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Cover: Colonial Williamsburg’s Senior Fifes and Drums mustered, instruments at the ready, before the Magazine on a fine, warm day in the Historic Area’s Market Square to have photographer Dave Doody make their portrait. The corps’ regular marches down Duke of Gloucester Street, guests falling in step behind it, are among the memorable moments of a visit to Virginia’s restored eighteenth-century capital.
Sheldon M. Stone Elected Trustee, Three Retire

A year-end report said ticket sales income, growing donor support, a stronger endowment, roughly 2 percent, on 651,000 guests, was 1.8 million. Gift commitments were up 18 percent from 2012, totaling $75.2 million, including more than $52 million from Colonial Williamsburg members of the Raleigh Tavern. The Freshest Advices, said, “Sheldon and his wife, Cindy, are dedicated supporters of the mission of Colonial Williamsburg, said, “Daniel’s judgment and wise counsel, and their friendship.”

Donations support the programs and preservation efforts of Colonial Williamsburg, a not-for-profit, tax-exempt corporation organized under the laws of the Commonwealth of Virginia, with principal offices in Williamsburg, Virginia.
The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation reported higher ticket sales income, growing donor support, a stronger endowment, and principal business revenue increases for 2013, but slightly fewer paid ticket holders.

A year-end report said ticket income grew by $370,000, or roughly 2 percent, on 651,000 sales, which were down about .5 percent from 2012. Nevertheless, more than 800,000 people passed through Colonial Williamsburg’s Regional Visitor Center, and the foundation’s turnstile count, which reflects paid and unpaid guests, was 1.8 million. Gift commitments were up 18 percent from 2012, totaling $75.2 million, including more than $52 million in endowment commitments.

Contributions to The Colonial Williamsburg Fund totaled $15 million, and the number of new donors rose 9 percent to nearly 20,000. The endowment closed the year valued at $780 million, a $45 million increase and a 16.3 percent return on investment. Hospitality and retail businesses posted gains, as well, the foundation said.

Sheldon M. Stone Elected Trustee, Three Retire

The board of The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation has elected Sheldon M. Stone a trustee. One of six people who founded Oaktree Capital Group LLC in 1995, Stone is principal, director, and portfolio manager of the global asset management firm in Los Angeles.

Colin Campbell, president of Colonial Williamsburg, said, “Sheldon and his wife, Cindy, are dedicated supporters of the mission of Colonial Williamsburg as members of the Raleigh Tavern Society, and we are delighted that he is bringing his demonstrated commitment to community service, knowledge of nonprofit governance, and expertise in asset management to the board of trustees.”

Stone received a BA from Bowdoin College and an MBA from Columbia University. He is chair emeritus of the California Community Foundation and serves on the national advisory board of the Johns Hopkins University Center for Talented Youth and the board of advisors for the University of Southern California Marshall School of Business Center for Investment Studies. He is also a member of the World Presidents’ Organization, a trustee of the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County, and a trustee of Bowdoin College.

Before Oaktree Capital, Stone was managing director and senior vice president of the Trust Company of the West, research analyst for Citibank, and director of corporate finance for Prudential Insurance Company.

“I am delighted to be joining the board of Colonial Williamsburg and look forward to serving this extraordinary institution,” Stone said. “My wife and I have many fond memories of the times we visited Williamsburg with our children. It is a delight to get reacquainted with Williamsburg.”

Three members of Colonial Williamsburg’s governing boards retired in November 2013. Jeanne B. Daniel of New Canaan, Connecticut, retired after thirteen years of service as a director of Colonial Williamsburg Company, the foundation’s wholly owned business subsidiary overseeing hospitality, merchandising, and commercial properties. After twelve years each, John R. Donnell Jr. of Atlanta, Georgia, and Sharon P. Rockefeller of Washington, DC, stepped down, too.

President Campbell said he and the foundation are grateful for “their service, their dedication, and their friendship.” “Jeanne Daniel’s judgment and wise counsel and her contributions as a
director of the foundation’s retail, licensing, catalog, and e-commerce operations, and as a member of the board’s Human Resources Committee, have left an indelible mark. John Donnell provided faithful and valued service to the Finance, Audit, Investment, and Architecture and Design Review Committees and as chairman of the board’s Development Committee and Campaign Cabinet, helping guide that extremely important venture to a successful conclusion. And our thanks go to Sharon Rockefeller, whose experience in nonprofit management and knowledge of national policy directions, the Washington tourism market, and the media have been invaluable.”

Full, Online Edition of the Journal Available

Colonial Williamsburg has inaugurated complete Internet editions of the journal. Posted at history.org/foundation/journal/feature.cfm in a portable document format, the digital issues offer, for the first time online, all of the popular-history quarterly’s feature stories and departments.

Such departments as the To Be Seen selection of Colonial Williamsburg museum acquisitions, The Freshest Advices foundation news section, the donor-oriented We Are Favoured and A Sampler of Gift Opportunities, the foundation’s publications in Books, Lately Publish’d, and the humorous Wit, Mirth & Spleen, among others, now appear on the foundation’s websites. Moreover, every feature article is included.

Beginning with the winter 2014 number, the PDF presentations are Windows, Macintosh, tablet, and smartphone compatible, and easily read in the free application Adobe Reader, available at http://get.adobe.com/reader. With the app, you may turn the electronic pages on your browser and download the issue for later reading.

As the magazine gains experience with the format, it is to explore enhancing the PDFs with extra images and recordings.

Special Collections in the Journal

Colonial Williamsburg begins with this issue A Curious Collection, a department offering readers regular glimpses of often-rare and always significant historical documents in the Special Collections holdings of the John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library.

Selected and detailed by associate librarian Doug Mayo, seldom-seem items of importance, or of beauty, or of amusement—be they books, engravings, broadsides, papers, drawings, letters, maps, bookplates, photographs—are to be featured in this department each issue.

The inaugural installment appears on page 15.

Originality welcomed here.

One of our favorite hues for spring is Radiant Orchid. Expressed warmly in fabulous pink-to-purple sapphires. Ablaze with generous sparks of diamonds. Only here.
Our Readers Write

H. Roll McLaughlin, a retired architect and co-founder of Indiana Landmarks—formerly the Historic Landmarks Foundation of Indiana—responded to Bill O’Donovan’s story on Camp Peary in the winter 2014 issue.

I was one of the Seabees in boot training camp during April and May 1943. At the end of our six weeks’ training, we were given our first liberty . . . to Richmond or Williamsburg. I chose the latter. Little did I realize that my visit and experience would plant the seed which would grow into my becoming an architect specializing in historic preservation and restoration following World War II, where I was involved in the building of Mulberry Harbor at Normandy.

In addition to my military duties, I became the battalion artist. I was assigned the duty of designing our 97th NCB plaque. I returned to Indianapolis to start my career as an architect, thanks to that liberty at Williamsburg . . .

Now at 91, I find Colonial Williamsburg Journal one of my prize publications and look forward to receiving each issue.

Silver Symposium

A symposium on English and American silver gathers May 2–4 at Colonial Williamsburg.

Planned in conjunction with the loan exhibition A Handsome Cupboard of Plate: Early American Silver in the Cahn Collection, the weekend features curators, collectors, and craftsmen for lectures, demonstrations, and optional hands-on workshops that explore the function and worth of English and American silver in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Whether fashioned into a tankard, candlestick, porringer, or spoon, silver was useful and beautiful, proclaiming its owner’s wealth and status while maintaining its value for future generations. For more information, call 1-800-603-0948 or go online to history.org/conted.

Correction

In the winter issue just arrived, the gun in the portrait of John Custis Wilson on page 11 was described as a hunting rifle. It is a fowling piece.
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Message from the President

A Time for Transition

Any person privileged to lead an institution as extraordinary, celebrated, and vital as The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation works to bestow on his successor an organization more robust, valuable, and vibrant than he found it. That, at bottom, has been my agenda since the foundation's trustees asked me to become the organization's seventh president and chief executive officer fourteen years ago. It remains my agenda as the search for the eighth begins.

You may recall that I considered retirement in 2008, an aspiration postponed by the Great Recession. A leadership change during those difficult days would have been unfair to the foundation and to a new administration. As the recovery gained momentum, however, I began to confer again with my wife, Nancy, and our trustees about the right time for a transition in executive responsibilities. That time has come.

We announced the search for a new foundation president in January. As Chairman Thomas Farrell said then, “Succession is a primary focus for any well-managed organization and a leading responsibility of the board of trustees.”

A succession committee is sitting, and a national executive recruiting firm, Storbeck/Pimentel, has been retained. No date has been set for the completion of their work. The board’s focus, Chairman Farrell said, “is on fulfilling this responsibility in a manner that best serves the interests and standards of the institution.” Which is another way of saying that the selection of a strategic and operational leader for an institution as complex as Colonial Williamsburg requires care and time.

The chief executive officer is responsible, among other things, for promoting the foundation’s purposes, and for insuring its financial health; for being its chief spokesperson, fund-raiser, and ambassador; and for overseeing its educational, hospitality, and commercial enterprises. A Colonial Williamsburg president must articulate to its guests, employees, donors, volunteers, and host community the institution’s value as a national asset; its contribution to the understanding of history, democracy, and citizenship; and its strategic vision.

The search is on for an engaging, creative, and energetic leader equipped to shape the foundation’s future. The objective is to find a person of high integrity and ethical standards, with a passion for furthering Colonial Williamsburg’s role as a center for history and citizenship, and prepared to strengthen the foundation’s resources, extend its reach, and enhance its position in American culture.

In short, the foundation is looking for a person skilled in strategic and organizational leadership, as well as fund-raising and advocacy, and with creative and inspirational vision.

The bar is high, but so are the satisfactions of guiding Colonial Williamsburg toward realization of its noble purpose. Take my word for it. My enthusiasm for the job is undiminished. I will remain fully committed to it until the search is completed and there has been a reasonable period for transition.

The succession process signals no distraction from my or the foundation’s pursuit of its goals, among them advancing our multifaceted education and programming initiatives, our efforts to achieve financial equilibrium through earned income and philanthropy, and our determination to be relevant and influential in these challenging times.

There is no standing still at Colonial Williamsburg, even for a retiring president and chief executive officer. Nevertheless, even in a time of change—especially in times of change—there is a constant, and that is mindfulness of the foundation’s enduring mission: That the future may learn from the past.

Colin G. Campbell
To be seen

**Painting in a Bottle**

A bottle of sand now at Colonial Williamsburg’s Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Museum is a work of art in an apothecary jar. Iowan Andrew Clemens made it, and others. Born in 1857, Clemens became deaf and mute at five. Sent to a school in Iowa for deaf and mute children, he spent his summers at home in McGregor along the banks of the Mississippi River. There, Clemens started sorting out the more than forty colors of sand found in the area, and learned to use a fishhook to create sand paintings in small medicine jars.

**Association Broadside**

To be seen at Colonial Williamsburg’s DeWitt Wallace Decorative Arts Museum is a 1770 broadside printed in Williamsburg, probably by William Rind. It includes the names of 164 Virginians who supported the movement to protest taxes imposed by England’s Parliament. The colonists used nonimportation of goods to pressure British merchants who, in turn, would use their influence to persuade the ministry to change its policies. Seven other copies of this document are known, all deposited at the Library of Congress in the nineteenth century.

**Silver Plate Exhibit**

Opening May 3 at the DeWitt Wallace Decorative Arts Museum, *A Handsome Cupboard of Plate: Early American Silver in the Cahn Collection* celebrates American history and craftsmanship through the display of silver sauce boats, porringer, tea and coffee wares, tankards, and other forms. The loan exhibition of forty pieces includes works by such artisans as Jeremiah Drummer and Paul Revere Jr. of Boston, and Joseph Richardson Sr. of Philadelphia. Also featured are products of the New York workshops of Jewish silversmith Myer Myers and his contemporaries. Organized by the Minneapolis Institute of Art.

—Jan Gilliam
GREEN GARDENS

Twice-weekly tours from 9:30 to 10:30 in the morning reveal how Colonial Williamsburg experts—gardeners, archaeologists, historians—have gone about re-creating historically accurate eighteenth-century gardens in the Historic Area. From trees and hedges to flowers and fruits, residents of the eighteenth-century city planted for pleasure and for food, for beauty and bounty. Free event ticket required.

FAITH AND FREEDOM

The only state-sanctioned church in Virginia before the Revolution was the Anglican, the colonial embodiment of the official Church of England. Laws limited or barred Presbyterians, Baptists, and all other Dissenters, not to mention Catholics, Jews, and Muslims, from full participation in public life. April is Religion Month at Colonial Williamsburg, and ideas about and conflicts over religious tolerance and liberty clash in programs around the Historic Area between 9:00 and 5:00 daily and in other programs throughout the year. Ticket required for some events.

FIRECRACKING FOURTH

Twice a year, at Grand Illumination in December and on Independence Day, Colonial Williamsburg sets the nighttime sky aflame with fireworks launched from around the Historic Area. This summer, thousands show up for the free display to celebrate the Fourth of July and the city where Washington, Jefferson, Henry, and others weighed politics and principles in a colonial capital. No ticket required.

—Douglas Featherstone
Made in England about 1820, this lusterware coffeepot was created when platinum dissolved in acid and combined with spirits of tar was painted on a biscuit-fired ceramic. It was refired at a low temperature, producing the mirror-like surface. Pooling of the platinum mixture on the red earthenware revealed areas of dark clay underneath and mimicked the look of silver plate. Lusterware offered consumers a less expensive if more fragile alternative to sterling silver and silver plate. Archaeological evidence for lusterware in America is slim, but American newspapers advertised luster tea and coffee sets and pots beginning in 1808. This example is exhibited at The Art Museums of Colonial Williamsburg. Kim and Gordon Ivey funded its purchase.

—Angelika Kuettner
JOHN HANCOCK SIGNED THIS MILITARY COMMISSION for Lieutenant Colonel George Weedon in February 1776. A Fredericksburg, Virginia, tavern keeper, Weedon had served in the French and Indian War under George Washington. Now second in command of the Revolution’s Third Virginia Regiment, he was in Williamsburg helping Colonel Hugh Mercer organize the unit when his commission arrived. Weedon participated in the campaign against Virginia’s deposed royal governor, Lord Dunmore, and by February 1777 was a brigadier general. He helped defend Virginia against British raids led by Generals Benedict Arnold and William Phillips. During the Siege of Yorktown, he led the American forces at Gloucester Point opposite Lord Cornwallis’s main British army. The commission is in the John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library’s Special Collections.

—Doug Mayo
Readers of the journal’s autumn 2013 issue got a glimpse of the quilts Colonial Williamsburg preserves. A book to be published this summer—Four Centuries of Quilts: The Colonial Williamsburg Collection, by curators Linda Baumgarten and Kimberly Smith Ivey—provides a closer look. Using more than 300 color images, among them the one above, the book explores the history of such heirlooms. Quilts are among the most utilitarian of art objects, yet the best among them possess a formal beauty that rivals anything on canvas. The Colonial Williamsburg collection spans 400 years and includes items from the Mediterranean, England, France, America, Polynesia, and Virginia. Examples from eighteenth- to twentieth-century America, many made by Amish and African Americans, reflect America’s multicultural society, and include boldly colored and patterned worsteds, and brilliant pieced and appliqued works of art.

—Paul Aron

Pleasantly Situated

The oldest academic structure in the United States, the 314-year-old Wren Building of the College of William and Mary in Virginia, is yet to be finished to the specifications of its original designer—whoever he may have been—alumnus Thomas Jefferson’s best efforts notwithstanding. But first things first.

The dormered edifice in the inset above represents the Wren as it stood circa 1718 to 1859, but is its fifth iteration and dates but to 1931. That’s when Colonial Williamsburg finished the hall’s restoration, reworking the fourth version, the one in the larger 1902 postcard picture.

The Wren’s claim to educational precedence rests on the remnants of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century walls and foundations that survived fires in 1705, 1859, and 1862, and are part of its fabric.

The first Wren, completed in 1700 after five years of fitful labor, was to have been a square enclosing a courtyard, but languished in an L-shape until 1732, when the addition of a chapel made it a U. At the behest of Virginia’s governor, Jefferson drafted plans to add the final fourth wing in 1772, but the Revolution halted construction and work never resumed.

For centuries the structure was called the Main Building or the College, but a doubtful report of 1724 attributed its design to England’s Sir Christopher Wren, hence the nickname. In 1928, when its restoration began, Virginia’s legislature made the moniker official.

—Alexander Chesterfield
Fifty Years of Golden Horseshoe Golf
by Jim Ducibella

The 1963 Virginia state amateur golf championship was played at the Homestead’s Cascades course in Hot Springs, well regarded as a beautiful and challenging design. John Gravely, editor and publisher of Williamsburg’s Virginia Gazette, went to cover area contestants, presumably, and returned home feeling a bit on the spot. He had been questioned incessantly about a golf course near his Prince George Street office that wasn’t yet open for business. “Please tell me about that new course at the Williamsburg Inn,” he wrote to Colonial Williamsburg July 12, recalling the queries he said were made by tournament players.

Gravely reported that Virginia State Golf Association president George Fulton said to him that “I’ve never heard so many wonderful things about any golf course before it was even completed. I can’t wait to see it.”

Last November, VSGA president E. Lee Coble was among a contingent of guests escorted by the Colonial Williamsburg Fifes and Drums from the Williamsburg Lodge to a patio on the southeast side of the Williamsburg Inn. Even in the rapidly dimming light, the invitees could look out over a portion of the golf course that had spurred so much anticipation.

Also on hand were Colonial Williamsburg president and CEO Colin Campbell and Rees Jones, son of the late Robert Trent Jones Sr., the designer of the golf course whose fiftieth birthday was being celebrated that evening. Rees Jones, however, was much more than a stand-in. A course designer himself, in 1997 he renovated and restored his father’s work in Williamsburg to meet the changing standards of the United States Golf Association and to take advantage of improvements and innovations in course design and construction.

Rees Jones said that his father “loved this job” and that The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation “gave dad a wonderful piece of property. It took a knowledgeable architect to know how to route the golf holes on a pretty rugged piece of ground. But my father used to say, ‘The more rugged the land, the more spectacular the result,’ and I think that’s what he achieved.”

The Golden Horseshoe—shortened to The Shoe by locals—was the name Colonial Williamsburg officials settled on for the original 6,768 yard, eighteen-hole design, which covered 125 acres.

Golf Magazine has listed the golf course as one of the top 100 in the United States from 1996 to 2012. Golf Digest has ranked it among America’s best public courses every year since 2003. GolfWeek Magazine included it among the top 100 resort courses in the nation in 2011 and 2012.

Presidents Gerald R. Ford and George H. W. Bush have tested their skills on the Gold Course. Golf professionals Jack Nicklaus, Mason Rudolph,

For fifty years, golfers from PGA professionals to amateurs to local players have walked the Golden Horseshoe Gold Course.
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Gary Player, Bruce Devlin, and Justin Leonard and amateur Vinny Giles have performed exhibitions in front of thousands of spectators.

Jones’s sixteenth hole—a par-three measuring 165 yards—begins from an elevated tee. The player looks down on a green surrounded by water that was originally 180 feet long. *Golf USA* called it “one of the most challenging holes in the United States,” and CBS golf analyst Ben Wright said it was “Jones’s pièce de résistance.”

Robert Trent Jones wrote that “this hole will go in golf’s great short-hole category and will be talked about throughout the world.”

“T’m sure he found the sixteenth hole first,” said Rees Jones, who would later design Colonial Williamsburg’s other eighteen-hole course, the Golden Horseshoe–Green, which opened in 1991. “That wasn’t the first island green . . . but it certainly catapulted the idea of the island green into the forefront in the years to come.”

That November night wasn’t just a celebration of a course that challenges and delights thousands of golfers each year. The art of course design has changed. The days when course designers moved tons of earth and were handed unlimited budgets to create something awe-inspiring—but artificial—are about over. “This is the type of golf course we’re going to have in the future,” Rees Jones said. “Not overly long, a golf course that fits the terrain. . . . Finding a natural piece of ground, utilizing it to its optimum, that’s what we’re facing.”

But let’s go back to the beginning.

Gold Horseshoe. That’s an odd name, one would think, unless one was familiar with Virginia history.

In 1716, in an attempt to encourage westward settlement, Governor Alexander Spotswood organized sixty-three men to explore the colony’s western frontier. The journey would take them over the Blue Ridge Mountains and into the Shenandoah Valley.

Eight years later, in an account found in *The Present State of Virginia*, author Hugh Jones described the toll taken on the expedition party by the rocky terrain, which included the use of a “great quantity of Horse-Shoes.” Horseshoes got little use around Williamsburg because there were few stones.

When the governor and his party returned to Williamsburg, a legend says, he bestowed on each traveler a golden horseshoe.

How golf came to exist in the shadow of Williamsburg’s Restoration involves John D. Green, the first general manager of the Williamsburg Inn.

In a November 1937 preliminary report to Colonial Williamsburg president Kenneth Chorley, Green provided a brief exploration of outdoor sports the Williamsburg Inn could offer its guests. Green said: “The overwhelming majority of our guests stay with us one night only, moving on as soon as they consider they have seen the Restoration. This is no handicap in the Spring and Fall when the Inn is filled to capacity every night, but during the summer when we are running 60 percent to 70 percent occupancy, it would be a great help to have some attractions here that would tend to increase the average stay.”

Green listed the pros and cons of potential offerings, with his recommendations: putt-putt golf, no; tennis, yes, but one court only until further assessment was made; skeet shooting, yes, immediately; horseback riding, the average guest would want his horse brought to the front door of the hotel, but do it anyway; croquet, no—in fact take the croquet ground now under construction and make it a putting green or badminton court; swimming, absolutely; and golf, expensive but consider building a course south of the Inn.

“There would be danger,” Green wrote, “of golf, rather than the Restoration, becoming the raison d’être of the Williamsburg Inn. . . . I do not believe it would be desirable ever to have Williamsburg become famous for anything but the Restoration and to seek to make it a golfing center . . . would, in my opinion, be a grave error.”

Fifteen years later, the Williamsburg Inn golf course, nine holes measuring 2,755 yards, had been constructed under the supervision of Fred Findlay, known as the Patriarch of Virginia Golf because so much of his resume was created in the commonwealth.

But it would be fair to say the commitment to golf was lukewarm. Although the course was just south of the Inn, golf professional Leonard Briles, known as the Golf Doctor, worked a mile or more away, out of a chicken house first used for a Colonial Williamsburg poultry project.

Jack Nicklaus called the Gold Course beautiful but “plenty of trouble” for the golfer, including an island green with sand traps.
Gary Player, Bruce Devlin, and Justin Leonard and amateur Vinny Giles have performed exhibitions in front of thousands of spectators. Jones’s sixteenth hole—a par-three measuring 165 yards—begins from an elevated tee. The player looks down on a green surrounded by water that was originally 180 feet long. Golf USA called it “one of the most challenging holes in the United States,” and CBS golf analyst Ben Wright said it was “Jones’s pièce de résistance.” Robert Trent Jones wrote that “this hole will go in golf’s great short-hole category and will be talked about throughout the world.”

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Eight years later, in an account found in The Present State of Virginia, author Hugh Jones described the toll taken on the expedition party by the rocky terrain, which included the use of a “great quantity of Horse-Shoes.” Horseshoes got little use around Williamsburg because there were few stones. When the governor and his party returned to Williamsburg, a legend says, he bestowed on each traveler a golden horseshoe.

How golf came to exist in the shadow of Williamsburg’s Restoration involves John D. Green, the first general manager of the Williamsburg Inn. In a November 1937 preliminary report to Colonial Williamsburg president Kenneth Chorley, Green provided a brief exploration of outdoor sports the Williamsburg Inn could offer its guests. Green said: “The overwhelming majority of our guests stay with us one night only, moving on as soon as they consider they have seen the Restoration. This is no handicap in the Spring and Fall when the Inn is filled to capacity every night, but during the summer when we are running 60 percent to 70 percent occupancy, it would be a great help to have some attractions here that would tend to increase the average stay.”

Green listed the pros and cons of potential offerings, with his recommendations: putt-putt golf, no; tennis, yes, but one court only until further assessment was made; skeet shooting, yes, immediately; horseback riding, the average guest would want his horse brought to the front door of the hotel, but do it anyway; croquet, no—in fact take the croquet ground now under construction and make it a putting green or badminton court; swimming, absolutely; and golf, expensive but consider building a course south of the Inn.

“There would be danger,” Green wrote, “of golf, rather than the Restoration, becoming the raison d'être of the Williamsburg Inn. . . . I do not believe it would be desirable ever to have Williamsburg become famous for anything but the Restoration and to seek to make it a golfing center . . . would, in my opinion, be a grave error.”

Fifteen years later, the Williamsburg Inn golf course, nine holes measuring 2,755 yards, had been constructed under the supervision of Fred Findlay, known as the Patriarch of Virginia Golf because so much of his resume was created in the commonwealth.

But it would be fair to say the commitment to golf was lukewarm. Although the course was just south of the Inn, golf professional Leonard Briles, known as the Golf Doctor, worked a mile or more away, out of a chicken house first used for a Colonial Williamsburg poultry project.
“On sunny days, well over fifty golfers turn out,” a Colonial Williamsburg memo dated June 1, 1948, said.

At that rate of play, Green could rest easy. No one was drawn to Williamsburg because of the unnamed Inn course; they played the course because they had journeyed to the Inn. If golf was to become the amenity many from John D. Rockefeller Jr. on down hoped it would be, something more extravagant—an eighteen-hole championship course—would be needed.

Enter Robert Trent Jones, who had already designed Peachtree in Atlanta for his friend and golf legend Bobby Jones and re-designed parts of Augusta National, home to the annual Masters championship. Jones designed courses for President Dwight D. Eisenhower, sheik Aga Khan of Saudi Arabia, and King Hussein of Morocco. Harvey Firestone was a client, as was R. J. Reynolds.

The Rockefeller-Jones relationship started when Laurence S. Rockefeller hired Jones to come to Puerto Rico and build the Dorado Beach Hotel and Golf Club, which opened in 1958. The connection remained profitable even after Laurence Rockefeller got out of the golf business, and it was natural that John D. Rockefeller Jr. would recommend to the foundation that it hire Jones.

Ground was broken for the course, estimated to cost $500,000, in February 1962. In the process, Jones reconfigured many of the tees, greens, and fairways of the original course to create a nine-hole design that would open in 1964 as the Spotswood.

Jones altered his style when building the Golden Horseshoe. He maintained his trademark tee areas, many of which were 100 yards long, offering players of all skill levels the opportunity for challenges, depending on the length they chose to play.

Nevertheless, though known for building gargantuan greens with four decks—the better to spread out ball marks and cup-placement choices—Jones constructed smaller than normal greens at the Golden Horseshoe.

“This is a finesse golf course,” Rees Jones said. “It’s a shorter golf course, and that’s why it has smaller greens than my father usually built in that era. He was lengthening golf courses, and he was building bigger targets for the longer shots.”

Clearing the wooded land, construction workers uncovered springs and a creek that ran the length of a ravine. Jones ordered that a dam be built, bringing to life the five-acre lake which composes the water complex for four holes, including the sixteenth.

Specimen trees were spared wherever possible, enabling Jones to retain the natural beauty of the surroundings. Jones wanted each hole to have a landscaped look, so he used Yaupon Holly trees on the sides of the fairways to mark the 150-yard distance to the greens. Native species with different blooming cycles such as dogwood, red bud, cypress, willow, Scotch broom, holly, choke berry, and bayberry were
planted in fairways and around the greens.

When the course opened September 11, 1963, Jones said the Golden Horseshoe was “my finest design.”

Nearly four years to the day later, an exhibition sponsored by the Kiwanis Club of Williamsburg brought Jack Nicklaus and fellow touring professional Mason Rudolph to town for a match against Vinny Giles of Lynchburg, then a three-time All-American from the University of Georgia, and Williamsburg’s Sam Wallace, the 1967 state amateur champion.

Giles, who would go on to win the United States and British amateur championships, led Nicklaus, who had seven major titles, by one stroke with four holes to play. Nicklaus played the finishing holes in three under par to finish at four-under-par 67, still the course record for professionals.

“This is a wonderful golf course,” Nicklaus said after the match, “as fine a Trent Jones course as I have ever seen. Trent has done a beautiful job here; that is, he has made great strategic use of the terrain. There’s plenty of trouble, and it’s not a course you can get careless with.”

Nicklaus should know. In addition to winning eighteen major championships, more than any other player, he has designed 290 courses in 36 nations. More than 100 are used for professional tournaments.

Giles came in at 68, which stood as the amateur record until October 2006, when Brigham Young junior Daniel Summerhays, now competing professionally, fired a ten-under par 60 on a course set up at par 70 for a GolfWeek/PING Preview tournament.

Robert Trent Jones died in June 2000, leaving more than 350 courses he designed or redesigned in forty-five states and thirty-six countries. As part of an obituary, the editors of Golf Digest chose their six must-play masterpieces: Ballybunion in Ireland; Club de Golf Valderrama in Spain; the Dunes Golf and Beach Club, Myrtle Beach; Mauana Kea Beach Golf Club in Hawaii; and Spyglass Hill Golf Course, Pebble Beach, California, were their first five.

The sixth? The Golden Horseshoe Gold Course.

Whether Jones would have agreed with Golf Digest’s first five, he would have wanted The Shoe included. He wrote in 1963, “A great golf course must be a superb blend of shot values, an artistic flow of lines, and a blending of masses for the overall pleasing result that will satisfy all classes of golfers. The Golden Horseshoe at the Williamsburg Inn is more. The site is a natural arboretum upon which a great golf course has been built.”

Williamsburg golf writer Jim Ducibella is author of King of Clubs: The Great Golf Marathon of 1938. This is his first journal contribution.
A Sampler of Gift Opportunities

Trade Internships
Colonial Williamsburg, in partnership with the Williamson Free School of Mechanical Trades in Media, Pennsylvania, and Thaddeus Stevens College of Technology in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, hopes to offer summer internships for those interested in practicing the twenty-first-century trades that maintain the institution's buildings and who have formal education in HVAC, electronics, and electric work, as well as blacksmithing, masonry, painting, carpentry, and millwork.

Gardening Internships
By the early 1700s, Williamsburg gentry hired professionally trained English and Scottish gardeners to maintain their pleasure and kitchen gardens. Today, there is a demand for professionals who can maintain historic gardens. Colonial Williamsburg wants to create three art of gardening summer internships.

Distance Learning
At the Colonial Williamsburg Teacher Institute, nearly 8,000 educators have learned innovative teaching strategies to help students better understand the people and events that gave birth to the United States. Colonial Williamsburg is developing an online series of history and museum methods courses to reach more teachers. Three courses, which grant continuing education credits, are to be produced annually and offered in subsequent years.

Veterinary Care
Modern medicine benefits Colonial Williamsburg's heirloom Leicester Longwool Sheep, American Milking Red Devon Cattle, American Cream Draft Horse, and other animals. The coach and livestock staff cares for more than 100 animals, in sicknesses and injury, and providing wellness exams and immunizations.

Gardening Internships

Distance Learning

Veterinary Care

For more information on how you can support The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, call the development office at 1-888-CWF-1776 to speak to a gift officer or email gifts@cwf.org.
We are Favour ed

Societies Support Colonial Williamsburg Goals

The portrait John Custis Wilson is remarkable as much for its subject, an eighteenth-century Maryland planter, as for its painter, Charles Willson Peale.

Peale’s portraits of such subjects as Benjamin Franklin and George Washington are iconic, and he and his studio were prolific. The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation added John Custis Wilson to its collections when the chance arose in 2013. Descendants gave the canvas as a partial gift. The Friends of Colonial Williamsburg Collections, one of the foundation’s donor societies, provided much of the balance needed to complete the acquisition.

“The donor societies of Colonial Williamsburg are the backbone of the foundation,” says Michael Rierson, senior vice president for development. “No matter where you fall, you are a critical element; you are a piece of that backbone.”

Colonial Williamsburg has eight donor societies and another that recognizes corporate gifts. They reflect types and levels of giving. The Friends of Colonial Williamsburg Collections, for instance, pools donations to fund acquisition of art and antiques. All other donor societies, such as the Colonial Williamsburg Burgesses and the Business Forum, give unrestricted gifts to help the foundation meet financial demands in the areas of greatest need. Gifts might as readily be used for preservation work, transportation, dry cleaning costumes, and the like as to obtain a portrait, and all support Colonial Williamsburg’s mission. In 2012, donor societies contributed 78 percent of the $14.8 million given to the Colonial Williamsburg Fund; gifts and gift commitments came to more than $58 million. See The Freshest Advices for 2013 figures.

From his Historic Area home, Rierson has a good view of the big guns interpreters use for demonstrations. “I often see kids playing all around those cannons, enjoying themselves,” he says. “They may have been excited by the pageantry of the militia they just saw, or a stirring speech they heard given by George Washington. And many of those things were paid for by gifts—including many that came as a result of the Gift Opportunities page in the journal. We can’t know how many people will enjoy those things, supported by gifts large and small.

“We have so many $35 ‘Gift of History’ donors, they make up their own special donor society.”

Ferguson Enterprises Finances Field Trips

Every year, Colonial Williamsburg welcomes school groups from other countries, and more than two dozen states. In an era of tighter budgeting, however, fewer area school districts can take advantage of their proximity to make Historic Area field trips.

Ferguson Enterprises Inc. of Newport News, Virginia, the nation’s largest wholesale plumbing supplies distributor, is paying for a Colonial Williamsburg field trip for all fourth-grade children in five nearby public school districts. Area fourth-grade teachers present Virginia studies to their
classes, instructing students about everyday life in colonial Virginia and identifying the roles that whites, free and enslaved African Americans, and American Indians played in the Revolutionary period. The children learn about George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and freed slave and patriot James Lafayette and are taught to explain why Great Britain and her American colonies went to war. These concepts come to life in the Historic Area.

Before the mid-twentieth century, museums paid little attention to objects that originated below the Mason-Dixon Line, imagining that little of importance was to be found in the eighteenth-century South. Researchers, collectors, and conservationists spent decades debunking that myth, and, in February, Colonial Williamsburg’s DeWitt Wallace Decorative Arts Museum launched A Rich and Varied Culture, the largest exhibition of southern material culture ever mounted.

Among the pieces displayed are furniture, tools, machinery, scientific instruments, ceramics, and metals—everything from a writing desk crafted in North Carolina’s Piedmont to the gear mechanism that ran the clock in the cupola atop Williamsburg’s Capitol, all made in or imported for the South. The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation drew items from its collections and loans from twelve other institutions, as well as private parties, to present pieces illustrative of the region’s character. A gift from Michael and Carolyn McNamara of Williamsburg enabled the foundation to coordinate the transport of items from distant institutions and to display them.

Working with partners helps the foundation establish relationships that foster shared research and resources. The collection on view also gives historians and scholars the chance to ask and answer such questions as what the pieces say about southern culture, and what threads they weave in the tapestry of American history.

Emerging from the assembly is a portrait of a southern landscape and culture born of such traditions and ethnicities as Scots-Irish, Moravian, West African, and Jewish. Southerners’ day-to-day items say as much about early American history as the events that unfolded around them.

—Ben Swenson

Educational research shows that multidimensional instruction reaches the most children and helps them retain knowledge. The sights, sounds, and smells of Great Hopes Plantation may give one boy an idea of how hard-working colonial Americans were, and the girl next to him may fathom the Patriots’ fervor by witnessing news of war brought to Duke of Gloucester Street on horseback. This year, 5,300 Virginia students have been offered firsthand encounters just like those.

Eighteenth-Century Artifacts Exhibition
ABOUT 73,000 SOLDIERS—32,000 CONFEDERATES AND 41,000 FEDERALS—MARCHED THROUGH WILLIAMSBURG IN MAY OF 1862. ZACHARY GOODRICH DURFEY AND LEVEN WINDER LANE WATCHED THEM PASS. SIXTY-EIGHT YEARS LATER, IN 1930, AND OLD MEN NOW, DURFEY AND LANE SIT BEFORE A NEWFANGED FIELD-RECORDING MACHINE IN THE CITY’S WYTHE HOUSE AND TOLD THE

AND NOW A FEW WORDS ON THE BATTLE AT WILLIAMSBURG

Reverend Dr. W. A. R. Goodwin what they remembered of what they had seen. A steel needle scratched their voices into spinning thick, black shellac disks.

UNION MAJOR GENERAL GEORGE B. McCLELLAN’S DIVISIONS WERE TRAMPING UP VIRGINIA’S LOWER PENINSULA, BOUND FROM OLD POINT COMFORT FOR RICHMOND, CAPITAL OF THE CONFEDERACY, REBEL FORCES COMMANDED BY MAJOR GENERAL JAMES LONGSTREET BLOCKING THEIR PATH. AN ARC OF EARTHEN REDOUTS, FORTS, AND RIFLE PITTS, ANCHORED AT JAMESTOWN ON THE SOUTH AND YORKTOWN ON THE NORTH, STOOD BETWEEN McCLELLAN’S ARMY OF THE POTOMAC AND WILLIAMSBURG. FORCED TO ABANDON THEIR YORKTOWN WORKS, CONFEDERATES LED BY GENERAL JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON WITHDREW WEST, UNION BRIGadier GENERAL JOSEPH HOOKER IN PURSUIT. FOR THE CONFEDERATES IT WAs A REARGUARD ACTION, A BATTLE TO DELAY THE UNION ADVANCE AND BUY TIME WHILE THE BULK OF THE REBEL FORCE MOVED TOWARD THE CHICKAHOMINY RIVER AND DEFENSIVE LINES BEYOND. STEADY RAINS TURNED ROADS INTO MUD RUTS, RETARDING THE REBEL RETREAT AND THE YANKEE ADVANCE. THEY CLASHED JUST EAST OF TOWN, AT THE FORT CONFEDERATE BRIGADIER GENERAL JOHN B. MAGRUDER HAD RAISED ASTRIDE THE WILLIAMSBURG ROAD. EACH SIDE CLAIMED VICTORY, BUT THERE WAS NO CLEAR WINNER OF THE BATTLE OF WILLIAMSBURG.

FORTY-FIVE MILES AWAY, ON RICHMOND’S OUTSKIRTS,
the Confederates rounded on the invaders. In the days that followed, the Seven Days—a series of engagements before the city—rebels General Robert E. Lee took command from a wounded Joe Johnston, and drove the Yankees off. Occupied Williamsburg divided Confederate territory from Union for the duration.

In 1930, Lane, whom everyone addressed as Captain because that he had been in the James City County Cavalry, was among the last Confederate veterans in town. He lived in Williamsburg in the months before the Yankees came, rode away after they arrived, and served under Brigadier General Robert B. Vance of Buncombe County, North Carolina, until furloughed in 1865. A Duke of Gloucester Street store now bore the Lane family name, standing on what had been the Raleigh Tavern lot until Goodwin bought it to demolish for the city’s restoration.

“I was here through all the first year of the war,” Lane said, “and the military companies used to drill a great deal in town, and at the Battle of Bethel down here, and except the Battle of Williamsburg, the fighting below was very limited. But the Battle of Williamsburg was a very severe fought battle. General Longstreet was wounded, and a good many of our important generals was wounded down here at Fort Magruder.”

He’d been asked how he felt about the danger of musket bullets and cannon shot. “I told them I expect I felt very much like General Vance. He was ordered to take his division into action. Balls were flying pretty thick. An old hare jumped up, and went bounding to the rear. And Vance looked at her and said, ‘Go to it, Old Molly Cottontail, but for my pride I’d be with you.’”

Goodwin asked Durfey, born in 1848 at Williamsburg’s Bassett Hall, “Do you have any memory of the War between the States?” Durfey said, “Oh, I should think I have, a little. I was a boy of twelve years old, between twelve and thirteen, when the war broke out, and I was here the whole four years of the war, right here in this place.”
Colonial Williamsburg, Spring 2014

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Durfey's 82-year-old recollections were not precise about dates and days, and sometimes his thoughts brought his words to a halt. But he had clear recall of the troops that tramped though his childhood.

"For instance, I can tell you about the battle at Williamsburg. The battle at Williamsburg was fought here the fifth day of May '62. And on the Saturday . . . was fought here on Monday, for six days. On Sunday evening, Magruder's army evacuated the forts between here and Old Point that the Confederates held. And the army, Johnston's army and Magruder's army, came back together, and McClellan's army was on each side in their gunboats ready to go up the river to cut them off. And they went through here just as fast as they could get through here.

"But on the evening of the fourth, Sunday evening of the fourth, the federal troops pressed the Confederate troops so closely that they had to stop and fight in order to hold back the, uh . . . and to take care of their wagon trains and ammunition and the cannon, and they went through on Sunday night, most of them, far up as Toano, and they were ordered back the next morning."

He paused while Goodwin centered a fresh recording disk on the turntable's spindle, and set off again. "On the morning of the sixth the federal forces pressed the Confederates so closely they had to stop and fight in order to hold them back in order to get their ammunition and their wagon trains out of the way between here and Richmond."

Durfey filled two disks with recollections of which Williamsburg old-timers lived where after the war. Before returning to the battle, he said, "Now, during, if you want me to tell you, after the Battle of Williamsburg, McClellan's army passed through here, I mean Magruder's army and Johnston's, passed through in the rain. They were getting out of the way of McClellan, because McClellan has a large army down there, and he had his gunboats all loaded with the men, and cut them off, and they had to get through in a hurry. But the streets was so bad that they had to..."
use the sidewalks for their wagons and horses, and the sidewalks at that time were up to the top of your shoes in mud. And that was the condition of the sidewalks.”

Lane said, “The mud was very thick in the roads, and one of the cannon had a great difficulty getting along on account of the mud. Horses were thin, and the colonel ordered the lieutenant to take a squad of men and help and get the cannon along. The enemy came up and began firing, the balls flying pretty thick, and this man said, ‘Lieutenant, what does these things cost?’ Says, ‘I don’t know, Jim,’ but he said, ‘I’m in favor of’ chipping in “and lettin’ ’em have it.”’

Durfey spoke of other conditions in town that day. “At the Battle of Williamsburg on the fifth of May, as I said today, just now, everybody living in the lower section of the town had to move out and come up. We took . . . my father took our family and put them in the rectory with Mr. Ambler, Old Doc Ambler.” Goodwin, the son of a Confederate soldier paroled at Appomattox, had taken a Williamsburg rectory of his own in 1903.

Durfey said, “I went on the battlefield the next day after the battle, and there wasn’t a hospital or anything of the kind here to take care of the wounded. And the Confederates and the Yankees, the Federals, were all in a barn . . . And my father went down, he heard some of them were suffering there, and he took his carriage and went down and, after some of the . . . bring up some of the wounded soldiers up to his house. He went down there, and he brought up Confederate soldiers. The federal soldiers, the Federals took care of their men as well as they could. They took care in fact of both sides. But there was nothing, no hospitals, or anything of that kind.”

Townspeople turned churches into makeshift hospitals, and nursed wounded in their homes. A Baptist church visitor chanced upon a pile of limbs amputated by Yankee surgeons operating there. In 1906, Goodwin, restoring Bruton Parish Church, discovered a cache of Civil War bullets hidden in the flooring.

Some of the Union dead now rested in a federal graveyard at Yorktown. Goodwin asked about Confederate internments. Durfey said, “They buried a lot of them right in between the Baptist Church” and an adjacent hotel on Market Square. “And they were afterwards taken up, after the war, taken up by their . . . and taken down to the cemetery.”

Others lie still in a far corner of Bruton’s churchyard.

—J. Hunter Barbour
**Meet Thomas Jefferson**

Thomas Jefferson returned to Williamsburg in October 1776 for the first time since finishing the final draft of the Declaration of Independence that July in Philadelphia. Bill Barker, Colonial Williamsburg’s Mr. Jefferson, discusses, in character, the document, reaction to it, and his hopes for its long-term effects here and abroad.

**Mr. Jefferson, welcome. What brings you back to the capital?** The new House of Delegates is in session, and I am the representative for Albemarle County. We members of the legislature have much to do. The chief matter at hand is the disestablishment of all forms of an aristocratic, monarchical system of government, and the installation of a democratic, republican one.

**Have people asked about the Congress and its Declaration?** People are curious about the meaning of the Declaration. When queried, I respond that it has one all-encompassing idea—we are all born free in nature. Therefore, we have an inherent right to our own destinies. I frequently note, too, that the Declaration does three important things. It presents a philosophy of forming a government, enumerates our grievances with Great Britain, and seals the compact of thirteen former colonies. Reactions? They are a mix of exuberance for the possibilities the Declaration offers, and caution concerning the conflict we now face.

**You did the writing. Was it a difficult assignment?** You are correct. I did write the drafts in a parlor on the second floor of a building at Seventh and High Streets. When Congress formed a five-man committee to prepare a declaration, I initially did not see myself fulfilling the role I assumed. I believed that Benjamin Franklin should author the work, but he declined. John Adams insisted I do it, noting my writing ability and the need to have a Virginian deeply involved in the process. Was it difficult? Well, sir, I wrote for three days to produce a four-page paper.

**Are you proud of what you wrote?** Sir, in truth, I merely captured the sentiments of Congress. I should note, too, that my satisfaction with the Declaration is balanced with a realization that in committing it to paper, I possibly was writing the death warrant of myself and every man on the committee. If we lose the war for freedom, we will be hanged or shot. Mr. Patrick Henry expressed our position perfectly when he said, “Give me liberty or give me death.”
Did the committee get along? Yes. I should note that Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams had the greatest involvement. There was some give-and-take. We did discuss some minor changes—altering phrases, replacing words. That sort of thing. Yet everyone was amicable and comfortable with the draft we presented to Congress.

How did Congress react? The meat of the matter is that the members were pleased. Certainly, they made alterations and deletions on July second, third, and the morning of the fourth. Slavery was the only truly contentious issue. In the first draft, I attacked King George III for creating and sustaining the slave trade, a practice I referred to as “a cruel war against human nature,” and inciting slaves to rise against their owners. Delegates from South Carolina and Georgia objected to the issue being raised. So it was stricken from the document.

As a slaveholder, your ideas on the trade may surprise some. Perhaps. Though, I tell you, sir, that we must put an end to this corrupt business, which is an offense to our Creator. Slavery will not end tomorrow, but we will push until it does. Please keep in mind that I have called for an end to slavery in the constitution for Virginia.

What do you think will be the Declaration’s legacy? I hope it opens eyes around the globe to the inherent rights of man and the principle of self-government. In the years ahead, I imagine that the world will recognize that we are a new type of nation or, as the Romans would call us, novus ordo seclorum—a new order of the ages.

—Interview conducted, condensed, and edited by Ed Crews

Editor’s note: Another installment in a series of first person, question-and-answer interviews with historic figures interpreted in Colonial Williamsburg’s Historic Area.
By itself, spotting Uranus added a member to the known family of planets and propelled a musician-turned-astronomer to prominence. The broader significance was in the questions his find posed. If a planet
By itself, spotting Uranus added a member to the known family of planets and propelled a musician-turned-astronomer to prominence. The broader significance was in the questions his find posed. If an amateur astronomer looked into his telescope March 13, 1781, and saw something that moved the boundaries of man’s understanding of the cosmos. A fixed number of planets had always spun around the sun, but that day the solar system got bigger. He had discovered a world: Uranus.

had been hiding out there all along, what else was there to be found? Scientists peered into the sky and opened volumes of evidence suggesting the universe was not the finite and ordered bubble of ancient and conventional wisdom.

That expansion of information fostered a shift in perception about humanity’s ever-shrinking place in the cosmos, signaling a new age of astronomy wherein the deeper people peered into the sky, the smaller they became.
All the planets beyond Earth until then known—Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn—had been observed and named by the Greeks and Romans, who, by the way, considered the sun and the earth’s moon planets, too. William Herschel, a German-born Englishman, a professional musician, and an enthusiastic part-time scientist, had discovered from his Bath, England, home another satellite of the sun. A competent if avocational astronomer inclined to science and math, and a student of the stars, Herschel seemed at first not to consider that he had found a planet.

In April, after Herschel shared the news, Astronomer Royal Nevil Maskelyne wrote to him: “Sir, I am to acknowledge my obligation to you for the communication of your discovery of the present Comet, or planet. I don’t know what to call it.”

Herschel had written of Uranus’s first sighting: “In the quartile near Zeta Tauri the lowest of the two is a curious either nebulous star or perhaps a Comet.” Three weeks later he still referred to “the Comet,” which he said was “pretty well defined, no appearance of any beard or tail.” Doubts vaporized as it became clear the object was a planet—a speck of light, barely visible to the naked eye, which, unlike the stars around it, moved a little every night.

Herschel’s find got the attention of King George III, who bestowed on him the title of King’s Personal Astronomer, which came with an annual £200 pension. Herschel had named the newfound planet Georgium Sidus, or George’s Star, in honor of his sovereign and fellow Hanoverian German. With the king’s blessing, he moved closer to the royal residence at Windsor and gave up music to pursue astronomy full-time.

Making the move with Herschel was his sister, Caroline Herschel, who had been his assistant and helper through nights of stargazing. She, too, secured a royal stipend, £50.

Herschel, his sister at his side, found two moons of Uranus and two moons of Saturn and noted that Martian icecaps changed volume with the seasons. He discovered infrared radiation and concluded that the solar system is moving through space. During his career, Herschel found and recorded more than 800 binary stars and 2,500 nebulae, then a general category for faint patches of light in the night sky. His work introduced deep space to a populace that did not know what a vast and turbulent universe they inhabited.

For centuries, there had been steady progress in astronomy. The Scientific Revolution, which lasted from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, established heliocentrism—the theory laid out by Copernicus and later by Galileo that the earth revolves around the sun—and such thinkers as Johannes Kepler and Isaac Newton developed new ideas about bodies in outer space.

Nevertheless, astronomy had always been, for the most part, a planetary science. Inquiry had focused on the sun, moon, planets, and comets. Dis-
tant stars were a backdrop—fixed beacons by which astronomers measured and recorded nearby, more active heavenly bodies. Solar system scholarship yielded ever-more accurate data on the planets, which described the solar system as neat, orderly, and reliable. Many saw divine design in the natural patterns.

“It must be a noble Entertainment, indeed, and something wonderfully engaging to the human Mind, to contemplate the glorious Theatre of Nature; where the Divine Geometrician, as Plato calls him, has observed exactest Rules of Symmetry and Proportion,” wrote an edito-

in astronomy, and learned men often more. Virginia’s George Wythe, legal scholar, founding father, and Williamsburg resident, cut a hole for a telescope in a window shutter of his Palace Green home. Newspapers reported celestial phenomena and discoveries. On October 22, 1772, for example, the Virginia Gazette told subscribers to look in the night sky for the “largest and most beautiful planet Jupiter. It will be seen to rise for several evenings (almost in the east) at nine o’clock, and sets about six in the morning.” The newspaper encouraged readers to view Jupiter through a telescope to take in the giant planet’s then-known four moons, which were to be “seen every night in different positions.”

Such bulletins often said that nighttime marvels were planned and produced. Jupiter’s arc across the sky, according to the notice, was the work of the “ALMIGHTY ARCHITECT,” the moons put there by “Providence, to counterbalance” the planet’s distance from the sun.

To the eighteenth-century public, the dynamic solar system and the static stars beyond made a wondrous spectacle, a finished, perfect creation that adhered to ages’ old, predictable formulae. Humans, who were able not only to witness but to appreciate that construction, were select beings. Nevertheless, chaos was as common as the order they saw in the vacuum of space and the night sky.

There was gathering speculation among scientists, as early as René Descartes in the mid-seventeenth-century, that deep space was larger than most had supposed. One of the astronomers Herschel most respected spoke of the universe’s scale. “It is not to be imagined that all the stars are placed in one concave surface, so as to be equally distant from us,” wrote James Ferguson in his 1756 work, Astronomy, Explained upon Sir Isaac Newton’s Principles.

William Herschel, opposite, first thought his discovery—the planet Uranus, center—a star or a comet. In Bath’s William Herschel Museum, model of his seven-foot telescope, right.
Instead, the stars “are placed at immense distances from one another through unlimited space.”

Herschel sought to build on these suppositions. He was corroborating the speculations of large-universe theorists by documenting binary stars and nebulae when Uranus came into focus.

In light of growing evidence that there was a lot to learn about the universe beyond Saturn, Uranus challenged the broad outlines of the cosmos as people understood it, consisting of the planets earlier observed and comets passing by now and then, with a twinkling fabric somewhere beyond.

Herschel had cast doubt on the universe as a finite, finished creation as early as 1774, when he noticed that the Orion nebula looked different than in an observation more than three decades before. His discovery of Uranus seven years later raised the possibility that our cosmic neighborhood held more secrets. Its addition to the solar system laid the groundwork for the discovery of Neptune in 1846 and Pluto in 1930, which lost its planetary status in 2006.

Herschel’s subsequent findings built a foundation for other emerging scientific theories. The deep space Herschel described, for instance, corresponded with the deep time necessary for Charles Darwin’s idea of natural selection. The universe as Herschel revealed it was unknown, vast, and changing.

Such revelations upset people who perceived the cosmos as a completed masterpiece—an idea embedded in the highest scientific circles despite the overt religious trappings. The Church of England had influence over university professors and royal appointees, and conclusions that contradicted dogma did not sit well with religious and secular authorities.

Uranus’s discovery disturbed the solace found in the recurring patterns of existence. The new planet broke the mold of the magic number seven. The sky’s seven moving bodies—the sun, moon and five planets—had meshed well with such other groupings of seven as the days of the week, the Seven Hills of Rome, and the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World.

The emerging picture of a bigger and livelier universe stoked curiosity about the heavens. Children from homes where formal education was a priority learned new lessons in astronomy. Journalists began analyzing new theories about the scope of creation.

Poets paid tribute to astronomy and the growing mysteries of the universe. Samuel Taylor Coleridge...
infused *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* and other poems with celestial imagery. John Keats paid homage to Herschel’s discovery of Uranus in the sonnet “On First Looking into Chapman’s Homer”:

Then I felt like some watcher of the skies
When a new planet swims into his ken. . . .

Editorialists who once noted the beauty in the ordered sky wrote pieces about the universe’s enormity. The *New York Weekly* magazine of July 27, 1796, pondered the scale of the cosmos, including

“Georgium Sidus whose distance is eighteen thousand millions of miles, and its magnitude eighty-nine times greater than our earth. In the meantime, the sun, with all the planets which accompany it, is a very small part of the immense fabric of the universe.”

English philosopher Isaac Taylor, in his 1832 work *Saturday Evening*, wrote that the invisible material creation, therefore, it is probable, vastly outnumbers the visible; and it may justly be thought that the worlds made known to us by their inherent splendour, are, to the unseen, only in the proportion of the chiefs of an army to the thousands that fill rank and file.

Uranus’s discovery upended established scientific beliefs and led to discoveries confirming the magnitude of the universe. And it was something larger: it began an age of astronomy that reveals what a large and puzzling universe we inhabit.

A century after Herschel died in 1822, Edwin Hubble was working at California’s Mount Wilson Observatory. At the time, science texts said the extent of universe was our Milky Way galaxy, nothing more, nothing beyond. Hubble’s observations of deep space nebulae proved that “island universes,” thought to be star clouds in our Milky Way, were galaxies, too, spinning disks of stars, dust, gas, and black holes thousands of light years beyond ours. Years later Hubble measured the distance to far-off galaxies and discovered they were moving
away from ours, and from one another. Building on those findings, scientists showed the universe is expanding, lending credence to the idea of a Big Bang.

More recent discoveries and theories—dark matter, dark energy, parallel universes, hidden dimensions—widen the scope and complexity of our perception of the cosmos and inspire reflection on our place in it. The wonder that tickled the imaginations of Herschel and his contemporaries has carried down the years, each discovery offering the sense of astonishment that existed in the eighteenth century.

Take this passage that uses metaphors to draw the earth to scale:

How scanty must the artificial divisions of this terraqueous ball appear? how small the estates for which mortals contend with such acrimony and rage? They are no more, when compared with the universe, then the minutest divisions of a grain of sand, the infinitesimals of a needle’s point.

And this one, accompanied by a photograph of a bright speck against the dark of outer space:

That’s here. That’s home. That’s us. On it everyone you love, everyone you know, everyone you ever heard of, every human being who ever was, lived out their lives. . . . The Earth is a very small stage in a vast cosmic arena. Think of the rivers of blood spilled by all those generals and emperors so that, in glory and triumph, they could become the momentary masters of a fraction of a dot.

That first excerpt appeared in the Monthly Miscellany; or Vermont Magazine in May 1794. The second was published two hundred years later in astronomer Carl Sagan’s work Pale Blue Dot: A Vision of the Human Future in Space.

In August 2012, Voyager 1, the space probe that took Sagan’s pale blue dot photograph, became the first man-made object to leave the solar system, thirty-five years after its launch. Traveling faster than ten miles per second, Voyager 1 was more than eleven billion miles from the sun. That may be a distance human minds have trouble conceiving, but thanks to Herschel and other astronomers inspired by his work, we know it is only at the edge of the universe beyond.

Ben Swenson is a Williamsburg, Virginia, freelance writer working on “Abandoned Country,” a book about forgotten historic places being reclaimed by nature. He contributed “Citizenship and the Civilian Conservation Corps” to the autumn 2013 journal.
Talk, talk, talk. Sometimes all that politicians seem to do is talk. Moreover, much of what they say seems to be posturing. The news is full of such catchphrases as lock boxes, sequestration, fiscal cliffs, and kicking the can down the road. Does the talk do any good? Is anybody listening?

Back in 1787, Constitutional Convention delegate William Pierce Jr. was, and he left us a leather-bound volume of word sketches of the colleagues whose rhetoric caught his attention. Of Georgia delegate William Houstoun, Pierce wrote, “Nature seems to have done more for his corporeal than mental powers.” He said New Jersey’s William Livingston “appears to me rather to indulge a sportiveness of wit, than a strength of thinking.” Delaware’s Richard Bassett, whose religious enthusiasm Pierce disliked, stood “in high estimation . . . among the Methodists.”

Long thought to have been born in Georgia in 1740, but now known to have been born thirteen years later, in York County, Virginia, Pierce was among the Philadelphia delegates with a Williamsburg connection. His first love looks to have been painting, not politics, and, after stints in the Revolutionary War, he tried to make his way in the world through farming and commerce. Pierce sat in the Constitutional Convention but about a month, yet, like James Madison and others, produced records of enduring interest, and lately reproduced.
Pierce was one of at least four children born to Elizabeth and Matthew Pierce. His father was a tobacco planter, a justice of the peace, and a vestryman of Williamsburg’s Bruton Parish Church. He died when Pierce was a child, and an uncle named John raised the boy. Although his name differed from his father’s, the son apparently used the designation “junior” to distinguish himself from an uncle of the same name.

Pierce was reared in a time and a region that prized classical education. His correspondence and other writings are rife with references to classical history and literature, which indicate he was broadly educated in the liberal arts. The details of his education are unknown, but it seems likely private tutors instructed him in his early teens. It is certain that he studied painting with Charles Willson Peale, a leading American portrait artist working in Annapolis.

Peale wrote Pierce a letter August 26, 1774, as the youth prepared to depart Virginia for Maryland. Peale said he was “quite satisfy’d of your abilitys and have not the least doubt of your success in the art with the application you promise.” Peale said his purpose in the first year of Pierce’s instruction was to acquaint him with “the Rudiments of the Art; by Drawing of Anatomy,” perspective, knowledge of variations and gradations in light and color for dramatic effect, and studies from figures Peale had collected for the purpose. After that, he would set Pierce “to colouring copying and painting Nature.”

Pierce returned within a year. A notice under
“Williamsburg” in the *Virginia Gazette* of August 11, 1775, said “Mr. WILLIAM PIERCE, jun. is just returned to this city from Annapolis in Maryland, where he has studied PAINTING under the celebrated Mr. PEELE, And we hear intends on residing here for some time.” The newspaper’s November 9 edition reported:

> Mr. William Pierce, junior, of this city, who was in the late engagement at Hampton (and whose genius is greatly admired for many valuable productions in the celebrated art of painting) we are informed, is now executing the plan of the same in a most elegant and circumstantial manner.

The engagement reported was a clash with English raiders on October 26. If Pierce’s portrayal of that, or any other event or person, survives, it has not been identified. He took to the army as part of the Virginia line, was an aide-de-camp to General John Sullivan in his New York campaign against the Iroquois, and an aide to General Nathanael Greene in the South. Congress gave him a ceremonial sword after he brought it news of the American victory at Eutaw Springs.

Between the two assignments, Pierce returned to Williamsburg to study at the College of William and Mary in 1780 and was elected to Phi Beta Kappa on June 3. The William and Mary curriculum emphasized rhetoric, and Phi Beta Kappa was as much a debating as an honorary society, so that, as
well as any classical education he possessed, may have given Pierce the confidence to make judgments about the speeches of the convention’s delegates.

He was in the city when future Chief Justice John Marshall was studying jurisprudence with George Wythe, professor of law and police. Pierce and Marshall corresponded, as did Pierce and St. George Tucker, who would succeed Wythe at the college.

Pierce married into a wealthy Georgia family, taking Charlotte Fenwick for his bride; supervised plantations; and created a mercantile business. He failed miserably, but in the meantime won election to the Georgia state legislature, to the Continental Congress, and to the Constitutional Convention.

Pierce reported to Independence Hall on May 31, and stayed for just about a month before leaving for New York to duel with British businessman John Auldjo. Alexander Hamilton, who died in such an encounter with Aaron Burr, stepped in to mediate their dispute and avoid the field of honor. Pierce did not return to the convention, but he wrote a letter to St. George Tucker to say that, although he recognized the Constitution’s imperfections, he would have signed it had he been present. He addressed fellow members of the Society of Cincinnati in Savannah on July 4, 1788, praising the document and urging its ratification. Pierce died within a year of its adoption.

He had taken notes for about a week of his convention attendance. They are relatively sketchy compared to memoranda Madison and others compiled. Pierce’s contribution was character sketches of fifty-three of the fifty-five delegates. They remained for years in a leather-bound book known as Pierce’s Reliques. First printed by a Georgia newspaper in 1828, they have been published in a leather-bound, limited-edition volume that includes pictures of the original volume and other source materials.

Pierce examined delegates from North to South. In addition to identifying the delegates by state, he guessed their ages—generally underestimating them by about four years—sought to assess their educational backgrounds and talents, and commented on personal characteristics and virtues. He often mentioned occupations and public offices they had occupied, and sometimes included physical features. Unlike Peale, who often portrayed statesmen with their families, Pierce rarely included such information.

He rarely identified the educational institutions delegates had attended, but usually assessed their intellectual abilities and virtues, emphasizing judgment and wisdom. Pierce said Connecticut’s Roger Sherman had begun as a shoemaker, but “despising the lowness of his condition, he turned Almanack maker, and so progressed upwards to a Judge.” At a time when artists were sometimes classed with shoemakers as mechanics, Pierce may have been indirectly indicating that he also had risen in rank. He did not specifically identify himself as a merchant, but he described favorably other delegates who were.

Pierce’s most notable contributions to understanding the delegates rested in his descriptions of their rhetoric. Although he had been a visual artist, he focused in his sketches more on what he heard than on what he saw. Moreover, he juxtaposed his criticisms of such rhetoric against the delegates’ reputations. Pierce balanced delivery and content, persuaded rhetoric made a difference. After mentioning how others had praised the oratory of Delaware’s John Dickinson, he said that he “found him an indifferent Speaker,” who “with an affected air of wisdom . . . labors to produce a trifle.”

Pierce included descriptions of delegates with Williamsburg ties. Describing the taciturn George
Washington, who obtained his surveying license in Williamsburg, Pierce compared him to Gustavus Vasa of Sweden, Peter the Great of Russia, and to the Roman Cincinnatus. Pierce said Wythe led an “exemplary life,” and wrote that he was “universally esteemed for his good principles,” and “a neat and pleasing Speaker.” Pierce said George Mason was “able and convincing in debate,” and “steady and firm in his principles.” He judged Mason, though known for complaining about gout, to have “a fine strong constitution.” Pierce said Madison, often called the father of the Constitution, “cannot be called an Orator,” but “he is a most agreeable, eloquent, and convincing Speaker” and “always comes forward the best informed Man of any point in debate.” John Blair attended, and may have taught at, William and Mary. Pierce said Blair was “no Orator,” but wrote of “his good sense, and most excellent principles.” He said Edmund Randolph had introduced the “first principles” of the Convention, and supported them “with a force of eloquence and reasoning that did him great honor.” Randolph had offered Madison’s Virginia Plan, a proposal for a bicameral, population-proportioned federal legislature. John Blair Jr. was a reticent delegate, but Pierce said, “a Gentleman of great respectability, and of a fair and unblemished character.”

Pierce said that he would leave to others judgments of himself, but wrote:

I am conscious of having discharged my duty as a Soldier through the course of the late revolution with honor and propriety; and my services in Congress and the Convention were bestowed with the best intention towards the interest of Georgia, and towards the general welfare of the Confederacy. I possess ambition, and it was that, and the flattering opinion, which some of my Friends had of me, that gave me a seat in the wisest Council in the World, and furnished me with an opportunity of giving these short Sketches of the Characters who composed it.

Despite Pierce’s interest in the arts of speaking, fellow delegates recorded him as rising but four times. His speeches appear to have been short, and his sketches do not assess his own oratory. Pierce apparently spent close to a year painting and drawing at his Williamsburg studio. He is one of five delegates who attended the Convention for whom there is no known portrait drawn from life. He is pictured in a nineteenth-century print of a battle scene, but the facial features appear to be generic. The *Virginia Gazette* referred to Pierce’s “many valuable productions in the celebrated art of painting,” but no museums have yet identified such a work. Somewhere there may be a painting of Pierce or a drawing or portrait he executed. More than 225 years after the ratification of the Constitution, it would be exciting to discover a portrait or product of a man who fought in the Revolution and illuminated the lives of others.

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Suggestions for further reading:

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bout noon the sixteenth of July 1698, just north of Scotland’s capital, Edinburgh, William Paterson, his wife, Hannah, and personal assistant Mr. Jenner came aboard the forty-four gun merchantman *Unicorn*, at anchor in the Firth of Forth. The ship belonged to the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies and was set to embark on an expedition to plant the company’s flag at Darien on the Isthmus of Panama and to claim land for a Scottish colony. Twelve hundred hardy souls aboard five ships—the *Unicorn*, *St. Andrew*, *Caledonia*, *Dolphin*, and *Endeavour*—flying the company flag, stood on deck and cheered as the ships set sail for Central America. The company’s motto was *Qua Panditur Orbis, Vis Unita Fortior*—Wherever the World Extends, United Strength Is Stronger.
This expedition and a backup to follow needed such strength in spades. Within seven months, national cheers turned to countrywide tears as the scheme imploded. Scotland’s populace, from the nobility and landed gentry to merchants, to professionals, as well as to its towns, burghs, and institutions, had invested half their country’s wealth in this empire-building enterprise. Their dreams of colonial riches sank below Caribbean waters or festered in Panama’s malarial swamps. Three hundred of the more than 2,500 souls who set off to Darien lived to return to their homeland.

Scotland was entering the eighteenth century as a bankrupt independent country, mourning for its sons and daughters as well as the biggest slice of its national wealth. There was but one option: join England and lose
its independence. Against the wishes of the population, the Scottish nobility and parliamentarians held their noses, accepted an English bailout to compensate for their losses, signed the Treaty of Union, and delivered their country into the United Kingdom of Great Britain. The “Price of Scotland,” as one historian called it, was £400,000 sterling, equivalent to about $10 billion today, and on a par with European bailouts of the twenty-first century.

The idea of the Darien scheme sprang from Paterson’s entrepreneurial imagination. As a late seventeenth-century financial hustler, or Projector, as Daniel Defoe called him, Paterson had an impressive record: four years before, he had been the leading light in setting up the Bank of England. Before that, he had been the prime mover establishing the first public water supply company serving London. He had been obsessed with creating a Scottish trading post somewhere on the Spanish Main since he had returned from a decade spent as a young man in Jamaica, an English colony, where he rubbed shoulders with a buccaneer named Lionel Wafer. His detractors called him the Scots Pedlar or Tub Preacher—a term applied to ranting religious fanatics who climbed atop an upturned barrel to harangue crowds. Undeterred, he touted his plan across Europe, selling his scheme, convinced it would generate riches.

“Trade will increase trade, and money will beget money” was his theory, a notion older by almost a century than the economic theories of his countryman Adam Smith. Paterson envisioned linking East with West, and foresaw the globalization that led two hundred years later to building the Panama Canal. How did such a good idea, so far ahead of its time, come to so ignominious an end? How was a nation so often called “canny” taken to the cleaners?

Some countries have bad years. Scotland had endured a bad century. In 1603, England’s Elizabeth I bequeathed her throne to James VI of Scotland, her beheaded cousin Mary’s son. Trying to integrate and rule the nations, long-time enemies, was hopeless. Religious bigotry and civil wars, coupled with disastrous harvests, left England’s northern neighbor in disarray. Both countries retained their Parliaments and power elites, but the Scots were outgunned economically and banned from trading with the English colonies. There was to be no competition from these Celtic upstarts. Paterson’s Darien scheme was caught in the crossfire.

English parliamentary skullduggery, egged on
by its well-connected trading companies, made sure no international financial support—from England or abroad—was forthcoming. Paterson returned home to persuade the directors of the fledgling Company of Scotland to promote with Scottish money his vision of the Darien scheme. He understood the need to create a buzz to excite investors’ imaginations. “If a thing goes not on with the first heat,” he wrote to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, “the raising of a Fund seldom or never succeeds, the multitude being commonly ledd more by example than Reason.”

Paterson never doubted the outcome. Who could resist the prospects? Darien had come highly recommended by the Jamaican pirate Wafer, who considered it a splendid slave-trading base with easy access to unlimited exotic timber and undeveloped gold mines. It was just a matter of pumping this golden opportunity to the right people. He initially touted his scheme to the Scottish elite, knowing the merchants and the hoi polloi would follow. Just before the books opened in Edinburgh, a pamphlet trumpeted the importance of the company’s role in the nation’s future. “Scotland’s Security, Peace and Greatness” depended on it. “He won’t be looked upon as a true Scotchman that is against it,” said Lord Basil Hamilton, an ardent supporter.

The Company of Scotland opened its books for subscriptions in Edinburgh on February 26, 1696. Pledges “came in Shoals from all corners of the Kingdom to Edinburgh, Rich, Poor, Blind and Lame, to lodge their subscriptions in the Company’s House and to have a glimpse of the man Paterson,” wrote Walter Herries, who signed up as surgeon on the first voyage. The goal was £300,000 in pledges—more than $7 billion today—a huge sum for impoverished Scotland. The minimum share was £100 sterling, about $20,000. The maximum, £3,000 pounds, today weighs in at $600,000. By February’s end, almost a third of the total had been pledged. In April, following an excellent month, the target rose to £400,000. At the end of the day, the company said private and public investments represented a fifth of the Scottish population.

The success of what today would be called its IPO sowed the seeds of the company’s misfortunes. The problem was that its directors had little or, in most cases, no experience of running a scheme of this size or scope. Fifteen of the twenty-five were lairds, landed gentry who had never set foot in Darien nor knew where it
was. Problems were not anticipated or ignored. In rainy Scotland, where summer temperatures seldom rise above seventy-five, the concepts of tropical swelter and disease were not considered. The basis of what the colony was about—trading—posed a dilemma. Of what would the cargo consist? What Scottish goods would create a demand? The insularity of Scots inexperienced in world markets contributed to what was about to become an enormous commercial flop.

Ships were ordered from Amsterdam and Hamburg, built and paid for at top dollar when chartering would have made more economic sense. The thought of bulging coffers instilled confidence. Getting the subscribers to make their payments, however, became a hurdle that occasionally put the scheme’s future in doubt. There was talk of selling the ships, partly because director James Smyth, a Paterson buddy, made off with more than $2 million in cash and banknotes. The company soldiered on, equipping the expedition for its July 1698 send-off. The main tradeworthy products were Scottish-made textiles, but what historians remember best is the list of inappropriate goods stuffed in the ships’ holds bound for an undeveloped tropical market: slippers, coarse wool stockings, periwigs, Bibles, women’s and men’s shoes, combs, and “Scotch” hats.

The voyage to Panama, by way of Madeira, took fifteen weeks. With the help of a one-time pirate turned pilot, the fleet anchored just off the Panama coast on November 1, a point known today as Punta Escoces, or Scots Point. Captain Pennecuik of the St. Andrew and commodore of the fleet wrote: “The Harbour is capable of containing a 1000 sail of the best Shipps in the World. And without great trouble Wharfs may be run out, to which Shipps of the greatest Burthen may lay their sides and unload.” Nat Edwards, a National Library of Scotland researcher, visited the Darien site in 2006 and saw things differently, reporting, “You really had to stand on the shore of Punta Escoces to realize that the Scots were bound to disaster the moment they chose the site of the settlement they christened Caledonia. The bay was a beautiful deadly trap.”

Currents and winds made maneuvering ships in and out of the bay difficult. Then there was the climate, which made growing anything a challenge. Trying to keep the settlers’ bellies filled was an uphill task. Above all else, rampant disease did the Scots in. Plague, dysentery, typhoid, yellow fever, malaria, and smallpox ran through the colony. Tropical disease had already taken its toll at sea. About forty settlers never even made it off the boats. For those that did make it ashore, it was a battle. Colin Campbell of the Unicorn kept a diary:

- November 6th The printers boy died
- 7th All our sick men were carried ashore, at night one of our gentlemen named Ja. Clerk dyed
- 8th One Mr. Jenner, servt to Mr. Paterson dyed
- 12th Mr Paterson’s Lady dyed
- 17th John Sim who was steward to the Capt. dyed
- 19th Mr. Adam Scot our minister dyed
- 21st One of our midshipmen Andrew Hamilton dyed
- 24th our Councillors gave orders that the Endeavour should be sent home for Scotland, but countermanded since, for every day we were told by the Indians that the Spaniards are coming to fight against us.

That was the last of Campbell’s entries, except one saying he aimed to head for home at his first opportunity. Coming less than a month after his arrival, it suggests how daunting was the Darien situation. Nevertheless, building the colony pushed ahead. The settlers cleared land and, to deter the Spanish expected any moment, erected fortifications. Before leaving Scotland, the company had ignored the conquistador threat. Now it was obvious the Spanish saw the Scots as interlopers, pirates after their gold, who stirred up Indians to terrorize their Spanish masters. What was more, the Protestant Scots were heretics whom the Roman Catholic Spanish must root out.

Six months into the enterprise and 5,000 miles from home, the Scots, dying ten a day, turned to the English authorities in Jamaica for support. None was forthcoming. In London, King William, attempting to placate the Spanish empire, decreed that henceforth it would be an offense to trade, support, or supply the colony. The Scots were on their own. June 16, a desperately ill William Paterson boarded the Unicorn.
once again headed home. Ashore remained a handful of men too sick to travel and the mortal remains of 400 unfortunate Scottish settlers marked with rows of white crosses, among them Paterson’s wife, Hannah, and child.

As the vessels beat their retreat, Captain Drummond of the Caledonia reported more than a hundred bodies buried at sea before reaching New York. July 1, the Endeavour sank. Aboard the Unicorn, Paterson reckoned 150 of the 250 passengers and crew died before raising Sandy Hook. On the St. Andrew, 100 died before landfall in Jamaica, where English government representatives refused to help the survivors.

Yet unknown to the Darien settlers, reinforcements had been dispatched, and a second expedition of four merchantmen was massing on Scotland’s west coast. Despite news of disaster sent by the colonists, Company of Scotland directors would not credit rumors the colony had foundered, and were unwilling to surrender their vision.

The second expedition, comprising four ships carrying 1,300 colonists, sailed into the Caledonia harbor on St. Andrew’s Day, November 30, 1699. One hundred and sixty people died during the journey. Disappointment turned to despair, and shades of the Jamestown colony, the leaders began to bicker, factions formed, there were fallings out, men were imprisoned, and the colony descended into its death throes. Disease, as before, hastened its demise. Within five months, the Spanish found their military muscle, and the colony faced its final act. The Scots were too weak to put up much resistance and surrendered to a Spanish force led by General Juan de Pimienta. The Scots sailed away April 12, 1700, abandoning Caledonia and the hopes of a nation. None of the ships made it home.

There was hardly a family in Scotland not affected by the Darien Disaster. Nigh on 2,000 souls lost their lives. Thousands of investors lost their shirts. The nation was in shock. Queen Anne’s offer to bail out the investors to the tune £400,000 sterling was too good for the Scots Parliament to refuse. They signed on the dotted line. In 1707 the United Kingdom of Great Britain was born. Old enemies were now one. In 1791, poet Robert Burns wrote, “We’re bought and sold for English Gold . . . Such a parcel of rogues in a Nation.”

William Paterson is remembered in Panama as one of the first to consider joining the Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans. His words describing the Panama Isthmus—“The Door of the Seas and the Keys of the Universe”—are carved into the Canal Builders Monument overlooking the Panama Canal and the Bridge of the Americas.

For almost 300 years, Scotland and England have been one country. All Scots are to vote in a September 18, 2014, referendum to decide if the Union should end, the first time since 1707 that Scotland’s citizens have been offered the choice.

Andrew Gardner, who writes on Canada’s Salt Spring Island, contributed to the spring 2013 journal the article “We Are Not Going to Go Away,” about Virginia’s Pamunkey Indians.

Suggestions for further reading:

Nat Edwards, Caledonia’s Last Stand: In Search of the Lost Scots of Darien (Edinburgh, 2007).


Checking Back with

By Cathy Hellier

The Founding Fathers, for most Americans, those three words conjure admiration. The founders gained for their country independence from Great Britain and established a republican government. The founders seem like bedrock and wise. Historians have helped us to see their fallibilities as well as their strengths, but we still admire their accomplishments.

Admiration, however, doesn’t prevent the Founding Fathers’ use for divergent political and social ends. Technologies and mores change rapidly, government seems gridlocked, and some social problems look unsolvable. Some Americans look to the founders to determine original intent—and how their intentions might inform the interpretation of foundational documents. Some perceive the founders as foresighted men who created a flexible Constitution to be amended and interpreted as society evolves. Either way, Americans are always checking back with them.

Historian François Furstenberg has shown that after George Washington’s death in 1799, Americans used the memory of his strengths to attempt to create national virtue. In the 1820s and 1830s, Americans became aware that the founding generation would soon be extinguished. Abraham Lincoln spoke of the passing of the veterans of the Revolution in 1838:

They are gone.—They were a forest of giant oaks; but the all-resistless hurricane has swept over them, and left only, here and there, a lonely trunk, despoiled of its verdure, shorn of its foliage; unshading and unshaded, to murmur in a few gentle breezes, and to combat with its mutilated limbs, a few more ruder storms, then to sink, and be no more.

Essentially, post-Revolutionary America had been forward thinking, but Americans of the 1820s and 1830s looked back. They remembered the founders and the veterans who started the nation. Nostalgia was part of the motivation, but not all. The divisiveness of Jacksonian politics, economic upheavals, industrialization, and the rise of abolitionism, among other things, created social anxiety. Early nineteenth-century Americans turned to founder-worship to calm themselves and unify the coun-

A twentieth-century design drawing for a stained glass window sanctifies the founders as timeless and perfect.
try—with mixed results. In the process, Americans created myths of founder unity.

Post-Revolution, their fellow Americans had not perceived the founders as unified. Washington's death sent the nation into deep mourning. Americans wondered who would hold the country together. The founders had fractured into political parties. Federalists and Republicans—or Democratic-Republicans as they also are known—saw ruination in the other's ideology. The future of the United States was uncertain. There was a possibility parts of it would break off and go their own ways. They might join Britain or Spain, other nations with a presence on the continent. The United States was in a quasi-war with its former ally France.

The Federalists and Republicans could not agree about diplomatic and domestic issues. The infighting of the founders themselves threatened the union. The divisive presidential election of 1800 resulted in the defeat of incumbent Federalist president John Adams, and an electoral college tie between Thomas Jefferson and his Democratic-Republican colleague, Aaron Burr. After political maneuvering, the Federalist-controlled House of Representatives settled the election in Jefferson's favor—on the thirty-sixth ballot. Still, as fraught as the process had been, power had passed from one party to another without civil war.

The political parties still wrangled, but the fledgling United States achieved a more secure position among the world's early nineteenth-century nations. The Convention of 1800 settled the quasi-war with France. In 1803, Napoleon Bonaparte sold Louisiana, which he had acquired from Spain in 1800, to the United States, abandoning his plans for a French empire on the North American mainland. The War of 1812 with Great Britain ceased in 1815. Subsequent agreements resolved border issues, including disarmament along the United States–Canada border. By a treaty ratified in 1821, Spain ceded East and West Florida, as well as its territory in the northwest, to the United States, and the countries came to a boundary agreement concerning western lands. United States naval squadrons and diplomats freed American shipping from the depredations of the Barbary Pirates in 1815. In 1823, President James Monroe articulated the tenets of American foreign policy that came to be known as the Monroe Doctrine:
European and American spheres of influence should be separate; the American continents were not to be further colonized by European powers; and America would not interfere with European politics or European colonies already in the Americas. These developments quieted American anxiety about “foes without.”

The United States was finding its feet globally, but events at home triggered those-were-the-days wistfulness. When the nation came out on top in the War of 1812, often considered the Second American Revolution, people began thinking anew about the first Revolutionary War and its veterans. In 1818, for the first time, Congress granted pensions to needy veterans, not just to the disabled. In 1832, another congressional act provided for anyone who met the service requirements, regardless of need. Helping grandpa document his service and apply for his pension allowed younger generations to hear war stories they might not have before. Soldiers and sailors who had served in the recent British conflict bonded with veterans of the Revolution.

The Marquis de Lafayette’s return to the United States in 1824 and 1825 turned America’s collective mind to the events of fifty years before. That was President James Monroe’s intention when he invited the last living Revolutionary War general to be the guest of the nation. Lafayette arrived in New York in August 1824 to enthusiastic crowds and commenced a triumphal tour of all twenty-four states. The former American general visited cities large and
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Lafayette's tour prepared the nation for the fifty-year anniversaries of the events of 1776 to 1783. The most significant was the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1826. The deaths of Thomas Jefferson and John Adams that day lent the anniversary an almost mystical quality. Of the signers, Charles Carroll of Carrollton remained. The founders, Washington always the greatest among them, could now be immortalized as a group.

There is a difference, though, between nostalgia as the pleasure of remembering the past and nostalgia as a yearning for a simpler time because the present is too stressful. The 1820s and 1830s were times of change, and the changes were unsettling. The post–War of 1812 economic boom turned into a bust. The causes were complex, including war debt, loose credit, reduced demand for American goods, and efforts to
contain the crisis. In the optimism after the war, state banks lent money too freely to men building businesses and factories, and buying land. In 1818, the Second Bank of the United States tried to rein in inflation by calling in loans to the state banks. It became tightfisted about credit and reduced the money supply. In the same year, European demand for American goods contracted after the Napoleonic Wars, and many indebted businessmen went bankrupt. Their collateral was worth less than they owed. Property values tumbled. Agricultural prices crashed. Many banks closed, and others sharply reduced the credit they extended. Unemployment and poverty rose. The Panic of 1819 produced a depression that lasted three years and led to a profound hostility toward banks and elite officeholders.

Out of the war and panic came a shake-up in American politics. The last gasp of the Federalists was in 1816, when they put forward their final unsuccessful presidential candidate. The Republicans ruled the country, but fissures in the party became chasms when some party members—New, or National, Republicans—began supporting positions Federalists had embraced. They backed a national bank and protective tariffs, which Old Republicans—or Democrats—opposed. Both parties, which had to have backing from all sections and social groups, became more modern. They courted the masses, resulting in wider political participation. Party rancor was more widespread, too. Martin Van Buren described the political need to reach beyond the elites: “Those who have wrought great changes in the world never succeeded by gaining over chiefs; but always by exciting the multitude.” States eased or abolished franchise property requirements, so more white men could vote. At the same time, several states denied free black men the voting rights they had for years.

Andrew Jackson rode the wave of voter turnout to the presidency in 1828. For the first time, the nation had a chief executive who was not a Virginian or an Adams. He called himself the champion of the common people. Jackson believed that the founders’ privileging of Congress over the president was wrongheaded because the states elected the president, and his powers should balance Congress’s. Jackson sought to strengthen the presidency. He replaced long-serving officials with people he knew and trusted. His critics called it a “spoils system.” Jackson viewed it as housecleaning. The new president used the veto liberally. A Tennessee planter, Jackson was pro-slavery and supported westward expansion of the institution, to the detriment of the
Cherokee, Creek, and Seminole displaced by the Indian Removal Act of 1830. He was distrustful of banks, paper money, and eastern power brokers. Jackson’s priorities and politics can be viewed as a result of the Panic of 1819.

The Missouri Crisis revealed the extent of sectionalism. Missouri was the first state in the Louisiana Purchase to request admission to the Union. It would be a slave state, and northerners feared future states from the Purchase would be slave states, too. In addition, there was no balancing free state to be admitted at the same time. Slave states would outnumber free states in Congress. There was talk of civil war. The issue was the place of slavery in the nation’s future. The Missouri Compromise of 1820 balanced Missouri’s admission with Maine’s and set a northern boundary in the Louisiana Territory but did not settle the issues of sectionalism and slavery. In 1832, South Carolina declared federal protective tariffs benefitting Northern industries null and void within its borders. The rise of aggressive northern abolitionism kept sectional controversies boiling.

Who Were the Founding Fathers, Anyway?

If you took pen to paper to start a list of the Founding Fathers, you’d discover the term defines something closer to a concept than to a roster of America’s first team. George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams—they’d be on just about all our lists, but where do we go from there?


The publishers of the New Oxford American Dictionary say a Founding Father is “a member of the convention that drew up the U.S. Constitution in 1787.” The National Archives adds to the inventory the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Some Convention delegates skipped the meeting, and not all who attended signed the Constitution, but they made the archive’s collection anyway. Such folks as Caleb Strong, William Davie, John Lansing Jr., and James McClurg. Someone said there are more famous people than we’ve heard of, and he was right. Wonder who he was?

Archives inked in 103 names—none of them Henry, Revere, Penn, Williams, Bradford, Smith, Otis, Marshall, Jay, Knox, or Pickering—and left us to pick up from there. It makes sense to start with men from the original thirteen colonies, but we can put anyone on our list who, it seems to us, did something to help kick-start the country. After all, it’s our list. To get you going, here are the first 103:

CONNECTICUT
Oliver Ellsworth
Samuel Huntington
William Samuel Johnson
Roger Sherman
William Williams
Oliver Wolcott

MASSACHUSETTS
Richard Bassett
Gunning Bedford Jr.
Jacob Broom
John Dickinson
Thomas McKean
George Read
Caesar Rodney

NEW HAMPSHIRE
Robert Treat Paine
Caleb Strong

NEW JERSEY
David Brearly
Abraham Clark
Jonathan Dayton
John Hart
Francis Hopkinson
William C. Houston
William Livingston
William Paterson
Richard Stockton
John Witherspoon

NEW YORK
Rufus King
Nathaniel Gorham
Elbridge Gerry
John Hancock

OHIO
Abraham Baldwin
William Few
Button Gwinnett
Lyman Hall
William Houston
William L. Pierce
George Walton

MARYLAND
Charles Carroll
Daniel Carroll
Samuel Chase
Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer
Luther Martin
John F. Mercer
James McHenry

GEORGIA
Abraham Baldwin
William Few
Button Gwinnett
Lyman Hall
William Houston
William L. Pierce
George Walton

CONNECTICUT
Oliver Ellsworth
Samuel Huntington
William Samuel Johnson
Roger Sherman
William Williams
Oliver Wolcott

MASSACHUSETTS
Richard Bassett
Gunning Bedford Jr.
Jacob Broom
John Dickinson
Thomas McKean
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Caesar Rodney

NEW HAMPSHIRE
Robert Treat Paine
Caleb Strong

NEW JERSEY
David Brearly
Abraham Clark
Jonathan Dayton
John Hart
Francis Hopkinson
William C. Houston
William Livingston
William Paterson
Richard Stockton
John Witherspoon
Related to the economic booms and busts was the industrialization of the nation, especially in the North. Textile factories, steel mills, and other manufacturers were becoming entrenched in American society by 1830. Steam power assisted the fabrication and transport of products. Industrial centers drew people from farming districts, and cities boomed. Factory hours were long, and conditions could be dangerous. Still, a steady paycheck seemed more reliable than the vicissitudes of farming. The Panic of 1837 smashed that illusion when, again, businesses folded and thousands were out of work. Mass production, however, crowded out the small craftsman. Newly industrialized America was far from Thomas Jefferson’s agrarian idyll.

To some Americans, these political, social, and economic changes were unnerving. The old elites, especially, looked back and wondered where it had all gone wrong. To preserve their version of the colonial and Revolutionary past, groups of gentlemen began the nation’s earliest state historical societies in the 1820s and 1830s. The Massachusetts Historical Society, although founded in the 1790s, had lain largely dormant until its resurgence in the 1830s. Pennsylvania’s and Virginia’s

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—J. Hunter Barbour

emphasized the memory of their Founding Fathers. They were part of a movement that looked to the past and presumed it was simpler than the present, a movement that created myths that skewed history.

Historian Jean B. Lee writes that the Revolutionary past “reduced the immense complexities and cross-currents of the Revolution to a distilled, didactic narrative of heroism and self-sacrifice, dedication to ideals of liberty, and the conviction that America’s founding experience had altered the course of human history.” There is truth in the story, as far as it goes, and the distilled narrative is the one that made its way into the textbooks—and stayed there. It is the history many Americans learned in school. It is the one they like to remember. Perhaps, the whole story would better serve today: that the wise, but fallible, founders came together in the messiness of their disagreements and made decisions that changed the world.

Cathy Hellier, a historian in The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation’s department of training and historical research, contributed to the autumn 2011 journal “Gentleman’s Servant,” a story about valets before and now.
It’s a group of farmers mostly. Brought together by a patriotic mission that would change the course of history and the lives of every single American citizen forever after.

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The Mind of Miss Mary Johnston

by Ivor Noel Hume
She stares out at us from her posed, formal photograph with a small mouth and eyes that seem to disbelieve what she is seeing. It is a face some might construe as the façade of a simple mind and an empty head. But they would be wrong—dead wrong.

In 1902, Mary Johnston was an accomplished author whose imagination would put tumbledown Williamsburg on the national map and keep it there, to be born again a quarter of a century later in the hands of John D. Rockefeller Jr. Two of its eighteenth-century historic houses became part of Johnston’s legacy, albeit overshadowed by the great names that fathered the United States.

At the turn of the twentieth century, the two-story dwelling now known as the Coke-Garrett House was home to Lottie and Mary Garrett, sisters of its owner, Van F. Garrett, professor of chemistry at the College of William and Mary. June 25, 1902, in a letter to Lottie Garrett, Johnston recalled her “memory of the day and night which Corlie (cousin Eloise?) and I spent in your charming home.” It was, however, the second house whose association with Johnston lingered into the 1950s. Known today as the Everard House, in 1907
college President Lyon G. Tyler described it in his book Williamsburg: The Old Colonial Capital as “Audrey’s House.” It was, he said, “a small, typical house of the eighteenth century, on the east side of the Palace Green, made famous by Mary Johnston as the house of Audry described in a novel of that name.” “Audrey” was the correct spelling of the novel’s name, the story-and-a-half house is believed to have been built about 1718 for gunsmith John Brush, and it is one of the earliest surviving domestic structures in the city.

Mary Johnston was born November 21, 1870, in Buchanan, a Botetourt County, Virginia, village, the oldest of six children. Her father, lawyer John William Johnston, had served the Confederacy as an artillery officer, but in the post–Civil War years, business and civic commitments took him away from the Allegheny Mountains, leaving Mary and her siblings to be raised by their mother. She died in 1889, when Mary was nineteen. The girl had always been pale and sickly, and so had no schooling away from the house—which makes her later achievements more interesting. By the time she was thirty-two, she was among the nation’s bestselling novelists.

There were no reporters around to ask how she spent her childhood, what she learned of her father’s war service, or what books she read. All these, and more unanswered questions, would have relevance as Johnston’s literary career blossomed. Her first book, Prisoner of Hope, written while she was still tending her family in Botetourt County, was published in 1898 and focused on colonial Virginia. Its success prompted another colonial tale, To Have and to Hold. At first serialized by the Atlantic Monthly in 1899, the book was published by Houghton Mifflin in 1900 and sold more than 500,000 copies.

Perhaps buoyed by her book royalties, Johnston moved from the mountains to Richmond’s 113 East Grace Street. She was there in April 1903, when she wrote letters to Lottie Garrett, the first saying that she “was sending another photograph,” presumably of herself, and the second no more than a hello note. The letters preserved in the Garrett Family Papers, 1786–1928, at the College of William and Mary’s Earl Gregg Swem Library, began in March 1901, after Lottie Garrett nominated Johnston for membership in the Colonial Capital Branch of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities. The association had its first meeting at Williamsburg’s Tayloe House in 1889. By the turn of the century, its roots were deep in the soil of architectural preservation and the protection of the South’s traditions of patriotism, courage, and decency. Most of the original members were lifelong residents of Williamsburg, Norfolk, and Richmond. Lacking local connections, Mary
Johnston almost certainly rested her qualifications on her fame as a writer of inspiring colonial novels.

Written in 1901, Audrey was published in 1902, and so had not made its mark when, from Virginia Beach on March 19, Johnston wrote her first known letter to “My dear Miss Garrett.” In it, she said she was planning a Williamsburg visit. A month later, she wrote from Birmingham, Alabama, thanking the Garretts for their hospitality but giving no clue to the purpose or length of her Williamsburg stay. Whether the book was formulated during the visit is not known, but it is clear that by the time she wrote it she had amassed enough background history to plant it authentically amid the Virginia gentry of 1727.

Were it not for evidence to the contrary, one could reasonably deduce that Johnston drew her local history from sessions with Lottie Garrett in her home across the lane from the site of the colonial Capitol—which the APVA had acquired in 1897. Instead, as President Tyler said, the source was the smaller house on Palace Green, then probably known as the Smith home. Cora and Estelle Smith were another pair of unmarried sisters who reportedly provided a roof over Johnston’s head while she wrote her Tidewater novel. There is no hint in Lottie Garrett’s letters that there was such a stay or association.

Nevertheless, a sufficient friendship had developed for Lottie Garrett to attempt a visit to Johnston in Richmond that prompted a sorry-to-have-missed-you response May 9, 1903. Then silence until April 1907, when she wrote from the Hotel Seville in New York regretting that she could not accept Garrett’s invitation to return to Williamsburg, but saying, “Did you know that I really love Williamsburg and did you ever guess that I am just a little fond of you and your sister Mary.” That might be read as a wealthy author saying something nice to an ordinary Williamsburg person. That Garrett kept these short letters might today be seen as evidence of a fan- and-star fixation.

The last of Johnston’s letters was written from Richmond in December 1907 and may have been a response to another invitation. Addressed to “My dear Miss Lottie,” it said, “Some day I am coming to Williamsburg again to see the dear old place and certain dear people.” That Mary was but fifty miles away in Richmond suggests that “some day” was not just around the corner.

Perhaps borne along by the success of To Have and to Hold, Audrey became the nation’s fifth best-seller of 1902. It is likely that...
in the Petersburg rectory of the young Reverend Dr. W. A. R. Goodwin, father of restored Williamsburg, there was a copy of Johnston’s new book. If he read it, his imagination could not but be stirred by her description of Duke of Gloucester Street:

Broad, unpaved, deep in dust, shaded upon its ragged edges by mulberries and poplars, it ran without shadow from the gates of William and Mary to the wide sweep before the Capitol. Houses bordered it, flush with the street or setback in fragrant gardens; other and narrower ways opened from it; half way down its length wide greens, where the buttercups were thick in the grass, stretched north and south.

Johnston had created in her mind a Williamsburg as serene and beautiful as it would become in the hands of its 1930s restorers. But hers was the town as she imagined it in 1727. As she sat in a window of the Everard House, she could look across Palace Green to the red brick of the George Wythe House, which would later become the heart of Goodwin’s domain. Her hero, she wrote, “lodged upon Palace Street in a square brick house, lived in by an ancient couple who could remember Puritan rule in Virginia, who had served Sir William Berkeley, and had witnessed the burning of Jamestown by Bacon.” Johnston’s old couple was fictional. She knew that, but she did not know that its square brick home would not be built until 1752.

Visible information available to Johnston as she re-created life in early Williamsburg was minimal. The Governor’s Palace burned in 1781, the Capitol in 1747, the Wren Building of the college in 1859 and 1862, and about 1770 the old theater next door was demolished. The detailed appearance of the three key colonial buildings went unrecorded until 1937, when the Bodleian Plate of 1740 was discovered in Oxford’s Bodleian Library. Of the surviving frame buildings in 1900, all Johnston could expect to learn was that some were old. They doubtless looked it.

In the mortifying years following the Civil War, there had been little incentive and few dollars to spend on gardens or sidings. And such new buildings that were going up or converting old to new focused on the needs of now and showed little or no respect for way back when. This was the town that Goodwin saw when he took over the rectorship of Bruton Parish in 1903. Like Mary Johnston, he was inspired by the traces of all he could no longer see, but unlike her, he felt ghosts urging him to make them live again. It would take him the rest of his life and millions of Rockefeller dollars to make that happen. Johnston could bring the past alive with only a pen and a ream of paper.

Goodwin’s ghosts were seen only by him. If Thomas Jefferson’s shoe buckles were not of the right shape, they alone knew it. Johnston’s people, however, were in danger of becoming unreal as soon as she added an undocumented detail. Her hero entered a store and found at the back of it “a
row of dusty bottles, and breaking the neck of one with a report like that of a pistol, set the Madeira to his lips.” What could be wrong with that, asks anyone who lacks knowledge of 1727 glass bottles? The answer was that bottles of that period had such thick necks that to break them one had to smash the shoulder and lose the wine. In 1902 Virginia, nobody knew one old bottle from another, and Mary Johnston would be dead before they did. In fairness, however, one might mention that today many a movie company does not know how antique its bottle must be to be period correct.

Mary’s colonial world was one not of dust and broken bottles, but of the serenity of nature. She wrote:

Away from the shadow of the trees, the full moon had changed the night-time into a wonderful silver, silver day. Narrow above and below, the stream widened before him into a fairy basin, rimmed with reeds unruffled, crystal clear, stiller than a dream. The trees that grew upon the farther side were faint gray clouds in the moonlight, and the gold of the fireflies was very pale. From over the water, out of the heart of the moonlight wood, came the song of a mockingbird, a tumultuous ecstasy, possessing the air and making elfin the night.

Looking again at her portrait, it is hard to imagine the tumultuous ecstasy that burned behind the mask of Johnston’s staring eyes. It is equally hard to believe that her ears could hear the roar of cannon and the cries of dying men at Chancellorsville, but her Civil War novel of 1911, The Long Roll, was regarded as the best of its genre before Margaret Mitchell’s Gone with the Wind, published in 1936—the year that Johnston died. Johnston’s book should not be confused with another of the name published in 1911. It is the diary of Charles Johnson, who served in the Hawkins Zouaves from 1861 to 1863.

Johnston also wrote what she knew. Her father had seen war’s horrors, proud Confederate families remembered the Battle of Williamsburg and the ignominy of Federal occupation, and the scorched ruins of Richmond were still there for her to see. Johnston carried the carnage through to its end in her second Civil War book and titled it Cease Firing.

Again, her work was praised, and her publishers and readers waited for more. Between 1913 and 1921, she wrote eight books, leading in the following year to 1492, her account of the Columbus voyages.

As in all her books, the main characters were the products of Johnston’s mind, and whether male or female they presented her views of life as she knew it in the early twentieth century.

An activist for women’s rights, she used her literary fame as the podium for her voice. In 1909 she founded the Equal Suffrage League of Virginia, and promoted her cause before the legislatures in Tennessee and West Virginia. She was opinionated and forceful, one might say driven, and her espousal of Women’s Suffrage led to waning royalty checks as some of her early readers fell away, preferring adventures to lectures. Undeterred, she kept writing, her mind more nimble than her always-fragile health, and in 1911 she left Richmond and returned to the kinder climate of the Alleghenies. At Warm Springs, where Jefferson had enjoyed the waters, she and her unmarried sisters built a still-existing mansion they called Three Hills.

A productive writer, Johnston wrote eight books between 1913 and 1921, set anywhere from Columbus’s time to the Civil War.
A victim of Bright's disease, Johnston died there at the age of sixty-five. Brought back to Richmond, she lies in Hollywood Cemetery alongside the military, political, and literary great of the Old Dominion. Few remember, however, that she made Williamsburg the household word that it remains.

Everard House visitors learn about its colonial owners: John Brush, who died in 1727, the year Johnston’s Audrey came to town; William Dering, who taught dancing in the 1740s; and lawyer and sometime Williamsburg mayor Thomas Everard, who died in the house in 1781. No one recalls, however, that the fictional Pocahontas-like Audrey, star of Charles Stagg’s next-door theater, also died there, having been stabbed by a spurned suitor. “They bore her into the small white house and up the stairs to her own room, and laid her upon the bed,” Johnston wrote. “There was a crowd in Palace Street before the theatre. . . . A man mounting the doorstep so that he might be heard of all, said clearly, ‘She may live until dawn,—no longer.’” Nor did she.

Though drawn from the author’s imagination, the ghosts of Colonel William Byrd and his daughter Evelyn may yet be at the bedside of Mary Johnston’s dying heroine as she lay in that upstairs room of the Audrey House.

Author and archaeologist Ivor Noël Hume contributed to the autumn 2012 journal a story on the history of the concept of Britannia. He is indebted to Harriet Seraydarian for genealogical assistance, and to historian Wilford Kale for transcriptions of the Garrett letters.

Suggestions for further reading:
Mary Johnston, To Have and to Hold (Boston and New York, 1900), https://archive.org/details/tohavetoholdjohn
———, Prisoners of Hope: A Tale of Colonial Virginia (Boston and New York, 1900), https://archive.org/details/prisonersofhopet00johniala
———, Audrey (Boston and New York, 1902), https://archive.org/details/audrey00unkngoog
———, Cease Firing (Boston and New York, 1912), https://archive.org/details/ceasefiring00unkngoog
Lyon Gardiner Tyler, Williamsburg: The Old Colonial Capital (Richmond, 1907), https://archive.org/details/williamsburgold00tylegoog
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The emigration into America of British, as well as of Continental, people is the eulogy of America by the most competent and sincere arbiters.

—Ralph Waldo Emerson, 1870

The bosom of America is open to receive not only the Opulent and respectable Stranger, but the oppressed and persecuted of all Nations and Religions; whom we shall welcome to a participation of all our rights and privileges, if by decency and propriety of conduct they appear to merit the enjoyment.

—George Washington, 1783
George Washington’s observation was echoed one hundred years later in Emma Lazarus’s sonnet engraved on the Statue of Liberty. “No other nation,” British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher said, “has so successfully combined people of different races and nations within a single culture.” Historian Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. pointed out: “The luck so far of the American experiment has been due in large part to the vision of the melting pot.” “In this great American asylum,” wrote eighteenth-century French immigrant J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, “the poor of Europe have by some means met together . . . . Urged by a variety of motives, here they came.” America is indeed a nation of immigrants.

During the first century of American colonization, about 200,000 European immigrants arrived in North America. Most came from England, but there were small numbers from other nations. Beginning early in the eighteenth century, large numbers of Scotch-Irish and Germans came. Historian Bernard Bailyn points out in his Voyagers to the West, “More numerous than either of these flows were enslaved blacks, whose forced emigration from Africa had begun to contribute significantly to the American population as early as the 1680s.” By 1760, he said, “175,000 slaves were brought to British North America by which time blacks constituted 40 percent of Virginia’s population and 60 percent of South Carolina’s.”

Establishment of colonies required people. In England, Parliament’s Plantation Act of 1740 said: “The increase of People is a Means of advancing the Wealth and Strength of any Nation or Country.” Because of a shortage of labor, most colonies encouraged and welcomed all immigrants from anywhere as long as they were Protestants. Population of the initial settlements grew slowly, especially in Virginia, because of disease, lack of supplies, and Indian attacks. But once the settlements were firmly established, the attractions of free land, easy naturalization, and religious toleration were irresistible. Population grew so fast that in some colonies it doubled, or tripled, every twenty years.

Because New England restricted immigration to nonconformists, its population grew slowly. Rhode Island, where religious toleration was standard practice, was the exception. The charter of Massachusetts Bay gave it authority to protect itself “by all fitting ways and means whatsoever, from all such persons as should attempt the destruction, invasion detriment, or annoyance of any of the plantations or inhabitants thereof.” The authorities took that as the power to discourage people with different religious views or different language and customs. Bailyn wrote that in 1637 the General Court of Massachusetts Bay “passed an order to the effect that no town or person in the colony should receive or entertain any new-comer without permission of the authorities.” Because of that exclusiveness, immigration to New England nearly stopped after 1640. Its population grew mostly from natural advance. Dominated by Puritans, Massachusetts Bay prohibited Catholic settlers, and any who dared enter would be banished. For a second offense, the penalty was death. The first Quakers who entered Boston in 1656 were expelled, and three years later the General Court imposed the death penalty on any Quaker who was expelled and returned. New England’s attitude began to soften when in 1682 some French Huguenots were granted lands there, and in 1739 Massachusetts passed an act naturalizing the French Protestants residing in that colony, noting their good behavior.

Though the New England colonies tended to restrict immigration, the others encouraged new settlers by offering such inducements as exemption from taxes for several years, religious toleration, and an easy road to naturalization. Naturalization was an important inducement because under British law aliens were prohibited from purchasing...
or inheriting real estate and holding public office. When England took over New Netherland in 1664 and renamed it New York, it naturalized the Dutch inhabitants. In 1781, New York continued to encourage immigration by naturalizing all resident aliens.

When recruited new settlers were promised religious toleration, bigotry and prejudice often undermined the assurance. A Virginia law of 1629 said that all ministers should conform to the canons of the Church of England, and in 1642 Virginia barred Catholics from public office and said “any popish prest [sic] that shall hereafter arrive to remaine above five days after warning given for his departure by the Governour or comander of the place where he or they shall bee, if wind and weather hinder not his departure,” should be fined one thousand pounds of tobacco.

The Virginia Act of Naturalization of 1671 offered aliens a quick road to the rights of natural-born Englishmen:

Any stranger desireing to make this country the place of their constant residence, may upon their petition to the grand assembly, and taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to his majestie be admitted to a naturalization, and by act thereof to them granted be capable of free traffique and trading, of takeing up, purchasing, conveying, deviseing and inheriting of lands, and of all such liberties, privileges, immunities whatsoever, as a naturall borne Englishmen is capable of; Provided that the benefit of such naturalization be confined and esteemed to extend only to the government of Virginia, beyond which this grand assembly pretend to noe authority of warranting it sufficiencie, Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the fie for every naturalization be eight hundred pounds of tobacco to the speaker, and flowre hundred to the clerke of the assembly.

Renewed in 1680, the act now secured the titles to lands purchased by “several aliens and forreigners” before they had been naturalized. Up to that time, naturalizations required an act of the General Assembly. Now the alien could take “the oath of allegiance before the governour or comander in chiefe for the tyme being” to enjoy all the privileges that “any of his majesties free borne subjects have or enjoy.” Planter Robert Beverley summarized the naturalization procedure in his History and Present State of Virginia, published in 1705: “Christians of all Nations, have equal freedom here, and upon Arrival, become Ipso facto, entitled to all the Liberties and Priviledges of the Country, provided they take the Oaths of Obedience to the Crown, and Government.” He said Virginia was “the best poor Man’s Country in the World.”

During the seventeenth century, most of the arrivals in Virginia were from the British Isles, but the next century saw an influx of immigrants from continental Europe. In 1700, Virginia welcomed its first contingent of French Huguenots. They settled on a 10,000-acre tract above the James River falls, where they were exempt from public taxes for seven years. In 1714, Governor Alexander Spotswood settled German and Swiss immigrants on the frontier to develop his ironworks. He named the place Germanna, and the General Assembly exempted the settlers from taxes for seven years.
In 1738, the assembly passed “An Act, to encourage Settlements on the Southern Boundary of this Colony.” Because settlement there would increase the colony’s strength and security and “a considerable number of persons, as well of his majesty’s natural born subjects, as foreign protestants, are willing to import themselves, with their families and effects,” the settlers were exempted from all taxes for ten years. Any alien settling there would be granted letters of naturalization “upon certificate from the clerk of any county court, of his or her having taken the oaths appointed by act of parliament to be taken, instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; and taken and subscribed the oath of abjuration, and subscribed the test.”

At the same session, the assembly created two more counties, Frederick and Augusta, and granted “certain encouragements to the Inhabitants thereof.” The terms “for the better encouragement of aliens; and the more easy naturalization of such who shall come to inhabit there” were the same as granted persons who settled on the southern boundary. The assembly said the increased population would give “strength to this colony, and its security upon the frontiers . . . are liked to be increased and augmented.” The Germans who migrated from Pennsylvania into the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia took advantage of the easy naturalization.

In November 1746, John Snap and two others of his family took the necessary oaths before the Frederick County Court:

John Snap a German Protestant after having made it appear to the Court that he has been a Liver in this Colony above Seven Years & that he had complied with the Act of Parliament in that Case made & provided & also produced a Certificate under the hand of the Revd. Geo. Saml Klug Minister for the Germans in Orange County that he had receed the Sacrament of the Lords Supper in Order to Obtain Naturalization took the Oaths prescribed by Act of parliament to be taken instead of the Oaths of Allegiance & Supremacy & the Oath of Abjuration and then having subscribed the Test. The same was admitted to record.

The act of Parliament mentioned in the court order referred to the British Plantation Act of 1740. The British government was concerned about variation in naturalization acts from colony to colony, and the Plantation Act of 1740 was supposed to provide a standard procedure. It required a residence in a colony for seven years and the usual oaths or affirmations. The act was limited to Protestants and Quakers, but most colonies tended to ignore it. The act was an invitation to foreign immigrants to settle in America and to enjoy the privileges of British subjects.

To encourage German immigrants, Virginia’s Ohio Company, in 1753, offered special inducements to people who would settle on the company’s five hundred thousand acres “upon the Ohio River.” The company was “satisfied that a large Accession of foreign Protestants will not only be advantageous to this Colony but the most effectual method of promoting a speedy Settlement on the Ohio, and extending and securing the same.” The company said its terms of settlement were better than Pennsylvania’s “or other adjoining provinces.”

The company said that all foreign Protestants could expect “their religious Liberties” and that the settlers would be entitled to naturalization, “which
will be attended with all the Priviledges and Advantages of English natural born Subjects which are too many to be here enumerated.” After explaining Virginia’s low tax structure, the company informed the potential settlers that Virginia law exempted from taxes all foreign Protestants who settled west of the mountains. Because of the French and Indian War, all these advantages came to nothing.

**A**t the end of the French and Indian War, the English government began to be concerned about the growth of the American population. It feared that the Americans would begin to compete economically with Britain and that emigration from Britain would depopulate the mother country. Beginning in 1763 came a series of imperial decisions altering the relation between Great Britain and her colonies.

First came the Proclamation of 1763, which impinged upon many colonial charters that had land claims reaching far west. It prohibited settlement west of a line drawn along the crest of the Appalachian Mountains. The Proclamation Line prevented settlements beyond the crest and limited the physical growth of the colonies. In addition, Parliament began to curtail incentives for immigrants to America.

In 1767 for instance, the British Privy Council disallowed a “Georgia statute that offered free transportation to all Protestants who chose to emigrate from the British Isles.” It later disallowed a North Carolina act of 1771 that encouraged Scottish immigrants and offered a land grant for Highlanders from the Isle of Skye. Two years later, in an effort to limit free or low-cost land, governors of royal colonies were prohibited from issuing certain land grants without permission from the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations.

To further discourage immigration to America, the commissioners instructed royal governors, in December 1773,

That you not upon any pretence whatsoever give your assent to any Bill or Bills that may have been or shall hereafter be passed by the Council and Assembly of the Province under your Government for the naturalization of Aliens . . . nor for establishing a Title in any Person to Lands, Tenements & real estates in our said Province originally granted to, or purchased by Aliens antecedent to Naturalization.

Among the sins of George III enumerated by Thomas Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence was that “he has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.”

“Americans viewed themselves,” as historian James H. Kettner wrote, “as transformed by the Declaration from British subjects into citizens of new sovereign republics and began to articulate a new concept of community membership based on the notion of a voluntary contract.”

With independence, the United States, historian David Ramsay wrote, was “a new nation” whose “political character of the people was also changed from subjects to citizens. . . . The difference is immense. Subject . . . means one who is under the power of another; but a citizen is an unit of a mass of free people, who, collectively, possess sovereignty. Subjects look up to a master, but citizens are so far equal, that none have hereditary rights superior to others.”

Nevertheless, the British considered Americans born before the Revolution still to be British subjects. That issue was not settled until the nineteenth century.

The Articles of Confederation gave the general government no power over citizenship—the individual states continued to naturalize foreigners. Section 8 of Article I of the Constitution gave Congress the power to “establish an uniform Rule of Naturalization.” Congress enacted the first federal naturalization law in 1790. After a residence of two years any “free white person” of good character who took an oath “to support the constitution of the United States” was to be considered a citizen. The act was revised in 1795, and a new naturalization law was approved in 1802 that included provisions for registration of all immigrants. Kettner wrote that this act was the last major legislation on this subject during the nineteenth century.

**T**he annexation of Texas in 1844 presented an unusual situation. Were the citizens of Texas citizens of the United States upon an-
Every year, Colonial Williamsburg celebrates the swearing-in of new U. S. citizens, a group that in 2013 had come from eighteen countries.

Historian Harold B. Gill, the journal’s consulting editor, contributed the article “Lit-eracy in Virginia” to the winter 2011 issue.

Suggestions for further reading:

J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, Letters from an Ameri-can Farmer and Sketches of 18th-Century America (New York, 1891).
David Hackett Fischer, Albion’s Seed: Four British Folk-ways in America (New York, 1989).
Emerson E. Proper, Colonial Immigration Laws (New York, 1900).
Visible from I-95 near Washington, DC, the roof of the Marine Corps museum echoes the famed Iwo Jima statue, above.
The great recession slowed, but did not stop, the nationwide explosion in museum building. So many new institutions have been established and showplaces constructed, some call this the golden age of museums—history museums included. All underwent long, difficult design processes, because history museums are never easy to create. From conflicting notions about what architectural style is right, to the problem of blending into historic landscapes, to the need to accommodate a demanding public, the architect faces daunting choices.
Often the first dilemma is whether the architectural style should be contemporary or traditional. Some architects want to put their stamp on a design using contemporary forms and materials, even when museum staff wish they wouldn’t. “Just try hanging a painting on a curving wall,” curators say. In 2003, at the Smithsonian’s Udvar-Hazy Center, a museum of flight in Chantilly, Virginia, outside Washington, DC, the architects included a soaring glass-and-metal tower in their design. “And then we had to figure out what to do with that tower” and its many rooms, says former program manager Lin Ezell. It was architecturally exciting but nothing the curators had requested.

For 2010’s North Carolina History Center at New Bern, architects were told to avoid “the very futuristic,” says deputy director Philippe Lafargue. Similarly, the Gettysburg National Military Park Museum and Visitor Center of 2008 is traditional, a decision made at the beginning, says York, Pennsylvania, architect Rob Kinsley. The National Park Service “wanted a building that sort of faded away and settles into the landscape. They were nervous about hiring an architect, because many of them try to place their signature on a museum.”

All museums are eager to attract crowds, so the proliferation of traditional designs may have something to do with the public preference for the familiar. Ezell now directs the National Museum of the Marine Corps in Quantico, Virginia, which opened in 2006. She says, “We are very much part of the fabric of the community. A very abstract building might not have lived as well with what’s around us.”

At Virginia’s Nathalie P. and Alan M. Voorhees Archaearium at Historic Jamestowne, which also opened in 2006, the flavor is modern, with copper-clad walls wrapping a steel skeleton. “Building with steel allowed flexibility,” says Williamsburg architect Carlton Abbott. The structure stands on pilings above a seventeenth-century graveyard and the foundations of row houses that served for Virginia’s third and fourth statehouses. The architect gained extra exhibition space by cantilevering floors outward with steel beams.

The design team decided against a traditional style or a statehouse reconstruction. “It should be easy to tell what’s new and what’s old,” says architect Ed Pillsbury of Richmond, Virginia, who worked closely with Abbott. “Sometimes the best way to respect the past may not be to re-create it, but to create a thing of our own time.”

Other museums blend traditional and the up-to-date. Maya Lin of New York City, designer of

The North Carolina History Museum’s traditional look emphasizes the collection over a design that calls attention to itself.
Washington's Vietnam Memorial, in 2009 created the Museum of Chinese in America inside a former Manhattan machine-repair shop. “We have juxtaposed old and new,” she says. Venerable bricks and timbers contrast with a current style that is “cleaner, simpler, metal clad,” to show a “combination of our past and our present.”

Whatever the style, many museums strive to harmonize with their surroundings. The Museum of the Confederacy–Appomattox, designed by Abbott and opened in 2012, sports a metal roof and brick walls derived from the local Virginia vernacular. At the North Carolina History Center in New Bern, Quinn Evans Architects was instructed to study and reinterpret nearby industrial buildings. They borrowed a brick color from the 1824 Christ Church in town.

Upcoming is a $40 million expansion of The Art Museums of Colonial Williamsburg, a synthesis of the 1985 DeWitt Wallace Decorative Arts Museum and the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Museum. New York architect Sam Anderson has tried to create a design “consonant with the architectural detailing of the original period—but not trying to pretend to be a colonial building.”

Curators describe their ideal museum as a black box: windowless interiors where exhibits can be effortlessly rearranged and lighting can be precisely controlled, free from glare and the fading effect sunlight has on organic materials. For the architect, the black box is a headache: how to give exterior elevations panache when the building lacks windows?

One senses a tug-of-war between architects and curators on this subject of windows. At Gettysburg, Kinsley says, curators relented and allowed a few windows to be punched into the black box: “We wanted relief valves to allow people to take a quiet moment to look at the landscape.”

At Colonial Williamsburg, a goal of the Art Museums’ improvements is the reduction of overhead light. “Skylights are the bane of our existence,” says chief curator and vice president Ron Hurst. The original facility “had no windows whatsoever,” Anderson says. “It was the curator’s dream come true.” Nevertheless, they have agreed to some in the expansion. “With the occasional window, it’s nice to have a moment to let your mind rejuvenate,” Anderson says.

The Archaearium’s escape from the black box seems daring: a wall of glass allows visitors to examine artifacts not susceptible to light damage and to gaze across a grassy swale or upon the James River. “Through the glass you get the connection to
the site,” Abbott says. “You can look out and see James Fort in the distance.”

New technologies may solve the black-box problem. At the Smithsonian’s National Museum of African American History and Culture, being built on the National Mall in Washington, DC, for $500 million—that’s enough for 102 Archaeariums—exterior walls are being clad in metal sheets with computer-designed perforations that admit variable amounts of light. Here is a windowless building that nonetheless lets the sun in, as through the sides of a colander, and the light is calibrated to suit each room’s needs. The pattern for the perforations is abstracted from decorative antebellum ironwork in New Orleans and Charleston, fabricated, perhaps, by slaves.

Apart from style and design, architects must consider the new relationship between museums and the public. Museums once stood aloof, assuming citizens would visit for self-betterment. Not anymore. Today’s institutions fight for our attention in a crowded entertainment landscape. They have rebranded themselves as places not of highfalutin erudition but of ceaseless fun.

In 1999, architect Jonathan Kharfen of Boston designed the National Museum of the Civil War Soldier at the high-tech, hands-on Pamplin Historical Park in Petersburg, Virginia. Ten years later, in Florida, he executed the Tampa Bay History Center. Its motto: “Exactly what you didn’t expect.” No stodgi-
ness allowed. The design of this glass-fronted facility is meant to connote entertainment, Kharfen says. “The whole front of the building is almost a display case. In the evening you can see illuminated Tampa Bay icons—images of Flamenco dancers, a pirate ship—to engage you right away before you even get inside.”

Rather than assume the public will beat a path to their doors, twenty-first-century museums attempt to lure people in, Kharfen says, “to make it engaging and to have a contemporary sense of civicness—open to all.” His contemporary design makes subtle reference to local history, he says. The building’s form comprises three glass boxes, the colors of which—bronze, green, and blue—suggest “that Tampa is where people have met the land and the sea,” the hues representing each in turn.

Ezell says the Marine Corps museum’s “building is our best billboard”—rising on a site chosen for visibility from Interstate 95 and crowned by an angled, 210-foot, stainless-steel spire, illuminated at night. It calls to mind the pole Marines used to raise the American flag on Iwo Jima’s Mount Suribachi. Winner of a national competition, Denver architect Curtis Fentress, who also did Denver’s airport, kept the driver’s experience firmly in mind. “You go by and you say, ‘Wow, what is that?’ It lures you in. Today we are in a digital age, and you have to be exciting.”

For museum architects of, say, half a century ago, the job of design was comparatively simple: a handsome lobby, exhibition rooms, maybe a cafeteria. Museums have been reconceived as community centers and engines of economic development. They host children’s workshops, wedding rehearsals, yoga classes, and more. Pleasures abound, in the hope of enticing travelers to spend the night locally, the Holy Grail for tourist bureaus. “We try to provide many amenities,” Ezell says, “to keep families on our campus.”
The size of the Gettysburg Museum, with 22,000 square feet of exhibit space, is meant to encourage multiday visits in a region where the day trip is the rule. “We tried to give enough reasons to stay longer,” Kinsley says. “We have to be honest about it: we are designing attractions.”

Increasingly, lobbies double as entertainment venues. At the Marine Corps Museum, tableaux of battling Leathernecks can be wheeled aside to make room for revelers. At the 2012 opening bash for his Flint Hills Discovery Center in Manhattan, Kansas, Kharfen was delighted to find that “it’s a great party space.” At some museums, terraces accommodate bands, and grand staircases are included for weddings and the bride’s glittering descent. Architects incorporate separate loading docks for caterers, and rooms for storage of liquor and flowers.

Signaling “welcome” seems the overriding intention of museums today. At the African American Museum, a canopy-like overhang is to face the mall. It alludes to the inviting porch of the traditional southern home, says Durham, North Carolina, architect Phil Freelon. He’s one of the consortium of Freelon Adjaye Bond/SmithGroup, which won an international competition for the commission. “It’s a welcoming gesture, the threshold that provides shade and a place of respite on the southern side of the building,” he says.

Next door at the National Museum of American History, the granddaddy of history museums—where visitation can hit 80,000 daily—the 1964 interiors have been redesigned and the lobby made more spacious. “It didn’t make sense, and it didn't flow right,” says Art Molella, director of its Lemelson Center for the Study of Invention and Innovation. “The entrances were dark, and the public spaces were not well conceived.”

An urge to make the entrance more obvious led to the reconstruction of Philadelphia’s Franklin Court museum, which reopened in 2013 as the Benjamin Franklin Museum, and not without controversy. Philadelphians Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown, pioneers of architectural postmodernism, created the original facility in 1976. Where Franklin lived during the Continental Congress and Constitutional Convention, they created a skeletal, steel-framework ghost house rising above the subterranean museum. There had been complaints about the obscure entrance to the underground attraction, an unobtrusive doorway in a long, colonial-style brick wall.

Washington architect Carl Elefante redesigned the entrance, replacing the wall with a glass box that houses a brightly lit stair. Scott Brown says the
Colonial Williamsburg is giving a decades’ old museum, designed by Kevin Roche of New Haven, Connecticut, a more inviting entrance. The Art Museums of Colonial Williamsburg entrance is tucked inside the reconstructed Public Hospital of 1773—perhaps the only museum one enters via a madhouse. “That process is dramatically counterintuitive for the uninitiated guest,” Hurst says. “A building that is well-designed should tell you what it is by its outward form.”

A new entrance is to face Nassau Street, which runs east of the hospital and now offers a view of a loading dock and staff door. Anderson has walked a tightrope between being too obstructive, as seen from Colonial Williamsburg’s Historic Area, and being not obvious enough; between looking too colonial and confusing to the guest and not traditional enough to suit the surroundings.

The initial 2007, prerecession design, Hurst says, “was very modern—it didn’t say ‘eighteenth-century’—and donors, staff, and city officials all rejected it. So we worked together to come up with another plan.” Anderson says that any pronounced modernism threatens to “call attention to itself for itself, as too many modernist buildings do, and be dissonant with Colonial Williamsburg.”

His final version comes down on the side of colonial style, featuring a two-story brick block fronted by arcaded wings, all derived from the Renaissance design books of Palladio, popular in the eighteenth century. Fund-raising has begun. There are to be an additional 8,000 square feet of exhibit space and a new face forward to the public—making the Art Museums one of many facilities to reinvent itself in the golden age of museums.

W. Barksdale Maynard is a lecturer at Princeton University and has written six books on American history and culture, including Woodrow Wilson: Princeton to the Presidency.
Made in Bristol, England of tin-glazed earthenware, at least one plate in a set of dishes similar to this one appears to have found its way to Williamsburg’s Wetherburn’s Tavern where, centuries later, archaeologists unearthed a wreath-painted fragment. Examples of Merry Man plates are recorded from 1682 to 1752, most between 1715 and 1745. Colonial Williamsburg acquired these in 1962.
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