

Spring 2016

"Disreputable Houses of Some Very Reputable Negroes": Paternalism and Segregation of Colonial Williamsburg

Nora Ann Knight
Bard College

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcommons.bard.edu/senproj_s2016

 Part of the [African American Studies Commons](#), [Historic Preservation and Conservation Commons](#), [Labor History Commons](#), [Other American Studies Commons](#), [Other History Commons](#), [Other History of Art, Architecture, and Archaeology Commons](#), [Public History Commons](#), [Social History Commons](#), and the [United States History Commons](#)



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-No Derivative Works 4.0 License](#).

Recommended Citation

Knight, Nora Ann, "'Disreputable Houses of Some Very Reputable Negroes': Paternalism and Segregation of Colonial Williamsburg" (2016). *Senior Projects Spring 2016*. 290.
https://digitalcommons.bard.edu/senproj_s2016/290

This Open Access work is protected by copyright and/or related rights. It has been provided to you by Bard College's Stevenson Library with permission from the rights-holder(s). You are free to use this work in any way that is permitted by the copyright and related rights. For other uses you need to obtain permission from the rights-holder(s) directly, unless additional rights are indicated by a Creative Commons license in the record and/or on the work itself. For more information, please contact digitalcommons@bard.edu.

“Disreputable Houses of Some Very Reputable Negroes”:
Paternalism and Segregation in Colonial Williamsburg

Senior Project submitted to:

The Interdivisional Program of American Studies
of Bard College

By

Nora Knight

Annandale-on-Hudson, NY

May 2016

Acknowledgements

First, I would like to thank my steadfast advisor Christian Crouch. Throughout the past three years she has taught me a plethora of American history, research tactics, and helped me hone in my writing style. She has helped shape the way I approach history, something I will carry with me for the rest of my life. Lastly, she also allowed me to take part in the adventures of Nicky and Noira, which has brought me immense joy.

I would like to thank my board member, Professor Peter L'Official. I had the privilege of meeting Professor L'Official before he began his position at Bard. I immediately knew upon meeting Professor L'Official that I wanted to work with him. He has taught me a great deal about approaching photographs, graphic novels, and the world of Rem Koolhaas.

I would like to thank my final board member, Myra Armstead, for introducing me to the wonderful history department of Bard College. It was because of her class *African Americans in U.S. Cities* that I realized I wanted to pursue a degree in American Studies.

Many thanks to my father, Arthur Knight, who shared with me his love of history. Not only this, but for sharing selections of his research with me. Last, but certainly not least, for his avid photographic journalism of our dog, Clyde Bear.

Infinite thanks to my wonderful mother, Martha Howard, for being the loving and rational voice on the other end of the phone throughout all of my time at Bard College. You have taught me endless amounts about the world and its contents.

Thank you to my sister, Djuna Knight, for sending me texts of guinea pigs wearing costumes with no warning. More importantly, thank you for being my best friend for the past twenty years.

Thank you to my grandparents Nonni and Big Al for the infinite love and kindness. You both have managed to make me homesick, even amidst my hard discoveries of Williamsburg's past.

Thank you to Austen Hinkley. You have been my best friend, intellectual companion, and ally for the past two years. I cannot wait to see your undoubted achievements at Princeton and beyond.

Thanks to Charles McFarlane for always being happy to get in a heated kitchen debate with me.

Remaining thanks to my loving family—Grandpa Art, Kathy, Aunt Beth, Uncle Jim, James, Karla, Auntie E, and Mark—who are a constant base of support. Many thanks to my wonderful friends London Perry, Todd Van Luling, Travis Carr, Gracie Heidt, Eric Mease, and countless others who make Virginia the home that it is to me.

Table of Contents

Introduction: <i>The Bricks of the Foundation</i>	1
Chapter 1: <i>A Yankee Remakes a Southern Town</i>	8
Chapter 2: <i>The African American Community of Williamsburg</i>	33
Chapter 3: <i>That the Future May Learn From the Past</i>	56
Conclusion: <i>The Quest for Memory is the Search for One's History</i>	83
Bibliography.....	86

Introduction: The Bricks of The Foundation

On October 8, 1994 *The New York Times* published the article, “Mock Auction of Slaves: Education or Outrage?” It was in this moment that Colonial Williamsburg was becoming famous for having a reenactment of a slave auction. The reenactment involved four slaves being auctioned off to a crowd of all-white bidders, excluding the one black man in the bidders depicting a former slave attempting to purchase his wife.¹ Christy S. Coleman, then director of the African American Interpretation Program (and also one of the actresses depicting the enslaved), believed that the reenactment was necessary in order to have visitors understand, “...it [slavery] is also very real history and it distresses me, personally and professionally, that there are those who would have us hide this or keep it under the rug.”² Christy Coleman was alone in her desire to push against the typical, manicured image of Colonial Williamsburg and she alone would take responsibility for the upset it caused; no other Colonial Williamsburg officials are quoted in any newspaper article about the reception of the slave auction, demonstrating Coleman’s singular responsibility.

The *Times* article reveals more than simply the adverse reaction tourists had to the mock slave auction. Buried in the article is a statement describing, “A man laying bricks in a driveway across from the office of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation said he was disturbed to learn of the re-enactment. ‘Blacks around here don’t want to be reminded,’ said the man, who refused to give his name because he feared ‘retribution’ by Williamsburg officials.”³ There are two crucial moments here. The first speaks to the murky relationship Colonial Williamsburg has with race--a

¹ Michael Janofsky, “Mock Auction of Slaves: Education or Outrage?” *The New York Times*, October 8, 1994, accessed April 25, 2016: <http://www.nytimes.com/1994/10/08/us/mock-auction-of-slaves-education-or-outrage.html>.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

relationship that no slave auction would be able to depict. Colonial Williamsburg does not consider what the local black Williamsburg population, who form the majority of the Foundation's employees, want the historic site to portray in regards to race in the colonial era. In the instance of the 1994 slave auction reenactment, Williamsburg's black population supported the larger backlash (largely expressed by visitors to Colonial Williamsburg) to this representative integration of African American history. Unlike visitors who protested this reenactment, the African American population of Williamsburg had to live alongside this decision that was beyond their control, deemed offensive, and something they did not want associated with them.

Christy Coleman was given the task of representing African Americans in Colonial Williamsburg and of acting as a voice for the local black community. Having been born and raised in Williamsburg, Coleman understood the relationship of Colonial Williamsburg to the town.⁴ The daughter of a Williamsburg Inn chef, Coleman grew up alongside the Foundation and attended the all-black school, Bruton Heights, that had been partially funded by John D. Rockefeller Jr.⁵ However, she was one person given the task of representing many. Coleman, unlike the anonymous bricklayer, had a favorable perspective of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, seen in her statement, "...Colonial Williamsburg has become that second home to me."⁶ For Coleman, Colonial Williamsburg offered job security and an outlet for reckoning with difficult history; for the bricklayer, Colonial Williamsburg offered no job security and had not considered his disapproval for the slave auction reenactment. Christy Coleman willingly chose to depict an enslaved woman; the bricklayer and the rest of those who worked for Colonial

⁴ Bentley Boyd, "Cw Black History Director Wants to Broaden Scope," *Daily Press* September 14, 1994, accessed April 30, 2016: http://articles.dailypress.com/1994-09-14/news/9409140034_1_black-history-christy-coleman-bruton-high-school.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

Williamsburg, however, feared visitors might assume all black bodies in Colonial Williamsburg were “representations” of slavery.

Second, this *Times* quotation gives voice to the otherwise-silent power that Colonial Williamsburg has over its employees, as the journalist implies by writing that this man wanted to remain nameless, “because he feared ‘retribution’ by Williamsburg officials.” This statement invites us to examine how Colonial Williamsburg has and continues to dictate what black workers (both the actors/historical interpreters and the service corps) can do when publicly expressing their feelings about the work and work environment of Colonial Williamsburg. The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation is *the* employer for many local African Americans, their overwhelming, perhaps even totalizing, financial power position is able to influence how African Americans speak about the Foundation. When these themes are taken together, this sentence in the article meant to provide secondary evidence for visitor outrage, in fact points to a deeper, and far richer, space of critical reflection.

This project examines the relationship Colonial Williamsburg has to the African American community of Williamsburg. By beginning with the development of the Foundation in 1926 in order to “restore” and build Colonial Williamsburg, and following this narrative up into the 1970s, I trace how Colonial Williamsburg’s relationship to the black community came to intertwine dislocation, education, and housing, as well as employment. Much of this came as a result of Colonial Williamsburg’s “taking over” of the existing town of Williamsburg. As I will present in chapters one and two, the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation turned the town of Williamsburg from an insular Southern town into a major national tourist attraction (supported by an extensive accompanying service industry) that it is today. The competing (and at times complementary) visions of the various founders of Colonial Williamsburg embedded themselves

into this process with lasting effects. One of the reasons why Colonial Williamsburg became so involved in all aspects of the black community rested on the desire of certain individuals Foundation employees who used the Williamsburg restoration project as a vehicle to segregate the white and black populations of the town. Importantly, these individuals did not want to completely remove the black citizens of Williamsburg, because of what they could contribute to the workforce. Rather, the restructuring of physical space, economic opportunity, and historical memory allowed, to their minds, a unique opportunity where they could attempt to manage every aspect of African American residents' lives.

The first chapter details who was involved in the project during the first decade (1924-1938) of Colonial Williamsburg, the town's background leading up to the beginning of the project, and, through this, argues that postbellum paternalism was ingrained into Colonial Williamsburg from the beginning. The second chapter further elaborates on the lives of the African American community of Williamsburg from the turn of the twentieth century to the end of World War II in 1945. In this chapter, my focus is on Colonial Williamsburg's relationship to black education and housing, in order to demonstrate that much of what appeared to be philanthropy was instead mostly a vehicle for enabling a segregationist agenda. The final chapter begins after the end of World War II and continues to the 1980s, in order to place Colonial Williamsburg and the African American community into a larger national context. It is in this chapter that I argue that Colonial Williamsburg's subtle and pervasive ways of segregating the town have continued until today. I see this in part as resulting from the effective twinning of good intentions during the early years of the Colonial Williamsburg foundation with a segregation agenda. The continuation of these fractures after the Civil Rights movement are evidence Colonial Williamsburg's inability and unwillingness in grappling with the historic

restoration's consequences on the actual host town. Colonial Williamsburg has only been scrutinized over its portrayal of African American colonial history.

My project offers a critique of Colonial Williamsburg unlike those put forth by previous scholars because of the dialogue I have created between the existing perspectives of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation; all previous studies of Williamsburg have been rooted in a single disciplinary focus and, as a result, only offer a partial explanation of intersecting trends. Eric Gable and Richard Handler's *The New History in an Old Museum*, published in 1997, was primarily an ethnographic study of Colonial Williamsburg's labor practices and the effect these practices have had on the African American community in that particular era.⁷ Anders Greenspan's more recent *Creating Colonial Williamsburg*, published in 2002, offers a history of the restoration beginning with the meeting of W.A.R. Goodwin and John D. Rockefeller Jr. in the 1920s. Structured as a comprehensive historical survey of the rise of Williamsburg, Greenspan favors a chronological narrative, rather than offering a critique.⁸ The social history works of Linda Rowe and Rex Ellis, both former employees of Colonial Williamsburg, examine Colonial Williamsburg's relationship to black education and housing (Rowe's work begins in the mid eighteenth century and continues into the 1950s, while Ellis' work is within the 1950s-late 1990s).⁹ Certainly, this project would not have been possible without the previous works and findings aggregated by these scholars. By creating a dialogue between their works and select others, I hope to offer a more complex and nuanced portrait of the town of Williamsburg,

⁷ Eric Gable and Richard Handler, *The New History in an Old Museum: Creating the Past as Colonial Williamsburg* (North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1997).

⁸ Anders Greenspan, *Creating Colonial Williamsburg*, (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institute Press, 2002).

⁹ Linda Rowe, "A History of Black Education and Bruton Heights School, Williamsburg, Virginia," (Williamsburg Virginia: *Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library Research Report Series*, 0373, 1997); Rex Ellis, "The African-American Community in Williamsburg (1947-1998)," (Williamsburg, Virginia: *Williamsburg Traditions*, 2002), p. 230-245.

Colonial Williamsburg, the politics of the Jim Crow South transitioning into a post-Civil Rights America, and the continuously present (albeit dwindling) African American community. Within this new portrait, I hope to show how the black community's narrative was removed from the history of Williamsburg due to the role of local politics and regional memory in the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg. Through this I hope to show that because the commemoration of history is a process of selection subject to power, it often excludes narratives that challenge the legitimacy and intentions of those who are in power and creating the commemorations.

Michel-Rolph Trouillot writing the preface to *Silencing the Past*, told his readers, "This book is about history and power. It deals with the many ways in which the production of historical narratives involves the uneven contribution of competing groups and individuals who have unequal access to the means for such a production."¹⁰ In many ways, I found my project firmly identifying with Trouillot's sentiments because of the relationship I see between commemoration and exclusion. Unlike the implication of this moment in Trouillot, though, I do not believe this is a result of "uneven contribution" but rather of a violent and oppressive system by which we reconstruct history. I have, to the best of my ability, retrieved and used sources from Colonial Williamsburg's archives, the College of William and Mary's archives, the York and James City county's records, local newspapers, visual documents taken by both the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation and local photographers, locally-made maps, and interviews conducted by the Williamsburg Documentary Project with the African American community. Due to IRB approval constraints, I was unable to conduct my own interviews, forcing me to rely on sources that were mediated by others, in many cases making these oral histories "uneven" in both who they represent and the types of questions asked. I feared that this limited contribution of

¹⁰ Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, (Massachusetts: Beacon Press, 1995), p. xix.

individuals' voices would amplify the difficulty in shaping my arguments, due to having fewer primary sources from the African American community's perspective. However, I have used my materials to the best of my ability. In a certain irony or symmetry for a project on Colonial Williamsburg, employing methodologies often used by historians of the colonial period of reading against the grain and aligning disparate sources and literatures have enabled me to give the African American's historical narrative equal weight with other, more readily available archival materials. I remained very aware throughout this project of the fact that most of the readily available narratives surrounding Colonial Williamsburg have been written from perspectives favorable to the Foundation; Eric Gable and Richard Handler's research, while undoubtedly a critique of Colonial Williamsburg, is longer, more dense, and more specific to the 1990s than the popular narratives put forth by the Foundation. At the very least, few scholars have willingly engaged the ulterior motives of individuals--such as Rockefeller's former aid, Vernon M. Geddy, and the former school superintendent, Rawls Byrd. I hope that the questions I brought to these sources in regards to their perspectives and intended purposes deepened my ability to assess their accuracy and their biases. Using the sources representing the African American community, I tried to fill in the gaps found within material favoring the Foundation, as a way to place the histories back into conversation with one another. This proved to be difficult because of how separated the history of Williamsburg's black community and the history of Colonial Williamsburg have become. By placing the black community of Williamsburg's history directly alongside that of the Foundation's, and by putting them in conversation with one another, it is my hope to offer a more inclusive narrative, and by doing so, challenge the violent removal of the black community's history from that of the larger narrative of Colonial Williamsburg and Williamsburg as a whole.

Chapter 1: *A Yankee Remakes a Southern Town*

Before beginning to tell you what Colonial Williamsburg is, it is necessary to describe the atmosphere of Williamsburg in the years leading up to the rebuilding of Colonial Williamsburg. In the 1920s, Williamsburg, Virginia was a small, Southern town that had an insular economy; the entire town, which included the college, was confined to the area of roughly one square mile.¹ The College of William and Mary, which until 1919 only had 150 students enrolled at a time, was the only institution regularly bringing new residents to the area.² The completion of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad in 1881 brought Williamsburg a national transportation connection—before this the primary form of transportation into the town was by regional and irregular steamboats or by road.³ As a result, Williamsburg’s infrastructure remained relatively unchanged, especially in comparison to the portions of the United States that had been modernized with the Industrial Revolution.

While at the turn of the twentieth century cities like New York and Philadelphia were beginning to grow higher with skyscrapers, Williamsburg’s architecture kept its colonial ties.⁴ Williamsburg remained architecturally untouched by the Industrial Revolution. However, unlike the stereotype made of these small, unchanged towns in the Jim Crow South we think of today—think of the racial atmosphere of William Faulkner’s

¹ Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, “Pre-Restoration Williamsburg as Recalled by Lydia B. Gardner From 1912 to...” John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library Special Collections, Williamsburg, Virginia, Accessed December 2015.

² Luther Halsey Gulick, *Modern government in a colonial city; a survey of the city government and finances of Williamsburg, Virginia*, (New York: J. Cape and H. Smith, 1932), p. 60.

³ Gulick, 60.

⁴ Carlisle Humelsine, *Recollections of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. in Williamsburg 1926-1960*, (Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1985), p. 4.

fictional Yoknapatawpha County—Williamsburg had very little crime, in all areas of crime.⁵ According to the book written in 1932, *Modern Government in a Colonial City*, crime was so small in the town of Williamsburg that, “The total cost for policing at present is about \$.70 per capita per year. This is cheaper than any other city of Virginia, and is a remarkably low rate.”⁶ Putting that into today’s dollar value, the residents of Williamsburg were spending \$12.11 per capita annually on policing.⁷ Race related crimes did happen from time to time within Williamsburg, though, which can be seen in the *Virginia Gazette* excerpt below:

Justice J.H. Seymour heard the case of Pink Garrett, white, vs. Frank Jones, colored. They got in a quarrel at Mr. Garrett’s residence yesterday morning, Garrett alleging that Jones was insulting. The fight that followed took place in the presence of the Mayor on the street. In the scrap Jones bit off one of Garrett’s fingers.⁸

The scuffle between Garrett and Jones sheds light on the racial tensions in Williamsburg, however the severity of their scuffle was not a frequent occurrence. Why this can be concluded is because Garrett was fined \$2.50 in 1906, and when comparing this to the

⁵ William Faulkner exclusively wrote fictional works set in the South. The language he employs and the imagery he evokes mark the way Americans understand the Jim Crow South. Filled with racial violence and descriptions of luscious, wild nature, Faulkner’s writing puts forth a fettersized image of the American South. This is seen, for example, in his book *Light in August* with, “Because that evening some men, not masked either, took the negro man out and whipped him. And when Hightower waked the next morning his study widow was broken and on the floor lay a brick with a note tied to it, commanding him to get out of town by sunset and signed K.K.K. And he did not go, and on the second morning a man found him in the woods about a mile from town. He had been tied to a tree and beaten unconscious.” William Faulkner, *Light in August*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1932), p. 31; Louis W. Mazzari, “True Stories: The Actual History of Faulkner’s Imaginary South,” *Humanities and Social Sciences online* (January 2002), accessed April 21, 2016: <http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=5821>.

⁶ Gulick, 96.

⁷ Inflation rate calculated through: <http://www.usinflationcalculator.com/>, with the years in question being 1932 and 2015.

⁸ *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg, VA), “Police Court,” September 16, 1905. College of William & Mary Special Collections, Acc. No. 1998-39, addition to 1990.46. Accessed Spring 2016.

\$.70 residents paid for policing in 1936, the significance of this crime can be seen through the high fee paid relative to the low tax on policing; \$2.50 in 1906 would have been roughly \$66.51 in today's dollar value.⁹ Thus while Williamsburg, Virginia was gaining neither statewide or national attention for its race relations, or for anything at all, there was a tension in Williamsburg reminiscent of the better-known bigoted southern towns.

While it is not certain that the “insulting” done by Pink Garrett against Alan Jones involved racial slurs, it is significant that the races of the men are classified in the police court record. It was common, at the time, for reporters to classify the race of those involved in, or accused of committing, interracial crimes immediately preceding the name of those involved.¹⁰ In the reports of white-on-white crimes race was never mentioned, for black-on-black crimes, though, race was always mentioned.¹¹ Therefore,

⁹ Ibid; Inflation rate calculated through: <http://www.westegg.com/inflation/infl.cgi>, with the years in question being 1906 and 2016.

¹⁰ Defining race in crime reporting was standard at the time. This can be seen in numerous police court records, an example being, “Henry Warren (colored) will answer the charge of highway robbery this morning in the Police Court. William Glover was walking down Williamsburg avenue yesterday morning about 8 o'clock, when Warren, it is alleged, walked out and landed a heavy uppercut on Glover's jaw and then poked a pistol under Glover's nose, after which he requested Glover to hand over his watch and chain.” *Richmond Times Dispatch* (Richmond, VA), “Henry Warren for Highway Robbery, Under Arrest,” June 18, 1902, accessed April 20, 2016: <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85038614/1902-06-18/ed-1/seq-7/#date1=1900&index=1&rows=20&words=Court+Police+Williamsburg&searchType=basic&sequence=0&state=Virginia&date2=1907&proxtext=police+court+williamsburg&y=0&x=0&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=1>.

¹¹ “Thomas Flower, a negro, who fought with C.C. Burgess, another negro, was asked by Mayor Maurice yesterday to donate \$10 to the clear water or electric light fund. [Paragraph Break] Fred Gary was caught throwing rocks and Captain Lipscomb testified that his aim was true, for two men fell after the rocks left Fred's hands. He paid \$10.” Here we see that race was reported even though this was not an interracial crime. *Richmond Times Dispatch* (Richmond, VA), “In Police Court,” September 27, 1906. Accessed April 20, 2016: <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85038615/1906-09-27/ed-1/seq-12/#date1=1900&index=2&rows=20&words=Court+Police&searchType=basic&sequence=0&st>

the significance of Garrett and Jones' races in the report has less to do with the dispute itself and more to do with how newspapers distinguished African Americans from whites when it came to legal matters. By differentiating the races of Garrett and Jones in the crime report, the scuffle automatically became racialized regardless of whether the dispute pertained to race or not. Having Pink Garrett categorized as white and Alan Jones as colored took a dispute between two men and turned it into a dispute between a white man and a black man. This reporting was symptomatic of a race-obsessed post-bellum South that was determined to classify blacks as subordinate to whites through constant categorization.¹² Williamsburg, Virginia was no exception to these postbellum ways of thinking; the Civil War, and more specifically the Confederacy, had as much of an impact on Williamsburg as it had in the rest of the South.

One of the easiest ways to find the connection to the Confederacy in Williamsburg is through graveyards. Found in the geographic center of Williamsburg—both in the 1920's and now—is the Bruton Parish Episcopal Church and its graveyard. This building was the beginning of the reconstruction done under the command of William Archer Rutherford Goodwin. In 1903 Goodwin agreed to his position as the

[ate=Virginia&date2=1907&proxtext=police+court&y=0&x=0&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=1.](#)

¹² Between 1870 and 1920, scientists argued that there were biological differences between whites and blacks. David Blight explain this in his book *Race and Reunion* when he states, “The increasing disillusionment whites expressed about black capabilities tended to be disassociated from the legacy of slavery—or of the dehumanization of the slave environment—and began to be taken increasingly as evidence of a natural, biological difference that either could not be overcome over time or should not be interfered with. Nancy Leys Stepan and Sander Gilman have found that white assumptions of racial inequality were so pervasive that there was virtually no contestation of scientific racism from within the mainstream of the scientific community between 1870 and 1920.” Thomas J. Brown, *Reconstruction: New Perspectives on Postbellum America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 193.

church's rector, only under the contractual promise that the building would be restored to its seventeenth century structure.¹³ Born in 1869, in Richmond, Virginia, Goodwin and was a life-long Southerner and religious man who took an interest in Virginia's history with middle age.¹⁴ Goodwin—who in 1926 would be credited with convincing John D. Rockefeller to fund Colonial Williamsburg—had an intimate connection to the Civil War; his father was a Confederate Army Captain who had been wounded during the war.¹⁵ Specifically within the graveyard of Bruton Parish, there are two hundred and forty nine people recognized on either headstones or memorial plaques, fifty of whom fought for the Confederacy.¹⁶ Not only this, but of these 249 people in the Bruton Parish graveyard, at least eighty-nine people were alive during the Civil War.¹⁷

While the physical destruction caused by the Civil War was not found within Williamsburg during the 1920s, there was still a Confederate legacy lurking within the town itself. The Battle of Williamsburg was fought on May 5, 1862 in which, relative to the size of the conflict, many men were killed; both Williamsburg residents (there is a memorial for twenty nine named soldiers and four unmarked graves all of which the

¹³ "A Brief History of Bruton Parish Church," last modified June 11, 2009, accessed online: <http://www.brutonparish.org/article140827.htm>; Anders Greenspan, *Creating Colonial Williamsburg*, (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institute Press, 2002), p. 8.

¹⁴ Victoria Reklaitis, "W.a.r. Goodwin: Father of Colonial Restoration Effort," *Daily Press*, August 20, 2006, accessed April 22, 2016: http://articles.dailypress.com/2006-08-20/news/0608200001_1_goodwin-colonial-williamsburg-williamsburg-s-bruton-parish-church.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ "A Key to Marker Numbers," filed under Williamsburg, Virginia Historical Society Archive, Richmond, Virginia, accessed January 2016.

¹⁷ Using "A Key to Marker Numbers" made of Bruton Parish's graveyard, I have determined that if the death year listed on the headstone falls anytime after 1861 and before 1910, I conclude that the person buried was alive during a period in which the Civil War was new in people's minds.

death dates are 1862) and other Virginian soldiers were killed.¹⁸ Like many Southern sites, Williamsburg's past intersected with a more recent Civil War memory, which heavily influenced every interaction the citizens of Williamsburg had when remaking their colonial past. As David Blight has suggested, "...the notion that the difference between the living and the dead [after the Civil War] was that the living were compelled to remember, and from the shift of memory, create a new nation from the wreckage of the old."¹⁹ Slavery was not included in this wreckage, nor was the death and destruction caused the Confederacy against their opposition; instead the popular "Lost Cause" narrative took its place.²⁰

It is plausible that W.A.R. Goodwin felt it his duty to help create Williamsburg as part of the "new nation" that was embedded within the Lost Cause narrative.²¹ Much of Goodwin's rhetoric about the creation of Colonial Williamsburg was reminiscent of the Southern mentality after the Civil War. Quoted as saying, "The restoration was not primarily a material enterprise, but rather an undertaking fraught with deep spiritual significance," in combination with that he supposedly, "walked the streets of that one-

¹⁸ list of the names in Bruton Parish; <http://www.visitwilliamsburg.com/trip-idea/civil-war-trails-tours>

¹⁹ David Blight, *Race and Reunion*, (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2001), p. 6.

²⁰ Blight defines the Lost Cause ideology as, "The South had fought from a 'sense of rights under the Constitution,' maintained the editors [of the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*], 'and a conscientious conviction of the justice of their position.' The founding fathers had bequeathed the inevitable war to the country because they had left us an unfinished question the proper relation of the states to the federal government. In effect, the South, the paper argued, had sacrificed itself in order for the country to find an answer...In the tone of the *Dispatch*'s Promethean rebirth, one finds virtually all the ingredients (except organizations and rituals) that would form the Lost Cause: a public memory, a cult of the fallen soldier, a righteous political cause defeated only by superior industrial might, a heritage community awaiting its exodus, and a people forming a collective identity as victims and survivors." Thus, we are able to see that much of the motive behind Colonial Williamsburg was entangled in this narrative. Blight, 38.

²¹ See footnote 20.

time capital of the Virginia colony...and mourned at the often tawdry impress of the present which seemed about to obliterate all those traces of a glorious past that still remained,” W.A.R. Goodwin found a deeper meaning in Colonial Williamsburg, that went beyond the business opportunity.²² Consider Goodwin’s “spiritual significance” and “traces of a glorious past that still remained” within the larger framework of the Lost Cause narrative, defined by Blight as being, “...a public memory, a cult of the fallen soldier, a righteous political cause defeated only by superior industrial might, a heritage community awaiting its exodus, and a people forming a collective identity as victims and survivors.” Goodwin’s argument for the Colonial Williamsburg restoration so perfectly fits with the notion of, “a heritage community awaiting its exodus,” and, “a people forming a collective identity as victims and survivors,” that it is impossible to deny the Civil War’s role in the creation of the Foundation. Colonial Williamsburg allowed for those affected by the Civil War to avoid its painful and complicated history through commemorating select parts of Colonial Williamsburg’s past. Moreover, they would be able to take reassurance that their Confederate history would not go completely overlooked, because the graves within the Bruton Parish graveyard would be protected and maintained within the auspices of the new colonial project.

²² Victoria Reklaitis, “W.a.r. Goodwin: Father of Colonial Restoration Effort,” *Daily Press*, August 20, 2006, accessed April 22, 2016: http://articles.dailypress.com/2006-08-20/news/0608200001_1_goodwin-colonial-williamsburg-williamsburg-s-bruton-parish-church.; Kenneth Chorley, *Colonial Williamsburg: The First Twenty-Five Years, A Report by the President*, (Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1951), p. 7.

W.A.R. Goodwin was not the first town resident to think of recreating Williamsburg's colonial past.²³ The Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities (APVA) had bought and preserved the Powder Magazine in 1889, and would also buy the Gaol, the Palace Icehouse, and the Capitol's foundations by 1926.²⁴ Cynthia Beverly Tucker Coleman, who was one of the two women who founded the APVA, had had a hand in all of these projects. The APVA was an exclusive organization reserved for members of the upper echelons that had a number of projects throughout the state.²⁵ The APVA exemplifies the influence of the Civil War had in historic colonial preservation efforts; Anders Greenspan argues, "The APVA served primarily as a means to preserve genteel culture against a variety of changes in the post-Civil War era. By keeping the memory of the past alive, upper class Virginians were able to hold onto a vestige of their history."²⁶ Herein lying yet another connection between the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg and the Civil War.

Similarly to Goodwin, Cynthia Coleman had begun her preservation in Bruton Parish's graveyard in 1884 by having children in the congregation restore the

²³ "To say that Dr. Goodwin was the first to dream of restoring Colonial Williamsburg would be wrong. Dozens of townspeople, aware of their proud history, had thought of such a thing." Edwards Park, "History of the Restoration: 'My Dreams and My Hope'," Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, publishing date unknown, accessed October 2016:

<https://www.history.org/Foundation/general/introhis.cfm>

²⁴ Edwards Park, "History of Preservation Virginia," accessed October 2016:

<http://historicjamestowne.org/about/history-of-apva/>; Colin G. Campbell, "Message from the President," (Williamsburg, Virginia: *Colonial Williamsburg Journal*, 2010), accessed October 2016: <http://www.history.org/foundation/journal/autumn10/president.cfm?showSite=mobile-regular>.

²⁵ "...the APVA admitted members who were in good standing in the community but successfully protected the association from those who were not 'in society.'" Greenspan, 17.

²⁶ Greenspan, 17.

gravestones.²⁷ W.A.R. Goodwin and Coleman began working together in 1904, and would continue to do so throughout the 1910s and 1920s. Unlike Coleman, Goodwin had a grander agenda for restoring Colonial Williamsburg to be both known state and nation wide; it was only W.A.R. Goodwin who would contact nationally known philanthropists for funding the fully remade tourist attraction. By being receptive to the idea of working with someone who was not from Virginia, or even the South, Goodwin went against the mission of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities.²⁸ However, according to Greenspan, the restoration still won the favor of the APVA, “even though JDR Jr. and his associates were Northerners,” because, “they were helping to re-create a period of history of which many locals were especially proud.”²⁹ The images evoked by Williamsburg today—cobble streets, horse-drawn carriages, tri-corner hats—happened through the visions of W.A.R. Goodwin and John Rockefeller Jr. However, it took the cooperation and participation of every towns person—from those who had been interested in preservation, like Cynthia Coleman, to those who had never given the idea a thought—in order for this collective dream to happen.

²⁷ Campbel, “Message from the President,” accessed October 2016:

<http://www.history.org/foundation/journal/autumn10/president.cfm?showSite=mobile-regular>.

²⁸ Unsurprisingly, the APVA remains solely in Virginia-related preservations seen in their 2016 mission statement, “Preservation Virginia, a private non-profit organization and statewide historic preservation leader in 1889, is dedicated to perpetuating and revitalizing Virginia’s cultural, architectural and historic heritage thereby ensuring that historic places are integral parts of the lives of present and future generations. Our mission is directly consistent with and supportive of Article XI of the Constitution of Virginia, benefiting both the Commonwealth and the nation.” *Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities Mission Statement*, accessed online:

<http://preservationvirginia.org/about>.

²⁹ Greenspan, 17.

The official partnership between John D. Rockefeller and W.A.R. Goodwin began in 1926.³⁰ After these few failed attempts of convincing wealthy men to fund his plan, W.A.R. Goodwin was brought into contact with John D. Rockefeller Jr. in February of 1924, while at a Phi Beta Kappa chapter meeting in New York City.³¹ By the early spring of 1926, Rockefeller brought his family down on a brief visit of the town, and it was on this visit that he agreed to create Phi Beta Kappa Memorial Hall.³² Rockefeller Jr. returned to Williamsburg for the Memorial Hall's dedication ceremony, held on November 27, 1926.³³ After the ceremony, Goodwin, "borrowed a Norfolk judge's limousine and his chauffeur to show Mr. Rockefeller around Williamsburg."³⁴ On this drive, Goodwin had the driver stop at the Wythe House—which had been restored by the Colonial Dames of America—and explained the significance of the large eighteenth century style home.³⁵ Rockefeller Jr. expressed great interest both in the history and the

³⁰ "The history of Colonial Williamsburg," last modification date unknown, accessed October 2016: <http://www.history.org/Foundation/cwhistory.cfm>.

³¹ Before focusing his energies on John Rockefeller Jr., W.A.R. Goodwin had written to Henry Ford's son, Edsel Ford, saying, "Seriously, I want your father to buy Williamsburg..." Goodwin pursued multiple avenues in attempting contact with Henry Ford, writing to his son and, also, his brother William. William Ford's response was less formal than Edsel's; rather than replying with a formal letter (like Edsel), he responded with a *Detroit Free Press* clipping with the headline "HENRY FORD ASKED TO BUY ANCIENT VIRGINIA TOWN!" Goodwin had not been keeping his plans quiet, since a national newspaper made such a report. However, the response of William Ford and of the *Detroit* was telling; even the *Baltimore Sun* ran an, "amusing editorial," that continued teasing W.A.R. Goodwin for both his lack of sensitivity when asking for money, and what he wanted the money for. Goodwin, however, did not allow himself to feel dismayed, and responded by saying, "...I will prove to you, on the spot, that my dreams have foundation in fact!" Edwards Park, "History of the Restoration 'My Dream and My Hope'," accessed online: <https://www.history.org/Foundation/general/introhis.cfm>; Humelsine, 2; Greenspan 17.

³² Edwards Park, "History of the Restoration 'My Dream and My Hope'," accessed March 2016: <https://www.history.org/Foundation/general/introhis.cfm>.

³³ Humelsine, 4.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Humelsine, 5.

restoration, and later that evening, "...told him [Goodwin] he would authorize him to expend [funds] not exceeding a designated amount in having sketches prepared visualizing his conception of the restoration of Williamsburg..."³⁶ While at the time this was not a promise to finance a full renovation and reconstruction of Williamsburg, Goodwin had successfully piqued the interest of John D. Rockefeller Jr.

Rockefeller was the man with the money that Goodwin so desperately needed, but Goodwin also found a way to tailor his Colonial Williamsburg project to Rockefeller Jr.'s morally-centered philanthropy.³⁷ This approach worked in convincing Rockefeller Jr. to take on the project, though, Rockefeller Jr.'s dedication to the restoration grew to become a surprise to all. In *Recollections of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. in Williamsburg 1926-1960*, Goodwin suggested that small areas around historic buildings, such as Market Square, be restored as well, and Rockefeller Jr. responded by saying, "That would be like going around Robin Hood's bard. I'm not interested in separate centers but in the proposition a whole, and as a complete thing."³⁸ Clearly, Rockefeller Jr. intended to invest more than originally promised.

While Rockefeller Jr. took greater interest in the architecture of Colonial Williamsburg, Goodwin was a fervent believer in using history as a way to better understand who we are as a nation and people. Goodwin wanted to forge *the* educational site of American colonial history. Quoted as saying, "I am convinced that from a historical point of view this is the greatest teaching opportunity which exists in

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ "In a period of great change, the restoration helped to represent tradition and to repudiate the fast-paced world of the jazz age. For a conservative Baptist like JDR Jr., Colonial Williamsburg embodied ideals that modern society was carelessly casting away." Greenspan, 39.

³⁸ Humelsine, 6.

America,”³⁹ Goodwin revealed that his agenda included education working alongside preservation. This required, in his original estimates, approximately five million dollars—which in today’s dollar value would amount to a little slightly more than \$67 million.⁴⁰

While Rockefeller Jr. agreed to finance the restoration he and Goodwin did not share opinions on what the restoration would be once finished. Instead of seeing Colonial Williamsburg as, “the greatest teaching opportunity which exists in America,”⁴¹ Rockefeller Jr. saw it as, “an opportunity to restore a complete area and free it entirely from alien or inharmonious surroundings, as well as to preserve the beauty and charm of the old buildings and gardens of the city and its historic significance.”⁴² Goodwin and Rockefeller agreed upon the basic principle that Colonial Williamsburg was something that needed to be preserved, but their visions clashed over the deeper meaning of the restoration’s intentions. In Rockefeller’s vision Williamsburg could assist, “the modern generation of urban designers wrestling with the problems of great cities [who] might ponder the lesson of Williamsburg and find much to learn from this small town of the Virginia Tidewater.”⁴³

In many ways the different motivations for starting the project proved beneficial for Colonial Williamsburg. Goodwin’s interests allowed for the educational aspects to remain part of the overall, while Rockefeller Jr.’s interests in preserving and rebuilding

³⁹ Chorley, 9.

⁴⁰ Chorley, 11; I calculated the inflation through: <http://data.bls.gov/cgi-bin/cpicalc.pl?cost1=5%2C000%2C000&year1=1926&year2=2016> with the years in question being 1926 and 2016.

⁴¹ Chorley, 9.

⁴² Chorley, 9-10.

⁴³ Humelsine, 7.

created a thorough and elaborate site for the teaching to take place. However, for Rockefeller Jr., the site post-restoration either needed a way to operate on a smaller budget or needed a way to fund itself. Goodwin did not need to concern himself with making Colonial Williamsburg self-sustaining because he had not financially invested in the site, allowing for his dreams of what the site could teach people. While never coming to a head, the tension between focusing on history or on making a profit was laid into the foundation of the entire business.

Getting John D. Rockefeller Jr. to fund the project was not the hardest part of the beginning stages of creating Colonial Williamsburg. The area that Goodwin wanted to rebuild was not a site of ruins; it was an active community filled with families that had been long-time residents.⁴⁴ The plan that was decided upon between Goodwin and Rockefeller Jr. was to slowly begin buying the properties from the residents.⁴⁵ However, W.A.R. Goodwin and John D. Rockefeller Jr. both recognized that if the townspeople knew someone of Rockefeller Jr.'s wealth and national reputation was involved in the project, the values of these properties would skyrocket.⁴⁶ In order to avoid this, Goodwin, serving as a subsidiary and silent partner, went about slowly purchasing the properties, starting in 1926 and continuing to do so for two years, Goodwin lied to the homeowners and claimed that, "...a small amount of money had been provided to him to preserve major historic sites in the names of the College of William and Mary."⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Greenspan, 21-23.

⁴⁵ Greenspan, 20.

⁴⁶ Greenspan, 21.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

It did not take long for people to get suspicious, due to the fact that Williamsburg was an insular community and those in town knew Goodwin did not have the means to buy so much of town.⁴⁸ The town was so small, that Rockefeller Jr. took the precaution of sending an encrypted telegram signed “David’s Father” when telling Goodwin to buy the first property.⁴⁹ During the time between 1926 and 1928, Goodwin managed to keep Rockefeller’s identity a secret—although there were public speculations as to who was funding the project.⁵⁰ After securing most of the realty needed in order to start the project, Goodwin finally revealed that it was Rockefeller Jr. financing these purchasing projects during a (segregated) town meeting in 1928.⁵¹ While there was some concern expressed by a few citizens, most people were excited by the idea of the project—the town would be cleaned up and the restoration would bring jobs to the area which coincided with the beginning of the Great Depression.⁵² Those that sold their properties for the restoration were content, too, because many had gotten good prices for properties—“Much of the population was willing to meet the philanthropist halfway, especially because his property purchases had in many cases improved their lives.”⁵³

⁴⁸ Greenspan argues that the townspeople would have known Goodwin was not making enough money to buy the amount of properties he had. This is seen when Greenspan writes, “JDR Jr.’s initial involvement in Williamsburg had to remain a secret; otherwise he would have been forced to pay highly inflated prices for the houses he wished to acquire for the restoration. This fact forced Goodwin to be the front man for the purchasing effort, which led to suspicion as a less-than-prosperous clergyman was attempting to buy large tracts of the town.” Greenspan, 21.

⁴⁹ Sophia Hart, “The Best Is Not Too Good For You,” (Williamsburg: *Colonial Williamsburg Journal* 2000-2001), accessed April 23, 2016: http://www.history.org/foundation/journal/Winter00_01/best.cfm?showSite=mobile-regular.

⁵⁰ In December 1927 the *Richmond Times-Dispatch* ran an article suggesting John D. Rockefeller Jr. was behind the project. Greenspan, 21.

⁵¹ Greenspan, 21.

⁵² Greenspan, 22.

⁵³ Greenspan, 23.

While the restoration had improved the financial situations of those who had sold their homes, the town spirit changed forever by morphing the insular town of Williamsburg into a national tourist attraction. Before the project of changing Williamsburg into “Colonial Williamsburg” began, the town was fairly integrated—especially for a small, Southern town in this era. With the advent of Colonial Williamsburg, though, the integration of the town was destroyed. Thirty-eight of the houses bought by Rockefeller Jr. were owned by African-Americans, making up roughly half of the buildings found in Colonial Williamsburg today.⁵⁴ White citizens were able to move wherever they liked in town upon selling their houses; African-American families that sold their properties were restricted from buying houses in certain areas.⁵⁵ The restrictions put onto where the African American community could relocate effectively destroyed all integration the town had seen and resulted in segregation that continues to this day.⁵⁶

The homes purchased by Goodwin on behalf of Rockefeller Jr. varied in age, condition, and size. According to a map made in 1929 by one of the original architects of Colonial Williamsburg, George S. Campbell (under the supervision of W.A.R. Goodwin), entitled, “City Plan of Williamsburg,” houses could be divided into four categories:

⁵⁴ Greenspan, 24.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ The present day racial atmosphere is similar to Rex Ellis’ description of Williamsburg in 2002 with, “Churches, social organizations, clubs, and many other bars and restaurants, while open to all, are still essentially separate racially—a reality that does not seem to be a major concern to either community.” Rex Ellis, “The African-American Community in Williamsburg (1947-1998),” (Williamsburg: *Williamsburg Traditions*, 2002), p. 241.

Colonial, Republic, Modern, and Negro.⁵⁷ The categories create a racialization similar to that of the Southern newspapers' police court reports. While the categories were sometimes combined on the map—making “Republic/Negro” houses for example—the lack of a “White” category implies that “Negro” had a stacked meaning that could not be applied to white-owned houses. Then, considering that African Americans were paid considerably less for their homes in comparison to the white citizens, the category of “Negro” seems to imply “lesser than.”⁵⁸

The structure of the town streets did not change considerably; Nicholson Street, Francis Street, and Duke of Gloucester Street remained the geographical bones for the site, with the Palace Green cutting Prince George Street short. These axes did not have to change at all, especially in light of the historical “Frenchman’s Map of Williamsburg 1782” which was used as the model for Colonial Williamsburg. The Williamsburg of the eighteenth century and the Williamsburg of the twentieth century maintained an almost identical street layout.⁵⁹ While the map of 1782 did not have street names, the names of the streets in 1929 were not blatantly modern—they were (and are) Prince George, Duke of Gloucester, Franklin Street, Nicholson Street, etc.—so they remained the same.

⁵⁷ “City Plan of Williamsburg,” commissioned in 1929, John D. Rockefeller Library Special Collections, accessed January 2016.

⁵⁸ “While many white families were allowed to stay, or given top dollar for their properties, the majority of black families received less for their property and in some cases were forced to move.” Ellis, 231.

⁵⁹ This can be seen when comparing the “Frenchman’s Map” and the map made in 1929 entitled “The City Plan of Williamsburg.”

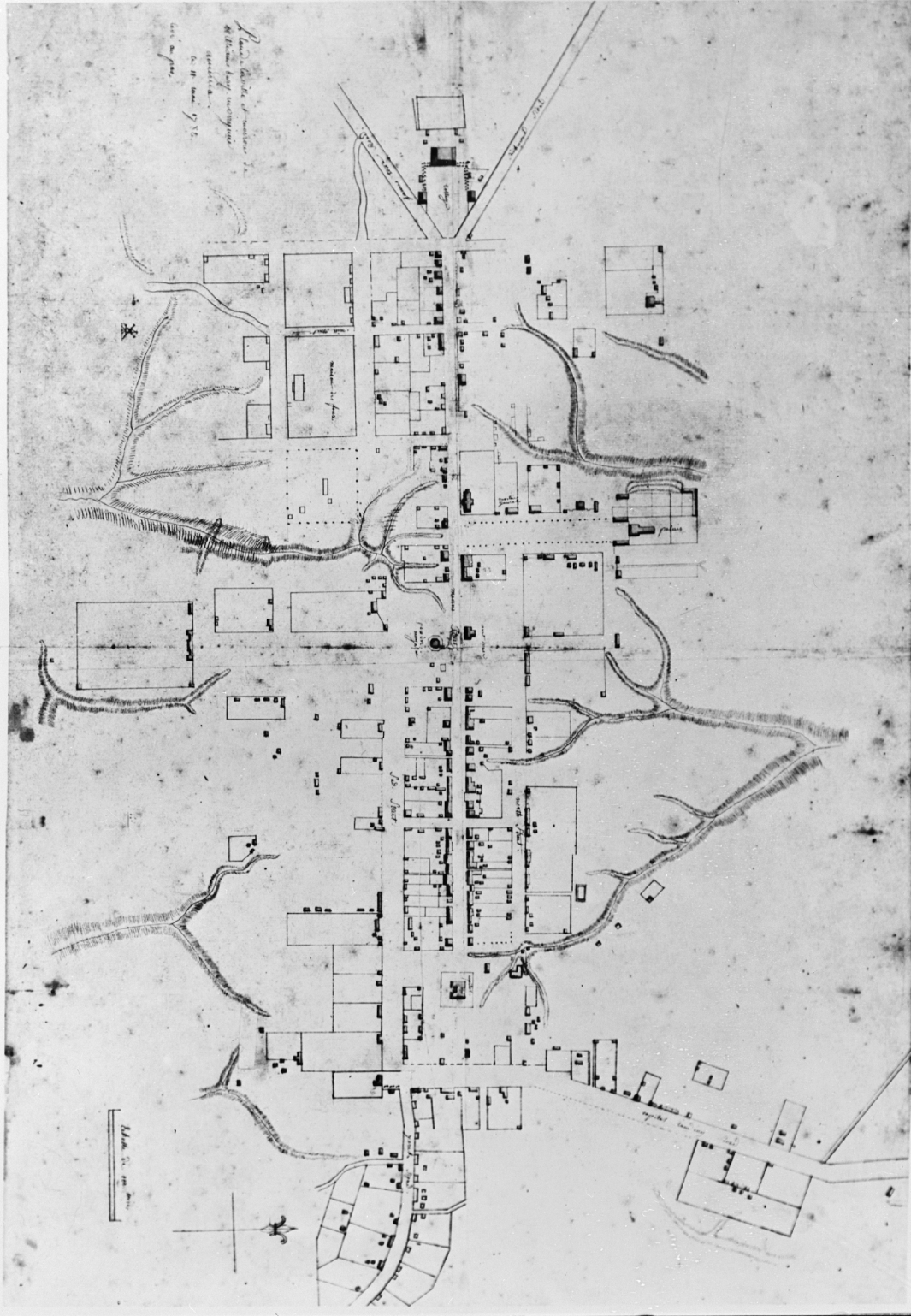


Figure 1 Image of the “Frenchman’s Map of Williamsburg 1782”

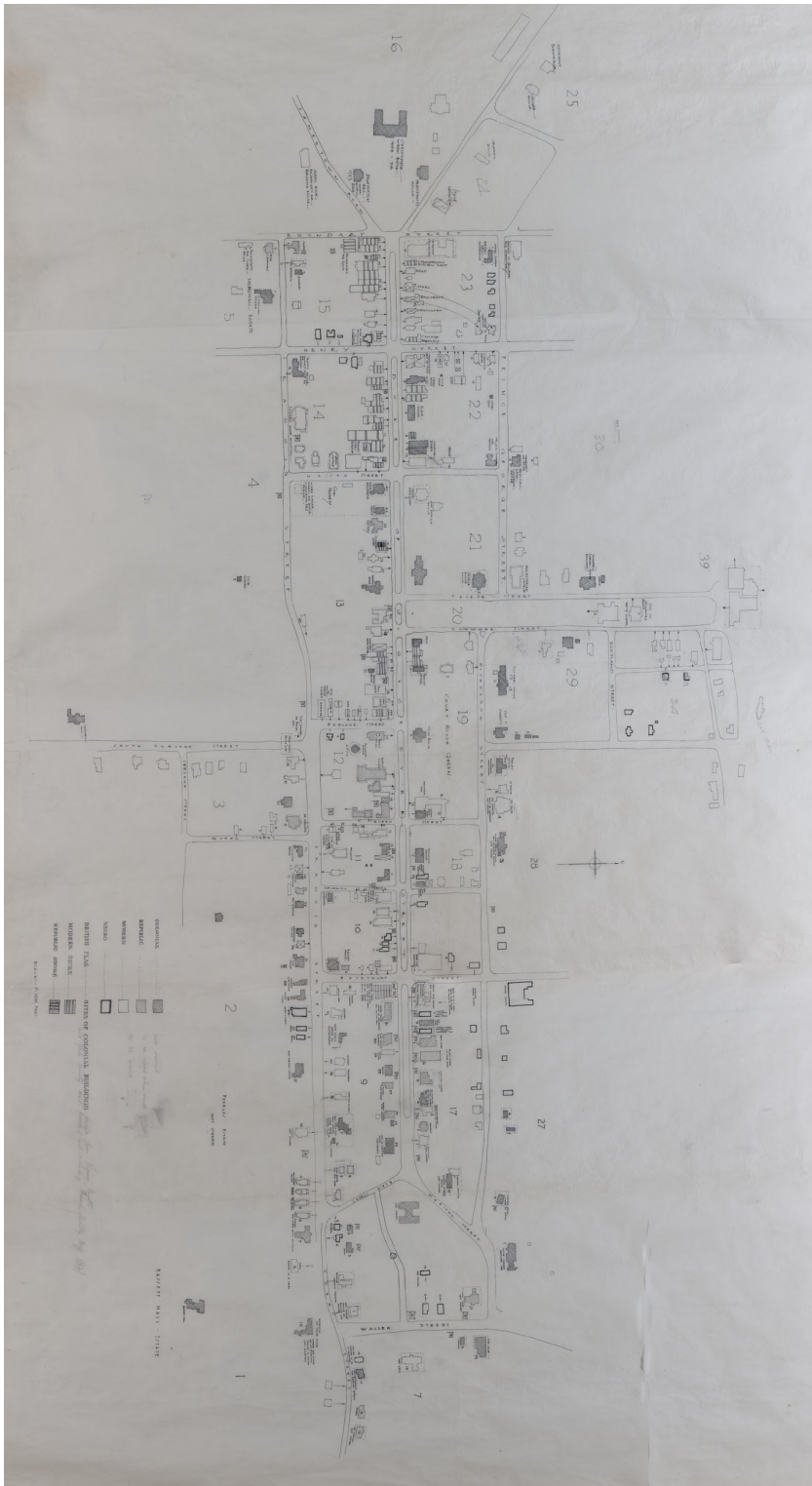


Figure 2 Map entitled “City Plan of Williamsburg” made in 1929 by George S. Campbell.

In the map of Williamsburg from 1929, the town was divided up into blocks, numbered one to thirty. This decision partially as a way of organizing records, since photos were taken of all properties before being they were demolished, moved, or refurbished. As both the map of the 1929 and the photos demonstrate, Williamsburg consisted of primarily of residential homes, a few churches, and privately owned businesses; in short, on the surface, a small town.⁶⁰ While some of the properties were in better condition than others, none of the houses looked impeccably lavish; the Williamsburg that Rockefeller Jr. first encountered was one that was headed towards an economic depression, on the eve of the nation's major financial crash. However, some buildings that are found in both maps—including the Powder Magazine (which had been constructed in 1715) and the Courthouse (which had been constructed in 1771, although a fire in 1911 had gutted the interior), for example—would have made it easy for Rockefeller Jr. to be convinced that the colonial history was still very much alive and embedded in the structural fabric of the town.⁶¹

A. Edwin Kendrew, who was the resident architect of Colonial Williamsburg, said “...the restoration was not considered a reversion to the original necessarily. It was considered fixing it up and saving what you had and making it better.”⁶² Kendrew's statement implicitly suggests that “making it better” meant erasing all traces of the African-American community. Even though there were colonial-era structures, whose

⁶⁰ “City Plan of Williamsburg,” commissioned in 1929, John D. Rockefeller Library Special Collections, accessed January 2016.

⁶¹ Colonial Williamsburg Foundation website, “Magazine,” accessed March 2016: <https://www.history.org/almanack/places/hb/hbmag.cfm>; Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, “Court,” accessed March 2016: <https://www.history.org/almanack/places/hb/hbcourt.cfm>.

⁶² Greenspan, 28.

salient difference in 1929 was that they were owned by African-American residents, this historical significance did not save them from being torn down.

At the beginning of (re)construction, Rockefeller Jr. and his team of architects had trouble deciding how they would rebuild the town “as accurately as possible.” Few archival documents existed to shed any light on what the town was like in the eighteenth century. In the twenty-five year retrospective of Colonial Williamsburg in 1951, President Kenneth Chorley wrote, “In the beginning, there was literally no bibliography. A few books of photographs and general views of the buildings were available, but none contained helpful details of the architecture or its accessories, such as hardware and paint colors, for example.”⁶³ Rockefeller Jr. and his team had a very hard time finding evidence for what Colonial Williamsburg looked like during the eighteenth century.⁶⁴ Even more troublesome was the fact almost every single notable and original structure—the Capitol, Courthouse, Wren Building, Bruton Parish Church, Governor’s Palace—had been destroyed by fire, sometimes more than once, making the stylistic choice of which “original” structure to recreate all the more difficult.⁶⁵

Realizing that Colonial Williamsburg could not lay claim to the architecture’s authentic ages and locations, John D. Rockefeller Jr. battled with how the foundation could claim its historical, and in turn academic, legitimacy. He claimed this legitimacy over-correcting mistakes made and through taking a firm objectivist stance on the past.

The New History in an Old Museum argues

⁶³ Chorley, 13.

⁶⁴ Greenspan, 26.

⁶⁵ Colonial Williamsburg Foundation website, “Historic Area Overview,” accessed March 2016: <http://www.history.org/Almanack/places/index.cfm>.

Quite early on, buildings began to be “re-restored” to take account of new research, thereby legitimating research as a self-correcting, hence objective, process. When, for example, it was decided that a building had been reconstructed six feet away from its original foundations, Rockefeller provided funds to move it. “No scholar,” he said, “must ever be able to come to us and say we have made a mistake.”⁶⁶

By doing this, however, Rockefeller Jr. became the first of many to show doubt in Colonial Williamsburg’s historical power. Rockefeller Jr.’s fears of academic scrutiny reflected his intended audience; in Chapter 3, I examine how tourists at Colonial Williamsburg were not originally middle class families, but rather wealthy high society members. More importantly, though, Rockefeller Jr.’s attempt at ensuring no mistakes be found, demonstrates his finite and stagnant understanding of the meaning of Colonial Williamsburg. Rather than admitting to the fact that much of Colonial Williamsburg was not *restorations* but was in fact full-on (re)creations in the spirit of the colonial era, Rockefeller Jr. created the roots of what would become the Foundation’s worst criticisms. Rockefeller Jr.’s self-consciousness about Colonial Williamsburg’s illegitimate claims to historical accuracy read as a lack of self-awareness in how to preserve and curate history. Rather than creating a living history museum that did not need authenticity and age to make it legitimate, but rather dedication and substantial funding, Rockefeller Jr. kept his work confined to the boundaries of the constructivist’s vision of history.

A great deal of money and resources allowed for the restorations to be completed in 1938.⁶⁷ Many who visited Colonial Williamsburg were amazed with the restoration. Reports such as, “From the ashes of war and the wasting hand of time, John D.

⁶⁶ Eric Gable and Richard Handler, *The New History in an Old Museum: Creating the Past as Colonial Williamsburg*, (North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1997), p. 34.

⁶⁷ Edwards Park, “My Dream and My Hope,” *History of the Restoration*, accessed October 2016: <http://www.history.org/Foundation/general/introhis.cfm>.

Rockefeller Jr. has rolled back the years and with magic fingers has restored the ancient capital of Virginia, Williamsburg,” and, “The restored Williamsburg is truly a city living in the past, reveling in the role it has played ever since it was first named in honor of King William III...” frequently highlighted the astounding rebirth that had happened at the hands of John D. Rockefeller Jr.⁶⁸ The most astonished response about the site coming from Private R. Friedberg, a WWII soldier visiting Colonial Williamsburg on a day trip in 1942, wrote

It was a rare pleasure indeed to be in the same church where Washington prayed; to be in the same chamber where Patrick Henry shouted “If this be treason, make the most of it”; to be in the same classroom where Thomas Jefferson studied law, and in the same tavern where he danced with his fair Belinda. Never before or after in history have so many great men lived together at one time, and all their lives and works seemed to me to be mirrored in Williamsburg.⁶⁹

Ironically, though, is that what amazed R. Friedberg was nothing that the Foundation could actually claim was true. The structures Friedberg felt he shared with Washington, Jefferson, and Patrick Henry were not in fact one in the same; Friedberg’s writing suggests that the Courthouse and the Capitol had been perfectly crystallized in time and space, and that John D. Rockefeller had simply decided to showcase them to the world. This however simply was not true. The buildings Friedberg references (the Courthouse and the Capitol) had been significantly rebuilt. As stated earlier, the Courthouse had been severely damaged by fire in 1911 and the only part of the structure remaining of the Capitol was its brick foundation. The rooms in which Private Friedberg stood had their deepest connections to the colonial era only in their architectural

⁶⁸ Virginia State Chamber of Commerce, “Virginia Rubs Alladin’s Lamp,” *Virginia*, Vol. 3 No. 3, 1928, p. 5; Helen Burns, “Colonial Williamsburg,” *The Living Age*, May 1940, p. 279.

⁶⁹ Chorley, 20.

foundations, not in the surroundings, decorations, or occupants. All of the pieces of furniture were recreations.⁷⁰ More significantly, while the Founding Fathers, such as Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry, did stay in Williamsburg and very well could have, “studied law,” or, “danced with his fair Belinda,” they constituted only a small part of Williamsburg’s history. What Private R. Friedberg’s letter did for the Foundation, however, was reassure Rockefeller’s belief that if enough attention was paid to detail, no one would question the history behind the structures. John D. Rockefeller Jr.’s fears that, “No scholar... must ever be able to come to us and say we have made a mistake,” would have been calmed by Private Friedberg’s amazement, and more importantly, his ignorance, at the structures that stood before him. Friedberg’s letter reinforced the idea that attention to detail in combination with a patriotic message was a way to avoid having Colonial Williamsburg’s legitimacy questioned.

By 1938, the residents of Williamsburg found themselves transformed as performers in a tourist attraction that was masked as a Revolutionary-era town. Williamsburg’s history began to turn into two, entwined stories of redemption: that of colonial-era Williamsburg and the story of the town recreated by Rockefeller in his attempt to recover Colonial Williamsburg. The ghosts of Thomas Jefferson, George Washington, Patrick Henry, and the rest of the Founding Fathers replaced living residents and descendants. The performance aspect—what came out of turning the town into a tourist attraction and proceeding service industry for the tourists—of the restoration, I believe, was not something that neither Rockefeller Jr. nor the townspeople planned for.

⁷⁰ Greenspan, 40.

The promotional push in the 1940s, in which World War II soldiers were brought to Colonial Williamsburg for the day as educational entertainment, resulted in a booming tourist industry after the end of the war.⁷¹ Before this, the majority of visitors to Colonial Williamsburg were upper class, and they were interested in collecting furniture.⁷² These wealthy, traveled, and Northerners were unlike the majority of the residents of the town, alienating the townspeople from Colonial Williamsburg, and in turn the remnants of their hometown, even further.⁷³

Perhaps the most damaging element was that by World War II, Colonial Williamsburg was thoroughly segregated. Specifically, "...that blacks be admitted to neither the Williamsburg Inn nor the Williamsburg Lodge, and that racially mixed groups be informed that as the town did not have any hotels to accommodate blacks, African-American members would have to be housed and fed at the homes of local black residents."⁷⁴ Thus, and, unlike the white residents, the black community of Williamsburg was alienated from the restoration even further, in that they were not allowed to live within a certain proximity to the site, they did not make money in the purchasing of their homes, their history was not discussed, they were not offered tour guide positions, and they were expected to house African-American tourists. With this in mind, Chapter 2 and 3 discuss in detail the injustices faced by the African-American community of

⁷¹ Gable and Handler, 79.

⁷² Greenspan describes the Foundation's original visitors as, "Clearly distinct from those who viewed the restoration during and after World War II, Colonial Williamsburg's first visitors were of a higher socioeconomic class, were better educated, and often had personal ties to those who were founders of the colony or were prominent figured in Virginia politics." Greenspan, 40.

⁷³ "These first visitors often came with precise and detailed questions that the restoration's hostesses and guides labored to answer to the best of their ability." Greenspan, 40.

⁷⁴ Gable and Handler, 75.

Williamsburg before, during, and after the restoration, to shed light on the many ways in which they were displaced and disregarded.

Chapter 2: The African-American Community of Williamsburg

“[Colonial Williamsburg] did some good things here, and still do because a lot of people still work for them...But on the other hand, they was trying to get all the Blacks out of Williamsburg...And they did get them out.”¹

--Robert Hall, deacon of Oak Grove Baptist Church in Philip Burnham’s article “The Disappearing Black Community of Williamsburg” *The Voice Newspaper*, 2012.

The African-American community’s history was lost in the memorialization of Colonial Williamsburg, and there have been no attempts made by the Foundation at bringing this history back. As a result, the African American community of Williamsburg is dwindling. In the 2000 city census, the African-American population was listed as being 13% of the total population, while in the 1930 census the African-American population was 30%.² Two of the three historically black neighborhoods, White City and Braxton Court, within the city limits either no longer exist or are no longer majority black.³ The remaining African-American majority neighborhood, Highland Park, is not recognized by any local, state, or federal government preservation project as a historic landmark nor is it protected from the encroaching William and Mary students and their desire to rent affordable houses in proximity to the expanding university campus. John Rockefeller Jr. purchased the historic African-American church, the First Baptist Church on Nassau Street, for \$130,000 in 1953—today that would be around \$1.2 million.⁴ The structure, which dated to the 1850’s, was then removed from Nassau Street and placed on

¹ Philip Burnham, “The Disappearing Black Community of Williamsburg,” *The Voice Newspaper*, (Richmond, Virginia: 2012), p. 4.

² Ibid.

³ Will Carmines, *From Magruder to Highland Park: The History of an African-American Community*, (Honor’s Thesis, College of William and Mary, 2010), p. 38-41.

⁴ Burnham, 5; I calculated this through: <http://data.bls.gov/cgi-bin/cpicalc.pl?cost1=130%2C000&year1=1953&year2=2016> with the years in questions being 1953 and 2016.

Scotland Street due to the fact that it “wasn’t old enough for the colonial-era restoration.”⁵ The remaining African-American-owned church, Mt. Ararat Baptist Church, located on Francis Street is completely surrounded by Colonial Williamsburg’s properties. According to Mr. Ararat’s former reverend, Thomas Shields, “They’ve strangled Mt. Ararat... They’ve bought up every piece of land around it—and it can’t expand, not even for parking.”⁶ Finally, Bruton Heights, the African-American school that was built in part by the Rockefellers in 1940, is now owned by Colonial Williamsburg as part of their research “campus.”⁷ The loss of this crucial building to the black community’s history was “tantamount to an amputation,” according to Thomas Shields.⁸ Considering all of this, one may begin to conclude that the African-American community is dwindling due to forced removal rather than voluntary migration elsewhere. More potently, these developments powerfully suggest that one of the main contributors to this forcible removal has been the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

Unsurprisingly, the African-American community’s political voice has been muted as well. In 2000, C. Russell Tabb, a retired hotel manager for Colonial Williamsburg, was the first African-American to be elected to the Williamsburg city

⁵ Burnham, 5.

⁶ Burnham, 6.

⁷ Linda Rowe, “A History of Black Education and Bruton Heights School, Williamsburg, Virginia,” *Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library Research Report Series*, 0373 (Williamsburg Virginia: 1997), p. 40; “Colonial Williamsburg Builds A Campus For Its ‘University Without Walls’,” last modification date unknown, accessed March 2016: <http://www.history.org/foundation/general/bhsec.cfm>.

⁸ Burnham, 6.

council since the late nineteenth century.⁹ However, Tabb failed to get reelected in 2004. He was quoted as saying, “That’s it for me...If I only got 769 votes out of [3,683], apparently what I’m doing is not pleasing the majority of the city, and I don’t make decisions without consulting them first.”¹⁰ Considering that the city Tabb served for has a white majority, it could be inferred that his “majority of the city” had a problem with a black city councilman. Aside from this, the very system of how city councilmen are elected in Williamsburg does not favor minorities: city council seats are elected at-large rather than by district which allows for a lack of representation of the African-American community.¹¹

Electing officials by large means that, “...members are elected to serve the same constituency, which is the population of the city as a whole,” which supposedly allows for a, “...rise above the limited perception of a single district and concern themselves with the whole community.”¹² For communities with homogenous political agendas, at large elections are beneficial because they allow focus on detail. However, for a community like Williamsburg in which one part of the community’s issues are given consistent precedence, an at large election can be more harmful. On the contrary, elections by district, “...give all legitimate groups, especially those with a geographic base, a better

⁹ Kara Vick, “Haulman, Houghland, Tabb: Williamsburg to Have Black Councilman,” *Daily Press*, May 3, 2000, accessed March 2016: http://articles.dailypress.com/2000-05-03/news/0005030084_1_tabb-top-three-vote-third-highest-vote-getter.

¹⁰ Daphne Sashin, “Williamsburg City Council: Three Win Posts,” *Daily Press*, May 5, 2004, accessed March 2016: http://articles.dailypress.com/2004-05-05/news/0405050232_1_votes-william-and-mary-tuesday-s-election.

¹¹ Burnham, 3.

¹² “Municipal Elections,” *National League of Cities*, last modification date unknown, accessed April 2016: <http://www.nlc.org/build-skills-and-networks/resources/cities-101/city-officials/municipal-elections>.

chance of being represented on the city council, especially minority groups.”¹³ Since only one black resident has been elected to city council in the past century, in combination with the distinctions made about at large vs. district voting, it can be assumed that the very election system of Williamsburg perpetuates the silencing of the African American community.

The conditions and treatment of Williamsburg’s black community is not an anomaly for the city. Williamsburg, like a majority of Southern cities, has a long history of African-American marginalization. Virginia housed the most slaves out of the thirteen colonies prior to 1783, with half of its population being enslaved, and the state still had 30.75% of its population enslaved in 1860.¹⁴ The reasons for half of Williamsburg’s population being enslaved in the late eighteenth century was thanks in part to a strong plantation culture.¹⁵ In the twentieth century, Williamsburg experienced Jim Crow, too, with the ratifying of the new state constitution in 1902 that cut the voting population of African-Americans into less than a fifth of what it was had been in the Reconstruction era.¹⁶ Williamsburg resembled the South’s race relations leading up to the mid-twentieth century. However, unlike many locations in the South that turned to a memorialization of the Antebellum past or to new agriculture and industrialization, the town of Williamsburg

¹³ “Municipal Elections,” *National League of Cities*, last modification date unknown, accessed April 2016: <http://www.nlc.org/build-skills-and-networks/resources/cities-101/city-officials/municipal-elections>.

¹⁴ “Statistics on Slavery,” Weber State University, last modification date unknown, accessed April 2016: http://faculty.weber.edu/kmackay/statistics_on_slavery.htm.

¹⁵ “The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation,” *Slavery and Remembrance: A Guide to Sites, Museums, and Memories*, last modification date unknown, accessed April 2016: <http://slaveryandremembrance.org/partners/partner/?id=P0000>.

¹⁶ Julia Woodbridge Oxrieder, *Rich, Black, and Southern: The Harris Family of Williamsburg (and Boston)*, Minoa Publications (Minoa, New York: 1998), p. 16.

was pulled out of its post-bellum economic slump by the restoration of its colonial past. Colonial Williamsburg's foundation and expansion allowed for the racism and paternalism found within the town to embed itself into the structures of a business that was put forward as an act of colorblind philanthropy. Segregating the town and changing the racial dynamics permanently, Colonial Williamsburg generated revenue for a town that then used this renovation to forward a white, Southern agenda that had previously not had room to be effected.

In the 1940s, Colonial Williamsburg was becoming an established historic attraction. During World War II, soldiers stationed at nearby bases, such as Fort Eustis and Fort A.P. Hill, were brought on day trips which gave the Foundation hope for economic security in the post-war period.¹⁷ The town of Williamsburg continued adjusting to the completed philanthropic efforts done on behalf of Colonial Williamsburg. 1926 was the year John D. Rockefeller Jr. officially began the restoration, and by 1938 a majority of the project had been completed.¹⁸ Both during these ten years and into the

¹⁷ In the region including Williamsburg, Newport News, Hampton, and Norfolk--better known as Hampton Roads--there was Fort Eustis, Fort Monroe, Fort Wool, Camp Ashby, Norfolk Naval Base (which is one of the largest in the world), and Langley Air Force Base (which in 2010 was combined with Fort Eustis to make Joint Base Langley-Eustis). All of these bases are less than an hours drive away from the Foundation and could have participated in the recreational trips to Colonial Williamsburg. These camps and bases are listed here:

<http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/facility/camp-ww2.htm> and here: <http://www.northamericanforts.com/East/varoads.html>; Chorley, p. 20.

¹⁸ Anders Greenspan, *Creating Colonial Williamsburg*, (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institute Press, 2002), p. 19; Park, Edwards, "History of the Restoration" accessed April 2016: <https://www.history.org/Foundation/general/introhis.cfm>.

next decade the residents of Williamsburg were moving into new houses, working new jobs provided because of the restoration, and adjusting to being a tourist attraction.¹⁹

1943 marked the foundation of the last remaining, all-black neighborhood of Williamsburg—Highland Park, located less than a mile north of Colonial Williamsburg.²⁰ When the Foundation finished building the neighborhood, those moving into Highland Park were either: the displaced residents of the former African-American neighborhood, Magruder, located five miles to the Northeast of Williamsburg; or those who had been living in houses that had been moved from White City to Highland Park, in order for Colonial Williamsburg to expand its operations.²¹ Colonial Williamsburg opened up the neighborhood of Highland Park 1943 to be purchased by African Americans who worked for the Foundation. However, the Williamsburg Holding Corporation (the official title of Colonial Williamsburg’s construction, maintenance, and management department) had

¹⁹ As mentioned in Chapter 1, “By 1938, the residents of Williamsburg found themselves transformed as performers in a tourist attraction that was masked as a Revolutionary-era town. Williamsburg’s history began to turn into two, entwined stories of redemption: that of colonial-era Williamsburg and the story of the town recreated by Rockefeller in his attempt to recover Colonial Williamsburg. The ghosts Thomas Jefferson, George Washington, Patrick Henry, and the rest of the Founding Fathers replaced living residents and descendants. The performance aspect—the result of having the town turned into a tourist attraction and therefore a service industry for the tourists—of the restoration, I believe, was not something that neither Rockefeller Jr. nor the townspeople planned for.”

²⁰ Carmines, 20; I calculated the distance between Highland Park and Colonial Williamsburg using Google Maps’ directions.

²¹ Will Carmines, 25.

purchased the land in 1942.²² Not long before the creation of Highland Park, in the fall of 1940, the all black school, Bruton Heights, was opened for local students.²³

Bruton Heights was more than just a school – it was also a community center. It was, “a clinic with a full-time nurse, a library, night classes for adults, and space for meetings and other recreational activities...from the outset.”²⁴ After it had been operational for a little over a year, members of the school board and those who had been involved in creating Bruton Heights suggested housing a movie theater at the school; the film “The Howards of Virginia” was the first movie to be shown at Bruton, on September 20 and 21, 1941.²⁵ Bruton was able to become the center point for the African American community, but it remained a project controlled by white men in that both those funding the school and the county school board members were all white. This allowed for the segregation of Williamsburg to broaden in. Colonial Williamsburg caused much of the segregation in town that existed around the perimeter of the historic site; both the resident

²² “Colonial Williamsburg Foundation--Company Profile, Information, Business Description, History, Background Information on Colonial Williamsburg Foundation,” *Reference for Business*, last modification date unknown, accessed April 2016: <http://www.referenceforbusiness.com/history2/19/Colonial-Williamsburg-Foundation.html>.

²³ Rowe, 36.

²⁴ Rowe, 40.

²⁵ “The Howards of Virginia” was a film starring Cary Grant and Martha Scott in which, “The film is set in colonial Virginia between the 1750s and 1781. Matt Howard (Cary Grant), orphaned son of a backwoods Virginia farmer, uses his connections with his schoolmate Tom Jefferson to get employment as a surveyor and a grant of a thousand acres on the Shenandoah. While surveying the Williamsburg estate of planter Fleetwood Peyton (Cedric Hardwicke) he meets with Peyton's sister Jane (Martha Scott). For both of them it is eternal love at first kiss, and despite differences of class and culture, and the enmity of Fleetwood, Jane marries Matt and follows him to his cabin in the west country.” The movie continues on with Matt and Peyton going off to fight in the Revolutionary War, both fighting directly under General Washington. There are some familial tensions about the war, which continue after the war has ended. The movie was not a success, largely due to the poorly written script and Grant’s awkward portrayal of Matt Howard. The movie is largely set in Williamsburg, though, which excited the townspeople at the time. Synopsis for “The Howards of Virginia,” accessed via: http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0032612/synopsis?ref_=ttpl_pl_syn; Rowe, 40.

director of the Williamsburg Holding Corporation (Vernon Geddy) and the president (Kenneth Chorley) were major figures in getting the funding and approval needed to build Bruton.²⁶ Vernon Geddy was elected to the school board by superintendent Rawls Byrd and the board members on June 23, 1935.²⁷ Geddy would remain a member of the school board throughout the entire Bruton Heights project. Kenneth Chorley was brought on in 1938 after a personal copy of the planned building and operation costs of the school, which had been sent by Rawls Byrd at the behest of the city council.²⁸ Chorley would also remain involved in throughout the entirety of the project.

Geddy and Chorley proposed the idea of the movie theater, under the auspices of movie showtimes better suited to the African American community's work hours, however this was a masquerade to the primary agenda of segregating Downtown.²⁹ Geddy was quoted as saying the movie theater would, "relieve us of several problems," directly referencing the difficulty of finding the time to show movies at the Williamsburg Theater for a black audience, due to segregation laws.³⁰ Chorley, who did not support Geddy's reasons for wanting a separate black movie theater, lived and worked out of New York

²⁶ Vernon Geddy was a local who had been involved in Colonial Williamsburg from early on in the restoration project. Geddy was a local lawyer, and Rockefeller Jr.'s aid (Greenspan, 69). Kenneth Chorley, who would later become President of Colonial Williamsburg in 1935 (Butler, "The Man Who Said No"), was a Northerner who had worked with Rockefeller Jr. since 1923. Chorley was not favored amongst the locals because he stayed in his offices in New York City most of the year (Greenspan, 108).; Rowe, p. 23-47.

²⁷ Rowe, 24.

²⁸ Rowe, 29.

²⁹ Rowe, 41.

³⁰ Rowe, 40.

City making it easy for locals, such as Geddy, to propose plans that would further segregate the town while not reflecting this on paper.³¹

Vernon Geddy, though, was not the most vocal member on the school board when it came to segregation. Rawls Byrd, the superintendent who hired Geddy, was a notorious racist. However, and in the same vain as Geddy, Byrd made a point of never explicitly showing his racism on any official document. Vivian Bland, a former Bruton Heights student, remembers asking Byrd about the lack of foreign languages at the school, Byrd responded, “You learn to speak English correctly and maybe you can have a foreign language.”³² A teacher of Bruton Heights, Brady Graham, remembered fearing integration because of, “Mr. Byrd coming to a PTA meeting at Bruton Heights and saying to the audience that he could visualize white teachers teaching blacks, but he could not visualize black teachers teaching whites,” and that if the schools were to be integrated, “all the black teachers would be fired.”³³ Byrd was also known for saying he would retire before being the superintendent of an integrated school system.³⁴ Byrd proved this to be true when on July 7, 1964 he announced his retirement; on June 23, 1964 the school board Chairman, John E. Ray, stepped down in protest against Williamsburg’s school system finally becoming integrated.³⁵ These men worked directly with Colonial Williamsburg on the Bruton Heights project, forever linking Colonial Williamsburg into their racism. Whether those at Colonial Williamsburg fully knew of Geddy, Ray, or

³¹ Greenspan, 108.

³² Ryan McKinnon, “Former Students and teachers want Rawls Byrd elementary renamed,” *The Virginia Gazette*, March 29, 2016, accessed April 2016: <http://www.vagazette.com/news/va-vg-rawls-byrd-0326-20160329-story.html>.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

Byrd's intentions is unclear but, if anything, this just proves Colonial Williamsburg's harmful complacency even further. By not questioning the intentions of the local men involved in Colonial Williamsburg's projects, Kenneth Chorley and John D. Rockefeller Jr. allowed, and paid, for the continuation of the racism and segregation in Williamsburg.

1938 marked both the year that the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg was complete and the year in which the funding for Bruton Heights was finally brought together.³⁶ The process of getting the funding for Bruton had been arduous. Before Bruton Heights, black school students studied at the James City County Training School—which in 1938 had roughly 700 students (590 elementary school students, 128 high school students).³⁷ The all-black school went through numerous iterations, dating back to 1871 when African-American students were first taught in a classroom that the town of Williamsburg had contributed funds to.³⁸ However, the classroom was in a rented location (which is not listed in the College of William and Mary's archives, nor in Colonial Williamsburg's archives) and in 1883 the school moved to renting a new location on Francis Street.³⁹ The school board began to consider creating a permanent schoolhouse for African-American students in the same year.⁴⁰ "School No. 2" was put into the planning stages in 1884, set for a location on Francis Street and was available for

³⁶ Rowe, 34.

³⁷ *Proposed Educational Program for the Occupational and Social Needs of Negroes in the Williamsburg Area*, May 13, 1938. Found in Appendix of Rowe, accessed April 2016: <http://research.history.org/DigitalLibrary/View/index.cfm?doc=ResearchReports%5CRR0373.xml#n70>.

³⁸ Rowe, 14.

³⁹ Rowe, 15.

⁴⁰ Rowe, 16.

students to enter starting in 1885.⁴¹ Permanence for the school remained elusive: in 1907 the black school on Francis Street had to move to a new location on Nicholson and Botetourt Streets.⁴² The Francis Street School would remain until the year 1924, however the “Committee of the Improvement League of the black school” asked for a new school building in the year 1919.⁴³ By 1922, three lots had been purchased for the school on Nicholson Street, however the white school board--which made decisions for both the white and black schools--had yet to build anything on those lots.⁴⁴

The five year delay in building the new school had much to do with funding for the school, both for the building process but also the funding for the school's operations once the construction was complete. In July 1922, Herman L. Harris, the superintendent of the James City County school board approached Williamsburg's school board asking if they would consider combining the two counties' all-black schools.⁴⁵ This partnership proposed to turn the planned school of Williamsburg into an “agricultural school”.⁴⁶ However, there was economic incentive in this partnership for both Williamsburg and the surrounding James City County; “agricultural schools” were given money from a private charity called the Slater Fund.⁴⁷ This fund specifically targeted Southern, black schools,

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Rowe, 21; Rowe, 19.

⁴⁴ Rowe, 20.

⁴⁵ Harris Hart, *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia*, Vol. VI, No.2, October 1923, Google Books Edition, p. 11; Rowe, 20.

⁴⁶ Rowe, 20.

⁴⁷ The John F. Slater Fund began in 1882 when Slater donated \$1 million (which at the time would have been roughly \$25 million) for the purpose of, “uplifting of the lately emancipated population of the Southern States, and their posterity, by conferring on them the blessings of the Christian education.” Slater was born in Slatersville, Rhode Island, where his family owned both the local mill and the town itself. John F. Slater went into the mill business with his

providing educational equipment, teachers, and money geared towards educating African-Americans in agricultural practices.⁴⁸ Williamsburg agreed to the partnership and the James City County Training School, housed on Nicholson Street, opened in 1924. Because the school was designated the status of “Training School” (the official name given to these agricultural schools), outside funding from the Slater Foundation came annually.

In the same year the James City County Training School opened, W.A.R. Goodwin met John D. Rockefeller Jr. at the Phi Beta Kappa meeting.⁴⁹ Thus when Rockefeller Jr. came to visit Williamsburg for the first time in 1926, he would likely have walked past the James City County Training School, located in the heart of Colonial Williamsburg between the Governor’s Palace and the site of the Capitol.⁵⁰ Since the James City County Training School was located within a block of the two key structures of Colonial Williamsburg, it is no surprise that the year the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg was complete also marked the year for Bruton Heights proposal’s point of departure. More is revealed when comparing the rate and size of Bruton Heights’ construction and budget to that of James City County Training School: Bruton was larger, more expensive, and done more quickly than its older counterpart. Bruton Heights was a

brother and together they were quite successful. The original board of trustees included the then President of the U.S., Rutherford B. Hayes, Chief Justice R. Morrison Waite, Reverend Phillips Brooks, Williams A. Slater, and a few others. The Slater Fund was intended to bolster rural, black schools. (John F. Slater Fund, *Organization of the Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund for the Education of Freedmen*, John Murphy and Co. (Baltimore: 1882), accessed April 2016: <https://archive.org/details/organizationoftr00john>, p. 3-12); Rowe, 20.

⁴⁸ B.C. Caldwell, “The Work of the Jeanes and Slater Funds,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 49: 1913, p. 173-176.

⁴⁹ Edwards Park, “History of Restoration,” accessed April 2016:

<https://www.history.org/Foundation/general/introhiscfm>

⁵⁰ Ibid.

project that cost over a quarter of a million dollars and was planned and built in four years, while the James City County Training School cost a total of roughly \$10,000 and was planned and built in five years.⁵¹ Moreover, parents of the African-American children raised \$2,700 for the construction of the James City County Training School, while for Bruton Heights they raised \$1,000, with the rest supplied by either the federal government, the state, or the Rockefellers.⁵² This comparison helps to illuminate the complex role Colonial Williamsburg played in the black community. On the one hand, Colonial Williamsburg helped to build a school that was twenty five times more than the price of the school African-American students had been studying in, which quickly created the school as crucial structure for the black community. On the other hand, Colonial Williamsburg's presence and expansion helped segregate Williamsburg, perpetuating the racism found within the town, and sowing the roots of the destruction of this black community.

Not long after Bruton had opened, the U.S. Navy forcibly removed a large African-American neighborhood called Magruder using “eminent domain” ; on September 8 and October 22, 1942 the Navy began seizing the land from the citizens of Magruder.⁵³ Not much was done on behalf of the Navy when it came to providing housing, the only exception was

...the N.H.A. [National Housing Agency] has agreed to provide housing for those who are employed on war work and to assist in providing priorities to aid the construction of private homes for other families who have received sufficient

⁵¹ Rowe, 34-38; Rowe, 19-23.

⁵² Rowe, 20; Rowe, 34.

⁵³ Carmines, 31.

indemnity from condemnation proceedings growing out of acquisition of land for Camp Peary.⁵⁴

Those who did not receive housing via the National Housing Agency were offered temporary housing at the CCC Camp on William and Mary's campus.⁵⁵ The *Richmond Times-Dispatch* reported that roughly fifty black families were living the CCC Camp by 1944.⁵⁶ It was these families that became the bedrock community for the neighborhood of Highland Park; Colonial Williamsburg offered low deposit rates on mortgages in Highland Park to those living in the CCC Camp.⁵⁷

The late 1930's were a transitional time period for the African-American community of Williamsburg; plans for Bruton Heights were in the beginning stages, the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg was complete, and the new neighborhood of Braxton Court for African Americans was being built.⁵⁸ Robert H. Braxton, an African-American citizen of Williamsburg, bought Braxton Court in 1928 and began selling plots to other black residents.⁵⁹ The houses in the neighborhood were built by black carpenters commuting in from nearby Hampton University and by the late 1930's the neighborhood was established.⁶⁰ The Braxton Court neighborhood still exists today, but it is no longer majority black.

⁵⁴ Reverend Archibald F. Ward Paper, "Letter from Williamsburg War Board to Reverend Archibald F. Ward," January 9, 1943. Swem Library, Williamsburg, VA. Accessed March 2016.

⁵⁵ James Latimer, "People Living at Magruder Tell of Their Grievances About Navy Land Seizures," *Richmond Times Dispatch*. November 29, 1942.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Carmines, 42-43.

⁵⁸ Nicolas Zimmerman, "Historic Black Home Area Is Reborn," *Daily Press*, June 27, 2008, accessed March 2016: http://articles.dailypress.com/2008-06-27/news/0806260288_1_housing-authority-fine-chef-housing-and-community-development.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

The housing of African-Americans was a great concern of W.A.R. Goodwin's from the beginning of Colonial Williamsburg. As put forth in his 1934 speech, quoted by a Foundation historian, about the Colonial Williamsburg restoration, "Up nearer the College was a row of tumbled-down modern stores and disreputable houses of some very reputable negroes. They had inherited the houses, as negroes often do, when no white man was left who would live in them."⁶¹ Colonial Williamsburg removed these "reputable negroes" and destroyed their "disreputable houses." Returning to the "City Map of Williamsburg" made in 1929 discussed in Chapter 1, the category of "Negro" was synonymous to lesser than. Seen in Goodwin's speech is the paternalism that characterized all of Colonial Williamsburg's interactions with the African-American community, traceable through the Foundation's real estate deals with black homeowners. With wording such as "no white man was left who would live in them" Goodwin made clear the divide he saw between the type of house – and historical preservation - suitable for white communities, and the type of house and role in preservation for black residents.

During the 1920's the African American population made up roughly 700 of the 2,500 residents of Williamsburg, or 28 percent.⁶² During the time of the Civil War, however, African-Americans had been the majority in Williamsburg.⁶³ 62.6 percent of the population was African-American, with the majority of this population being enslaved.⁶⁴ With the onslaught of the war, a community of, "70,000 freedmen gathered in

⁶¹ Mary Miley Theobald, "African American and the Restoration of Williamsburg," *Colonial Williamsburg Journal*, (Williamsburg, Virginia: Summer 2014), accessed March 2016: <http://history.org/foundation/journal/summer14/restoration.cfm>.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Carmines, 8.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

the lower Peninsula of Virginia. Many of these freedmen settled near the village of Yorktown where General Isaac J. Wistar and his troops laid out a village of cabins for the freedmen called "Slabtown."⁶⁵ Yorktown, which is in the neighboring county of Williamsburg, played a significant role in the creation of the African American community in twentieth-century Williamsburg. After the end of the Civil War, Slabtown continued to exist, which angered the white residents of York County. Williamsburg's mayor wrote in 1866 to The U.S. Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (otherwise known as the Freedmen's Bureau) for assistance in the removal of those living in Slabtown who had not been freed within York County during the war.⁶⁶ York County's Freedmen's Bureau Chief, F.S. Massey, responded

At one time a combination was made by the land owners of the county agreeing not to lease land to any 'Negro' hoping by this means to rid themselves of the dense population in York Co. and the Freedmen on the other hand declared they would not leave unless overpowered by force.⁶⁷

Though the white community attempted to remove those living in Slabtown via legal action, and while tensions ran high between the two communities, nothing came to fruition. Rather, the Friends' Association of Philadelphia and its Vicinity for the Relief of Colored Freedmen brought in, "teachers, merchants, industrial and agricultural community representatives to the Yorktown area with the purpose of setting up schools and shops for African-Americans."⁶⁸ Over the years, Slabtown grew into the permanent

⁶⁵ Carmines, 15.

⁶⁶ Carmines, 9.

⁶⁷ York County Freedmen's Bureau Records. Library of Virginia Microfilm: Reel 5725. (found in Carmines).

⁶⁸ Carmines, 12.

community of Magruder, the neighborhood that the U.S. Navy would eventually extinguish by invoking eminent domain in the 1940's.⁶⁹

Highland Park first appears on record in 1866.⁷⁰ The land was vacant, making it affordable, which interested those in Williamsburg; deeds record it being purchased in 1894 and then again in 1916. However before 1925, very little infrastructure was found on the land.⁷¹ When a white man, R.M. Bryan, and his wife, Agnes B. Bryant, purchased the land in 1916, they had a clause written into the deed stating, “for a period of twenty years the said land or any portion thereof shall not be sold or conveyed to any colored person or persons.”⁷² While this would have stopped the future black residents of Highland Park from inhabiting the area between 1916 and 1936, few white families lived there between those years as well. It was not until 1925, when part of Highland Park was added to the city of Williamsburg, that a sewer system was implemented—neither running water nor electricity were to be part of the neighborhood until the 1940's.⁷³

From the perspective of Virginia's legislature, race relations within the state of Virginia appeared to be better than many Southern states. For instance, in 1928, Virginia was the first state in the South to pass an anti-lynching law.⁷⁴ However, this was not legislation necessarily put into place to ensure the safety of the black citizens of Virginia. Rather, the law helped Virginia to to avoid federal legislation and allow legislators to

⁶⁹ Carmines, 16.

⁷⁰ Carmines, 40.

⁷¹ Carmines, 41.

⁷² D.B. 34, page 444. Appendix. (found in Carmines).

⁷³ Carmines, 41.

⁷⁴ Fred Carroll, “Death By Lynch Mob Was Tragic Fact In Area,” *Daily Press*, June 17, 2005, accessed March 2016: http://articles.dailypress.com/2005-06-17/news/0506170014_1_lynchings-mob-black-man.

able to maintain matters of lynching within the state's judicial system.⁷⁵ This ensured that, "the law was never used to punish white people for lynching black people."⁷⁶ By 1928 there had not been a reported lynching in the surrounding area of Williamsburg for a few decades, though documented instances of such violence had occurred around Williamsburg in the late nineteenth century. William Allen and Reuben Cole were murdered in the neighboring counties, Allen for supposedly killing a white man with a knife and Cole supposedly raping a white woman.⁷⁷ Allen was murdered in 1881 in what is now Newport News and Cole being murdered in 1887 in Surry County.⁷⁸ Both men had been arrested, however neither had been tried before being lynched; Allen and Cole were both taken from their jail cells while awaiting trial and were hanged.⁷⁹ So, while race relations seemed to simmer just under the surface in Williamsburg during the 1920's, older generations of residents could well remember the times in which this was emphatically not so. The ratification of the new Virginia state constitution in 1902 had overthrown much of the progressive legislation passed after the Civil War; the 1902 constitution enforced the separation of white and black children's education.⁸⁰ The segregation of white and black students specifically became one of the dominant ways in which the white community of Williamsburg could enforce power over the African-American population. By separating the schools racially, the county gave financial preference towards the white schools and made African American parents pay out of

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ *Constitution of Virginia 1902*. Article IX, Section 140.

pocket for necessities such as desks and janitors.⁸¹ The separation of facilities transcended education and became a tool to enforce a double standard in political inclusion; when Williamsburg citizens voted on whether or not to go ahead with the project of Colonial Williamsburg, the vote took place at the white school, and due to the fact that blacks were officially banned from entering the white school, this meeting site effectively ensured that no local African-American could enter the meeting and vote on the issue.⁸²

Race relations in Williamsburg were tense. Quovadis Wright, a citizen born in Williamsburg in 1935, who wrote an op-ed for the *Virginia Gazette* in 2016 she wrote,

I remember next to William & Mary there was a round brick wall with a bench where black people waited for rides. On top of the wall was an American flag and a flag with a Klu Klux Klan insignia. One day I was standing near there, and I saw a white stone engraved. It read gift of the Klu Klux Klan.⁸³

This bench was used by black workers of both the College of William & Mary and Colonial Williamsburg. Meaning, that every African-American worker of both William & Mary and Colonial Williamsburg who waited at this bench would have been reminded of the KKK presence and the town's tolerance of the KKK, every day after leaving their majority white workplaces. Wright recalls the racial tension found within the restoration site of Colonial Williamsburg more specifically when

Later as I walked up Duke of Gloucester Street from school, we passed a ladies shop. I admired this lovely looking hat sitting on a mannequin's head in the window...I grabbed the hat and was heading for the nearest mirror when a voice

⁸¹ Rowe, 19.

⁸² Theobald, "African Americans and the Restoration of Williamsburg," accessed March 2016: <http://history.org/foundation/journal/summer14/restoration.cfm>.

⁸³ Quovadis, Wright, "Recalling how the past paved the way for the present," *Virginia Gazette*, February 13, 2016, accessed March 2016: <http://www.vagazette.com/news/va-vg-edit-quovadis-0213-20160213-story.html>.

stopped me in my tracks. I looked around to see steely eyes and a woman who said, “Do not put my hat on your greasy head. If n-----s try on hats, white customers won’t buy em.”⁸⁴

Colonial Williamsburg’s most direct control over black housing was with the building of the Franklin Street dormitories in 1955.⁸⁵ The dorm was exclusively for black men, although served as another center of activity for African Americans.⁸⁶ Although, unlike Bruton Heights the recreation center of the Franklin Dormitories required a membership that had a fee attached.⁸⁷ The dormitory had been made to accommodate Colonial Williamsburg’s growing staff; many African Americans, and in particular men, traveled from outside Virginia to come work for the Foundation.⁸⁸ The Foundation had recently implemented new visitor accommodations, creating the need for more service workers.⁸⁹ The dormitory continued operating until 1976, at which time the dorm was turned into the offices of Colonial Williamsburg’s human resources department—which still exist today.⁹⁰ Unlike the houses of White City, however, the Franklin Street dormitories were rooms rented to single black men. While the dorms undoubtedly served as a community center, the physical space was a less significant living area than the homes in White City.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ *Colonial Williamsburg News*, 1955, Franklin Street Dormitories Folder, John D. Rockefeller Jr. Special Collections, Williamsburg, Virginia, accessed March 2016.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Robert Hoke, “Press Bureau,” July 12, 1955, Franklin Street Dormitories Folder, John D. Rockefeller Jr. Special Collections, Williamsburg, Virginia, accessed March 2016.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ “Franklin Street Dormitories,” Franklin Street Dormitories Folder, John D. Rockefeller Jr. Special Collections, Williamsburg, Virginia, accessed March 2016.

The African-American community's relationship to Colonial Williamsburg was, and still remains, complicated due to the structural dependency within the Foundation that directly affects the wage-labor based service economy, largely sourced from a local, African-American workforce. Colonial Williamsburg has been *the* industry that offered jobs to the African-American community since its beginnings, which allowed for the Foundation to price wages as they pleased.⁹¹ Quovadis Wright, who reflected on the racism in Williamsburg, worked as a waitress for Colonial Williamsburg for forty years.⁹² C. Russell Tabb, the first black city councilman in over a century, spent his entire career working for Colonial Williamsburg's service industry, first as a busboy and eventually as a restaurant manager.⁹³ In their book, *New History in an Old Museum*, Eric Gable and Richard Handler write

What is crucial to recognize is that in addition to the highly visible historically costumed employees, the vast majority of the backstage staff who work at Colonial Williamsburg are not historians and curators but waiters and waitresses, maids and bellhops, janitors and laundresses, secretaries and computer specialists, gardeners and construction workers, bus drivers and security officers, and the scores of supervisors and managers who oversee these workers' routines.⁹⁴

There is a codependency between Colonial Williamsburg and the African-American community; Colonial Williamsburg needs the workers from the African-American community, while the African-American community needs the Foundation because it is one of the only places to find work within the city limits.

⁹¹ Burnham, 8-10.

⁹² Wright, "Recalling how the past paved the way for the present," accessed March 2016: <http://www.vagazette.com/news/va-vg-edit-quovadis-0213-20160213-story.html>.

⁹³ Daphne Sashin, "Williamsburg City Council: Three Win Posts," *Daily Press*, May 5, 2004, accessed March 2016: http://articles.dailypress.com/2004-05-05/news/0405050232_1_votes-william-and-mary-tuesday-s-election.

⁹⁴ Gable and Handler, 19.

Before the Colonial Williamsburg restoration and the rise of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation as a key player in local politics and economy, there were multiple, black owned and operated businesses in the heart of the town. At the turn of the twenty-first century, the largest, privately owned business in town was owned by an African-American named Samuel Harris.⁹⁵ Harris remained an active member of the black community throughout his life, and was a source of counsel during the arduous construction process of a black school before Colonial Williamsburg.⁹⁶ Black-owned businesses and businessmen such as Harris have all but disappeared from the downtown. One of the last remaining businessmen of the twentieth century, Al Johnson, had to close his Japanese restaurant due to the high taxes.⁹⁷ Johnson also noted that black business owners are not able to easily obtain credit from the city; “A black man can always get a Cadillac, but he can’t get the money to open a shop.”⁹⁸ Robert A. Braxton, the grandson of the man who built Braxton Court and a city official of Williamsburg lamented in 2012, “there is only one black-owned business, [and] a barber shop within the current city limits.”⁹⁹

Chapter 3 focuses on the education and housing trials and tribulations of the African-American community of Williamsburg. Much of this material, recovered from council records or newspapers catering to white or non-local readerships necessarily excludes the voice of the African-American community on these transformations and

⁹⁵ Oxrieder, 8.

⁹⁶ Rowe, 15.

⁹⁷ Burnham, 3.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Burnham, 2.

processes. While it is easy to focus on the white men of Williamsburg and the Williamsburg Holding Corporation who made decisions on behalf of the black community—partially due to the fact there is more documentation from the white perspective, and also due to the fact that the white perspective was more vocal—it is important to remember that there was a significant population of blacks living through and with these decisions. It is also important to take into consideration that the African-American community was not a passive participant throughout this process. Edith Heard—who has been a vocal equal rights activist for the town and who will be discussed in greater detail in chapter three—was a strong union activist in Colonial Williamsburg during the 1970's, who was fired for her vocal objections to the Foundation's labor practices.¹⁰⁰ Earlier in the nineteenth century, the Committee of the Improvement League of the black school played a significant role in bettering black students' access to education within Williamsburg. Sadly, though, little has changed in Williamsburg; I have little faith that the community will protect the history of the African-American community, or recognize the damage done on behalf of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

¹⁰⁰ Burnham, 8.

Chapter 3: That the Future May Learn From the Past

“It’s certainly not what Mr. Rockefeller had in mind... They’re doing the best they can to keep the show going. But the trouble is, it’s become more of a show than an educational resource...”¹

--Ivor Noël Hume, former Director of Colonial Williamsburg’s Archaeology Department interviewed by the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, March 2016.

After the end of World War II, Williamsburg’s tourist industry began to grow substantially, resulting in more patrons coming from the middle class rather than the wealthy elite that had comprised the original visitor. Part of this was due to soldiers visiting the restoration as a day trip during their service; once the war was over and former soldiers began to have families, they began to bring their families back to the site in which they had spent a pleasant and informative afternoon.² Another factor, though, was that Williamsburg was (and still remains) a convenient stop for those driving to Florida from the North.³ Since Williamsburg is a slight detour off of I-95, it is frequently included in recommended itineraries for those driving down to Florida from the North East.⁴ Thus by 1945 the numbers of visitors was getting higher and the money going into the Foundation was growing as well.⁵ By 1954, Colonial Williamsburg had received over \$50 million in cash gifts, \$35 million of which had already been spent, and a pledge of yet another \$10 million dollars for the future, most if not all of which came from

¹ Robert Zullo, “The future of history: New direction for Colonial Williamsburg met with praise, backlash,” *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, March 5, 2016, accessed April 2016: http://m.richmond.com/news/virginia/article_c18ecc38-8e4d-5295-8832-dcc57c7f5d12.html?mode=jqm.

² Anders Greenspan, *Creating Colonial Williamsburg* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institute Press, 2002), p. 93.

³ Greenspan, 88.

⁴ Christina Williams, “What’s the best driving route from New York to Florida?” June 3, 2015, accessed April 2016: <http://blog.upack.com/posts/what%E2%80%99s-the-best-driving-route-from-new-york-to-florida>.

⁵ Greenspan, 73-74.

Rockefeller Jr.⁶ Throughout this boom, Colonial Williamsburg was able to manipulate its historic connection to patriotism and put it into conversation with the nation's political atmosphere—which in the 1950s was wrapped up in the Cold War and post-war reconstruction—giving the Foundation even more popularity amongst the visitors who saw Colonial Williamsburg as an embodiment of American values.⁷ Anders Greenspan connects Colonial Williamsburg and America's Cold War political values in

The culture of suspicion that surrounded suspected communists throughout the country also encroached on Americans' perceptions about a national landmark like Colonial Williamsburg. As Americans were often compelled to make declarations about their national loyalty, they found Colonial Williamsburg to be a ready icon to incorporate into their perception of proper citizenship.⁸

Colonial Williamsburg was an easy connection to patriotism, and through this anti-communist sentiments, which allowed for the Foundation to market itself as a place where “good” Americans went on vacation.

During the 1950s the nation was surging with post war patriotism and activity. As Jeremi Suri writes in *Postwar Politics and the Cold War*, “For American citizens who saved and sacrificed in the 1930s and early 1940s, the next decade [the 1950s] promised unprecedented security and abundance.”⁹ The GI bill provided loans that allowed for more than two million soldiers to go to college and buy homes.¹⁰ This meant that the country was not only healing from the war but was flourishing; the tax paying middle

⁶ Greenspan, 109.

⁷ Greenspan, 100.

⁸ Greenspan, 79.

⁹ Jeremi Suri, *Postwar Politics and the Cold War*, The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, accessed April 15, 2015: <https://www.gilderlehrman.org/history-by-era/postwar-politics-and-origins-cold-war/essays/postwar-politics-and-cold-war>.

¹⁰ Ibid.

class was growing substantially and rapidly.¹¹ However, there were fears that lingered amongst Americans—postwar costs, the threat of communism, building racial tensions—that crept their way into the national dialogue. The combination of Americans being able to have pride in the country’s growth and success, while also being aware of the fact that this was not a guarantee, created a new form of American patriotism. Colonial Williamsburg played on this new awareness in its programming by stressing its relationship to revolutionary war history, while also promoting education and the fight against communism. Colonial Williamsburg’s promotion of education as a force against communism can be seen through the low fee of \$1.75 (which today would be roughly \$16) for the “block ticket,” which allowed entrance into all the Foundation’s structures.¹² By having lower ticket prices Colonial Williamsburg was able to expand its visitor base, and as a result, the number of people it was educating.

The Foundation took part in events that intertwined promotion and education, such as bringing the winners of the “Voice of Democracy” contest, which was

Sponsored by the U.S. Junior Chamber of Commerce and radio and television groups, the Voice of Democracy awarded prizes to four high school students from across the nation for essays on the theme of democratic government. The program attempted to lure teenagers into a greater appreciation of the country’s past and its democratic heritage, involving more than two million students throughout the United States and its territories.¹³

Evidently, Colonial Williamsburg’s participation in this contest had less to do with the history of colonial Williamsburg and more to do with what would speak to Americans living in uncertainty about the state of democracy during the Cold War. In other words, it

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Greenspan, 80.

¹³ Greenspan, 100.

was subtle marketing for the Foundation's participation in the American identity. It was at this moment that Colonial Williamsburg's advertising and programming efforts began to increase. The first addition to the Foundation's new expansion was completed in 1949, with the opening of the Powder Magazine. Then in the mid 1950s the Fife and Drum Corps was created.¹⁴ Both the Magazine and the Fife and Drum Corps helped to connect Colonial Williamsburg to America's pride of its military, without having to depict any acts of the violence in war. Both of these additions helped Colonial Williamsburg play off of the nation's new-found pride in the military without having to remind Americans of the pain caused by the previous war.

It was also at this time that the number of costumed interpreters increased, becoming the more popular tool of teaching the restoration's history, rather than the docents who had started with the Foundation.¹⁵ The most distinctively patriotic message created in this era by Colonial Williamsburg was the popular film entitled *The Story of a Patriot* (which featured Jack Lord, of Hawaii Five-O fame, in the leading role) made in 1957.¹⁶ The movie, which depicts a highly fictionalized account of colonist John Fry becoming a member of the House of Burgesses, was not only played daily in Colonial Williamsburg's Visitor Center (and was still regarded as an educational tool by some donors when Eric Gable and Richard Handler did their research in the 1990s) but was also distributed, free upon request, to public schools around the country and made

¹⁴ Eric Gable and Richard Handler, *The New History in an Old Museum: Creating the Past as Colonial Williamsburg*, (North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1997), p.64.

¹⁵ Gable and Handler, 64-65; Greenspan, 81-82.

¹⁶ "Williamsburg: *Story of a Patriot* Plot Synopsis," *Internet Movie Database*, accessed April 16, 2016: http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0049956/plotsummary?ref_=tt_ov_pl.

available in seven foreign languages.¹⁷ The message of this film was inflated patriotism—which, again, had connections to positive war messages—creating an inaccurate portrayal of history. These exaggerations and elisions were insignificant to Colonial Williamsburg, though, because the message of the film resonated with the national pride embraces by its visitors.

While the United States as a whole was growing with its new social programs and prosperous economy, the legislation of Virginia was digging its heels into the ground. In the mid 1940s, the government began enacting desegregation reforms; President Truman commissioned a report, published December 5, 1946, entitled *To Secure These Rights*, which, “condemned segregation and called on the Truman administration to do more to integrate different races in American society, especially in the US military.”¹⁸ Then in 1948 the Executive Order 9881 was passed, which required integration and equality in all branches of the military.¹⁹ April 23, 1951 marked the day that student Barbara Johns led a strike against the undersupplied facilities offered to black students at her school in Farmville, Virginia.²⁰ A case drawn from this precedent was filed by lawyers Spotswood Robinson and Oliver Hill and was sent to the Supreme Court of Virginia. The court rejected the case, however, on the grounds that Virginia, “was vigorously equalizing

¹⁷ Gable and Handler, 229; Greenspan, 132-134.

¹⁸ Suri, *Postwar Politics and the Cold War*, accessed April 16, 2016: <https://www.gilderlehrman.org/history-by-era/postwar-politics-and-origins-cold-war/essays/postwar-politics-and-cold-war>; President Truman’s Committee on Civil Rights, *To Secure These Rights: The Report of the President’s Committee on Civil Rights*, Executive Order 9808, December 5, 1946, accessed April 16, 2016: <http://www.trumanlibrary.org/civilrights/srights1.htm>.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Virginia Historical Society, “Civil Rights Movement in Virginia: Brown I and Brown II,” accessed April 16, 2016: <http://www.vahistorical.org/collections-and-resources/virginia-history-explorer/civil-rights-movement-virginia/brown-i-and-brown>.

black and white schools.”²¹ This rejection placed the case into the jurisdiction of the U.S. Supreme Court, and Virginia’s role (or lack thereof) into the national dialogue of integration, created *Davis v. Prince Edward County, Virginia*.²² This case became one of the five that would be contested in the 1954 ruling of *Brown v. The Board of Education* by the U.S. Supreme Court.

On May 17, 1954, *Brown v. The Board of Education* ruled that, “Segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race deprives children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities, even though the physical facilities and other ‘tangible’ factors may be equal.”²³ With the court passing majority opinions in favor of integration in public schools, Virginia’s state government, led by Senator Harry F. Byrd, enacted “Massive Resistance.”²⁴ This organized resistance was part of the “Southern Manifesto” that was signed by over a hundred Southern congressmen in 1956.²⁵ “Massive Resistance” in particular, though, was, “a group of laws...intended to prevent integration of the schools.”²⁶ This included, “A Pupil Placement Board...[which] was created with the power to assign specific students to particular schools,” and, “tuition grants...provided to students who opposed integrated schools.”²⁷ The most punitive and

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid.

²³ *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

²⁴ Virginia Historical Society, “Civil Rights Movement in Virginia: Massive Resistance,” accessed April 17, 2016: <http://www.vahistorical.org/collections-and-resources/virginia-history-explorer/civil-rights-movement-virginia/massive>.

²⁵ Commonwealth of Virginia, “The State Responds: Massive Resistance,” accessed April 17, 2016: <http://www.lva.virginia.gov/exhibits/brown/resistance.htm>.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

restrictive of the laws passed in the Massive Resistance was, “a law that cut off state funds and closed any public school that attempted to integrate.”²⁸

Williamsburg’s school board, like Virginia’s state government, resisted integration in public schools. The most extreme threats against desegregation came from the James City County Board of Supervisors, who threatened to cut off funding to any white school that allowed African Americans entrance.²⁹ While the General Council of Colonial Williamsburg, Louis Powell, supposedly supported desegregation, he also felt that, “it would take time for many whites to change their way of thinking.”³⁰ Whether some members of the School Board felt that schools should be integrated or not, Williamsburg’s school system went along with the state’s decision and did not integrate.³¹ Rather, James City County schools integrated under the idea of “freedom of choice.” This clause gave African American students the option to attend the white school sectioned for their neighborhood, or allowed them to remain at the all-black school, Bruton Heights.³² Taking into consideration that Bruton Heights had become the center of the African American community by the 1950s, and that there was open Klux Klan support in the area, only two black students decided to attend the white high

²⁸ Virginia Historical Society, “Civil Rights Movement in Virginia: Massive Resistance,” accessed April 17, 2016: <http://www.vahistorical.org/collections-and-resources/virginia-history-explorer/civil-rights-movement-virginia/massive>.

²⁹ Rex M. Ellis, “The African-American Community in Williamsburg (1947-1998),” (Williamsburg, Virginia: *Williamsburg Traditions*, 2002), p. 236.

³⁰ Ellis, 236.

³¹ Linda Rowe, “A History of Black Education and Bruton Heights School, Williamsburg, Virginia,” (Williamsburg Virginia: *Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library Research Report Series*, 0373, 1997), p. 51.

³² Rowe, 51.

school in the area.³³ It seems symbolic, too, that the original official all-black school, the James City County Training School, was torn down by Colonial Williamsburg in 1954.³⁴ The demolition of the former all-black school occurring in the same year as the U.S. Supreme Court case ruling against segregation in public schools, represents a literal physical removal of a segregated public space occurring at the moment in which segregation as a status was being removed from the qualifications of public spaces.

Colonial Williamsburg had its trials and tribulations in regards to desegregation, too. While in the 1940s the restoration site was becoming more popular among the middle class families, the invitation to come to the Foundation was not marketed to people of color and their families. At no point in time did Colonial Williamsburg stop African Americans from entering the site; Colonial Williamsburg's building tours were integrated.³⁵ However, there was nothing within the Foundation that welcomed black visitors; none of the programming was geared towards a black audience and the surrounding service industry was segregated. Hotel accommodations on behalf of Colonial Williamsburg had not been created for African Americans; it was the stated responsibility of the African American community of Williamsburg to provide lodging for the black visitors of Colonial Williamsburg.³⁶ Beyond this, the restaurants within the

³³ Quovadis Wright, "Recalling how the past paved the way for the present," *Virginia Gazette*, February 13, 2016, accessed April 17, 2016: <http://www.vagazette.com/news/va-vg-edit-quovadis-0213-20160213-story.html>; Rowe, 51.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Greenspan, 89.

³⁶ Vernon Geddy, a local lawyer and John D. Rockefeller Jr.'s aid, enforced segregation in Colonial Williamsburg. Concerned with the "Negro problem" Geddy wrote in September 1946 to then Colonial Williamsburg president, Kenneth Chorley, recommending, "the policy of segregation be maintained, that blacks be admitted to neither the Williamsburg Inn nor the Williamsburg Lodge, and that racially mixed groups be informed that as the town did not have

Foundation did not serve African Americans—again it was up to the black community of Williamsburg to provide meals for the infrequent African American visitors.³⁷ It was not until the 1940s that John D. Rockefeller Jr. felt it appropriate to say anything on the matter of segregation in Colonial Williamsburg. In May 1943 Rockefeller Jr. wrote an open letter in response to the African Americans who had written the foundation expressing interest in visiting, but who were unsure if there was accommodations for black visitors. Rockefeller responded with stating, “The management has not thus far found it practicable to provide for both colored and white guests. I am sorry we cannot accommodate you.”³⁸ It is telling that it was John D. Rockefeller Jr. who wrote the letter of apology, rather than it being anyone from hotel management, the president of Colonial Williamsburg, Kenneth Chorley, or a representative of the Williamsburg Holding Company, such as Channing Hall. The disjunction between Rockefeller Jr.’s apology and the actions of the local Foundation officials sheds light on the discordance between Rockefeller Jr.’s power and what was being enacted daily in Colonial Williamsburg.

While John D. Rockefeller Jr. did not agree with segregating Colonial Williamsburg, he did nothing to change it. In 1950, seven years after Rockefeller Jr.’s apology to African American visitors, George E. Cohron wrote a detailed letter describing the “embarrassments, discomforts, and disadvantages” he and his wife had experienced while visiting Colonial Williamsburg.³⁹ In his letter, Cohron mentioned he and his wife had wanted to stay in one of the Foundation’s hotels and that they had

any hotel accommodate blacks, African American members would have to be housed and fed at the homes of local black residents.” (Greenspan, 74-75).

³⁷ Ellis, 238.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Greenspan, 89.

difficulty in obtaining food.⁴⁰ Cohron pointedly wrote about the split between Colonial Williamsburg's segregation policies and the stressing of democracy in its programming, stating, "...the Negro suffers these embarrassments, discomforts, and disadvantages only because a national project privately financed adheres to local public policies. Is it not irony that Williamsburg, restored and publicized as the place democracy was founded, should permit discrimination or democracy in reverse?"⁴¹ Cohron observed the crucial division between funding and local politics in the Foundation, too; aside from ticket sales, Rockefeller Jr. was the only source of revenue for Colonial Williamsburg which could have allowed him to do whatever he wanted with the site. Rockefeller Jr. refrained from practicing his power in integrating Colonial Williamsburg, though, complacently allowing segregation to occur in order to appease the Foundation's local officials. Again in 1950, Colonial Williamsburg official, John D. Green, "reported to Kenneth Chorley [then president of Colonial Williamsburg] that in the months since 1 January 1949 six biracial groups had visited the restoration," but made sure to reassure Chorley that, "all [groups] were dealt with carefully," which had been effectuated by keeping, "the groups...away from the other restoration visitors while they used the dining facilities at Colonial Williamsburg."⁴² Chorley, like Rockefeller, made no effort in stopping the segregation in Colonial Williamsburg, opting for the argument of, "pushing too fast too far we might only aggravate a prejudice we want to see disappear."⁴³ Thus, while the

⁴⁰ Greenspan, 89.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Greenspan, 90.

⁴³ Greenspan, 115.

supposedly more tolerant Northerners held the highest positions of power within Colonial Williamsburg they sacrificed this power in lieu of their subordinate's politics.

Even though John D. Rockefeller Jr. claimed to take issue with having no accommodations for African Americans, he hired black men to work for him as personal domestic helpers in cooking, cleaning, and chauffeuring. He brought down chefs (Mac Williams and Mr. Crawford) from the Waldorf-Astoria in New York City to cook for Colonial Williamsburg and his own driver, Kearny to move from New York City to Colonial Williamsburg.⁴⁴ Edith Heard who was born in and raised in Williamsburg, and was the daughter of Kearny, remembered growing up down the street from the boarding house on Franklin Street which received much of its business from the black chauffeurs of the wealthy white visitors to Colonial Williamsburg.⁴⁵ The name of this makeshift inn was the Willy Baker Tourist Home, owned by the Baker family.⁴⁶ According to the 1956 edition of *The Negro Travelers' Green Book*—the submission based travel guide created by a black postal worker that informed black travelers of friendly hotels, motels, tourist homes, and restaurants—the boarding house was known by the name of the Baker House Hotel and was located on Nicholson Street.⁴⁷ It was the sole listing found under Williamsburg, which helps to depict how little of an effort had been made on behalf of the Foundation to accommodate African Americans. Even more potent in showing the limited progress of integration is the fact that this edition of the *Green Book* was

⁴⁴ Edith Heard, Interview, Williamsburg, VA, April 22, 2015.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ellis, 238.

⁴⁷ Victor H. Green (editor), *The Negro Travelers' Green Book*, (New York: Victor H. Green & Co., 1956), p. 64.

published thirteen years after Rockefeller had written his apologies—showing that the benefactor’s guilt had not extended beyond that letter into practice.

Edith Heard’s confusion about the location is understandable—she was being was reflecting on her memories of the town, and Nicholson and Francis streets run parallel to one another. However, to make the location of the Willie Baker House Hotel more complicated and mysterious is that according to the “Design Review Guidelines—Adopted By City Council On March 9, 2006” for the city of Williamsburg, the Willie Baker House is listed as being located on Tyler Street—which is on the opposite side of the Foundation, see Map Two.⁴⁸ The significance for trying to parse out the details about the Baker House is twofold: First and foremost, it allows a process of reconstruction and space to enable us to remember the African American community accurately. Secondly, the fact that there is not a concise location stated on behalf of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation or the city of Williamsburg perfectly captures how little effort is still undertaken in trying to discuss the contributions to Williamsburg made on behalf of the black community.

⁴⁸City of Williamsburg Planning Dept, *City of Williamsburg Design and Review Guidelines—Adopted By City Council On March 9, 2006*, (Williamsburg, Virginia: City of Williamsburg Planning Dept., 2006), p. 96.

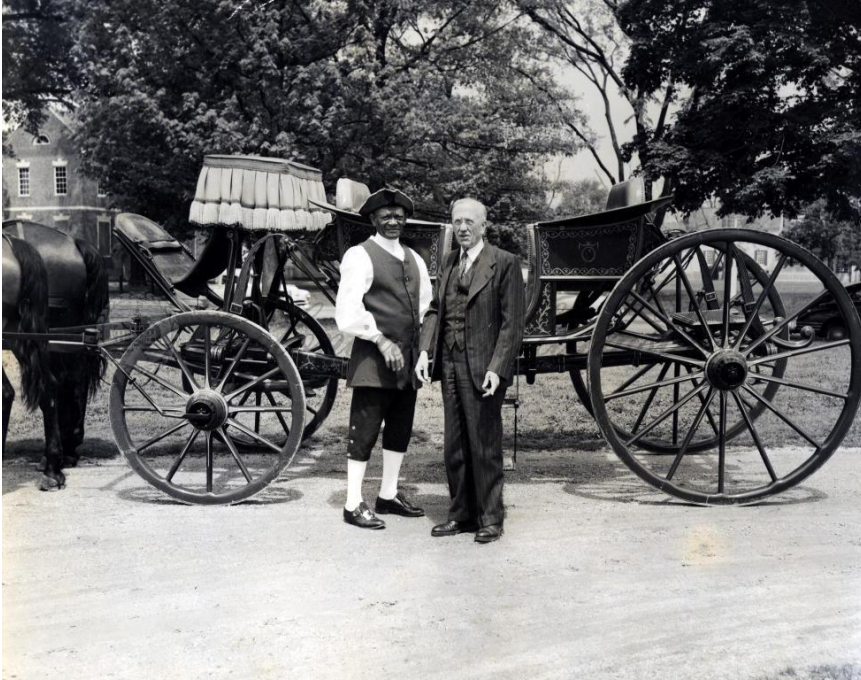


Image 1 “John D. Rockefeller Jr.’s Physician [posing] with Coach Driver” taken by Albert Durant in the 1950s, showing that African American men were expected to be chauffeurs both inside and outside of Colonial Williamsburg. Albert Durant took hundreds of photos of both Colonial Williamsburg and the black community of Williamsburg throughout the 1960s-1980s.⁴⁹



Image 2 “Group Portrait of Chauffeurs” taken by Albert Durant in 1976, showing that African American men being chauffeurs was still a common practice, after 40 years of Colonial Williamsburg being open. Both this image and the image above can be found within the Foundation’s online, public photo gallery--albeit, in a fairly difficult part of the website to find.⁵⁰

⁴⁹Albert W. Durant, “John D. Rockefeller Jr.’s Physician with Coach Driver,” *John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation*, accessed April 7, 2016, <https://rocklib.omeka.net/items/show/1249>.

⁵⁰ Albert W. Durant, “Group Portrait of Chauffeurs,” *John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation*, accessed April 7, 2016, <https://rocklib.omeka.net/items/show/1238>.

“Freedom of choice” as Virginia state policy had allowed for schools to remain segregated from 1955 until 1968.⁵¹ It was not until then that Federal officials deemed Williamsburg’s integration practices of “freedom of choice” inadequate.⁵² That academic year (1968) system-wide integration began in Williamsburg and in the encompassing James City County, with black students moving to the former all-white high school, James Blair.⁵³ The transplant of the African American students into James Blair did not include the transfer and arrangement for display of any of the trophies or awards they had won while at Bruton Heights, which created even more tension amongst the student body and gave the clear message that the black students were unwelcome (or, beyond that, that their history was not worth archiving or displaying) in the James Blair community.⁵⁴ The neighboring county to Williamsburg’s integration resulted in two of the schools named for famous black Americans—the James Weldon Johnson School and the Frederick Douglass School—changing to Yorktown Intermediate and Magruder Elementary in the late 1960s.⁵⁵ 1973 marked the first time in the history of Williamsburg that a school, Lafayette High School, was opened as an integrated school from the beginning.⁵⁶ Bruton Heights remained an all-black school until closed its doors in the late 1980s—although by that point in time it was only housing grades 4, 5, and 6.⁵⁷ Colonial Williamsburg,

⁵¹ Ellis, 236.

⁵² Rowe, 51.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ellis, 236.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Rowe, 51.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

which took over and reclaimed the site, did not plan on memorializing Bruton Heights when it closed, rather:

A concerted effort by members of the African-American community ultimately won a reprieve for the venerated institution...It is part of the Bruton Heights School Education Center of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. Dedicated in April 1997, the Center brings together the Foundation's research staff (historical, archaeological, and architectural) and the audio-visual department all housed in the school itself, and unites them in a campus-like setting with the John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library and the Dewitt Wallace Collections and Conservation Building on the thirty acres where the landmark Bruton Heights School once stood alone.⁵⁸

It is crucial to recognize that the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation subsumed both all-black schools of Williamsburg—both of which were crucial community centers for the African American community— by either having them demolished or repurposed. The black community eventually convinced the Foundation to memorialize Bruton Heights, rather than demolish it. However, Bruton Heights' memorialization does not begin to capture its significance to a large population of Williamsburg; housing the audio-visual department in the old school building, with a plaque outside, rather than housing one of the prestigious libraries found elsewhere in the campus, is an insult to what the school used to be. While Colonial Williamsburg supposedly housed the more tolerant voices in the debate of desegregation, through Rockefeller's apology and their integrated tours, the Foundation's actions from 1954 to the present do not support or represent the history and achievements of the African American community of Williamsburg.

⁵⁸ Rowe, 51.



Image 3 “The blacks only James City County Training School, tore down and replaced by Bruton Heights School.”⁵⁹



Image 4 Photo of Bruton Heights School. Special Collections, John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ “The blacks only James City County Training School, tore down and replaced by Bruton Heights School,” exact date unknown, John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library, Special Collections, accessed April 20, 2016:

<http://history.org/foundation/journal/summer14/restoration.cfm?showSite=mobile>.

⁶⁰ Photo of Bruton Heights School, exact date unknown. John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library, Special Collections, accessed April 20, 2016:

<http://history.org/foundation/journal/summer14/restoration.cfm?showSite=mobile>.



Image 5 “African American students from Williamsburg and two counties moved into segregated Bruton Heights School.”⁶¹

Image 6 “Matthew Whaley Seventh Grade Class” Matthew Whaley was one of the all white schools in Williamsburg.⁶²



⁶¹ “African American students from Williamsburg and two counties moved into segregated Bruton Heights School,” exact date unknown, John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library, Special Collections, accessed April 20, 2016:

<http://history.org/foundation/journal/summer14/restoration.cfm?showSite=mobile>.

⁶² Albert W. Durant, “Matthew Whaley Seventh Grade Class,” *John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation*, accessed April 18, 2016:

<https://rocklib.omeka.net/items/show/1231>.

Throughout the 1950s and into the 1960s Williamsburg's public schools remained segregated. There was not a significant amount of Civil Rights activity in Williamsburg in response to this segregation. In the 1960s, three citizens—Dennis Gardner, Lawrence Gerst, and Allen Clark—protested the local A&P Store for its discriminatory hiring practices.⁶³ Martin Luther King Jr. visited the town and gave a sermon at the First Baptist Church.⁶⁴ However, Williamsburg never came close to resembling the iconic towns of the South—Little Rock and Selma for instance—during the Civil Rights Movement. Rather, Williamsburg remained the quiet and unchanging town that it had always been. Colonial Williamsburg also refused to change in regards to its treatment of race issues both during the colonial era and what was happening politically at the time.

The history depicted officially at Colonial Williamsburg excluded African Americans for over forty years; it was not until 1976 that Colonial Williamsburg created an official African American Interpretation Program.⁶⁵ Before this, very little was done to include people of color into the larger narrative of Colonial Williamsburg—even though during the colonial era, half of the town's population was black.⁶⁶ The black population during the colonial era was noted in, “A census summary for 1775 appearing in a Williamsburg almanac of the following year listed a total of 986 blacks representing 55% of the total population of 1880 [people].”⁶⁷ Both in terms of the colonial past and the contemporary population, a significant part of Williamsburg's history was not

⁶³ Ellis, 241.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Greenspan, 29.

⁶⁶ Michael L. Nicholls, *Aspects of the African American Experience in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg and Norfolk*, (Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1990), p. 3.

⁶⁷ Nicholls, 3.

incorporated into the patriotic message of Colonial Williamsburg's presentation of the revolutionary era, because those running Colonial Williamsburg did not want to depict the black colonial experience; Colonial Williamsburg officials did not want to bring slavery into the manicured restoration's depiction of the colonial era. Rather, the history that was promoted at Colonial Williamsburg was the grandeur of nationally-known figures and idealized nation-based politics; Thomas Jefferson, George Washington, Patrick Henry, and John Adams were the past residents of Williamsburg worth commemoration, not their slaves. These efforts minimized the other lesser-known yet ubiquitous slave owners, and the many other enslaved individuals who toiled and lived in the area.⁶⁸

Colonial Williamsburg's service industry also experienced a slow pace in terms of integration. During Carlisle H. Humelsine's presidency at Colonial Williamsburg, which began in 1958, he received a letter from a black businessman from Washington D.C. named Eugene Vorhies, who had visited Colonial Williamsburg. Mr. Vorhies wrote Humelsine to let him know of the inadequate treatment he received when trying to book hotel accommodations. Vorhies explained

⁶⁸ In Stephanie Smallwood's *Saltwater Slavery* she writes of the harsh climate faced by the Tidewater, Virginia's enslaved population. This can be seen when she writes, "Only in the second decade of the eighteenth century and, more significantly, as yet only in tidewater Virginia, did a population of American-born descendants of saltwater slaves finally win the battle to put down stable roots of sufficient strength to anchor a sustainable web of community and kinship spanning the "big water" between Africa and America. In 1720s Virginia, American-born slave children finally began to survive to adulthood and raise children of their own." Then, when considering that half of Williamsburg's population was black in 1775 the history depicted at Colonial Williamsburg should have involved more African American interpreters, enslavement, and violence in order to better claim historical accuracy.

Although we had hoped to be able to stay in the [Williamsburg] Inn or in one of the restored house, we found this wouldn't be possible because of the heavy bookings of these accommodations long in advance...My wife and I then decided that we'd like to try one of the nearby [white owned] guest houses, hoping such would be cozier and more in keeping with the spirit of the weekend in Williamsburg than would be a Holiday Inn, etc., etc. I began calling guest houses listed in a Chamber of Commerce flyer that had been sent to us by Colonial Williamsburg, along with some other promotional material. You can imagine that I was more than a little surprised when the operator of the first guest house I called asked me, after considerable hemming and stalling, if I was a Negro, "because we don't take Negroes." At several of the other houses I then called I received the same—what can one call it?—treatment.⁶⁹

Humelsine addressed the situation by, "expressing his chagrin and also assuring Mr. Vorhies that Colonial Williamsburg would make every effort to influence private owners from engaging in discrimination."⁷⁰ However, what this "influence" entailed is unclear. There are no records of Colonial Williamsburg's management threatening local businesses with eviction for racially discriminating against potential customers, or publicly punishing them, there is no evidence Colonial Williamsburg actively stopped discrimination. The white citizens and city government of Williamsburg would not have pressured these business owners either, because black and white businesses remained divided and the government was all-white.⁷¹ Therefore, while Humelsine could have been perturbed by the discrimination Vorhies reported, there were few active efforts on behalf of anyone in the town of Williamsburg or in the management of Colonial Williamsburg in confronting racial discrimination; there was no building anti-racism into business policy or addressing this through educational programming.

⁶⁹ Ellis, 240.

⁷⁰ Ellis, 240.

⁷¹ Ellis, 241.

In the fall of 1974, Colonial Williamsburg employees began to unionize.⁷² The Foundation did not like this and tried to dissuade workers from joining in whatever way they could. In her interview with the Williamsburg Documentary Project, Edith Heard, a long time employee of Colonial Williamsburg and one of the first to organize the unions, reflects back on how all of the televisions were removed from the employee break room after the unions came about.⁷³ Heard, who was an outspoken leader of those trying to unionize, was personally attacked by Colonial Williamsburg in the struggle against the unions. A year after the union presidential elections took place, Heard was fired from Colonial Williamsburg due to a supposed, “reduction of staff.”⁷⁴ This meant much more than losing her job. Heard, along with her six children, were living in a house owned by the Foundation. Upon being let go from Colonial Williamsburg she was given a 30-day eviction notice.⁷⁵ Heard’s ex-husband still worked for the Foundation and could theoretically have paid for the rent—which for a white family in the same situation, had allowed for the ex-wife to remain in a Foundation-owned property.⁷⁶ Facing the horrifying reality of losing her house, alongside her job, Heard hired a lawyer and sued Colonial Williamsburg on the grounds of unlawful termination.⁷⁷ Only then did the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation settle with Heard outside of court, paying her a sizable sum for malpractice and allowing her to remain in the house.⁷⁸

⁷² Edith Heard, Interview, Williamsburg, VA, April 22, 2015.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

Colonial Williamsburg's treatment of Edith Heard highlights a record of racial discrimination and employee malpractice, as well as illuminating exactly how much control Colonial Williamsburg had over its employees. While Heard won a significant settlement, everyone in the union would have known of her termination and threat of eviction due to how vocal Heard was of Colonial Williamsburg's wrongful treatment. This action arguably served a performative function, providing tangible evidence for the employees of Colonial Williamsburg, that might stop them from accessing their right to unionize and receive better benefits. The unions still had a contentious relationship with Colonial Williamsburg when Eric Gable and Richard Handler did their research in the early to mid 1990s, suggesting that Colonial Williamsburg's extra-control over their employees and the ways in which they handled the employees who had spoken against them (like Edith Heard), still managed to have an effect on whether workers decided to unionize or not.

Employee malpractice continues within Colonial Williamsburg because the Foundation dominates the workforce in the town. Their only competitors are the College of William and Mary, which has had its own contentious relationship with the unions, and the Anheuser-Busch brewery, which has always offered better pay to employees but is a thirty minute commute from the center of Williamsburg.⁷⁹ Eric Gable and Richard

⁷⁹ American Civil Liberties Union of Virginia, "William & Mary Gives Equal Treatment to Labor Union," October 25, 2002, accessed April 21, 2016: <https://acluva.org/1790/william-mary-gives-equal-treatment-to-labor-union/>; According to Google Maps, the distance between Highland Park and the Anheuser-Busch headquarters is 6.1 miles, which is estimated as being an eleven minute commute via car, without traffic. There is a bus that runs every half hour between the Williamsburg Transportation Center, which is an estimated seven minute walk from Highland Park, to the "Pocahontas Trail + Busch Gardens" stop off of the Grey line, which is a six minute walk from the Anheuser-Busch headquarters. Both the walks between stops are advised to, "Use

Handler's book *The New History in an Old Museum: Creating the Past at Colonial Williamsburg*, examined the ways in which the Foundation's poor treatment towards of its African American workers can be seen systematically. They found that

African American men and women, and white men and women, in working class jobs, tend to stay in the same or similar jobs throughout their careers, with promotions being narrowly circumscribed within work domains like restaurants or stockrooms. A black woman, for example, worked in the dining room of the Williamsburg Lodge for 25 years; a black man "spent the past 25 years working as a kitchen helper, bus boy, houseman, gardener, waiter, and utility man."⁸⁰

Gable and Handler's research demonstrates the limitations the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation gives to its service employees. Colonial Williamsburg's continuing inferior treatment of its working class demonstrates the divide between management and the service workers, the foundations of which began with the unequal treatment of African American employees during segregation. This divide was perpetuated as a result of Colonial Williamsburg's lack of anti-racist business incentives and employer practices, which allowed for a stigma to be placed on the Foundation's working class that drew an association between position held and workers' rights.

Yet according to Edith Heard, the management at Colonial Williamsburg was not always this way. In her interview, Heard attributed the majority of problems specifically to the year 1974, which was when Colonial Williamsburg brought in a non-local Vice President, Sebastian D'Amelio.⁸¹ D'Amelio brought with him the requirement that employees in managerial positions had to hold college degrees. For many African

caution," because they, "may involve errors or sections not suited for walking." Thus, the ease and safety of the commute to Colonial Williamsburg, in comparison to the expensive and dangerous commute to the Anheuser-Busch brewery, compels many to continue working for the Foundation, even though it does not pay as well or give out as good of benefits.

⁸⁰ Gable and Handler, 138-139.

⁸¹ Edith Heard, Interview, Williamsburg, VA, April 22, 2015.

Americans who had been in managerial positions up to then, this resulted in demotions or being put into new positions with inflated and meaningless titles.⁸² After this, according to Heard and supported by the research conducted by Gable and Handler, the amount of African Americans in managerial positions became infrequent at best.

Colonial Williamsburg's move from complacent participant in Williamsburg's racism throughout the 1920s to 1960s, to being an active participant in discriminating against its black workers and disregarding the requests of black visitors by the mid 1970s demonstrates the pervasiveness the local southern agenda of certain employees, like Vernon Geddy and John D. Green, had on the Foundation's internal hiring systems and politics. Before John D. Rockefeller Jr. died in 1960, Colonial Williamsburg's primary participation in discrimination was either a result of state-sanctioned segregation or was exercised through the practice of local-born Foundation employees and government. While the Foundation did not formally practice equality, John D. Rockefeller Jr. and his wife Abby Aldrich donated over \$50,000 to build Bruton Heights and helped to build houses that still stand today.⁸³ However, John D. Rockefeller Jr. fostered the racism in the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation by allowing men such as Vernon Geddy and John D. Green to continually segregate the Foundation.

John D. Rockefeller Jr. helped with the board of Colonial Williamsburg and was, upon his death in 1960, succeeded by his son, John D. Rockefeller III.⁸⁴ While Rockefeller Jr. had announced his retirement in 1939, it was not until 1949 that he

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Rowe, 34.

⁸⁴ Greenspan, 12.

handed the majority of his affairs to his son, John D. Rockefeller III.⁸⁵ Rockefeller Jr. strongly contributed to Colonial Williamsburg's efforts throughout the rest of life, though, seeing in that his last six living years, "He refused to allocate funds for elaborate educational or orientation programs when more work still had to be done to ensure the project's physical completeness."⁸⁶ John D. Rockefeller III changed the history depicted at Colonial Williamsburg from the architectural project of his father, into the depiction of the "American ideals" discussed in the beginning of this chapter.⁸⁷ By contrast to his father, John D. Rockefeller III spent much of his presidency of the Board of Trustees focusing on the educational aspects of the site rather than the internal structure, which helped contribute and accelerated the declining treatment of its African American employees. Rockefeller III's term did not last long, however; he resigned from his position in 1952 due to he and his father's inability to agree on the Foundation's mission.⁸⁸ Winthrop Rockefeller, who was the younger brother of John III, succeeded his brother in 1952 and remained president of Board of Trustees until his death in 1973.⁸⁹ Winthrop Rockefeller, marked the final member of the Rockefeller family to be directly associated with Colonial Williamsburg.⁹⁰ During Winthrop Rockefeller's legislation, "The Rockefeller Brothers Fund granted the project \$2 million to help complete these buildings and fulfill JDR Jr.'s dream. Restoration officials hoped that after receiving more than \$70 million in Rockefeller money Colonial Williamsburg would become a

⁸⁵ Greenspan, 87.

⁸⁶ Greenspan, 93.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Greenspan, 102.

⁸⁹ Greenspan, 140.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

self-supporting organization.”⁹¹ With Winthrop’s death, Colonial Williamsburg had to seek financial support from elsewhere—the first time ever in the history of the Foundation that the Rockefellers would not be the primary benefactors.⁹²

With this departure of Rockefeller influence, Colonial Williamsburg’s leadership has been controlled primarily by Southerners.⁹³ The African American Interpretations and Presentations department, which arguably created the most confrontationally violent history found within Colonial Williamsburg (the slave auction and Carter’s Grove plantation) was dissolved in 1997 due to understaffing and the interpreters’ dissatisfaction on behalf of their treatment by Colonial Williamsburg.⁹⁴ In 2016, Colonial Williamsburg made cuts to longstanding programs such as its butchering reenactment and has suspended all January programming for the first time in its history.⁹⁵ The Foundation has undoubtedly changed its direction since its inception in 1926 from the architectural project of John D. Rockefeller Jr. to the maintained tourist economic force that it is today. There is no promise of its continuation, which is a foreboding possibility seeing that it employs 1,900 full time employees and 1,250 part time employees annually.⁹⁶ Without

⁹¹ Greenspan, 134.

⁹² Donald J Gonzales, “Rockefellers Made Williamsburg Famous,” *Daily Press*, September 29, 1991, accessed April 22, 2016: http://articles.dailypress.com/1991-09-29/news/9110010190_1_colonial-williamsburg-winthrop-rockefeller-bruton-parish-church.

⁹³ Greenspan, 140.

⁹⁴ Greenspan, 169.

⁹⁵ Meredith Savage, “Revive Accurate Historical Reenactments!” Created April 24, 2016, accessed April 24, 2016: http://www.thepetitionsite.com/436/623/869/revive-accurate-historical-reenactments/?taf_id=24497025&cid=fb_na#; Steve Vaughan, “Colonial Williamsburg will hit pause in January,” *Virginia Gazette*, September 22, 2015, accessed May 1, 2016: <http://www.vagazette.com/news/va-vg-cw-hibernate-jan-0921-story.html>.

⁹⁶ Steve Vaughan, “Colonial Williamsburg will hit pause in January,” *Virginia Gazette*, September 22, 2015, accessed May 1, 2016: <http://www.vagazette.com/news/va-vg-cw-hibernate-jan-0921-story.html>.

Colonial Williamsburg the town of Williamsburg would lose a majority of its economic input and security and with no evident successor in mind, losing Colonial Williamsburg would result in a catastrophic hit on the town.

Conclusion: The Quest For Memory is the Search for One's History

Pierre Nora writes about confronting new (and violent) knowledge about one's home as, "Returning across the threshold of one's natal home, one finds oneself in the old abode, now uninhabited and practically unrecognizable—with the same family heirlooms, but under another life."¹ With this project I have crossed this threshold, and the image I once had of Williamsburg is indeed unrecognizable. After having completed this project, I interpret *The New York Times* article about Colonial Williamsburg's slave auction completely anew. Discovering Colonial Williamsburg's treatment of its black workers, in combination with the Foundation's involvement with black housing and education, I now see Colonial Williamsburg as a neo-plantation.² The black community of Williamsburg has been made systematically reliant on the Foundation, explaining the bricklayer's fear of retribution.³ Christy S. Coleman's relationship to the Foundation becomes complicated, too. Now her statement of, "...Colonial Williamsburg has become that second home to me," embodies the systemized reliance the black community has been made to have on the Foundation.⁴ Coleman's entire life up to that point had been shaped by the Foundation; her father worked for the Foundation during her childhood, she had attended Bruton Heights, and now she worked for Colonial Williamsburg in adulthood.

¹ Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," *Representation*, No. 26, Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory, 1989 (pages 7-24), p. 18.

² Neo-plantations are defined by Ingolf Vogeler as being, "the remaining black workers are concentrated on the main roads, close to the farms on which they work," and, "loosely-defined nucleated settlements have emerged that recall antebellum plantation villages." Applying this definition to Colonial Williamsburg's literal restoration of antebellum homes and its concentrated villages of black workers, one is able to see how similarly it mimics the neo-plantation. Ingolf Vogeler, "Neo-Plantations," *The University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire*, last update December 3, 1996, accessed May 1, 2016: <http://people.uwec.edu/ivogeler/w188/planta4.htm>.

³ Michael Janofsky, "Mock Auction of Slaves: Education or Outrage?" *The New York Times*, October 8, 1994, accessed April 25, 2016: <http://www.nytimes.com/1994/10/08/us/mock-auction-of-slaves-education-or-outrage.html>.

⁴ Ibid.

When I began this project in the spring of 2015, I intended to evaluate the way Colonial Williamsburg depicts history. Originally, I wanted to argue that Colonial Williamsburg's attempts at depicting the black colonial experience--the slave auction being one of these attempts--was a romanticized, and in turn harmful, depiction. I intended to use Michel Rolph Trouillot's notion, "...the production of historical narratives involves the uneven contribution of competing groups and individuals who have unequal access to the means for such a production," as a framework for critiquing the work done by Colonial Williamsburg in depicting the tidewater, Virginia slave experience.⁵ However, as I began researching the creation of the Foundation I realized there was another "uneven contribution" of narratives within the history of Colonial Williamsburg. This realization led to the project that exists today.

As I said in the Introduction my aim is to show that because the commemoration of history is a process of selection subject to power, it often excludes narratives that challenge the legitimacy and intentions of those who are in power and creating the commemorations. The African American community of Williamsburg has a narrative that challenges the legitimacy of Colonial Williamsburg's authority, because it is a narrative involving forced relocation, segregation, poor working environments, and belittlement. However, Colonial Williamsburg still maintains its authority over the black community through its effective control over the town, allowing for the continuation of separating the black community's narrative from the narrative of the Foundation. It is my hope that the information on Colonial Williamsburg and the African American community put before you in this project has demonstrated the relationship between power and history.

⁵ Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past*, (Massachusetts: Beacon Press, 1995), p. xix.

Having crossed this threshold of my natal home, I find myself in the unrecognizable new abode. This new abode contains a deep uncertainty over the future of Colonial Williamsburg; visitor rates have been falling and the newest president of the Foundation, Mitchell Reiss, has been turning Colonial Williamsburg's programming into fantastic fictional stories as an attempt to reinstate the number of visitors (he has made a program about historical zombies coming back to life, I kid you not).⁶ Now knowing what I do about Colonial Williamsburg I fear the consequences of the eminent closing of the restoration--thousands of people will lose their jobs and the entire economy of Williamsburg will be at risk of collapse. I also understand now, in this new abode, that there is a difference between forgetting history and the systematic removal of history; the black community of Williamsburg's history has not been forgotten, it has been given less significance by the Foundation. The importance of this difference is that, according to Pierre Nora, once history is forgotten it cannot be known again while when history is systematically removed it can be rediscovered.⁷ This project has allowed me to discover the history of the creation of Colonial Williamsburg and I will not forget.

⁶ Yana Samberg, "Blackbeard meets zombies in Colonial Williamsburg," *Virginia Pilot*, October 30, 2015, accessed May 1, 2016: <http://hamptonroads.com/entertainment/766125/2015/10/blackbeard-meets-zombies-colonial-williamsburg>

⁷ Pierre Nora brings forth the idea of a "will to remember" in how history is portrayed. This can be seen when he writes, "*Lieux de mémoire* are created by a play of memory and history, an interaction of two factors that results in their reciprocal overdetermination. To begin with, there must be a will to remember. If we were to abandon this criterion, we would quickly drift into admitting virtually everything as worthy of remembrance" (Pierre Nora, 8). Here Pierre Nora explains that we naturally have to forget certain memories of our history in order to give significance to the memories that remain. Thus, forgetting in regards to commemorating history is an irreversible action. However, the significance of memories are subject to change at any given moment.

Bibliography

Texts Found in Citations

“A Brief History of Bruton Parish Church,” last modified June 11, 2009. Accessed April 22, 2016:

<http://www.brutonparish.org/article140827.htm>

“A Key to Marker Numbers.” filed under Williamsburg. Virginia Historical Society Archive. Richmond, Virginia. Accessed January 2016.

Blight, David. *Race and Reunion*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2001.

Brown, Thomas J. *Reconstruction: New Perspectives on Postbellum America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Burnham, Philip. “The Disappearing Black Community of Williamsburg.” *The Voice Newspaper*. Richmond, Virginia: 2012.

Burns, Helen. “Colonial Williamsburg.” *The Living Age*, May 1940.

Boyd, Bentley. “Cw Black History Director Wants to Broaden Scope.” *Daily Press* September 14, 1994. Accessed April 30, 2016: http://articles.dailypress.com/1994-09-14/news/9409140034_1_black-history-christy-coleman-bruton-high-school.

Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

Caldwell, B.C. “The Work of the Jeanes and Slater Funds.” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 49: 1913.

Campbell, Colin G. “Message from the President” Williamsburg, Virginia: *Colonial Williamsburg Journal*, 2010. Accessed October 2016: <http://www.history.org/foundation/journal/autumn10/president.cfm?showSite=mobile-regular>.

Carmines, Will. *From Magruder to Highland Park: The History of an African-American Community*. Honor’s Thesis, College of William and Mary, 2010.

Carroll, Fred. “Death By Lynch Mob Was Tragic Fact In Area.” *Daily Press*, June 17, 2005. Accessed March 2016: http://articles.dailypress.com/2005-06-17/news/0506170014_1_lynchings-mob-black-man.

Carson, Cary. “Colonial Williamsburg and the Practice of Interpretive Planning in American History Museums.” *The Public Historian*, Vol. 20: 1998. 11-51. Accessed on November, 2015. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3379773>

Chorley, Kenneth. *Colonial Williamsburg: The First Twenty-Five Years, A Report by the President*. Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1951.

City of Williamsburg Planning Dept. *City of Williamsburg Design and Review Guidelines—Adopted By City Council On March 9, 2006*. Williamsburg, Virginia: City of Williamsburg Planning Dept., 2006.

- Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. "Pre-Restoration Williamsburg as Recalled by Lydia B. Gardner From 1912 to..." John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library Special Collections, Williamsburg, Virginia. Accessed December 2015.
- "Colonial Williamsburg Foundation--Company Profile, Information, Business Description, History, Background Information on Colonial Williamsburg Foundation," *Reference fo Business*, last modification date unknown, accessed April 2016:
<http://www.referenceforbusiness.com/history2/19/Colonial-Williamsburg-Foundation.html>.
- Colonial Williamsburg Foundation website, "Colonial Williamsburg Builds A Campus For Its 'University Without Walls'." last modification date unknown. Accessed March 2016:
<http://www.history.org/foundation/general/bhsec.cfm>.
- Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, "Court," accessed March 2016:
<https://www.history.org/almanack/places/hb/hbcourt.cfm>.
- Colonial Williamsburg Foundation website, "Magazine," accessed March 2016:
<https://www.history.org/almanack/places/hb/hbmag.cfm>.
- Colonial Williamsburg Foundation website. "The history of Colonial Williamsburg." Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, last modification date unknown, accessed October 2016: <http://www.history.org/Foundation/cwhistory.cfm>.
- Colonial Williamsburg News*. 1955. Franklin Street Dormitories Folder. John D. Rockefeller Jr. Special Collections. Williamsburg, Virginia. Accessed March 2016.
- Commonwealth of Virginia. "The State Responds: Massive Resistance." Accessed April 17, 2016:
<http://www.lva.virginia.gov/exhibits/brown/resistance.htm>.
- Ellis, Rex M. "The African-American Community in Williamsburg (1947-1998)." Williamsburg, Virginia: *Williamsburg Traditions*, 2002. Pages 230-245.
- Faulkner, William. *Light in August*. New York: Vintage Books, 1932.
- Gable, Eric and Richard Handler. *The New History in an Old Museum: Creating the Past as Colonial Williamsburg*. North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1997.
- Gonzales, Donald J. "Rockefellers Made Williamsburg Famous." *Daily Press*, September 29, 1991. Accessed April 22, 2016: http://articles.dailypress.com/1991-09-29/news/9110010190_1_colonial-williamsburg-winthrop-rockefeller-bruton-parish-church.
- Green, Victor H. (editor). *The Negro Travelers' Green Book*. New York: Victor H. Green & Co., 1956.
- Greenspan, Anders. *Creating Colonial Williamsburg*. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institute Press, 2002.
- Gulick, Luther Halsey. *Modern government in a colonial city; a survey of the city government and finances of Williamsburg, Virginia*. New York: J. Cape and H. Smith, 1932.

- Hart, Sophia. "The Best Is Not Too Good For You." Williamsburg, Virginia: *Colonial Williamsburg Journal* 2000-2001. Accessed April 23, 2016: http://www.history.org/foundation/journal/Winter00_01/best.cfm?showSite=mobile-regular.
- Hart, Harris. *Annual Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the Commonwealth of Virginia*, Vol. VI, No.2, October 1923. Google Books Edition.
- Hoke, Robert. "Press Bureau." July 12, 1955. Franklin Street Dormitories Folder. John D. Rockefeller Jr. Special Collections. Williamsburg, Virginia. Accessed March 2016.
- Humelsine, Carlisle. *Recollections of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. in Williamsburg 1926-1960*. Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg, 1985.
- John F. Slater Fund. *Organization of the Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund for the Education of Freedmen*. John Murphy and Co., Baltimore: 1882. Accessed April 2016: <https://archive.org/details/organizationoftr00john>.
- Latimer, James. "People Living at Magruder Tell of Their Grievances About Navy Land Seizures." *Richmond Times Dispatch*, November 29, 1942.
- Mazzari, Louis W. "True Stories: The Actual History of Faulkner's Imaginary South." *Humanities and Social Sciences online* (January 2002). Accessed April 21, 2016: <http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=5821>.
- McKinnon, Ryan. "Former Students and teachers want Rawls Byrd elementary renamed." *The Virginia Gazette*, March 29, 2016. Accessed April 2016: <http://www.vagazette.com/news/va-vg-rawls-byrd-0326-20160329-story.html>
- "Municipal Elections." *National League of Cities*, last modification date unknown. Accessed April 2016: <http://www.nlc.org/build-skills-and-networks/resources/cities-101/city-officials/municipal-elections>.
- Nicholls, Michael L. *Aspects of the African American Experience in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg and Norfolk*. Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1990.
- Oxrieder, Julia Woodbridge. *Rich, Black, and Southern: The Harris Family of Williamsburg (and Boston)*. Minoa Publications, Minoa, New York: 1998.
- Park, Edwards. "History of the Restoration: 'My Dreams and My Hope'." Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, publishing date unknown. Accessed October 2016: <https://www.history.org/Foundation/general/introhis.cfm>
- President Truman's Committee on Civil Rights. *To Secure These Rights: The Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights*. Executive Order 9808, December 5, 1946. Accessed April 16, 2016: <http://www.trumanlibrary.org/civilrights/srights1.htm>.
- Proposed Educational Program for the Occupational and Social Needs of Negroes in the Williamsburg Area*, May 13, 1938. Found in Appendix of Rowe. Accessed April 2016: <http://research.history.org/DigitalLibrary/View/index.cfm?doc=ResearchReports%5CRR0373.xml#n70>.

- Reklaitis, Victoria. "W.a.r. Goodwin: Father of Colonial Restoration Effort." *Daily Press*, August 20, 2006. Accessed April 20, 2016: http://articles.dailypress.com/2006-08-20/news/0608200001_1_goodwin-colonial-williamsburg-williamsburg-s-bruton-parish-church.
- Richmond Times Dispatch* (Richmond, VA). "Henry Warren for Highway Robbery, Under Arrest." June 18, 1902, accessed April 20, 2016: <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85038614/1902-06-18/ed-1/seq-7/#date1=1900&index=1&rows=20&words=Court+Police+Williamsburg&searchType=basic&sequence=0&state=Virginia&date2=1907&proxtext=police+court+williamsburg&y=0&x=0&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=1>.
- Richmond Times Dispatch* (Richmond, VA). "In Police Court." September 27, 1906. Accessed April 20, 2016: <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn85038615/1906-09-27/ed-1/seq-12/#date1=1900&index=2&rows=20&words=Court+Police&searchType=basic&sequence=0&state=Virginia&date2=1907&proxtext=police+court&y=0&x=0&dateFilterType=yearRange&page=1>.
- Rowe, Linda. "A History of Black Education and Bruton Heights School, Williamsburg, Virginia." Williamsburg Virginia: *Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library Research Report Series*, 0373, 1997.
- Samberg, Yana. "Blackbeard meets zombies in Colonial Williamsburg." *Virginia Pilot*, October 30, 2015. Accessed May 1, 2016: <http://hamptonroads.com/entertainment/766125/2015/10/blackbeard-meets-zombies-colonial-williamsburg>.
- Sashin, Daphne. "Williamsburg City Council: Three Win Posts." *Daily Press*, May 5, 2004. Accessed March 2016: http://articles.dailypress.com/2004-05-05/news/0405050232_1_votes-william-and-mary-tuesday-s-election.
- Savage, Meredith. "Revive Accurate Historical Reenactments!" Created April 24, 2016. Accessed April 24, 2016: http://www.thepetitionsite.com/436/623/869/revive-accurate-historical-reenactments/?taf_id=24497025&cid=fb_na#
- "Statistics on Slavery." Weber State University, last modification date unknown. Accessed April 2016: http://faculty.weber.edu/kmackay/statistics_on_slavery.htm.
- Suri, Jeremi. *Postwar Politics and the Cold War*. The Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History, accessed April 15, 2015: <https://www.gilderlehrman.org/history-by-era/postwar-politics-and-origins-cold-war/essays/postwar-politics-and-cold-war>.
- "The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation." *Slavery and Remembrance: A Guide to Sites, Museums, and Memories*, last modification date unknown. Accessed April 2016: <http://slaveryandremembrance.org/partners/partner/?id=P0000>.
- Theobald, Mary Miley. "African American and the Restoration of Williamsburg." *Colonial Williamsburg Journal*, Williamsburg, Virginia: Summer 2014. Accessed March 2016: <http://history.org/foundation/journal/summer14/restoration.cfm>.

- Trouillot, Michel-Rolph. *Silencing The Past*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1995.
- Vaughan, Steve. "Colonial Williamsburg will hit pause in January." *Virginia Gazette*, September 22, 2015. Accessed May 1, 2016: <http://www.vagazette.com/news/va-vg-cw-hibernate-jan-0921-story.html>.
- Vick, Kara. "Haulman, Houghland, Tabb: Williamsburg to Have Black Councilman". *Daily Press*. May 3, 2000, accessed March 2016: http://articles.dailypress.com/2000-05-03/news/0005030084_1_tabb-top-three-vote-third-highest-vote-getter
- Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg, VA). "Police Court." September 16, 1905. College of William & Mary Special Collections, Acc. No. 1998-39, addition to 1990.46. Accessed Spring 2016.
- Virginia Historical Society. "Civil Rights Movement in Virginia: Brown I and Brown II." Accessed April 16, 2016: <http://www.vahistorical.org/collections-and-resources/virginia-history-explorer/civil-rights-movement-virginia/brown-i-and-brown>.
- Virginia Historical Society. "Civil Rights Movement in Virginia: Massive Resistance." Accessed April 17, 2016: <http://www.vahistorical.org/collections-and-resources/virginia-history-explorer/civil-rights-movement-virginia/massive>.
- Virginia State Chamber of Commerce. "Virginia Rubs Alladin's Lamp." *Virginia*, Vol. 3 No. 3, 1928.
- Vogeler, Ingolf. "Neo-Plantations." *The University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire*, last update December 3, 1996. Accessed May 1, 2016: <http://people.uwec.edu/ivogeler/w188/planta4.htm>.
- Williams, Christina. "What's the best driving route from New York to Florida?" June 3, 2015. Accessed April 2016: <http://blog.upack.com/posts/what%E2%80%99s-the-best-driving-route-from-new-york-to-florida>.
- Wright, Quovadis. "Recalling how the past paved the way for the present." *Virginia Gazette*, February 13, 2016. Accessed March 2016: <http://www.vagazette.com/news/va-vg-edit-quovadis-0213-20160213-story.html>.
- Zimmerman, Nicolas. "Historic Black Home Area Is Reborn." *Daily Press*, June 27, 2008. Accessed March 2016: http://articles.dailypress.com/2008-06-27/news/0806260288_1_housing-authority-fine-chef-housing-and-community-development.
- Zullo, Robert. "The future of history: New direction for Colonial Williamsburg met with praise, backlash." *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, March 5, 2016. Accessed April 2016: http://m.richmond.com/news/virginia/article_c18ecc38-8e4d-5295-8832-dcc57c7f5d12.html?mode=jqm.

Images

- "African American students from Williamsburg and two counties moved into segregated Bruton Heights School." Exact date unknown. John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library, Special Collections. Accessed April 20, 2016: <http://history.org/foundation/journal/summer14/restoration.cfm?showSite=mobile>.

Albert W. Durant. "Matthew Whaley Seventh Grade Class." *John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation*. Accessed April 18, 2016: <https://rocklib.omeka.net/items/show/1231>.

Albert W. Durant. "Group Portrait of Chauffeurs." *John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation*. Accessed April 7, 2016: <https://rocklib.omeka.net/items/show/1238>.

Albert W. Durant. "John D. Rockefeller Jr.'s Physician with Coach Driver." *John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation*. Accessed April 7, 2016, <https://rocklib.omeka.net/items/show/1249>.

Photo of Bruton Heights School. Exact date unknown. John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library, Special Collections. Accessed April 20, 2016: <http://history.org/foundation/journal/summer14/restoration.cfm?showSite=mobile>.

"The blacks only James City County Training School, tore down and replaced by Bruton Heights School." Exact date unknown. John D. Rockefeller Jr. Library, Special Collections. Accessed April 20, 2016: <http://history.org/foundation/journal/summer14/restoration.cfm?showSite=mobile>.

"City Plan of Williamsburg." Commissioned in 1929. John D. Rockefeller Library Special Collections. Accessed January 2016.

Interviews

Baker, Edna. Interview. Williamsburg, VA. March 31, 2005.

Braxton, Robert. Interview. Williamsburg, VA. April 3, 2008.

Heard, Edith. Interview. Williamsburg, VA. April 22, 2015.

Sources Not Cited

Chernow, Ron. *Titan*. New York: Random House, 1998.

Clifford, James. *The Predicament of Culture*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1988.

Deloria, Philip J. *Indians in Unexpected Places*. Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2004.

Gable, Eric and Richard Handler. "Persons of Stature and the Passing Parade: Egalitarian Dilemmas at Monticello and Colonial Williamsburg." *Museum Anthropology* Vol. 29 (2006): 5-19.

Karp, Ivan. "Collecting, Exhibiting, and Interpreting: Museums as Mediators and Midwives of Meaning." *Museum Anthropology* Vol. 37 (2014): 51-65. Accessed on October 2015. DOI: 10.1111/muan.12043

Landsberg, Alison. *Prosthetic Memory*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.

Martin, Zora. "Colonial Williamsburg: A Black Perspective." *Roundtable Reports*, 1973. Accessed October 2015: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40478194>.

Rothman, Joshua. *Flush Times and Fever Dreams: A Story of Capitalism and Slavery in the Age of Jackson*. Georgia: The University of Georgia Press, 2012.

Smallwood, Stephanie. *Saltwater Slavery*. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2007.