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**ARCHAEOLOGY, ARCHITECTURE, AND ALEXANDER SPOTSWOOD:
REDEFINING THE GEORGIAN WORLDVIEW AT THE
ENCHANTED CASTLE, GERMANNA,
ORANGE COUNTY, VIRGINIA**

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ORANGE COUNTY, VIRGINIA**

by

Kerri Saige Barile, M.A., B.A.

Dissertation

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the University of Texas at Austin
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of the Requirements
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Doctor of Philosophy

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One of the major concerns surrounding the use of the Georgian Worldview has been the oversight of the concept of agency within elite materiality. This dissertation examines the colonial mansion of Lieutenant Governor Alexander Spotswood at Germanna, colloquially known as the Enchanted Castle. The home was built in 1718 and destroyed by fire in the 1750s. It is believed to be one of the first privately-owned colonial mansions to be constructed in the Georgian style. Through a detailed analysis of the archaeology and architecture of the mansion remains, this work illustrates that the tenants of Georgian ideology—individuality, control, and balance—were achieved not solely through the use of rigid symmetry in appearance and style, but through the construction process itself.

The Enchanted Castle, built into the side of a knoll on the edge of the Virginia frontier, was capacious, elaborately designed, and ornately decorated. By separating himself from the native-born elites, both physically and stylistically, Spotswood

showcased his superior knowledge on English style and materiality and expressed himself as an individual. The complex, a nine part Palladian plan, was constructed using a unique combination of locally-procured materials: brick, schist, slate, sandstone, timber, and iron for nails. Although the building was not completely symmetrical, Spotswood designed a home that had the potential for balance, but symmetry and control were presented in the construction techniques and stylistic details. The construction methods he used at Germanna, as well as the design and style of the numerous other building projects he directed in the colony, helped to usher in the Georgian style that became so prevalent throughout the colony in the eighteenth century.

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CHAPTER 1

THE ENCHANTMENT OF SPOTSWOOD'S CASTLE: THE ARCHAEOLOGY AND ARCHITECTURE OF EARLY EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY VIRGINIA

Patior ut potiar [I endure that I may secure]
-Spotswood family motto

Within the past 100 years, the architectural heritage of Virginia has been the subject of a plethora of inquiries. Studies have come out of many academic disciplines, including architectural history, landscape studies, art history, women's studies, cultural geography, anthropology, and archaeology. Whereas most of the early research concentrated on only the homes of wealthy planters (e.g., Billings 1994:86-89; Waterman 1946; Wright 1964), a dramatic change in scope has occurred within the past 30 years. Instead of bounded studies that concentrate on the standing mansions of wealthy white men, recent research includes surveys on women, middling farmers, servants, slaves, and artisans, as well as their homes and workplaces (e.g., Carson et al. 1988; Fesler and Franklin 1999; Glassie 1975; Heath 1999; Heath and Bennett 2000; Isaac 1982; Morgan 1975; Neiman 1980; Upton 1986). The research does not necessarily exclude studies of the elite manor homes, but it attempts to incorporate the

immediate architectural landscape within a social setting to conceptualize life in early eighteenth century Virginia (e.g., Deetz 1993; Kelso 1984; Vlach 1993).

Many investigations on eighteenth-century Virginia architecture set up the *us* versus *them* dichotomy between the wealthy male planters and the remainder of the population (Edwards Ingram 1999; Mooney 1991; Neiman 1993; Upton 1980; Wells 1994). The upper echelons are viewed as a nebulous whole who equally embraced the controlled symmetry of the Georgian mindset. It was the elite who defined social hierarchy in the New World. However, this idea completely ignores agency and developing self-awareness of non-elite groups and moreover, variations and power struggles within the upper echelons of society themselves.

There are studies that examine individuality and agency within slave populations as well as artisans and indentured servants (Otto 1984; Sanford 1994), but rarely among the planting elite. Like the other 99 percent of the population, the top of the proverbial social pyramid never acted as a homogenous, balanced unit. Most who were considered members of the uppermost level of society did indeed note internal strife, and many sought to distinguish themselves from their peers through the accumulation of additional wealth, control of vast stretches of land, the possession of unique or valuable material items, and mostly their homes. “Of all things that Virginia’s big men said and did in the first half of the eighteenth century, few things are more symbolic of their time than their mansions” (Hudgins 1984:201).

This dissertation will focus on the archaeological and architectural remains of the early eighteenth-century mansion home of Lieutenant Governor Alexander

Spotswood. During his Governorship, Spotswood pushed the frontier boundaries to the Blue Ridge with the establishment of Fort Christianna and Fort Germanna and his Knights of the Golden Horseshoe expedition, formed two new counties (one of which he named for himself, Spotsylvania), founded several towns including one at Germanna, and improved Native American relations. He had done his best as an Englishman to further the cause of the crown. By his death in 1740, he had built himself an empire, comprising a large and elaborate mansion at his Germanna property, tens of thousands of acres of land, and a prolific iron and shipping business at Massaponax, all achieved through his business cunning and the hard work of his many slaves and servants.

Spotswood made deliberate choices throughout his career to gain greater social control, and his home at Germanna directly reflects these decisions. Through an analysis of building technology, namely site setting and material selection, imbibed with archival and historical research on Spotswood and his contemporaries, this work will reexamine how researchers define the Georgian Worldview and reemphasize the importance of agency and individuality within studies on the architectural heritage of eighteenth century Virginia.

SPOTSWOOD AND HIS ENCHANTED CASTLE AT GERMANN

The archaeological remains of Governor Spotswood's mansion (44OR3) and the adjacent town of Germanna are located between Fredericksburg and Culpeper, just north of Route 3/Plank Road, within the northeastern corner of Orange County, Virginia

(Figure 1.1). The site is situated on a knoll overlooking the Rapidan River and is bounded on the north and west by the Rapidan and on the east and south by privately owned, developed land. When William Byrd II visited Spotswood at his home in 1732, he referred to the mansion as Spotswood's "Enchanted Castle" (Byrd 1966), and this name has pervaded through history to become the moniker most often attached to the home, although Spotswood likely referred to it simply as Germanna.

The Enchanted Castle site, first recorded in the late 1960s, is a unique location where archaeologists, architectural historians, and technological historians can work together to interpret the multiple influences on the construction of the manor house and how these could reflect greater social conditions of early eighteenth-century Virginia. Although there have been several episodes of archaeological fieldwork, there has not been a large-scale analysis of architectural or archaeological remains uncovered at the site.

With this in mind, this dissertation will examine the place of agency within the Georgian Mindset through two methods. First, I present a synopsis of archaeology and historical research completed on the mansion site, including a history of Spotswood and Germanna, a description of previous archaeology at the site, and a synthesis of site chronology based on the excavations. This will be followed by the first analysis of material remains from the site. In this case, I will look at the architectural materials to identify how the Enchanted Castle complex was built, when it was built, and what it might have looked like. I will include an examination of the features uncovered during

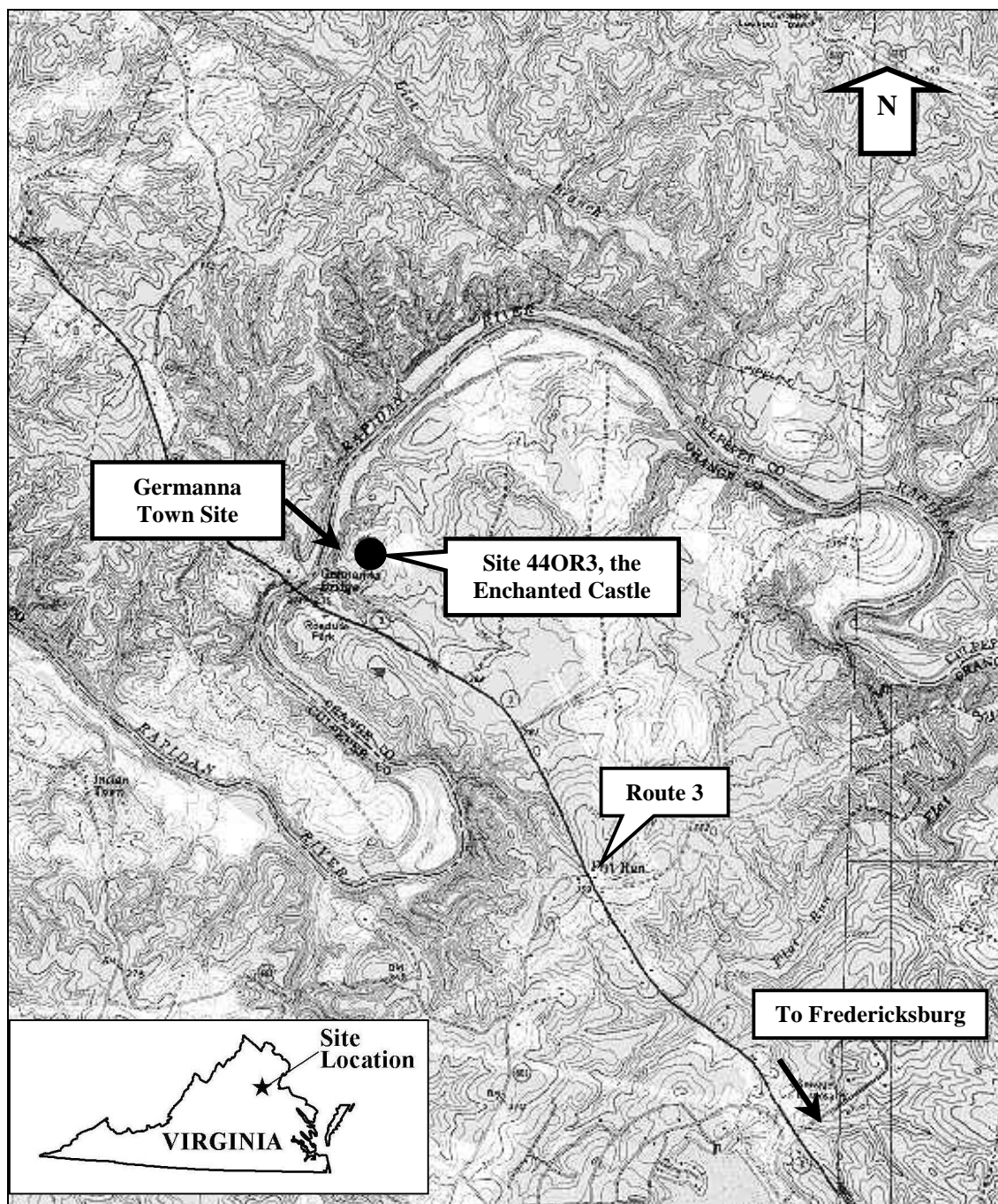


Figure 1.1 Location Map of the Enchanted Castle and town of Germanna; Germanna Bridge Quadrangle. Orange County, Virginia.

the excavations and the quantity and distribution of wood, brick, stone (slate, schist, and sandstone), mortar (mud and white), plaster (mud and white), nails, and window glass.

Second, I compare the site to other early eighteenth-century Virginia mansions to place the home within the context of architectural development in the colony. Whereas many scholars have examined eighteenth-century Virginia plantations using a diachronic analysis, where one plantation is examined over a period of time to observe intra-plantation relationships and landscape alterations (e.g., Deetz 1993; Heath 1999; Kelso 1984; Otto 1984; Yentsch 1994), the Enchanted Castle will be compared to other plantations to look at general construction methodologies and social roles during this period. More important, it will present the mansion as a representation of the characteristics of its time and the man who lived there. The Enchanted Castle was built of local stone and brick with what may have been a one-of-a-kind floor plan (Sanford 1990a:3), thus showing Spotswood's desire to act as an individual.

Spotswood built the home when he was the colonial figurehead for the English crown. The Spottiswoode's, his ancestors, were one of the most historically significant families in Scotland, and Alexander was raised and educated in England. Throughout his life, he lived under the Spotswood family motto *Patior ut potiar* [I endure that I may secure]. Spotswood desired to express his individuality from several members of the gentry, whom he considered disreputable sorts, and it was "the misfortune that the bulk of the Electors of Assembly Men consists of the meaner sort of People...who are not restrain'd by any Principles of Truth or Hon'r..." (Spotswood 1885:134). His mansion reflects his desire to differentiate himself from this group and all other Virginians and

functioned as a reminder of his knowledge on and control of environmental conditions throughout the area.

MINDSETS AND MATERIALITY: THEORIES ON THE GEORGIAN WORLDVIEW AND TECHNOLOGICAL CHOICE

The Georgian style, represented by symmetry and orderliness, was one of the ways that the native gentry and the English-born elite portrayed their power. The style dominated English materiality in the eighteenth century, from landscape design to ceramics to architecture. This dissertation will look at the way Spotswood adopted the Georgian Worldview. In particular, Spotswood demonstrated his superior knowledge of English culture through architecture. It is not only the way his buildings looked that showed this, but also the way they were put together. Therefore, this section will not only define the Georgian mindset, but also look at the ways architectural historians, archaeologists, and technological historians break down the construction process to read the social aspects of a building within its landscape.

While the concept of Georgian ideology has been thoroughly examined within historical studies, the application of theory associated with the history of technology has seldom been overtly applied to historical archaeological sites, especially in Virginia. While several scholars have used tectonic ideas within a Georgian framework, few have directly applied theories of environmentalism, determinism, and diffusion process to examine Virginia subsurface remains. This section will highlight several key

technological ideas partially as an attempt to reverse what Barka (1996:18) stated is a key shortfall in recent interpretation of eighteenth-century site materials—the application of new theoretical constructs. The Georgian Worldview, however, is directly related to the concept of hegemony. Therefore, dominance and resistance will briefly be discussed here first to help establish the place of agency within the frameworks of Georgian ideology and tectonic choice.

The Concept of Hegemony

When Spotswood arrived in Williamsburg in 1710, the town was relatively new, but the colony had been established for over 100 years. Several of the families that had originally come over from Europe as indentured servants or artisans were now middling farmers and even elite planters through the acquisition of land and planting of tobacco. The colonists were undergoing something of an “identity crisis” in that they wanted to retain their attained social status in the New World, while contending with the ascribed status of native planter assigned to them by the English. This power play amongst the native born population and their European-born counterparts would continue throughout the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century, when hegemonic relationships would come to a head. Cultures in contact inevitably develop particular social roles and material forms based on both hierarchy and tradition. Moreover, “to accept that power differentials existed in the past or, more explicitly, to accept the presence of inequality and domination in the past means understanding that resistance, as the other half of a dialectical relation of power, did also” (Frazer 1999:5). The colonial Virginia society, as

defined here, included all occupants regardless of societal rank, as they all contributed to the functioning of the colony as a socio-economic unit.

The term 'hegemony' was first used by Antonio Gramsci. As expounded upon in his 'Prison Writings', hegemony was the theory of intellectual, political, economic, and moral authority/leadership of one group or individual over another (Gramsci 1988a). This dominance is often done through force or coercion. Beyond that, however, Gramsci points out that hegemony is dynamic. "The fact of hegemony presupposes that account be taken of the interests and tendencies of the groups over which hegemony is to be exercised" (Gramsci 1988b:211). In other words, power comes in multiple forms and many levels and, moreover, is always characterized by a careful balance between both the dominant and the resistant. As defined by Paynter and McGuire (1992:1), domination is practiced by "those who use structural asymmetries of resources in exercising power", whereas resistance is practiced by "those who develop social and cultural opposition to this exercise".

The power relations among the dominant and resistant in entrepreneurial societies (here, the colony of Virginia) always involve 'alternative narratives', where deeds, words, and material culture take on multiple meanings (Trouillot 1995:29). Historian James Scott (1990) separates these meanings into public and private, or hidden transcripts. A public transcript is "the self-portrait of dominant elites as they would have themselves seen" (Scott 1990:18), which will "provide convincing evidence for the hegemony of dominant values, for the hegemony of dominant discourse" (Scott 1990:4). The hidden transcript, then, is the 'backstage' activities, "those offstage

speeches, gestures, and practices that confirm, contradict, or influence what appears in the public transcript” (Scott 1990:5). In material culture studies, the hidden transcript is often the process of production and construction rather than the exterior envelope of the final product. Therefore, the selection of the method of construction and used materials have multiple meanings. One meaning in the presence of agency at a site, and another is that this process is a direct reflection of cultures in contact, as many groups were often involved in the construction of a mansion.

Many sites in early eighteenth-century Virginia saw numerous cultures interact on a daily basis, which created unique balances of power. At Germanna, for example, the area was first settled as a frontier fort. The first non-Native American inhabitants of the area were Germans and Anglo elites, which created one power dialectic. Once Spotswood established his plantation on the site and developed Germanna as the county seat, the general area was inhabited and visited English, Germans, Native Americans, African Americans, and Virginians.

As many Virginia planters gained wealth and prestige in the second half of the seventeenth century and beginning of the eighteenth century, they began to question their place within the larger social system. They were caught in a hegemonic battle over social eminence and physical manifestations of control between the British crown and themselves. “...The ideals of the planter elite were not ‘natural’ in the sense of being inevitable, or timeless, but were embedded in their own contemporary social and political realities” (Shackel and Little 1994a). This power battle is most obvious in the ways eighteenth-century Virginians lived, as demonstrated through their material

culture. Therefore, the emergence of the material and ideological changes related to the Georgian, post-Renaissance way of life is an ideal arena to explore power differentials in the Virginia colony.

The Georgian Mindset

In the mid-1970s, two books were published that completely altered the way historical archaeologists analyze material culture: Henry Glassie's *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia* (1975) and James Deetz's *In Small Things Forgotten* (originally published in 1977, reprinted in 1996). In his book, Glassie used structuralism to view changing architectural forms in Virginia. Structuralism, as defined by Glassie (1975), is the concept that human thought is organized around globally shared binaries or oppositions. Though individual cultures might arbitrate these binaries differently and their meanings and values will likely change over time, the underlying duality remains the same—culture versus nature. "The physical environment...provides the stage upon which cultural options are sorted out, rejected, accepted and ordered into a particular cultural logic" (Glassie 1975:189).

The ways in which humans manipulate and transform natural materials into objects reflects the rejection of the natural form and the human desire to control the environment (Deetz 1988:227). Rather than the manipulation itself, it is the ideology behind the alteration that speaks to cultural preference. This is especially true in relation to architecture, where bilateral symmetry predominated architectural style in Middle Virginia in the eighteenth century. Even when this symmetry was not

completed, Glassie argues that structural thought is represented in obvious architectural competence, where a set of construction 'rules' are repeated throughout the building, therefore reflecting order and symmetry of process.

Control, Symmetry, and Individualism

James Deetz, influenced by the work of Glassie, began to look at archaeological sites using the concept of structuralism, and in *In Small Things Forgotten*, he details the concept of the Georgian Worldview as it relates to historical material culture. In the United States, the term Georgian represents the eighteenth-century Anglo-American Renaissance, which emulated England's Age of Reason. This period saw the proliferation of scientific ideas in the Western world that resulted in an infusion of balance and order in American materiality through attention to symmetry and mathematical proportions (Deetz 1996:63; Issac 1982:37-38).

According to Deetz (1996:63), the Georgian mindset can be broken down into basic dualities: mechanical versus organic, balanced versus asymmetrical, academic versus vernacular, and individualized versus corporate. Humans achieved control over nature, or the organic, through the alteration of environmental conditions and raw materials. This alteration was conducted in a way to achieve balance across the wild, unkempt landscape. More importantly, it was completed in an attempt to illustrate an individual's power and control of their surroundings. Among the emerging Virginia elite, these concepts pervaded every aspect of material culture, from gravestones to dinnerware to architecture.

Georgian architecture was adopted by both English-born and native wealthy planters for two main reasons: one, many members of the elite group had been to England, where they became aware of this emerging style and when they returned, they had the money to emulate the English style; and two, the mid-eighteenth century saw the proliferation of the availability of architectural pattern books (Deetz 1996:157). This Georgian style was rigidly symmetrical and balanced, from its floor plan to the exterior appearance and into the surrounding landscape. While this idea of control and balance certainly directly affected the physical properties of the colony, the concept of neatness and civility also pervaded the minds of the planting elite. “Over the local social system it cast a unifying cloak, suggesting that Virginians rightfully belonged to a larger world, that theirs was a legitimate order even if a limited one” (Upton 1986:332). This idea helped to hide perceived threats to Virginia gentry's hegemony. These threats came in the physical form of competition between fellow planters, as well as the conceptual threat of the collapse of a way of life they had grown to rely on. Tobacco was a tender and temperamental crop that required constant attention and fresh soil, and the change in labor source from indentured servants to slaves also brought a whole host of unknowns.

Merchant Capitalism and the Consumer Revolution

Although Deetz's definition of the Georgian mindset has influenced the ways in which archaeologists interpret material remains, like most theoretical ideas, it leaves several unanswered questions. The two primary critiques of a direct application of the

mindset are the paucity of ascribed agency within the manufacturing process, especially as it relates to personal choice and spatial organization, and the lack of acknowledgement of a local context. Not only should one examine the overarching stylistic preferences that came across the Atlantic with the Georgian style, but individual choice and local environmental conditions should be included in any study of the eighteenth-century elite (Leone 1988:237). The definition of static binaries, as presented by Deetz and Glassie, was too normative and binding. In addition, some applications of the Georgian model ignore an examination of the chronology of stylistic adaptation. In other words, how rapidly the style is adopted is in direct correlation to the amount of local preference and adapted variation (Pogue 2001:50).

Mark Leone (1988) suggests that we should filter Georgian ideas through a localized examination of merchant capitalism, as the economy of a place directly affects the material culture. “When capitalism is seen not as an economic system but as a culture, it may be possible to avoid violating the coherence of a cognitive and structuralist interpretation of material culture” (Leone 1988:237). The localized context is a better place to examine the spread of Georgian culture because it can be filtered through regionalized economic inequality. The spread of these ideas among unequal factions of a society can reflect how the various groups accepted or resisted the dominant ideology.

Similarly, Dennis Pogue (2001) discussed the movement of the analytical framework to an individualized, localized forum in his suggested use of the Consumer Revolution Model. This model suggests that the transformation of eighteenth-century

society and material culture were directly tied to the significant demographic transition that occurred in the Chesapeake in the late seventeenth century, as native-born colonists became the majority (Carson 1994; Martin 1994). This new population sought to emulate English culture, while at the same time reflecting their control over their own world. While Pogue agrees that the Georgianization and Capitalistic ideas of Deetz and Leone are imperative to archaeological studies, he believes that the Consumer Revolution Model “offers a more convincing causal link with broader socio-demographic development” and “provides an explanatory model amenable to specific regional patterns of development” (Pogue 2001:53).

Spotswood was among the wealthiest people in the Virginia colony, and his financial status even made an impact on his relatives back in Scotland. In 1711, Spotswood's cousin John, who resided in Edinburgh, wrote: "...I must own that I wish you made purchases in Brittain rather than in America. And that as you are the richest branch of the family you may employ your powers to render it illustrious" (Cappon 1952:231). Even before Spotswood began his vast enterprises in north-central Virginia, his wealth was already great enough to warrant comment from his cousin. He therefore likely did not buy into the use of wealth as a status marker amongst the natives. However, money bought goods, and money built mansions. Therefore, it had a direct impact on the decisions made by all elite planters, including a high degree of agency in their architectural projects and in their lives.

Agency and the Antithesis of Symmetry

Throughout the past 25 years, there has been a tendency to force material culture into the symmetrical, ordered Georgian mindset without a complete comprehension of the ideology itself or a nod to colonial agency. To return to Glassie's (1975) notion of control of nature, it is the understanding of the grammar of material production and repetition of the process that is the hallmark of structuralism and, thus in part, the Georgian mindset. In some instances, a builder has the technological savvy to build a perfectly balanced house, but they display their control over the building process by choosing asymmetrical architectural features. While this follows within the Georgian tenants of symmetry, balance, and control, the acceptance of the pace of agency within the mindset overcomes one of its major shortcomings. It also provides an avenue in which to tie the mindset to a local context. The acceptance of 'asymmetry as control' is especially important in archaeological work, as most often, it is within foundations and floor plans that this idea becomes most evident.

In her work at the Maurice Pound House in Colchester, Virginia, Ann Palkovich (1988:300) demonstrates this idea as reflected in the archaeological remains of the main house. Pound, a native of Germany, built a small home with a slate foundation in the mid-eighteenth century. Although the majority of the foundation is completely symmetrical, the chimney base was slightly off center along the western wall. Based on an analysis of the building techniques of the home and an examination of similar buildings within the community, Pound had the ability to complete his home with perfect balance. However, he chose not to. This is one of the points often ignored in an

analysis of Georgian buildings: the owner and/or builder of the home often chose to exhibit individual agency in the architecture. This can be done through both selected style or form or, as we'll see in the Enchanted Castle, through the choice of technological materials used in construction.

Technological Choice

As Thomas Markus (1993) points out, architecture is inherently a product of its historic context. The design and technological choices used to build a plantation great house, its surrounding outbuildings, and all other structural forms within its boundaries, are all directly related to numerous physical, social, ideological, and political conditions. Among the considerations when designing these structures were weather, tradition (here, meaning “meaningful repetition”), local or importable materials, available work force, personal taste and aesthetics, agricultural production and soil conditions, and social styles.

The field of technological history can aptly be applied to many pre-Industrial technologies, and it is important to begin to study these areas so we can see where later technologies received their impetus. Mostly, it is important to illustrate this through a combination of both theory and narrative to accurately examine environmental selection and technological choice in the past. Knowing that Spotswood had achieved success as a gentleman architect prior to the construction of the Enchanted Castle, it is clear that he had a significant role in the design of his mansion at Germanna. The exterior of the Enchanted Castle in some ways resembled the brick, Georgian-style structures built and

employed by Spotswood in Williamsburg. The construction technology, however, was decidedly different. Whereas the majority of both the plantation homes and urban buildings in Virginia were constructed of brick or with a combination of brick and timber-framing, significant portions of the Enchanted Castle foundation were formed of micaceous schist, along with slate and sandstone. The use of stone technology, as well the procurement of previously-unidentified local goods, is one of the most significant ways in which Spotswood highlighted his individuality.

History of Technology— Its Aims and Current Dilemmas

According to Jack Simmons (1978:1): “To understand *lives*, the ordinary activities of human beings in ages other than our own, it is indispensable to consider the technologies that served them”. The history of technology is primarily interested in the four stages of technological invention: 1) genesis of the idea; 2) development of the product/material good; 3) dissemination of the knowledge or product to the public; and, 4) an evaluation of the impact it has on the general populous (Buchanan et al. 1991). The study of these stages as a cohesive field is relatively new. Only in the past 20 years or so have people separated this study out as a branch of general history. The field is still in the middle of a struggle to define itself, as many fields are today. The primary struggle within the field is the position of theory versus narrative.

Several proponents of the pro-theory group state that those who shy away from theory are afraid of intrusions into the field by those from other disciplines. Sylvia Lavin (1999), among others, states that historians of technology must embrace the

multi-disciplinary nature of the field and, with that, the input from scholarly research of other academic realms. “The resistance to theory in architecture is often framed as a resistance to an invading outside force” (Lavin 1999:495). This input should come in the form of theoretical contributions that can then be used on material goods by the technological historian themselves, once the theories and place of the field have been firmly established. Others, such as Philip Buchanan et al. (1991), state that the field has gone too far astray towards the theoretical and has completely moved away from the narrative, or the technological object itself. Most, however, believe you need both.

The history of technology can also be termed what Henry Glassie (1968) called the “process of progress”. One way to break down the first two stages of the ‘process of progress’, or the genesis and development of technological ideas, is through an evaluation of backward and forward linkage components of the technological product (Gordon 1993). Backward-linkage components are an examination of the natural, human, and social conditions necessary for the creation of the raw material (Gordon 1993:81). Forward linkage components move away from the physical and examine the ideology behind the artifact, particularly the “interaction between the artifact and those who used it after it was made and the interaction between the artifact and the observers” (Gordon 1993:81).

To understand the third and fourth stages of technological development—dissemination and impact— we must turn to a brief exploration of Semiotics and Occasionality. Semiotics, as phrased by Umberto Eco (1997:181–182), among others, encourages breaking down material objects and reading them as texts. In the case of

architecture, for example, Eco states that it primarily serves as a functional object, as a form of shelter, and secondarily, as an ideological object, to express taste, tradition, status, culture, etc. The dissemination of a technological object directly relies on a correct 'reading' of the object and deciding who the item would best serve, or who it would affect the most. The impact the artifact has on society is reflected through Occassionality.

Hans-Georg Gadamer (1997) describes Occassionality, in relation to technology and architecture, as containing two facets. One is an illustration of the action of choice by the user of the technology, as the technological objects "wait for the occasion in order to exist and find their form only through that occasion" (Gadamer 1997:128). The second is in reference to the technological object itself, where "their meaning is partly determined by the occasion for which they are intended, so that it contains more than it would without this occasion" (Gadamer 1997:126). This occasionality allows the technological object to attain several meanings. As the social context surrounding the artifact changes, so do the consequences of the technology.

Technological change directly affects several categorical realms: political, social, ideological, and physical. A Marxist philosophy, as described in depth by Fredric Jameson (1997:262), believes that all technological change is driven by politics and, in reverse, technology drives politics as well. The social aspects include those described above, as well as examples described by Nathaniel Alcock (1994) in his examination of improvements to English architecture in the eighteenth century, where

improved technology advanced architectural segmentation and therefore, social interactions.

Architecture, Material Selection, and the Environment

Social relations in a culture are reflected in its architecture, where the building acts as a meta-narrative of social conditions and circumstances (Markus 1993:5). “The relationship between spatial form and social and ideational structure (between the form of the house and what that form means) is not straightforward or unproblematic” (M. Johnson 1993:30). The meaning is often the result of varying power relationships and the manipulation of knowledge. Structures are also encoded with multiple meanings, as “architecture had the potential to simultaneously symbolize multiple personal traits” (Falk 1998:107).

Along this line, Lubar (1993:197) discusses what he believes to be “Machine Politics” as the ways machines modulate, interact, and intermediate within and around the society that produced them. With this definition, there are also "Architectural Politics". When architectural structures are broken down and examined, they are also direct reflections of the natural conditions of an area interacting with the ideas and methodologies of the builders and the social conditions of the time.

To understand the environmentalism and selection behind a structure, Feenburg (1991) suggests using Detextualization. Detextualization is the breaking down of a technological object, here a structure, to examine its natural components. According to Feenburg (1991:3), technological and material choice are “an ontological decision

fraught with political consequences”. Only once you examine the “whats” can you move to the “hows” or “whys” of building construction.

Once the natural components are examined, one must look at the “whys” of architectural design. Why is a building designed like it is? Where did its influences come from? This places the cultural aspects into the formation of the architecture, rather than solely examining a structure within a static, art history-like framework.

Technology is not static. It changes through time and moves from place to place. Technology is also directly impacted by the environment and environmental history. Landscape studies, historical geography and technology studies are coming together to understand geographical space, and work with anthropologists and biologists to determine how people manipulated that space. “Technology is the point of interaction between the human and the natural” (Stine and Tarr 1998:601).

Diffusion Process Theory, as described by Jennifer Tann (1995), among others, states that one of the most important aspects to look at in a building is where the technology of construction came from and how it was diffused across space and time (both physically and socially). Equally important is an examination of the changes necessary for the technology to work in the new place and time. “Historians of technology can benefit from an exploration of how technologies were introduced into and impacted on the social relation of production” (Tann 1995:146).

Tann, therefore, believes that culture can directly affect technological progress. Feenburg (1991), Martin Heidegger (1997), and Hans-Georg Gadamer (1997), however, take a determinist view of technology and environmentalism, as they believe that

culture might add or detract from technology, but it cannot directly affect its destined, or previously determined, course. I agree with Tann and her colleagues, as technology is directly affected by cultural change and, in particular, changes in the environment. Though some technologies have an eventuality, meaning that sooner or later they were bound to be invented, they were invented and constructed in a particular style and shape for a reason, and that reason is directly linkable to the social conditions surrounding its inception and design.

In general, the field of technological history can aptly be applied to many pre-Industrial technologies and it is important to begin to study these areas so we can see where later technologies received their impetus. Mostly, it is important to illustrate this through a combination of both theory and narrative to accurately examine environmental selection, power relationships, and technological choice in the past. This dissertation will look at the ways in which the environment play a significant role in technological choice and, more importantly, how that technology is adapted to new building materials, construction methods, and social conditions once it is introduced to a new place. During construction of the Enchanted Castle, Old World construction technology and tenants of the Georgian style were adapted to New World materials and conditions to create Spotswood's unique mansion.

DISSERTATION ORGANIZATION

This dissertation is a direct examination of the adaptation of the Georgian Worldview and technological advancements of early eighteenth-century Virginia that affected the inception and design of the Enchanted Castle. To place this research in its historic context, Chapter 2 will present a brief history of Virginia architecture from the first years at Jamestown until 1710, the year Alexander Spotswood arrived in the colony. The story of Spotswood, Germanna, and Virginia colonial politics in the early eighteenth century will be told in Chapter 3 through the use of both primary and secondary sources.

Although archival research on the Enchanted Castle site, Alexander Spotswood, and the German Colonies of 1714 to 1719 has been ongoing for decades, this dissertation required additional archival investigations to examine Spotswood's ideas on architecture, social issues, and Germanna as a whole. For this research, holdings at the John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation and the Center for Historic Preservation Library at Mary Washington College (MWC) were examined, as well as on-line archives for the Virginia Historical Society and the Orange County Historical Society (OCHS). Family records and papers from the German descendents were also crucial to this search, and the Memorial Foundation of Germanna Visitor's Center Library proved to be a valuable source of information.

Chapter 4 continues to detail the history of Germanna through a description of work on the site over the past 35 years. In particular, the chapter discusses the

rediscovery of the site by state archaeologists, initial work on the site in the 1970s, and the salvage work of the early 1980s that led to the purchase and protection of the property. The history of the archaeology is followed by an overview of the results of archaeological work completed on the site to date. The chapter gives a methodological account of the fieldwork, including types and sizes of units and backhoe trenches excavated across the site, followed by a description of the taphonomic factors that have affected the archaeological features and site stratigraphy.

A general understanding of the nature of the site leads to Chapter 5, a detailed analysis of the environmental setting of the Enchanted Castle and surrounding vicinity, followed by a discussion of the manufacturing of colonial building materials. I believe that one needs to have an understanding of the natural environment and technological process used to convert the organic materials into usable cultural artifacts before one can begin to fully analyze how they were used. The second half of Chapter 5 is then an analysis of the general types and quantities of building materials found at the Enchanted Castle site, including a distribution analysis of all types of architectural artifacts to identify concentrations. These concentrations will then help analyze construction methods in Chapter 6.

Chapter 6 will use the distribution of architectural materials and analysis of building features, in tandem with additional archival research, to determine when the mansion was constructed, how it might have functioned, and what it looked like. Throughout this discussion, Spotswood's mansion at Germanna will be compared to contemporaneous Virginia elite plantation homes to place the Enchanted Castle within

its larger social and ideological context. This comparison will show that the mansion was, in some ways, a typical early Georgian plantation complex, but it was also a very unique building that differed from other homes in its construction technology, selected building materials, and floor plan. It established Spotswood's individuality amongst the “Vulgar People” (Spotswood 1885:124) who inhabited Virginia.

As Frazer (1999:6), among others, has said: “We need more specific empirical studies that examine the minutia of local relations of power but contextualizes them within a broader social field”. By comparing Spotswood’s frontier mansion to those of other planter elites, we can rightfully place this architectural achievement within the Georgian Worldview and the larger history of Virginia eighteenth-century architecture.

CHAPTER 2

EARLY VIRGINIA ARCHITECTURE, A BRIEF HISTORY TO SET THE STAGE

The gentlemen's seats are of late built for the most part of good brick, and many timber very handsom [sic], commodious, and capacious...

-Hugh Jones, *The Present State of Virginia* (1724)

When Alexander Spotswood first arrived in Virginia, the colonists had been constructing buildings for over 100 years. He did not walk into a virgin colony, but one that had its own form of architectural heritage. In order to understand the impact that the Georgian style, Alexander Spotswood, and the hegemonic conditions of the early eighteenth century had on the built environment, it is imperative to understand the architectural context of seventeenth-century Virginia. Therefore, this chapter provides a brief history of the progress of building in the century prior to the arrival of the new Lieutenant Governor in 1710.

As an important note, however, there is a long and impressive list of publication already dedicated to the subject of seventeenth century Virginia architecture. These works, such as the scholarship of Frazier Neiman (i.e., 1980, 1993) and Dell Upton (i.e., 1990), give a much more thorough and nuanced view of the subject, and it is

recommended that their research be perused for a full understanding of the complexity of the built environment of the seventeenth century. However, this chapter will provide the basics. As Camille Wells (1994:8) stated in her dissertation on Northern Neck vernacular architecture:

...the few remaining eighteenth century houses are not very reliable representations of the vast quantity that have vanished. Yet these exceptional houses standing bereft of their original plantation contexts not only have shaped scholarly conclusions about the archaeological character of Colonial Virginia but have dominated the way scholars questions are framed and phrased as well.

An exploration of the history of all of Virginia architecture, from one room lean-tos to double pile brick mansions will therefore be highlighted here through the presentation of architectural, archaeological, and historical research.

ARCHITECTURE IN ENGLAND, 1450-1700

When the English colonists arrived in the New World in 1607, they brought with them a long building heritage filtered through the tumultuous sixteenth century. Between 1450 and 1600, the population of England nearly doubled in size, while the city of London alone went from 60,000 in around 1500 to 500,000 by 1700 (Pogue 2001:52). This was, in part, the result of a general shift from an agrarian society to a capitalistic system at this time (Upton 1986:316). Within the seventeenth century, a new middle class began to emerge within the British social system. Upward mobility by this new landed business class had four profound consequences on the social and

architectural formation of England: one, the dominance of England in the move towards modernity and new technologies; two, significant changes in the agricultural system to accommodate these new technologies; three, the adaptation to a new stable political system; and four, the previous 100 years of economic decline had "leveled the playing field" amongst the English (Stone and Stone 1984).

The sudden population explosion required both additional shelter and a greater food supply. The changes in technology and the social system allowed for variations within the building craft. "The restoration of the monarchy in 1660 changed the moral and spiritual climate of the country...English architects and craftsmen could work with all the resources of released imagination and improved skill without being accused of pandering to sinful luxury" (Gloag 1963:163). The remaining forests were cut down to provide usable timber for new wood frame construction, firewood for heat and cooking, and ultimately a cleared field to plant new crops. Timber eventually became a scarce commodity.

With new buildings being constructed at a prolific rate, several laws were being passed throughout England to moderate construction. For example, after the catastrophic Great Fire of London in 1666, which spread from timber building to timber building, city leaders ordered new construction to be built of brick, especially the ornamentation:

And that they [the surveyors] do encourage and give directions to all builders, for ornament sake, that the ornaments and projection of the front buildings be of rubbed bricks; and that all the naked parts of the walls may be done of rough bricks, neatly wrought, or all rubbed, at the direction of the builder, or that the builders may

otherwise enrich their fronts as they please (Corporation of the City as quoted in Richardson and Eberlein 1925:70-71).

In addition, in 1697, a new tax was introduced that waged taxes based on the number of windows. Residences with a rental value above £5 annually were assessed based on the number of windows over six (Gloag 1963:162).

The lack of usable timber as a building material and rapid population growth, combined with new legislation on the style, design, and taxation on buildings, led to several changes in architecture during the second half of the seventeenth century. Masonry structures began to outnumber timber constructions throughout England as well as most of Western Europe, despite the lack of an extensive transportation network in some areas (McAlester 1991:38). With a change towards the use of brick and a general shortage of transportation throughout the country, the English elite moved towards cut stone as a symbol of status and power (Elliott 1992:24). The proximity to stone quarries and the general scarcity of the resource led the emerging bourgeoisie to use various stone, including marble and granite, to adorn their domestic structures. The English gentry chose to import large amounts of stone to construct their entire domicile. This use of stone set these classes apart from the artisan class and working poor who resided in simple brick structures or timber frame dwellings.

THE EARLY YEARS OF VIRGINIA, 1607-1660

While the English colonists brought many architectural traditions with them to the new world (e.g., Fitchen 1999), it was not merely construction methods that were imported, but also the ideology of architecture as a status symbol (Glassie 1982). “The bare technological facts of building may be identical on both sides of the Atlantic, but due to differing evaluation, they mutate culturally to mean the very opposite” (Peters 1989:218). The first settlers left England at a time when timber was scarce and brick construction was most common (Cummings 1979:50). Upon arrival in America, most of the settlers were shocked to see the abundance of trees, and many impermanent, vernacular timber structures were erected using English building technologies of joinery and timber construction (e.g., Carson 1986:55; Whiffen 1984:3).

Once the settlers had established themselves in Virginia, most moved towards permanent or semi-permanent structural forms, but the abundance of available wood, varieties in environmental conditions, and the lower population density caused the settlers to adopt English style to New World materials. While England had an abundant labor supply and fewer readily available materials, Virginia posed just the opposite ratio. Although blacksmiths, carpenters, and brickmakers were among the inhabitants brought over within the first 20 years of settlement, most of the new settlers were not skilled builders. Thus, early building types comprised relatively simple earthfast timber frame dwellings, often with a one or two room plan, some with lofts (Rasmussen 1992:5).

The rich contextual knowledge provided by social historians made it possible to link the universal use of impermanent construction techniques across the 17th century to the high cost of labor and difficulties of capital accumulation in a tobacco-based frontier economy (Neiman 1993:252).

Post-in-ground continued to be the most common form of construction throughout the remainder of the seventeenth and into the eighteenth century (Deetz 1996:21). This technology was selected because not only was wood readily available for use as a construction material, but the building type was relatively simple. The method was quick and less expensive than other tectonic forms, as it required less carpentry by reducing, or even in some cases eliminating, the complicated joinery that fastened typical English box frames (Lounsbury 1990:16). With the savings on a dwelling, any additional money the colonists acquired could be spent on expanding their tobacco production (Rasmussen 1992:3). What they sacrificed in the process, however, was durability (e.g., Lounsbury 1990:16).

As the years progressed and the population grew, the colonists adapted English timber cottage style to New World technology. According to Ralph Hamor, who visited Jamestown around 1614, most of the homes were two stories, with the upper story used as a Garret or corn loft (Noel-Hume 1994:313). Archaeological evidence and historic records suggest that the exteriors had a wood covering directly applied to the frame. The early covering was bark, but that soon was replaced by weatherboard. Whereas English tradition called for covering the exterior of the weatherboard with plaster, thus having the weatherboard form a base for a plaster exterior, the Virginians reversed this

process. The interior space between the timber frame and the weatherboards was filled with brick nogging, extra timber, or plaster, with the exterior weatherboard then acting as additional weather protection (Noel-Hume 1994).

Archaeology at Wolstenholme Towne on Martin's Hundred and Flowerdew Hundred, both settled in 1619, confirmed the proliferation of timber frame earthfast homes. At both sites, the homes of both planters and their servants were constructed in very similar manners with comparable dimensions. Almost all buildings were constructed in clusters, or plantations, with a main house and several outbuildings, surrounded by an exterior wood fence for protection (Deetz 1993; Noel-Hume 1979).

As the decades progressed, the overall form of Virginia domestic buildings changed little. The homes of the emerging planters remained modest, with most homes lacking even stone or brick hearths (Hudgins 1984:48-49). A few of the wealthiest planters did build larger post-in-ground homes of the Tudor model, including Green Spring, home of the Berkeley family. Green Spring, built after 1642, was "the first stately dwelling in English North America" (Billings 1994:85). Influenced by English Tudor architecture, the home underwent numerous alterations over its almost 200 year history. Initially, the home had a hall and parlor plan, but it was quickly enlarged through the addition of rooms to the core. It likely comprised a sprawling Tudor-influenced home when Alexander Spotswood resided in the home for his first three months of governorship in 1710. Eventually, a large addition was made to the house and it attained the hallmark Georgian symmetry, but it never truly resembled the orderly homes built by their contemporaries in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. After

the home was painted by Benjamin Latrobe in 1796, then-owner William Ludwell Lee decided to tear it down and build a new stylish manor house (Billings 1994:85).

Although the majority of homes continued to be earthfast timber frame buildings, a few brick homes began to dot the landscape. As was the English tradition, many of the settlers who had prospered through agriculture or other business ventures desired a home to showcase their new wealth. In America, this status was shown through brick construction rather than stone. “The status enjoyed by owners of brick houses was a factor in the use of brick for the construction of the finer houses built by English settlers in America” (McKee 1973:41).

A good example of a mid-seventeenth century brick home is the Adam Thoroughgood House in Princess Anne County, built between 1636 and 1640 (Figure 2.1). The original home had a two room plan with a steeply pitched gable roof, and dormer windows were added later. A massive exterior end brick chimney extends off one elevation. A more elaborate form of mid-seventeenth century brick is Bacon’s Castle in Surry County (c. 1655). This home showcases what had become a Virginia custom, the amalgamation of several architectural forms tempered by environmental conditions. Characteristics of Tudor influences are mixed with English vernacular style and Virginia materials to form a unique brick home with a cruciform plan, rear tower-like projections, and an elaborate tri-chimney (Figure 2.2).



Figure 2.1 The Adam Thoroughgood House (c. 1636), Princess Anne County, Virginia (HABS photograph, 1940. On file, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.).



Figure 2.2 Bacon's Castle (c. 1655), Surry County, Virginia (HABS photograph, 1937. On file, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.).

THE MIDDLE AGES, 1660-1710

By the mid-seventeenth century, the Virginia planters had moved beyond reacting to their new environment to working with it. As the century progressed, construction took on a new phase of sophistication, as somewhat haphazard building styles gave way to a new form that was adapted to the Virginia climate, local materials, and available labor. "The stylistic nature of the changes occurring after 1670 implies a fundamentally different cause that is ideational, rather than adaptive, in origin" (Pogue 2001:45). It was during this period that the "Virginia house" was developed, a housing style so prevalent throughout the colony that it had acquired its own moniker (Hudgins 1984:56). The Virginia house, as defined by period visitors, archival records, and archaeological research, was a one story timber frame dwelling with a hall and parlor plan. The home had a post-in-ground foundation and an exterior clad in weatherboard. Heat was, at first, provided by a single exterior end chimney.

As the seventeenth century progressed, some homes added a second chimney, and by the end of the century, others adopted the notion of a central chimney with two opposing hearth openings (Upton 1986). In addition, floor plans began to vary, as the improvement in the economy led to the growth of the average home, where some middling planters built multiple rooms on the main floor, along with a lobby-like entry (Neiman 1993:253).

The Clifts Plantation, built by the Pope family on what is now Stratford Hall Plantation in Westmoreland County, was a yeoman farm originally constructed in 1670

(Neiman 1980). At that time, the complex comprised an earthfast manor house at one point enclosed by a palisade with two bastions. As time progressed, architectural changes in the complex mirrored larger social changes. One of the most notable spatial alterations was the movement of servants and slaves from the main house to outbuildings as social segregation increased in the latter seventeenth century. Although the general hall and parlor plan remained until the Clifts was destroyed in the 1720s, the addition of multiple wooden outbuildings illustrate the movement of household tasks to a space outside of the main living area and, more importantly, the growing division between the rising Virginia planter and their labor (Neiman 1980).

Timber frame hall and parlor plan homes not only dominated building technology among middling planters, but it was also prevalent in the homes of the emerging wealthy planting elite (i.e., Pogue 2001:46). When John Carter II, elder brother of Robert “King” Carter and second generation Virginian, built a family home on their vast lands in Lancaster County in 1670, the house he built was by all accounts a very large example of the wooden Virginia house (Brown 2001:10). Other timber frame homes built by the emerging elite in the seventeenth century were the first Westover, built by William Byrd I on the James River in 1690, Rosegill, built by Ralph Wormely II in Middlesex County, and William Fitzhugh, who built Bedford in what is now Stafford County in the last quarter of the seventeenth century (Wright 1964:161-186). As Fitzhugh himself described his new home in a 1686 letter (quoted in Wright 1964:161):

Upon the same land is my own dwelling house furnished with all accommodations for a comfortable and genteel living, as a very good dwelling house with rooms in it, four of the best of them hung [with tapestry] and nine of them plentifully furnished with all things necessary and convenient, and all houses for use furnished with brick chimneys; four good cellars, a dairy, dovecote, stable, barn, henhouse, kitchen, and all other conveniences and all in a manner new.

The elite planters had begun to organize their homes and surrounding landscapes in a very controlled manner (Leone 1988:255), and their plantations had become subsets of English culture. “Only in the last decades of the seventeenth century, with the first emergence of a powerful native gentry, was social authority on traditional English lines becoming effective” (Issac 1982:39). Their architecture, although medieval in tradition, was borrowed in an attempt to emulate English culture as a physical manifestation of the growing power differential between the wealthy planters and the rest of the Virginia population (Hudgins 1984:8). Ironically, as the colony was adapting the English Baroque style at the turn of the eighteenth century, architectural style in England, and indeed throughout Europe, began to return to the austerity of classicism (Gelernter 1999:83). In turn, “English vernacular building forms all but ceased to influence American architecture by the end of the 17th century. But British design shaped and reshaped common buildings much longer” (Carson 1986:59).

Continuing in the Baroque tradition, brick architecture continued to be the epitome of tectonic achievement among Virginians. In 1685, Robert “King” Carter built a large home on the same property already inhabited by his brother John. Whereas John built in wood, the younger Carter built a brick two story home to showcase the family

prosperity and large labor base (Hudgins 1984). Similarly, Fairfield Plantation in Gloucester County (c. 1694) was made of brick. Built by the Burwell family, it is believed that Fairfield originally had a T or H plan, but by the time the home was destroyed by fire in 1897, it had an L plan. It is believed that this was the first home in Virginia to have a hipped roof (Waterman 1946:26), and the home also showcases the move towards a double pile plan.

Although these homes were, on average, larger and more elaborate than their predecessors, they still somewhat resembled the small-scale Colonial style that had been adapted by early generations. What these homes did help achieve, however, was a larger sense of possible architectural achievements. “Perhaps the grinding uncertainty of life in 17th century Virginia had fostered habits and traditions that continued to manifest themselves in the way 18th century Virginians thought about time, prosperity, and longevity” (Wells 1994:65). This, in part, led to the monumentality and increasing formalism of eighteenth-century Virginia plantation elite architecture.

VIRGINIA IN 1710

As the 17th century ended and the 18th century began, Virginia’s countryside was a *mélange* of fields and forests tucked between the fingers of the Chesapeake Bay’s tributaries, widely separated farmsteads, and meandering roads that tied the colony’s tobacco-planting inhabitants to their fields and to their neighbors. Drab, tar-smearred wooden houses dotted the landscape where fields and pastures cut swathes in the forest... (Hudgins 1984:194)

By the turn of the eighteenth century, a dramatic increase in general wealth and an increase in available labor allowed Virginians to begin experimenting with formalized architecture. Although European style pervaded most domestic, ecclesiastic, and government buildings, the forms manifested in the colony did not completely emulate Old World fashion. They were, to alter the term used by Cummings (1979:35), becoming “Virginianized”. The capital of the colony officially moved from Jamestown to Williamsburg in 1699. By 1704, the Virginia Capitol building was underway, and construction had begun on the Governor’s Palace by 1706. Both were to be showcases of Williamsburg’s civility and a new Virginian sense of self (Wenger 1981). Although a fire destroyed most of the main building at the College of William and Mary in the first years of the eighteenth century, the institution of learning had been going strong since 1699 and showed great promise. Bruton Parish Church (c. 1683), one of the oldest buildings left from Middle Peninsula when the area was renamed Williamsburg, was in need of repairs, but it continued to draw a large congregation through the enlightened and spirited sermons of such men as James Blair (Route 1971).

It was this scene that Lieutenant Governor Alexander Spotswood encountered when he arrived in Virginia on June 21, 1710. Williamsburg was only 11 years old, and it is estimated that no more than 30 buildings line the streets of the elaborately laid-out town (Rockefeller Research Query Files [RRQF] 1948). He arrived at a time when the colonists had been ruling themselves for five years, and many architectural projects were well under way at their direction. All monumental architecture in the new capital was made of brick. In the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the Virginia-born elite

sought to directly emulate the mother country while at the same time leading away from their reign. Their education and cultural literacy set them apart from their fellow Virginians, while that same Virginianess set them apart from the British (e.g., Mooney 1991:v) “The significant fact is not the social position of their ancestors, but what they became in a world of their own making” (Wright 1964:4). This position created direct conflict with their new Lieutenant Governor, Alexander Spotswood.

CHAPTER 3

A HISTORY OF ALEXANDER SPOTSWOOD, THE GERMANNA COLONIES, AND THE ENCHANTED CASTLE

Let both of us, who are th'only males of the family of Spotswood, endeavor with a noble emulation, to render it once more conspicuous, & if we can not attain to the Preferments of our ancestours [sic], Let us do what is in our own power; namely to inherit their virtues & a merit, that ought to be rewarded with these Dignities.

-Letter, John Spotswood to Alexander Spotswood, January 30, 1705

From the first incursions on Virginia soil, England aspired to retain a tight command over all aspects of colonial life. Governmental policy and social practices were monitored by the crown to ensure complete allegiance while proliferating profit. The governorship system was among the first hierarchies set up in the new world—while the prime governor remained in England, a Lieutenant Governor would travel to the colony to observe the day-to-day operation of the enterprise. The chain of command was based on English hierarchy, where power was attained through money and political control.

By the late seventeenth century, the gubernatorial system was firmly in place. The main Governor would live in England and earn a fine wage for overseeing a

lieutenant of his choosing. The Lieutenant Governor lived abroad and continued in his role until he died in office or was ousted from rule by the English government. The reason for removal was most often one of two scenarios—a change in royal ideology or significant conflicts between the lieutenant governor and the colonists, usually with the Virginia House of Burgesses, or council. The council was a distinguished group that served as both the high court of the colony and the senior branch of the legislature. They, therefore, had the money and the power eventually demand control of their own colonial government.

Whereas the crown wanted jurisdiction at all times on almost all matters, the Lieutenant Governor often began to realize that the colonists had the capacity, and many felt the right, for self-exploration and financial fulfillment. Sometimes this change strengthened the bond between the governor and the planting elite. Other times, partial autonomy created a rift within the House itself, resulting in a bifurcated legislation. As a Lieutenant Governor, Alexander Spotswood fell into all of these categories.

EARLY LIFE OF ALEXANDER SPOTSWOOD

The Spottiswoode family has a long and distinguished history in Scotland. Alexander's great-grandfather was Archbishop John Spottiswoode, a church historian who was appointed Chancellor of Scotland in 1635 and wrote *A History of the Church in Scotland* a few years later. He built a church near his home, Dairsie Castle, in St. Andrews (Campbell 1868). John's son, Sir Robert Spotiswoode, was appointed Privy

Councillor to King James VI and then a judge as Lord New Abbey. He became Lord President of Scotland's superior court in 1633. As Robert supported King Charles I during the Reformation, he was forced to resign his position, give up Dairsie Castle, and flee to England to escape persecution (Campbell 1868). Before he could leave, he was captured and beheaded in 1638. Just prior to his death, Robert wrote to his family: "All that I have to bequeath you is the example of my loyalty...I command you to Imitate [it] & never to set your faces against your prince for any cause whatsoever" (Cappon 1952:213).

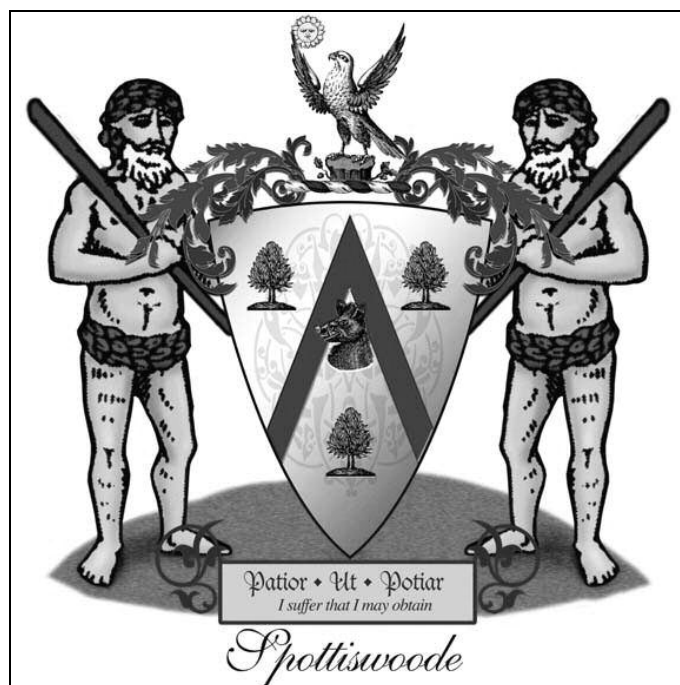


Figure 3.1 Coat of Arms of the Spottiswoode family
(Image accessed online at www.spotswood.org;
September 15, 2004).

After Sir Robert Spottiswoode's death, his son Robert had no family estate or money, thus he altered his name to Spotswood and joined the English army as a surgeon. He married an English woman, Catherine Mercer, and she followed her husband to the battlefields of Tangier. Alexander Spotswood (Figure 3.2) was born to the couple in this northernmost portion of Africa in 1676, where he lived until he was 11 years old. In 1687, Alexander's father passed away. As Robert Spotswood had limited social status and even less financial sway, he had little to leave his wife and young son (Cappon 1952:212). Catherine and Alexander therefore moved to England to live with her family, where Alexander attended English schools with his Mercer cousins (Mansfield 1977:23). However, he left school at the age of 17, when "Alexander Spotswood turned to the profession he knew best—the military" (Mansfield 1977:23).

Through his actions on the battlefield during Queen Anne's War (the War of the Spanish Succession), Spotswood rose to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. During the Battle of Blenheim in 1704, he was hit by a cannonball during fighting. The cannonball ripped through his left side, breaking his collarbone, scapula, and a rib. Despite the injury, Spotswood recovered the cannonball and kept it as a "souvenir" throughout his life, showing his great tenacity (Mansfield 1977:23). After a year's recovery in London, he returned to the battlefield only to be taken prisoner during the Battle of Oudenarde. The Duke of Marlborough orchestrated his release, and he immediately went back into battle. "So far, all he knew in life were boredom, toil, and hazard of the professional soldier" (Havighurst 1967:4). He resigned from the Army at 33.



Figure 3.2 Alexander Spotswood (Photo of painting on file, Mary Washington College, Center for Historic Preservation, Fredericksburg, Virginia [MWC,CHP]).

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR SPOTSWOOD, 1710–1714

Lord George Hamilton, Earl of Orkney and cousin of Queen Anne of England, was appointed the Governor of the Colony of Virginia in 1707 (Cappon 1945:3; Felder 1982:6). Although Alexander Spotswood's father was a relatively unknown Army

surgeon, Alexander's military background and continued commitment to the crown made him a favorite of both Lord Orkney and the Duke of Marlborough, two very powerful men. When Earl Orkney needed to select a Lieutenant Governor to be the royal figurehead in the colony of Virginia in 1709, Spotswood was the ideal choice. Not only was he young and ambitious, but he had no family to tie him to England, as his mother died that same year (Havighurst 1967:5). As Alexander wrote to his cousin John, who lived in Scotland (Cappon 1952:226):

...I might return from the dangers military Life exposes me to: and now I can assure you that I have accomplish'd it, having obtain'd Her Majesty's Commission to go to the Government of Virginia. My Lord Orkney is the real Governour thereof, but not likely ever to go thither; & it is agreed that I paying him 1200 Pounds of Sterling per annum, shall enjoy the entire command of that Province, with the whole Salary & Perquisites thereof, which amount to about £2800 per annum. The appearance of a sudden departure puts me in a mighty hurry to make the necessary preparations for so long a Voyage & so distant a Residence.

With the promise of an annual salary of £1200, Spotswood left for Virginia in the spring of 1710 to become the resident leader of the colony. He arrived in Virginia at a somewhat inauspicious time. In 1705, Lieutenant Governor Francis Nicholson was recalled to England after repeated disputes with some of the most powerful of the Council, including Benjamin Harrison, Philip Ludwell, James Blair, Mann Page, James Lightfoot, and Robert Carter (Brown 2001:65). The crown selected Edward Nott as his replacement. Unfortunately, Nott only served one year of his term, as he died suddenly of a fever in 1706 (Havighurst 1967:3). From the death of Governor Nott in 1706 until the arrival of Spotswood in 1710, control of the colony was placed in the hands of the

Council, who were all colonists. Edmund Jennings, President of the Council, was acting governor. “During these years without a resident governor, the leaders had grown self-confident and willful” (Havighurst 1967:3). The colonists, and in particular the Council, greeted Spotswood with some trepidation upon his arrival on the ship *Deptford* in June 1710.

Upon arrival, the new governor lived at the Ludwell’s Green Spring Plantation in James City County for several months as suitable accommodations could not be attained in Williamsburg. “Spotswood had a chance to view some of the aristocracy at close range before the first formal meeting of the Council” (Cappon 1945:4). He later became the guest of William Byrd II, who entertained him at Westover Plantation in Charles City County. Immediately after arriving, Spotswood made his larger gubernatorial goals known during his first speech to the Council on June 23, 1710. As reported by William Byrd (1963:84): “The Governor made a courteous speech and told the Council that he was come with a full disposition to do the Queen and country service and hoped we should all concur with him in that good design.” Among the first services he intended to fulfill for the crown was to renew work on the government buildings in Williamsburg. He knew that a physical reminder of the power of the crown was needed in an area that tended to dismiss royal government. Large, imperial public buildings were a marker of British colonialism across the world, and Williamsburg would be no different.

Building the Governor's House in Williamsburg

A home for the governor was one of the first items discussed by Governor Nicholson and the Council when the colonial government moved to Williamsburg. In 1698, King William III instructed Nicholson to choose a plot of land within the new town for a permanent residence for the position of Lieutenant Governor, and the Council appropriated funds for its construction (RRQF 1981). In 1700, Nicholson chose a 63 acre parcel located between the Capitol and the new college site, just north of the main road through town (Duke of Gloucester Street). Nicholson would never see construction of this home, as he was replaced before building commenced in 1706. Before construction began, the General Assembly included very specific building provisions in the official act approving construction funds:

...the said house be built of brick, fifty-four foot in length, and forty-eight foot in breadth, from inside to inside, two story high, with convenient cellars underneath, and one vault, sash windows, of sash glass, and a covering of stone slate (Wenger 1981:13).

Building began in 1706 during the brief tenure of Governor Nott (RRQF 1981; Wenger 1981:14), but construction came to a standstill after the death of Nott that same year. When Spotswood arrived in June 1710, the house comprised brick walls and a temporary, wood-shingled roof, but no more. Spotswood's arrival spurred renewed interest in the house, especially by Spotswood himself. He wrote his cousin John on March 20, 1711 (Cappon 1952:229): "...now I am sufficiently amused with planting Orchards & Gardens, & with finishing a large House which is design'd (and he Country's Charge) for the reception of their Governours." With the help of overseer

Henry Cary, who was hired in 1706 during the initial construction period, Spotswood attained additional funding to complete the house and provide furnishings. In addition, it is believed that he altered the building plans according to his own specifications, which did not please Cary. Spotswood's hands-on approach to the project likely caused a rift between the two, and on December 12, 1713, the Council passed an act authorizing Spotswood to oversee all work on the Governor's House himself (RRQF 1981).

Although it is not known exactly when Spotswood permanently moved to the capitol city or where he lived for most of his first three years in the colony, it is recorded that he purchased Lot 174 in Williamsburg (on the corner of Scotland and North England streets) on September 17, 1713. "We can't know for sure where he lived, but his purchase of lot 174 is the earliest lot (giving due consideration to the incompleteness of the local records) purchased in the vicinity of the [Governor's] Palace" (RRQF 1989). When he sold this lot in 1723 to John Randolph, land deeds indicate that at least one building had been constructed on the lot during Spotswood's ownership. Since Spotswood became overseer of the Governor's House building project within a few months of his purchase of lot 174, it is probable that he lived on this lot near the Palace from 1713 until 1716, when he moved in to the new royal residence.

Spotswood's ideas on the presence and form of the governor's house quickly exceeded original plans. It was regularly called the "Governor's House" from 1698 until 1714. In that year, the Council sent a letter to authorities back in England attempting to explain the continuous appropriations for additional funds to complete the building. In

describing Spotswood's masterpiece, they said it was not just a house, but had indeed become a Palace (RRQF 1981). By 1716, workers had completed the majority of the Palace and its elaborately designed gardens and system of outbuildings. Spotswood moved into the home in March, and furnishing was completed the next year. He lived in the Palace in Williamsburg, at least on a part time basis, until the end of his term as Lieutenant Governor in 1722.

Alexander Spotswood directly influenced the design and plan of the Governor's Palace. What we see reconstructed today in Williamsburg is essentially a replica of Spotswood's work with the exception of the rear ballroom. The central core of the home, and in particular the primary elevation, reflects his aesthetic choices and design preferences, as recorded on the Bodleian Plate in 1740 (Figure 3.3). In many ways, most of the major buildings seen in Williamsburg today are the result of Spotswood's efforts. When he arrived in 1710, he not only found the Palace unfinished, but also the Capitol, the Courthouse, and the public Gaol. The Powder Magazine had not even been started. All were completed under the direction and design of Spotswood by 1716 (RRQF 1948). As stated by Hugh Jones (1724:70) in his *The Present State of Virginia*: "These buildings...are justly reputed the best in all the English America, and are exceeded by few of their kind in England."

In addition, the Wren Building, as it is known, at the College of William and Mary was in ruins after a devastating fire in 1705. Spotswood redesigned and rebuilt this structure in the 1710s. "The building is beautiful and commodious, being first modeled like Sir Christopher Wren, adapted to the nature of the country by the

gentlemen there; and since it was burned down, it has been rebuilt, and nicely contrived, altered, and adorned by the ingenious direction of Governor Spotswood” (Jones 1724:67). [The question as to the actual connection of Christopher Wren with this building has been repeatedly questioned over the past several decades. However, as it has been known as the Wren Building for most of its existence, it will continue to be called so in this dissertation.] Bruton Parish Church was also greatly altered and enlarged at the same time by Spotswood to accommodate the growing area population. Although Spotswood obviously did not create the Georgian style, he certainly had a very large role in transporting the Georgian ideology to the New World and, more importantly, creating the association between the Georgian style and the pinnacle of social grace.



Figure 3.3 Bodleian Plate, etched in 1740 (Olmert 1985:13).

Early Governmental Decisions

When Spotswood arrived in the colony in 1710, he quickly realized two key facts: 1) the tobacco industry desperately needed regulation, which would eventually benefit both the planters and the crown; and 2) the continued success of the colony lay in westward expansion. Like tobacco regulation, pushing the boundary of the western frontier was a win-win situation for both the crown and the colonists. More land would be available for settlement and planting, and relations and trade with the Native Americans would be greatly expanded.

Spotswood established two frontier forts in 1714 to achieve this goal. One fort was Christianna, located in what is today Brunswick County, southwest of the City of Richmond. This pentagonal fort was initially successful in Spotswood's missions of Indian education and peaceful trade. Spotswood also built himself a home at Christianna, where he lived part time until 1718. A visitor to Christianna from North Carolina reported that Spotswood built the home, which costs £500–600 to build, to encourage area settlement (Neal 1975:24). In 1718, the House of Burgesses wrote to the crown and decided to terminate funding to Fort Christianna. At the closing of the Fort, Spotswood abandoned his home in this area (Spotswood 1885:302). Fort Christianna continued to stand until the mid-1720s.

In 1979, Dave Hazzard and Martha McCartney (1979) with the VRCA conducted limited archaeological investigations in the area of the Fort and Spotswood's home. This work was closely followed by more intensive testing by Boston University, under the direction of Dr. Mary Beaudry (1979, 1985). Beaudry and crew excavated

portions of this fort in the 1970s and early 1980s, where they found evidence of the original palisade and numerous cross-cultural artifacts. Most recently, Chris Stevenson (2001) of the Virginia Department of Historic Resources (VDHR) has revisited Fort Christianna to gain additional information on the functioning of the fort and activities within the bastion areas.

The second fort was located on a peninsula of the Rapidan River, approximately 20 miles west of what is today Fredericksburg. Though the fort was initially to be inhabited by Tuscarora Indians from the south and later Saponi Indians from the west (Mansfield 1977:7), a “fortuitous” turn of events led Spotswood to bring over German immigrants to settle the area.

THE BEGINNINGS OF GERMANNA

Alexander Spotswood, like many of the colonial governors, had an eye for personal financial advancement while acting as the crown’s figurehead in Virginia. He completely altered the tobacco trade and installed a new system of Quit Rents that earned a lot of revenue for the crown. Although he planted tobacco on a large portion of his land, Spotswood also had a proclivity towards industry, namely iron mining. During early investigations in what is now north-central Virginia, Spotswood’s agents found a good potential source for iron on the southern tributary of the Rappahannock River. This tributary was named the Rapidan, after the rapid flow of the water and Queen Anne of England. Spotswood realized that he needed knowledgeable workers to

accurately explore the deposits and help build an iron furnace and the needed buildings and landscape features to make the venture successful. Germans were among the best miners in the world, and Spotswood decided to look for a group of willing miners to travel to the colony and set up his new iron mine.

The group of Germans was selected by Christopher Baron de Graddenried, a friend of Spotswood's who helped to found a colony of German Swiss on the coast of North Carolina. The Baron offered to help Spotswood find a group to settle his property on the Rapidan River, and, while in London in 1713, he found that a group of Germans were already in town en route to North Carolina. They were stranded in London due to lack of funds for completing their trip. Spotswood immediately agreed to pay their passage if they consented to go to Virginia instead, and they arrived in the colony in April 1714 (Cappon 1945:7; Havighurst 1967:46-47). While some historians state that the Germans were always free and never indentured (i.e., Myers 1974:34), others believe that they signed an indentured contract with Spotswood for four to five years of servitude to pay for their transport (i.e., Wurst 1984:48).

This first group of Germans included 12 families, most of whom were involved in the iron industry in Germany (Table 3.1). Reverend Henry Haeger, his wife and two children joined the colonists soon after arrival, resulting in a total of 46 people within 13 families who began settlement at Germanna (Myers 1974:28). After arriving in the colony, the Germans cut a road from the port at Tappahannock to their new home on Spotswood's land. In honor of these Germans and Queen Anne, the area was named Germanna (Wayland 1989:10). The road to the fort, built by the Germans under the

orders of the Governor of Virginia (Spotswood), was named the Germanna Road. Soon after they arrived in the Germanna area, Spotswood (1885:70) wrote of Germanna to the Lord Commissioners of Trade that: "...I have placed here a number of Protestants Germans, built them a Fort, and finish'd it with 2 pieces of Cannon and some Ammunition, which will awe the Stragglings of Northern Indians, and be a god Barrier for all that part of the Country..."

Table 3.1 German families who built Fort Germanna in 1714

Family Name	Husband/Wife	Children	Other
Albrect	John Justus		
Brumback	Melchoir, Elizabeth		
Coons	Joseph, Kathrina	John, Kathrina	
Fishback	Herman, Kathrina	none	
Fishback	John, Agnes	none	
Fishback	Phillip, Elizabeth		Hans Jacob (unknown relation)
Hitt	Peter, Elizabeth		
Hoffman	John Henry, Kathrina	none	
Holtzclaw	Jacob, Margaret	John, Henry	
Kempner	John, Alice Kathrina	none	
Martin	John Joseph, Maria Kathrina	none	
Otterbach	Herman, Elizabeth	Philip, John	
Rector	Jacob, Elizabeth	John	
Spillman	John, Mary	none	
Weaver	Jacob		
Weaver	Tillman		Ann (mother)

The fort built by the Germans at Germanna resembled Christianna in several key ways (Figure 3.4). A description of the fort left by John Fontaine (Fontaine 1972:88-89), who visited the fort area in 1715 and 1716, said that the fort:

...is palisaded with stakes stuck in the ground, and laid close the one to the other, and of substance to bear out a musket-shot. There are but nine families, and they have nine houses, built all in a line; and before every house, about twenty feet distant from it, they have small sheds built for their hogs and hens, so that the hog-sties and houses make a street. The place that is paled in is a pentagon, very regularly laid out; and in the very centre there is a blockhouse, made with five sides, which answer to the five sides of the great inclosure; there are loop-holes through it, from which you may see all the sides of the inclosure.

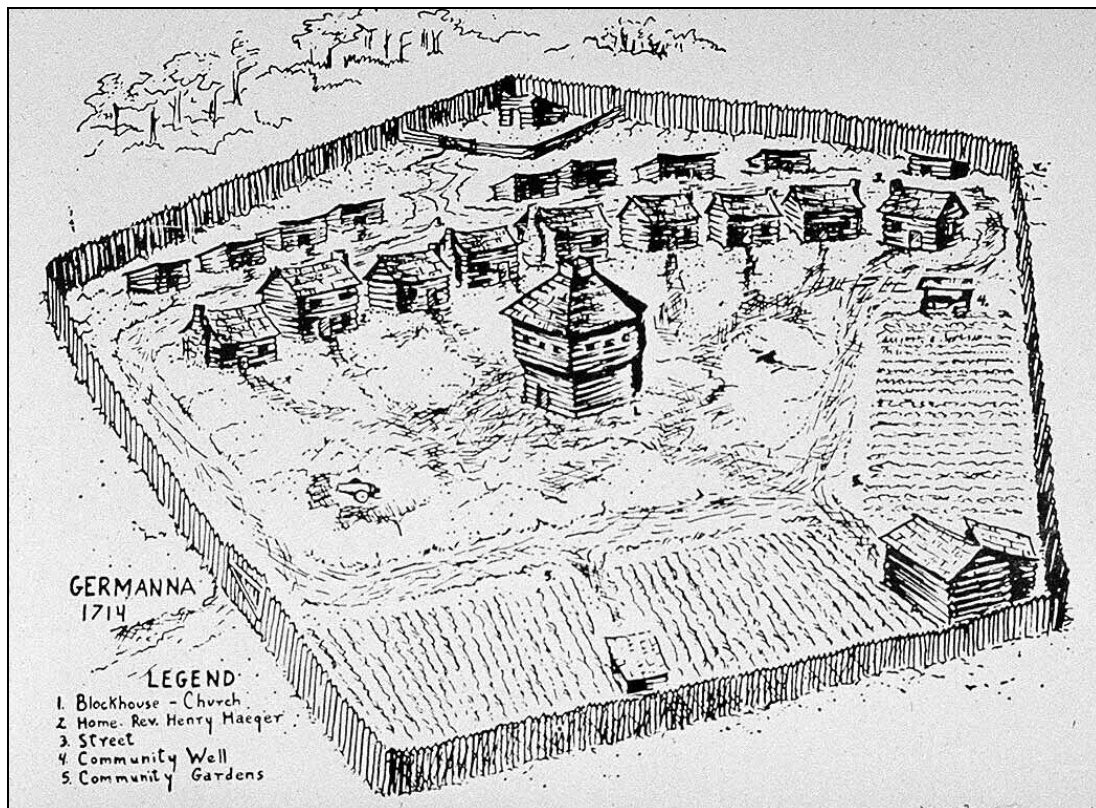


Figure 3.4 Sketch of Fort Germanna, based on period descriptions (Wayland 1989:24).

In addition, there was also a community garden and well within the enclosure, and two cannons were later brought to the fort for protection (Myers 1974:32).

The block house located in the center of the fort was used for both protection and for community worship. Fontaine (1972:89) stated: “They go to prayers constantly once a day, and have two sermons on Sunday. We went to hear them perform their service, which was done in their own language, which we did not understand; but they seemed to be very devout , and sang the psalms very well.” The German colonists had founded the first German Reform Church in the United States.

It was from Fort Germanna that the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe expedition departed on August 29, 1716. As Spotswood (1885:295) himself recounted two years later:

The Chief Aim of my Expedition over the great Mountains in 1716, was to satisfy my Self whether it was practicable to come at the Lakes. Having on that occasion found an easy passage over that great Ridge of Mountains w’ch before were judged Unpassable, I also discovered, by the relation of Indians who frequent those parts, that from the pass where I was It is but three days March to a great Nation of Indians living on a River w’ch discharges itself into the Lake Erie.

During the Knights expedition, a group of gentlemen and their servants traversed western Virginia and crested the Blue Ridge Mountains to explore the western reaches of the colony. As Doug Sanford (1990b:5) observed, this journey was less about the physical exploration of the land beyond the known borders and more of a emblematic trip representing English territorialism: “Spotswood’s expedition was indeed a symbolic

venture, one meant to denote the opening of the piedmont and valley regions to English settlement.”

Up until only a few years ago, the exact location of the fort within the Germanna area was not known. A small portion of the exterior palisade wall, though, was found during excavations at the Enchanted Castle site in the 1990s. Archaeological work on this segment of palisade wall proved Fontaine’s description, as the narrow trench contained triangular post holes set very close together (Sanford 1993:4-7). No further work has yet been completed on the palisade to identify its exact orientation or to determine if below-ground evidence of any additional portions of the fort or the buildings within its walls remain intact.

THE GROWTH OF GERMANNA, 1717 TO 1720

Realizing the potential for the area to act as a frontier community and the ample opportunities from available natural resources, the Lieutenant Governor brought over additional groups of German indentured servants in 1717 and 1719, and the population of the Germanna area grew to over 200 people (Schurict 1977:66–69). The settlers outgrew the fort, and Germanna developed into a frontier town within a few years after its initial founding.

Although all groups of settlers brought to the area were of German descent, many differences marked the groups and, thus, their experiences in the colony. Whereas the 1714 settlers were German Swiss Protestants and some say they had no legal ties to

Germanna, the 1717 colonists were Lutheran Palatine Germans who were “sold” to Spotswood as indentured servants (Table 3.2). This group originally intended to settle in Pennsylvania, but they inadvertently landed on the coast of Virginia, where they remained until Spotswood paid the ship’s Captain their passage. Although they originally had not intended to enter the indenture system, they were subsequently required to work at Germanna for seven years to repay their passage.

Table 3.2 Second group of Germans, who arrived at Germanna in 1717.

Family Name	Husband/Wife	Children
Auberge	Conrad	
Ballenger	Andrew	
Blankenbaker	Balthaser	
Blankenbaker	Matthias	
Broil	Jacob, Ursley	Conrad, Elizabeth
Broil	John	
Carpenter	William, Elizabeth	
Clore	Michael, Katherina	
Cobbler	Frederick	
Cook	Michael, Mary	
Fleshman	Zerechias	
Holt	Michael	
Kaffer	Michael, Katherina	
Kerker	Andrew, Margarita	Barbara
Mayer	George	
Paulitz	Philip	
Pavler [Parlur]	Christopher, Pauera	
Sheibe	George	
Smith	Michael, Katherina	
Snyder	Hendrick	
Snyder	Henry, Dorothy	
Turner	Robert, Mary	Christopher, Christianna, Katherina, Mary, Parva
Utz	George	
Yeager	Nicholas, Mary	Adam, Mary
Zimmerman	Christopher, Elizabeth	John, Andrew

The 1717 group, larger in number than the original colony, also included numerous trades. While they likely helped out in the iron mines, the ore had already been found by the 1714 group, and mining expertise was not necessarily required. The 1717 group included millers, teachers, farmers, blacksmiths, carpenters, and many other craftspeople who could help Spotswood build Germanna into a thriving community (e.g., Lewis 1988).

The presence of a third group of settlers is somewhat disputed. Although it is generally agreed upon that additional Germans arrived at Germanna in 1719, it is not known if they were members of a formal group brought over to live in the new community or if only a few families came over to join relatives already settled in the area. Most of the 1719 arrivals were also Lutheran, and their occupations tended towards general craft skills rather than mining.

Tubal Ironworks

With the help of the German workers, and later African slaves, Spotswood's iron business became the largest and most successful ironwork in the country in the first decades of the eighteenth century. The Spotsylvania Iron Works, as he called it, was located 13 miles east of Germanna on Pipe Dam Creek. Contemporaries named Spotswood the Tubal Cane of Virginia, thus his iron works became known as Tubal. The iron works included both the iron mines and the foundry (Goolrick 1935:7).

This iron has been proved, and it is thought, will come at as cheap a rate as any imported from other places, so that 'tis to be hoped Colonel Spotswood's work will in a small time prove very

advantageous to Great Britain, which undoubtedly will be carried to great perfection and universal benefit, by his skillful management and indefatigable application to such noble undertakings and glorious projects (Jones 1724:90).

Iron from Tubal was sent throughout the colony from Spotswood's newest enterprise, a wharf on Massaponax Run, located between the iron mines and the Leaseland, later renamed Fredericksburg, near present-day Four-Mile Fork. The iron was said to be of the best quality as any iron found elsewhere in the country or abroad. The cast furnace was also located at Massaponnax, as well as storehouses, a tavern, and other businesses associated with the wharf. Although it is not known exactly when Spotswood's furnace went into operation, advertisement of byproducts made at the furnace began by 1723 (Cappon 1945:11).

Spotswood and the Colonial Road System

Besides general colonization, one of Spotswood and the German's most important contributions to north-central Virginia was transportation routes. Prior to the founding of Fort Germanna, the only transportation routes in this area were the waterways and few forest paths created by Native Americans (Virginia Department of transportation [VDOT] 2002:2). The first European-based roadway in the area was a bridle path, ordered by the Virginia council in April 1714. A bridle path was very narrow and primarily used by travelers on horseback. Though they were the shortest route between two points, they were often the most treacherous (Mansfield 1977; Pawlett 1977; VDOT 2002). The Germanna path was developed by the Fort Germanna

settlers, and led from Tappahannock to the falls near the Leaseland and on to the fort (Mansfield 1977:38). This soon became known as the Germanna Road.

A few years later, a rolling road was built through this area. Rolling roads were the widest and best maintained roads of early Virginia. They were used to roll hogsheads of tobacco to a market or wharf, and they had to be away from all stream crossings to keep the tobacco dry (Mansfield 1977; Pawlett 1977; VDOT 2002). The new road, appropriately called Mines Road, connected Germanna to both Tubal Iron Works and Massaponax wharf.

Most of the roads were built to or from a site developed by Spotswood, including the town of Germanna, Germanna Ferry, Tubal Iron Works, and Massaponax Wharf, which indicated his great wealth, power, and control over the landscape. A study of area road orders from 1721 to 1740 showed that over one-quarter of all road orders contained roads leading to or from a Spotswood-influenced property. Germanna Road, running east-west from Fredericksburg to Germanna, was one of the main conduits to reach other outlying areas of the county. All rolling roads in the county continued to lead to Massaponax, including a new rolling road, the largest in the county, which went from Massaponax to the Leaseland (Mansfield 1977:150).

THE CREATION OF SPOTSYLVANIA COUNTY

By 1721, Spotswood had not only pushed the western boundary of the colony by hundreds of miles, but he also brought about radical change in the economy, population,

and transportation system of north-central Virginia. The growth was so impressive, at least to the governor himself, that he pushed the House to create two new counties. One county was Brunswick, which contained Fort Christianna, and the other surrounded Germanna. He named this county for himself—Spotsylvania (Felder 1982:13).

Spotsylvania County was formed from what was Essex County. Essex County once contained the majority of northern Virginia, from Lancaster County on the east to the Blue Ridge Mountains on the west (Joyner 1999:13). The new county contained the Leaseland, Massaponax Wharf, Tubal Iron Works, and Germanna (Felder 1982:13). Within one year of the establishment of Spotsylvania County, 150,000 acres were patented within the county boundaries. Over one-half of those acres belonged to Alexander Spotswood (Felder 1982; Mansfield 1977; Wayland 1989), with the accumulation of land representing one of the most significant ways a planter could demonstrate his means (Wells 1994:123).

For the county seat, Spotswood chose Germanna. It was the most advanced and largest community in the new county, all of the roads at that time led there, and Spotswood had also recently developed a ferry to help traverse the Rapidan River at this location. The Virginia government allocated £500 to build a courthouse, church, prison, pillory, and stocks, and others who lived there built homes and other commercial buildings. The first session of court was held in the Summer of 1722, and one of the first orders of business was to grant a license to John Finlason for a tavern. Finlason ran the tavern out of his home from 1722 until 1728 and hosted most of the incoming court

officials during sessions at Germanna (Miller 1985). This is believed to be the first business in Spotsylvania County not owned or established by Alexander Spotswood.

The year 1722 was significant, not only for developments at Germanna, but for the change in Virginia politics. In that year, Alexander Spotswood was replaced by Hugh Drysdale as Lieutenant Governor (Felder 1982:14), ending his twelve year-reign of Virginia government. Like many of the other Lieutenant Governors both before and after him, Spotswood's relationship with both the crown and the Virginia council became increasingly strained in his later years of leadership. For example, during the 1718 House of Burgesses elections, a close group of councilors highly encouraged Virginians to only vote for anti-Spotswood supporters. "The long honeymoon between the governor and the Virginia 'creolians' was definitely over" (Route 1971:196). Ironically, Alexander Spotswood did not even believe the majority of the Virginia voters should even have the right to vote. He called the Virginia voting laws "a defect in the Constitution, which allows to every one, tho' but just out of the Condition of a Servant, and they can but purchase half an acre of Land, an equal Vote with Men of the best Estate in the Country" (Spotswood 1885:2).

As he became involved in his own affairs and business ventures, he found himself agreeing with the politics of the crown less and less. Moreover, a division within the Virginia General Assembly put Spotswood in a somewhat awkward spot. While he was admired and befriended by some members of the council, others, such as William Fitzhugh II and William Byrd II, wanted Spotswood out of the scene in hopes of attaining a new Governor with similar political ideas.

Spotswood and Byrd had a tumultuous relationship from the beginning of Spotswood's tenure in the colony. Byrd regularly recorded his conflicts with Spotswood in his diaries, and the nickname he uses sarcastically for Spotswood throughout his diary entries, *Arrogante*, sums up his opinion of the Lieutenant Governor. Byrd's involvement in ending Spotswood's term is clearly stated in a 1722 letter from John Custis of Virginia to Byrd, who had gone to England to discuss the Spotswood issue with representatives of the crown. "The news of a new Govern'r: was very surprising here and you and ye Commissary are generally thought to work this revolution" (Custis 1732). Thus ended Spotswood's commitment to the crown, and he began his life as a Virginia colonist.

THE ENCHANTED CASTLE

After his tenure as Lieutenant Governor ended, Spotswood became a resident of Germanna. He found out he was replaced as Governor in October 1722 after returning from a meeting in New York, where Spotswood and other colonial governors discussed a treaty with the Iroquois Indians. Without the use of the Governor's Palace or the house on Lot 174, he no longer had a home in Williamsburg, and he chose to reside in Germanna and concentrate on development in that area. This gave him time to concentrate on Spotsylvania County government, beginning tobacco planting, and the production of iron at Tubal Furnace.

Although it is known that he resided at Germanna after 1722, the exact date of the beginning of his occupation and the construction date of his mansion at Germanna are unknown [See Chapters 5 and 6 for a full analysis of, and hypotheses on, archival and physical information on this topic]. According to Spotsylvania County records, the first meeting of the Spotsylvania County court met at Germanna on August 1, 1722. The courthouse, church, nor Spotswood's home had been completed by this time, and researcher are not sure of the exact location of this first meeting. However, county records indicate that Spotswood offered up the use of one of the rooms in his house as the clerk's office until all of the public buildings were completed in 1724.

No images of Spotswood's residence at Germanna exist today, and very few written accounts of the house complex have been found. Hugh Jones, who visited the area in the late 1710s or early 1720s, only mentioned that Spotswood was building a "dwelling-house" (Jones 1724:91), but in 1732 Byrd provided a more thorough description of the area. He called the home "Colonel Spotswood's enchanted castle" (Byrd 1966:355). Although Spotswood likely called the home simply Germanna, the public embraced the romantic notion of an "Enchanted Castle" in the nineteenth century, and the name has remained with the home for the past century.

Byrd also stated: "I was carried into a room elegantly set off with pier glasses...We all kept snug in our several apartments till nine" (Byrd 1966:355-356). Based on these few clues, the home was quite large and elaborately decorated, but it's exact appearance or the internal configuration is not known. Although Spotswood could have recorded design concepts and/or additional details on his home in his personal

records, most of his writings were destroyed in several fires at the Wren Building at the College of William and Mary in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

WHEN THE MASTER'S AWAY...

By 1724, most Spotsylvania County buildings had been completed at Germanna, and Spotswood was likely living in his “dwelling-house”. The first Germanna colonists (1714) left the area around 1718 to settle in what is now Germantown in Fauquier County. The Second colony (1717 and possibly 1719) did not have a smooth transition between indentured servants and yeoman farmers. Spotswood signed all of the colonists on as indentured servants to pay for their passage across the Atlantic. By 1724, the 1717 colonists had completed their seven years of labor, and they wished to move elsewhere. Several records in the Spotsylvania County court annals of late 1723 to early 1725 discuss court cases between Spotswood and members of the second colony (Spotsylvania County Will Book A), as Spotswood sued the majority of the male colonists for attempting to break their indenture contracts and wanting to leave the area to form their own community. In the end, the colonists and Spotswood came to an agreement, and by 1726, most of the 1717 colonists had moved away from Germanna to what is now Madison County, Virginia.

Between 1724 and 1729, Spotswood left the colony to settle several matters back in England. Primarily, he sought to establish firm title to his Virginia lands and clear up tax issues. Spotswood had amassed a very large amount of land between 1710

and 1724, some of which he outright purchased and portions that were deeded to him based on the Virginia laws of colonization. Land was to be given to those who encouraged settlement by bringing over new colonists. The headright system provided that 50 acres of land were given to a planter for each new person imported into the colony. During his time in London, Spotswood proved that he imported over 300 white settlers into Virginia, thus cementing his entitlement to his very large amount of land (Vann and Dixon 1961:28-29).

Spotswood not only legally attained tens of thousands of acres, but he established one of the largest iron enterprises in the new world that, initially, substantially benefited the crown. More important, both the agricultural modifications to the land and the mining and smelting of the ore had the potential to bring him great wealth. Moreover, ownership of this land brought with it the responsibility for improvement. Within his 83,000 acres of land, he possessed 57 plantations, 625 cattle, and 73 horses, along with numerous roads, ferries, bridges, orchards, and other developments (Havighurst 1967:109). He also had numerous indentured servants and had begun to acquire African slaves to work his land and manufacturing operations [See below for a discussion of Spotswood and slavery].

The Spotswood Family Grows

While in England, Spotswood met and married Anne Butler Brayne, and they had the first two of their four children. John Pratt, one of Spotswood's friends who lived in Chelsea, England, wrote of Spotswood often to his niece Elizabeth Pratt, who lived in

Williamsburg. About a month after Spotswood and Anne were married, John Pratt wrote that the “young Lady [Anne] is said to be wonderful pretty; but no money” and more importantly, “Col.^o hath taken a house in Duke Street near the Park where he now lives and doth not intend to Virginia anymore” (Pratt 1725). Spotswood was obviously enjoying his reprieve in England, as he expressed his desire to remain in England permanently to his friend. Spotswood built a small empire in Virginia and then considered giving it up without seeing it prosper. Regardless of his earlier feelings, however, Spotswood settled his affairs by the end of 1728 and returned to Virginia in 1729 with his wife and children.

During the five years he was away from Germanna, the economy of the county flourished, as tobacco production more than doubled and the iron mines continued high production (Felder 1982:30). Spotswood’s home and businesses were left in charge of John Graeme, Spotswood’s cousin, and his wife Elizabeth, both from London. All accounts suggest that Graeme’s management was, in general, severely lacking in organization and proficiency despite impressive production numbers (Cappon 1945:12). During his tenure as manager of Germanna, almost all of the German’s who were brought over by Spotswood in the 1710s had left the area to form their own colonies. This left the work to the remaining English indentured servants and free colonists who lived at Germanna and, moreover, to the newest additions to Spotswood’s Germanna holdings, African slaves.

Spotswood and Slavery

When Alexander Spotswood arrived in the colony, the institution of slavery had existed in the colony for almost 100 years. However, the first quarter of the eighteenth century saw one of the highest and fastest growths of the number of enslaved Africans in the colony, as the population doubled from 70,000 to 140,000 slaves (Mullin 1976:159). The general opinion of slavery among the white planters was that it was necessary to the survival of their way of live and the prosperity of the colony. As Landon Carter of Sabine Hall Plantation wrote in his diary in 1776 (1965:1054-1055): “Much is said of the slavery of negroes, but how will servants be provided in these times? Those few servants that we have don’t do as much as the poorest of slaves we have. If you free the slaves, you must send them out of the country or they must steal for their support”.

When Spotswood came to the colony, slaves were likely provided for his use upon his arrival. He set up his own home by 1713 and had probably purchased several slaves to help complete household tasks such as cooking and cleaning, as well as for the care of his horses. Although Spotswood mentions the institution of slavery many times in his official correspondence, almost all of it is in relation to taxes paid upon the importation of slaves as well as slave ownership. On February 7, 1716, however, in a letter to the Lord Commissioners of Trade in London, Spotswood (1885:203) wrote:

...in this Dominion no Master has such a Sovereign Power over his Slave as not be liable to be called to an Account whenever he kills him; that at the same time, the Slave is the Master’s Property, he is likewise the King’s Subject, and that the King may lawfully bring

to Tryal all Persons here, without exception, who shall be suspected to have destroyed the Life of his Subject.

Spotswood here presents the idea that African-Americans, although brought over as a source of labor, were in fact colonists in the eyes of the crown. He clearly aligns their basic social position in this statement to that of indentured servants, with the very large exception that their servitude won't end in a mere five to seven years. This is a notable belief that was not adopted by later Governors of Virginia, whether representatives of the crown or, later, native born. He later states in the same letter: "...it is so far from my nature to caress those who delight in inhumane Severitys" (Spotswood 1885:203).

The first direct mention of Spotswood owning slaves was by Hugh Jones (1724:91) during his early 1720s visit to Germanna: "...and with his servants and Negroes he has cleared plantations about it, proposing great encouragement for people to come and settle in that uninhabited part of the world, lately divided into a county".

Later, when William Byrd visited Spotswood in 1732, he learned that 80 slaves had run away during the time Spotswood was in England and his affairs were left in the hands of his cousin, John Graeme (Byrd 1966:358). A runaway rate of 80 slaves within a five year period suggests that a very high number of slaves worked and lived across the various Spotswood properties. In Byrd's description of Spotswood's mines, he learned that slave labor was an integral part of the ironworks. Spotswood brought over slaves knowledgeable in iron crafts to help his blast furnace and casting works prosper. As Byrd (1966:358) described their discussion on this matter, "he believes that by his directions he could bring sensible Negroes to perform those parts of the work tolerably

well.” In this way, Spotswood was a key player in adapting the institution of slavery to industry, in particular the iron business, and moreover, at least partially moving beyond the idea that African-Americans were incapable of rational thought, a very popular idea at that time amongst elite white planters.

THE COLONEL RETURNS

Despite the change in the labor force and, thus, constituency of the town of Germanna, the Spotsylvania County court ran smoothly for the first few years of Spotswood’s absence, but his five year tenure in England gave county officials and other area planters a taste of what it could be like without the constant supervision of Alexander Spotswood. Several influential residents of Spotsylvania County, including Larkin Chew, repeatedly petitioned the House of Burgesses to move the county seat further east, where the majority of the county population resided. In 1728, while Alexander Spotswood was in England, the House finally addressed the issue and decided that a town should be formally created at the Leaseland. The town was to incorporate 50 acres on the Rappahannock River and was renamed Fredericksburgh Town (Felder 1982:33).

By 1729, Spotswood had resolved his land and tax issues in England and returned to Virginia to introduce his wife and children to Germanna. Upon his return, he discovered that most of the Germans had left the area, and a high number of the slaves brought on by Graeme had run away. His iron furnace, while still producing a good

quantity of material, was way under production capacity, and Spotswood decided to take over control of the enterprise himself (Cappon 1945:14). In addition, in 1730, Spotswood was made Postmaster General of North America and the West Indies at a salary of £300 a year. Thus, he was instrumental in bringing the postal system to the southern colonies and in establishing the basis of the modern postal system. Interestingly, in 1737, he appointed a young assistant to be postmaster in the Philadelphia area, Benjamin Franklin (Havighurst 1967:111). The Virginia postal system was operated out of another Spotswood-founded community, aptly named New Post, located at the intersection of what are today Routes 2 and 17 south of Fredericksburg.

Despite the reestablishment of Germanna's capabilities at Spotswood's return, the county seat of Spotsylvania officially moved to Fredericksburg on October 1, 1732 for the convenience of all inhabitants and county officials. A courthouse was begun in town, as well as a church, prison, and other governmental and commercial buildings (Mansfield 1977:89). Several residents remained at Germanna, including a tavern keeper, ferry operator, and, of course, the Spotswood family. Although a few members of the town stayed around, most inhabitants and activity surrounding the town were gone. It was at this time that William Byrd of Westover called the Spotswood residence an "Enchanted Castle", likely Byrd's sarcastic commentary on the enormous architectural mansion in the middle of an empty town.

In 1734, Germanna became a part of newly-developed Orange County, thus divorcing Spotswood's Enchanted Castle and the town of Germanna from the county

that bore his name. The new county roughly extended from the Germanna area on the east to what is now Culpeper County on the west. In deciding where the new county seat would be located, records show that Germanna, or at least land owned by Spotswood, was considered one of the choices. In a court record written by Alexander Spotswood (1735) dated January 6, 1735, he stated:

Whereas I have been desired to Declare upon what Terms I will admit the Court House of Orange County to be built upon my land... I am not only willing to satisfy such Commissioners that no obstruction, in that point, will arise on my part, but am also disposed to make these Terms as easie to the County as can well be expected; I do therefore hereby Declare that I Consent to the Building a Court House, Prison, Pillory or Stocks, on any part of my Lands, not already Leased or appropriated.

The county seat of Orange was not placed at Germanna, however, but at the newly named community of Orange, just north of the lands of another up-and-coming Virginia family, the Madison's. The move reflects the continued competition among the elite planters in colonial Virginia. In Spotswood's case, he won the creation of a county in his name, but quickly lost the county seat to a family of native Virginians, just the case he vehemently fought against during his years as colonial Governor.

THE END OF AN ERA

Between 1735 and 1739, Spotswood remained at Germanna, where he continued to run his tobacco plantation and oversee the ironworks, although by the end of the 1730s he brought on an overseer for the on-site portion of the management of Tubal

Iron Furnace (Cappon 1945:14). Despite the fact that a town had been in existence around his home for over 15 years, Spotswood still retained ownership of the entire property and repeatedly stated that the community was “his” and referred to the residents as “my people”. In a letter written on August 17, 1736 to Mr. Zachary Lewis of the Orange County Court, Spotswood complains of the behavior of William Hawking, keeper of the Germanna Ferry.

I desire you to move the Court about the Ferry at Germanna, reminding them of the express Condition, upon which William Hawkings was allowed to be Ferry-keeper there; which was, that he should keep no Ordinary, or Tipling House so near my Dwelling; to the end my People might not be drawn away from their Business. But that Condition is now so audaciously violated, as openly to bring thither great quantities of Rum & Sugar, & to make my House at the continual Resort for my Servants and Workman, with other loose & profligate persons; insomuch that during a month past, I have not got done Ten Days [work] by my Joyner, or Shoemaker... (Spotswood 1736)

Spotswood goes on to state that, as he pays the taxes on over 130 tithables in the county, he should not have to deal with this type of insolence on his land. In what appears to be an almost desperate proclamation of power, Spotswood repeatedly reminds the court of his position in society, his wealth, and his ability to control the lives of many people around him, including his servants, slaves, and even town residents. Despite the establishment of the county seat at Orange, Germanna remained an important location on the landscape, and Spotswood's mansion complex and the town of Germanna were prominently displayed on Virginia maps throughout the first half of the eighteenth century (Figure 3.5).

By 1739, Spotswood seems to have had enough “insolence” and revokement of power. He offered his Germanna property and Tubal Iron Works up for lease in the *Virginia Gazette* (Spotswood 1945), stating:

Col. Spotswood. Intending, next year, to leave Virginia, with his family, hereby give notice that he shall, in April next, dispose of a quantity of choice household furniture, together with a coach, chariot, chaise, coach horse, house slaves, &c. And that the rich lands in Orange County, which he has hitherto reserved for his own seating, he now leases out for lives, renewable until Christmas 1775... He further gives notice, that he is ready to treat with any person of good credit, for farming out, for 21 years, Germanna and its contiguous lands with the stocks thereon, and some slaves. As also for farming out for the like term of years, an extraordinary grist-mill and bolting-mill, lately built by the best mill-wrights in America; and both going by water, taken by a long race out of the River Rapidanne; together with 600 acres of seated lands adjoining to the said mill.

Before he could lease his property, though, the military man in him was once again called to arms, as he volunteered to fight in England’s growing war with Spain at the age of 64. In 1740, while in Annapolis, Maryland waiting to be sent to sea, Spotswood died. By then, most of the inhabitants of Germanna had moved away because, without the county government, Germanna again became a sparsely inhabited backwater. The boundary of the frontier at this time had been pushed many miles westward, thus Germanna was a direct reflection of both Spotswood’s successes and his failures.

Spotswood’s widow Anne continued to live at Germanna for two years after his death. In 1742, she married Reverend John Thompson, and they lived at Salubria, a Georgian manor house and plantation across the Rapidan and west along the Germanna

Road from the Enchanted Castle (Mansfield 1977:49). The Enchanted Castle and all of Spotswood's property at Germanna, New Post, and Massaponnax went to his eldest son John at the re-marriage of his mother. Archival records suggest that John lived at least part time at Germanna until his marriage to Mary Dandridge in 1745, after which he permanently resided at New Post. It is believed that the Enchanted Castle burned to the ground around 1750 (Mansfield 1977:49); some say it happened during the soldering of a new roof, but no record exist to pinpoint the exact cause. The community of Germanna and all that remained of the old government buildings had been almost completely abandoned by this time.

When John Spotswood died in 1758, the Germanna property went to his son Alexander, grandson of the Governor, who lived at New Post. No Spotswood's lived at Germanna for the next quarter century, but they retained ownership of the property until 1781. Although the community of Germanna and Governor Spotswood's Enchanted Castle were abandoned, the site was still desirable. In fact, the name and site of Germanna continued to be depicted on Virginia maps throughout the eighteenth and into the nineteenth centuries (Figure 3.6). In 1781, Alexander Spotswood sold the property to Peter Conway, who in turn sold it to a group that included James Gordon Jr. Though the exact chain of title has not been determined, by 1797, the Gordon's became sole owners of the property that contained the site of the town of Germanna and the Spotswood mansion (Miller 1984). The Gordon's built their family home, domestic outbuildings, and landscape features on the same crest that Spotswood selected for his

mansion at the turn of the century and lived there throughout the nineteenth century (Wayland 1989) (Figure 3.7).



Figure 3.6 1797 Map of Virginia, showing the location of Germanna (Map on file, Central Rappahannock Regional Library, Fredericksburg, Virginia).



Figure 3.7 The Gordon House, as photographed in the 1920s (Photo on file, MWC, CHP).

The Gordon farm and the site of the Enchanted Castle again entered the history books in 1863 and 1864, as Confederate and Federal troops marched past the Gordon home, over the Enchanted Castle site, and across Germanna Bridge on the way to the battles of Chancellorsville and the Wilderness. The Gordon family sold the property on January 13, 1887 to J. M. Harris, and it remained in the Harris family until 1946. The home built by the Gordon family was abandoned by the 1920s, and the site became a fallow field for the rest of the twentieth century. That is, until the archaeologists arrived.

CHAPTER 4

PREVIOUS HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH ON GERMANNA

The ideal feature for architectural study would be the remains of a house that was built with wall trenches, deep chimney base, and cellars, was occupied for a relatively short period of time, was not added onto in any way, and burned in place.

-James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten* (1996)

North-Central Virginia, like many other regions of America, has seen abundant changes in the past three centuries. Many areas were almost completely destroyed in the Civil War and currently, the region is slowly becoming enveloped in urban sprawl from Washington D.C. to the north and Richmond to the south. With all of the destruction and development in this area, a majority of the historic sites have either been significantly altered or permanently destroyed. It is this development that eventually led to the “rediscovery” of Germanna.

THE HISTORY OF ARCHAEOLOGY AT GERMANNA

The earliest research on Germanna concentrated on the life and politics of Alexander Spotswood. As a Lieutenant Governor and one of the main figures in the

early development of the colony, historians have researched Spotswood and his influence on Virginia since the mid-nineteenth century, and the legends surrounding his life and rule have lead to his status as one of the ‘great white men of Virginia’. The pastoralization of eighteenth century gentry life, as exemplified through such works as William Alexander Caruthers’ (1970) *The Knights of the Golden Horseshoe, a Traditionary Tale of the Cocked Hat Gentry in the Old Dominion*, originally published in 1846, brought about renewed interest in Spotswood’s life in the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth century.

Though most of Spotswood’s personal records burned in several fires at the College of William and Mary, the Virginia Historical Society printed his official government letters in 1885 (Spotswood 1885). Through these letters, colonial county records, and colloquial knowledge, the general presence of Germanna had been recognized for decades. Germanna and Germanna Ford continued to appear on maps of the area into the twentieth century, but the exact location of Fort Germanna and the Enchanted Castle was not known.

Early twentieth-century research on Germanna’s community primarily comprised genealogical research conducted by the descendents of the German immigrants who were brought to Germanna between 1714 and 1719. Many records associated with Germanna’s founding inhabitants are located in the Virginia State Library, the primary state archival repository, and within privately held family documents. In 1956, descendents of several of the Germanna families created the Memorial Foundation of the Germanna Colonies in Virginia, Inc. Among their tenets

was “to preserve and make known the history of the several Germanna Colonies, their operations under the patronage of Alexander Spotswood, his residence and activities at Germanna and in the surrounding area” (Memorial Foundation of Germanna 2003). In 1959, they succeeded in having the stretch of Route 3 between Culpepper and Fredericksburg, originally a portion of the 1714 Germanna Road, renamed “The Germanna Highway”, and several historic markers along Route 3 commemorate the area’s early history (Figure 4.1).



Figure 4.2 Street signs showing the current influence of Spotswood and Germanna (Photo by author).

Though research continued on the individuals who once lived at Germanna, the site itself was virtually unknown until the late-1960s. The Virginia Research Center for Archeology (VRCA, now part of the VDHR), the Orange County Historical Society (OCHS), and the Virginia Historic Landmark Commission (VHLC) all sponsored limited visits to the area between 1965 and 1969 in an attempt to locate both Fort Germanna and the Spotswood home. Initially, it was believed that the site was located on the south side of Route 3 near Germanna Community College, but this is actually the site of the Urquhart Mill, an early nineteenth century community (Figure 4.2).

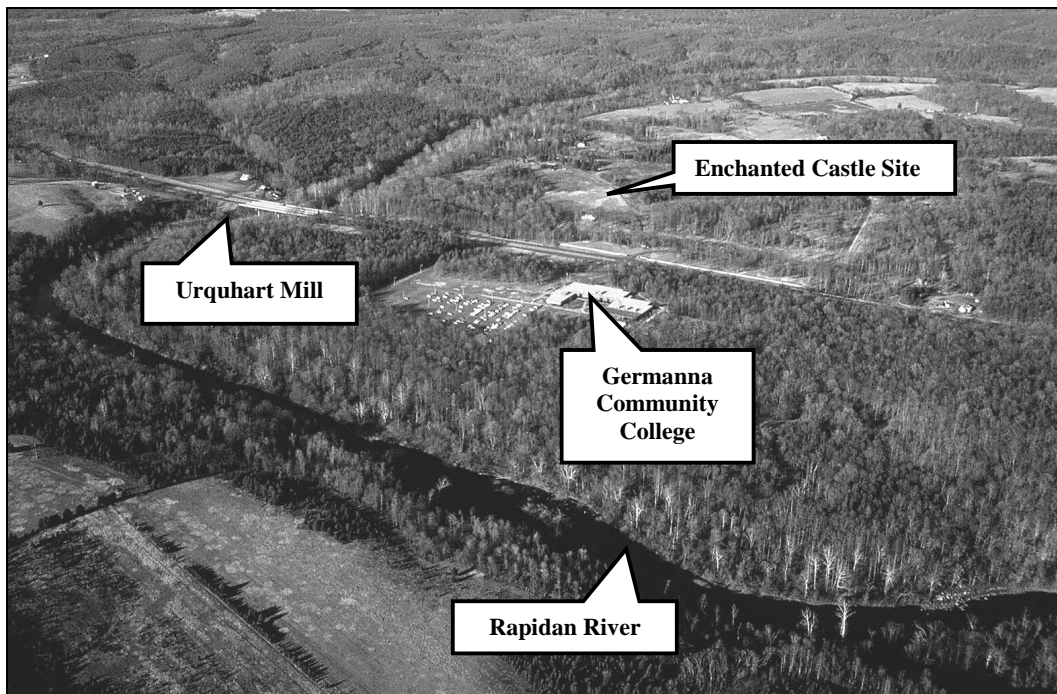


Figure 4.2 Aerial view of the Germanna area showing the location of the Enchanted Castle site in relation to Germanna Community College and the Urquhart Mills (Photo on file, MWC, CHP).

Definitive evidence of the Enchanted Castle site was discovered in 1969 by Ned Heite, then Virginia State Archaeologist, Howard McCord, and Randolph Grymes of the OCHS. A week-long dig sponsored by the OCHS “obtained enough material to identify the house as being of the early 1700s and to determine that the well made brick which appeared unusual for the location and time was used [sic]” (Grymes 1992). The Enchanted Castle was designated site 44OR3. Between 1969 and 1976, little on-site work was completed, though the topic was not forgotten. Randolph Grymes contacted Dr. William Kelso, then with the VHLC, about further archaeology at the site, which prompted Kelso to reply, “I am obliged to say that if it is not threatened with immediate destruction then it should be left alone” (Kelso 1972).

Development and More Development

Kelso’s premonition of site preservation was short-lived. In 1976, Mr. Ray Glazebrook, a local developer who owned the property and site 44OR3, advised the OCHS that he wanted to build his family home on the Enchanted Castle site. Randolph Grymes immediately contacted Bill Kelso about the potential development. The news prompted great concern among many preservation groups throughout the area and caused the declaration of an “archaeological emergency” for the site (Grymes 1992). The constant and pervading opposition to the project eventually led Glazebrook to give up his plans, but the threat led the VHLC to list the site on the Virginia Landmarks Register and nominate 44OR3 to the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) (Hill 1977).

To support this nomination, archaeologists from the VRCA conducted limited archaeological testing at the Enchanted Castle site to define its boundaries and determine subsurface integrity (Sanford 1989:97). Though the Gordon family constructed their nineteenth-century family home on the same knoll as the Enchanted Castle, their construction appeared to have only partially impacted the remains of the mansion, which turned out to be buried under one to three feet of debris and fill.

Very limited work was conducted at the site from 1978 to 1983, when development once again threatened to destroy the site. In late 1983, Glazebrook sold the Germanna property to Mr. John (Monk) Reynolds, another local real estate developer. Reynolds was planning a platted subdivision across the Germanna property, interestingly named Governor Spotswood Estates, where numerous sprawling suburban brick homes would dot the landscape once dominated by Spotswood's castle. Like Alexander Spotswood in the 1710s, the Gordon family in the 1790s, and Ray Glazebrook centuries later, Reynolds recognized the beauty and advantages to building his home on the crest of land that overlooks the Rapidan River, and he set forth plans to build his family home on site 44OR3. He began to excavate the basement of his home and in doing so, he completely destroyed most of the foundation of the Gordon home and was well under way to completely destroy the entire area. The excavation of Reynold's basement along with the plans to develop the entire Germanna area caused a new "archaeological emergency", which prompted a quick and heart-felt response from many prominent Virginia archaeologists. The list included Ivor Noël-Hume (1984a, b) and Marley Brown (1984) of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Alain Outlaw of

the VRCA (1984a-c), and Bill Kelso (1985), who at the time directed the archaeology program at Monticello. As Noël-Hume (1984b) stated in a letter to Alain Outlaw, then State Archaeologist: “The ‘Enchanted Castle’ faces a crisis barely less traumatic than the fire that brought it down.”

Based on a short-term agreement between the VRCA and Reynolds in March 1984, archaeologists from the VRCA returned to the area to conduct a large-scale salvage project on the Enchanted Castle site prior to residential development. Despite an immense shortage of both time and money, the VRCA succeeded in identifying the majority of the footprint of the mansion foundation, including the main house, the two western dependencies, and the two western hyphens. It is believed that the two eastern dependencies and hyphens, completing the nine-part Palladian plan, were partially destroyed during construction of the Gordon house in the 1790s and subsequent landscape alterations in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Hazzard 1984). One of the most spectacular finds from this testing was an original fireback from the Enchanted Castle (Figure 4.3), which some believe was made of iron ore excavated from Spotswood’s mine. Their findings reiterated the importance of this site and the significance of the archaeological materials. “It was more than a decade ago that I predicted that this could be the most important 18th-century architectural site yet to be excavated in Virginia. Now, having seen the work begun there in recent months, I have no reason to amend that forecast” (Noël-Hume 1984b).



Figure 4.3 Iron fireback found during the 1984 archaeological work at the Enchanted Castle site (Photo on file, MWC, CHP).

HGI Saves the Day

Based on the findings of the salvage work and due to immense efforts by members of the OCHS and VRCA, Historic Gordonsville, Inc. (HGI), a non-profit group based in western Orange County, Virginia, purchased the 62 acres directly

surrounding the site from Reynolds in late 1984 to ensure its permanent protection (Sanford 1989:97). Salvage archaeology ceased, and plans for future research were begun. As stated by Bill Kelso (1985) to William Thomas of OCHS, “I feel that the archaeological potential of the site is so spectacular that it should not in any way be treated as yet another excavation of another vulnerable southern plantation site.”

HGI teamed up with the VRCA and archaeologists from both the University of Virginia (UVA) and the Department of Historic Preservation at Mary Washington College (MWC, now the University of Mary Washington) in Fredericksburg, Virginia to further explore the Enchanted Castle site and begin formal scholarly interpretation of the entire 62-acre tract. Between 1985 and 1986, HGI sponsored a survey of the entire HGI property to record all archaeological sites in the area. This intensive reconnaissance survey recorded a total of 31 sites, several of which were associated with Germanna (Sanford 1989:98).

MWC Excavations, 1985 to the Present

Once a general survey of the entire peninsula had been completed, archaeologists from MWC, led by Dr. Douglas Sanford, returned to site 44OR3 to continue work begun there in 1977 and 1984. The work involved a sampling strategy of archaeological testing across the mansion site. Several units within both the main house area and the outbuildings were systematically excavated to obtain information on site formation processes, assess the subsurface integrity of the architectural remains, and secure a representative sample of artifacts (Sanford 2004: pers. comm.). The broader

goals of this work were to sample both the Enchanted Castle and the landscape around the mansion to look for formal design elements and gain information on the construction and use of the space. In completing this work, the team uncovered a small segment of the exterior palisade of Fort Germanna, thus identifying the location of the fort. Despite a limited search to find other intact segments of the fort, no additional information has thus far been recovered.

Excavations by MWC were conducted every summer from 1985 through 1992 and again from August to December of 1995. These excavations uncovered the footprint of the majority of the main house, two dependencies, two hyphens, and numerous landscape features. The mitigation project also uncovered a plethora of artifacts and architectural remains, one of which was a sub-basement brick tunnel. The presence of the tunnel prompted Bill Kelso (1989) to reiterate the significance of the site by stating:

I have always said that I agree with Noel Hume [sic] that the 'Enchanted Castle' is potentially the most significant architectural ruin in the south and said so in the recent 'Governor's Report on Historic Preservation'. What shows today particularly the intact brick tunnel, bears that out more than ever. Try as I might, I cannot think of anything that has been discovered on an American historical site with such drama.

Though research by MWC continued for several years, the fieldwork primarily consisted of summer field schools using college students and local volunteers. Little of the work was completed by paid staff, and the excavations proceeded slowly due to a serious lack of funding and the complex nature of the site. Sanford published two

significant articles on the landscape of Germanna (1985, 1989) and presented many papers and talks to academic groups, the local community, and the descendents of Spotswood and the Germans. A formal site report, however, has not been completed, and most of the site's massive collection of cultural remains have never been analyzed.

TAPHONOMY OF THE CASTLE; OR, WHAT WAS UNDER THE DIRT

This dissertation is the first substantial interpretation of non-landscape issues related to the Enchanted Castle site. As such, the methodology used in my research has been guided by previous archaeological work on the site. Site 44OR3 is extremely large and multifaceted, and only a small portion of the overall site has been completely excavated. Despite this slight setback, meticulous fieldwork (including measured drawings, photographs, and in-field artifact identification) by all archaeologists has allowed for this architectural analysis.

During most of the initial research at the site between 1977 and 1984, archaeological field methods were guided by the notion that the work was part of a large salvage project prior to area development. As such, most of the earlier work aimed to uncover the uppermost portion of intact foundation walls to identify the general building plan (Figure 4.4). During this work, a grid of over 100 10-x-10-ft squares was established across the area believed to be the core of the main house and the western outbuildings (Figure 4.5). All units were numbered sequentially. Archaeologists removed the upper several inches to one foot of debris across most of the main house

area to expose the top of the basement wall or foundation. Soil was excavated in natural levels (levels A-C usually comprised the upper debris portion), and all soil was screened through ¼-inch mesh. The horizontal and vertical proveniences were measured in feet and inches. Only a small percentage of the units were completely excavated to either subsoil or a cultural floor.

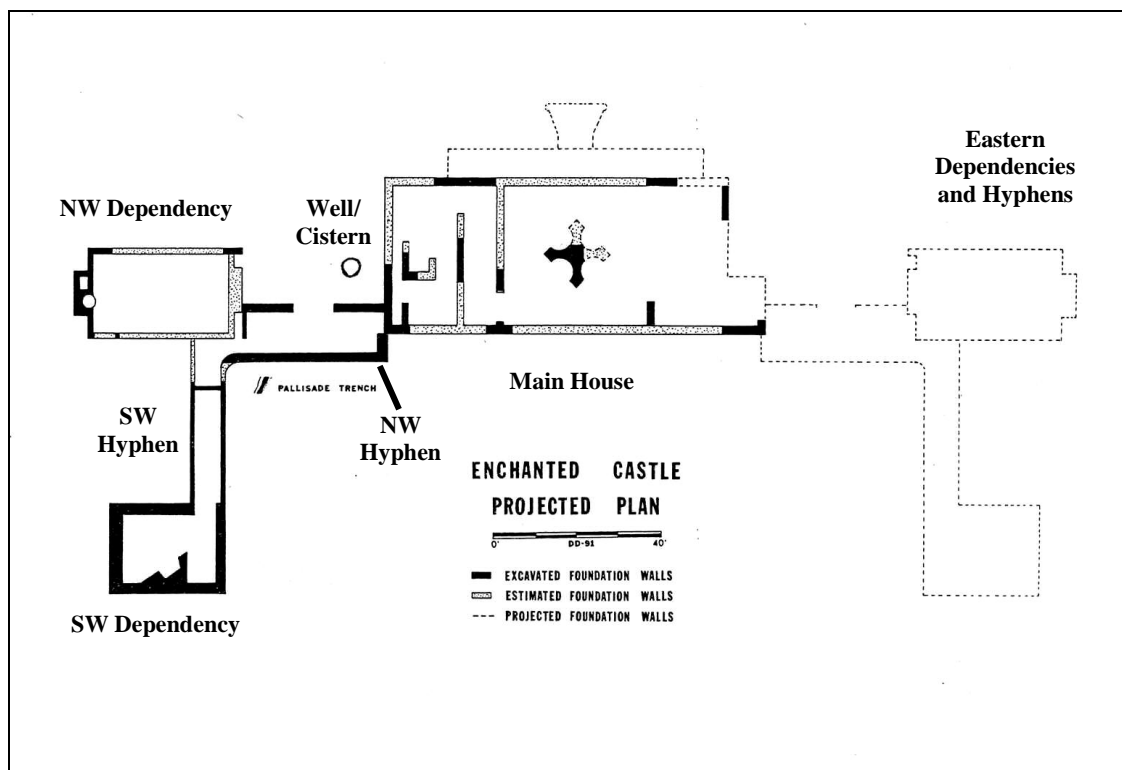


Figure 4.4 Projected plan map of the Enchanted Castle, showing the main house, outbuildings, and dependencies (On file, MWC, CHP).

Once MWC began their extended testing at the site, it had been purchased by HGI and, thus, salvage archaeology ceased. They continued to investigate the area

exposed by the VRCA through a careful, systematic sampling system comprising the complete excavation of 71 units and numerous features through shovel skimming, trowel use, and even excavation with teaspoons (Figure 4.6). Fieldwork continued to utilize the 10-foot grid system established during earlier excavations, and units continued to be numbered sequentially as they were established. In some instances, smaller units were set up instead of the 10-ft square units in areas where a smaller area needed to be opened up to expose a particular feature, such as along the western edge of the site near the southwest dependency. The final unit set in by MWC was Unit 156.

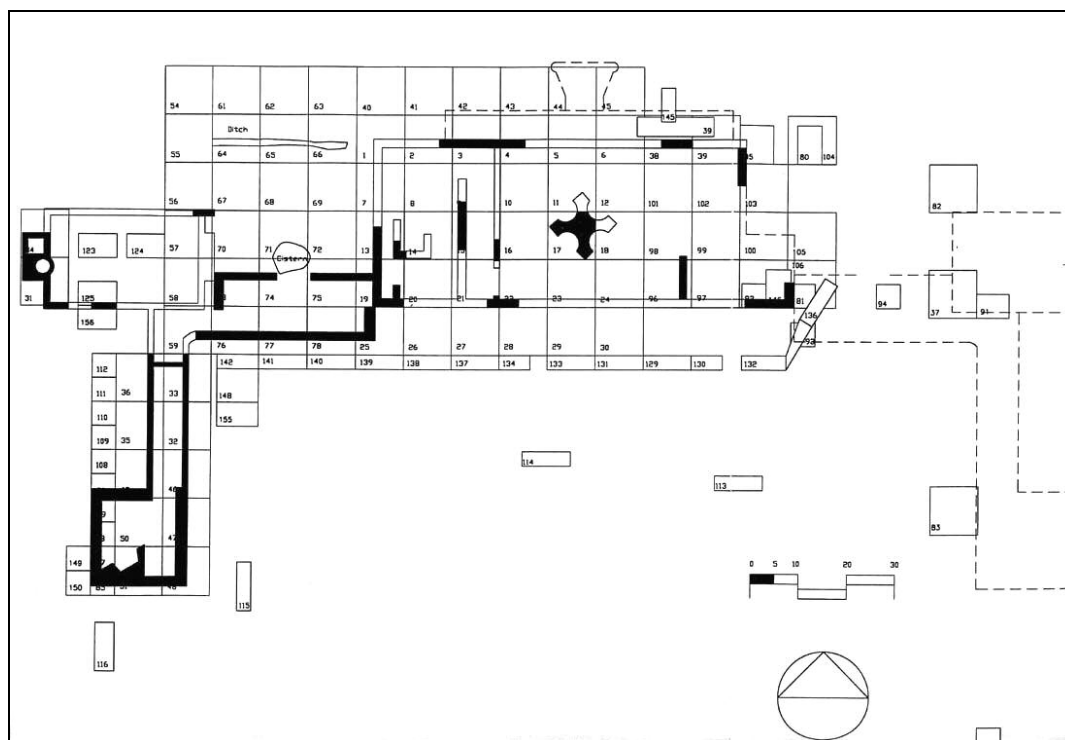


Figure 4.5 Placement of excavation units across the Enchanted Castle projected plan (On file, MWC, CHP).

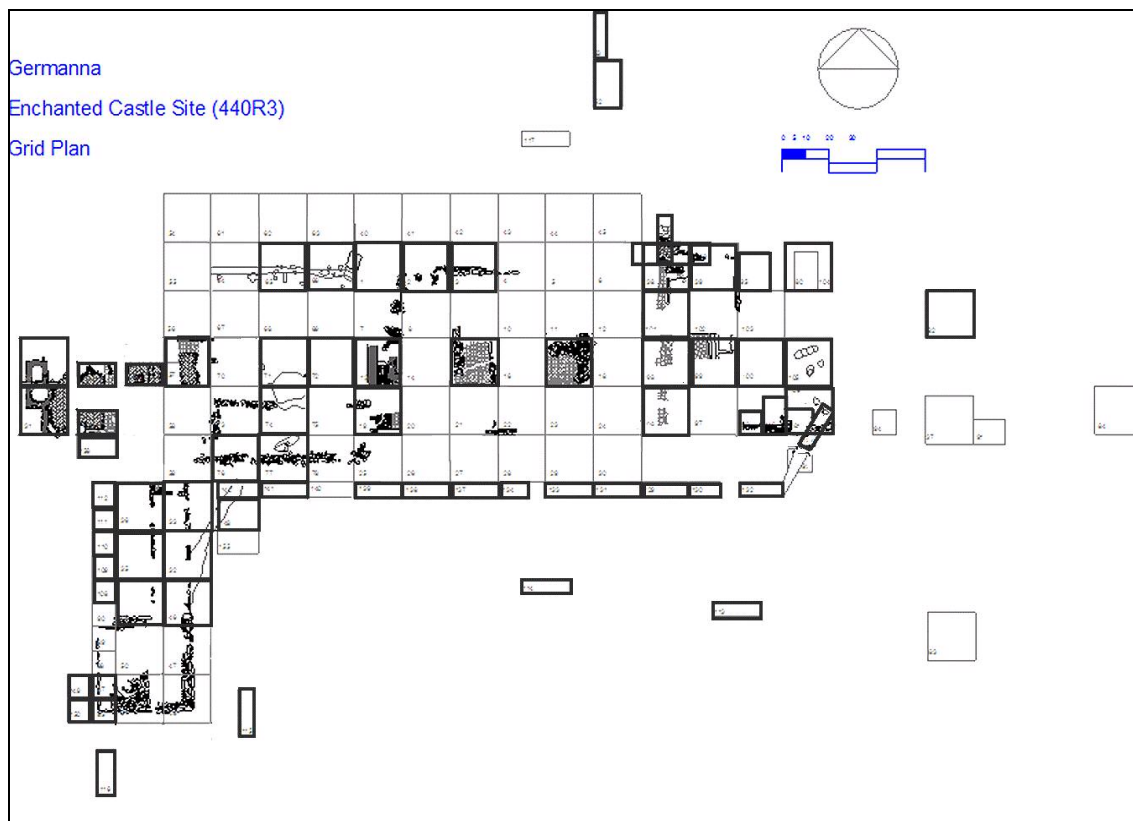


Figure 4.6 Plan map of units across the Enchanted Castle site showing excavated units (outlined in bold).

During these excavations, the archaeologists uncovered many amazing features and collected tens of thousands of artifacts. Soil was excavated in natural levels to accurately examine feature deposits and in an attempt to discern the temporal sequence of building events at the site. All artifacts with the exception of building materials (including brick, schist, slate, sandstone, lime and mud mortar, and lime and mud plaster) were collected and brought to the MWC archaeology laboratory for processing and analysis [*Note:* Although a portion of these artifacts have been washed and

catalogued, the majority still remain in their field bags due to a lack of funding for the remaining analysis.] Building materials, with the exception of window glass and nails, were weighed in the field (in pounds and ounces) and discarded.

Although the 1977 and 1984 salvage projects were documented through brief CRM reports, no overall site report has thus far been written on MWC's archaeological work at the Enchanted Castle site due to a lack of funding. The remainder of this chapter will give a very brief overview of the general results of all excavations thus far. As an understanding of the general site organization and site context is imperative to any analysis of cultural remains, this section will include a description of the site plan, taphanomic factors affecting the current site condition, and a brief description of the complex components and several key features found during the work. [Note: All information presented in this section comes from project field notes, personal communication with those who worked on the site, and the published sources on the Germanna archaeology, notably Egloff 1977, Sanford 1985, and Sanford 1989.]

When archaeologists first explored the Enchanted Castle site in the 1970s, the shovel test pits contained ample architectural rubble mixed with ceramics, glass, personal items, and many other artifact types. Archival evidence suggested that the home burned sometime around 1750, and the Gordon family occupied the knoll for about 100 years and the Harris family for another 50. Since the fire was followed by the continued occupation of the Enchanted Castle area, it was expected that the remains would be somewhat jumbled, and some even doubted whether much of the building foundations remained *in situ*. The archaeological excavations proved that not only did a

large portion of the foundation exist (Figure 4.7), but evidence from the portion of the site that has been excavated thus far sheds light on the construction, occupation, and destruction of the home.

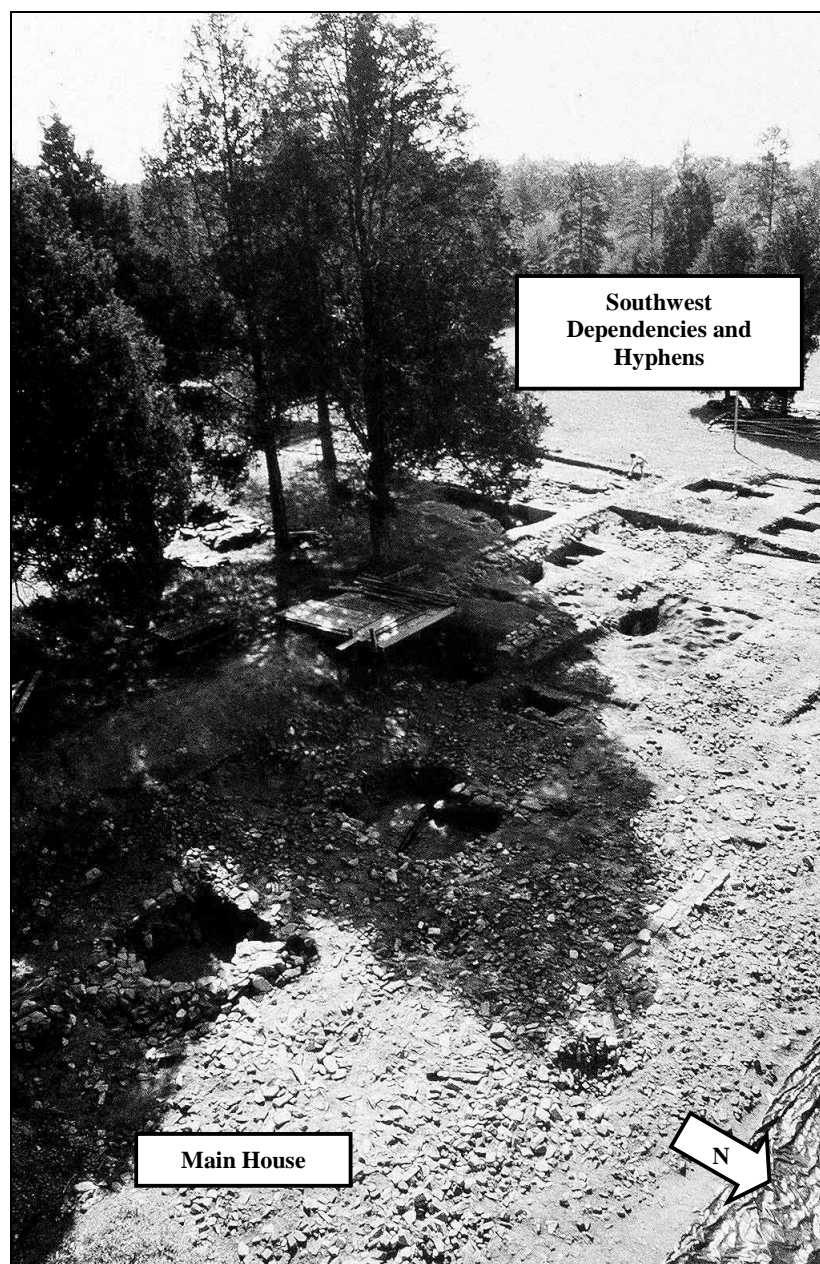


Figure 4.7 View of the Enchanted Castle showing foundation and debris, looking southwest (Photo on file, MWC, CHP).

Site Plan

Archaeology determined that the Enchanted Castle comprised a nine part Palladian plan (see Figure 4.4). A 90 x 40 foot main house was flanked by four outbuildings, connected to the central core by hyphens. All outbuildings and hyphens were constructed at right angles, as opposed to the curved hyphens seen at some later Georgian style homes such as Mount Vernon (c. 1735) outside of Alexandria and Mansfield (sometimes spelled Mannsfield) (c. 1760) near Fredericksburg. The hyphens and outbuildings created a central rectangular forecourt, such as the variations of this type of plan seen today at the Governor's Palace (c. 1706) in Williamsburg and Shirley Plantation (c. 1769) on the James River.

The forecourt faced south towards what is today Route 3, or the Germanna Highway, situated on a terrace with a possible haha wall. Although not fully explored, this southern edifice opened up onto the land entrance to the home from the road built by the first German immigrants in 1714. Visitors would travel along the road from the east and look up the terrace to view Spotswood's home. A series of terraces was also found to the north, towards the Rapidan River. These are likely the three terraces mentioned by Byrd (1966:356) during his 1732 visit: "After breakfast the Colonel and I left the ladies to their domestic affairs and took a turn in the garden, which has nothing beautiful but three terrace walks that fall in slopes one below another." The terraces to the north and south placed the Enchanted Castle complex at the top of a man-made "pyramid" of land. [For a thorough description on the gardens and landscape features that surrounded the Enchanted Castle, see Sanford 1989.] Due to the limited

archaeological excavations, the exact construction sequence of the home, dependencies, and hyphens is not known.

Site Destruction

The Enchanted Castle was occupied until 1742 by Lady Spotswood, at which time she remarried and moved to Salubria. Based on Orange County records and other archival sources, it is believed that Alexander's son John stayed on at Germanna through a portion of the 1740s. The diary of Reverend Robert Rose (1751) lends to the history of the occupation of the home. Rose took over the accounting books and clientele of Mr. Edward Bagge of Williamsburg when Bagge died in 1734. In his diary, Rose relates the details of his visits to the Fredericksburg/Spotsylvania area throughout the mid-1740s. He spent many nights at Germanna in 1746 and early 1747 to visit "Mr. Spotswood" at Germanna and settle various accounting matters. During this time, he also visited the mines at Massaponnax, spent several nights at New Post, and saw other clients throughout the Fredericksburg region. According to Rose's diary, John Spotswood was living at Germanna as of June 8, 1747, but by September 2, he and his wife moved to New Post. It was at New Post on September 2 that Rose and Spotswood "Settl'd our affairs on his father's estate" (Rose 1751).

Although Rose continued to visit the Germanna area until 1748, his business was with John Finlason, who once owned the tavern, and with John Thompson, the new husband of Lady Spotswood. The last mention of Germanna in Rose's diary through 1751 is on May 6, 1748, when he "...received a letter from Germanna" (Rose 1751).

Based on other correspondence and notations within the diary, he is most likely referring to the town, rather than the mansion.

It is apparent that the Enchanted Castle was not formally lived in from mid-1747 through sometime in the 1750s, the year that oral tradition states that the mansion burned. Therefore, while some residents of Germanna might have been “squatting” in the home, it was basically unfurnished and unoccupied when it was destroyed. Archaeological evidence suggests that limited robbing of the architectural materials likely occurred between 1747 and the year that the home was destroyed by fire, but most of the architectural elements appear to have been *in situ* at the time the home was destroyed.

The Fire

Archaeological evidence proving the fire was found across the entire site, although to date the deposits cannot determine whether the fire was accidental, as the archival records suggest, or if the mansion was purposefully destroyed. For example, at Mount Pleasant, the 1740s home of the Madison family in central Orange County, archaeologists reported:

Follow-up excavations of the fill within the stone-lined cellar occurred in the summer of 2002—these excavations revealed the burnt remains of the main house that collapsed into the cellar, which included dense deposits of scorched clay noggin, wall plaster, framing and lathe nails, but very little in the way of finishing nails and no hardware. Based on this evidence, we concluded that the main house was stripped of any usable architectural items and then intentionally burned sometime in the early 1770s (Reeves 2003:6).

At the Enchanted Castle, a thin (1 to 6 inch) burn layer was found at the bottom of the architectural debris in almost every unit, and the artifacts found within, below, or just above this stratum were melted or had been exposed to heat. In addition, two *in situ* charred slotted timbers were found in Unit 99 at the base of the debris and set within the basement flooring. The evidence clearly suggests an intense fire throughout the home.

However, the artifacts and stratigraphy also point out a very interesting fact—while the fire likely gutted the interior of the mansion, it is believed that the home was not completely destroyed by this event. The main reason for this hypothesis is that very little masonry architectural debris was actually found within or below the ash/charcoal lens that made up the burn layer. Almost all of the debris was found on top, with the exception of some nails, window glass, and burned slate roofing tiles. Large slabs of roofing slate were found within the ash level, potentially suggesting that the roof at least partially collapsed during the fire. If the entire building had collapsed during the fire, most of the architectural debris, including brick, stone, and iron, would likely exhibit significant scorching and torquing, and ash would be found mixed within the debris.

Also, in several areas, intact sections of the exterior brick wall were found on top of the debris. It appears that portions of the exterior wall fell into the center of the home, but the wall fall was not “impeded” by interior walls or divisions when it went down. If any of the interior wall configuration remained intact when the exterior walls came down, the wall would break apart upon impact and the majority of the bricks would not remain joined. In other words, it is unlikely that portions of the exterior wall

fell in during the fire, crushing the interior on the way down, and be able to retain their bond.

This scenario is easy to visualize if one considers the destruction of a contemporary home, Rosewell. The elaborate mansion home of the Page family in Gloucester County, Rosewell was initially begun in the mid-1720s but not completed until the 1740s (Dunstan 1970:12-13). This elaborate three story brick mansion survived relatively intact throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century. On March 24, 1916, a devastating fire ravaged the home (Dunstan 1970:22). The fire destroyed the entire interior of the mansion, including the wooden floor divisions, interior walls, and stairways, blew out all of the windows, and caused the roof to collapse. What was left standing, however, were the four exterior brick walls and the foundation (Figure 4.8). The exterior walls of Rosewell continue to stand today, with the help of iron tie rods and a dedicated group of volunteers. Similarly, at Corotoman, the home of the Carter family that burned in 1729: “The burned shell of the mansion house stood for years as a silent reminder of the tragedy and was only destroyed long after Carter’s death, when tenants and scavengers plundered the remains to use the bricks and stone for their own buildings projects” (Brown 2001:40).

If the Germanna fire was like the Rosewell fire, and similarities are suggested by the archaeology, it is likely that Germanna had a timber frame interior that was destroyed by the fire. The mansion was left a roofless shell. At least portions of the exterior walls and architectural elements likely remained intact. Although the home was no longer habitable, as at Corotoman, the building materials were certainly usable.



Figure 4.8 Rosewell (c. 1726) as it currently exists. The interior wood frame burned in 1916 (Photo by author).

The Robbing

Eventually, the exterior walls of the Enchanted Castle collapsed into the site. What is not known, though, is whether the walls fell in on their own due to instability, if the walls were purposefully destroyed to clear the site, or perhaps a little of both. The fire destroyed most of the wood within the home, shattered the window glass, and destroyed the plaster and mortar, but a good portion of the bricks, stone, and iron remained functional. Even before the exterior walls collapsed, the fire likely exposed intact bricks, ornamental stone elements, and iron supplies. Robbing likely began even

before the home was destroyed, but the fire freed many materials for the taking. When the Governor's Palace burned in December of 1781, bricks were immediately pillaged from the site for reuse by local population (Shurcliff 1937:56).

Archaeological evidence confirmed that the Gordon family relied heavily on leftover materials in the construction of their home, outbuildings, and other landscape feature. For example, when Keith Egloff (1977:3-4) and his team from the VRCA examined portions of the Gordon house site in 1977 (prior to its destruction by developers in the mid-1980s), they noted that the house foundation, chimney base, walls of the well, and two east-west retaining walls were all created out of "gneissic stone", or what MWC archaeologists have labeled schist. Schist was a unique building product in Virginia architectural history, and it is likely that the Gordon's robbed this material from the Enchanted Castle site and did not independently seek it out. Besides the Gordon's, it is probable that other Germanna area families also partook in the architectural remains over the years. Most of the backfilled soil found across the site, including the main house, the dependencies, and the hyphens, show clear signs of repeated robbing. Trenches were cut through the remains and into the charcoal stratum to remove building materials. Some whole roofing slates were likely exhumed from within the burn layer for reuse, such as suggested by the robbing within Unit 101, where whole slates were present.

Interestingly, archaeological evidence also points out that at least one additional fire occurred at the site after a portion of the materials had already been robbed. The robber's trench in Unit 92 was covered with an ash layer suggestive of burning, and

rubble left behind by typical robbing activity was also covered in the same charcoal lens in Unit 19. This could mean that these secondary fires were purposefully set to clear all remaining above-ground sections of the Enchanted Castle by the Gordon's to clear their land, it could have been an accidental burning, or it could have been intentionally set to remove any remaining timbers so that brick and stone lying under the timber could be reached.

Regardless, the entire Enchanted Castle was eventually covered over by the Gordon family so that the area could be landscaped. The remains of Spotswood's mansion would have been right behind their home (which was to the southeast of the mansion), and the stratigraphy at the site shows that the Gordon's significantly altered the surface of this area by bringing in additional fill in the late eighteenth (uniformly labeled as layer B during the excavations) and early nineteenth (layer A) centuries to level and terrace this area. This filling thus ended the large-scale robbing of the Enchanted Castle remains.

What was left to find

Even after the fires, repeated robbing events, and the filling of the entire site, archaeologists uncovered large portions of the exterior foundation and part of the basement of the main house, two western dependencies, and two western hyphens in the mid-1980s. Additional archaeology in the late 1980s and 1990s by MWC revealed that not only were the foundations mostly intact for the western half of the site, but portions of the eastern two dependencies and their hyphens were also in existence. Most of the

original flooring was *in situ* within the basement of the main house and within the western dependencies, and a portion of the basement walls were intact in the main house area to a height of between 1 and 3 feet. Sandstone and schist decorative elements were found across the site, including classically inspired carved moldings and column fragments (Figure 4.9). A number of slate roofing tiles were also noted.



Figure 4.9 Example of carved sandstone blocks found at the Enchanted Castle site (Photo on file, MWC, CHP).

The Main House

When the home burned and collapsed, the debris filled into the basement and actually protected numerous architectural features—features that reveal a great deal

about the style and functioning of the house. The foundation was composed of brick, schist and slate (Figure 4.10). On average, the foundation measured one foot six inches in width and was composed of a variety of construction methodologies. Although the majority of the foundation was made of schist, in some areas the foundation was solid brick laid in an unusual brick bond, a row of headers followed by a row of alternating headers and stretchers, and so on. In other area, the exterior of the foundation was formed of brick with schist (and some slate) interiors, thus creating a brick veneer. According to Egloff (1977:1), “the interior of the wall was filled with small chunks of gneissic stone, indicating a frugal use of brick by the mason”.



Figure 4.10 Close up of southern wall construction. The builder's trench is on the interior of the foundation (Photo on file, MWC, CHP).

The interior walls were also formed of a mixture of schist and brick, on average 18 inches wide. While most interior walls were completely formed of stone, a few were all brick. Like the exterior walls, the brick on the interior walls was laid in a combination of Flemish and English bond. Archaeological evidence points to the use of mud mortar and mud plaster in many areas for insulation and moisture protection. In some cases, a “rough coat” of mud mortar had been applied directly to the basement walls, followed by a “finish coat” of whitewash. Together these layers would have comprised a type of plaster on the interior walls (Sanford 2004;pers. comm.).

The builder’s trench was on average 3 feet wide on the exterior of the home, suggesting a large-scale building project. The width of the foundations, combined with the general setting of the home and archaeological evidence of the flooring, determined that the mansion was set into the side of the natural hill. The riverside view (northern elevation) would show a two and a half story home, with the raised basement appearing as a second story. The main floor would be accessed from a set of stairs along the northern elevation. However, the home would appear to be only one and a half stories from the land entrance (southern elevation facing the forecourt), as the basement was cut into the natural hill.

Carved sandstone elements, including column shafts, bases, and capitals, were noted across the surface of the debris. These fragments likely came from the exterior of the home and were used as decoration rather than functioning as a part of the support system (Figure 4.11). Stone likely adorned entrances, windows, chimneys, and

potentially formed a belt course, water table, and quoining, as seen at contemporary English Georgian homes (e.g., Reiff 1986; Richardson and Eberlein 1925).



Figure 4.11 Example of carved decorative sandstone from the Enchanted Castle (Photo by the author).

Besides foundation and basement walls, the feature immediately noted was the central chimney base (Figures 4.12 and 4.13). This schist and sandstone base has a cross-shaped plan to provide four corner fireplaces on each floor, and fragments of burned marble found in this area suggest that the upper floors had marble mantles or fireplace surrounds. Although in extremely poor condition when exposed, the firebox was nonetheless a very striking feature, which revealed that: one, the home had a central



Figure 4.12 Central fireplace before excavation (Photo on file, MWC, CHP).



Figure 4.13 Central fireplace after excavation (Photo on file, MWC, CHP).

chimney; and two, the fireplaces were adorned with marble accents. At this time, only one of the four chimney openings has been excavated, but the work completed thus far indicates that the area surrounding the chimney base was at least partially laid in square brick pavers. The square pavers measured on average 8¼ inches per side and 2¼ inches thick.

The base of a second chimney was found west of the central cross-plan chimney (see Figure 4.4). The base is formed of schist with some slate with a U-shaped plan. Interestingly, no matching chimney base was found in the eastern half of the basement to mirror this second heat source. In addition, the brick pavers and whole bricks that formed the base of both fireplaces were not scorched, indicating that none of the chimney openings in the basement level were used as hearths.

Between the two chimneys, the archaeologists recorded a segment of a diagonal brick drain (Figure 4.14). The approximately 4-inch wide drain, formed of brick and stone within a void in the brick pavers, runs northeast-southwest at an approximate 45 degree angle. The drain likely wicked away any water that accumulated within the central portion of the basement, a common occurrence in colonial homes. Although it has not been completely excavated, the drain probably leads to one of the most intriguing features in the basement, the tunnel.

The subterranean brick tunnel is located in the southwestern corner of the basement (Figure 4.15). A set of brick steps along the interior of the western exterior wall lead down to the tunnel. The brick steps led downward from the raised floor level



Figure 4.14 Brick and stone drain in the basement (Photo on file, MWC, CHP).

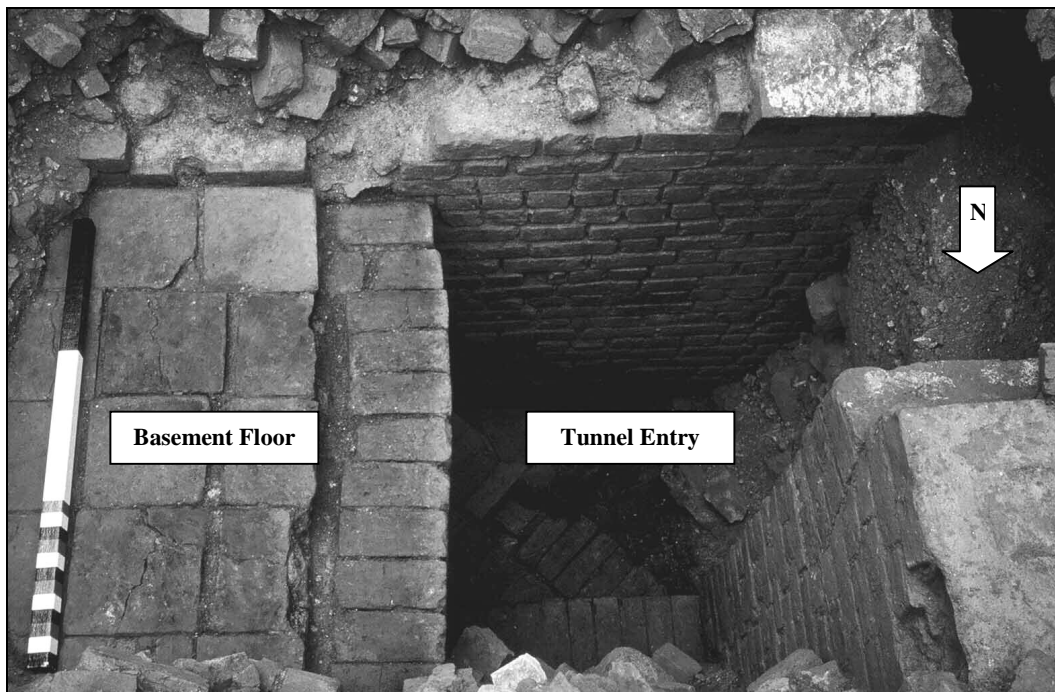


Figure 4.15 Stairs and tunnel entry from basement (Photo on file, MWC, CHP).

in the northwest quadrant of the main house, past the western chimney base, and to a brick landing. This landing is just south of the western chimney base. After the landing, the stairs continue downward at a steeper rate of incline towards the entrance of the tunnel (Sanford 2004;pers. comm.). The tunnel itself is angled west-northwest from its opening in the basement, running under the northwest hyphen. Although it has not been excavated, the tunnel appears to be formed completely of brick. It is approximately 7 feet tall and 3 feet wide, with straight sides and a barrel-vaulted roof with keystone construction (Figure 4.16). The entry has a brick floor, but it is unknown if the entire tunnel has brick flooring.

The tunnel extends about 18 feet. Based on the angle of the tunnel and its location, it could lead to a depression within what was the northwest yard. The depression, although not excavated, has been interpreted as a possible cistern or well. Why a tunnel, dug one story below the basement and leading under the northwest hyphen, was built to reach the cistern is not known. Although local lore has long contended that a tunnel at the site led to the river in case of Indian attacks (see Scott 1907), evidence clearly shows that the tunnel extends only about 18 feet, as an arched entry matching the one uncovered within the basement could be discerned through the rubble in the northwest yard near the cistern/well. However, the tunnel's exact configuration and use will only be determined if it is ever excavated. The tunnel is currently filled with architectural debris, and the arched roof is covered with between 3 and 5 feet of debris as well, thus creating very dangerous conditions within that area.



Figure 4.16 Entry to tunnel, looking west (Photo on file, MWC, CHP).

Archaeological excavation across the site comprised the stripping of the entire site to uncover the top of the foundation, as well as the implementation of sample testing that included less than 30 percent of the mansion area. Therefore, the following are given only as hypotheses on the general configuration and use of the basement.

Across the basement, archaeologists noted a great variation in flooring material, as well as interior floor height. The brick floor in the northwestern corner is raised approximately two and a half feet above the rest of the basement. A set of brick steps leads northward up to this area along the western elevation from the landing leading down to the tunnel. Based on area topography, it is believed that this area was raised up several feet to allow access to the exterior through a door in the western elevation, potentially to a formal courtyard in this area and the northwest dependency and hyphen.

The southwest corner contained the stairwell leading down to the tunnel and up to the raised northwest area, as well as the tunnel itself and the base of the western chimney. With the numerous amount of features in this area, it was likely used for movement rather than a workable space. Two additional spaces are located to the north and south of the central chimney base. With few impeding walls in these areas, they were likely used as work rooms or storage areas. Thus far, there is no evidence that the chimneys had usable hearths in the basement, thus they were probably not used as servants quarters.

The southeast corner contained a tiled floor with the remains of a set of wooden steps leading out of the basement through the eastern elevation. Sanford (1989; personal communication) believes that this eastern yard could have been a working space, whereas the western yard was more formal. If this is the case, an entry into the basement through the eastern elevation would have been imperative to those working in the basement and contribute greatly to the general flow of the home. Like the northwest corner, the northeastern corner of the basement was also raised. However, this area was

only about one foot above the remainder of the basement elevation, and the floor was slate. The function of this space is unknown.

Northwest Dependency

The northwest dependency measures 36 x 22 feet and has a brick foundation and a brick floor. In this case, the English bond foundation is one brick course wide (approximately 9 inches), and it is fastened with a combination of mud and white mortar. The width of the foundation indicates that this was likely a one story building. The flooring is laid in a combination of brick pavers and unmortared herringbone-patterned brick (Figure 4.17).



Figure 4.17 Photo of the northwest outbuilding, possibly a kitchen or laundry. Note the two unusual brick features along the western wall (Photo on file, MWC, CHP).

Based on the presence of peculiar brick forms and a possible flooring division in Units 123 and 124, placed within the center of the dependency, it is possible that the center of this building contained an H-plan fireplace and/or an interior division wall. A central fireplace would have provided heat and a workspace to both halves of the structure, while also providing a spatial division, allowing for either multiple activities within the building or perhaps separating a servant's living space from a workspace. Archaeologists noted that the floor within the western half showed significant signs of wear, whereas the floor in the eastern portion of the building did not contain the same distresses. This could lead to the hypothesis that the western half was a workspace, perhaps a kitchen, laundry, or brewhouse, while the eastern half was used as a quarter. It has also been hypothesized that the space was used as a dairy, because in addition to the pavers, numerous hollow coarse earthenware vessel fragments were found in this area.

In their 1977 fieldwork, the VRCA suggested, "the lack of wood ash and charred wood above the tile floor indicated that this outbuilding or room withstood the fire that swept through the plantation complex." (Egloff 1977:2) MWC's limited excavations in the area did not confirm nor deny the presence of a fire in this area, but additional excavations would be helpful.

The most interesting feature within this building was found along the western wall (see Figure 4.17). A feature with adjacent square and circular "boxes" was formed of brick and extends directly from the western wall. The feature was set back within a brick protrusion outside of the regular line of the foundation, similar in plan to an

exterior end chimney. The interior of these two shapes are completely smooth, with no niches or other clues as to their function. They were relatively shallow (less than 18 inches deep) and had clay subsoil bottoms. The brick features have been hypothesized as laundry wells or a beer brewing apparatus. Their placement on the exterior of the building could indicate that they were capped with a brick chimney, thus they might have involved high temperatures, smoke, or strong odors. It is believed that no feature such as this has been found in other colonial sites in the Mid-Atlantic region, although single circular brick features were found in a few homes in the Chesapeake as well as in England. For example, circular brick features were located in the kitchen of Virginia historian Robert Beverley on the Middle Peninsula (c. 1690s), and a similar feature can still be seen at the Rectory at Ash-next-Redley in Kent (c. 1739) (Reiff 1986:161). Both have been interpreted as a beer brewing apparatus.

Southwest Dependency

The southwest dependency is different in form and material than the other dependencies at the site. This building is roughly square instead of rectangular (measuring approximately 20 x 20 feet), and the foundation of this building was formed completely with schist and slate instead of brick. Large slabs of schist (measuring approximately 4 feet long by 3 feet wide by 3 inches thick) were placed vertically in the center of a wide builders trench against their cleavage. Blocks and large fragments of schist and slate were then carefully laid on the inside of the vertical piece of schist to form the width of the foundation, while waster fragments were placed haphazardly on

the outside to thwart the spreading of the base. The builder's trench was then filled in with clay for additional support.

A firebox is located in the middle of the southern wall, angled with the opening to the northwest (Figure 4.18). Like the foundation, the firebox was formed of slate and schist. Based on the presence of vertical slate stones in the southeastern corner, the presence of a matching entry in the northeast corner leading into the hyphen, and a small segment of north-south schist foundation adjacent to the fireplace, it is believed that a wall separated the eastern one third of this dependency from the remainder of the space, thus creating a north-south walkway along the eastern wall.



Figure 4.18 Schist firebox in the Southwest Dependency (Photo on file, MWC, CHP).

Because of its unique foundation and form, this dependency has been singled out as the potential location of Spotsylvania's first clerk's office, which was located somewhere in Spotswood's home prior to the completion of the government buildings in 1724. It is possible that this building was constructed before the main house or the northwestern dependency, but additional archaeological investigations are needed to answer this question.

Northwest and Southwest Hyphens

The two hyphens that connect the western half of the complex to the main house vary in size and material. The northwest hyphen measures roughly 30 x 15 feet and has a stone foundation (Figure 4.19), formed of cleaved schist and slate, with a small amount of sandstone. The southwest hyphen is 30 x 8 feet, and it was built mostly with brick laid in a one-course wide English bond. Although the exact reasoning is unknown, the northwest hyphen is twice as wide as the southwest hyphen (see Figure 4.4). This could indicate that the northwest hyphen was used for storage and or a workspace as well as a hallway, while the southwest dependency was only used to move into the southwest dependency.

Based on a cursory examination of their construction methods, they could have been built after the outbuildings, as portions of the hyphens abut the continuous dependency foundation walls. While it is known that they sat at right angles with the outbuildings, what is not known is whether the hyphens were open or closed. The mass of the foundations suggests that they supported some sort of roof feature, but the

hyphens could have been colonnades, arcades, or enclosed. If they were enclosed, it is likely that they were masonry construction on the exterior, wither stone or brick, rather than timber frame to match the other buildings at the site, and they likely had some sort of fenestration within their walls for both light and access.



Figure 4.19 Northwest hyphen, looking west towards Northwest Dependency (Photo on file, MWC, CHP).

One clue as to their appearance was found during the archeological excavations, as charred lathing and plaster was found amongst the debris. This could suggest that the hyphens were indeed enclosed, and the interiors were plastered. The presence of the charred lathing, along with abundant wood ash in the southwestern hyphen, suggests

that the hyphens were destroyed during one of the two fires rather than purposefully dismantled. Enclosed hyphens, although more rare than open walkways, are not unfounded within Virginia colonial architecture. Mount Airy, home of the Tayloe family in Richmond County (c. 1758) and Blandfield, the home of William Beverly and family in Essex County (c. 1771) both have enclosed hyphens, although they post-date the Enchanted Castle by several decades (see, e.g., Waterman 1946, for full descriptions of both homes).

Interestingly, it appears that the southwest hyphen wall stops just short of connecting to the northwest dependency. This portion of the foundation could have been removed during the robbing or destroyed during the fire, or this segment of the hyphen could be a different configuration from the southern portion of the hyphen (i.e., open instead of enclosed). Additional investigations are warranted to determine their exact subsurface make-up. Regardless of their appearance, the hyphens helped to enclose Spotswood's forecourt and create the symmetry that became the hallmark of eighteenth century plantation architecture in Virginia.

Eastern Dependencies and Hyphens

Very little work has been completed on the eastern half of the site for two reasons: one, work has concentrated on the main house and western half of the site because they were already exposed during the 1980s salvage work; and two, these dependencies had been compromised by repeated landscape alterations by the Gordon family. Therefore, the western half of the site was in better condition and could

therefore reveal more information about the construction of the home. Limited archaeological testing completed in 1984 and 1985 by MWC and UVA revealed that these components of the complex did, in fact, exist, and they completed the Palladian plan. The amount of brick, stone, window glass, and nails found during the limited excavations confirmed the presence of the buildings and that they were also built of schist, brick, and wood, but their exact plan and use is unknown. Like many portions of the Enchanted Castle site, this area awaits additional archaeological investigations to help determine the grandness of Spotswood's home.

CHAPTER 5

FROM FOUNDATIONS TO FENESTRATIONS:

ARCHITECTURAL MATERIALS AT THE ENCHANTED CASTLE

The life I am likely to lead here is a perfect retir'd Country life; for here is not in the whole Colony a place that may be compared to a British village; every one living dispersed up & down at their Plantations, possessing there all food necessary for humane life (nay & luxury to)...

*-Letter, Alexander Spotswood to John Spotswood,
August 17, 1710*

Wood, soil, stone, and metal. Most buildings in eighteenth-century Virginia, and indeed around the world, were constructed of wood, soil, stone, and metal. It is how these products were put together that created a building's mass and style. The Enchanted Castle was no different. These natural materials were used to create various building supplies, which were then combined to create a functional but aesthetically pleasing home.

As Thomas Markus (1993) points out, architecture is inherently a product of its historic context. The design and technological choices used to build a plantation great house, its surrounding outbuildings, and all other structural forms within its boundaries, are all directly related to numerous physical, social, ideological, and political conditions. Among the considerations when designing these structures were

weather, tradition, local or importable materials, available work force, personal taste and aesthetics, agricultural production and soil conditions, and social relations. It is important to examine all of these aspects when looking at structures on plantations.

This chapter will first look at the ways in which the local environment played a significant role in the building of the Castle. It will examine the natural environment of the Germanna area, locate the sources of the construction materials found at site 44OR3, and explore the manufacturing process of building materials in the early eighteenth century. Second, the quantity and horizontal distribution of brick, stone, mortar, plaster, nails, and window glass across the site will be analyzed to locate clusters that could shed light on both the construction and demolition of the home. An analysis of the written history of the site followed by hypotheses on the actual building technology and style will be explored in Chapter 6 in an attempt to determine how the mansion was constructed, how it might have functioned as an elite manor house, and to place the Enchanted Castle within the context of eighteenth century Virginia domestic architecture.

ENVIRONMENTAL SETTING OF SITE 44OR3

Almost all of the materials used during the construction and decoration of the Enchanted Castle came from north-central Virginia. Unlike many other homes built at this time, the archaeological remains suggest that only the window glass and a limited amount of stone and decorative items were brought to the site, which could include marble used as architectural accents and within the central fireplace. While the

Germanna property contained a large quantity of needed supplies, an examination of the local environment and Spotswood's land holdings can identify the source of most tectonic materials.

Timber

Currently, the majority of the Germanna property is wooded, although rapid residential development over the past 10 years has significantly changed the landscape and general configuration. When Spotswood and the Germans first built Fort Germanna, the area was mostly wooded. Although a good amount of wood was required for the construction of the Fort Germanna palisade and internal structures in 1714, the general area contained abundant timber for the construction of the Enchanted Castle. In addition, portions of the timber used in palisade construction could have been reused in portions of the mansion complex or other town buildings.

Germanna is located within the Piedmont physiographic region of Virginia, which lies between the relatively flat Coastal Plain to the east and the mountainous Blue Ridge on the west (Dietrich 1970:33). This region is hallmarked by a rolling landscape with gradual, undulating topography. Historically, the majority of the hardwood found throughout Orange and Spotsylvania counties was chestnut and white oak (Carter et al. 1971:75). Clearing, cutting, and disease caused the rapid decline of the natural chestnut over the decades following European settlement. Today, the overstory comprises oaks, hickories, and yellow pine, with a sparse understory of dogwood and holly. Along the

banks of the Rapidan, riparian forests of sycamore, sweet gum, ash, and river birch predominate (Carter et al. 1971).

Soil

Similar to the available timber, the soils across the Enchanted Castle were well suited for use in building materials. In general, soils at Germanna comprise the Comus-Hiwassee-Eisinboro association, which are deep, slightly sloping soils found on stream terraces. Specific soil deposits across the Enchanted Castle site are Hiwassee loam, 2 to 7 percent slope (some eroded) and Turbeville loam, 2 to 7 percent slope (eroded). Hiwassee loams are well-drained soils found on high terraces along the Rapidan River and other large streams throughout the area. They generally comprise approximately 4 to 8 inches of dark reddish brown loam over several feet of dark red clay subsoil. Because of its moderate acidity and good drainage capacity, this soil is most often cleared for planting or use as a pasture (Carter et al. 1971:34-35).

Similarly, Turbeville loams are also found on high terraces of large streams. These deposits consist of about 4 inches of dark brown loam over 4 inches of light yellowish brown loam. The subsoil includes over 5 feet of alternating yellowish-red clay loam and dark red clay. Although the majority of this soil is also used for agricultural purposes, large portions still remain wooded (Carter et al. 1971:60).

Soils along the Rapidan River are Comus fine sandy loam, 0 to 2 percent slope. Found directly adjacent to large streams, these soils are recent alluvial deposits of sand, silt, and clay. The matrix includes a thick surface layer of brown fine sandy loam over

yellowish brown fine sandy loam, which is well drained and somewhat prone to flooding (Carter et al. 1971:22).

The soils found at the Enchanted Castle site and along the Rapidan River are perfectly suitable for the creation of sturdy brick with a rich red color. The natural clay in the area provides ample raw material, while the fine sand deposits along the river make excellent temper. In addition, these local soils can be used in manufacturing mud plaster and mud mortar, which were also found at the Enchanted Castle site.

Geology

Like the soils, geology within the area is varied. In general, the Piedmont comprises igneous and metamorphic rocks formed during the Precambrian and Paleozoic eras, but most geologists note that the formations in this area are extremely complex (e.g., Brown 1953:89; Dietrich 1970). The area is formed of Cambrian-age *mélange* zone III deposits of the Mine Run complex, a stratified rock formation found in the northern Piedmont (Figure 5.1) (S. Johnson 1993:37). These deposits comprise a phyllite and schist matrix with clusters of mafic plutonic rock, biotite gneiss, and quartz.

During the excavations at the site, archaeologists recorded three specific stone types used as a building material: slate, schist, and sandstone. Although the immediate area offered a selection of building materials including a form of schist that is found across what is now Route 3 in the area of Germanna Community College, discussions with MWC geologists Jody Hyob and Grant Woodwell, combined with additional archival research, determined that most of the Germanna stone did not come from the

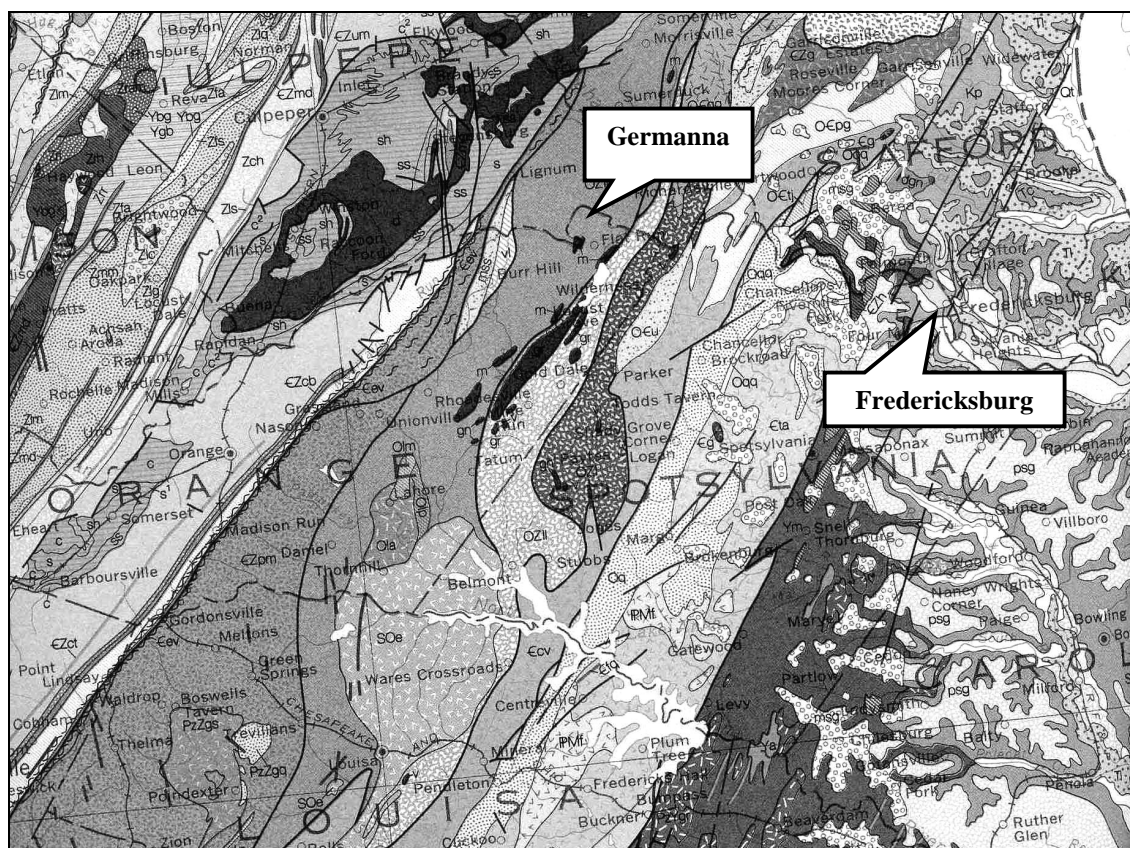


Figure 5.1 Geologic map of the Germanna area, showing the complex north-south geologic bands (Commonwealth of Virginia 1993).

immediate vicinity. According to Hyob (2003:pers. comm.), what the archaeologists at Germanna have labeled as slate is technically a phyllite. Whereas slate has a dull patina and is often gray to black in color, phyllites are softer, have a higher sheen, and can be lighter in color. In relative terms, phyllite is actually a cross between slate and schist [Note: For the remainder of this work, the term slate will continue to be used for this material to continue using the name given in various archaeological reports and notes and to denote slate's historical usage as a building material]. The slate found at

Germanna is part of the Buffards Formation, which runs in northeast-southwest bands about 5 to 7 miles east of the Germanna area (S. Johnson 1993:44), as well as within the Arvonian Syncline, a narrow belt of slates and quartzites that runs northward from the James River into Orange County, approximately 5 to 7 miles southwest of Germanna (Brown 1953:96).

The schist found at Germanna is a fine-grained muscovite schist that is actually relatively easy to work with as a building material. It can be found in very large beds underlying most of the region west of Fredericksburg. Because of its grey color and platy qualities, it is sometimes mistaken for slate when found naturally (Pavrides 1980:1-2). When large deposits of this material were first recorded by the Virginia Department of Mineralogy in 1893, it was labeled Quantico Slate. Since that time, geologists have determined that the stone is actually schist that contains quartzitic layers (not found in slate), and the deposits were renamed as the Quantico Formation (Pavrides 1980:2). In relation to Germanna, the Quantico Formation is mapped in northeast-southwest oriented bands, with the closest band being near Chancellorsville, approximately 9 miles east of Germanna.

The sandstone found at the site is of the same family as Aquia sandstone, a well-known material type found throughout the Fredericksburg area. This family of stone has been used throughout the mid-Atlantic region, including such notable locations as the U. S. Capital Building, where it was used to construct the Crypt and Rotunda (USGS 1998). Although it is commonly known as Aquia sandstone, this material is all part of the Lower Tertiary Deposit, a rough-grained formation of sand, silt, quartz, and lime

found throughout the Fredericksburg region, which sits at the boundary of the Coastal Plain and the Piedmont (S. Johnson 1993). The stone found at Germanna is actually Berea Sandstone, a member of this Lower Tertiary family that also includes Aquia, Brightseat, Marlboro and Piney Point stone. Like the slate and schist, bands of this material have been mapped east of Germanna near the Chancellorsville area.

Iron

As detailed in Chapter 3, Alexander Spotswood and his agents located a nearby iron source as early as 1712. Although this site was about 14 miles from the Germanna site, the iron mine and foundry were owned and operated by Spotswood, thus providing an excellent source of iron for use in building the Enchanted Castle. Although many large plantations employed a blacksmith, very few planters owned their own foundry and mine. Thus, most, if not all, of the iron used at the Enchanted Castle was procured from Spotswood's own land. Iron products manufactured at Massaponax were likely transported from Mine Road at Massaponax to the Germanna Road.

The primary use of iron at the site was for nails. Nails were found across the site, including many shapes, sizes, and manufacturing techniques. All nails dating to the Spotswood period were wrought, created by hand. In addition to nail manufacturing, Spotswood's casting furnace at Massaponax also provided fireplace equipment, decorative and functional architectural brackets, and, most notably, molded iron firebacks.

Glass

In colonial Virginia, as well as today, most glass was produced using readily available materials. The basic ingredients for plate window glass are sand, lime, soda, and water, which, when combined in the proper ratios and heated to intense temperatures, vitrify. Although most materials needed to produce glass could be found near the Germanna area, the production of glass required special skills, a specifically constructed furnace, and window pane producing tools. Since window glass was not produced in any quantity in the United States until after the Revolutionary War (Elliott 1992), it is likely that all glass used in the Enchanted Castle was imported into Virginia and transported to the area rather than created within the colony.

THE “HOWS” OF COLONIAL BUILDING TECHNOLOGY

In *Building Construction Before Mechanization*, John Fitchen (1999:16) wrote:

In the past there have been countless writings on the aesthetic basis of traditional styles, the distinctions between the sublime and the beautiful, the so-called laws of proportions, the expressiveness of ornamentation, and the principals of composition generally. These are unquestionably valid considerations...The exposition of technical processes, on the other hand, requires a different kind of perception, training, and observation—one that is no less precise and highly disciplined, but pragmatic and factual as well.

It is imperative to discuss the technological aspects of constructing colonial building materials and the ways in which they were used prior to a discussion of the varieties found at the Enchanted Castle. The mansion was built at the edge of the Virginia, an

area that provided challenges in obtaining non-local goods and labor. The types of materials used and their relative quantities can shed light on the possible appearance of the main house, construction details of the dependencies and hyphens, and the form and function of the entire Enchanted Castle complex, as well as Spotswood and the Germans' knowledge of the local environment.

Woodworking

Timber-frame technology is one of the oldest building construction methods found throughout the world. From simple earthfast shelters to intricate joined systems, wood was, and still is, one of the most malleable and accessible materials available to builders. When the colonists came to the New World, they brought Old World woodworking techniques with them and adapted these methods for the new environment, which helped establish the roots of an American architectural tradition.

When the first settlers left Europe, and especially England, timber was very scarce and brick construction was most common (Cummings 1979:50). Upon arrival in America, most of the settlers were surprised to see the abundance of trees and many impermanent, timber structures were quickly erected using somewhat rudimentary building technologies of joinery and timber construction. Once the settlers had established themselves in the New World, most moved towards permanent or semi-permanent structural forms where more formal frame building systems were used, such as king and queen trusses, tongue and groove flooring, and peg and dowel joining.

The process of building with wood was very similar to other construction methods. The raw product first needed to be mined, then prepared and cured, and finally manipulated to its final form. In Virginia, the colonists found abundant sources of wood all around them, so the mining of the raw material was relatively easy. However, for the production of a sizable building, very tall, sturdy wood was required for the summer beam and other supporting elements. Once a tree had been felled, it was sometimes left out to season for up to six months. If some wood was used right away while still green, it had a very high likelihood of shrinking or splitting after use. If the piece had been properly weathered, however, it underwent many less strains after building was completed (e.g., Elliott 1992). Seasoning allowed the wood to shrink and dry prior to cutting. When it was cut, it had already undergone a significant metaphysical change, thus greatly reducing the potential for warping or bowing after the piece was cut.

In the early colonial period, almost all wood was cut by hand. Hand cutting involved chopping each piece to length with an axe, followed by rough hewing with an adze. This process also removed bark, if any bark still remained on the trunk after seasoning. Thinner planks were then cut with a combination of pit sawing and hand sawing, depending on the size and configuration of the needed lumber (Elliott 1992:7-9). Pit sawing involved two individuals. A large, rough-hewn log was placed vertically within a deep pit, supported and partially suspended off the bottom of the pit to allow greater access to the entire piece. Someone stationed at the bottom of the pit pushed a large iron toothed saw up, and a partner on top of the pit then pushed the saw back down, thus creating a cutting motion. This process allowed for the creation of long,

narrow planks of wood often used in floor joists and roof rafters, among other locations. Hand sawing, still used today albeit with electric tools, was used to cut smaller lumber and more delicate features.

Wood Fasteners

To fasten the wooden elements, early builders used mostly nails or wooden pegs and intricate joints, although epoxies were also used. Wooden dowels and joint technology were primarily used in very early American wood construction, and it is seen more often in the northern states (Cummings 1979). This technology required a high degree of skill, but the monetary output was relatively small as the raw material was usually at hand.

The most prevalent wood fastener was the iron nail. Prior to about 1815, all buildings used hand-wrought nails with hand-wrought heads. Iron was heated to a high temperature and then hammered out into long, narrow shafts. While still hot, the end of the shaft would be inserted into a nail header, a flat device with a handle and two to three small holes on one end of varying size. When the shaft stuck out of the header by approximately ¼ inch, a hammer would be used to strike the shaft, thus flattening the metal and creating the nail head. This headed portion of the shaft would then be clipped off of the long shaft, thus forming a nail (Nelson 1968). The shape of the head varied by need and style. While the majority of nails found in colonial homes and on historic sites have a flat, somewhat amorphous head, others have a rose head (pyramidal shaped), T

head, L head or no head. T head, L head and no head nails would be used in finer works, such as on molding or other interior decorative elements, or for flooring.

After about 1815, Americans could obtain machine cut nails with hand wrought heads (Adams 2002:67-68). In this system, the shafts were shaped and cut with a machine (two alternating dies snapped off thin nail shafts from long, flat iron planks, fed into the dies by hand), but each nail continued to be headed by hand with a nail header. It wasn't until the 1840s that a machine was invented that could create the nail shaft and head together.

While machine cut nails certainly provided an advancement in timber-frame technology, it was the creation of the wire nail that led to the revolutionizing of the nail industry. This new nail type was created from a perfectly rounded wire, and each head was uniform in size. Although wire nails were actually invented and patented as early as 1813 in Europe, they were not mass-produced until the 1850s and not shipped in large quantities to the east coast of America until after 1870 (Adams 2002:69). They were available across the country by the turn of the century. Although galvanization did not occur until the second quarter of the twentieth century, the mass production of wire nails, combined with the discovery of balloon framing, completely changed the way Americans built their structures (Peters 1989).

Brickmaking

The process of brickmaking in Colonial America was extremely time sensitive and labor intensive. Though the majority of domestic structures in the colonies were

constructed of timber, the brick industry employed numerous workers due to the large amount of labor associated with a single construction. Despite several known instances of importation, the majority of bricks were produced locally. This is particularly true in clay-rich areas such as the Virginia Tidewater and Piedmont (Noel-Hume 1969:82). Local production also allowed for specialization in brickmaking and the adaptation of unique brick treatments, including advancements in mold design, mold preparation, and brick finishing, which added greatly to the time requirements and labor needed in the brick construction.

Colonial brickmaking was a seven-step process. The first step, often called ‘winning’, was to attain the raw clay. The clay could be mined in several ways, including underground collection, hydraulic extraction, dredging, and, the most prevalent method, the open-pit or surface collection (Gurke 1989:5). The open clay ‘borrow pit’ was of sufficient size to extract the required amount of raw clay from the earth. Often, the construction of a dwelling required several pits to attain enough clay for the bricks.

Once the clay was extracted from the ground, it needed to be ‘weathered’ for at least one year. Weathering entailed leaving the clay out in the open for several seasons so it would become more elastic due to repeated thawing and freezing (McGrath 1979:88). This process also washed out all the salts from the raw clay to prevent excess shrinkage during drying (Gurke 1989:7). Once the clay had been weathered, temper was added to make the clay more stable and act as a coagulant. Temper was often sand, but it could also be oyster shell, ash, chalk, or grog (ground-up brick) (Gurke 1989:12-13).

Temper was mixed into the clay through a variety of methods. “Typically, the muscular power of animals, men and boys was the only source of energy used in small brickyards” (Garvin 1994:21), and each tempering method required intensive physical labor.

The hand-method of tempering required the repeated soaking and raking of the clay to mix the temper. This method was time consuming but required no additional machinery. The second method was the use of a pug-mill, an iron casement shaft with several knives projecting off the center shaft. This shaft was either turned by hand or animal and the knives repeatedly cut into the clay to mix in the temper. The third, and most popular, way to add temper was the ring-pit. The ring-pit method consisted of placing the clay and temper around a central, fixed pole. An animal, usually a horse, bull or cow, was harnessed to this pole and made to repeatedly circle the pole, thus tamping in the temper with its hooves (e.g., Garvin 1994; Gurke 1989; McGrath 1979; McKee 1973).

Once the clay had been weathered and the temper was added, the mixture was ready to be molded. Molding involved a team of laborers including a wheeler, who brought the clay to the mold; the molder, who formed the clay into bricks with the help of a mold; and the off-bearer, who carried the molded bricks to the drying location and arranged them on the drying apparatus (McGrath 1979:89). The most crucial job of the team was the molder. There were numerous methods of molding bricks. Each technique gave the brick a very unique appearance and varying construction qualities. First, the mold material must be decided upon. The most prominent material is wood, particularly

beechwood (McGrath 1979:89). More expensive molds included metal (copper or iron) or pottery. A metal or pottery mold is much heavier and delicate and thus, more expensive to operate. The quality of the brick, however, is much better with a non-wood mold, as the bricks are smoother and more compact and thus, have a more polished appearance (Garvin 1994:21; McGrath 1979:89).

Once the mold was selected, the second decision to be made was the lubricant used in the mold prior to the insertion of the clay. The two most popular methods were water-struck lubricant and sand-struck lubricant. Sand as a lubricant is cheap and easy to use, but leaves a very gritty texture on the exterior of the brick (Garvin 1994:21). Water as a lubricant gives the bricks a shiny look. It is equally as cost-effective as sand, but it is much more difficult to extract the formed brick from the mold. Other lubricants include soap, lard, and oil.

In the construction of oil bricks, each mold was hand-rubbed with either linseed or tree oil as a lubricant. The oil provided “more even color, more precise edge, and greater density” over the irregular sand or water bricks (Loth 1979:35). The higher qualities of brick produced by this method also were more uniform, thus necessitating less mortar to make the bricks appear uniform and provided for a straighter line. The oil brick was rare, as each mold had to be hand-rubbed with expensive oil, a very labor intensive process with a high quality product (Loth 1979:41).

The fifth step in brick manufacturing was drying. Each molded brick was laid out to dry for two to three weeks (Gurke 1989:26). This slow-drying removed all the excess water from the brick to prevent shrinkage and inconsistencies from water

pockets in the kiln. Once the bricks had been dried, they were called 'green bricks' (Garvin 1994:24; Gurke 1989:16). Green bricks were then stacked carefully and deliberately into a kiln to be fired. Firing began with 'water-smoking'—low temperature (250 to 350 degree) firing to remove any residual water from the bricks. This was followed by a significant temperature increase (1,500 to 2,000 degrees) to vitrify the clay into hard bricks (Gurke 1989:28; McGrath 1979:40).

As with the choice of the mold, different brick arrangements within the kiln provided bricks of varying color, density and shape (McKee 1973:44). The bricks closest to the heat source would actually vitrify. The vitrification process and the natural orange of the clay results in a mottled grey-green-black color with a very shiny appearance. The bricks located furthest from the heat source were often a 'blanched' color, usually referred to as 'salmon' brick, and were much softer than the vitrified bricks (Elliott 1992:35; Garvin 1994:26). The bricks in the middle of the kiln became hard and retained their strong dark red color. Both the vitrified bricks and the salmon bricks were not discarded, but often used in elaborate bricklaying designs or as filler within an interior wall.

The final step in brick production is the sorting and grading of the brick (Gurke 1989:98-100). This step involves separating out both the salmon brick and the vitrified brick, and selecting grades for the remainder of the fired bricks. The grading is a careful decision of the proper use for each brick based on aesthetic appearance, viscosity, shape, and texture. Once the bricks have been sorted, the bricklaying begins.

Bricklaying

“Ours is a culture of the primacy of packaging over substance” (Peters 1989:228). The methods used to lay prepared bricks in Colonial America were often more about aesthetics than the structural integrity of the building. Various accounts indicate that structural walls were between 9 and 36 inches wide, and the brick bond was more dependent on the visibility of the wall than the purpose of the structure or the amount of weight it supported. The brick pattern selected often reflected a self-awareness and, more importantly, self-expression (Carson et al. 1988:148).

Architectural design was a strong communication between the owner and his surrounding community (Markell 1994:52). In the beginning of American colonial settlement, the English brought two brick bond patterns with them across the Atlantic. The most prevalent, and strongest, bond was English bond. This consisted of alternating rows of headers and stretchers often laid in a 13” thick wall. As brickmaking in America progressed and became more refined, the Flemish bond became much more fashionable. Flemish bond is alternating headers and stretchers within each row (McKee 1973). This pattern creates an interlocking wall and can be laid in varying widths. Alternating the orientation of the bricks between headers and stretchers can create an uneven surface, requiring thicker mortar joints and extra effort in the bricklaying process.

Once the brickmaking technology of the colonies advanced, new bonds were created to meet the needs of the new architectural traditions. American, or Common, bond is similar to English bond but contains more rows of stretchers per row of headers.

Usually, this pattern is in a 3:1, 5:1 or 7:1 ratio. American bond retains the strength of the English bond, but uses less bricks since several rows of stretchers are inserted between each row of headers (McAlester and McAlester 1991). The stretcher pattern also required less painstaking mortar work that would be visible to outsiders. Other bonds that are seen in Colonial American structures are all-header bonds, all-stretcher bonds, and cross-bonds. As the technology changed and houses became larger and more massive, brick patterns were combined for varying strengths and appearances.

Stoneworking

As Harley McKee stated in *Introduction to Early American Masonry* (1973:9):

Because they [stone buildings] are available for the architectural historian to study firsthand, old stone buildings have received a disproportionate share of attention, as compared with buildings constructed of less-durable materials. The technology employed in their construction, however, is but sparingly mentioned in publications on American architecture.

In Europe, builders could rely on the condition of older buildings to observe the weathering qualities of various types of stone from certain quarries (Elliott 1992:32). In America, this type of material reference did not exist. Although most of the homes built in early eighteenth century Virginia primarily had timber-frame or brick structural systems, a limited number also employed stone. The first step in stone masonry work is finding the source. While clay for bricks and wood for timber frames was easily attainable, locating usable stone was a bit more difficult. Colonists primarily located their stone through four ways: one, it was imported from Europe; two, the source was

easily identified by the presence of stone on the surface near a building site, such as the use of local fieldstone at Menokin in Richmond County; three, the source was identified by Native groups who passed the information on to new European immigrants; or four, the new colonists themselves explored the river and creek banks looking for usable construction stone.

Regardless of the identification method, the quarrying of stone in colonial America depended on Old World knowledge adapted to New World conditions. Skilled workers under a specific task system conducted most of the quarrying. Quarriers worked at the source and extracted the stone from the earth. It was their responsibility to locate good portions of stone and roughly shape them at the quarrying site to remove all excess stone prior to transport. The rough shaping was one of the most important parts of the process. If too little stone was removed, transporting the stone to the building site became even more difficult due to the weight of the stone. It has been estimated that the average block of building stone weighed between 140 and 180 pounds per cubic foot (McKee 1973:18). If too much was removed, the exterior of the usable portion would not be protected from weathering or damage.

“All quarrying methods must vary according to the hardness and internal structure of the stone being extracted, the terrain from which it is to be taken, and the materials available for tools” (Elliott 1992:24). In Virginia, most stone was quarried through trenching and wedging. A trench or series of small holes were drilled within the stone face, usually in a rectangular or square pattern, using iron picks or drill points.

This exposed the edges and provided a platform for the use of saws, wedges, and hammers to pry the stone from the earth (Elliott 1992:25).

After the blocks were quarried and rough cut, they were transported to the building site by cart or preferably by water. There they would sit for between several months and several years to weather. As Vitruvius stated in his *Ten Books on Architecture* (as quoted in McKee 1973:16-17): “Let stone be taken from the quarry two years before building is to begin, and not in winter but in summer. Then let it lie exposed in an open place.” Like wood and brick, stone needs a weathering period prior to use in a building to undergo chemical and physical changes. A stone that is not allowed to weather could easily crack and split when pressure is applied.

After weathering, Rough Masons cut the blocks to their approximate size. If the stone was being used in a foundation or for a wall, it was the rough masons job to prepare all sides for immediate use in construction. If the stone was to be used in a more decorative manner, such as for molding or columns, a Freemason completed the stonework. The freemason intricately carved the decorative stone elements through five steps: hewing with an axe or pick, hammering with an ax or hammer, working with a chisel and mallet, sawing the excess off of the block, and finally rubbing the entire primary face with an abrasive to finish the piece (McKee 1973:20). All steps of stonework were overseen by the Master Mason who worked with the architect, builder or owner to ensure that the stone was ready to be laid.

Stonelaying

Once the stone had been quarried, weathered, dressed, and tooled, it was ready for use. Stone foundations mostly relied on mortar to fasten the elements together, although in some cases, the weight and size of the blocks of stone, combined with interlocking cutting, made the use of mortar unnecessary. Whereas bricklaying relied on the use of several types of brick bonds for strength and appearance, most stone was laid in an interlocking pattern. The exterior face of the individual stones could be cleaved for a particular look, such as graining the surface for texture or carving lines or other shapes within the surface to create a particular pattern. This technique was particularly striking if the stone was used as quoining on the corners of brick buildings.

The decorative elements carved by the freemasons could be applied through the use of mortar or iron fasteners. In the case of columns, colonists relied on the two thousand year old technique of hollowing out the center of column segments and stacking them on an internal iron rod (such column fragments were found at the Enchanted Castle site). Similarly, internal iron clips helped to fasten stone molding and cornices, elaborate stone steps, and even stone capitals. At Germanna, Tubal Iron Furnace likely provided all needed iron fasteners for the stoneworkers.

Mortar and Plaster

Because the materials used to create mortar and plaster are very similar, the two will be discussed together. The basic components of both mortar and plaster are clay, sand, water, and temper. The temper could be local sand, crushed limestone, oyster

shell, horsehair, flax, or lime, for example, depending on their intended purpose and what was available. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it has been noted that more brick houses were constructed in the South than New England partly because of the availability of oyster shell for mortar temper. The Native Americans of the southern states left numerous shell middens along the coastline, and the availability of the shell encouraged the production of mortar and plaster (Straight 1986:95). Lime-based mortar and plaster were the most popular and finest quality, but many elite and middle class owners used a mud mortar, made with local tempers, on interior walls and secondary elevations (McKee 1973). White marble dust was sometimes added as temper to improve the aesthetic qualities of both mortar and plaster, as it helped create a bright white appearance.

Two types of mortar are used in building construction, soft and hard. Prior to about 1880, all mortar was soft, meaning that it was strong and provided a cushion to masonry materials while always remaining partially flexible. Elasticity allowed a masonry wall to move and swell, thus accommodating varying weather patterns and normal stresses on masonry walls. “After setting, mortar hardens at a slow rate, taking months or years to attain its ultimate strength. Sometimes common lime mortar on the interior of thick walls never really hardens” (McKee 1973:65). Hard mortars comprised Portland cement, concrete, and more ridged adaptations that were readily available in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. While hard mortars created a stronger bond and thus, more secure wall, its rigidity sometimes was the downfall of a structure since

it did not allow for the normal swelling and swaying that architectural elements undergo throughout the year.

Although the basic components of mortar and plaster are the same, the ratios differed to accommodate their usage. Temper was often finer in plaster for a smoother finish. Clay, or mud, plaster was by far the most commonly used plaster in colonial America. Using local sand and clay, the paste was thoroughly mixed and applied to create a uniform, smooth finish. The advantage of using ground lime instead of local sand was a finer appearance, as the lime allowed for a very smooth wall with a white hue, which allowed for better light.

Mortar Techniques

Like brick patterning, specific mortar techniques were used in various conditions. Mortar was placed between masonry building materials as a fastener. As such, various masonry forms required slight alterations in mortar application. When joining the inner spaces of walls of any sort, mortar was applied liberally to the top and sides of each piece to ensure stability. Appearance was not a high priority. Similarly, on walls facing the interior of unseen spaces, such as basements, excess mortar would not be wiped off but rather fanned across the surface of the masonry for added strength. However, most masonry surfaces that would be at all visible, whether a simple boundary wall or the exterior of a manor home, would receive a specific mortar joint.

Mortar joints accomplished two things: they improved wall appearance and they were a form of weatherproofing (Mack and Askins 1979). Mortar not only glued the

masonry together, it helped to protect and seal the masonry elements themselves. For example, depending on the selected joint form, the mortar not only shielded the interior of the wall from nature, but it could actually deflect rain and snow from the wall. The joint, like brick bonding, could also be another form of decoration, as the type of joint used reflected social status, the availability of labor, and personal taste.

Six joint types are most often found in colonial masonry (Figure 5.2) (McKee 1973:70). A flush joint is exactly that—the mortar is wiped flush with the surrounding masonry components. This is on contrast to the raked joint, where the mortar is completely inset within the masonry. Struck and weathered joints are opposite variations of the same format. Whereas struck joints are cut diagonally inward from the top of the space to the bottom, thus leaving a portion of the lower piece exposed, a weathered joint is cut diagonally from the bottom edge to the interior of the top piece. The final two most-typical joint types are tooled, meaning they require a special instrument to create rather than relying on the traditional masons trowel. Concave joints were bowed inward in the center, and beaded joints were raked joints with a raised linear nib in the center.

The choice of joint depended on both the desired physical appearance as well as the placement of the wall. The strongest joint was a weathered joint, as it protected the surface of the bottom masonry element while allowing water to wick away from the surface. A builder would never use a raked or struck join on an exterior wall for just this reason. With an exposed bottom surface, water could pool on the masonry element, thus weakening the general system. Flush joints were most often used in foundations or on

interior walls that were to receive additional wall treatment, while tooled joints are almost always found on the exterior of buildings, as their intricate forms were more stylistic than functional.

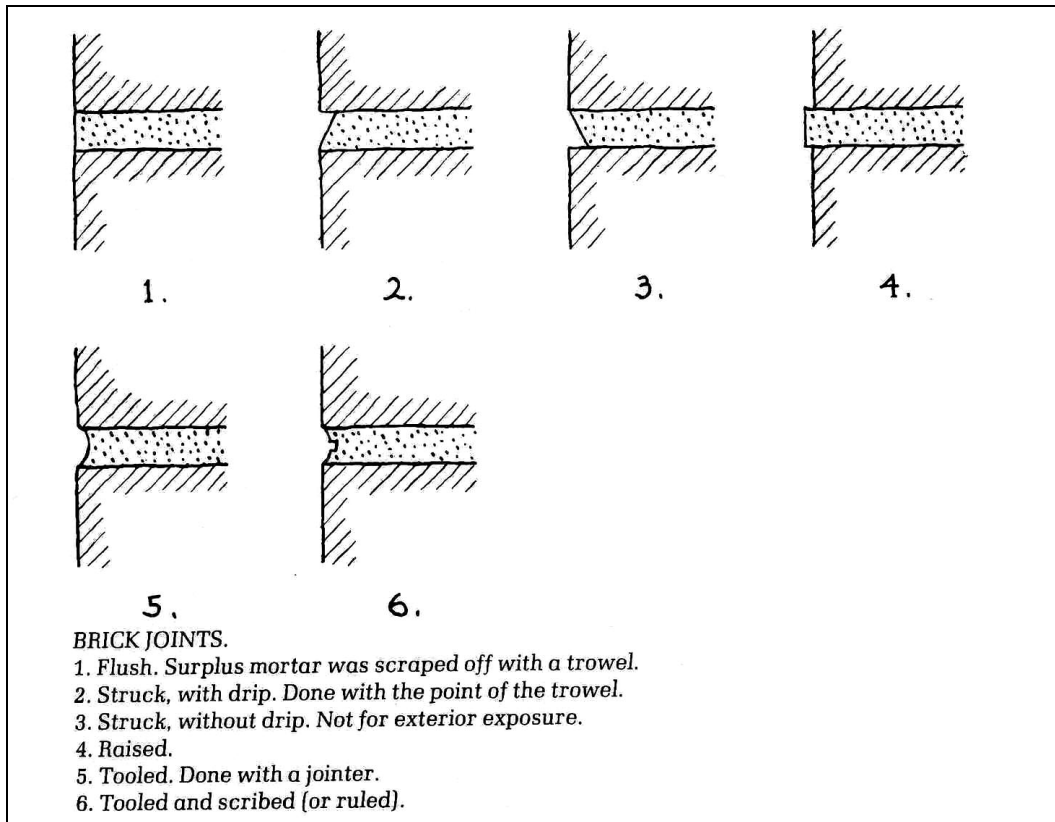


Figure 5.2 Types of mortar joints (McKee 1973:70).

Plastering Techniques

The application of plaster was, in general, less ridged than that of mortar for several reasons. The main reason is that plaster was often used as a wall coating prior to final decorative applications, such as paint, wallpaper, or wainscoting. It was therefore

used more for its structural properties than as viewable decoration. A second function was to act as a weather protectant, as a good plaster job could shut out the wind and cold, or insulate a basement to avoid moisture and mildew. However, plaster had to be mixed in exact proportions or it would not adhere to the wall. Thus most good plasterers went through a long apprenticeship prior to entering the field (McKee 1973:83).

The application technique of plaster depended on the structural system. On interior timber frame walls, plaster was often applied over wooden lathing, or later metal gridding. Lathing was first attached to a timber frame with nails or tacks. The lathing was placed horizontally, very close together to provide a stable surface. A base coat of plaster, also known as a rough coat, was then spread over the lathing with excess pressure so that the plaster was forced between the lathing. This plaster, called a key, would then harden and act as a toggle bolt to hold the plaster to the wall (e.g., Caron and Lynch 1988:8). Once a firm base coat was applied to the entire wall, a finishing or white coat was smoothed over the surface to prepare the wall for decorative treatment. A similar technique was used in metal grid plastering in the nineteenth century, where wire mesh was tacked to a frame instead of lathing, and the plaster was forced between the holes of the mesh to form the keys.

On interior masonry walls, the forced layer was not required, as the plaster adhered directly to the masonry elements. A single thin layer was applied to the entire surface to smooth out the texture of the underlying masonry. The plasterer would need to apply the correct thickness of plaster to a masonry wall, though. If the plaster was too thick, it could easily crack and fragment. Too many cracks would cause the plaster to

crumble off of the wall. If the plaster was too thin, the underlying masonry could show through, and the plaster could not perform its secondary function of moisture and weather control.

In colonial Virginia, plaster was used less often on the exterior of buildings, as most people could not afford to plaster the exterior of their homes or did not deem it necessary. Exterior plaster was affixed in a similar manner to interior plaster. The plaster was prepared with a very smooth temper and often additional lime to whiten the mixture. It was then applied directly to the exterior of the building and smoothed. In some cases, only the chimney was plastered. Like interior plaster work, this acted as a very attractive form of weatherproofing and fireproofing for an exterior chimney.

Window Glass

Unlike other building materials, the manufacturing of window glass required very specific equipment and skill. It was therefore usually brought to a building location rather than created on site. There were three ways to create window glass in the colonial era. Like other material production, the selection of a glass manufacturing technique depended on the use of the glass and the amount one could pay per pane.

The most commonly available window glass was spun, or crown, glass. Spun glass was created by placing a large amount of molten glass on the end of an iron pontil. The pontil was then rapidly spun so that the centrifugal force displaced the glass, and it spread out into a sheet. Once a sheet was formed and the glass partially hardened, the sheet was cut into panes (Elliott 1992:113). The advantages of this technique were that

it was very quick and required less labor than other methods, thus the panes were more readily available and also less expensive.

The disadvantage of spun glass was that the thickness of each pane was uneven, as the portion closer to the pontil was thicker than the portion along the edges. A good cutter could minimize the thickness differential, but it nevertheless existed within each pane made from spun glass. Also, the glass had a slight curvature within the matrix caused by the spinning action during formation. A slight curved distortion could therefore be seen in each pane, although the curvature was usually not immediately obvious or obtrusive to the view through the glass. In addition, one pane always had a “bullseye”, the place on the pane where the pontil was attached. This pane could be used in a basement or rear window, as it would let light in but the large pontil mark often left the pane very distorted.

The second window glass manufacturing technique is cylinder, or broad, glass. Here, clear glass would be blown into a large, jar-shaped mold. When the glass was partially set, the mold would be opened and the neck and bottom of the “jar” would be cut off. The remaining cylinder would be sliced down the center and then flattened to create a sheet of glass. This sheet would then be cut into panes, just like spun glass (Pacey 1981:34).

The advantages to this technique are that the panes have a more uniform thickness, there are no obvious curvatures caused by spinning, and there is no bullseye. The disadvantages, though, are that this technique requires a specific mold and someone skilled at this process to create and accurately cut each glass sheet. The panes often

contain air bubbles caused during the blowing process, and there is a large amount of wasted glass when the neck and the bottom of the initial form are cut off. This process often gets fewer panes per effort than spun glass and, thus, it can be more expensive and harder to acquire.

The best quality window glass was polished glass. Here, the melted material was poured onto very large, flat iron beds. These beds were carefully prepared, and sometimes lined with brass or copper sheeting, so that they were perfectly smooth. The glass was poured onto the beds and smoothed using special finishing tools. Once it was mostly hardened, these large sheets were cut into panes, and each individual pane was then hand-polished to assure that there were no scratches or imperfections (Elliott 1992:118).

This technique produced the clearest, purest window glass, as the glass was poured instead of spun or blown and each pane was individually polished. The equipment needed to produce this glass, however, was very large and specific, and few glass manufacturers owned an iron pouring table. In addition, the labor required in this technique was intense. Therefore, poured and polished panes were by far the most expensive form of window glass and, as such, the most rare in colonial Virginia.

AT GERMANN—ARCHITECTURAL MATERIALS USED IN THE ENCHANTED CASTLE

Wood, brick, stone, iron, and glass were used throughout the Spotswood's mansion. All were recovered in great quantities across the site, even though the massive

fire that destroyed the building, the construction of Gordon-era buildings across the site, and decades of robbing materials from the Enchanted Castle diminished the integrity of the archaeological remains. For example, Egloff (1977) noted that the foundation, chimney, and well of the Gordon house were all made of schist that likely came from the mansion, thus compromising the amount of stone found during the excavations.

Despite the robbing and destruction of the home, archaeologists collected tens of thousands of nails and window glass fragments and weighed over 16 tons of brick, stone, mortar, and plaster just within the small portion of the site that has been excavated (Figure 5.3), which includes perhaps less than 20 percent of the mansion complex. Thus, the amount represented in this assemblage is only a small fraction of what was initially used at the site. However, the sample collected, weighed, and counted over almost 30 years of archaeological research provides an excellent glimpse into the making of the mansion.

Study Methods

I decided to examine only the architectural artifacts for this dissertation to begin to dissect the building's construction methods and take a first step at overall building analysis. In this case, I defined building materials as those weighed and discarded in the field (brick, schist, slate, sandstone, mud and white mortar, and mud and white plaster), as well as all window glass and nails. Although not physically represented within the collection, wood was also included in this study as fasteners and site

formation processes can both lead to an investigation on how wood was used in the home.



Figure 5.3 Sample of building materials found at the Enchanted Castle site. Clockwise from top: white plaster with lathe mark; slate roofing tile; mud mortar; brick inscribed with "TC" (Photo on file, MWC, CHP).

Since some of the building materials were robbed from the Enchanted Castle site over the past 250 years since its demise and other portions were jumbled by landscape alterations, the majority of the current analysis relied on the results of the horizontal artifact distribution. The Enchanted Castle site can be compared to most plow zone sites, as the relative vertical position had been mostly compromised. However, as has been noted in numerous studies of plow zone contexts (e.g., King and Miller 1991;

Pogue 1990), artifacts actually have a relatively short horizontal shift in plow zone contexts. Therefore, despite the site robbing and filling, the current horizontal distribution of the artifacts is very indicative as to the pre-destruction composition.

As stated in Chapter 4, due to the mostly salvage nature of the work conducted in 1977 and 1984, several units were not excavated below the topsoil and upper two to three natural levels. The removal of these upper strata allowed the archaeologists to expose the top *in situ* course of foundation walls (levels A-C) to identify the basic plan of the mansion complex. During the non-salvage excavations in the 1980s and 1990s by the VRCA, UVA, MWC and others, work continued below the fill layers within several units across the site. Although few units were completely excavated to either the basement floor or clay subsoil, at least partial excavation below the fill levels was completed within 71 of the 156 units across Germanna (45 percent) (see Figure 4.6).

Because of the disparate nature of the two types of excavation (surface only salvage work versus controlled vertical excavation), two separate studies were completed—one looking at the 71 units that were at least partially excavated below the fill levels (labeled ‘excavated’ units in the remainder of this work) and a second analyzing the 135 units where levels A-C had been removed (*Note:* The 135 units includes the 71 excavated units plus the 64 units where only the upper strata had been stripped away; The remaining 21 of the 156 total units were not located within the Enchanted Castle site. See Table 5.1 for a list of all units). The dual analysis of surface versus excavated units was designed to alleviate the significant biases that would

develop in counts and weights in units that received additional archaeological excavation, while still using all data retrieved from the site.

Table 5.1 List of site units and level of excavation

Surface Only (A-C)		Excavated (D-xx)		Not Included in Study
4	56	1	100	60
5	58	2	101	79
6	59	3	104	86
7	61	13	105	107
8	62	15	106	118
9	63	17	108	119
10	64	19	109	120
11	67	31	110	121
12	68	32	111	122
14	69	33	112	126
16	70	34	113	127
18	73	35	114	128
20	75	36	115	135
21	78	38	116	140
22	80	39	123	143
23	83	46	124	144
24	84	49	125	147
25	88	52	129	151
26	89	53	130	152
27	90	57	131	153
28	91	65	132	154
29	93	66	133	
30	94	71	134	
37	97	72	136	
40	102	74	137	
41	103	76	138	
42	117	77	139	
43	155	81	141	
44		82	142	
45		85	145	
47		87	146	
48		92	148	
50		95	149	
51		96	150	
54		98	156	
55		99		

During the study, all architectural weights were collected into a database for distribution analysis and converted to a 10-point decimal system for easier calculations (i.e, 10 pounds, 8 ounces was entered as 10.5; See Appendix A for list of al weights). This information was gathered from daily notes and Excavation Register (ER) sheets that were completed for each unit and level. At MWC, all wrought nails, nail shafts, and fragments of window glass were separated from the artifact assemblage for each level and individually counted. These totals were then entered into the architectural database. This database was then analyzed using Excel to compare overall counts/weights, and Surfer 8.0 software was applied to the data to examine material distribution across the site.

Spatial distribution of the surface units was completed using weight/count totals. Since roughly the same amount has been excavated across the entire site in levels A-C (with a variation of up to about six inches), the surface analysis was not adjusted for unit volume. When deciding how to analyze the excavated units, two different methods presented themselves. One would be to use the raw weight/counts across the site regardless of the depth of unit excavation and the other would be to determine the quantity of recovered material for each unit divided by its cubic volume. Thus, a unit that was excavated to 3 feet would be equal to a unit that was only one foot deep. Comparison Surfer maps and tables were made for a sample of material types using each method, but based on these results as well as other factors, it was determined to use the raw count analysis.

The complete results of the comparative analysis can be found in Appendix B, but in sum, the raw numbers were used for three primary reasons: one, the results from the surface analysis showed very little difference when compared to the excavate units, thus the depth of excavation did not greatly skew the results; two, only a handful of excavated units (i.e., 13, 15, 17, 57, 146) were excavated to a depth greater than two feet, thus minimizing the volume differential amongst the units; and most importantly three, I believe that using volumetric weights would negate the landscape differentials created by the construction and deconstruction of the mansion.

In other words, some units that were excavated to subsoil on the exterior of the home were only a foot or so deep. The lack of deep strata in this area was not due to limited excavation by the archaeologists, but limited alteration by the historic occupants of the site. Within the basement, some units were excavated to a depth of up to three feet, as the builders of the home purposefully excavated this area deeper to set the home into the site of the knoll to create the basement level. When the home collapsed, the material from above collected in the basement void below. The higher amounts of architectural materials found here should not be discounted when compared to shallower areas of the site. In fact, the results presented in the following discussion illustrate that most concentrations were actually not found within the deepest units at the site (units 13 and 15), but rather some of the shallowest (units 71 and 72).

Wood

The evidence of wood found during the excavations was very limited due to the destruction of the home by fire. Most of the representative fragments of wood found during the excavations are small, usually less than 2 inches long, and extremely charred. Although almost all of the wood fragments found during the archaeology were saved for analysis, this work has not been completed thus far. What has been determined is that wood was used to form the interior of the home, including interior floor divisions, walls, and stairways, and it was also extensively used as lathing for plaster. This analysis is based on the quantity and variety of nails found at the site (see section on nails below), the presence of wood plaster lathing in many excavated areas, and the width of the foundations. At Stratford Hall, home of the Lee family in Westmoreland County, Virginia, the foundations were 36 inches thick at the base, tapering to 24 inches at the roofline. These massive foundation was needed to support the weight of that all-brick structure. At Germanna, the foundations were only eighteen inches wide, which could support a two story building so long as the interior was made of wood.

Based on the current extent of the excavations at the Enchanted Castle, the best evidence of timber use at the site is the presence of two charred slotted timbers found within the southeastern corner of the main house in Unit 99 and a separate timber extending through Units 38 and 101, just northwest of Unit 99. All three timbers lay north-south and would have been located within the eastern one-third of the basement. The timbers in Unit 99 are near the eastern wall of the house and measure approximately 5 feet long by 1 foot wide (Figure 5.4). The western timber lies adjacent

to the brick pavers that covered a portion of the basement floor, while the eastern timber is near the eastern wall of the home. The timber in Units 38/101 is about 5½ feet long and divides a section of brick pavers from the slate flooring area to the north. It would have served as a noser for the step from the brick floor below to the slate floor above (Sanford 2004:pers. comm.) All of the burned timbers are set within the natural clay subsoil.

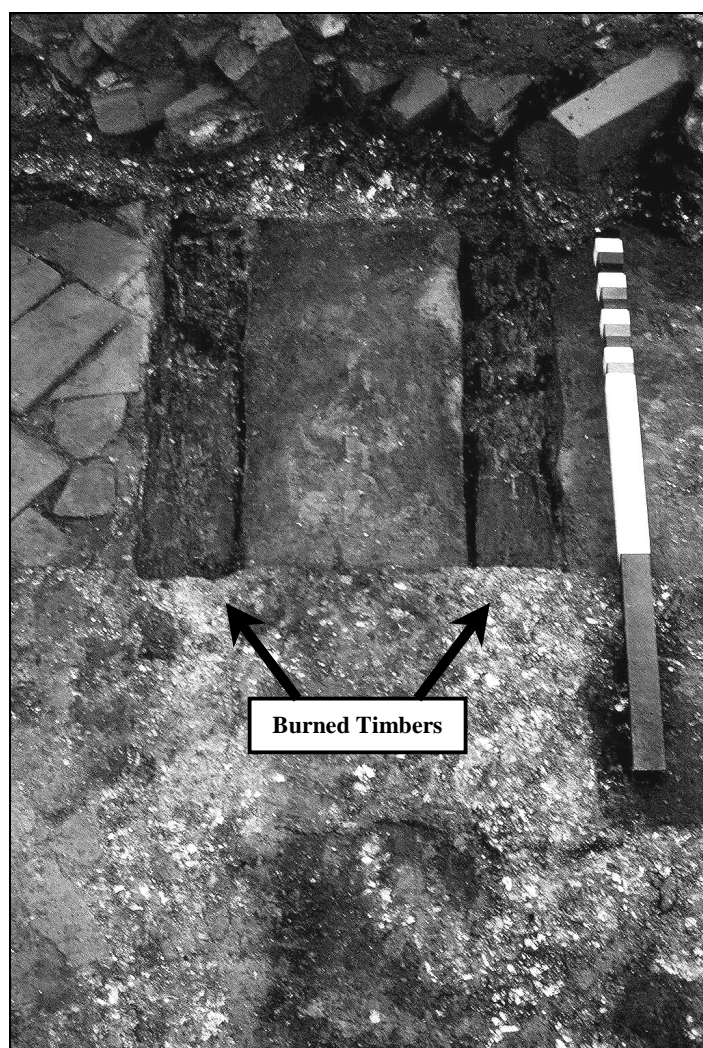


Figure 5.4 Burned timbers found in Unit 99 (Photo on file, MWC, CHP).

As these three pieces of wood lie under the rubble and are set into the clay subsoil within the basement floor, they are likely a purposefully constructed basement feature rather than collapsed ceiling or framing beams. Based on their location and size, they have been interpreted as the base sills for sets of wooden steps. In Unit 99, two to three steps would have lead east, out a side door and into an open working courtyard. The wood timber recorded in Units 38/101 could be the base of a step leading from the north-center workroom up one foot to the slate-floored area in the northeast corner, which is approximately 1 foot higher than the surrounding basement floor.

Although these three timbers have been interpreted as steps, other similar timber could be under the unexcavated rubble. If the basement was, indeed, a workspace, the basement could have had wooden shelving to help store supplies. Evidence of similar basement wooden shelving has been found within the walls at several plantations, including Berkeley Plantation on the James River and Stratford Hall. At Stratford, put-holes were found throughout the interior of two basement chambers that have been interpreted as wet and dry storage rooms. Additional timbers at Germanna could also indicate the location of wall framing elements, door threshold components, or interior equipment supports. Further excavations are needed throughout the basement to locate additional wood remains in order to completely understand the use of wood at this site. An examination of the nails, however, does shed some light on this subject.

Nails

A discussion of wood in an eighteenth-century Virginia home cannot be completed without a look at nails. Although relatively small amounts of wood were found during the archaeology, the presence of timber is directly reflected in the quantity of nails retrieved from the site. While nails were used to fasten roofing slates and pieces of ironwork to the exterior and interior of the home, the majority of the nails found at the site fastened wood. The sheer quantity and variety of nails clearly illustrates that a large portion of the home was constructed of wood.

With the availability of iron from Spotswood's iron works, it is probable that most of the nails were produced at Tubal rather than imported to the colony, thus allowing for a variety of nails to be used at the site. The nails would have been created at Massaponax and brought across the Germanna Plank Road, a trip of about 14 miles, to the building site. Although this trip would not have been easy with such a heavy load carried over the rolling road connecting the two sites, it was much more convenient and less expensive than either importing the nails from abroad or bringing them in from the Chesapeake. With Spotswood's shrewd knowledge of the local environment, he was able to use his iron enterprise to his advantage in the construction of most of the buildings at Germanna. This connection to environmental materials will surface numerous times in this discussion.

Almost the entire assemblage of nails found at the site is wrought. Although a small amount of cut nails were also recovered, these were found in a mixed robbing and filling context and obviously brought to the site by the Gordon family in the nineteenth

century. Indeed, during the excavations near the joint of the southwest and northwest hyphen, in the area revealed to contain a segment of Fort Germanna, archaeologists recorded evidence of a post-in-ground structure built by the Gordons built with cut nails. Since the cut nails found at the site were not a part of the building of the original Enchanted Castle complex, they were not included within the general nail counts used in this current study.

Wrought nails found at the Enchanted Castle include all shapes and sizes (Figure 5.5). Although nails ranging from small iron tacks to large framing nails were recorded, a breakdown of sizes was not completed for this study because of the extremely poor condition of the nails. The vast majority of nails found during the archaeological investigations were missing the head or tip, so while a description of the variety of nails can be accomplished and a total amount of nails per unit has been tallied, an exact count per type cannot be completed. However, as a rough estimate of the whole nails found at the site, about 75 percent were greater than two inches in length, suggesting that they were framing nails. The remaining 25 percent were less than two inches and were used for flooring, moldings, plaster work, roofing, etc.

Nail head varieties found at the site include rose, flat, T, L, and no-headed nails. These types of heads would have accommodated the various uses of the nails in the construction of the Enchanted Castle. For example, the rose headed nails would have been used for joining larger members, while the no headed nails could have been used for more delicate molding or decorative items, as well as flooring. The T headed nails were ideal for fastening slate roofing tiles, while L headed nails can be associated with

plaster lathing. Flat headed nails were likely used in areas that were not showcased, such as within wall interiors or to join flooring members.

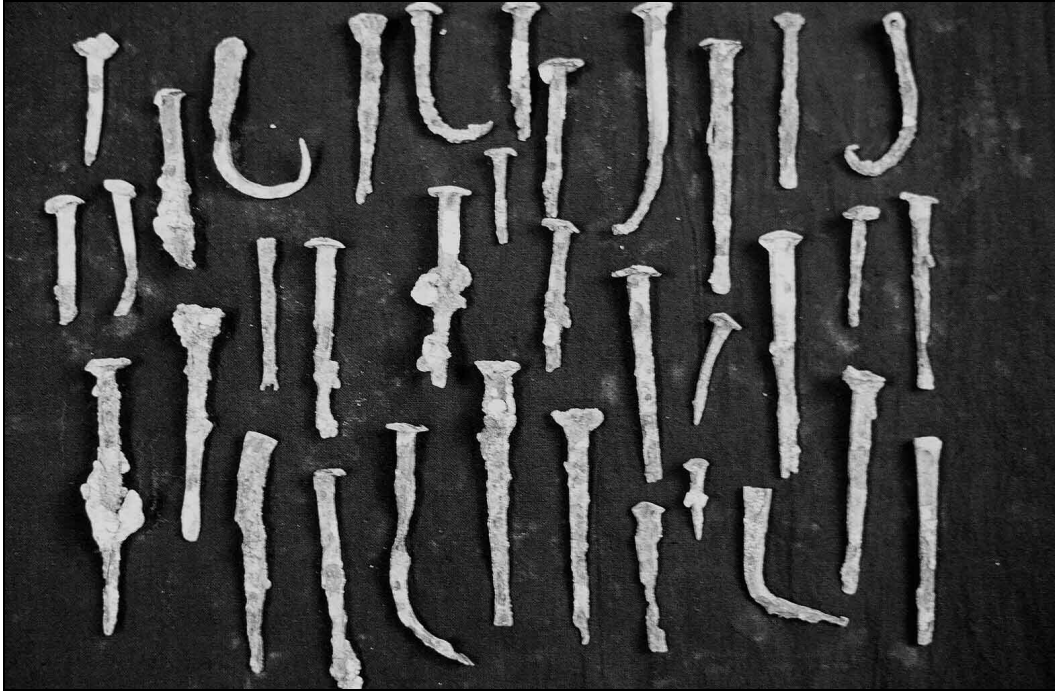


Figure 5.5 Sample of nails found during the Enchanted Castle excavations (Photo by the author).

Nail tip types included shovel, clinched and pointed. The shovel tips and clinched tips provided a much better hold by anchoring the timber framing elements in a similar fashion to today's toggle bolt. The pointed tips were preferable on smaller, decorative projects as they leave a much smaller hole and have a lower chance of splitting the wood.

In total, 27,081 nails have thus far been found and tallied from the excavations at the Enchanted Castle. This large number gives a clue into the quantity of nails used within the home, as it represents only the small percentage of the site that has been excavated and does not include all of the nails robbed from the homesite in the second half of the eighteenth century. In actuality, it is probable that well over 200,000-300,000 nails were used during the homes construction, most of which were manufactured at Spotswood's own iron works.

Although the quantity of nails recovered across the site varied greatly, the mapping of the nails found within the upper Gordon fill levels was relatively similar to the mapping of nails found within units that were completely excavated (Figures 5.6 and 5.7). Both showed similar concentrations of nails, with a light scattering of nails across the entire site. As expected, the highest quantities of nails were found within the main house area. In particular, two heavy clusters were found: one is just west of a north-south wall in the area of the western fireplace and the second is east of the central fireplace near the wall division between the central basement room and the southeastern basement chamber. In addition, a linear concentration was noted along the western portion of the site.

Based on the quantity of nails and their relative location across the site, it appears that the main house had an interior wood frame with wood flooring, wall divisions, stairways, and decorative elements. The two clusters located in the main house are very distinctive and, while they do relate to the general pattern of excavations

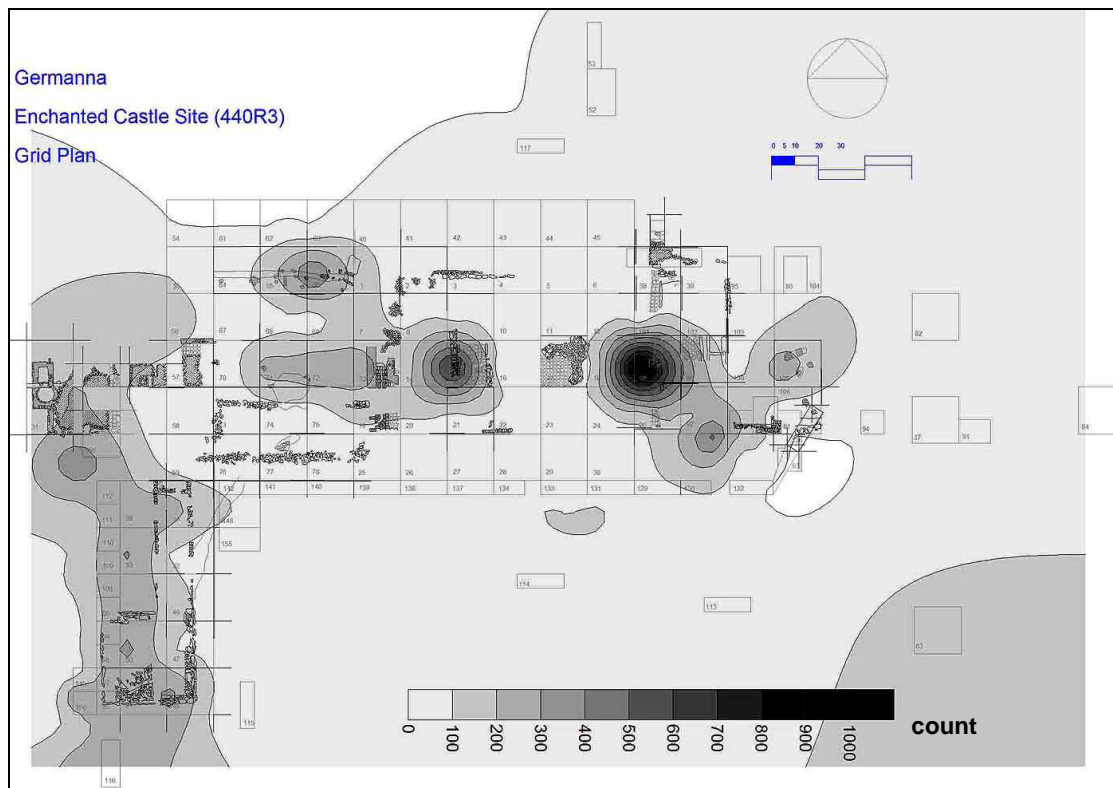


Figure 5.6 Distribution of nails found within the Surface levels across the Enchanted Castle site.

at the site, they probably indicate substantial wood features, such as stairways or associated major interior walls. If they do mark approximate stair locations, the western stair near the west fireplace and closer to the possible kitchen area could indicate a servants stair. The eastern cluster is larger and more towards the center of the home, potentially suggesting a main staircase. The higher densities found within the northwest yard on the surface unit study is also probably indicative of post-depositional activity, where the northwest yard area was used to salvage building materials from the site and make them usable.

Since a relatively low quantity of nails was found within the western portion of the site near the dependencies and hyphens, it is probable that these buildings had a similar construction methodology as the main house, with masonry exteriors, an interior wood frame, and wood roofing truss system, although they were all one story instead of two.

Brick

Although the interior of the home was mostly constructed of wood, features uncovered during the archaeology, such as intact foundation remains and collapsed walls, indicate that large portions of the exterior of the mansion was formed of brick. Whole bricks, brick bats, and brick fragments were found across the entire site (Figures 5.8 and 5.9). Some bricks were found within the rubble, completely removed from their original context, while other bricks were found adjacent to foundations or wall falls. Archaeology has determined that a large portion of the bricks used to make the

Enchanted Castle were robbed, but the high quantities found on the site can still reveal a great deal about the quantity of brick used at the site, their manufacture, and their use.



Figure 5.8 Examples of whole bricks found at the site (Photo by the author).



Figure 5.9 Brick Pavers from Germanna (Photo by the author).

The general history of brickmaking in the colonies and the soil typology of the area suggest that the bricks used to create the mansion were manufactured locally. This fact is confirmed by the presence of a brick kiln at the site. In the mid-1980s, archaeologists recorded a brick kiln west of the mansion, along the natural east-west ridge that runs from the Germanna town area across the mansion complex. The proximity of the Rapidan River to the build site further encourages the idea of local production, as the sand found along the riverbank would have made excellent temper. The local Piedmont environment provided the perfect materials for this building source. During the mid-1980s survey of the Germanna property, archaeologists also The bricks found at the Enchanted Castle were indeed sand tempered. For most of the bricks, local red clay was mixed with sand and water, weathered, and formed in molds to create the 9-x-4-inch shapes for the bricks and the 8-inch squares for the pavers. The texture of the exterior of the bricks suggests that they were formed in sand-lined wood molds rather than metal or oil rubbed molds, then baked in a local kiln. Although some of the brick found at the site was glazed, most was not, thus potentially indicating that glazing was not purposefully done on a large scale for decorative elements.

Architectural features uncovered during the excavations have already shown numerous instances where brick was used in the construction of the home. Most of the foundations recorded within the majority of the main house area had an exterior brick veneer with a stone interior, a fact that is confirmed by the presence of a one course wide intact section of exterior northern wall that fell into the center of the site. A

portion of the exterior foundation located along the western elevation (town side) was made entirely of brick (Figure 5.10). The entire foundation of the northwest dependency and the foundation of the southwest hyphen were also formed of brick. In addition, most of the flooring within the main house and northwest dependency is made of regular bricks or square brick pavers, all manufactured on site. Within the main house, bricks were laid in a herringbone pattern in the northwestern corner of the basement, while pavers were found within the eastern half and central section near the fireplace and drain. The massive tunnel and stairs along the western elevation were also made of brick.

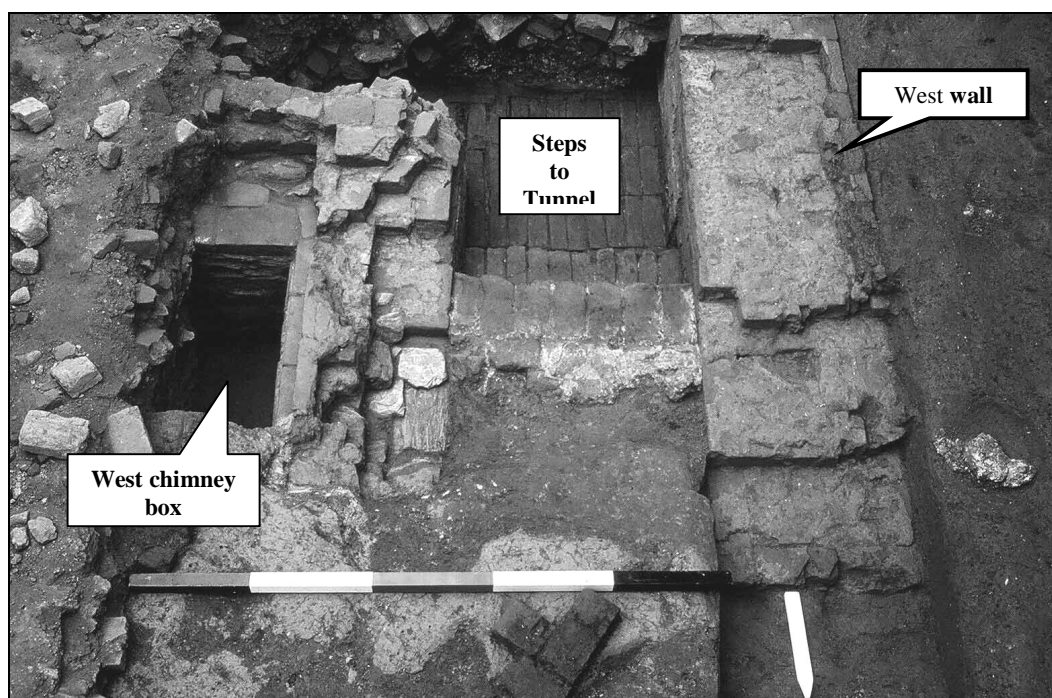


Figure 5.10 West exterior wall (all brick) near the tunnel steps and the western chimney base (Photo on file, MWC, CHP).

Although a good portion of the brick was removed from the site from the Gordon family, among others, archaeologists removed and weighed tens of thousands of pounds of brick within the small portion of the site excavated from 1985 to 1995. In total, 22,267 pounds of brick have been weighed, which represents 59 percent of the total building materials weighed during the excavations (Figure 5.11). This number is somewhat skewed toward the work conducted by MWC, as the earlier salvage project did not quantify the amount of brick removed from the site. Most of the bricks are bats or large fragments. They were broken during the destruction of the home, but not robbed by the Gordon's because they were not usable. Some exhibit fire glazing and others still retain mortar or plaster, but the majority of them are plain.

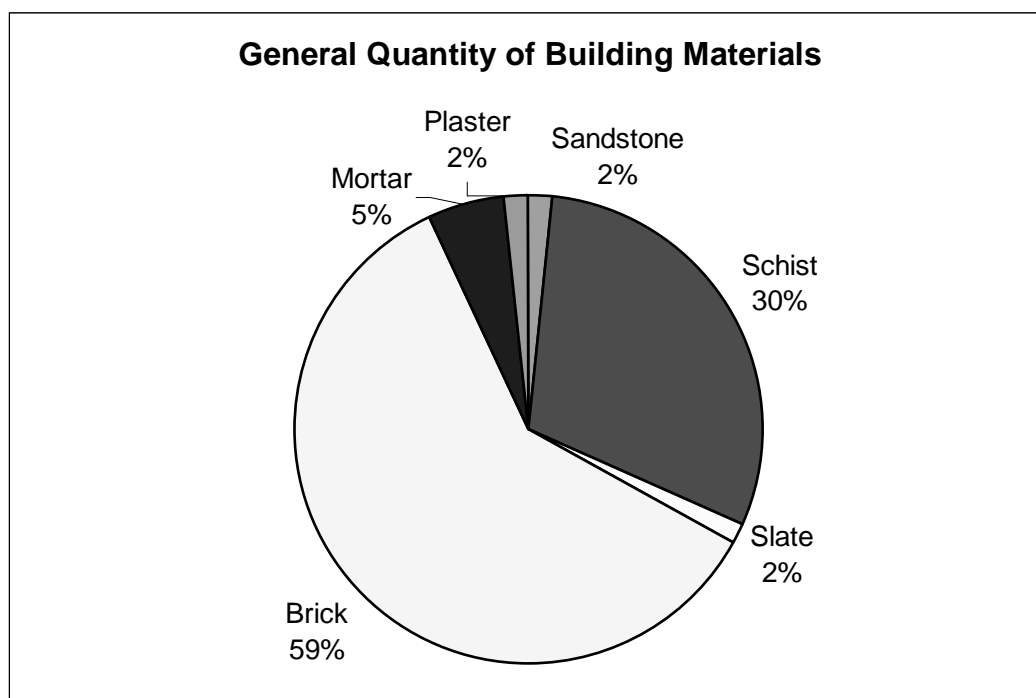


Figure 5.11 Comparison of building material weights found at the Enchanted Castle through 1995.

Like the nails, the dissemination of brick is quite similar when the surface deposits are compared to those found in totally excavated units (Figures 5.12 and 5.13). The highest quantities of brick are found within the main house and the western courtyard area. This is to be expected, as the archaeological excavations have already determined that most of the main house had a brick veneer. When the house collapsed inward, all of the brick would have collected within the center of the home. In general,

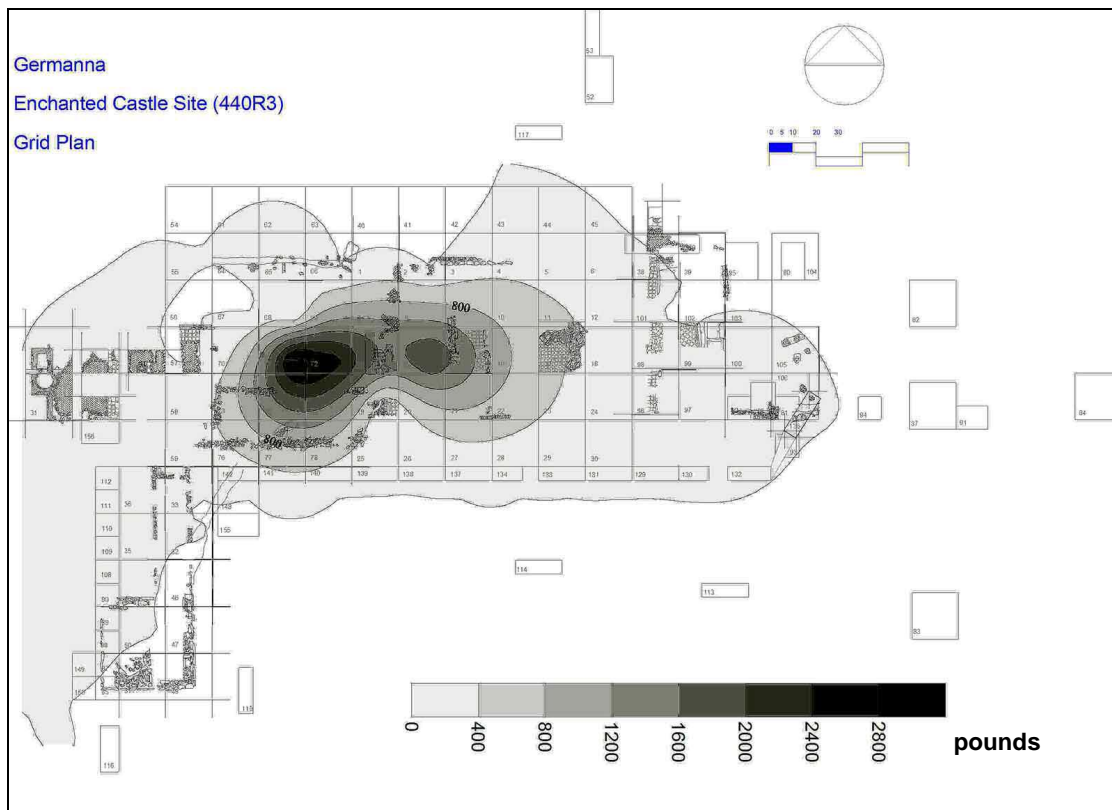


Figure 5.12 Distribution of brick within the surface levels across the site.

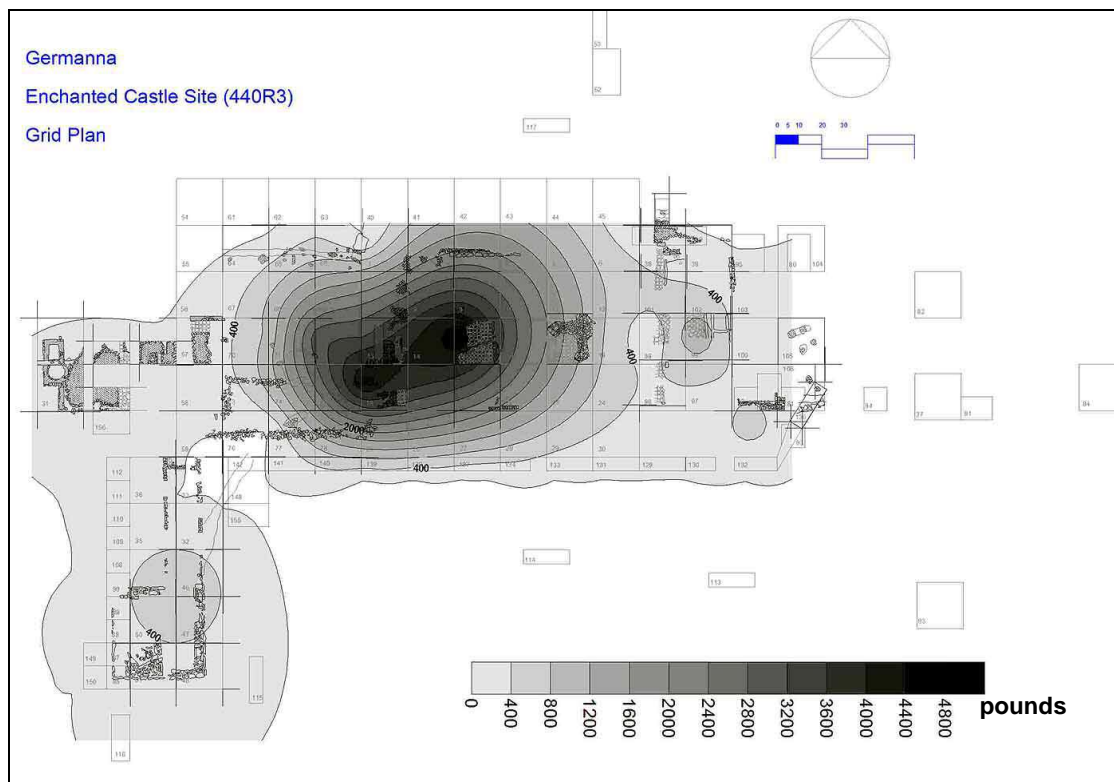


Figure 5.13 Distribution of brick within the excavated units across the site.

brick is concentrated more within the western half of the site than the eastern half. This represent two phenomena: one, archaeological evidence has shown that the foundation of the western wall of the mansion was made entirely of brick, which could indicate that the entire wall was formed of brick instead of just a veneer; or two, the Gordon's began large-scale robbing from the eastern half of the site rather than the western half, as it was closer to their building site. Most likely, the results are a combination of the two.

Stone

During construction of the Enchanted Castle, the natural environment provided a choice of immediately available materials—clay for the construction of brick and wood for timber-framing. These are the materials that most large planters used to create their mansions. In some cases, some types of building materials were imported due to the lack of suitable natural building materials within the Chesapeake. This was not the case at Germanna, where the soil types and timber varieties were ideal for the manufacturing of a variety of building supplies. While archaeological evidence clearly revealed that brick and wood were used in many portions of the Enchanted Castle complex, stone was purposefully selected as an important component of the Enchanted Castle construction. The prevalence of stone throughout the complex is decidedly different than the majority of Virginia plantation manor houses at this time, in part due to available resources and also because of Spotswood's land speculation and his desire to emulate Old World ideology.

Alexander Spotswood not only used large quantities of native Virginia stone before most Virginians, but he actually owned the land surrounding the stone deposits. According to deed and tax records, Spotswood's 40,000-acre Spotsylvania tract, which was located along the south banks of the Rappahannock River east of Germanna, contained a slate quarry with associated bridges and roads (likely the Quantico Formation, which is actually mostly schist). While county records note the existence only of a slate quarry within this parcel, later geological surveys of the Rappahannock River noted the source of other Germanna building materials. In 1817, L. Baldwin

surveyed the portion of the Rappahannock River between Fredericksburg and Carter's Run near the Rapidan fork for the Virginia Board of Public Work (Figure 5.14). During this survey, Baldwin recorded and mapped not only several slate quarries within what was once Spotswood's land, but also numerous sandstone quarries, one of which was labeled "Inexhaustible". Modern geologic maps suggest that the deposits mapped by Baldwin and once owned by Spotswood are Quantico Formation schist, Berea sandstone, and Buffards Formation slate, all near the Chancellorsville area between 7 and 10 miles east of the mansion site.

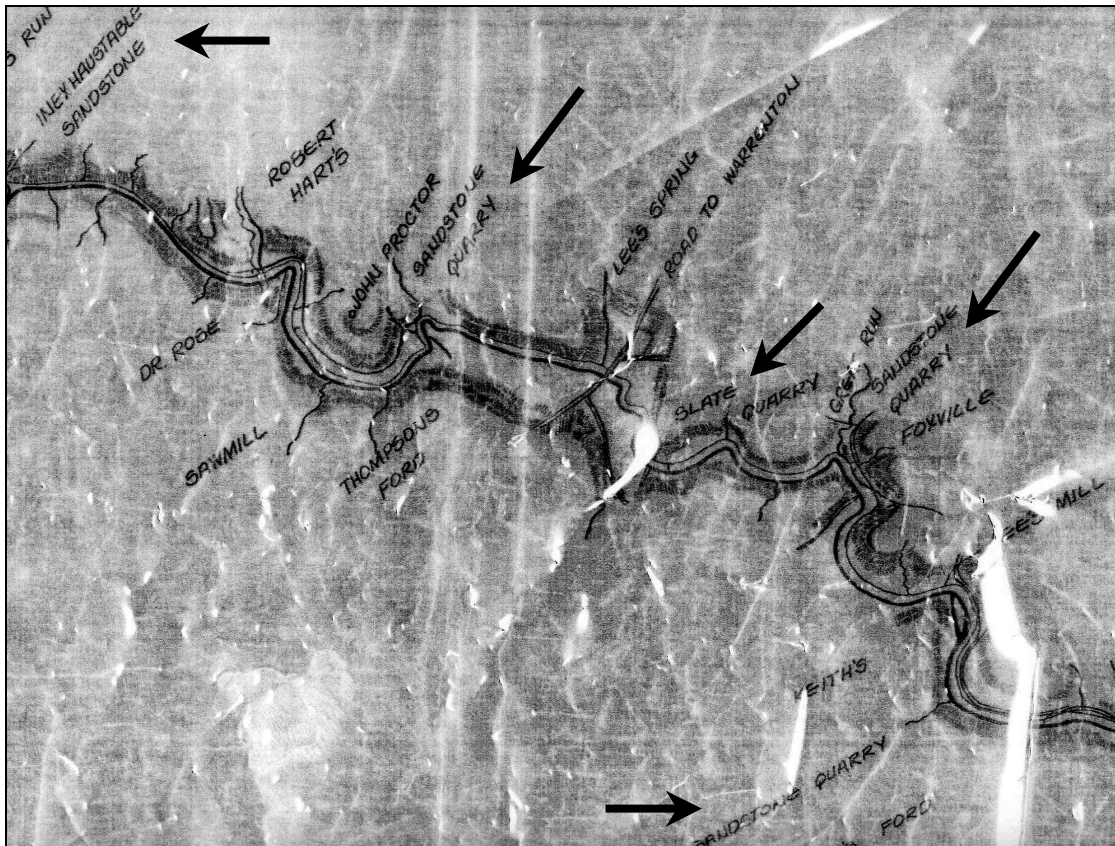


Figure 5.14 Section of early twentieth century copy of Baldwin map showing important geologic deposits and landscape features along the Rappahannock River (Original on file, Central Rappahannock Regional Library, Fredericksburg, Virginia).

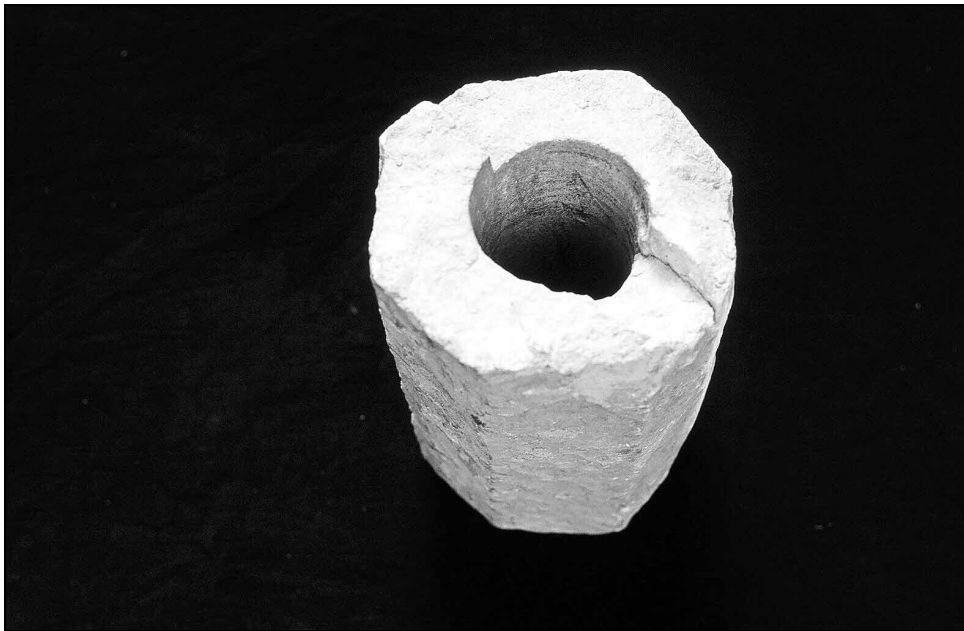
It is likely that, knowing Spotswood's repeated exploration of this area in the early 1710s in search of valuable mineral deposits, he came across these vast exposed stone formations and later mined them for building supplies. After he completed building his own home, he formally purchased the property to control the quarries. Spotswood's knowledge of the local environment, combined with astute business practices and ample capital, not only saved him a great deal of time and money in avoiding shipping stone from Europe, he also had the only high-quality roof at the time covered in Virginia slate and after, controlled the mineral rights to the quarries he already used to create his home.

Archaeologists working at the Enchanted Castle site have recorded many features formed of schist, slate, and sandstone—features that were formed of brick and wood in many contemporaneous homes. For instance, in many parts of the main house, it is schist and to a lesser extent slate that make up the majority of the foundation, with brick used only as a veneer. The northwest hyphen and southwest dependency are almost entirely formed of stone. In the southwest dependency, very large slabs of schist are turned against their cleavage (placed vertically in the ground) as foundational supports. These slabs are then usually supported on the exterior by schist waster fragments, a technological adaptation not seen elsewhere in Colonial Virginia. In addition, sandstone and schist molding and column fragments were found throughout the complex (Figures 5.15 and 5.16). Many of these fragments still retain their classically-influenced profiles and shapes.



Figure 5.15 Hexagonal sandstone column fragment from the Enchanted Castle site (Photo by the author).

Figure 5.16 Interior of sandstone column fragment. Note the circular carving grooves on the interior (Photo by the author).



Schist

When the archaeologists began to uncover the foundation of the Enchanted Castle, their initial visual inspection suggested that a good deal of schist was used in the home. The current study, though, revealed that schist actually made up a *great* deal of the stone used to construct the mansion. Of the stone weighed during the Enchanted Castle archaeology, schist accounted for over 90 percent of the assemblage (Figure 5.17). A total of 11,026 pounds was recorded across the site, and this number does not include the foundation fragments left *in situ* or the very large amount of schist known to be robbed from the house by the Gordon family for use in their foundation, chimney, and well.

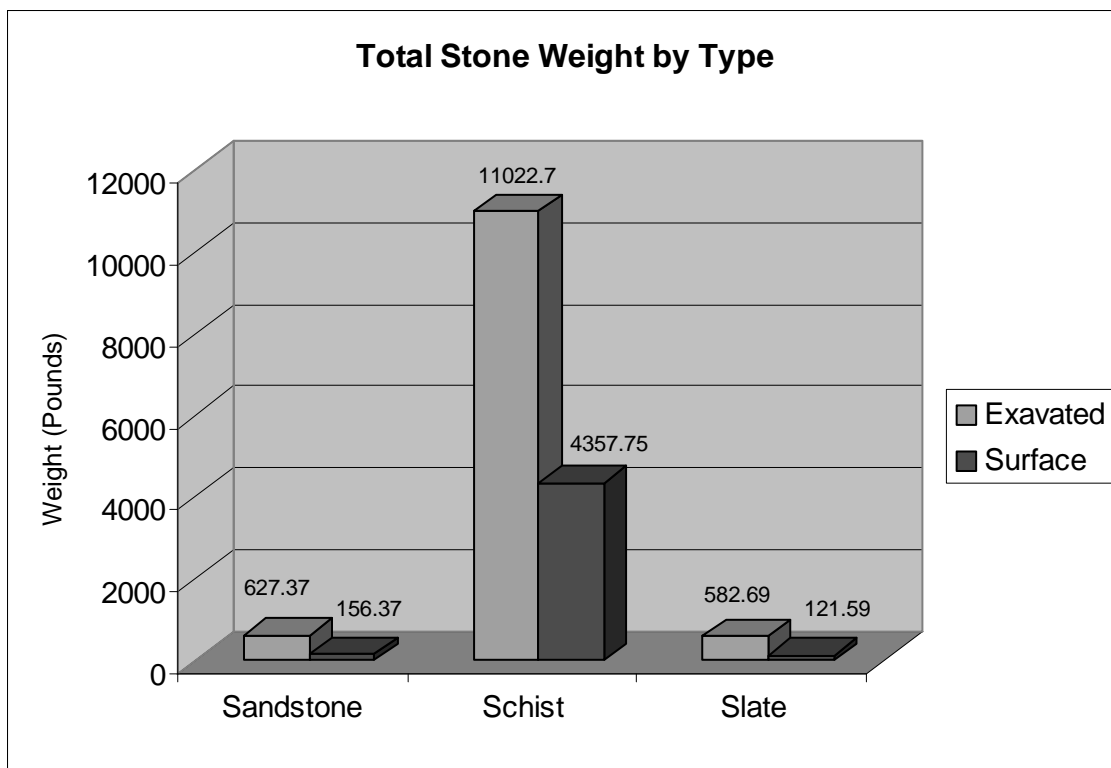
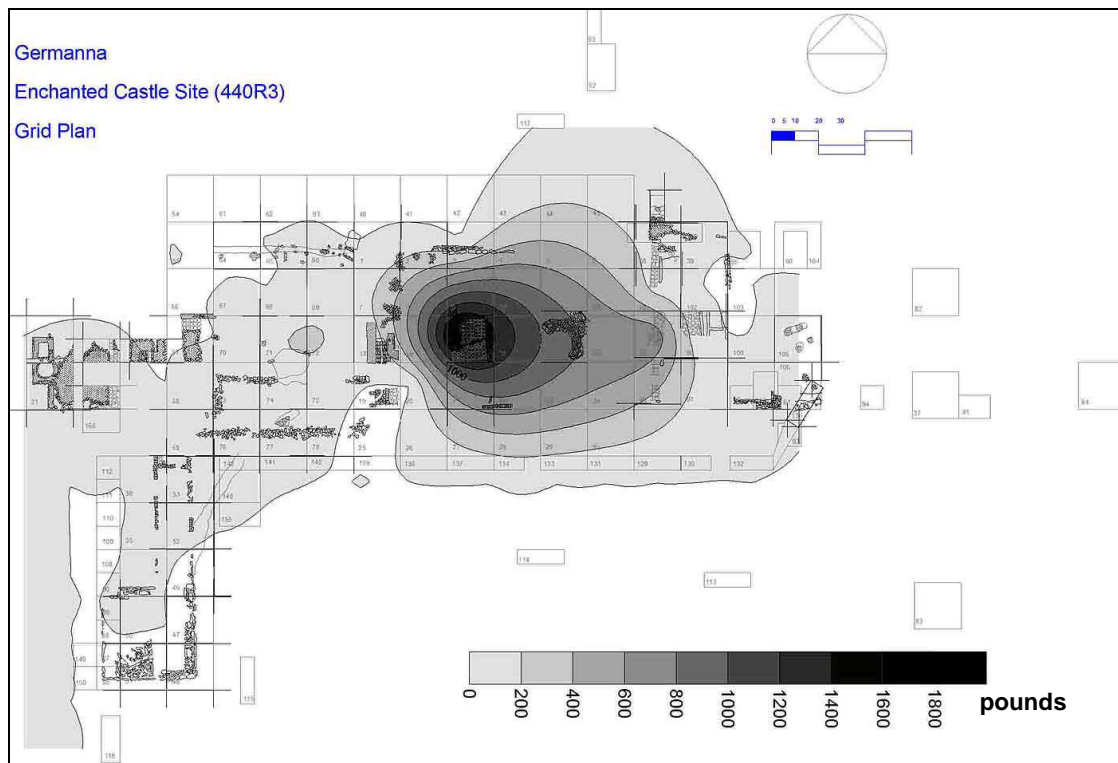


Figure 5.17 Comparison of stone weights (in pounds) from the mansion site.

The locations of the weighed fragments of schist are almost identical between the surface units and the excavated units (Figures 5.18 and 5.19). A very tight cluster is mapped within the western portion of the main house near the location of the western stair. This cluster is very similar to the location of recovered brick at the site and likely represents the destruction of the site more than its built appearance. As noted during the excavations, the exterior walls had a brick veneer, but the bulk of the exterior walls as well as the central fireplace were formed of schist. When the walls collapsed, the schist landed within the central void left by the burning of the interior timber frame.



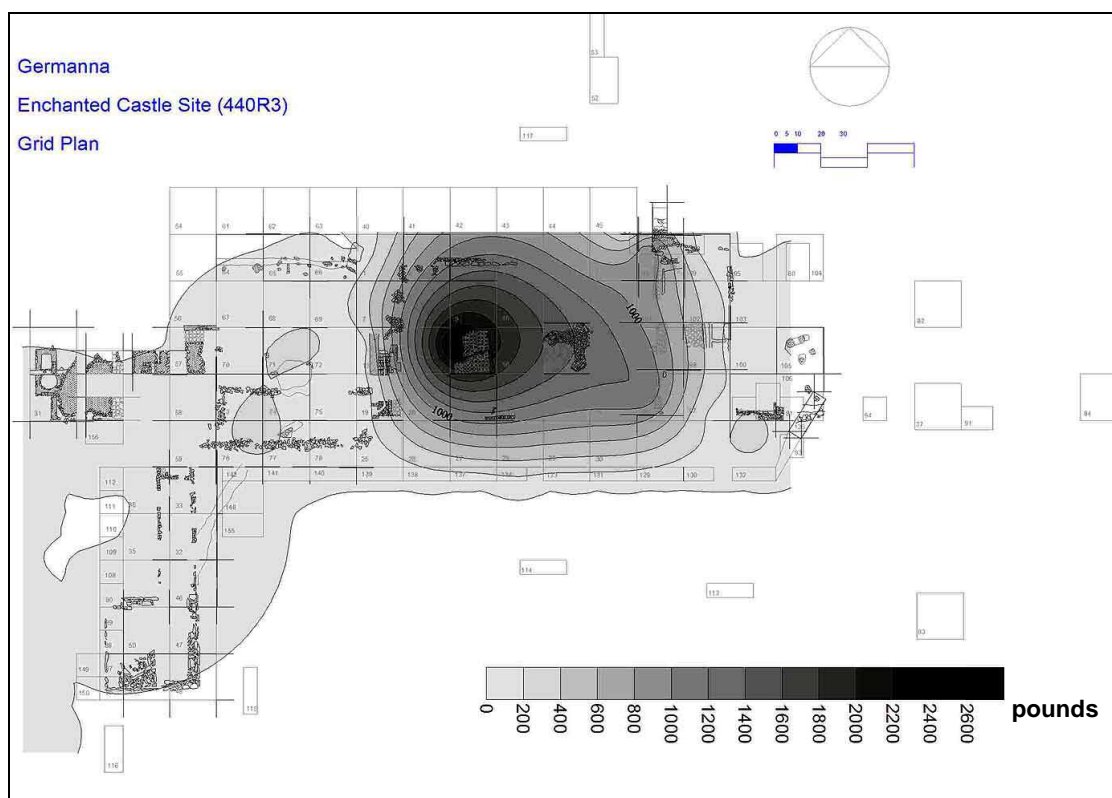


Figure 5.19 Distribution of schist within the excavated units across the site.

Interestingly, whereas the mapping of bricks showed an additional small cluster in the western courtyard, almost all schist was limited to the interior of the home. Again, this is likely due more to post-destruction taphanomic events rather than site construction and represents the land alterations and reuse of materials by the Gordon family.

Slate

Slate can be found on many standing eighteenth century buildings, as it was a preferred roofing material. Most of the slate used at these sites, though, was imported from Wales because of its superior quality, as noted in the diaries of such planters as Robert “King” Carter and William Byrd. In the second half of the eighteenth century, a large slate quarry was found near Richmond, which provided the well-to-do with a higher quality of slate for a fraction of the cost of importing it from abroad. Based on geologic maps, it appears that the Richmond slate is either part of the Buffards Formation or the Arvonian Syncline, as bands of both run directly through Richmond. These are the two slate types that were used by Spotswood at Germanna at least 50 years earlier.

At the Enchanted Castle, slate was not only used for roofing tiles (Figure 5.20), but also flooring (as seen in the northeastern corner of the basement) and as building material used in the foundation. A large slate debris layer, including some larger fragments, was recorded by the archaeologists in what has been interpreted as the eastern working yard. Due to extensive soil disturbances from the Gordon-era landscaping and more recent building activities in the area, it could not be determined whether the debris was the result of manufacturing roofing tiles for use on the Enchanted Castle (perhaps just prior to its destruction, if it indeed was brought down by a fire during roof repairs) or if it was the result of the reworking of slate on site during the robbing period.



Figure 5.20 Sample of slate roofing tiles from the Enchanted Castle (Photo by the author).

Although large beds of slate debris were noted in several areas of the site and slate was used in a portion of the southwest dependency, this category actually made up the lowest percentage of stone by weight (see Figure 5.17). Only 585 pounds were weighed during the excavations, which accounted for 4.8 percent of the total weighed stone at the site. This low quantity is likely caused by two conditions: one, most slate utilized in the construction of the Enchanted Castle was used for roofing slates rather than structural material; and two, usable roofing slates were a very sought-after commodity. They were probably robbed heavily after the destruction of the mansion, leaving very few fragments behind for the archaeologists to recover.

The mapped distribution of slate across the site shows slight differences in the surface versus excavated units (Figures 5.21 and 5.22). Within the units where only the upper two strata were removed to expose the foundation walls, a very heavy cluster of slate was found within the eastern portion of the main house, near the location where archaeologists recorded a slate floor. Within the excavated units, the highest cluster, by far, was found outside of the home within the eastern working yard. This is the area where archaeologists noted a very dense layer of slate debris.

What this could indicate is that the slate debris area within the work yard was part of the original use of the home, either as part of the general work area or more specifically, where roofing slates were being created prior to the house burning. The fire then buried the work area. The concentration of surface levels of slate within the home could be indicative of the larger robbing patterns seen elsewhere, where the Gordon's and other families targeted the center of the home looking for usable supplies and dumped the unusable portions back within the wreckage of the home. Additional excavations within the eastern yard and slate floor area could help determine the actual sequence of events leading to the destruction of the home and subsequent reuse of the space.

Sandstone

The primary use of sandstone in the mansion was not structural. Carved sandstone elements were found across the site, including column bases, shafts, and

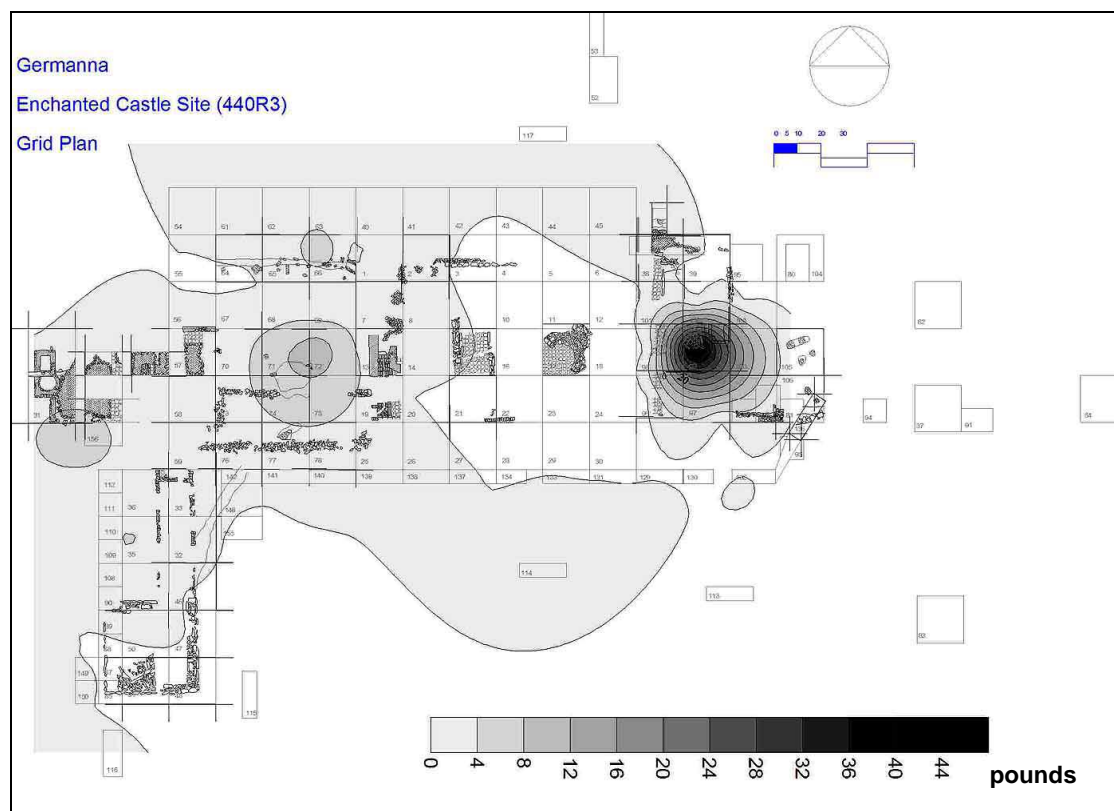


Figure 5.21 Distribution of slate within the surface levels at the mansion.

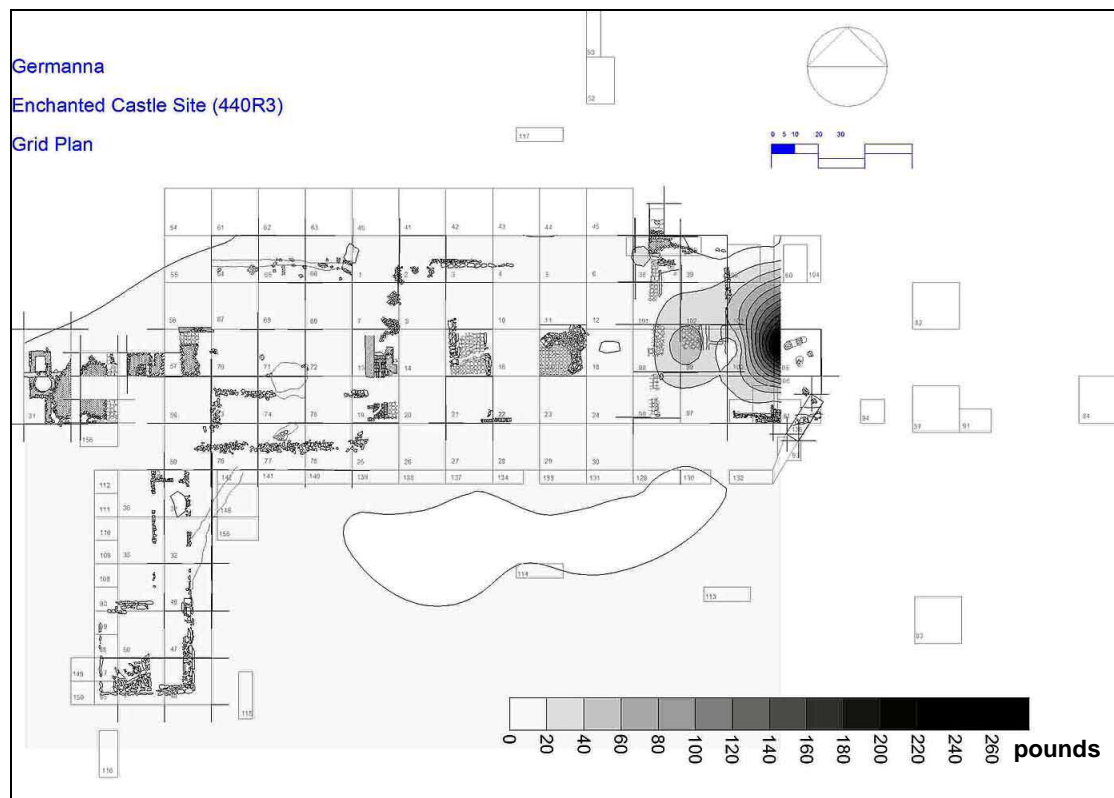


Figure 5.22 Distribution of slate within the excavated units across the site.

capitals, as well as sandstone lintels, stair elements, and potential chimney caps (Figure 5.23). The use of sandstone as architectural ornamentation was quite common in the eighteenth century. Among the buildings that contained carved sandstone elements were domestic sites, such as Rosewell in Gloucester County and Mount Airy in Richmond County, and churches, like Christ Church in Lancaster County and Lambs Creek Church in King George County. Two distinct facts separate the sandstone found at Germanna from these buildings: their construction dates and the source of the sandstone.

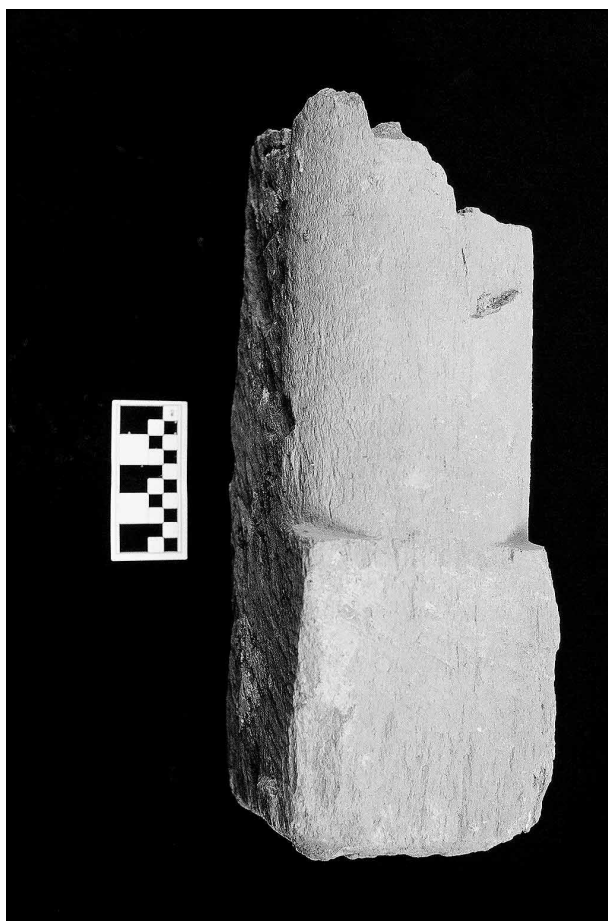


Figure 5.23 Sandstone pilaster base (Photo by the author).

Besides the Enchanted Castle, very few other buildings contained sandstone elements before the 1730s. Although sandstone is used extensively for decoration in Rosewell (begun in 1726, but not ornamented until the 1740s) and Westover and Christ Church (both begun in 1730), few if any earlier buildings exhibit large scale use of sandstone. The use of sandstone at Germanna predated other examples by 10 years.

The sandstone for the buildings exhibiting decorative stone came from what are colloquially known as the Aquia deposits within Stafford County, Virginia or it was imported from Europe. For example, when Robert “King” Carter built Corotoman in the mid-1720s, he ordered Purbeck stone and marble tiles from his English importer rather than using local sources (Brown 2001:33). Christ Church, another Carter sponsored construction built about 10 years after Corotoman and the Enchanted Castle, though, used Aquia sandstone. Perhaps once that Spotswood used the local material on his home, the word on a good Virginia source of decorative stone “got out”.

Like the slate and iron, Alexander Spotswood located the source of this ‘new’ building material very early on in the history of this area. This source was located near his schist and slate deposits (as mapped by Baldwin in 1817), thus his workers could mine whatever materials they desired without incurring additional costs, and the materials could then be transferred over the Germanna Road to the construction site.

In total, 629 pounds of sandstone were tabulated from the site. This accounts for just over 5 percent of the total stone assemblage (see Figure 5.17). Most of the

decorative elements were tagged with their recovery location, but some of them were not weighed in the field. Therefore, the weight of sandstone is slightly off.

Interesting, whereas the majority of building materials examined for this study had similar distribution patterns between the surface and excavated units, the quantities of weighed sandstone varied greatly with depth (Figures 5.24 and 5.25). Within the units that were only excavated to uncover the foundation footprint, the two clusters of sandstone mirror those of brick. They are found within the western yard and the western portion of the main house. The exception is the small cluster located north of the northern elevation wall, which could represent the remains of decorative stairs leading from the ground to the main floor above the raised basement.

The locations of the concentrations within the surface units is in striking contrast to the excavated units, where the heaviest concentrations were recorded near the southwest dependency and the southeastern corner of the main house. Perhaps the southwest dependency and southwestern hyphen were adorned with sandstone elements. This could especially be true if they were, indeed, used as Spotsylvania County government buildings and were decorated in the manner of other government buildings in the colony. Another theory is that those who robbed the home used what sandstone they could and, again, threw the refuse back into the emptier portions of the site before they covered it over. The western courtyard area would have been relatively free of impeding walls or other features, and the cistern would also have been a convenient depository for unused building stone.

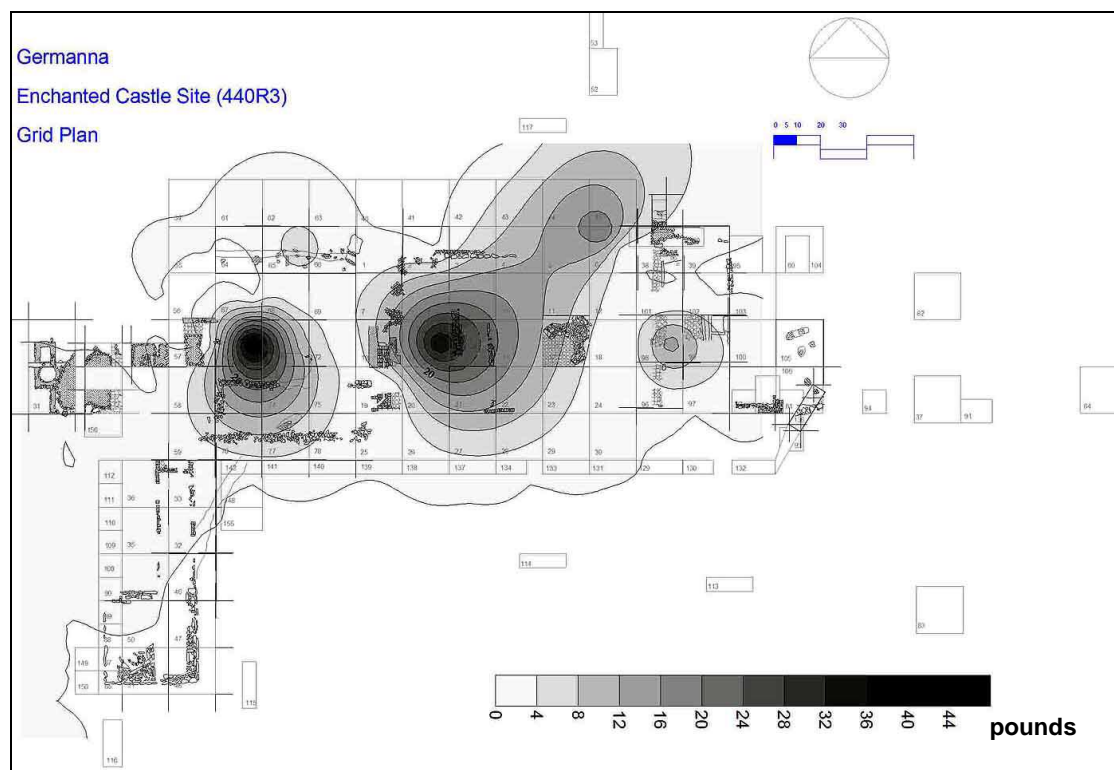


Figure 5.24 Distribution of sandstone within the surface levels at the Enchanted Castle.

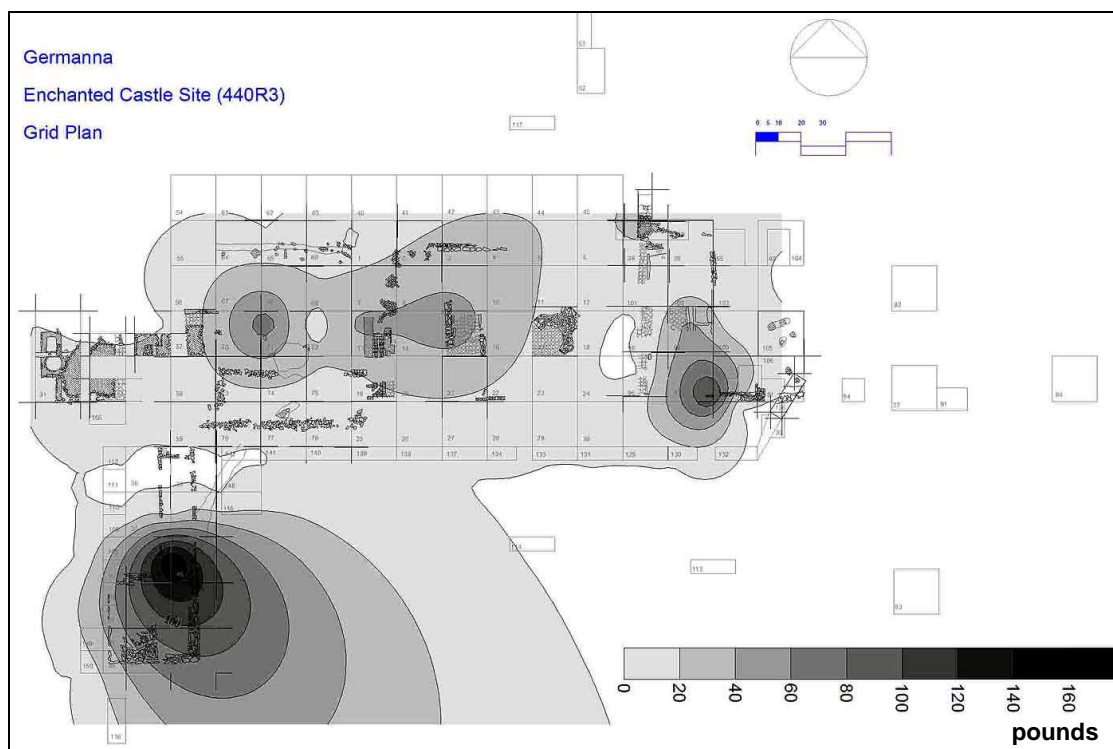


Figure 5.25 Distribution of sandstone within the excavated units across the site.

Mortar and Plaster

Mud and white, or lime, mortar and mud and white, or lime, plaster were also found across the site (Figure 5.26). While some of the fragments displayed lathing marks or evidence of use in brick bonding (see Figure 5.3), most of it was extremely fragmented. Mortar was found *in situ* within the intact foundation walls in the main house, but since these portions of walls were below the ground level and not meant to be seen, there was no distinctive joint pattern. Most of the mortar was struck level with the brick. Similarly, sections of plaster remained in place on some of the interior brick walls, but it was found in an area that would not have been elaborately decorated. For example, the walls leading down the stairway to the tunnel area were covered with mud plaster, but in this case, about ¾" of rough plaster was spread directly over the bricks to provide protection and insulation to the interior space rather than meet decorative needs.

Like brick and timber, most of the material needed to produce the plaster and mortar could be found on site. Sand and clay were readily available in several places on the Germanna property. While geologic research determined that the general area had the raw materials to produce lime, no lime kiln has thus far been found within the Germanna area. However, this does not mean that kiln did not exist here or at Massaponax. Many builders found it necessary to have a lime kiln nearby if they were building in brick or required lime mortar or plaster, and it is likely that this kiln has just not been recorded. What has been recorded, however, are deposits of oyster shell along with small fragments of oyster shell within a few recovered pieces of mortar and plaster. This indicates that the builders were using oyster shell as a temper in at least a

portion of their mortar and plaster. Although the shells would not have been procured locally, they were imported from the brackish water east of the fall line.

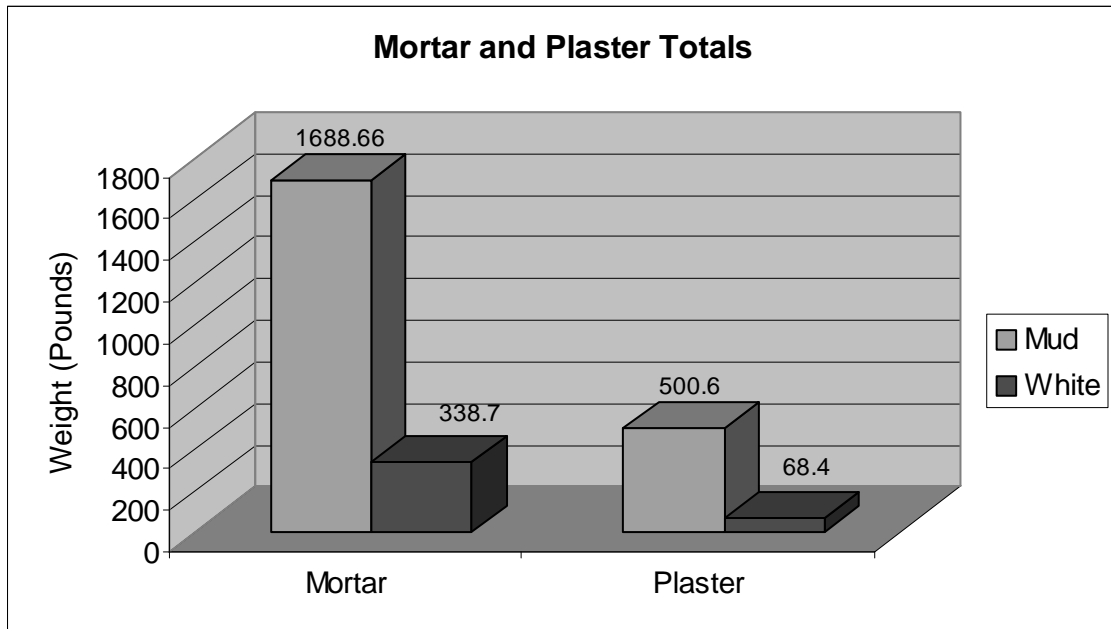


Figure 5.26 Quantities of mortar and plaster recovered at the site, as of 1995.

Mortar

In all, 1,706 pounds of mud mortar (83 percent of all mortar) and 355 (17 percent) pounds of white mortar were weighed at the site (see Figure 5.26). While mud mortar is not found as often on other plantation homes, it was a convenient and inexpensive way to bond materials that did not need to be as aesthetically pleasing. At the Enchanted Castle, half of the foundation of the main house was built into the side of the slope, and the footings of the basement walls were also buried. None of these

portions of walls were meant to be seen and thus, mud mortar was more than adequate. In addition, mud mortar was also likely used within most of the interior walls. The brick veneer, western brick exterior wall, and brick wall leading down to the tunnel area were held together by white mortar.

Mapping of the two types of mortar did not reveal any significant differences between the mortar found near the surface and that weighed during full unit excavation (Figures 5.27-5.30). Like other materials, most mortar was found near the west wall of the main house and within the western courtyard. As has been noted earlier, this is more likely the result of post-destruction site alterations than building techniques, where the mortar was knocked off of usable brick or stone so that the masonry component could be reused. The one notable exception to this idea is a cluster of white mortar found at the southwest dependency. The location of this white mortar cluster is very similar to the cluster of sandstone noted in this location, thus perhaps backing the idea that the southwest dependency had a higher degree of decoration than otherwise surmised. Very little mud mortar has been recorded at the southwest dependency, which could suggest that it was a more public space than the northwest dependency, which has been interpreted as a kitchen/laundry. Interestingly, a small area with a raised density of white mortar was noted near the southeastern corner of the main house, near the junction with the northeastern hyphen. This area also contained a slightly elevated density of sandstone, which suggests a higher degree of decoration and a purposefully aggrandized appearance. The reasoning for this, however, is not yet known.

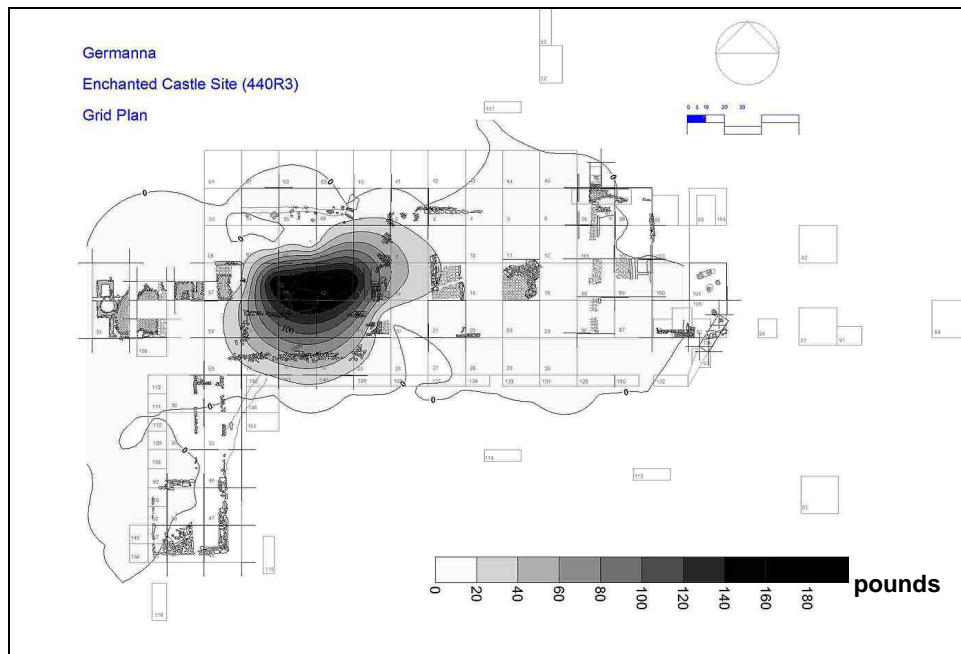


Figure 5.27 Distribution of mud mortar within the surface units at the site.

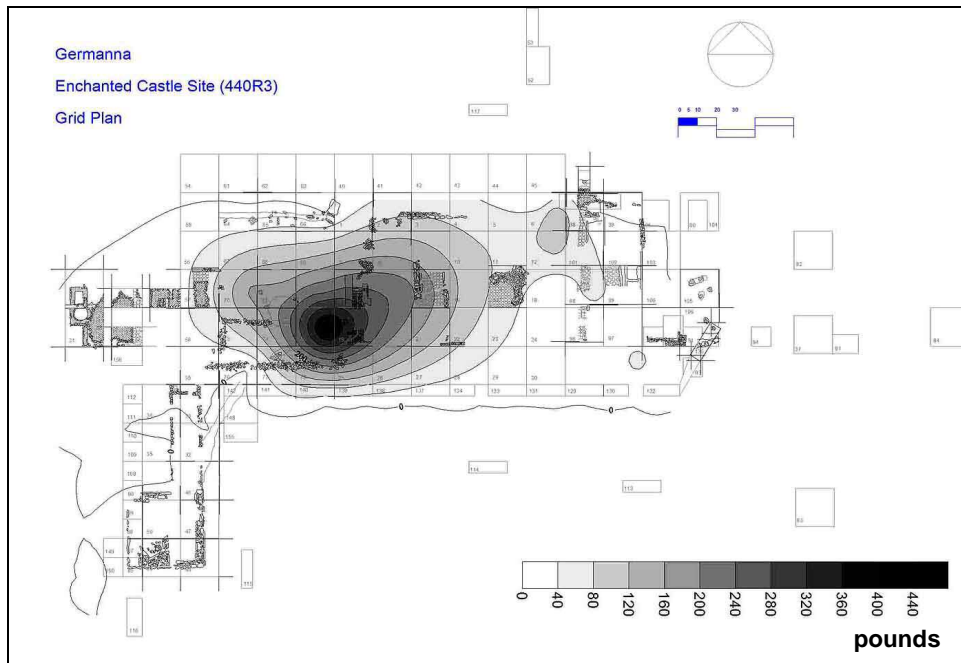


Figure 5.28 Distribution of mud mortar within the excavated units.

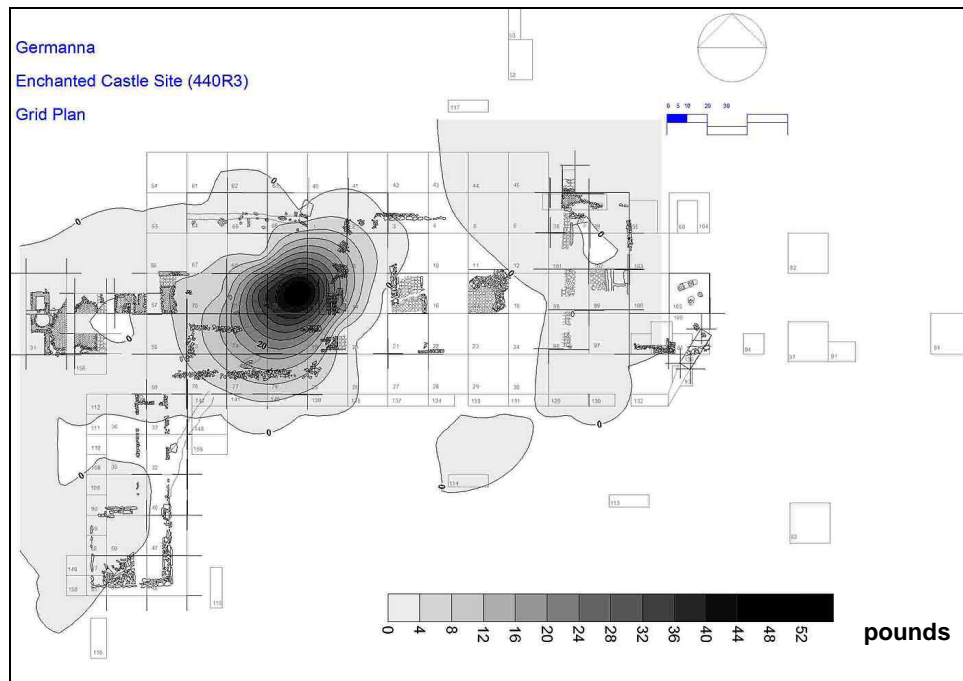


Figure 5.29 Distribution of white mortar within the surface units at the site.

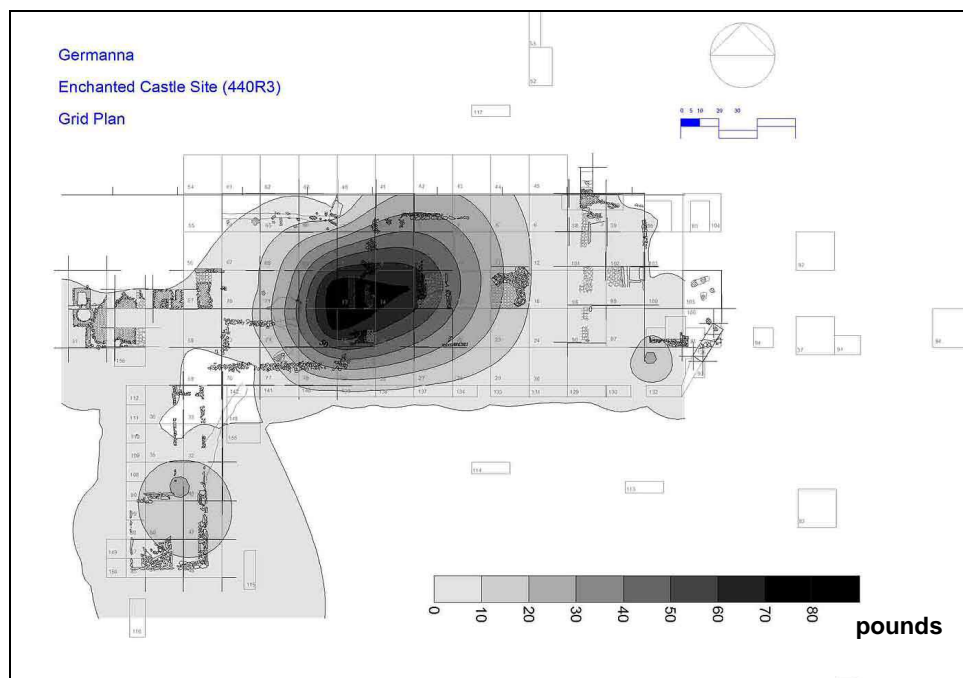


Figure 5.30 Distribution of white mortar within the excavated units.

Plaster

Interestingly, mud plaster and white plaster were found at almost the same ratio as the mortars. The assemblage comprised 505 pound of mud plaster (88 percent of all plaster) and only 70 pounds of white plaster (12 percent) (see Figure 5.26). Mud plaster would have been used in a similar manner to mud mortar. It was a very inexpensive, convenient way of producing a needed building material that would not have been visible to the general public. Archaeologists recorded the use of mud plaster in several areas of the basement that were used as servant work spaces, while white plaster was likely used in the upper family/guest levels (Figures 5.31-5.34).

Although mud plaster was recorded on the walls near the tunnel stairs in the southwest corner of the main house, the main cluster of mud plaster was mapped in the eastern half of the basement. The heaviest concentration was mapped near the dividing wall between the eastern work rooms and the central basement rooms. The presence of mud plaster in these areas could indicate that at least one of the rooms was used as a wet storage room. At other plantation homes, selected basement level rooms were roughly plastered to avoid significant mildew and help protect goods from rotting. The plaster was used as a protectant for environmental purposes rather than for its aesthetic qualities. This could also just be indicative of a wall location in the upper levels. The walls within the upper floors would have been plastered, and during the fire, the plaster would have crumbled off of the burning timber and fell into the basement below.

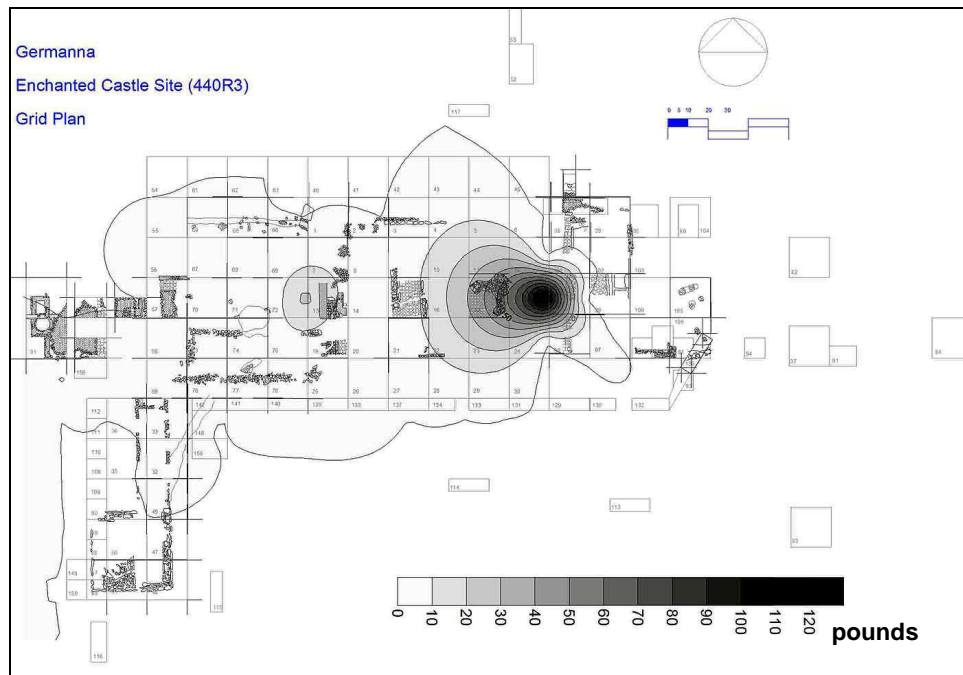


Figure 5.31 Distribution of mud plaster within the surface levels.

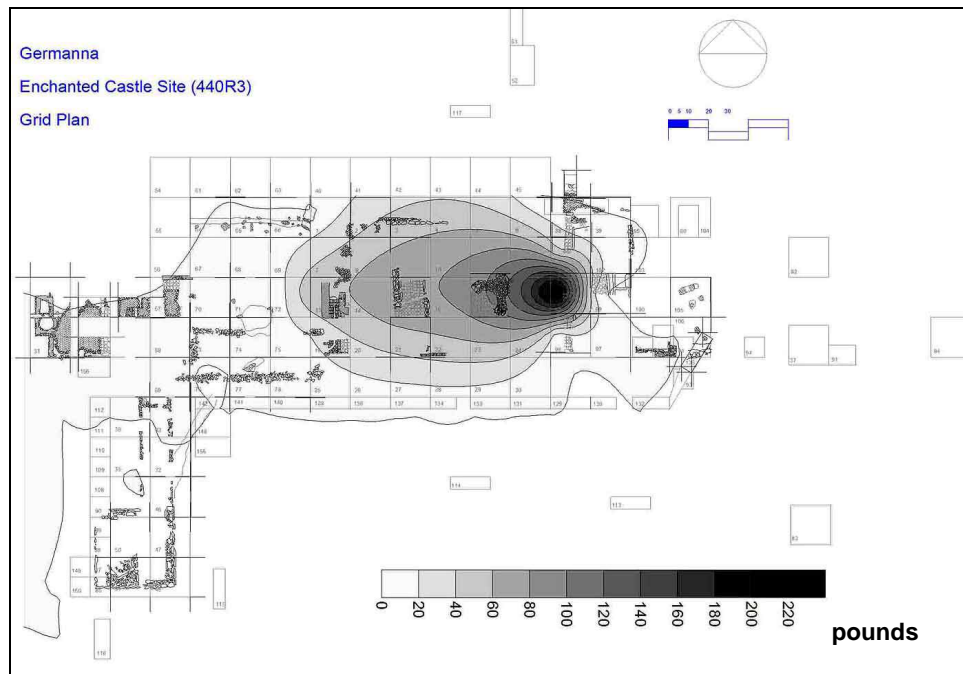


Figure 5.32 Distribution of mud plaster within the excavated units at the site.

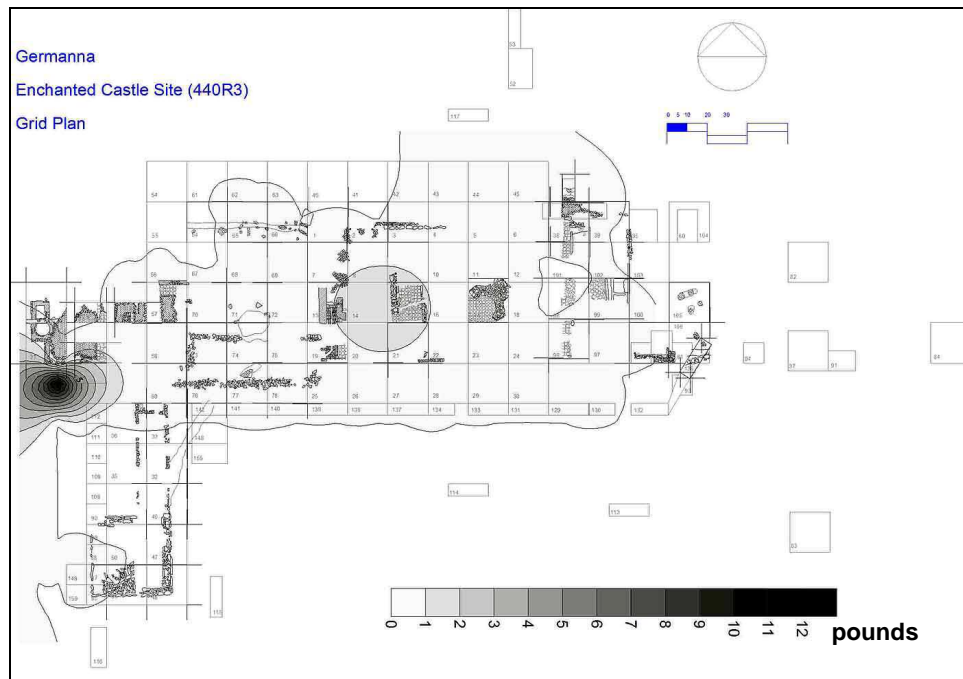


Figure 5.33 Distribution of white plaster within the surface levels of the site.

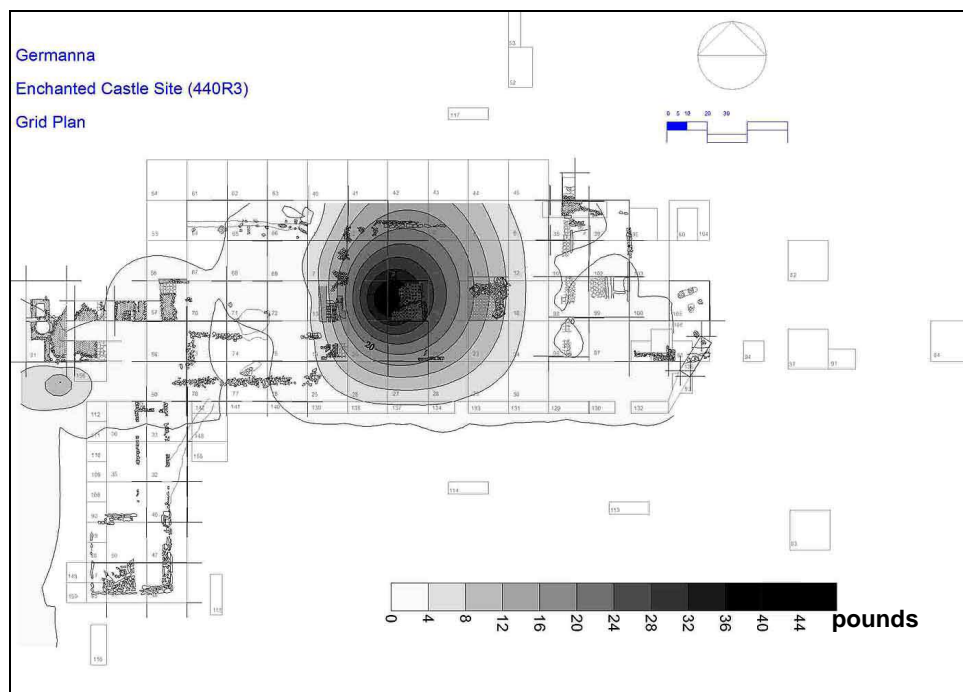


Figure 5.34 Distribution of white plaster within the excavated units.

The quantity of white plaster varied greatly across the site by level. The largest cluster of white plaster within the surface levels was found just south of the northwest dependency in a location that was not noted by the mapping of any other materials. Very little white plaster was actually found within the main house area in the surface levels. This is in contrast to the excavated units, where the largest concentration of plaster was found within the main house. Why a concentration of white plaster was found outside of the northwest dependency is not known. Perhaps the interior of this dependency was actually plastered rather than exposed brick. This is especially plausible given that the northwest dependency has been interpreted as a kitchen, laundry, or dairy, all of which traditionally had plastered interiors (e.g., Vlach 1993). Unfortunately, not enough has been excavated in this area to answer this question. The presence of a large quantity of white plaster near the middle of the main house is not unexpected, as this is the same area of concentration as several other building material types and is indicative of wall falls.

Glass

All glass fragments found during the excavations were counted instead of weighed. This decision was made based on the condition of the material, as the vast majority of glass fragments (well over 95 percent) measured less than 1 x 1 cm (Figure 5.35). It was therefore believed that the proportions of window glass could be examined across the site by count since most pieces were the same size. What can be immediately said about the glass, however, is that it clearly reflects the tumultuous history of the

area. Most of the glass was extremely fragmented, highlighting the collapse of the house and the reuse of any larger fragments of glass. More important, between 30 and 40 percent of the glass fragments had been exposed to heat or were completely melted. The intense heat from the fire that destroyed the mansion fused large chunks of glass together, thus making it impossible to identify or quantify.

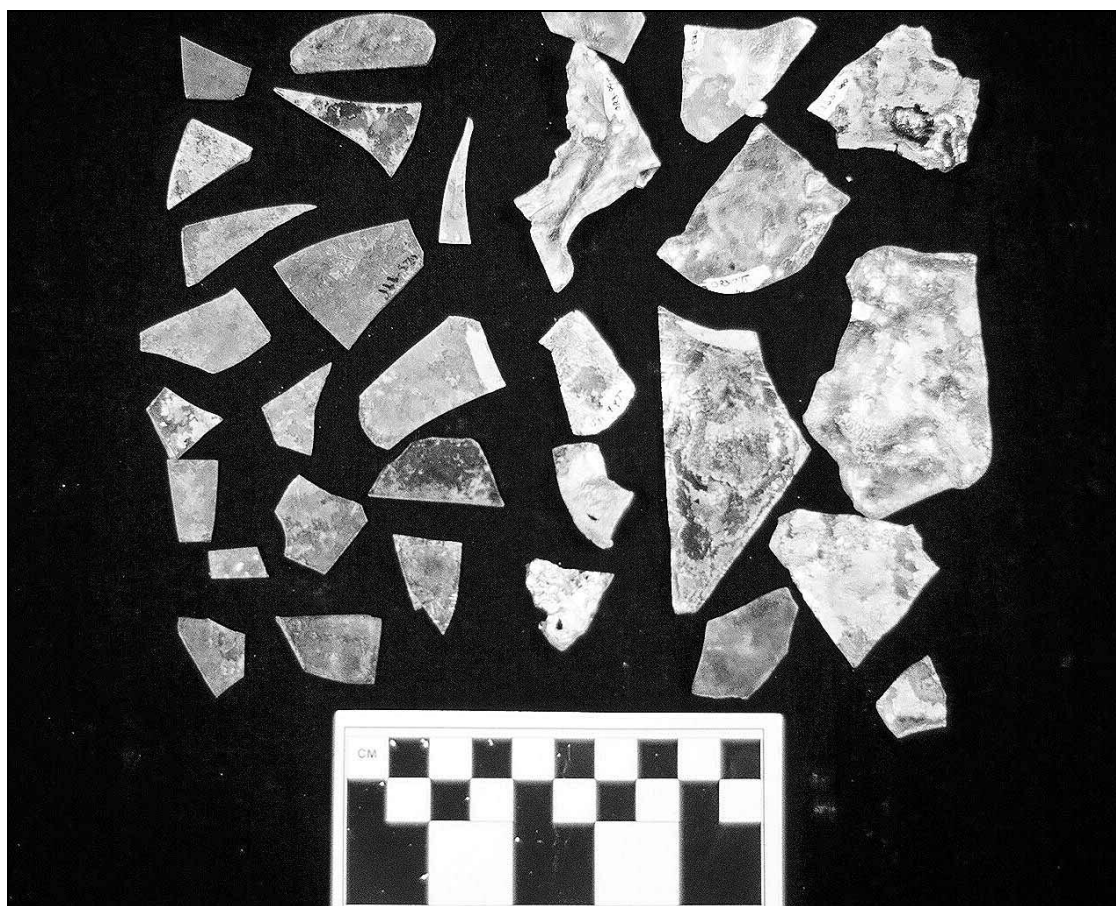


Figure 5.35 Sample of window glass found at the Enchanted Castle, showing flat fragments (left) and melted glass (right) (Photo by the author).

Melted Glass

Despite the “lumps” of window glass that were encountered in some units, the architectural analysis included noting levels with melted glass. Although the exact quantity of melted glass fragments was not calculated (due to the “lumping” phenomena, which melted together several fragments into one), general presence/absence information was kept for each unit and each level. In particular, levels where over 50 percent of the fragments were melted were compared to one another to potentially identify heat loci (Figure 5.36).

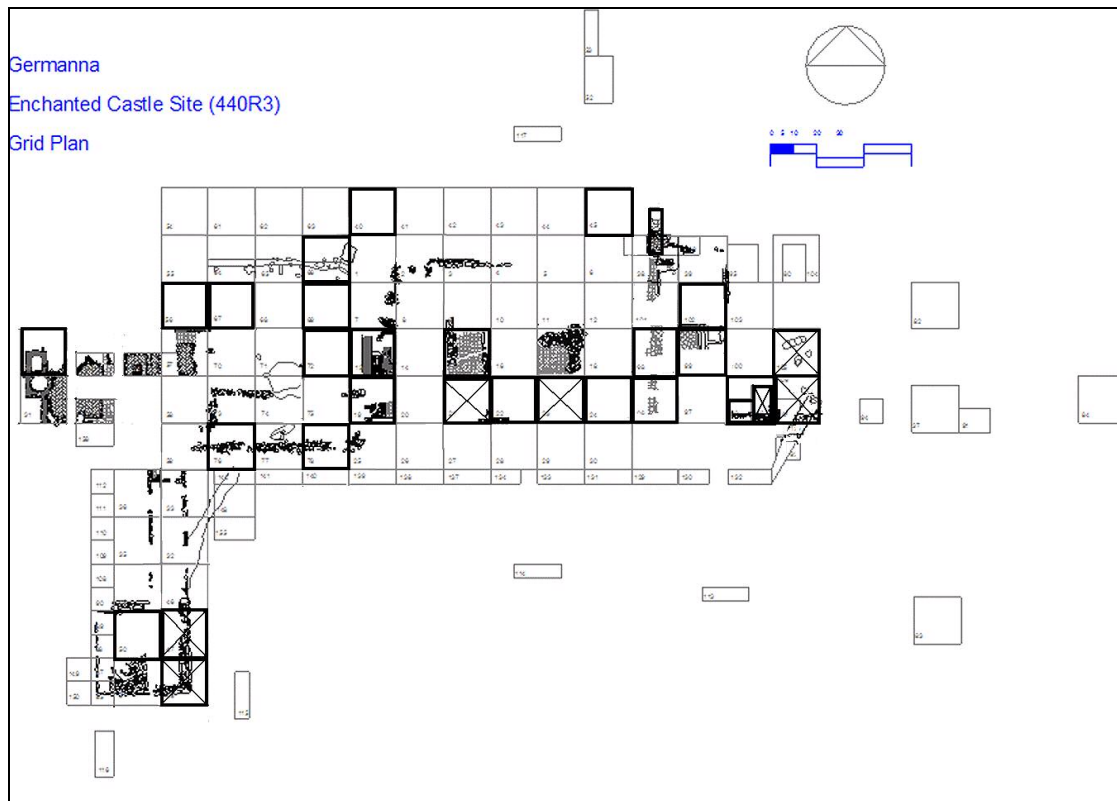


Figure 5.36 Units with over 50 percent melted window glass (in bold). Units with over 75 percent melted glass are marked with an "X".

The results were striking. When examining units with at least 50 percent melted glass within the original (lowest) burn level, almost all of the units are confined to the southeastern corner of the main house (Units 92, 96, 98, 105, 106, and 146), while a few are located within what was the center of the main house (Units 13, 15, and 72). In Units 105 and 106, located just outside of the southeastern corner of the main house and partially within the northeastern hyphen, well over 75 percent of all window glass fragments were melted, with the highest concentration in the original burn layers. Additional excavations in this area could help determine if this area had the highest degree of destruction during the initial fire.

The remainder of the units that contained burned glass only had melted glass on the surface or within one of two Gordon-era landscaping deposits (layers A, B and C). Units 21 and 23, located south of the drain and the central chimney base within the center of the main house, contained almost exclusively melted window glass within the upper two layers, and Units 47 and 48, in the southwestern dependency, also had a very high quantity of melted glass in the upper levels. These second concentrations of melted glass could indicate the locations of the second burning episode or just be the result of general movement of artifacts across the site during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century landscaping efforts.

General Window Glass Types

Although most of the fragments were extremely small and others had lost their identifiable properties through exposure to heat, enough fragments were found to

accurately interpret the types and quantities of glass used within the home and examine their dispersal across the site. The remains indicated that at least a portion of the window glass was spun (crown) glass. One larger fragment with a bullseye was found at the site, and many of the fragments have curved internal striations caused by spinning. The poor quality of the melted glass made identifying cylinder or broad glass difficult. The hallmarks of cylinder glass are a slightly undulating surface and a larger quantity of air bubbles than other glass types. These same faults occur in glass fragments that have been exposed to heat.

Similarly, the identification of polished glass is achieved through the appearance of larger panes of glass. Since most of the glass found at the site was extremely fragmented and in poor condition due to the destruction of the home, it is virtually impossible to accurately determine if polished glass was used at the Enchanted Castle. Thus, it can be definitely stated that crown glass, the most popular window glass type in the colonies, was used here. However, because of the fire and repeated robbing, identifying other varieties is nearly impossible.

Glass Quantity and Dispersal

Within the portion of the site excavated thus far, archaeologists have recovered 25,593 fragments of window glass. By far, the highest quantities were found southwest of the southwest dependency and within the western courtyard area (Figures 5.37 and 5.38). A third cluster, although less dense, is mapped along the eastern exterior wall of

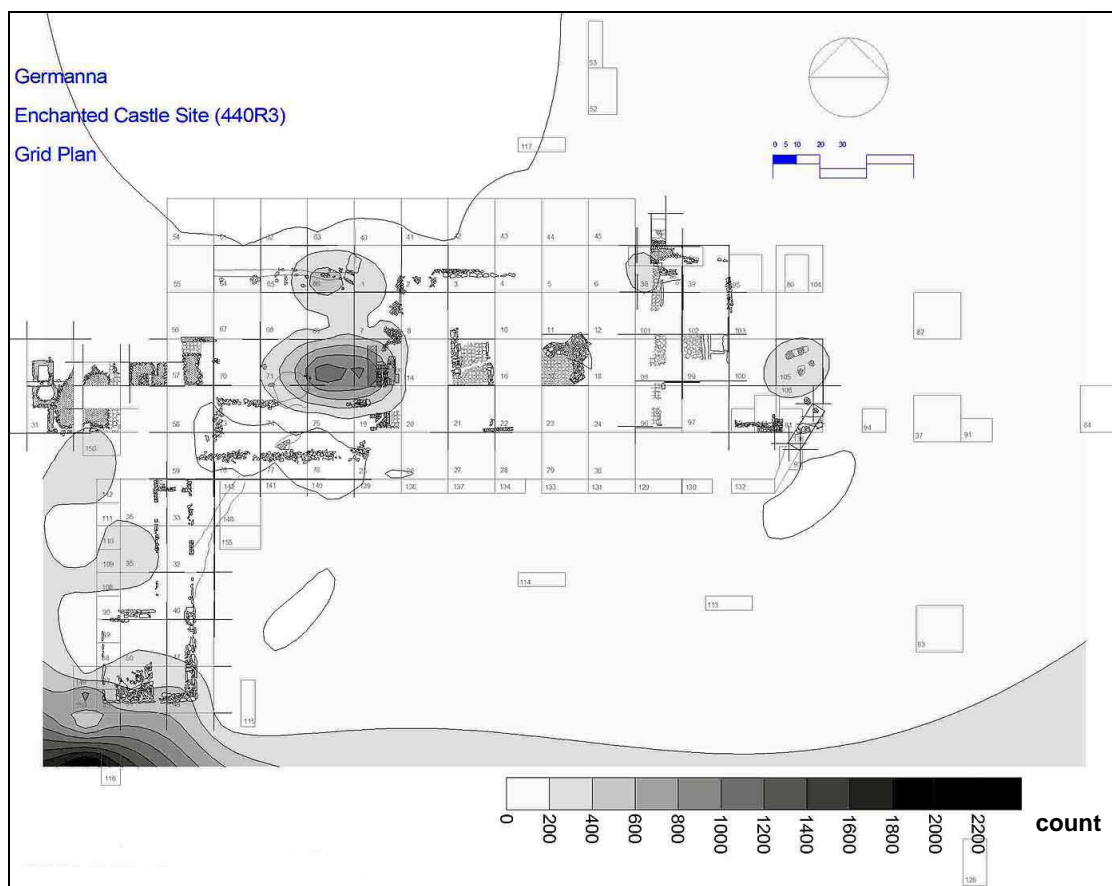


Figure 5.37 Distribution of window glass found within the surface levels at the Enchanted Castle site.

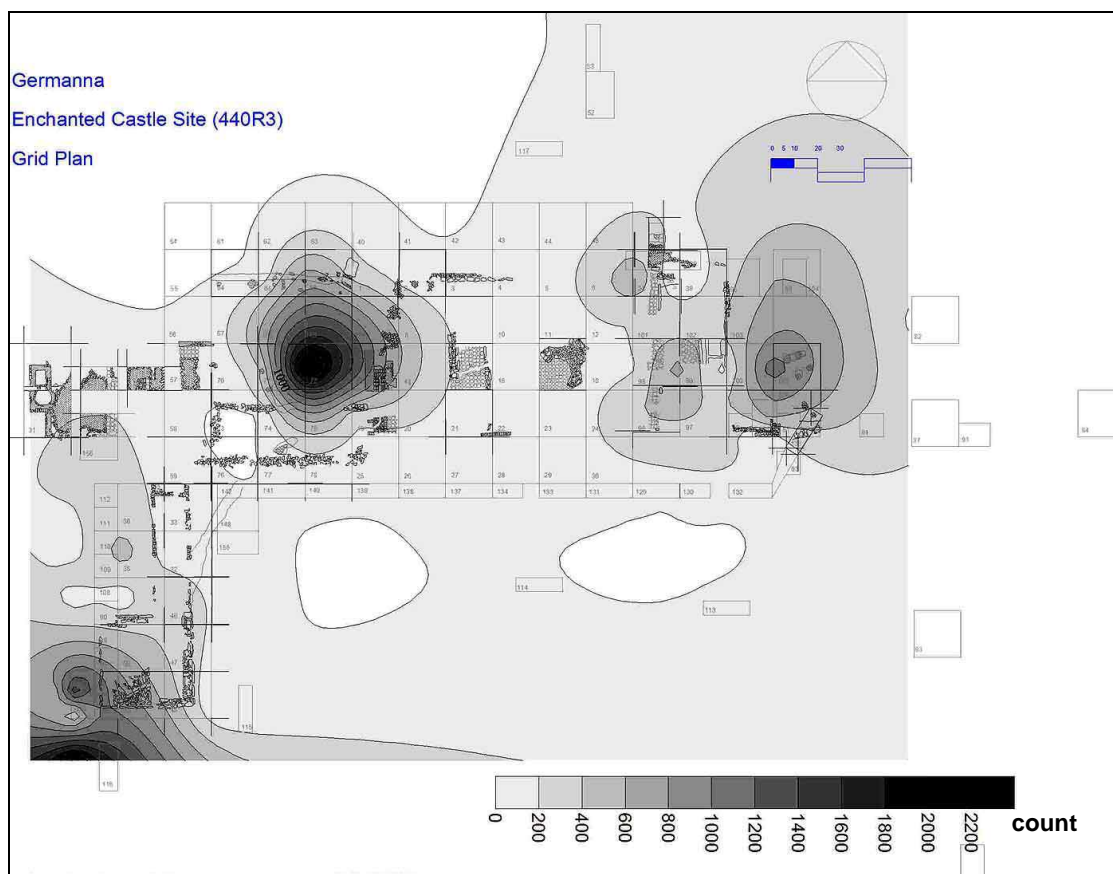


Figure 5.38 Distribution of window glass found within the excavated units at the site.

the main house. The clusters near the east and west walls of the main house can be attributed to exterior fenestrations. When the house was destroyed by fire, the windows were probably blown out. The very high concentration outside of the southwest dependency is harder to analyze, as it is likely the result of several activities. While the southwest dependency likely had several windows that were destroyed during one or more of the fires, the glass found in this area could be the result of repeated trash disposal and continued disposal after the house was destroyed. When archaeologists excavated Units 149 and 150 near the western elevation of the southwest dependency, they noted a significant swale leading westward. It is not known if this was a purposefully excavated Spotswood-era terrace or a natural depression that was later covered over by the Gordon family. Regardless, the swale could have provided a convenient dumping area for a variety of materials during the use of the house. Like other portions of the site, though, additional excavations are needed to adequately examine this landscape feature and its place within the overall Spotswood-era design.

CONCLUSIONS

All of the material presented in this chapter lead to several key thoughts about the building materials used at the Enchanted Castle: the raw materials were found within 10 miles of the building site and they were purposefully selected for their intended usage, the mapped locations across the site can reveal a good deal about the possible appearance and internal configuration of the mansion complex, and the

information gathered by the archaeologists can lead to good hypotheses on the destruction of the home and the relative movement of materials during the Gordon landscaping period.

The raw materials used in the timber framing and for the creation of the bricks, mortar, and plaster came from Germanna itself. The presence of such good supplies of clay and sand precluded the need to travel for these materials. Although the schist, slate, and sandstone were not acquired from the immediate area, all three were quarried from adjacent geologic bands within Spotswood's Spotsylvania Tract, located near what is today Chancellorsville, about 7 to 10 miles from the Enchanted Castle site. Spotswood or his agents likely noted these spots during his investigations in the area looking for exploitable materials, and he then used them to create his mansion. The materials would have been quarried at the site, roughly shaped, and then transported over the Germanna Road to the building site. The stone was selected because it provided a stable and strong building material that was locally available and, more importantly, very unique.

The building materials, including nails and window glass, were counted and mapped according to their recovery location. Based on this information, it appears that the mansion had a timber frame with potentially two stairways, one for servants and one for family and guests. Building materials were mainly found within the main house as well as the western and eastern courtyard. This is likely the result of both the building destruction and the reworking of usable building materials in the northwest and northeastern yard areas, and also due to the limits of archaeological excavation thus far.

Perhaps once excavations extend beyond their current limits, the distribution maps can be redone to re-examine the hypotheses presented here.

Although the material distribution is skewed by several factors, one interesting point that can be noted is that the mapping of the materials indicates that there are few differences between the relative amounts of building materials found in the surface levels and the amounts found in the excavated units, similar to the results found on plow zone sites. Within most of the mapping, we see that the surface and excavated maps mirror one another. This could suggest a good predictive model for the location of not only other building materials, but other artifact types as well. It appears that most of the site destruction and alteration occurred prior to the final Gordon landscaping fills (levels A, B, and C), which sealed the site. This act preserved the features that the archaeologists found within the basement, as well as the artifacts spread across the site. The building information can now help us analyze the where, when, and how of the building of the Enchanted Castle and place Germanna within the larger context of early eighteenth century Virginia architecture.

CHAPTER 6

THE ENCHANTED CASTLE IN PERSPECTIVE: THE FORM AND CONTEXT OF EIGHTEENTH CENTURY VIRGINIA ARCHITECTURE

This country is altered wonderfully, and far more advanced and proved in all respects of late years, since the beginning of Colonel Spotswood's lieutenancy...

-Hugh Jones, *The Present State of Virginia* (1724)

During the first 100 years of Anglo occupation, colonial settlers repeatedly transplanted European social practices and economic systems to the New World. Although English traditions were the most prevalent and pervasive of the early cultural transmigrations, other influences included German, Scotch, Irish, French, African, and Caribbean. The colonists quickly realized that variations in environmental conditions and sociopolitical circumstances, however, required a more creolized cultural form than pure ideological and technological migration. This creolization of cultural composition resulted in an 'Americanization' of material culture and associated technology. These technological changes can be seen in agriculture, decorative arts, and architecture. My comparative data approach will reinforce the creole context of Alexander Spotswood's creation of the Enchanted Castle.

As Norman Barka stated in the Introduction to *The Archaeology of 18th-Century Virginia* (1996:20), “More synthesis is needed in order to integrate archaeological data with historical and architectural information.” This chapter will look at the building of the Enchanted Castle within the context of late seventeenth and early eighteenth century Virginia architecture. The archaeological remains of the mansion will be integrated with archival and architectural research to place the mansion within a general framework of early eighteenth-century building style and form. The physical evidence from the site can then be viewed in its broader context to place the home within the Georgian Worldview and the concept of tectonic choice.

ALEXANDER SPOTSWOOD AND VIRGINIA ARCHITECTURE, 1710-1722

Nowhere else in the United States has there been more work conducted on late-seventeenth and eighteenth-century architecture than Virginia. Although the walls of the Enchanted Castle no longer stand, the below-ground architectural remains render an excellent idea of its overall configuration. Several Spotswood-influenced buildings still survive (or have been reconstructed) that can be used to examine what can be construed as either Spotswood’s stylistic and artistic preferences or what he thought English government buildings should look like. These include the colonial Capitol, Governor’s Palace, Wren Building, Bruton Parish Church, and Powder Magazine, all in Williamsburg.

When Alexander Spotswood stepped off of the ship Deptford in June 1710, many colonial families had been Virginia residents for almost 100 years. The Governor's house was no more than a brick shell. He spent the first three months living at Philip Ludwell's Green Spring Plantation on the James River and the next few years in the homes of other families in Williamsburg and on adjacent lands, such as William Byrd II. In 1713, Spotswood purchased a plot of land near the building site of the Governor's mansion, on which he likely built the home he lived in until the move to the Palace in 1716. Between 1710 and 1716, Spotswood had the opportunity to visit many homes throughout the colonies, thus his preference for architectural details could have been influenced by that of his contemporaries. This influence included both those styles and forms he chose to emulate, as well as a dislike for the existing building style that harbored ties to England's medieval past and a reminder of the colonies early 'crude' years of construction.

During his tenure as governor, all public buildings constructed in Williamsburg had numerous similarities in design. Primary, all were built of brick. In colonial America, brick acted as a status marker on several levels. First, the capacity to manufacture bricks indicated the ability to harness a large labor force. In general, labor was a scarce commodity in the colonies and was primarily attained through indentured servitude or slavery, both of which required considerable sums of money. The builder of a brick project must either own the labor force directly or afford to buy the services of a brickmaker or trained apprentice. Brick production also varied greatly in quality of product, and new manufacturing methods were soon developed to establish a subsystem

within the group who could build with brick to further escalate those who could afford these new methods.

Once the bricks were produced, the construction methodology varied greatly between the classes. The form these new structures took and the outward appearance of brick ornamentation also became a status marker, as regional specializations in bricklaying patterns and presentations took on distinct meaning and a specific architectural value, which should be examined in its social context (Moore 1997:94). To the English crown, including Lieutenant Governor Nicholson who instigated the creation of the government buildings in Williamsburg, brick represented stability in what many construed as an unstable new capital. It also embodied the image of an English town, as the Great Fire of London decimated most of the city and caused the reconstruction of most government buildings with brick.

The Powder Magazine, which had a very different purpose than the others, was only one-story tall with a conical roof and several fenestrations (Figure 6.1). The Capital (Figure 6.2), Governor's Palace (Figure 6.3), Wren Building (Figure 6.4), and Bruton Parish Church were all multi-story brick buildings with symmetrical primary elevations. All had hipped roofs with cupolas, also termed aquariums (Waterman 1946:123), double-hung sash windows, water tables, belt courses, and all but Bruton Parish Church have dormers.

The Governor's Palace is probably the most studied reconstruction in the United States. The home was rebuilt on its original site between 1931 and 1934 after extensive archaeological excavations (Wenger 1981:19). The appearance of the primary elevation

was attained from the Bodleian Plate (see Figure 3.3), as discussed in Chapter 2, while the orientation of the plan and outbuildings came from the remains themselves. At the time of its construction, the Governor's Palace was among the first buildings in the colony to have significant academic qualities, and its design, plan, and overall qualities had no precedent in colonial architecture (Wenger 1981:15). It was a quintessential Georgian mansion, a style influenced by Palladian architecture in the Old World and prevailing as the new style of English country homes in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century. More importantly, it is believed to have had no equals as an influence on colonial elite architecture.



Figure 6.1 Original Powder Magazine in Williamsburg, designed by Alexander Spotswood (Photo by the author).



Figure 6.2 Capital in Williamsburg, primary (west) elevation (Photo #44066, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation photo files, Virginia).

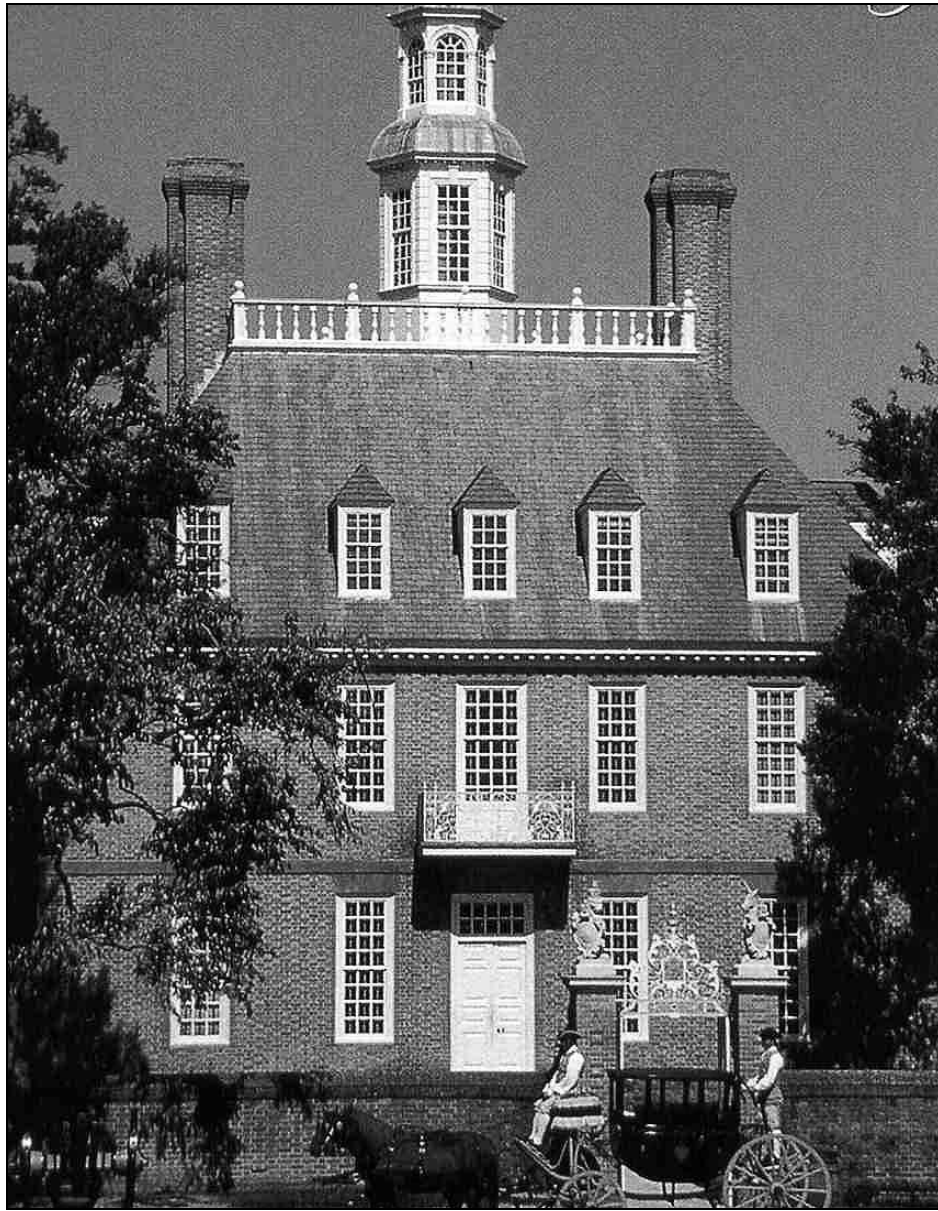


Figure 6.3 Governor's Palace in Williamsburg, primary (southern) elevation (Photo #17810, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation photo files, Virginia).



Figure 6.4 The Wren Building, as rebuilt by Alexander Spotswood, primary (east) elevation (Photo #9984, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation photo files, Virginia).

Plantation and city homes of the elite in the first quarter of the eighteenth century ranged from three-room timber frame structures to the decorated multi-story brick homes of the Virginia elite. Even though the mansions of the gentry continued to strive towards English style, what the native elite were building was actually considered small by English standard in size and shape (Reiff 1986). The first two homes Spotswood lived in after his arrival, Green Spring and Westover, were both two-story vernacular timber frame dwellings with somewhat haphazard floor plans due to repeated additions. Although generally less formal and more traditional than later homes, both dwellings did have masonry ornamentation. For example, in several entries from June of 1712, William Byrd describes sending for a stone cutter from

Williamsburg to install a new marble chimney piece for his library at Westover (Byrd 1963:231-232). Even though these older homes were modified to create a semblance of symmetry in their plan and decoration, the unbalanced, plebian cores of their older forms made exact conformation to the formal, academic Georgian style difficult.

Within the town of Williamsburg, Spotswood likely spent time in the home of Charles Chiswell, who was a good friend and fellow Scotchman. Chiswell's home, demolished in the early 1940s, was built around 1710-1720 and was considered the "Virginia dwelling most nearly contemporaneous with the Governor's Palace" by Waterman (1946:66) in his study of Virginia mansions. This was Chiswell's primary residence until he built his summer home, Scotchtown, in what is now Hanover County sometime after 1719.

Another early home in Williamsburg is the Peyton Randolph House (also known as the Randolph-Peachy House) located at the corner of Nicholson and North England Street. The original portion of the home was built in the late 1710s with a central, cross-shaped chimney, which is very similar in plan to the central chimney at Germanna. However, the dwelling was significantly enlarged in the 1720s through the purchase of the adjoining lot and standing structure. The older Randolph home and the purchased home were joined in the mid-eighteenth century through the construction of a central hall with a grand staircase (Olmert 1985:26). What guests to Colonial Williamsburg see today, therefore, is an amalgamation of several decades of architectural development.

By the time Spotswood built the Enchanted Castle, he had traveled the colony, stayed at many mansions, and explored the mineral resources of most of Spotsylvania

County. He had located abundant sources of geological materials that could be used in a new home and had “experimented” in architecture by bringing several important Williamsburg buildings to completion. It was time to build his own mansion.

THE WHERE: LIFE ON THE VIRGINIA FRONTIER

The 1714 Germanna colony was the first permanent settlement in north-central Virginia, and, at the time, it was 20 miles west of any other plantations or towns. As the 1710s progressed, population in the area gradually increased, but the area was still labeled a frontier. In discussing frontier theory, Doug Sanford (1990b:13) stated:

Virginia’s historical archaeologists have tended to analytically treat the frontier as largely a contextual factor, testing the proposition that relative isolation induced, to varying degrees, a more simplified and utilitarian material culture. We have yet to study the frontier in broader conceptual terms, namely as a model of culture change and regional settlement systems.

I argue that Germanna was not only a site of culture change, but by moving to this area, Spotswood had created the ultimate controlled landscape. Alexander Spotswood was starting anew architecturally with the Enchanted Castle in a period of significant change in Virginia culture and materiality. Moreover, his mansion is a direct contrast to the popular notion of the impoverished, illiterate frontier.

When Spotswood first began exploring the region just after his arrival in the colony, he had two primary goals: to push the boundary of the English colony and to locate mineral deposits that could be mined for both the benefit of the crown and

himself. In moving the first Germanna colony to the area in 1714, he met the first goal, but by having the same group explore the natural deposits throughout the region, he accomplished the second. Because of these findings and his lust for land, Spotswood eventually acquired almost 100,000 acres in the area west and south of what became Fredericksburg. Not only was the land his, but he had his indentured servants, the Germans, build roads, bridges, and buildings to navigate travelers across his acreage. When John Fontaine visited Germanna in November of 1715, he reported traveling on roads and across bridges that were made by the Germans (Fontaine 1972:88). When additional Germans arrived between 1717 and 1719, the number of tithables on Spotswood's land grew immensely, thus giving him more labor to widen and improve the road system and sculpt the overall landscape of what soon became Spotsylvania County.

“The material interaction between physical environment and the people that inhabit, build, and alter them provides an inescapable dynamism to the past” (Shackel and Little 1994b:99). Spotswood's efforts to tame the frontier showcases his attempt to control all aspects of the colonial experience, from surrounding the colonists with his buildings in Williamsburg to having the county seat of Spotsylvania at Germanna. In this way, he not only controlled the advancement of the frontier, but also the way people proceeded west after him. The frontier can therefore be seen as the loci of a two way transfer of ideas on power. This idea moves beyond the typical frontier dialectic of the Darwinian strong advancing over the weak. The recursive nature of the frontier

caused Spotswood to move to the outskirts of the colony and make “the mob”, as he sometimes referred to the colonists (e.g., Spotswood 1885:152), follow in his footsteps.

Early eighteenth-century Virginia was, in the words of Camille Wells (1994:39), “meant for the observation and participation of its inhabitants”. By building his home many miles from most planters, Spotswood set up the ultimate ‘home court advantage’. Not only did his visitors have to travel for many miles to reach Germanna, but they did so on Spotswood-built roads through a Spotswood-designed landscape. When they approached his home site, travelers headed north up a slope to Spotswood’s home, which sat on top of a knoll overlooking the approach to the south, the river to the north, and the town site to the west. It is interesting that he chose this spot not only to illustrate dominance over the residents of Germanna and his guests, but also as the location of his Georgian masterpiece. He established his private estate within a public context—a public context that simultaneously expressed his control and individuality. The ability to construct one of the largest eighteenth-century homes on what was then the frontier showed most of all the power that Spotswood had over his surroundings. He purposefully chose this site to not only push Virginia culture to the west, but also to introduce the colonists to a new variation on English architecture and, moreover, a monumental way to demonstrate social hierarchy.

Interestingly, the landscape reflected Spotswood’s control even after the county seat moved to Fredericksburg. It wasn’t until three years after Spotswood’s death and the virtual abandonment of the town, in September 1743, that Orange County Court ordered the closing of “the old Road through Germanna” that once brought travelers

from the east (Orange County Order Book 4:16). However, his influence did not end, as we still travel many Spotswood-influenced roadways today throughout the region.

THE WHEN: CONSTRUCTING THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE ENCHANTED CASTLE THROUGH ARCHIVAL DOCUMENTATION

Since no diaries or expansive personal letters of Spotswood's exist, the exact date of the construction of the Enchanted Castle is not known. An examination of various archival sources, though, such as published travel accounts, county records, and private papers of his contemporaries, can help determine an approximate build date. This is what Leone and Potter (1988:14) termed "analytical byplay".

Spotswood and His Many Homes

It is known that Spotswood had a country home near Fort Christianna up until 1718. According to a letter dated July 4, 1716 sent to Richard Beresford in London by a visitor from North Carolina, "the Governor is now building a handsome house near Christ Anna, where he intends to live when he shall be out of the government. It will cost him about 5 or 600 £ sterl. ..." (as quoted in Hazzard 1979:22). Important points to note are that Spotswood began to build a home here by at least 1716, pointing to the fact that he initially selected this area for his post-governorship home, and the new home was valued at between £500-600, which is interesting considering that less than £200 was spent on the construction of Fort Christianna itself (Hazzard 1979:28). The

home was also mentioned by John Fontaine during his April 1716 visit. Although Fontaine visited both Christianna and Germanna within a few months of each other, he did not mention that Spotswood had a home at Germanna. Thus, the Enchanted Castle was almost certainly built after the Christianna home.

In 1716, Spotswood and his colleagues completed the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe expedition over the Blue Ridge Mountains, after which he acquired large tracks of land throughout north-central Virginia. Through his 'insider knowledge' about the prospects of the land worth in that area as well as the notion that he could instigate the creation of a county as governor of the colony, he once again used his power to attain great wealth for himself.

In that same year, Spotswood moved into the Governor's Palace. He therefore had two homes for at least this portion of his political career, the Governor's Palace and Christianna. When the House of Burgesses voted to abandon Fort Christianna in May of 1718, it is believed that Spotswood decided to abandon his home here as well. This makes sense, as Christianna was a sign of failure. In all likelihood, the move away from Christianna did not mean that Spotswood returned full-time to Williamsburg. It is possible that he turned his attention to his other frontier property after Christianna was disbanded, especially considering the political turmoil that was facing him in the capital in the second half of 1718.

In that year, a large faction of the House of Burgesses was beginning the process to try to remove Spotswood from his position. As the House wrote to King George in a letter dated November 20, 1718 (McIlwaine 1912:228-229):

...the depriving us of our ancient Rights & priviledges and many hardships which he daily exercises upon your Majestys good Subjects of this Colony...we humbly hope your Majesty will be graciously pleased to receive some particulars from the Hon'ble William Byrd Esq'r whome we have desired to appear in behalf of your oppressed Subjects of this Colony being deprived of any other means whereby to make known to your Majesty our just Grievances by our remote Situation...

Spotswood quickly responded with a long retort to the House the next week, stating that the treatment he received from the House “will astonish all mankind” and “...it is as unjust that Yo'r Country should be burdened with the prosecution of the private Quarrels of Prejudiced men” (McIlwaine 1912:239-240). The lack of love and respect within his home city was enough for Spotswood to want to distance himself from the “Cataline Crew of Male Contents”, as he called the elites in power (McIlwaine 1912:243).

Those Skilled Germans

Based on all of the archival information, it is hypothesized that Spotswood began to construct his mansion at Germanna between 1718 and 1719. This idea is backed by the arrival of the various groups of Germans and Jones' comments on the skilled craftspeople about town. By 1717, two groups of settlers lived at Germanna, and the total number of people who lived in the area was over 200. This was far higher than the number who could comfortably live within the original Fort Germanna palisade. The fort concept was probably abandoned by this time. Although it is not known

exactly when the fort itself was destroyed, it is believed to have been removed by the late 1710s (Figure 6.5) (Sanford 1993).



Figure 6.5 Archaeological remains of the Fort Germanna palisade, found running under the Enchanted Castle foundation in the southwest corner (Photo on file, MWC, CHP).

The original group who arrived in 1714 had no legal ties to the land, and they were free to go whenever they wished. Most of them were iron miners, and they left the Germanna area around 1718. The group moved to Germantown in what is now Fauquier County. This left a reduced workforce at Germanna, which could explain the influx of new immigrants in 1719. If Spotswood wanted a home at Germanna, he would need skilled craftspeople to build it. The 1717 and 1719 Germans were known to be

reputable workers, and Jones clearly states that Spotswood had “servants and worksmen of most handycraft trades” about town—a statement that is quickly followed by an account of Spotswood’s building activities, possibly indicating that the “handycraft trades” were related to architecture.

Diaries, Dialogues, and County Records

Although the exact construction year cannot be determined from the records, it can be conclusively stated that Spotswood was in residence at least part of the year by 1721. In a March 1721 letter written by Robert Carter of Corotoman to Messrs Micajah Perry, Sr. and Jr. of London, Carter reported: “The Governor is gone to Germanna; pursues his iron mine strenuously” (Carter 1940:90-91). Although this letter places Spotswood at Germanna, Spotsylvania Court records actually have him inhabiting the home. On April 10, 1721, court records report: “His Excellency Alexand’r Spotswood by Coll’o Robert Beverley his attorney complained ag’t his serv’t woman Mary Peal for wearing his Cloaths imbeselling his Liqors & making his house at Germanna an ord’ny” (Essex County Order Book 5, 1716-1723:557). This record shows that Spotswood has servants in residence at his home at Germanna by April of 1721 and, moreover, he had clothes and personal items at the home at the time of the reported incident. Spotswood was only in residence at his new home a portion of the year, though, as he still had duties and his Palace in Williamsburg up until 1722.

Hugh Jones to the Rescue

Another primary account to help date the construction of the Enchanted Castle is the report of Hugh Jones in his *The Present State of Virginia* (1724). According to Jones (1724:91), Spotswood's manor house was still under construction during his visit. His description of Germanna, combined with other evidence of Spotswood's living arrangements at Christianna and Williamsburg, as well as Spotsylvania County court records, give the best insight into when Spotswood began his home at Germanna. Jones stated (1724:91):

Beyond Colonel Spotswood's furnace above the falls of the Rappahannock River, within view of the vast mountains, he has founded a town called Germanna, from some Germans sent over thither by Queen Anne, who are now removed up farther: here he has servants and workmen of most handicraft trades; and he is building a church, court-house, and dwelling-house for himself; and with his servants and Negroes he has cleared plantations about it, proposing great encouragement for people to come and settle in that uninhabited part of the world, lately divided into a county...Beyond this are seated the colony of Germans.

While subject to interpretation, the above paragraph reveals several key facts about who lived and worked at Germanna and the sequence of construction events. Jones published his book in London in 1724. If one takes into account travel time between the colony and England, as well as the time it took to get a book through publication at that time, Jones' book must have been written before 1724 itself, and it was likely compiled pre-1723. It is also known that Jones spent a long period of time in the colony to complete his research. His book clearly reveals an interest in Spotswood himself, and he could have made Germanna one of his earliest 'stops' during his travels. It is known that

Jones visited Fort Christianna in April of 1717 (Hazzard 1979:31), shortly upon his arrival in the country, therefore he could also have traveled to Germanna after that trip.

Regardless, several key items can help date his visit. Jones states that the area was “lately divided into a county”. This means that he visited the area sometime between 1720, the founding of Spotsylvania County, and 1722, when the court system was fully established in the new county. Jones refers to Spotswood throughout his book at the Governor, suggesting that his visit occurred before or during 1722, the year Spotswood’s tenure as Governor was terminated. Spotswood was away for most of the summer of 1722 in Albany, and he was told he had been replaced upon his return home later that same year. Therefore, Jones’s visit had to occur prior to the summer of 1722.

Even after Spotswood was removed from his official position in the Virginia government in 1722, he retained his residence in Williamsburg through a portion of 1723. In a July 12, 1723 letter to his cousin John Spotswood in Scotland, Alexander wrote: “Your Son in Law Mr. Mcfarlane favoring me unexpectedly with a short Visit at my present place of Residence in Spotsylvania County...my frequent Residence this year at a place near 200 miles distant from where those affairs might be transacted” (Cappon 1952:239). Moreover, he was still in Williamsburg by the end of October, as he reported on this visit during the October 31 meeting of the Virginia council. Spotswood sold Lot 174 near the Palace in Williamsburg with its “messuage or tenement” to John Randolph on July 1, 1723 (RRQF 1989).

By the end of 1723, the Enchanted Castle had been completed, and Spotswood was probably permanently resided at Germanna, as he had moved out of the Governor’s

Palace and sold his home in Williamsburg. By April 24, 1724, the county buildings at Germanna had been completed as well:

A motion being made from the barr that Coll'o Alexander Spotswood was ready when ever the Court pleased to make a legal Surrender of the Courthouse, Prison, Pillory and Stocks which he has lately erected and built for the use of this County...having now intirely finished the Courthouse all but a little plastering over the Justices bench...yet he did not include in his surrender the little room which at present allows the Clerks to make use of for his office...thanks to the Said Coll'o Spotswood for his building so fine a Courthouse. (Spotsylvania County Will Book A, p. 67).

The “little room” used by the clerk was either a room in the mansion or one of the outbuildings surrounding Spotswood’s home. As the space could be viewed as “surrenderable” suggests that it was likely the latter, as it would be very difficult to separate out one room of a home to give to a county.

A Sum of the Documents

Based on the archival records, it can be surmised that the Enchanted Castle was begun about 1718. Although not completed for several years, the home was habitable by at least early 1721, when the records show that Spotswood was in residence at least part of the year. This temporary occupation continued at least through the fall of 1723. By the time the county buildings had been completed in early 1724, the mansion was completed as well. Therefore, the home was finished prior to Spotswood leaving for England for his five year sojourn. When he returned in 1729, he and his family occupied the mansion on a full time basis.

Temporally, a construction date of 1718 makes the mansion one of the earliest, if not the earliest, privately-owned Georgian mansion in Virginia. Corotoman, the home of Robert “King” Carter was not begun until the early 1720s, and Rosewell, the three-story brick home of Mann Page I, was not commenced until 1726. Although many timber frame and brick mansions were already in existence by 1718, most had been constructed in the earlier Jacobean fashion and enlarged and adapted to the new Georgian style after the completion of the Governor’s Palace. The Enchanted Castle was one of the first large scale homes designed to incorporate the ideas of individualism, control, and balance from its inception to its completion.

THE HOW: THE ANATOMY OF A MANSION

Knowing that Spotswood had achieved success as a ‘gentleman architect’ prior to the construction of the Enchanted Castle, it is clear that he had a significant role in the design of his mansion at Germanna. If the mansion was indeed begun around 1718, this would place it after he moved into the Governor’s Palace and as he was completing his home at Christianna. The Governor’s Palace was to represent the quintessential Georgian mansion. It was a brick dwelling with an English basement and a symmetrical façade capped by a hipped roof (see Figure 6.3). By all accounts, it was an unequivocal translation of English style modified for New World scale and building techniques.

During the building of the Governor’s Palace, Spotswood had a direct influence on the construction and ornamentation of the home. On February 7, 1711, less than

eight months after Spotswood arrived in the colony, William Byrd (1963:129) noted in his diary, “I walked with his [Spotswood] to the house that is building for the Governor where he showed me abundance of faults and found great exception to the proceedings of the workmen.” A month later, on March 8, he followed this up by stating: “I walked with the Governor to the new house, where he showed the improvements he has made” (1963:134) .

In relating the events of 1711 in a 1720 statute to complete the Governor’s Palace, the act stated (Winfree 1971:199-200):

It was thereby Enacted That John Tyler, Gentleman, the then Overseer of the said Work should be discharges from his office of Inspecting and taking Care of the said Building, and the Honorable the Lieutenant Governor thereby impowered and desired to take upon himselfe [sic] the trouble to imploy such and so many Workmen and Labourers and to provide and furnish such materials and other things as he should Judge necessary and convenient for the completing and finishing the said building and Work...

However, as a safeguard, the act followed with “John Holloway and John Clayton, or the Survivor, were thereby authorized and empowered to take and keep the Accounts of all the monies which should be laid out and expended for and towards the finishing of said house...” (Winfree 1971:200). Spotswood was therefore given the authority to design and build the Governor’s House to his specifications, so long as the funding was approved by the House of Burgesses.

Throughout William Byrd’s diaries, he repeatedly references going to the Palace to find Spotswood overseeing the work on the home. This indicates that Spotswood was not only interested in the general aesthetic of the mansion, but also the construction

methods used by the building crew. He wanted to build a good, solid home using only quality materials in the best manner. By 1718, however, Spotswood got so fed up with the constant haranguing by the House of Burgesses over his spending on the home and gardens that he completely removed himself from the remainder of the construction (Olmert 1985:74). The House notes state that the financing clause written into the original act “hath given the Governor more trouble than was thereby intended and his Honour having desired to decline all future concerne in the said Building and work” (Winfree 1971:200).

This further adds credence to the beginning of the Germanna mansion around 1718. Spotswood could have used his displaced energy from the Governor’s mansion project on his new mansion. His new home could be designed exactly to his specifications, and moreover, he had no one to question the cost of the project. The “natives” could not control the Germanna property, but he could.

The Christianna Home

Although extensive work has not been completed on Spotswood’s home at Christianna, archaeologist Dave Hazzard (1979) conducted limited excavations on the site in the late 1970s. In December 1977 and March 1978, Hazzard and his crew conducted a limited Phase I survey of the site of Spotswood’s home at Christianna (44BR1). They returned to excavate a unit at the site in 1979. During this work, the archaeologists noted several early eighteenth century domestic artifacts, but little architectural debris. The main architectural component noted during the work was a

root cellar, extending from 1 foot 5 inches below the surface to 3 feet below modern grade. The exact size of the root cellar is not known due to limited archaeological testing in the area, but a 3 x 2 ft section was excavated in 1979. Thus, the cellar was larger than 3 x 2 feet (Hazzard 1979). The sides of the feature were originally straight cut into the ground, and the floor of the cellar was flat. Based on the dates of the artifacts within its fill, the cellar appears to have been backfilled in the 1770s.

The archaeology at Spotswood's Christianna home suggest that it was a timber frame dwelling rather than a masonry structure, but it is possible that brick or other masonry materials could have been completely robbed before the site was covered over. What is known is that the home was estimated to have cost £500-600, which is triple the cost of construction of the very large Fort Christianna that had five habitable, or at least usable, bastions (Stevenson 2004: pers. comm.). With such a high construction cost, the home likely was several stories tall and ornately decorated. Additional archaeological excavations are needed at the site to accurately determine its exact size, shape, and appearance.

Germanna in Plan

When Spotswood began the Enchanted Castle, he not only had several architectural achievements under his belt, but he also brought something new to this project—a growing sense of self. In the government buildings in Williamsburg, Spotswood was limited in his vision by the crown and the House of Burgesses, as well as the goal to provide model English buildings in the colony. When he built Germanna,

he not only could explore his own taste and ideas, but also put forth visual signs of his status as a Scotsman. His family lost their castle near St. Andrews, but Alexander and his cousin John continually wrote to each other not only about resurrecting the good Spotswood name, but also preserving the family way of life. John went so far as to ask Alexander to purchase the ancestral family castle and land in Scotland when it came up for sale in 1711 (Cappon 1952:231). This was actually a growing concern throughout Scotland at this time. “After the interruption of the period of war and occupation in the 1640s and 1650, the desire to enhance and rebuild castle-like courtyard palaces was given a boost by the Restoration emphasis on revived tradition and lineage” (Glendinning and MacKechnie 2004:77). Is Germanna Spotswood’s vision of a “castle-like courtyard palace”?

Archaeological evidence has determined that the Enchanted Castle had a nine-part Palladian plan, a central core surrounded by four symmetrically-placed outbuildings connected by four hyphens (see Figure 4.4). The orientation of the outbuildings and the hyphens created a square forecourt to the south of the home. The town of Germanna was located west of the mansion (see Figure 4.2). A letter written by Spotswood on file at the Orange County courthouse, dated August 17, 1736, recounts an incident involving William Hawkings, keeper of the Germanna ferry (Spotswood 1736):

[He] make my House at the Ferry...a constant place of Drunkenness...I have not got done Ten Days work by my Joyner, or Shoemaker; nor a weeks work by my Tailour...Moreover as the said Hawkins is perpetually Drunk...insult me at y’e Door of my own dwelling House, before all my Family; and riding off some few Paces further, into what he called the King’s Highway, he then dared, & dared me again, to come there & strike him...I had sent frequent

Messages to him before for the same purpose [meeting to discuss their disagreements] he very rudely answered that he would meet me at the Fountain with his own accounts.

Based on statements made in this letter, the Germanna Road, or King's Highway, was located very close to Spotswood's mansion, as Spotswood states that Hawkings rode off "some few paces" to reach the road from his house. This suggests that the Germanna Road ran north from its current location and skirted the mansion's forecourt, then continued west to the town of Germanna and the Germanna ferry area. The fountain mentioned in the quote above is the same marble fountain discussed by William Byrd during his 1732 visit as being located "along the shady lane to the [ferry] landing".

The main house measured roughly 90 x 40 feet. The northwest outbuilding, rectangular in shape, measured 36 x 22 feet, while the southwest dependency, roughly square in shape, measured about 20 x 20 feet. Although the eastern outbuildings have not been fully excavated, the limited archaeological excavations in these areas suggests that they mirrored the western dependencies in size and location. The hyphens connecting the western dependencies to each other and the main house were very different in size and shape, with the northwest dependency almost double the width of the southwest dependency. Although the outbuildings and hyphens varied in size, the Georgian mindset was not only about balance, but also control of the building process. Spotswood had the labor and materials to construct perfectly symmetrical outbuildings, but he chose not to so that their plan could follow their function. In addition, by making the outbuildings and hyphens progressively smaller as they moved away from the main

house, he created the visual allusion that the central part of the home was larger. This is yet another way that Spotswood purposefully manipulated the complex to illustrate his command over both the building process, as well as the subsequent sensation of grandness that his mansion had on visitors and guests,

The Material's the Thing

When Hugh Jones wrote about Virginia in 1724, he described the architectural construction as, "...they build with Brick, but most commonly with Timber lined with Ceiling, and cas'd with feather-edged Plank, painted with white Lead and Oil, covered with Shingles of Cedar, &c. tarr'd over at first" (Jones 1724:74). He acknowledged the use of brick, but did not mention buildings of stone because, at the time of his visit, so few had used this material to build a home.

The selection of building materials, along with size and plan, was one of the ways that architecture can act as a sign of wealth in colonial Virginia (Wells 1994:126). As Daniel Reiff (1986:274) stated about Virginia elite planters in his comparison of Virginia and English Georgian Homes: "...the use of stone was a high-style detail that only men of the greatest wealth or social standing would consider", but many "eschewed the use of stone and were perfectly content to employ the more popular brick vernacular Renaissance mode in their mansions". Spotswood was not so content. The building materials used to construct the Enchanted Castle were schist, slate, sandstone, brick, and wood. While slate and sandstone were used in limited quantities in the construction of the home, the architectural analysis clearly revealed that the majority of

the foundation, external walls, and internal framework were formed of schist, with brick used as a veneer and wood forming the internal framework. The use of stone here is not only a symbol of Spotswood's wealth and control, but it is also highly emblematic of the move of English culture to the Piedmont region, which later became dominated by the use of stone.

The foundation of the main house, as discussed in Chapters 4 and 5, was formed of schist, slate and brick. The schist and sandstone were acquired from Spotswood's land near what is today Chancellorsville, about 5 to 7 miles east of the mansion site. The bricks were made on site using local clay. The use of and control over local stone sources was virtually unheard of at this time in the colony. When Robert Carter began Corotoman in Lancaster County around 1720, he ordered imported Purbeck paving stones and marble floor tiles from his English merchant Edward Tucker (Brown 2001:33; Hudgins 1984:156). The Carter's, who were among the wealthiest families in Virginia, did not use Virginia stone until the construction of Christ Church in the 1730s, when sandstone was brought down from Stafford County. The stone was from the same general geologic band as the Germanna sandstone, although Spotswood used it almost 20 years earlier. Purbeck stone was also used in the construction of the Governor's Palace, as archaeologists uncovered paving squares of Purbeck stone in the basement (Waterman 1946:57). Like at Corotoman, this stone was imported, and no native Virginia stone was used in the construction of the Palace.

Similarly, the slate used at the Enchanted Castle was also local, obtained from Spotswood's own slate quarry on his land along the Rappahannock. The slate roofing of

the Governor's Palace was imported from Wales, and the same type of Welsh slate was also used by William Byrd when he replaced the older wooden family home with the new brick Westover in 1730 (Figure 6.6). Byrd also imported Portland stone for use around his exterior doorways and as keys in the window arches (Waterman 1946:153-154).



Figure 6.6 Westover, home of William Byrd II, primary (south) elevation (Photo by the author).

Although small amounts of “Aquia” sandstone were used in Christ Church (c. 1730-1735) in Lancaster County and Nomini Hall (c. 1729) in Westmoreland County as doorway and window accents and quoining, it wasn't until several decades after the construction of the Enchanted Castle that Virginia stone was used as a substantial building component of large elite mansions. The Tayloe's who built Mount Airy (c.

1758) in Richmond County used local sandstone to face the central segment of their home, and Menokin (c. 1769), home of Francis Lightfoot and Rebecca Lee, was built almost entirely of local conglomerate stone with sandstone accents (Figure 6.7).



Figure 6.7 Menokin prior to destruction (HABS Photo, 1940. On file, Library of Congress, Washington D.C.).

THE WHAT: APPEARANCE IS EVERYTHING

Based on the archaeological excavations, the Enchanted Castle was built at least partially on land originally cleared for Fort Germanna. When William Byrd visited in

1732 (1966:355), he stated that the town consisted of “Colonel Spotswood’s enchanted castle on one side of the street and a baker’s dozen of ruinous tenements on the other, where so many German families had dwelt some years ago”. Additional evidence of the fort is given in a 1724 Spotsylvania County court case, which states: “The Indian stepping upon a brass Gun that Lay under y’e [Spotswood’s] window in Order to go in...” (Spotsylvania County Order Book 1724-1730:3), showing that one of the brass guns from the fort was kept within the forecourt of the mansion.

Given the location of the segment of the Fort uncovered in the early 1990s, combined with archival evidence of the original Germanna Road, which ran directly adjacent to the mansion, it is likely that the German tenements were located east or south of Spotswood’s mansion, but within viewing distance of the mansion itself. Thus, the Enchanted Castle not only took over the location of the frontier fort, but the enormity of the home completely overshadowed the nearby timber-frame homes of the German immigrants. From its inception, then, Spotswood aimed to have his home dominate the viewshed of the entire town as a visual representation of his English superiority and hegemonic relations within the county.

From All Sides: The Exterior of the Mansion in Elevation

The mansion was built into the northern side of the hill, thus the basement level was only visible from the north side, similar to the Madison’s Mount Pleasant (c. 1732) in Orange County (Reeves 2003:7). When a visitor approached from Germanna Road, they would have seen a one and a half story brick and schist home with a slate roof.

Based on the appearance of the majority of other buildings constructed at the same time, it probably had a hipped roof. Although it cannot be said for certain if the roof was pierced by dormers, Spotswood's probate inventory suggests that the upper rooms contained some sort of windows, either exterior end windows or dormers, as two of the rooms were listed as having curtains. [See below for a full analysis of the inventory and its relation to the mansion floor plan]

If the home was viewed from the north/river side, it would appear to be a two and a half story home with a porch and a stairway leading up one flight to the main floor, similar to Stratford Hall (c. 1737) (Figure 6.8), the home of the Lees in Westmoreland County, and Scotchtown (post-1719) (Figure 6.9), the summer home of



Figure 6.8 Stratford Hall, southern elevation (Photo by the author).



Figure 6.9 Scotchtown, southeast oblique (Photo on file, Scotchtown, Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, Hanover County, Virginia).

the Chiswell family in Hanover County. This elevation would have overlooked the terraced gardens to the north, although the river itself was not viewable from this location. Excavations completed thus far on the main house area suggest that a porch and stairway extended off of the northern elevation, but its exact configuration has not been determined. Regardless, whether the home was viewed from the river or the road side, it presented a geometric, controlled edifice to any visitor, similar in concept to Mount Vernon (c. 1735) (Pogue 1994:106).

The location of the two firebases within the basement suggest that the home had two chimneys (see Figure 4.4). The cross-plan chimney would have exited the roof in the center of the main house, while the U-plan chimney would have been located to the west of the central chimney near the western end of the home, with its open firebox to the north. The lack of complete symmetry was done on purpose, as the home was built and later destroyed at one time. The placement of the cross-plan chimney directly in the center of the home illustrates that the builders had the capacity to build in perfect symmetry, but Spotswood, or less likely the builders, decided against the idea of exact balance for functional or symbolic reasons.

While the Georgian mindset immediately conjures up images of perfectly symmetrical homes, in actuality, few if any were completely symmetrical. As Dell Upton noted (1986:318), “no surviving eighteenth-century house, whether built in one campaign or in several, has four equal-sized rooms”. It is also important to remember that the placement of the outbuildings surrounding the Governor’s Palace, usually triumphed as one of the great symmetrical achievements of Georgian architecture, is also somewhat problematic. Although the buildings were constructed on foundations discovered during the archaeological investigations of the 1930s, there is no information as to when these outbuildings were actually constructed (Waterman 1946:60). They could have easily been later additions or built one at a time, thus interrupting the perfect balanced plan seen today.

The outbuildings at Germanna were made of stone, brick, and wood, like the main house. All of the outbuildings and hyphens had slate roofs, as suggested by the

archaeological remains, and all were one story tall, as indicated by the width and composition of the foundations. The variations in the foundation materials is great amongst the western components, but the choice of materials is patterned, thus creating symmetry. For example, the main house foundation is a combination of stone and brick. The northwest hyphen is stone, then the northwest dependency is brick. The southwest hyphen is brick, followed by the southwest dependency, which is stone. It is unknown at this time exactly what the form the eastern half of the complex was, as the limited testing found ample brick and stone. Based on the purposeful use of materials in the western half, as well as the fact that both schist and brick were robbed from this area by the Gordon family, it is probable that it mirrored the patterned mixture of materials seen in the west.

Regarding appearance, the hyphens were either enclosed or finished arcades/colonnades. This hypothesis is based on the amount of lathing and plaster found within both the northwest and southwest hyphen areas. If they were enclosed, they had some sort of fenestration to let in light and air. The presence of abundant window glass within the units in both hyphen areas could indicate that they had at least one window, and the orientation of the hyphens would suggest that they also probably had some sort of doorway to allow movement between the forecourt and the exterior yards. Regardless of the types of fenestrations, the enclosure of these spaces would have made them usable household areas for storage or completion of daily tasks. In particular, the northwestern hyphen is twice as wide as the southwestern hyphen, suggesting that it had an alternate purpose beyond merely a covered walkway. As it is located adjacent to the

west yard and well/cistern area, this hyphen could have been an extension of household activities that occurred in this area.

The wall materials of the two western dependencies is not known. The southwestern dependency likely comprised a good deal of schist within the exterior walls, as both the foundation and chimney base were formed of the material. The building had one small room, with a hallway running through the eastern one-third of the structure. The fireplace, located in the southeastern corner of the room and adjacent to the walkway, opened northwest into the room. The chimney would therefore have been located along the southern wall, but not in the center of the elevation unless the chimney was angled towards the center of the structure. As seen in the spatial analysis of window glass, the largest deposits of window glass were found just south of this building, thus indicating that it had some sort of fenestration. In relation to Spotswood's proclivity towards mixing the public and private sphere, any windows that pierced the walls of this outbuilding would have been seen from the Germanna Road, which circled the outbuilding to the south and west. Not only would have the windows themselves been seen by those traveling on the road, but the occupants of the outbuilding could look out to see who was coming into and out of town as a separate form of control.

The quantity of window glass found at the Enchanted Castle, especially near the outbuildings, was something of an anomaly among Virginia architecture. Even among middling and wealthier planters, "In the 1720s glass was still used sparingly and was set primarily in small casement windows wherever they were most needed" (Hudgins 1984:198). The outbuildings at Germanna had some sort of glass, likely double hung

sash windows as in the main house. This is especially interesting considering that even into the seventeenth century, “In Scotland, country houses of that period had no glass in their windows, and a royal palace had shutters in the lower half of its windows and glass only for the upper half” (Elliott 1992:112). Spotswood had a large quantity of glass imported for his mansion as a distinct sign of his wealth and power. Not only could he import the expensive material and have it transported to the frontier, but he had a material that, up until a few decades earlier, the royals of his ancestral Scotland could not even have on their home. Moreover, he exhibited this material using one of the newest building technologies employed in the colonies, the double hung sash window. The use of double hung sash here is one of the first uses of this type of window form in America. This would certainly have made his cousin John proud.

The foundation of the northwest dependency was made of brick and, based on the quantity of brick and mortar surrounding the home, it was likely brick construction. This would especially make sense if the building was indeed used for a task that required extensive heat from the central fireplace or the two brick features along the western wall. Based on the archaeological evidence, it is believed that the building had a central north-south dividing wall and possibly a central hearth. If there was indeed a hearth in the center of the structure, then at least a central chimney exited the slate roof. If the two well features on the western wall also required heat, an exterior end chimney would have been located along the western elevation. The large deposits of white plaster found in this area suggest that it was indeed plastered on the interior, a common wall treatment for a kitchen, dairy, laundry or other household space.

The northwestern yard, the area formed by the mansion, the northwest hyphen and the northwestern dependency, contained the brick cistern/well (see Figure 4.4). It was accessible from the main house via a doorway in the northwestern corner of the basement, and it is also possible that a doorway was located within the hyphen, thus allowing entry for servants to the main floor through the hyphen. North of the yard was an east-west ditch that partially divided the yard from the river and town to the north and west.

A similar yard was located on the northeast side of the mansion, and it was accessible from the basement through a door on the eastern side of the home. Whereas the northwest yard has been interpreted as a cleaner, more formal space, it is believed that the northeastern yard was more of a workspace. This is due to the quantity of charcoal and other cultural materials across the living surface and the lack of formalized features, such as the well or brick fence. In addition, archaeologists noted a large bed of slate in the yard that was below the burn layer. This indicated that either the workspace had a slate floor formed from the broken pieces that were unusable on the roof or this space was used as a slate preparation area during the re-roofing of the home just prior to its burning.

In many ways, the exterior of the Enchanted Castle resembled several contemporary mansions. Like Corotoman and Scotchtown, the length of the home was over double its width. Both Scotchtown and Corotoman (Figure 6.10), however, have thick brick foundations (up to 3 feet wide in some places) that accommodated brick internal framing. Scotchtown, built sometime after 1719, has several additional

differences, including a timber frame exterior and a jerkinhead roof (see Figure 6.9). It was built as the country residence of the Chiswell family and is therefore considered more vernacular than the plethora of other large mansions in the colony. Rosewell, begun in 1726, also had a brick foundation, but as the structure had a timber frame interior, the foundations were narrower than at Corotoman. To support the three story home, however, the foundations were wider than the Enchanted Castle, about 24 inches thick (Figure 6.11; see Figure 4.8 for overview of remains).



Figure 6.10 Foundation remains of Corotoman, as excavated in the 1970s (Photo on file, Virginia Department of Historic Resources, Richmond).



Figure 6.11 Section of exterior wall at Rosewell (Photo by the author).

The vast majority of elite manor homes built in the first half of the eighteenth century followed a certain set of design “rules”, partially based on English style. They had brick foundations and walls, hipped roofs covered with slate, either interior or exterior end brick chimneys, and the standard architectural decorations of a belt course, water table, and sometimes quoining. Some had dormers, while others only had windows on the secondary elevations. Doors and windows were surrounded by either stone or polished brick, often times with a combination of both. It is the architectural decoration that “marks these large houses as products of the international popular culture that transformed all of Euro-American material culture in the eighteenth century (Upton 1990:71). Homes that fit within this formula were Westover (c. 1730) in Charles City County, Sabine Hall (c. 1730) in Richmond County, Cleve (c. 1750) in King George County, and Rocky Mills (c. 1750) in Hanover County. This style became even more prevalent in the second half of the eighteenth century. Variations of this style include a side gable roof instead of a hipped roof (Berkeley [c. 1726] in Charles City County and Nelson House [c. 1740s] in Yorktown) and H-plan homes (Stratford Hall [c. 1737] in Westmoreland County and Tuckahoe [c. 1730] in Goochland County).

It is unknown if the Enchanted Castle had a cupola, as the Governor’s Palace, Corotoman, and Rosewell all had at least one cupola piercing the roofline. Since the home had a chimney in the center and in the western half of the main house, a cupola or Scottish tower-like projection (thus, a potential inspiration for Byrd’s use of the term “Castle”) could have been erected in the eastern half of the roof to compliment the western chimney and balance the roofline, but this is not known. Most of the elite

mansions built at this time had symmetrical brick chimneys, but asymmetry is not unfounded.

The Puzzle Inside: The Mansion's Floor Plan

Although it is difficult to hypothesize about the floor plan of a destroyed home, several key elements can help to piece together the possible use of the space. Archaeological information from the basement has identified the exterior dimensions of the home, locations of fireplaces, and the placement of several key support walls, and the spatial analysis of the materials discussed in Chapter 5 can help locate possible sites of staircases and windows. When this information is combined with evidence from contemporary buildings, we can start to get an idea on how space might have been used in Spotswood's home. [*Note: The ideas presented here are my own concepts and are just presented here as hypotheses rather than an exact determination on the form and function of the interior of the home.*]

The prime document that can help pull all of this together, though, is Alexander Spotswood's probate inventory, prepared at his death in 1740. At that time, his wife was still living at Germanna although Alexander had traveled to Annapolis for possible departure to fight in England's war with Spain. At word of his death, his trustees walked through his home and recorded all of his possessions. By examining important information within the document, such as the counts of curtains, fireplace equipment, and bedding, it is possible to attempt a reconfiguration of the home. This is especially important at the Enchanted Castle because it is one of the first Georgian homes in the

New World, and the use of the various spaces sheds light on the larger social changes in Virginia.

The Basement Plan

As discussed in Chapter 4, the basement has been roughly divided into six spaces (Figure 6.12). The basement level was used as a working and storage area, as opposed to habitable space as none of the fireplaces exhibited any signs of use at the basement level. It's primary purpose was to provide space to support tasks associated with the maintenance of the house and the serving of its wealthy inhabitants. In this way, there was a doorway on both the western and eastern elevation that lead from the basement out into the northwest and northeastern yards. There was also a stairway in the southwestern corner that lead down from the basement to the tunnel, which connected the main house to a cistern/well in the northwest yard.

In addition to connections with other workspaces, the basement also could have had a stairway leading up to the main floor. Although this would make logical sense to today's mind, many of the older mansions were designed for the convenience of the wealthy planters and not their servants. For example, Stratford Hall and Scotchtown both had raised English basements that were used by slaves and indentured servants for household tasks, but neither home originally had an internal stairway. Servants would have to exit the basement through an exterior doorway, go up a set of outside steps, and then enter the main house via one of several doors.

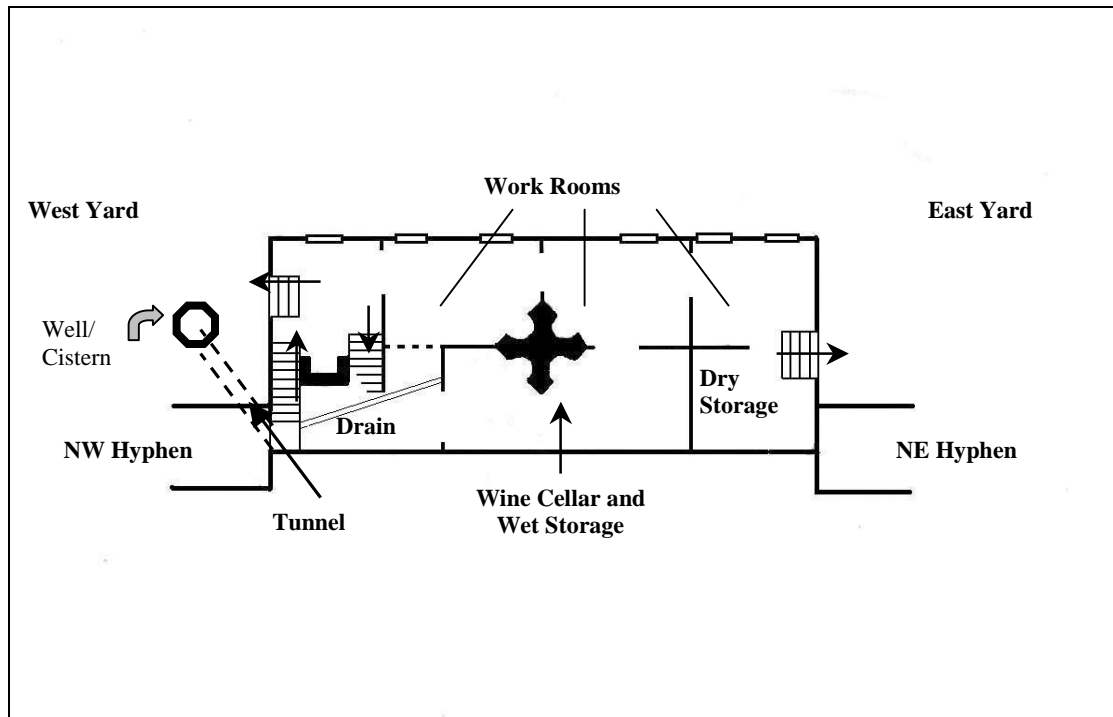


Figure 6.12 Proposed plan of the Enchanted Castle basement.

The basement also probably contained some sort of wine cellar or vault, as seen at the majority of plantation homes. At Corotoman, the wine cellar had a sloped basement floor with a drain system, with water funneled into stone lined drainage channels similar in style to those found at the Enchanted Castle (Brown 2001:34; Hudgins 1984). If the drain system found in the basement of Spotswood's mansion was also used in the wine cellar, then that would place the wine vaults within the south-central portion of the home. As at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello (c. 1771), the wine cellar below could have been directly above the Dining Room or Spotswood's chamber

(as today's bedrooms were called in the eighteenth century) and master study, while easily accessible to certain servants to allow for easier access.

And on to the Upper Floors

Although the home burned over 250 years ago and there are no sketches to help determine the plan of the first floor, the few written descriptions and archaeological evidence can help suggest a possible plan (Figure 6.13). The Enchanted Castle, though built on what was then the frontier, has thus far proved to contain some of the earliest examples of typical tenets of Georgian architecture. Spotswood took his knowledge of English architecture and added a dash of his Scottish heritage, and it was all tempered by the abilities and influence of the Germans and Africans who actually built the home. The home mirrors what was happening in his ancestral Scotland at the same time—the growing tension between “universal claims of classical antiquity” and local tradition (Glendinning and MacKechnie 2004:67).

The only known description of a visit to the interior of the mansion was written by William Byrd (1966:355-356) during his 1732 visit.

I was carried into a room elegantly set off with pier glasses, the largest of which came soon after to an odd misfortune. Amongst other favorite animals that cheered this lady's solitude, a brace of tame deer ran familiarly about the house, and one of them came to stare at me as a stranger; but, unluckily spying his own figure in the glass, he made a spring over the tea table that stood under it and shattered the glass to pieces and, falling back upon the tea table, made a terrible fracas among the china.

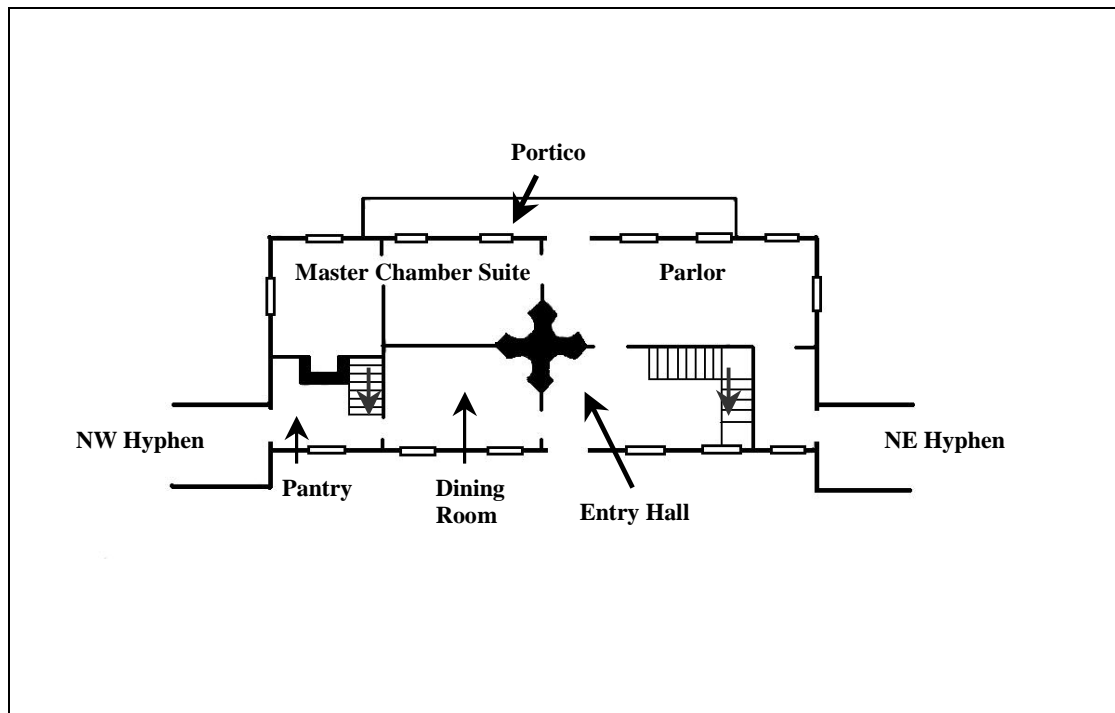


Figure 6.13 Proposed main floor plan of the Enchanted Castle.

Later, Byrd wrote “We all kept snug in our several apartments till nine”. Based on this discussion, combined with details from the probate inventory, we can tell that Byrd was likely lead into a parlor upon his arrival, one decorated with several mirrors and tea tables set with china. In the evening after dinner in the dining room, Byrd and the Spotswood family retired to one of several chambers located within the home. As Spotswood had four children, the home had at least four to five bed chambers to accommodate their guest, the Spotswood’s, their children, and Mrs. Spotswood’s sister Miss Thecky. As Byrd wrote of the existence of four to five chambers, a dining room,

and a parlor, it is apparent that the second floor was indeed at least partially used for bedroom space.

The presence of a usable second floor is an indicator of Germanna as a very large and elaborate home for the first few decades of the eighteenth century. Moreover, if the home indeed had a separate dining room, this would have been amongst the first in Virginia, as even the Governor's Palace originally had no room set aside for food consumption. Once again, the purposeful designation of a separate space for dining showcases not only Spotswood's knowledge on the latest English trends, but also his place at the head of the larger movement towards individualism and spatiality, as is often discussed within the context of the Georgian worldview (i.e., Deetz 1996).

The shape and orientation of the chimney bases was also somewhat unique amongst colonial mansions, although not entirely unfounded. The cross-shaped chimney provided openings for four fireplaces on each floor, and according to Thomas Waterman (1946:77) it is “rarely found in traditional English architecture, and rather an innovation of the period of William and Mary”. This chimney form is only recorded in three other known structures: the original portion of the Peyton Randolph House (c. 1715-1720) in Williamsburg (Figure 6.14), the Chiswell House (c. 1710-1720) (Figure 6.15), and Charles Chiswell’s country house, Scotchtown (post-1719) (Figure 6.16). A variation of this form, comprising angled interior end fireplace arrangements, can be found at Marmion (c. 1720-1730) in King George County (Figure 6.17).

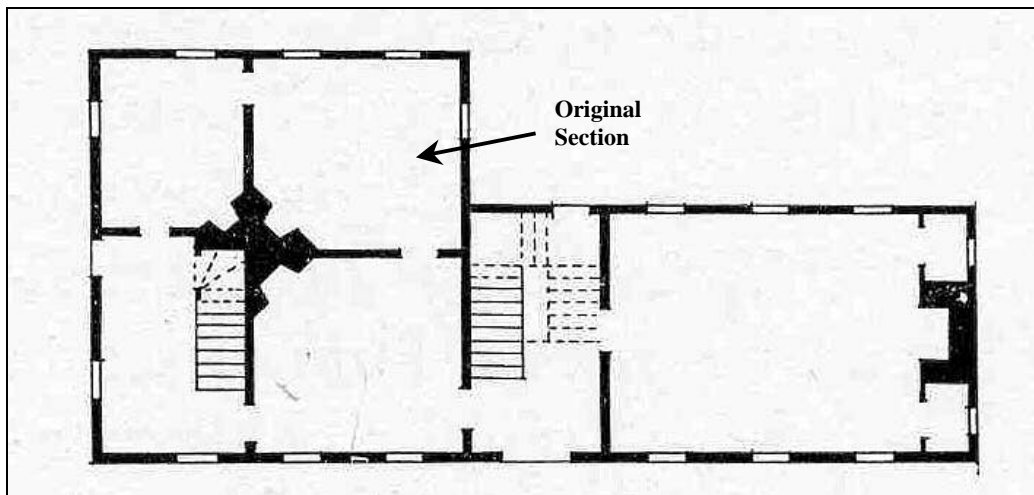


Figure 6.14 Floorplan of the Peyton-Randolph (Randolph-Peachy) House showing cross-shaped fireplace (Waterman 1946:70).

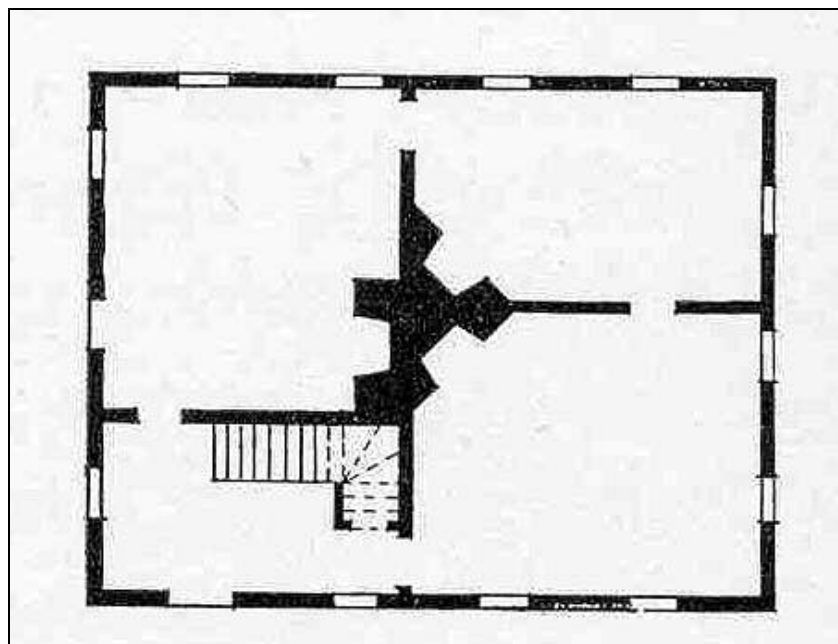


Figure 6.15 Floorplan of the Chiswell Home in Williamsburg (demolished in 1941) (Waterman 1946:66).

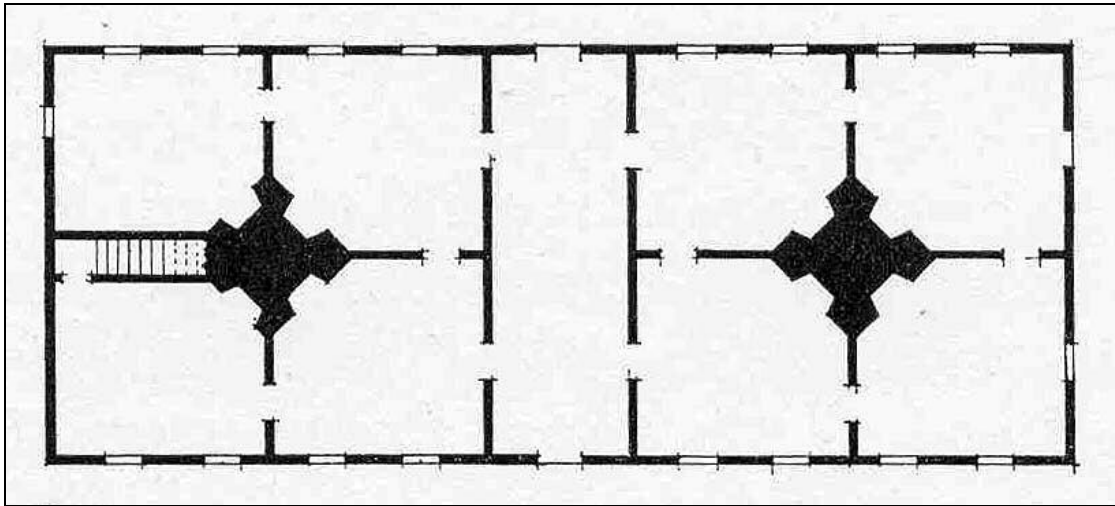


Figure 6.16 Floorplan of Scotchtown. Note the double cross-shaped fireplaces (Waterman 1946:66).

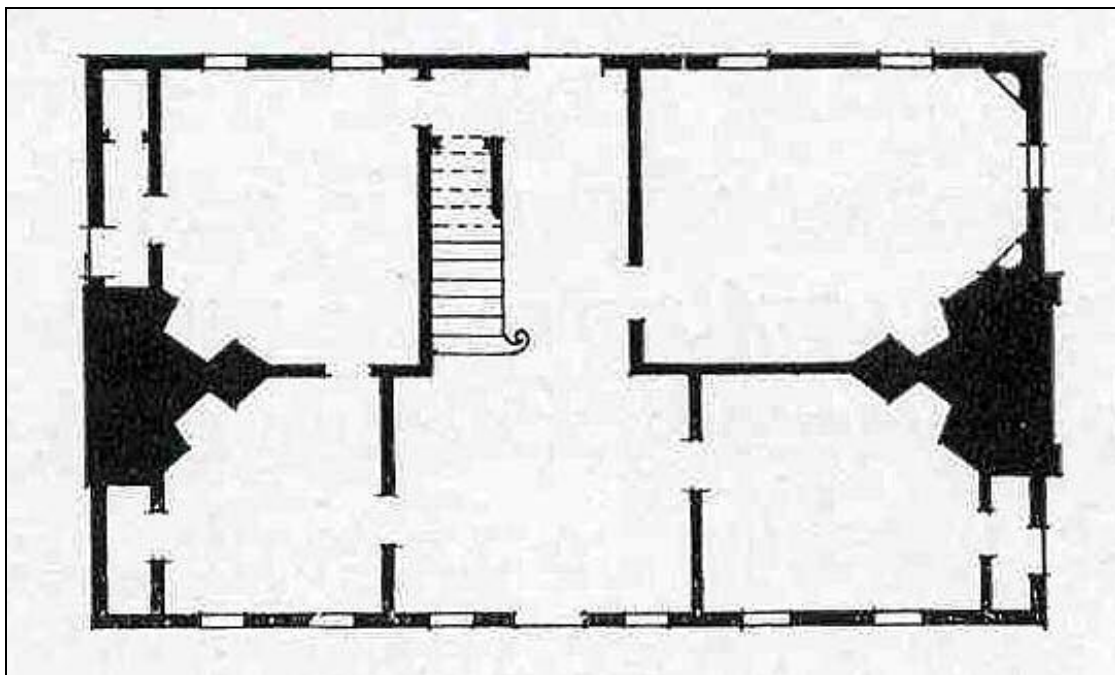


Figure 6.17 Floorplan of Marmion as originally constructed, showing a variation on the cross-shaped fireplace (Waterman 1946:77).

While Spotswood's Enchanted Castle was extremely large, however, the Williamsburg homes of Chiswell and Randolph were much smaller, comprising only one and a half to two story, three bay buildings with corner staircases. Charles Chiswell was a fellow Scotchman who came to Virginia in the late seventeenth century. He was a close friend with Spotswood, and it is likely that they discussed ideas on architecture prior to either of them building their mansions. Unfortunately, his home in Williamsburg was destroyed during the restoration in 1941, thus its exact construction date cannot be determined. Regardless, it can be stated that the cross-chimney form used at the Enchanted Castle was innovative and unique, and as it had just become the fashion a few years earlier, the construction of such a form put Spotswood on the cutting edge of architectural design. He was able to, and chose to, construct a double pile home to accommodate this chimney style when most others were building single pile homes up until the middle of the century. After 1750, when double pile structures became more common, angled fireplaces were more frequently built in both middling and elite homes throughout the colony (Waterman 1946:77).

Through an analysis of Spotswood's probate inventory, compared with the archaeological remains and the archival record, we can approximate the composition of the main floor of the home [See Appendix C for the complete Probate Inventory]. Based on the quantity of hearth tongs, shovels, and cast iron handirons, provided each fireplace had one set of each, the home had eight fireplaces in use. Since the cross-shaped fireplace and the U-shaped fireplace had the capacity for a total of 10 working

fireplaces between the main and second floors, it appears that two of the openings were not used.

Another fact that can be deduced from the probate inventory is that there were nine windows that had curtains (they are listed separately from the bed furniture and linens and are thus likely not bed curtains). Although the home undoubtedly had more than nine windows, windows located in stair halls or servant areas probably did not have curtains. Two of the curtains were specified as “old”, and they could have been used on the second floor or within lesser-used rooms. With a home length of 90 feet and curtains for only nine windows, it can be stated that most of the curtains would have been used on the lower floors. Thus, the upper chambers either had no dormers for light, the windows were small enough to not warrant curtains, or more likely, these rooms had interior wood shutters.

Ten beds were listed in the inventory, along with bedding, pillows, bolsters, and rugs. The majority of these would have been located in the upper chambers to be used by the Spotswood children, relatives, and guests. The beds were accompanied by dressing mirrors, chests of drawers, and side tables. As seen in the inventories of other plantation homes, most of the chambers, with the exception of the master chamber, would have had more than one bed. Thus, the number of chambers on the upper floor could have ranged from four to eight.

When platted out on the archaeological footprint, it appears that the main floor could have comprised seven rooms (see Figure 6.13). Based on the flow of the inventory, the number of curtains (and thus windows) per space, and the mention of

fireplace equipment, it is recommended that the northwest room and the room directly adjacent could have been the master chamber and Spotswood's private study or parlor. This location would have given him the advantage of looking over the townsite, while also providing access off of the main parlor to accommodate visiting guests. In fact, based on this arrangement of rooms, Spotswood's would have also been the only chamber on the main floor, while all others were relegated to the second level.

The northeastern quadrant is believed to have been the parlor, which had four sets of curtains and several pieces of furniture. Just south of this room is the entry hall and stairway leading upstairs. This location is suggested by both the flow of the inventory as well as the high concentration of nails found during the archaeological investigation. West of the entry hall is the dining room. This would have been convenient to the pantry, to the west, as well as a possible set of servants stairs that could have lead up from the basement and a second entrance to this space from the northwest hyphen and the kitchen beyond.

A central entryway with stairs and the separate dining room were not seen in Virginia prior to the first quarter of the eighteenth century (Wenger 1986:138). As noted by Wenger (1986), Deetz (1996) and others, the Georgian mindset was of separating the individual from communal and segmenting both physical and social space. By being one of the first mansions to incorporate both of these features from the homes inception, Spotswood was once again on the forefront of architectural fashion. He experimented with both of these spaces in the Governor's Palace, but at Germanna, he could completely orchestrate his interaction with his family and guests. If the proposed main

floorplan is taken into account, Spotswood (and possibly his wife) would have been the only people sleeping on the main floor. His private chambers would have been separated from the public space, but accessible enough to all areas of the home to oversee what was going on under his roof. From the vantage point of the west side of the home, he could also observe traffic along the Germanna Road, as well as the daily routines in town. In other words, he could oversee his mini-metropolis from his castle on high.

THE WHY: THE GEORGIAN WORLDVIEW, AGENCY, AND TECTONICS AT THE ENCHANTED CASTLE SITE

When Alexander Spotswood first arrived in the colony, he had a lot to prove—to the crown, who were counting on his leadership abilities, and to his relatives in Scotland, who were counting on him to rebuild the family name. He was the son of a Scottish Army surgeon who grew up in Africa and went to school in England. His grandfather, once one of the highest ranking and wealthiest men in Scotland, had been beheaded for treason to a ruler who only sat on the throne for a few years. After the Scottish crown had been restored and during Spotswood's formative years, the Scottish nation underwent a fundamental change and became increasingly devoted to global British imperialism (Glendinning et al. 1996:71).

Spotswood therefore entered the English army at 17 only to immediately begin fighting in a vicious war, one in which he returned to fighting three times after first

being wounded and then captured. He capped his career by traveling thousands of miles across the ocean to be the figurehead for an unpopular monarchy who continued to attempt to dominate the growing native colonial population. He was then thrown out of office and made to fight for his land, his name, and everything he had accomplished over the previous twelve years. In other words, he probably had a bit of a “chip on his shoulder”.

When he first arrived in Virginia, he was full of optimism. As he wrote to his cousin John on March 20, 1711 (Cappon 1952:229): “...my Mind is also very much at ease by the good Agreement which is between these People & My Self... they express the Contentment they enjoy under my Administration, & are pleased to pass several Compliments upon Me.” He was replacing Edward Nott, who only occupied the position for a year before his death in 1706. Prior to Nott, Francis Nicholson was the Lieutenant Governor until 1705, but he was removed from office by the vocal opposition of a growing faction of the House of Burgesses. Both Nicholson and Spotswood carried forth instructions from the crown that were “designed to clip the wings of the Virginia barons...” (Morgan 1975:362), a move that was obviously not popular amongst the Virginia gentry.

By 1710, the year Spotswood took office, Virginia was in a somewhat awkward phase—they embraced a duplicitous relationship with England and English material culture. On one hand, the colonists firmly considered themselves English in style, grace, and sophistication (e.g., Route 1971:193). They deserved respect from the crown as fellow countrymen, and they emulated the latest English styles through their clothing,

foodways, and especially their architecture. “Houses were one of the best indications that the men and women who lived in Virginia had successfully replicated England’s traditional culture and that all of them, rich and poor, lived by its rules” (Hudgins 1984:36).

On the other hand, they knew that life in the colony was decidedly different from the mother country, and many colonists began to tire of the despotism of English rule. They sought autonomy in their own world, and for those “in charge”, that meant disposing of any governors who did not allow them to run the country as they saw fit. Nicholson and Spotswood, and to a lesser extent Nott, had “questioned the gentry’s cultural legitimacy” (Hudgins 1984:104), and the governors had no success in freeing Virginia politics from the tight control of Philip Ludwell, William Blair, William Byrd, and their compatriots (Morgan 1975:361). The irony, however, is that the majority of the transmigration of ideas on English culture came to Virginia through the influence of Nicholson, Nott, and Spotswood, as well as through the repeated trips to England by William Byrd, Robert Carter, and others to meet with Queen Anne and King George to have these governors removed from office.

Hegemony in Early Eighteenth-Century Virginia

Alexander Spotswood was Lieutenant Governor during one of the periods of the greatest change in Virginia history. In the second half of the seventeenth century, indentured servants made up the largest percentage of the labor force. These servants came from England, Scotland, Ireland, and a host of other countries. By the turn of the

eighteenth century, however, the labor base began to drastically change, as slave labor was viewed as preferable to the growing population of wealthy Virginians. “They no longer needed to exploit other Englishmen in the ways their fathers had” (Morgan 1975:369). Most elites transitioned to a slave-based society, as slaves were purchased for life, which increased their profitability and they were also viewed as prestige goods in a society that was ever consumed with the physical reminders of wealth.

With the change in labor came a change in the overall economic system and social hierarchy of the colony. Status became defined by wealth and relative “Englishness”, as tobacco production thrived. While European tenant farmers and African-Americans got poorer, white/English planters got richer. With an increase in wealth, then, came an enhancement in the character of colonial materiality.

As a small group of colonial planters became wealthier in the seventeenth century and eventually emerged as the core of elite society in the eighteenth century, their preferences in architecture changed. Whereas early seventeenth-century Virginia buildings were created for shelter, the second half of the seventeenth century ushered in a unique colonial style, the Virginia house, that used Medieval forms adapted to New World materials. The colonists took what could have been a daunting task and approached house design with a fresh outlook “using traditional concepts and new ideas to devise a novel architectural solution” (Upton 1986:315).

By the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the wealthiest Virginians began to build larger and more elaborate homes, not necessarily because they could afford to construct them, but because they had the agency to do so (Wells 1994:134). The elites

also created capacious mansions because they needed to do so to rank highly amongst their peers. In the seventeenth century, any profits attained from planting were reinvested within the plantation's crop system. By the eighteenth century, several wealthy planters had reached a point where they had already purchased enough land, seed, and labor, and they could therefore afford to spend money on elaborate material goods, including chariots, foreign education and books, and of course architecture.

Also, with the wealth and large home came political power. As Carter Hudgins points out (1984:v), the elaborate homes and furnishings “were not merely the results of the successful political rise of the great planters; they were, in large part, a cause of it”. Thus, those who had political power at the time of Spotswood’s arrival were already well aware of the power of architecture as a status symbol, but it can be argued that Spotswood brought the concept to a whole new level.

Spotswood, Tectonic Choice, and the Georgian Mindset

In relating the importance of the Governor’s Palace as an influence over colonial architecture, Rhys Isaac wrote in his landmark book *The Transformation of Virginia* (1982:37): “All of the many great houses built in the ensuing decades—indeed, throughout the eighteenth century and beyond—were conceived upon Spotswood’s fundamental plan.” His plan at the Governor’s house was to bring formal English Georgian style to Virginia through the creation of an elaborate, balanced public home for the governor that showcased the control and sophistication of the new capital. It also exemplified the talent of local craftsmen in transforming English style into a New

World form using local materials, even though Spotswood didn't quite see it that way in 1713, when he took over construction of the home from superintendent Henry Cary, who was by then a "native" Virginian. Spotswood took the ideology of grandness that he created for the public buildings in Williamsburg and converted it for his private use.

When Spotswood was looking to build a home in 1718 to escape the day to day stress of Williamsburg, he chose Germanna. This location was not only accessible to his other business ventures in the area, such as his iron furnace and the wharf at Massaponnax, but it provided ample opportunities for the planting of tobacco to earn additional revenue. He also had a large supply of available, skilled laborers in the German colonists. Although the Germans were European, they were not English or Scottish and, therefore, were seen as only servants in Spotswood's eyes and the view of other gentry in the colony. In actuality, it was likely the Germans who helped Spotswood extract the needed stone from the nearby quarries and had the knowledge needed to form the stone into usable blocks. Schist was a unique building material that required special skills. Although Spotswood likely dictated the design of the mansion and the materials to be used, it can be assumed that the builders of the home and an overseer, who were likely the Germans or skilled craftsmen from Williamsburg, also had a say in the final construction methods used in the mansion complex. This point clearly illustrates the amazing complexity of social relations in eighteenth century Virginia.

When designing the Enchanted Castle, Spotswood could have included not only his knowledge of English homes, but also a nod towards Scottish architecture which, by

the end of the seventeenth century, had developed into a hybrid itself, combining new classical ideology with the traditional castellar approach (Glendinning and MacKechnie 2004:82). In addition, the six-sided sandstone column fragments and carved sandstone bases show a working knowledge of the classical orders of architecture, an early sign of the emerging classicism in formal, academic architecture.

Regardless, Spotswood's mansion at Germanna was an obvious attempt at not only "taming of the frontier" (Sanford 1990a:4), but also an elaborate, large scale landscape designed to carefully orchestrate visitors to his home and through the town that he built below. The trip from Williamsburg, Fredericksburg, and other surrounding areas was designed by Spotswood to create a specific feeling on the approach to Germanna. Guests rode up the Germanna Road to encounter Spotswood's mansion sitting on top of a knoll overlooking the town and the river. The mansion had been built over the site of Fort Germanna, a pentagonal timber fort built by the 42 Germans brought over by Spotswood in 1714. When additional Germans arrived in 1717 and 1719, Spotswood destroyed the only symbol of their home in the New World that they had to build a mammoth homage to himself and his ancestors. They then traveled down the Germanna Road, past marble fountains and terraced gardens, to the town of Germanna. In his standard mixing of the public and private spheres, Spotswood directly effected the vision of the county organization and its built environment through the design of the courthouse, jail, and even the church.

Alexander Spotswood's mansion complex comprised a two and a half story main house, four enclosed dependencies, and four outbuildings, all built with a carefully

selected combination of stone and brick. Based on the analysis presented here, the home was a seven-bay, double-pile dwelling with a timber frame interior. The hipped roof was covered with slate shingles, and it is possible that at least two dormers pierced the roof on each elevation. The home had two chimneys, a very large central chimney that contained four fire openings and a smaller U-shaped fire base in the western half of the home.

The yard surrounding the mansion contained terraced gardens, division walls, a well or cistern, and separate working areas for the servants. A cherry-lined drive lead from the house down to the west to the town of Germanna, where Spotswood had directed the construction of a courthouse, church, pillory, and stocks for use by Spotsylvania County. The residents of the town operated under the general sentry of Spotswood, but he ultimately at least partially relied on their cooperation to “promote economic viability” (Sanford 1990b:25).

Through a careful selection of building materials and laborers at the Enchanted Castle, Spotswood helped to usher in the Georgian ideology that became so prevalent throughout the colony in the eighteenth century. His design of his frontier mansion was one of the first to completely embody the tenets of the Georgian style: individuality, control, and balance. In building of stone instead of only brick, he separated himself as a pure Englishman over those who claimed the role although they had been in the country for generations. To Spotswood, their native birth, combined with the treatment he received while Lieutenant Governor left few warm feelings about several members

of the gentry. By separating himself from them, both physically and stylistically, he expressed himself as an individual.

In choosing the location of his home, he selected the most unlikely of spots. When most of the other planters were acquiring land and building homes along one of the four major Virginia rivers and to the east of the fall line, Spotswood selected a site 20 miles from the nearest inhabitants. He ordered the creation of the road system to lead visitors from one of his enterprises to another, and in this way, manipulated the landscape to his design. He then had a huge home built on the edge of this new frontier using mostly local materials with some imported goods. In building in this style in this location, he showed the ultimate control.

In building in the new English building style, he showcased his superior knowledge on English style and materiality. Although the building was not completely symmetrical, he demonstrated his ability to design a home that had the potential for balance, but the symmetry was in the construction techniques and the design. He therefore demonstrated agency, which, in an ever changing colony, was the greatest challenge of all.

CHAPTER 7

THE ENCHANTED CASTLE AT GERMANNA: THE PURPOSEFUL PLANNING OF A PRIVATE HOME IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE

...when the Duke of New Castle lately presented me to the King, he told his Majesty that there was somewhat singular in me, that no Governor who had been abroad had acquitted himself so well of his Province as I had done. This I mention to you, because I know you take great part in whatever redounds to the honour of the Spotswoods.....

*-Letter, Alexander Spotswood to John Spotswood,
Summer 1724, written from London.*

Ivor Noel Hume, former Resident Archaeologist of Colonial Williamsburg and author of numerous books on historical archaeology, has called Germanna the most important eighteenth-century archaeological site in Virginia (Noel Hume 1984a and b). Historic Gordonsville, Inc., Mary Washington College, the VRCA, and the University of Virginia came together in the late 1970s and 1980s to save the site from destruction at the hand of developers. Subsequent archaeological excavations at the site from 1985 until 1992 concentrated on the installation of a testing plan at the Enchanted Castle site to investigate the subsurface remains of the mansion complex, and the work uncovered a plethora of architectural remains and an amazing amount of artifacts. Despite the importance of the site and the prolific amount of cultural materials, work ceased in the

area in 1995 due to a lack of funding. This dissertation gave me the opportunity to explore this resource and share the history of Germanna with the academic community and other interested parties.

VIRGINIA AND SPOTSWOOD

During the first quarter of the eighteenth century, Virginia colonial society underwent a series of monumental changes. With a great increase in colonial wealth through the successful sale of tobacco and the ‘revolution’ of slave labor, what was a large rift within the social spheres became almost insurmountable. The rich became wealthier, and their success prompted these families to develop a commitment to Virginia that their ancestors did not have (Morgan 1975:368). With the new wealth came changes in all forms of materiality, including architecture, foodways, fashion, and education. Sons of the planting gentry returned to England to complete their education, where they discovered “that their birth places and their distance from the center of the culture they had learned made them inferior” (Hudgins 1984:126). They therefore sought to assimilate English sophistication and materiality, which they believed would place them at the pinnacle of colonial society.

When Alexander Spotswood arrived in Virginia, he had the optimism and self-confidence held by all previous Governors, including Francis Nicholson and Edward Nott, his two immediate predecessors. Through his charm and intelligence, he initially impressed the colonists. He quickly began to make vital changes in colonial policy,

such as a new system of Quit Rents and importation taxes on slaves, and he greatly influenced physical changes throughout the town of Williamsburg. Among the architectural achievements completed during his tenure were the building of the Powder Magazine, finalization of the Capitol, reconstruction of the Wren Building, enlargement of Bruton Parish Church, and the completion of the Governor's Palace. Spotswood (1885:51) discussed the early mutual admiration and trust between himself and the colonists in a letter to the Lord Commissioners of Trade on December 29, 1713: "They [the assembly] have likewise placed a further confidence in me, allowing me, without any controul, to finish the Govern'r's Ho."

Just after he took over control of the Governor's House project, Spotswood began another initiative—the exploration and settlement of Virginia's frontier boundary. To achieve this, he established Fort Christianna and Fort Germanna. Whereas Christianna was inhabited by a Native American population, Germanna was home to a small group of German immigrants. In 1714, the 42 German settlers constructed a pentagonal-shaped fort with timber-frame homes for themselves. The northwestern frontier was thus "protected" by a small gathering of men, women, and children armed with two cannons and a handful of guns. However, it wasn't protection that Spotswood was inevitably after, but a general presence in the vicinity to establish Anglo domain and, moreover, to conduct personal investigations into the mineralogy of the area and explore the potential for possible industry.

As the 1710s progressed, relationships within the capital began to sour due to two main factors: one, the colonists desire for self-government; and two, Spotswood's

growing desire for control. By 1718, the colonists no longer hid their resentment of the Lieutenant Governor and went so far as to write to King George regarding their complaints on Spotswood's authority. William Byrd II traveled to London to plead their case to the royal court with the clear intention of getting the Governor removed. As Spotswood (1885:315) himself wrote to the Lord Commissioners of Trade on March 25, 1719: "The repeated Successes they have obtained against two Governors has raised their pride to such a degree as to believe their Efforts irresistible."

SPOTSWOOD'S ENCHANTED CASTLE AND GENTRY ARCHITECTURE

When Alexander Spotswood established the first colony of Germans on the site of Germanna, the area was truly a frontier to European settlers. The closest settlement was over 20 miles west of the Germanna site, and travel to the fort was only possible via a dirt path that the Germans themselves had cut on the way west. By 1720, Spotswood-driven initiatives resulted in the transformation of the general region through a comprehensive system of roads and bridges, successful industry including his ironworks at Tubal, and a transformed commerce system through a large wharf at Massaponnax. At Germanna, the importation of two more groups of Germans as well as slave labor allowed Spotswood to not only develop a town, but a county seat.

Before founding Spotsylvania County, on January 27, 1715, Spotswood had the following to say on county courthouses:

...it has been ye practice in some parts for ye Justices, of their own Authority, to alter the place of their sitting, but w'th so little

consideration for ye ease of the People that wherever their Designation has taken place, they have only consulted their own Conveniency or private Advantage (Spotswood 1885:99).

His lust for control saw him committing the exact same act he criticized only five years later, when Germanna became the county seat of the new county in 1720. It was also furnished with a courthouse, clerk's office, church, jail, and gaol—public buildings constructed on Spotswood's private land in a style and form that he directed. In completing this act, Spotswood was an active participant in the larger ideological changes occurring on frontiers throughout the colonies. The frontier of the seventeenth century was viewed in two ways. On the one hand, it was an unknown and a place full of potential danger. On the other hand, those planters establishing the larger seats on land in the Tidewater tended to view those inhabiting this unknown area as uncultured and backward, as frontier residents had limited access to imported materials and the social events that were prevalent throughout the Chesapeake area.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, most of the larger, more desirable parcels of land within the Tidewater had been claimed by established families, such as the Carters, Burwells, Lees, and Pages. Families built in the typical Virginia House design that had become so prevalent, although they had the means to embellish their homes or make them larger than the average dwelling in the colony. John Carter, for example, older brother of Robert "King" Carter, built a three room, timber frame Virginia house that had three chimneys, a luxury almost unheard of in the Northern Neck at the time of its construction in the 1680s (Figure 7.1).



Figure 7.1 Late seventeenth century elite form of the Virginia house located on the Carter property in Lancaster County. Oral tradition states that this was John Carter's home (Photo on file, Foundation for Historic Christ Church; www.christchurch1735.org/history/corotoman.html).

By the time Alexander Spotswood arrived in the colony, the tradition of the elite planter building a timber-frame dwelling along a major riverway was long established. Spotswood therefore turned to the frontier to begin his legacy, one that comprised successful industry and a busy town outside of his front door. In this way, he helped change the notion of the frontier from backward and bucolic to an area ripe for private prosperity and public growth. This idea was especially manifested in the monumentality of his home.

Elite Virginia Architecture, 1700-1725

As stated by Camille Wells (1994:202-203), "...architecture encompasses all the material devices and manifestations of a people negotiating their path through space and time". Within Virginia, the top one percent of the population negotiated their social status and physical space in part through the creation of ornate and capacious mansions. Many Virginia mansions contemporary to Germanna were built with brick and wood, such as Corotoman, Rosewell, and Berkeley. These homes, and later constructions such as Shirley, Westover, and Christ Church (Figure 7.2), had limited stone adornments, but most of the mass was formed of brick, as "a 'credible' house in Virginia required the use of brick" (Markell 1994:55).

The dwellings of the elite, including the Enchanted Castle, used several methods to establish control over the landscape and used architecture as a status symbol. At Nomini Hall Plantation (c. 1730), home of Robert Carter II and family on the Northern Neck, schoolmaster Philip Vicker Fithian noted in a 1774 diary entry (1993:80):

This house is built with Brick but the bricks have been with strong lime mortar; so that the building is now perfectly white...It has five Stacks of chimneys, the two of these serve only for ornament.

Fithian notes that the addition of two chimneys was purely for ornamental effect, which shows a proclivity towards aesthetics rather than the economics of producing working structural elements. Moreover, it goes towards the "asymmetry as control" notion discussed in relation to the Enchanted Castle site. Like Spotswood, the Carter family had the ability to create a perfectly symmetrical home using all functioning fireplaces,

but they chose to alter their interior plan to not incorporate these features. The exterior, however, was manipulated to showcase their control over balance.



Figure 7.2 Christ Church, built by the Carter family in Lancaster County (Photo on file, Foundation for Historic Christ Church; www.christchurch1735.org).

The Enchanted Castle Revisited

Spotswood's mansion overlooked the town of Germanna, and all visitors to Germanna had to pass by his Enchanted Castle as they traveled the Germanna Road on the way to town. Through perseverance, ample funding, and the labor of others, Spotswood created a monument to himself that showcased individuality, control, and balance. His mansion at Germanna was not only built on an enormous, sculpted landscape (virtually all of Spotsylvania County), but it was one of the first privately-owned mansions in Virginia that was constructed in the Georgian style.

What made the home so unique was that it was extremely large, it was built into the side of the knoll to use the natural topography, and it was also constructed with almost all locally-procured materials. Although the home had a partial brick veneer, a brick dependency, and possibly a brick hyphen, a large portion of the building material comprised native stone. When Hugh Jones discussed the natural beauty of the colony in *The Present State of Virginia* (1724:90), he wrote, "Above the falls of the rivers are discovered free and common stone of several sorts...". Spotswood and his surveyors found beds of abundant schist, slate, and sandstone along the Rappahannock River and near the Germanna area. This stone was mined for use in the mansion. Schist was abundantly used in the home's foundation and central chimney base, while slate was used for roofing and flooring and to a lesser degree as wall construction material. Sandstone was carved into classically-inspired shapes for use as columns, door and window surrounds, and other adornments.

The plan of the Enchanted Castle, as defined by archaeological remains and an architectural evaluation, was not symmetrical. Although the home had a central cross-shaped fireplace that anchored the plan, a second fireplace in the western half of the house, combined with the location of stairways, indicates that the interior arrangement was unequal. The uniform width of the walls and the exact measurements of the central fireplace show that Spotswood had the capacity to design in perfect symmetry. He chose not to. Instead, the interior of the home was designed with a nod towards balance, but it was more about control and the flow of the interior space. Servants were able to move about the home and have access to private, utilitarian spaces without walking through the public, formal rooms. Spotswood had his master chamber and study on the first floor to watch over his home and the Germanna Road that ran outside of his window and towards the town of Germanna below. The design of his mansion clearly shows an aspect of the Georgian Worldview that, until now, has been missing—agency. This is particularly important in the case of Spotswood, as the buildings that he influenced in Williamsburg, as well as the Enchanted Castle, are among the first academic examples of this new style.

Alexander Spotswood was one of the original proponents of the style in the colonies, and an interpretation of his home and his style is imperative to understanding the progression of the development of the Georgian design scheme. Although individuality is a common tenant of the Georgian ideology, most who have previously applied the concept strictly emphasized the rhythmic symmetry and mathematical precision of the style, shortcomings that also follow the theoretical basis for the

Georgian ideology, structuralism. To accept that the elite planters followed the new Georgian style, including the tenants of individuality, control, and balance, means that we also must accept the place of agency within the equation. The elite planters not only chose to use the style in the first place, but they proved hegemonic control through the exterior, public experience and the interior design of how people moved through their private space. Spotswood took the additional step of being the first to adopt this style, thus also achieving his goal of rising above the native gentry.

In addition to spatial design, the Enchanted Castle also demonstrates agency and control with the choice of tectonic supplies. Through his meticulous selection of building site and construction materials, Spotswood helped to form Virginia's definition of the Georgian style that became so prevalent throughout the colony in the eighteenth century. In building of stone instead of only brick, he chose to separate himself from the natives who had been in the country for a century by showcasing his knowledge over the natural world and thus his control over the landscape. In building on top of a rise in a town he created on land that he owned, he was emphasizing his power over his domain. By choosing to design his home as he did, he exhibited agency.

The Enchanted Castle in the Context of American Architecture

The general pattern of architectural development in Virginia is mirrored throughout the colonies. In New England, Pennsylvania, and the Carolinas, settlers in the seventeenth century adapted European building styles to new technology. In discussing early American architecture, Cary Carson (1986:61) stated: "Almost never

since the 17th century had Americans been satisfied with literal copies. Almost all British architecture was 'improved' by Yankee ingenuity." This can also be said about German, Dutch, French, and Spanish architecture that was adapted up and down the eastern coast.

In New England and Pennsylvania, settlement concentrated on the establishment of towns surrounded by agricultural fields (Stilgoe 1982). These communities instilled a sense of permanence, as compared to the early transient lifestyle of southern planters who often moved around to find plantable soils. Due to this type of settlement pattern, along with harsher weather and the early establishment of the lumber industry, northern settlers moved to sturdy, timber-frame dwellings much earlier than their southern counterparts (Donnelly 2003:34). Whereas southern colonists lived in post-in-ground homes with little intricate joinery, the majority of seventeenth century homes in the north had stone foundations and some were built with mortise and tendon joints instead of being fastened with nails.

The centralization of household activities in the north due to the preferred town model and weather also directly influenced the development of architecture. Instead of segregating household chores into separate buildings, the New England home created spaces for individual tasks under one roof. Both the nuclear family and servants had equal access to the public and private spaces, although the internal configuration of space clearly delineated work space from places used for entertaining and family activities (Carson 1986:55). Due to this configuration, as well as the need for winter heat, chimneys were most often built in the center of the northern home in the

seventeenth and early eighteenth century. As the Georgian style made its way through the colony, however, this changed to dual interior or exterior end stacks to accommodate the new style.

The first known example of an American house built in the Georgian style is the Foster-Hutchinson House in Boston (Deetz 1996:156). Although the home was destroyed in the late eighteenth-century, sketches and written descriptions state that it resembled buildings influenced by Inigo Jones. The presence of an early Georgian house in Boston is not surprising, as most new materials and ideas were spread through the colonies by people arriving into port cities from abroad. Despite examples of Georgian-inspired buildings found in the colonies prior to the arrival of Spotswood, these buildings are all relatively small-scaled, timber-frame domestic structures. Monumental civic and religious architecture continued to rely on Baroque influences, including timber-frame churches. Government buildings resembled large dwellings instead of stylistically-unique constructions that marked their use. It wasn't until Spotswood built the brick monuments to the Georgian Worldview in Williamsburg that the style took a significant turn.

Into the eighteenth century, "many northern colonists still preferred to build in wood, even though the new aesthetic derived from the masonry construction of classicism" (Gelernter 1999:83). Although improvements in technology and a growing population of indentured servants gave wealthy northerners the option to build in stone and brick, many chose not to. Instead, they built additional chimneys to their home and added rooms to showcase their stylistic preferences. Similarly in the Carolinas, most of

the plantation architecture was initially built of wood to accommodate the transient nature of the earlier settlers. By the eighteenth century, though, most planters, especially those along the Cooper and Ashley Rivers, had begun constructing of brick to create a more permanent seat (e.g., Coclanis 1989). The great success of rice, and to a lesser extent indigo and sugar, brought about immense wealth and the creation of such monumental plantations as Middleburg, Limerick, and Drayton Hall (e.g., Babson 1988; Barile 2004; Ferguson 1992).

As I have demonstrated at the Enchanted Castle, although many early Georgian homes built in the northern colonies and in the Carolinas were designed in the general Georgian vein by the use of a controlled, balanced exterior and spatially segregated interior, agency was present in almost all design choices. Spotswood's Germanna is therefore a symbol of the expression of individuality playing out across the developing nation.

THE ENCHANTED CASTLE: AN AMALGAM OF TASTE AND TECHNIQUE

In describing turn of the eighteenth century Scottish architecture, Glendinning et al. (1996:71) stated:

This was a period which combined vigorous change with the continued upholding of images of tradition and stability. The role of the aristocratic private house was...transformed through the steady infusion of more rigorous classical ideals and a growing insistence on ashlar-faced monumentality of construction.

This dissertation has explored the way the Enchanted Castle was built through an examination of the source of the building materials and the general style and configuration of the home as compared to other mansions built in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Spotswood strove to build a monumental, balanced mansion to rebuild his family name and illustrate his control and hegemony.

What needs to be realized, however, is that the home was not built in a vacuum, and the home was not actually built by Spotswood himself. Numerous influences went into the crafting of the building materials, the actual formation of the foundation, and in part the design of the home. It is known that German indentured servants lived on the site at the time the mansion was constructed, and Hugh Jones (1724) refers to at least some of these workers as craftsman and artisans. In all likelihood, it was the Germans who helped mine the stone, make the bricks, form the nails, and build the home. In addition, by about 1720, Spotswood had African-Americans working in his ironworks and on his plantation. They, too, had a hand in building the Enchanted Castle.

With this dissertation, it was imperative to establish the where, when, how, and why associated with Spotswood's decisions to build the mansion. Although I did not set about to write another "great white man" version of history, it was necessary to set the stage at Germanna that can now be the springboard of many more studies. After all, without Spotswood, his frontier initiative, and especially his drive for individuality, Germanna as we know it would never have existed.

The next phase of research on the Enchanted Castle should be twofold: one, continue excavations at the site to uncover the remainder of the main house foundation,

dependencies, and hyphens; and two, take the next step in the analysis by looking at the roles of all of participants in the building of the home. It is only then that we can truly examine agency, hegemony, and tectonic choice at Germanna in its totality and, moreover, define Germanna as a true early eighteenth-century Virginia, and American, home.

APPENDIX A

CATALOGUE OF ARCHITECTURAL MATERIALS PER UNIT FROM SITE 44OR3

List of Units at the Enchanted Castle Site

Surface Only (A-C)		Excavated (D-xx)		Not Included in Study
4	56	1	100	60
5	58	2	101	79
6	59	3	104	86
7	61	13	105	107
8	62	15	106	118
9	63	17	108	119
10	64	19	109	120
11	67	31	110	121
12	68	32	111	122
14	69	33	112	126
16	70	34	113	127
18	73	35	114	128
20	75	36	115	135
21	78	38	116	140
22	80	39	123	143
23	83	46	124	144
24	84	49	125	147
25	88	52	129	151
26	89	53	130	152
27	90	57	131	153
28	91	65	132	154
29	93	66	133	
30	94	71	134	
37	97	72	136	
40	102	74	137	
41	103	76	138	
42	117	77	139	
43	155	81	141	
44		82	142	
45		85	145	
47		87	146	
48		92	148	
50		95	149	
51		96	150	
54		98	156	
55		99		

Germanna (44OR3) Excavated Weights and Counts- Reduced

Unit	Sandstone (lbs)	Schist (lbs)	Slate (lbs)	Total Stone (lbs)	Brick (lbs)	Mud Mortar (lbs)	White Mortar (lbs)	Total Mortar (lbs)	Mud Plaster (lbs)	White Plaster (lbs)	Total Plaster (lbs)	Nails (count)	Window Glass (count)
1	0.62	0.00	0.00	0.62	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	158	309
2	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	44	111
3	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	24	47
13	44.65	50.40	7.30	102.35	3149.75	228.90	77.35	306.25	58.30	1.85	60.15	676	1381
15	49.50	2587.85	13.55	2650.90	4766.95	224.00	70.80	294.80	78.40	44.50	122.90	2858	221
17	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	307	8
19	20.45	36.00	14.75	71.20	4418.05	437.50	74.40	511.90	20.80	1.80	22.60	656	276
31	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	115	50
32	11.50	31.05	0.02	42.57	31.75	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	154	91
33	0.00	11.00	0.00	11.00	9.40	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	288	68
34	0.00	0.00	0.10	0.10	1.40	0.00	0.40	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	160	109
35	1.70	0.00	4.97	6.67	31.75	0.20	0.10	0.30	0.00	0.00	0.00	433	491
36	0.10	1.45	3.15	4.70	55.05	0.70	1.75	2.45	0.00	0.10	0.10	534	357
38	25.05	961.65	26.55	1013.25	210.55	114.40	3.20	117.60	8.65	1.60	10.25	289	628
39	4.30	210.30	1.40	216.00	41.35	1.90	0.20	2.10	0.00	0.10	0.10	4	13
46	166.10	60.10	9.60	235.80	837.35	0.10	23.80	23.90	0.00	0.00	0.00	401	377
49	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	273	106
52	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	20	11
53	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	11	3
57	0.30	0.00	2.10	2.40	22.05	21.30	0.10	21.40	0.00	0.80	0.80	83	44
65	0.25	1.40	0.60	2.25	56.50	8.85	0.20	9.05	1.10	0.00	1.10	169	68
66	7.50	32.70	11.05	51.25	470.35	16.75	4.00	20.75	0.30	0.40	0.70	519	698
71	72.50	193.55	7.20	273.25	929.60	167.55	8.75	176.30	2.70	0.00	2.70	354	418
72	10.75	262.95	10.75	284.45	3063.60	177.50	34.10	211.60	0.00	1.10	1.10	514	2408
74	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	74	22
76	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	19	7
77	4.20	270.10	0.10	274.40	1.05	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	21	7
81	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	154	104
82	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	176	176
85	0.00	0.30	0.40	0.70	0.40	0.95	0.20	1.15	0.00	0.00	0.00	202	390

Germannanna (44OR3) Excavated Weights and Counts- Reduced

Unit	Sandstone (lbs)	Schist (lbs)	Slate (lbs)	Total Stone (lbs)	Brick (lbs)	Mud Mortar (lbs)	White Mortar (lbs)	Total Mortar (lbs)	Mud Plaster (lbs)	White Plaster (lbs)	Total Plaster (lbs)	Nails (count)	Window Glass (count)
87	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	357	1559
92	110.50	54.35	2.65	167.50	171.80	0.70	1.60	2.30	2.75	0.45	3.20	952	345
95	0.30	6.60	0.95	7.85	2.35	0.00	0.10	0.10	0.00	0.00	0.00	184	254
96	0.00	1187.00	9.00	1196.00	365.50	14.10	0.75	14.85	12.35	0.00	12.35	632	385
98	0.50	1035.95	0.90	1037.35	83.70	0.95	0.00	0.95	247.65	0.00	247.65	2138	157
99	44.05	509.15	65.15	618.35	1172.60	56.90	2.40	59.30	3.60	0.95	4.55	2839	687
100	4.60	11.80	0.70	17.10	53.10	0.25	0.00	0.25	0.00	0.00	0.00	327	125
101	1.70	861.45	7.70	870.85	480.95	84.90	0.80	85.70	43.15	0.00	43.15	973	208
104	1.20	16.80	1.95	19.95	5.90	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	251	585
105	2.20	236.60	281.60	520.40	76.80	1.00	0.20	1.20	0.00	0.00	0.00	968	1105
106	0.85	109.05	26.85	136.75	17.00	0.25	0.10	0.35	0.00	0.00	0.00	398	705
108	0.10	0.00	0.60	0.70	9.80	0.20	0.00	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.00	95	117
109	0.10	0.00	1.50	1.60	9.20	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	138	272
110	0.10	0.00	0.50	0.60	14.30	0.10	0.00	0.10	0.00	0.00	0.00	108	150
111	0.60	0.00	1.50	2.10	14.70	0.40	0.00	0.40	0.00	0.00	0.00	145	156
112	0.10	0.00	0.70	0.80	13.30	0.45	0.00	0.45	0.00	0.00	0.00	186	198
113	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	23	13
114	0.00	0.00	0.35	0.35	0.65	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	41	16
115	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	44	38
116	0.20	3.20	0.70	4.10	1.65	0.10	0.00	0.10	0.00	0.00	0.00	253	2281
123	0.30	10.60	1.45	12.35	97.20	14.30	0.20	14.50	0.10	0.00	0.10	217	80
124	0.20	4.20	1.50	5.90	106.75	19.70	0.70	20.40	0.40	0.00	0.40	134	167
125	4.85	18.90	4.90	28.65	113.55	19.90	0.00	19.90	2.10	0.25	2.35	259	292
129	0.00	1.10	0.20	1.30	4.80	0.90	0.00	0.90	0.00	0.00	0.00	88	20
130	0.00	1.80	0.00	1.80	2.05	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	33	6
131	0.30	2.15	0.35	2.80	2.10	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	109	26
132	0.00	1.30	0.30	1.60	4.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	62	18
133	0.00	3.40	0.50	3.90	2.05	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	105	19
134	0.70	0.70	0.00	0.00	5.05	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	53	29

Germannanna (44OR3) Excavated Weights and Counts- Reduced

Unit	Sandstone (lbs)	Schist (lbs)	Slate (lbs)	Total Stone (lbs)	Brick (lbs)	Mud Mortar (lbs)	White Mortar (lbs)	Total Mortar (lbs)	Mud Plaster (lbs)	White Plaster (lbs)	Total Plaster (lbs)	Nails (count)	Window Glass (count)
136	0.40	47.75	6.00	54.15	10.85	0.50	0.00	0.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	92	56
137	1.10	8.20	0.40	9.70	6.70	0.60	0.00	0.60	0.80	0.00	0.80	87	43
138	0.10	2.45	1.05	3.60	3.40	0.20	0.00	0.20	0.90	0.00	0.90	51	18
139	0.10	4.80	0.55	5.45	2.65	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.70	0.00	0.00	50	10
141	0.00	8.70	0.30	9.00	11.40	0.10	0.00	0.10	0.00	0.00	0.00	73	18
142	0.10	152.30	0.65	153.05	4.60	0.10	0.10	0.20	0.25	0.00	0.25	172	45
145	20.30	152.15	2.60	175.05	80.95	1.70	2.70	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	39	279
146	0.10	352.30	12.65	365.05	662.35	56.20	24.95	81.15	1.60	2.00	0.00	288	321
148	0.85	187.80	0.45	189.10	6.05	0.10	0.10	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.00	212	77
149	1.15	18.75	2.35	22.25	6.65	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	65	652
150	0.00	9.85	0.75	10.60	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	68	663
156	6.90	47.60	8.05	62.55	107.05	12.06	4.35	16.41	13.00	12.50	25.50	474	311
Totals	624.02	9779.55	561.89	10964.06	21830.90	1687.66	338.40	2020.86	499.60	68.40	563.70	23473	21505

Germanna (44OR3) Surface Weights and Counts (SURF-Level C)= Reduced

Unit	Sandstone (lbs)	Schist (lbs)	Slate (lbs)	Total Stone (lbs)	Brick (lbs)	Mud Mortar (lbs)	White Mortar (lbs)	Total Mortar (lbs)	Mud Plaster (lbs)	White Plaster (lbs)	Total Plaster (lbs)	Nails (count)	Window Glass (count)
1	0.62	0.00	0.00	0.62	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	158	309
2	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	38	89
3	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.40	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	10	0
4	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	47	59
5	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	27	16
6	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	17	10
7	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	146	178
8	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	65	149
9	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	89	28
10	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	17	3
11	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	19	9
12	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	38	8
13	1.50	40.45	2.75	44.70	2486.00	175.25	54.75	230.00	23.20	0.50	23.70	258	1107
14	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	131	27
15	36.80	1884.00	0.50	1921.30	2025.25	29.40	0.00	29.40	0.00	2.00	2.00	726	78
16	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	34	4
17	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	97	8
18	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	80	0
19	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	137	79
20	0.00	1.10	0.00	1.10	56.00	0.60	2.20	2.80	0.80	0.80	1.60	110	74
21	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	63	48
22	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	81	42
23	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	103	105
24	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	29	24
25	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	10	4
26	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0	0
27	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2	0
28	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1	6
29	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1	11
30	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3	0

Gernanna (44OR3) Surface Weights and Counts (SURF-Level C)= Reduced

Unit	Sandstone (lbs)	Schist (lbs)	Slate (lbs)	Total Stone (lbs)	Brick (lbs)	Mud Mortar (lbs)	White Mortar (lbs)	Total Mortar (lbs)	Mud Plaster (lbs)	White Plaster (lbs)	Total Plaster (lbs)	Nails (count)	Window Glass (count)
31	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	105	41
32	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	78	26
33	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	251	42
34	0.00	0.00	0.10	0.10	1.40	0.00	0.40	0.40	0.00	0.00	0.00	127	75
35	1.60	0.00	4.57	6.17	18.70	0.20	0.00	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.00	319	415
36	0.00	0.00	1.50	1.50	12.90	0.60	0.00	0.60	0.00	0.00	0.00	213	151
37	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	39	55
38	0.80	146.00	1.30	148.10	81.00	10.10	0.00	10.10	0.00	0.00	0.00	61	283
39	1.20	19.80	0.20	21.20	9.45	0.20	0.00	0.20	0.00	0.10	0.10	4	13
40	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	56	48
41	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	70	0
42	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	70	0
43	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	87	81
44	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	62	49
45	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	23	50
46	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.30	0.40	0.10	0.10	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.00	164	17
47	0.00	0.00	0.10	0.10	0.50	0.00	0.10	0.10	0.00	0.00	0.00	90	152
48	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	343	489
49	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	269	96
50	0.10	0.70	0.10	0.90	2.75	0.00	0.10	0.10	0.00	0.00	0.00	336	208
51	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	182	435
52	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	12	9
53	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1	2
54	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3	0
55	0.40	0.00	0.00	0.40	31.50	0.50	0.00	0.50	0.25	0.00	0.25	94	115
56	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.30	5.35	11.50	2.30	13.80	0.60	0.00	0.60	178	188
57	0.30	0.00	2.10	2.40	21.95	21.30	0.10	21.40	0.00	0.80	0.80	71	39
58	0.00	0.00	0.10	0.10	3.00	0.00	0.10	0.10	0.00	0.00	0.00	8	8
59	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	48	9

Germannanna (44OR3) Surface Weights and Counts (SURF-Level C)= Reduced

Unit	Sandstone (lbs)	Schist (lbs)	Slate (lbs)	Total Stone (lbs)	Brick (lbs)	Mud Mortar (lbs)	White Mortar (lbs)	Total Mortar (lbs)	Mud Plaster (lbs)	White Plaster (lbs)	Total Plaster (lbs)	Nails (count)	Window Glass (count)
61	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2	1
62	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0	0
63	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0	0
64	0.10	0.00	0.10	0.20	1.80	0.75	0.20	0.95	0.20	0.00	0.20	14	10
65	0.25	1.40	0.60	2.25	55.10	8.25	0.20	8.45	1.10	0.00	1.10	165	61
66	7.20	31.50	6.20	44.90	446.45	15.90	3.70	19.60	0.30	0.40	0.70	425	587
67	0.20	0.00	0.10	0.30	1.65	0.00	0.80	0.80	0.10	0.00	0.10	54	20
68	0.00	0.00	0.10	0.10	5.65	0.00	3.25	3.25	1.50	0.00	1.50	35	23
69	0.50	0.00	0.10	0.60	9.70	0.00	1.10	1.10	0.00	0.10	0.10	21	90
70	0.10	0.00	0.40	0.50	4.60	0.00	5.75	5.75	0.70	0.30	1.00	7	5
71	44.60	177.95	6.80	229.35	840.30	158.75	7.35	166.10	2.45	0.00	2.45	256	361
72	10.75	262.95	10.75	284.45	3063.60	177.50	34.10	211.60	0.00	1.10	1.10	277	1213
73	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	16	0
74	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	31	4
75	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	26	13
76	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	18	2
77	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	4	5
78	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	10	3
80	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2	0
81	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	154	104
82	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	56	58
83	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	155	127
84	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	60	142
85	0.00	0.10	0.10	0.20	0.30	0.10	0.10	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.00	149	280
87	0.00	0.80	0.50	1.30	2.70	1.00	0.10	1.10	0.00	0.00	0.00	333	1004
88	0.00	0.10	0.00	0.10	12.35	1.20	0.10	1.30	0.00	0.55	0.55	44	165
89	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	6.20	0.20	0.00	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.00	84	91
90	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	73	120
91	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	45	96

Germannanna (44OR3) Surface Weights and Counts (SURF-Level C)= Reduced

Unit	Sandstone (lbs)	Schist (lbs)	Slate (lbs)	Total Stone (lbs)	Brick (lbs)	Mud Mortar (lbs)	White Mortar (lbs)	Total Mortar (lbs)	Mud Plaster (lbs)	White Plaster (lbs)	Total Plaster (lbs)	Nails (count)	Window Glass (count)
92	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	27.25	0.00	1.10	1.10	1.50	0.20	1.70	444	74
93	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	2	0
94	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0	1
95	0.00	4.40	0.10	4.50	0.50	0.00	0.10	0.10	0.00	0.00	0.00	66	73
96	0.00	445.50	0.00	445.50	205.40	7.50	0.00	7.50	1.00	0.00	1.00	128	159
97	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	159	132
98	0.50	754.00	0.90	855.40	56.20	0.95	0.00	0.95	132.50	0.00	132.50	1168	105
99	14.50	41.60	48.25	64.35	73.00	1.25	0.00	1.25	0.00	0.00	0.00	354	91
100	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	49	30
101	1.10	139.00	0.70	140.80	401.00	12.10	0.80	12.80	0.00	0.00	0.00	53	50
102	0.50	0.10	0.35	0.95	0.10	0.10	0.00	0.10	0.00	0.00	0.00	88	22
103	0.00	0.20	0.00	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	25	4
104	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	88	86
105	0.90	44.35	1.50	46.75	34.20	0.30	0.20	0.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	274	381
106	0.00	1.75	0.00	1.75	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	24	51
108	0.10	0.00	0.60	0.70	9.80	0.20	0.00	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.00	94	115
109	0.10	0.00	1.50	1.60	9.20	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	137	272
110	0.10	0.00	0.50	0.60	8.80	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	108	159
111	0.35	0.00	1.40	1.75	13.80	0.30	0.00	0.30	0.00	0.00	0.00	129	145
112	0.10	0.00	0.70	0.80	12.80	0.35	0.00	0.35	0.00	0.00	0.00	165	187
113	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	23	13
114	0.00	0.00	0.35	0.35	0.65	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	39	16
115	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	44	38
116	0.20	2.80	0.70	3.70	2.95	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	253	2278
117	0.10	0.00	0.00	0.10	1.75	0.40	0.10	0.50	0.00	0.10	0.10	3	2
123	0.30	10.40	1.25	11.95	97.00	14.10	0.20	14.30	0.00	0.00	0.00	214	75
124	0.10	2.60	1.20	3.90	102.90	19.40	0.00	19.40	0.10	0.00	0.10	99	57
125	4.65	18.80	4.90	28.35	106.40	19.40	0.00	19.40	1.40	0.25	1.65	253	288
129	0.00	1.10	0.20	1.30	4.80	0.90	0.00	0.90	0.00	0.00	0.00	88	20

Germannanna (44OR3) Surface Weights and Counts (SURF-Level C)= Reduced

Unit	Sandstone (lbs)	Schist (lbs)	Slate (lbs)	Total Stone (lbs)	Brick (lbs)	Mud Mortar (lbs)	White Mortar (lbs)	Total Mortar (lbs)	Mud Plaster (lbs)	White Plaster (lbs)	Total Plaster (lbs)	Nails (count)	Window Glass (count)
130	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.80	2.05	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	33	6
131	0.30	2.15	0.35	2.80	2.10	0.20	0.00	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.00	109	26
132	0.00	1.30	0.30	1.60	4.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	62	18
133	0.00	3.40	0.50	1.95	2.05	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	105	19
134	0.70	0.70	0.00	1.40	4.95	0.20	0.00	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.00	53	28
136	0.40	6.90	0.10	7.40	8.70	0.00	0.00	0.50	0.00	0.00	0.00	10	10
137	1.10	7.90	0.40	9.40	6.60	0.60	0.00	0.60	0.80	0.00	0.80	87	41
138	0.10	1.00	0.75	1.85	3.20	0.20	0.00	0.00	0.80	0.00	0.80	41	13
139	0.10	4.20	0.30	4.60	2.15	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.60	0.00	0.60	47	10
141	0.00	6.55	0.20	6.75	10.40	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	69	14
142	0.00	20.10	0.30	20.40	3.75	0.10	0.00	0.10	0.25	0.00	0.25	135	8
145	20.00	150.85	2.40	173.25	78.20	1.60	2.70	4.30	0.00	0.00	0.00	35	219
146	0.10	38.90	1.00	40.00	52.10	0.25	0.00	0.25	0.00	0.00	0.00	80	100
148	0.75	8.40	0.10	9.25	2.55	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	44	37
149	1.15	17.15	2.35	20.65	5.75	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	65	652
150	0.00	9.85	0.75	10.60	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	64	651
155	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.40	0.00	0.40	30	75
156	0.00	43.90	7.42	51.32	96.70	12.28	3.20	15.48	11.10	12.50	23.60	401	278
Totals	155.52	4356.90	121.59	4693.86	10661.40	706.08	125.30	831.58	181.65	19.70	201.35	14458	17285

APPENDIX B

REVIEW OF VOLUME-BASED SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF ARCHITECTURAL MATERIALS

As stated in Chapter 5, despite the site robbing and filling, the current horizontal distribution of the artifacts is very indicative as to the pre-destruction composition. Although several units were not excavated below the topsoil and upper two to three natural levels, the removal of these upper strata allowed the archaeologists to expose the top of foundation walls to identify the mansion plan. During the test excavations in the 1980s and 1990s, work continued below the fill layers within 71 of the 156 units across the site (45 percent) (see Table 5.1). The dual analysis of surface versus excavated units was designed to alleviate the significant biases that would develop in counts and weights in units that received additional archaeological excavation, while still using all data retrieved from the site. This appendix describes alternative analyses taken to examine the spatial distribution of artifacts across the site when excavated volume is taken into account. For this work, the total weights/counts of artifacts were entered into an excel spreadsheet and calculated using Surfer 8.0 software. Since roughly the same amount has been excavated across the entire site in levels A-C (with a variation of up to about six inches), the surface analysis was not adjusted for unit volume.

Why Raw Counts Instead of a Volume Based Analysis

The chosen form of analysis within the body of this dissertation was to use the raw weight/counts across the site regardless of the depth of unit excavation. This method was selected over a cubic volume study for several reasons. First, while almost all of the excavated units were dug deeper than 1 foot below the modern surface, only a

handful of excavated units (i.e., 13, 15, 17, 57, 146) were excavated to a depth greater than two feet. This minimized the volume differential amongst the units. If, for example, unit depths varied by several feet, the disparity in excavated volume would yield much higher variations. Moreover, second, the results from the surface analysis as presented in Chapter 5 showed very little difference when compared to the excavate units, thus the depth of excavation did not greatly skew the results. Although a few of the materials showed concentrations within the center of the home, near units 13, 15, etc., I believe this reflects material usage rather than excavation biases, as more schist and brick were found in this area, but not slate, plaster, mortar, nails, and window glass. This leads to the third reason I selected a raw count analysis versus a volume based study: I believe that using volumetric weights would negate the landscape differentials created by the construction and deconstruction of the mansion.

The units that were excavated to subsoil on the exterior of the home were, on average, less than 1 foot deep. The lack of deep strata in this area was not due to limited excavation by the archaeologists, but limited alteration by the historic occupants of the site. Within the basement, some units were excavated to a depth of up to three feet. The builders of the home purposefully constructed the basement into the side of the knoll so that half of the basement was underground while the northern half was exposed. This thick brick and schist walls, along with the earthen berm created by the knoll on the south side of the basement, created a 'basin' in which architectural materials gathered during the destruction of the home. When the home collapsed, the material from above collected in the basement void below. The higher amounts of architectural materials

found here should not be discounted when compared to shallower areas of the site. In fact, the results presented in Chapter 5 illustrate that most concentrations were actually not found within the deepest units at the site (units 13 and 15), but rather some of the shallowest (units 71 and 72), located within the west yard area.

The results of the work at the Enchanted Castle can be compared to many other sites that have received systematic testing instead of full-scale data recovery. Surfer software and raw count spatial analyses have been repeatedly used on such sites, resulting in not only an excellent idea of the spatial distribution of recovered artifacts, but also a great predictive modeling tool. The raw count analysis completed at the Enchanted Castle provides exactly such a study.

Results of Volume Based Analysis

Although I believe that the raw count analysis was the preferred method for the Germanna building material study, I believed it was important to include the results of my comparative volume-based analysis as an appendix for future reference. In completing this study, instead of examining all 10 artifact types, I selected three categories that represent the various types of materials and weights/counts found on site: schist, white plaster, and nails. Results for all three types are given in amounts per square foot. I felt that these three represented the various types of architectural materials examined at the site, including materials calculated by weight and count, as well as differentiating between abundant materials and those with a smaller assemblage.

Almost 10,000 pounds of schist was recorded within the excavated units (see Appendix A). In examining the volume-based distribution of schist found across the site (Figure A.1), the results mirror those found within the distribution of both the surface levels and the excavated units (see Figures 5.18 and 5.19). The main concentration of schist was still found within the center of the home, with the most schist recovered near the basement drain area. Archaeological excavations completed thus far have proven that most of the interior walls and features were built using schist. Therefore, finding copious amounts of schist within the interior of the home was not unusual. The Surfer results here show that the accumulation of schist within the center of the house was due to the collapse of the interior features and wall configuration rather than deep excavation.

Similarly, comparisons of the volume distribution of white plaster (Figure A.2) resemble those found within the surface and excavated analyses (see Figures 5.33 and 5.34). In this case, the volume-based plaster distribution had similarities to both analyses, even though the surfer and excavated results slightly varied. The volume survey represents a mixture of the two results. Whereas the surface test contained a heavy density near the northwestern outbuilding and a small cluster within the center of the home, the excavated test was exactly the opposite, with a small density at the northwest dependency and a heavy density near the drain and fireplace. With the volume distribution study, heavy amounts of white plaster were recorded near both the northwest dependency and the center of the mansion. The results of the volume study echo those determined during the initial surfer study. White plaster was likely used

within the public spaces of the main house and within the kitchen, as was common practice in the eighteenth century.

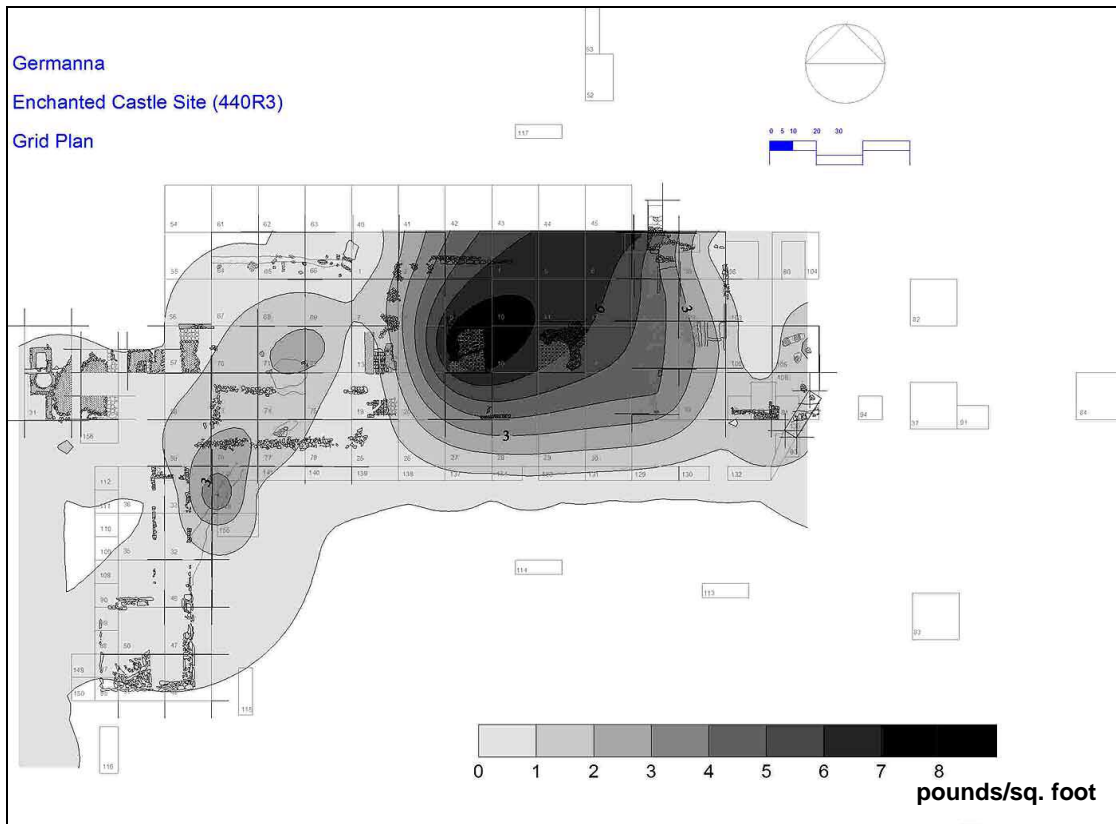


Figure A.1 Distribution of schist across the site based on volume. The results mirror those found when analyzing the distribution of schist within the surface levels and the excavated units.

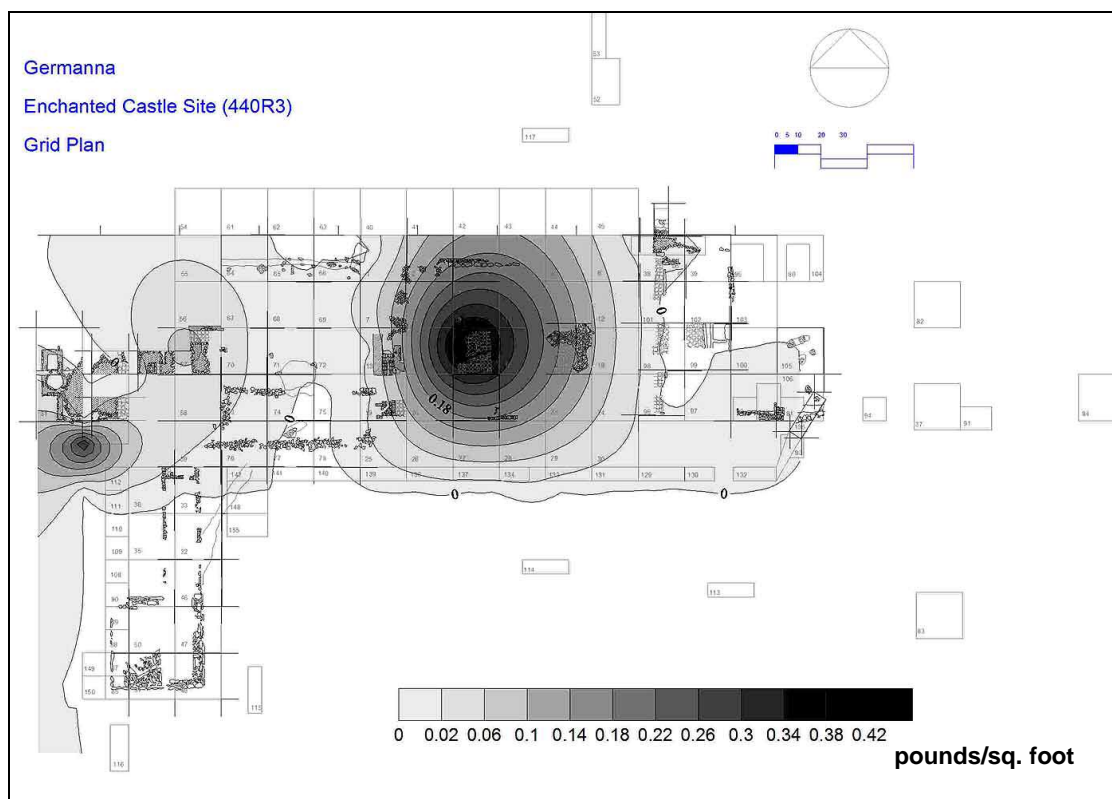


Figure A.2 Results of volume-based distribution study on white plaster. The two concentrations mirror those found within the excavated and surface studies.

Like the white plaster and schist, the volume-based distribution of nails (Figure A.3) resulted in the same areas of dense nail concentrations as the surface and excavated unit study (see Figures 5.6 and 5.7). Two heavy densities were found within the center of the home. I believe these represent the locations of stairways and major partition walls, both of which would have been constructed of wood. In addition, a dense swath of nails was recorded along the western dependencies and hyphens in the surface and excavated unit measurements. With the volume-based study, this swath is also present although the distribution also contains two loci of nails in this area. These

concentrations are in the same locations as similar densities of window glass, mortar, and plaster, thus representing the destruction levels of the outbuildings and hyphens in this area. This destruction sequence is seen across the site, where large caches of building materials gathered during the destruction and subsequent robbing of the home.

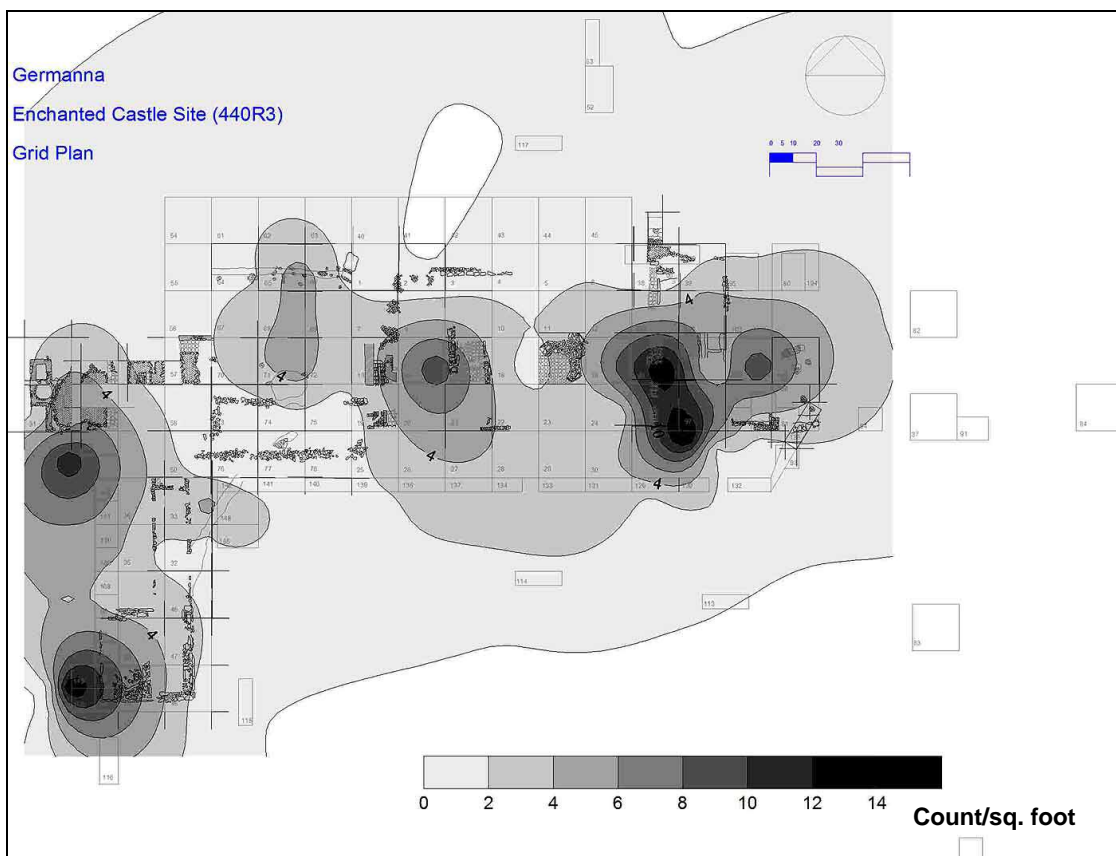


Figure A.3 Distribution of nails across the mansion site, based on the volume study. Concentrations mirror those found within both the surface and excavated studies, as depicted in Chapter 5.

In conclusion, the volume-based study resulted in the same distribution of building materials as the surface and excavated unit analyses. In some instances, the results were identical between all three (schist and nails), and in others, the results of the volume study were an amalgam of the surface and excavated results (white plaster). Thus, the results achieved during the quantity-based study are an accurate representation of the spread of materials across the mansion site. Moreover, results such as this show that using Surfer software on testing projects can be used as a good tool to project artifact distribution.

APPENDIX C

ALEXANDER SPOTSWOOD'S PROBATE INVENTORY

Orange County Will Book 1, pg. 181-185

On file, Orange County Circuit Court,

Orange, Virginia

Quantity	Item	£	S	D
1	Wrought Bed and Furniture			
2	Pair Window Curtains			
2	Wrought Stools			
1	Brass Hearth Tong and Shovel	80.	0.	0.
1	Walnut Card Table			
1	Close Stool			
1	Small Sconce with Gilt Frame and Brass Arms			
2	Walnut Stools Covered with Silver Stuff			
1	Small Walnut Table			
26	Prints Overton's Theatrum Passion	7.		
1	Pair of Cast Iron Handirons			
1	Mahogany Dumb Waiter			
1	Scripture piece of painting, the History of the Woman taken in Adultery	36.		
2	Japan'd Chests on Carters	18.		
1	Walnut Card Table	2.	10.	
1	Japan'd Tea Table	3.	10.	
6	Walnut Chairs with Silver Stuff Covers	3.	0.	
4	Pair Scarlett Camblett Window Curtains	8.		
1	Round Mahogany Table	1.	10.	
1	Montith		1.	
1	Pair Cast Iron Handirons		12.	0.
1	Large Carpet		10.	
2	Feather beds & bolsters, 4 pillows 3 ruggs, 3 blankets and one bedstead	7.		
1	Chest of drawers		5.	
1	Small Oake Table		2.	
1	Steel fender and tongs		10.	0.
2	Old Chiars		1.	0.
1	Small Dressing Glass		4.	
1	Iron Bound Chest		2.	
2	Pair Old Red Curtains			
1	Pr. Wrought Iron Doggs, broke		2.	0.
1	Feather bed, 1 pillow, 1 rugg, 2 blanketts, and one old bedstead	1.	5.	
2	Feather beds, 1 bolster, 2 pillows, 2 ruggs, 2 blanketts, 4 Cantaloon Curtains, and 1 Bedstead, 1 Table, and 2 old chairs	4.		
	Carry'd Over	174.	4.	0.

Quantity	Item	Brought Over 174.		
		£	S	D
1	Green Camblet Bed and one iron Bedstead, one feather bed, one bolster, 2 pillows, one white Quilt and 2 blanketts	9.		
1	Black Japan'd Card Table		15.	
1	Red water China Standing Bed & 1 Iron Bedstead, 1 Feather Bed, 1 Bolster, 2 Pillows, one white Counterpan, 2 Blanketts	15.		
1	Walnut Card Table	1.	6.	
1	Scarlet Camblet Standing Bed & Bedstead, one Feather bed, 1 Bolster, 2 pillows, one white Counterpan, 3 Blankets	12.		
1	Japan'd Corner Cupboard with a Glass	2.	10.	
1	Dressing Glass		15.	
1	Walnut Escurtore		26.	
1	Large Easie Chair, one 1 Velvet Stool		5.	0.
1	Walnut Tea Table and 1 oak Cupboard		6.	
1	Steel Fender Tongs & fire Shovel		10.	
1	pair Cast Iron Doggs		9.	
20	Small Prints with Glasses (4 broke)	1.	4.	
1	plaid Standing Bed and Bedstead, one Feather Bed, 1 Bolster, 2 pillows, one plaid Counterpan, 2 Blanketts, two pair Plaid Window Curtains	12		
1	walnut Glass Sconce with Brass Arms (crakt)	2.		
1	Walnut Satee		2.	
1	pair Iron Cast handirons		9.	
1	Escrutore in three part	3.		
1	Small Do.	3.	10.	
1	Steel Fender Tongs and Shovel		10.	
1	pair Cast Iron handirons		9.	
1	pair blue Camblet Window Curtains		15.	
1	pair Brass barr'll Pistoles with Crimson Velvet furniture and Sadle trim'd with Silver	7.		
1	pair of pistols mounted with Brass and Silver Caps	3.		
1	pair Small Do.		15.	
1	Silver hilted Sword quilt	2.	10.	
1	Couch with Plaid Squab and 2 pillows		5.	
10	China Dishes and 23 China plates	5.		
1	Burnt China bowl and blue & White Do.		10.	
1	parcel of China Tea Equipage		12.	
1	Japan'd Tea Table		10.	
1	Tea Box and Cannisters, and a Coffee Mill		6.	
1	large Glass Sconce with Gilt Frame and Brass Arms	3.		
1	Walnut Corner Cupboard with a Glass		3.	
Carried up		268.	13.	0.

		Brought Up	268.	13.	0.
Quantity	Item	£	S	D	
1	Thermometer		10.		
6	walnut Chairs with Scarlet Camblett Quissons	1.	16.		
1	Loning Do. With a Leather Seat		6.		
1	Steel hearth Fender, Tongs and Shovel		18.		
1	Mahogany Corner Table		10.		
1	Round Oak do.		4.		
42	prints with Glasses (4 broke)	3.	3.		
1	Large Mohogany Table	1.			
1	Walnut Do.		.6		
1	Japan'd Corner Cupboard				
1	Glass Sconce, Walnut frame and brass Arms (Crakt)	2.			
6	walnut Chairs		18.		
1	pair wrought Iron handirons with Brass Heads	1.	5.		
1	Steel Fender, Tongs and Shovel		10.		
1	Walnut Clock	10.			
1	Glass Lamp		5.		
3	Chests & a Cupboard		15.		
1	Steel Jack & 3 Spits	3.			
22	pewter Dishes, 5 pewter Covers, one cullonder, 2 cheese dishes, and 1 Stand w't 116w	5.	16.		
4 doz'n	pewter Plates	2.	8.		
21	old do.		13.		
1	plate Rack		8.		
1	marble mort'r & pestle		10.		
1	Bell Metle Mort'r and pestle		6.		
1	Spit Rack and pot Rack	1.	10.		
1	p'r Cast Iron Doggs		12.		
3	Iron Skillets		7.		
2	frying pans		5.		
2	Copper Stew pans, 1 Sauce pan and 1 Lamp		6.		
1	Smal Copper Kettle & 1 fish Kitle	1.	5.		
4	Iron pots, 1 Kettle, 1 flesh fork, 1 Ladle, 1 Gridiron, 2 Gridles and a fire Shovels	1.	15.		
1	old Warming pan & 2 pailles		5.		
2	old Cistirns		12.		
7	Diaper Table Cloaths, 6 Doz'n & 10 Napkins	6.			
4	Coach Bitts, 2 old Linnen Wheels, a Box of Blue and white Tile, 1 p'r holsters, 3 old Swords, one old Dagger and other Lumber	2.			
1	Copper Stew pan, 1 do. Preserving pan and Spoon and one old fish Kettle	1.			
1	frying pan		6.		
4	best padlocks		14.		
3	Tin Milk pans, a Tin pot and Funnel and Some Wire		15.		

1	parcel Thread, Tape, and Bobbin	4.
1	Mail Pillion, 3 Girths & four Stocklocks	12.
1	new and 2 old Cross saws, 2 Tenn't Do. (1 Crackt)	2.
	Carry'd Over 330.	14.

Quantity	Item	Brought Up	330. £	14. S	0. D
1	Small Copper Still		3.		
1	large Glass Lamp			5.	
1	pewter Stand			10.	
1	Blue Coath Field Bed and Iron Bedstead with an old Jack and other Lumber	2.			
1	parcel of Linnen and one Blanket	1.			
10	Iron pots and 9 Gridles	5.		12.	
2	Basons, 3 platters, 2 Mortars, 4 heaters			19.	
15	Skilletts, 1 frying pan, 1 Stock lock	2.		2.	
10	pounds white thread and a parcel damag'd do.	1.		10.	
18	y'ds White Linnen @18d.	1.		7.	
15	yards do. 1d.			15.	
9	yards do. 2			18.	
1	pair Smal Scales and 8w brass Weights			12.	
7	Meal Sacks			18.	
1	parcel of Combs and remnants of Ribbons			14.	
1	parcel of pewter Buttons, Taylors Thimbles, Kniting needles and one worsted Cap	3.		2.	
7	Earthen Cups, 23 Files, and 2 Augurs			15.	
6	Sickles, 3 Spoke Shaves and 6 Bitts			7.	
135	pounds Shot	1.		2.	
38,000	8d and 12,000 10d. Nayles	10.			
1	252 wt old Iron	1.		1.	
1	parcel of Mill Picks and handles for Rope making			6.	
1	74 w Mill Brasses	1.		7.	
32	Brass Weights s't 247 w	12.		10.	
5	pair Chain Trasses	2.		10.	
1	Well Bucket and Chain	1.		10.	
2	large Cast Iron Ketles and 4 Cart boxes			18.	
52	Files and siz sheep sheers			14.	
18	Horse Collars w'th Leather head stalls and Hemp Rayns	1.		16.	
17	pair Small H hinges and some hinge nailes			17.	
1,000	flooring brads and 1 p'r large hinges			14.	
2	Coopers Adzes, 1 Large Beam and old Scales			14.	
3	large Earthen Jars	1.			
3	Do.	1.			
1	Small Still	1.		5.	
1	Chocolate Stone and 1 brass Seive			7.	
4	pewter Measures			6.	

1	pair large Spit racks and 1 Iron Crown	1.	5.
1	parcel of Joiners Tools	5.	
3	old Flock Beds and old Beding		10.
1	large & 1 Small Coppers, 6 Smoothing Irons & 2 Stands w'th some old Brass	4.	5.
2	old Brass Kitles	1.	
	Carry'd Up	409.	7.

Quantity	Item	Brought Up		
		£	S	D
1	Coach and Harness for six Horses	25.		
1	Chariot	65.		
1	Chaise	2.		
	Negroe's Viz't			
	Casar	5.	0.	0.
	Billy Molata	20.		
	Jillion	30.		
	Jack Mollata	25.		
	Doll	2.	10.	
	Mary Ann	15.		
	Rose	30.		
	Elianor	25.		
	Sharper	25.		
	Jenny	30.		
	Bella	30.		
	Queen	25.		
	Catina	25.		
	Lucy	20.		
	Moll	15.		
	Ellis	17.	10.	
	Molly	20.		
	Total	360.		
	Horse's			
	Draggon	3.		
	Jolly	8.		
	Gilbert	8.		
	Puppy	8.		
	Phoenix	6.		
	Prince	5.		
	Total	38.		
	Cattle at Cowslip Quarter			
	16 Cows @ 25/	20.		
	13 Small Catle @ 15.	9.	15.	

At Racon Q'tr			
9 Cows @ 25/	11.	5.	
6 Small Catle @ 15.	4.	10.	
136 w old Iron 3 Gun Barrells and some old milk pans	1.	5.	10.
Total	46.	15.	10
Carr'y Over	946.	2.	10.

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