restoration with 24 out of 39 votes in the Southern states (out of which 8 for South Carolina, 8 for North Carolina, and 5 for Virginia), after its restoration (among other things the porch along the whole length of the building has been removed) with 32

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out of 43 counts in the Northern states (out of which 28 in the New England states).

- The Duke of Gloucester Street is assumed to be situated with a wide spread largely in Pennsylvania and New Jersey (14 counts) both on the photo of the nineteenth century as well as on the depiction with the covered wagons, in a photo of its current state it is placed with 20 counts in the New England states (a total of 33 out of 42 counts for the Northern states).
- The new buildings erected under the direction of the *Colonial Williamsburg Foundation* are largely attributed to the Northern states, such as the James City Courthouse (with 37 out of 40 votes, out of which in turn 25 for the New England states), and the Conoco Service Station (34 out of 38 counts for the Northern states, out of which 24 for the New England states).

<sup>iii</sup> Greenspan 2002 (cf. note 9), p. 38 ('Reconstruction' is the term for the period of structural reorganization of the confederate states through the Northern states in the wake of the lost 'Civil War'.)

<sup>liv</sup> At the time this also solved the problem of having to deal publicly with slavery. However I have to note, that this becomes increasingly an issue due to public pressure since the 60s.

<sup>lv</sup> Mencken, cf. note 47.