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Archaeology, Architecture, and the Revolution in Williamsburg
Edward A. Chappell

The President’s Report 2013

Cover: Pursuing research for the Williamsburg Restoration in 1929, historian Mary F. Goodwin came across an engraved copper plate among a collection of eighteenth-century books, maps, and objects in Oxford University’s Bodleian Library. The Bodleian Plate, as it came to be called, depicts the Palace, Capitol, and Wren Building sometime around 1740 and is now in the Colonial Williamsburg collections. On the cover, the Governor’s Palace from the plate, which is part of Ed Chappell’s story on architecture, archaeology, and the Revolution starting on page 67.
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Colonial Williamsburg Names President

The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation named a new president and CEO in June 2014. Mitchell B. Reiss, president of Washington College in Chestertown, Maryland, becomes the ninth president of Colonial Williamsburg in October as Colin G. Campbell steps down after serving fourteen years.

President of the Maryland liberal arts college since 2010, Reiss spent a decade at the College of William and Mary, teaching in the School of Law and Government Department and serving as vice provost for international affairs, dean and director of the Reves Center for International Studies, and most recently as diplomat-in-residence. While on leave from the college in 2003–5, he was director of the Office of Policy Planning at the U.S. State Department.

With a BA from Williams College, a law degree from Columbia University, a master's degree from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, and a Doctor of Philosophy from Oxford University, Reiss has written three books on international security, contributed to eighteen others, and published more than 100 articles and reviews. He has also been called on as an international negotiator, national security expert, and consultant to governments, businesses, and foundations.

Thomas F. Farrell II, chairman of the Colonial Williamsburg board of trustees, said, “In Mitchell Reiss, we have found the ideal candidate who has a range of experience in the public and private sectors. Colonial Williamsburg will benefit from his understanding of the intersection of education and preservation in a contemporary world.”

“Colonial Williamsburg has long been an institution committed to keeping alive the conversation about America’s founding principles,” Reiss said. “This conversation is as relevant today as it was at our country’s origin, and increasingly important to individuals around the world seeking their own pathways to freedom and human dignity.”

After serving as a trustee for eleven years, Campbell became president in 2000 and led the foundation through the economic and tourism challenges of the post-9/11 period and the great recession. He oversaw a $200 million capital investment in hospitality facilities and directed a shift toward interactive programming that featured street theater, new media, and digital devices.

“It has been an honor and a pleasure to lead Colonial Williamsburg through challenging times,” Campbell said. “Mitchell Reiss is the perfect choice to lead this extraordinary place into the future. I have known him for many years and have great respect for his intellectual curiosity and his deep commitment to community. I look forward to doing everything I can to support his presidency.”

Forum on Europe

The second annual Williamsburg-CSIS Forum, “A Crisis and a Crossroads: A Dis-United or United States of Europe?” met the third week of March at the Colonial Williamsburg Lodge. In partnership with the Reves Center for International Studies at the College of William and Mary, the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation and the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, DC, invited politicians, diplomats, business leaders, scholars, and the public to explore present problems and potential directions for the European Union, drawing in part on the experience of the American Revolution and the founding of the Republic.

Colonial Williamsburg president Colin Campbell gave an opening welcome to the conference on the long-term prospects for European unity. Public and private discussions
followed during the two-day session and addressed the economic and political difficulties facing Europe. While highlighting Colonial Williamsburg’s role as a national and international center for history and citizenship, the forum’s central goal is to help countries and regions foster political stability and economic development.

Support from Ferguson Enterprises Inc.; Pamela and Peter Flaherty of New York, New York; Anita and Jim Timmons of Sea Island, Georgia; and Linda and Don Baker of Williamsburg, made the forum possible. Another forum is planned for 2015.

Correction and Clarifications

In “Checking Back with the Founding Fathers” in the spring 2014 issue, Cathy Hellier writes of the displacement of the Cherokee, Creek, and Seminole tribes by the Indian Removal Act of 1830. A reader pointed out that the Chickasaw and Choctaw suffered the same fate. On page 54 of the story, Lafayette is referred to as the last living Revolutionary War general—which he was at his death in 1834—but General Thomas Sumter of South Carolina was still alive at the time of Lafayette’s visit to America in 1824.

In the same issue, two readers noted that the bottom of the map of the Panama isthmus on pages 46 and 47 in Andrew Gardener’s story on the Darien scheme faces north. That is the way the early eighteenth-century map was drawn, but the compass rose indicating north was obscured by the text on those pages.

Early Music Festival

September 23–26, the Early Music Festival returns to Colonial Williamsburg, with performances and presentations taking place around the Historic Area. From the comic opera Thomas and Sally; or, the Sailor’s Return to concerts by the Governor’s Musick, Colonial Williamsburg’s original instrument ensemble, guests can hear and see the music and the performers that would have been familiar to eighteenth-century residents of the town. Presentations will inform guests about the music heard by early Virginia settlers, up through the songs George Washington knew during his lifetime. Call 1-800-HISTORY for information and tickets.
RevQuest: The Old Enemy

The fourth season of the alternate reality game RevQuest: Save the Revolution began in March and continues through Thanksgiving. RevQuest: The Old Enemy engages players as agents of the Secret Correspondence Committee, established by the Continental Congress and led by Benjamin Franklin. Their goal is to enlist France as an ally in the coming War of Independence.

Starting online, players make a virtual trip to Philadelphia, where Franklin conveys secret instructions for their mission once they reach the Revolutionary City. Next, taking a tour of Williamsburg's streets online, they meet residents and search for hidden agents, pursue suits they continue after they arrive in the Historic Area in the quest to secure a crucial alliance.

Successful completion of the game earns players a souvenir token and a secret finale, where they learn of the real people and events behind the game. The popularity of the first three seasons, in which 83,000 guests participated, led to extending the season to permit more people to play.

To begin RevQuest: The Old Enemy, go to history.org/your-mission.

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We are Favored
Gifts Support African American Interpretations

The guests sat in Williamsburg’s R. Charlton’s Coffeehouse, entranced by African American laundress Edith Cumbo’s description of her eighteenth-century life. Cumbo said her wages for a week’s work were paltry, and she brought up her five-shilling fine for failing to take a seat at least once a month in the black pews at church.

“They separate us and expect us to be happy about it?” she said. “I think in God’s house you should be able to sit anywhere you please.”

“Amen,” said one guest. “That’s the truth,” said another.

Emily James had done it again—led Colonial Williamsburg guests back to the 1700s for an in-the-moment encounter with one of the women who peopled the city on the eve of revolution. She had shown that not all colonial leaders were white and men.

James interprets Cumbo, a free woman of color. Evidence indicates Cumbo was the strong-willed head of her household, a property owner who sued a man for trespass and assault and battery—and won. Her only son and four of her brothers fought for the rebels in the American Revolution. By some estimates, 52 percent of Williamsburg’s population was black in 1775.

James nails her first-person presentation, which illustrates the complexities of race relations in American history. She combed through volumes of records and scholarship before she felt comfortable putting words in Cumbo’s mouth. “It takes me five years to become a character,” she said. “You have to totally immerse yourself in this person’s life.”

Colonial Williamsburg offers guests other African American characters, along with programs, walking tours, and forums. A $150,000 gift from Dominion Resources, which has supported Colonial Williamsburg for three decades, helps fund African American history programming.

Donors, Partners Back Book Projects

Books published by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation are shelved in libraries and homes across the globe. Their pages contain stories that animate history, authoritative scholarship, and images from the Historic Area and the foundation’s museum galleries.

Authors may labor for years on a manuscript, some working day jobs as tradesmen, curators, historians, and librarians. Photographers capture hundreds of images to find those few that best portray a subject. Once a draft is complete, a year of editing and design by the foundation’s publications staff ensues, often with a lot of back-and-forth to be sure the product meets Colonial Williamsburg’s standards. Only then will a book be sent to a printer.
Millinery Apprenticeships Are Funded

An eighteenth-century milliner and mantua maker trained her eyes as much as her hands. She saw the best use of fabric as turning it into a garment, and had an eye for symmetry and proportions. She was careful with measurements and cuts. An error—a small one—could be costly.

Colonial Williamsburg’s milliners and mantua makers must perform with the precision of their eighteenth-century counterparts. The tradeswomen of the Margaret Hunter Shop research original gowns and accoutrements and must determine why, sometimes against reason, a 1700s mantua maker used a particular stitch or took an odd shortcut. This historic trade requires intuition, logic, attention to detail, and practice.

A gift from Jeanne Asplundh of Fort Washington, Pennsylvania, provides dedicated financial support for apprenticeships in the millinery and mantua trades. The skills known to colonial craftswomen will persist as generations of foundation seamstresses come and go.

Asplundh’s gift honors senior journeywoman Doris Warren, who was the millinery’s first apprentice and spent much of her career as a milliner and mantua maker. Warren and Asplundh—who for two decades has volunteered once a month as a costumed volunteer in the James Geddy House, Wythe House, and Margaret Hunter Shop—cultivated a friendship. Warren retired in 2013, but her influence is evident in the way up-and-coming milliners and mantua makers are trained. She and milliner Janea Whitacre designed the apprenticeship to teach the fundamental and fine points of this trade, using a project-based approach rather than honing skills one at a time.

—Ben Swenson

From left, Claire Schumann, Janea Whitacre, Gemma Pearson

The cost to produce and print one title can reach as much as $100,000. Colonial Williamsburg sometimes partners with other publishers to help shoulder some of those costs. Donors also support book projects.

Books give guests a chance to explore ideas and exhibits they encounter at Colonial Williamsburg, and make that experience exportable for readers who might not have an opportunity to visit. Donor-supported publications also allow the foundation to generate revenue through sales.

Among the books Colonial Williamsburg published in 2014 was *Four Centuries of Quilts: The Colonial Williamsburg Collection*, by Linda Baumgarten and Kimberly Smith Ivey, with photographers Craig McDougal and Hans Lorenz. Baumgarten, curator of textiles and costumes, said the volume took years of work and collaboration.

Yale University Press co-published the book, and Mary and Clint Gilliland of Menlo Park, California, through the Turner-Gilliland Family Fund of the Silicon Valley Community Foundation, funded publication.

“This was like quilters who used to gather around a quilting frame,” Baumgarten said. “Everyone gathered around to make this book possible.”
A Sampler of Gift Opportunities

Outfitting Fife and Drum Recruits

Colonial Williamsburg’s Fifes and Drums recruits about twenty young performers annually, most for eight years of service. Each gets a uniform and a reproduction instrument. Costs for outfitting a beginning fifer include $100 for a uniform and supplies, and $150 for a fife. Funds needed: $2,500 will outfit the 2014 recruits; $250 will outfit a fifer.

Historic Area Painting

Maintaining Colonial Williamsburg’s historic buildings is crucial. Seven of eighteenth-century merchant William Prentis’s are to be repainted. Needed are $25,000 for the house, $5,000 for the shop, $5,000 for the stable, $4,000 for the kitchen, $2,000 for privies, $1,000 for the smokehouse, and $1,000 for the well. Total: $43,000. Gifts of any size welcome.

RevQuest: The Old Enemy

Colonial Williamsburg’s online and on-site alternate reality spy game, RevQuest: Save the Revolution, returns for a fourth year with RevQuest: The Old Enemy. It leads players through the Historic Area to meet agents, decode messages, and decipher clues. $400 covers development and materials costs for 100 players; $2,000 for 500. Gifts of any size are welcome.

For more information on supporting The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, visit history.org/specialgifts, telephone 1-888-CWF-1776 to speak to a gift officer, or email gifts@cwf.org.

Horseshoes

Horses pull carriages, coaches, and riding chairs through Colonial Williamsburg’s Historic Area, provide mounts for Revolutionary City interpreters, and graze its pastures. Each needs shoes every four to six weeks. Funds needed: $35,000 annually; $190 provides shoes for one horse.

Military Encampment

Colonial Williamsburg guests are invited to visit the spring, summer, and autumn Virginia State Garrison Regiment encampments to hear the orders of the day, to learn about rations, and to practice marching and eighteenth-century musket drills. Needed are $2,000 for a dining tent, $1,760 for an officers’ marquee, and $5,000 for four $1,250 muskets. Total: $8,760. Gifts of any size are welcome.

Conservation Lab Equipment

Colonial Williamsburg’s conservation department has added a materials analyst to investigate historic materials and artifacts. Equipment needed for her lab includes a $300 electronic scale, a $500 chemical hot plate, $200 for mortars and pestles, and a $1,200 year’s supply of liquid nitrogen. Total: $2,500. Gifts of any size welcome.
**Publikk Notices**

### Hands-on History at the Powell House

Gardening, sewing, washing windows, taking out the bedding, framing shingles, as well as music and dance—a range of household chores and entertainments are ready for children of all ages at the Powell House. The activities at the house, one of the original eighty-eight structures in the Historic Area, offer hands-on experience of daily life in the eighteenth century. Colonial Williamsburg admission required.

### Pirates among Us

Guests meet the ghosts and ghouls of Blackbeard’s crew on a walking tour in July and August. After Blackbeard was killed by Lt. Robert Maynard off the coast of North Carolina in 1718, many of his crew were tried and hanged in Williamsburg. On the walk, meet the spectral spirits and hear their pirate tales, as the ghostly crew haunts the streets in search of kindred spirits. Program not appropriate for young children. Ticket required.

### Come, Let’s Dance

An evening of colonial dance, “a most charming entertainment” enjoyed by eighteenth-century Virginians, takes place from 7:00 to 8:00 at the Governor’s Palace. Virginians gave public and private balls and assemblies on social occasions, for celebrations, or just as entertainment. Guests may even have the opportunity to participate. Ticket required.

—Douglas Featherstone

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*Colonial Williamsburg, Summer 2014*
To be seen

**QUILT EXHIBITION**


**SOUTHERN TEXTILES**

Colonial Williamsburg’s DeWitt Wallace Decorative Arts Museum is complementing its *A Rich and Varied Culture: The Material World of the Early South* exhibit with an adjacent gallery installation of early southern quilts, samplers, and costume accessories. Few documented pieces have survived from the period, but the museum’s sampler collection represents the Chesapeake, Low Country, and Backcountry.

**A PLACE OF REST**

Summer brings family vacations, a novel idea in the nineteenth century. Artists of the period captured resorts on canvas. Portia Ashe Burden Trenholm spent many summers at Legareville, South Carolina, on John’s island, a seaside escape from the heat and mosquitoes that plagued Charleston plantations. During the Civil War, the town was burned, but Trenholm painted a detailed view—a portion seen at right—from memory. Acquired by Abby Aldrich Rockefeller in the 1930s, it is in the Folk Art Museum.

—Jan Gilliam
Many people moved from southeastern Virginia to the Georgia Piedmont after the Revolution. Francina Elizabeth Cox and her family were among them. In 1826, Francina married her Virginia cousin, John Cox Greer, and they resided at Chalky Level Plantation near Athens, Georgia. She bore fifteen children, but only three survived childhood.

Francina’s striking portrait was painted by an unidentified artist circa 1839. On her lap sits her infant daughter, Elizabeth Mentoria. A prolific writer, Francina produced fourteen diaries and hundreds of letters that provide remarkable insight into her domestic responsibilities, plantation life, and community affairs in Athens. Now on view at the Art Museums of Colonial Williamsburg, this is the first Georgia portrait to enter the foundation’s collections. Its purchase was generously funded by Loretta Roman in memory of her mother, Virginia R. Ericson.

—Ron Hurst

*Colonial Williamsburg, Summer 2014*
This beautifully bound manuscript, an account of the coronation ceremony of Queen Anne, was produced as a rehearsal document and memento for one of the dignitaries attending the event. The manuscript’s sixty-two pages outline the entire ceremony from the queen’s entrance into the church to her departure following dinner, when the royal orb, rod, and scepter were returned to the dean of Westminster. The boards are covered with red morocco elaborately decorated with gilt tooling and marbled endpapers. Visible at their fore-edges are the remains of silk ties. The binding is the work of Robert Steel, who was known to bind works for the monarchy and the Royal Library. The text is written in roman and italic—the former in red, the latter in black—but the scribe is unknown, though the initials “AB” at the bottom of the title page are a likely clue to his identity. The manuscript in the John D. Rockefeller, Jr. Library’s Special Collections is a gift of Dr. and Mrs. Alan Coleman.

—Doug Mayo
In November 1926, Williamsburg’s Reverend Dr. W. A. R. Goodwin wrote to John D. Rockefeller Jr., the New York philanthropist he was persuading to partner in the city’s restoration, “I wish you would buy Bassett Hall for yourself. It would give you a charming vantage point from which to play with the vision and dream which you see, and it might give me the joy of being your ‘playmate’ in this dreamland playground.” Rockefeller financed its acquisition the next year for their collaboration. Referring to nineteenth-century owner Burwell Bassett—a Martha Washington nephew, and a congressman—its name embraces all of what had been a Francis Street farm, not just the residence.

A spring 1930 lightning-strike fire reduced Bassett Hall’s house to the nightmare in the archival photo above. Resident Rockefeller executive Kenneth Chorley dashed into the flames, broke away elements of the central staircase, and hustled them outside. Firefighters saved what they could of the rest of the circa-1740 structure. But it would be six years of restoration, additions, and improvements before Rockefeller took possession. Bassett Hall was his family’s private Williamsburg home until 1979, when it returned the deed to Colonial Williamsburg. The color inset shows the house, its furnishings returned to her grandfather’s era by a 2001 gift from Abby O’Neill. It is now a museum.

—William Standring
Mr. Hunter, you seem upset. What’s bothering you? Any rational man should be upset, sir. The British have invaded Virginia. Fifteen hundred regulars have seized the fort at Portsmouth, and the Virginia regiment has fled to North Carolina. The Continental Army is not here. George Washington is in the North. Nobody stands between us and disaster. The English easily could march on Williamsburg and burn the town. Governor Patrick Henry, whom I have never held in high regard, has talked about calling out the militia. What can farmers and merchants do to stop well-trained troops? We are in a dangerous and, to my mind, helpless position.

You see no reason for hope? None. I believed from the war’s start that disaster would attend the foolhardy pursuit of Congress’s dream of independence. The British army is unstoppable, and the royal navy is the world’s best. Great Britain has occupied one-fifth of the known world. I never thought that the Continental Army could oppose this sort of force. Defeat seemed, to me, inevitable from the start, and, now, with English soldiers in Portsmouth, I have the worst possible confirmation of my fears.

How deep are your doubts about the American cause? To my way of thinking, Congress had no right to meet in the first place, and its members were all-too eager to vote for independence. As to the Declaration of Independence, it is little more than a collection of opinions with no real legal or moral force behind it. Plus, Congress is completely ineffectual at supporting the war. The representatives debate a lot, but they cannot seem to get Washington the men, food, or equipment he so desperately needs.

Could Congress have followed another course? Certainly. We could have peacefully protested those British policies we opposed. This worked for the Stamp Act and the Townsend Act. I considered both unreasonable and supported dignified objections. In time, our opposition became clear, and both measures were repealed. The tea tax? We could have chosen simply not to drink tea, and the tax quickly would have disappeared. Hotheads in Boston only made the matter worse by their violent and illegal destruction of property. All would have been well if people acted calmly and rationally.
Your comments suggest that you are a loyalist. My political convictions are my own business. I will say that I have grown weary of the American cause and the ineptitude of its leaders. Their bullheadedness astonishes me, especially in the face of the overwhelming odds against them and that their plans are in shambles.

Do others share your views? I believe there are many more people who think like me than is generally believed. When the British occupied New York, a number of people expressed their true beliefs about the war and their loyalty to the crown. Once the fear of speaking honestly about Congress and this conflict is removed, people who have doubts can and do state them.

Can you share your views openly with Williamsburg neighbors? I cannot. I wish that I could, like a proper Englishman with rights given us by custom and law, openly debate the current situation. Yet that is impossible. We live in the shadow of being tarred and feathered for giving a view that is contrary to that held by Congress. My situation is especially difficult because my father-in-law is fully behind the independence movement, and I naturally want to keep the peace with friends and family.

I wonder if you ever would go over to the British. I would not want my neighbors to hear this, so I ask your confidence. I believe that if the British come here—and they very well may—we would rather be under their protection than at the mercy of their bayonets.

Hunter acted on his disillusionment with the American cause. In 1781, when Lord Cornwallis came to Williamsburg, he joined the British army, served in it at the Battle of Yorktown, and immigrated to England after the war.

—I NTERVIEW CONDUCTED, CONDENSED, AND EDITED BY E D CREWS

Like others during the Revolution, William Hunter, portrayed by Sam Miller, struggled with the divisions his loyalist views caused with friends and family who backed independence. Finally, in 1781, he joined Cornwallis’s British army at Yorktown.
FOR AS LONG AS MOST OF US REMEMBER, Hollywood and the popular press have promoted the view that the Scots are a fiercely independent nation of tartan-clad warriors in the mold of modern-day Bravehearts. It may come as a surprise to some, however, that on May 1, 1707, Scotland ceased to be an independent nation when, against the wishes of three-quarters of its citizens, its politicians sealed a deal to join England and become part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain. September 18, 2014, for the first time in 307 years, four million Scottish voters are to decide whether to remain part of Great Britain or to become again an independent nation.

In September 2014, millions of Scots vote on whether to sever the three-hundred-year-old union with England and reclaim their status as a sovereign people.
DEPENDENCE
In the run-up to 1776, it became unforgettably, but it's easy to see where Patrick Henry—a first-generation colonial Virginian of Scots parentage—found the inspiration for “Give me liberty or give me death.”

In the United States, ancestral ties have been things to celebrate, however loosely. With St. Patrick’s Day green beer and leprechaun bonnets, the Irish lead the pack, but the Scots, with their Highland Games, tartan fare, and bagpipes, are close behind. Ties today are little more than skin deep. Though 27 million Americans claim some degree of Scottish ancestry, Tartan Day passes with scarcely a bagpiper’s skirl in their neighborhoods. Which Scots Americans are aware of or care about their ancestral homeland’s modern status as a nation, or its relationship to England or Great Britain? Then there is the lack of appreciation for the pivotal role the Scottish Enlightenment played in the birth of the American Revolution and independence.

Depending on the outcome, Scotland’s 2014 independence vote may garner but a footnote in history books, but then again, in rounding off some loose historical ends, it may prove to be the final nail in the coffin of a story that began on Thursday, 24 March, 1603.

On that date at Richmond Palace, nine miles southwest of the Palace of Westminster in London, Queen Elizabeth I of England—the final Tudor monarch and ruler for forty-four years—breathed her last, her blood perhaps poisoned by the

For the record, April 6 was the day in 1320 when, in Arbroath, Scotland, the country’s nobility put their English masters on notice that continued domination was unacceptable, signing what amounted to a Declaration of Scottish Independence.

For, as long as but a hundred of us remain alive, never will we on any conditions be brought under English rule. It is in truth not for glory, nor riches, nor honours that we are fighting, but for freedom—for that alone, which no honest man gives up but with life itself.
lead content of her ever-present thick white make-up. Her death “came mildly like a lamb, easily like a ripe apple from the tree,” wrote Dr. Henry Parry, the royal chaplain. She passed the crown to her cousin, James VI, Stuart king of Scotland. Henceforth, Scotland and England would be united. The interminable bloody wars would be in the past, and long-time enemies were to be bonded as one family—forever. That, at any rate, was the theory.

Old scores were hard to forget. Religious wars raged, the monarchy was overturned, Charles I, James’s son, was beheaded, and civil wars between Royalists and Republicans split the countries. There was one small bonus. The Virginia colony had been established in 1607. More colonies followed. Prisoners and religious dissenters from the conflicts were transported across the Atlantic and increasing numbers of Scots—men and women—set sail as indentured servants to escape the horrors. It was the quiet beginning of what would become a transatlantic flood of Scottish immigrants.

At home, the amalgamation of the two countries under one crown was of little economic use to Scotland. English merchants wanted no interlopers on their trading patch and persuaded their Parliament at Westminster to pass the Navigation Laws of 1661, which barred Scots from trading with the English colonies. The Scots established their own colony in the Isthmus of Panama at Darien—a venture that seized the nation’s imagination. But the outcome was a mismanaged, tragic financial blunder losing almost half the country’s wealth in the swamps of Panama within two disastrous years. In Scots’ eyes, England’s King William, who forbade English help, was largely responsible. Anti-English sentiment was never higher.

By the early eighteenth century, the idea of full political and economic union was back on the table. Queen Anne’s government feared disgruntled Scots might once again be cozying up to France—England’s archenemy. Furthermore, she realized that Scotland could furnish the English—or British Empire—with seasoned military might. In 1702, she wooed the Scots with the offer of a financial bailout called The Equivalent—£400,000, worth today $21 billion—to prominent Scots who had lost money in the Darien scheme. All they had to do was to push through a vote in the Scottish Parliament for complete union with England, though a majority of Scots opposed it.

An English force stood just south of the border to underline Queen Anne’s interest in compliance. Mind you, the English rank and file were not wild about the idea either. An English member of Parliament, one otherwise unidentified Sir Edward, reportedly said in conversation, “What a pother is here about a union with Scotland, of which all the advantage we shall have is no more than what a man gets by marrying a beggar, a louse for her portion.”

Nevertheless, May 1, 1707, the Act of Union was signed and sealed. A historian said the deal was “a political necessity for England, a commercial necessity for Scotland.” Now Scotland could
take advantage of what was a free trade zone that stretched from the thirteen American colonies through the Caribbean to India. The acclamation the policymakers craved, however, was not forthcoming from most Scots. Almost a century after the Union passed, the Scottish poet Robert Burns expressed the common, still-lingering view of the shenanigans that had gone into forcing the Union and the abandonment of the Scottish nation: “We’re bought and sold for English gold, What a parcel of rogues in a nation.”

TIME IS A GREAT HEALER. THE ECONOMICS OF BEING part of an expanding British Empire paid the Scots dividends. The tobacco trade with North America blossomed. Between 1680 and the start of the Revolution, the weight of mainly Virginia tobacco imported into Glasgow leapt almost two-hundredfold to more than 20,000 tons, transforming the city into an international commercial center. Daniel Defoe on a 1722 visit to the city looked with wonderment on what he called “the face of trade.”

There was more than trade to consider. The Scottish tradition of publicly funded universal education, in place since the early 1600s, was set to reap rewards. Because of the 1707 Union, the Scots had unfettered access to the British Empire, and a transatlantic world opened up to the best-educated populace of Europe.

Eighteenth-century Scotland ushered in an era of intellectual achievement that may have been the country’s major contribution to world history. Whether this flowering of culture, described by writer Tobias Smollett as “a hot bed of genius,” was the direct result of the 1707 Union or access to a bigger world stage to present these ideas is debatable. What is without doubt is the effect the Scottish Enlightenment had on the thirteen colonies and their future as an independent America.

At its simplest, the main thrust of the Enlightenment was for people to think for themselves. This was a leap in thinking, coming from an era when their monarch said it was a crime to argue about what a king could do, because kings were accountable only to God. Achievements covered philosophy, chemistry, geology, architecture, engineering and technology, economics, sociology, medicine, literature, and history.

Scottish tutors and teachers, themselves products of Scotland’s five universities—England had two—came to early America and helped educate a generation of colonial Americans who would lead their colonies to independence from the English Crown. Scottish thinking on freedom and liberty captured the imaginations of signers of the Declaration of Independence. Thomas Jefferson was influenced by the Scottish philosophers, being introduced to their work by his tutor, Dr. William Small, a Scottish professor of mathematics at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg. The works of Thomas Reid, author of Enquiry into the Human Mind on the Principles of Common Sense, and a Glasgow philosopher, Francis Hutcheson, who urged the colonies to stand up to the British and fight for their independence, impressed Jefferson, too. Another student of these Enlightenment figures was James Wilson, a well-educated son of a Scottish farmer, who at the age of twenty-four immigrated to Pennsylvania, where he studied law. Admitted to the bar in 1767, he wrote a legal opinion saying that unless Americans had representation in the British Parliament, the Crown had no authority over them. Wilson’s star was on the rise, and he was one of six Founding Fathers to sign the Declaration of Independence and the United States Constitution, a document he and James Madison structured and wrote in 1787.

Scottish immigration to America may have begun with indentured servants, tradesmen, clergy, merchants, and military, but in the 1700s Scotland’s five universities were producing more graduates than could be accommodated at home. The New World beckoned with opportunity. The first medical
school in North America was established in Philadelphia by American graduates of Edinburgh's medical faculty, one of whom, Benjamin Rush, signed the Declaration. The Scots are credited with almost half of the signatures. The Columbia University medical school in New York had a similar genesis, founded by Edinburgh graduates in 1787.

America's first universities and their curricula in Pennsylvania, Virginia, and New Jersey were founded on a Scottish model, in which the views of Adam Smith on political economy and the government's role helped lay the foundations for the American economy.

From a trickle of immigrants in the 1600s, Scottish immigration grew to 50,000 in the decade before the Revolution. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, almost a million Scots upped sticks and made the United States their home. Though outnumbered by the English and Irish, the Scots, nevertheless, punched above their weight. Andrew Carnegie, who more than most turned Adam Smith's ideas into hard cash, said, “America would have been a poor show without the Scots.”

Perhaps Carnegie was only blowing his own trumpet, but a roll call of American movers and shakers in all of life's disciplines tells the tale. America’s presidents demonstrate a solid representation of Scots and Scotch-Irish blood from James Monroe, to Ronald Reagan, to George Bush.

But what of the land these men's ancestors left behind? During the three centuries since becoming part of the United Kingdom and relinquishing its independence, Scotland, a country one-twentieth the size of Alaska, has seen its fortunes rise and fall. Once the creator of world-changing ideas, its intellectual leadership ebbed with the Victorians. In step with England and the passing of the British Empire, Scotland's influence waned.

Some Scots, perhaps understandably, look back and ponder whether independence might rekindle their spirits and their fortunes. Accession to the European Union in 1973 may have been the great hope for Great Britain and, by association, Scotland. The rapid expansion of Europe and a burgeoning, unpopular bureaucracy extending to the Bosphorus and potentially beyond soured the venture. Some Scots say that bigger is not better; have little in common with their European partners—including England—and are willing to take a chance on their imagination and talent to put their sense of destiny to the test as a nation-state . . . one more time.

The impact of the vote on America? Scotland exports $5 billion of manufactured goods to the United States annually, although its North Sea oil and gas exports are six times that sum. The continued supply of America's favorite tipple of single malt whisky is not in doubt. But the world should not be too hasty to dismiss Scotland's bid to regain its independence. Despite what happens in Great Britain on September 18 this year, the process of dissolution could begin in other parts of the world. When countries and their economies are on the rise, interest in breaking the bonds between people diminishes. When the going gets tougher, the opposite may be true. Breaking up is hard to do, and naturally, established bureaucracies will fight such moves—think of Greece and the prospect of the country's attempting to leave the European Union.

But look forward another hundred years and raise a similar prospect in the United States of America, say Hawaii, where a home rule lobby thrives, and ask yourself, What would the Scottish philosophers have to say about that?

It's worth thinking about.

Andrew Gardner, a Scotsman who lives and writes in Florida and on Canada's Salt Spring Island, contributed to the spring 2014 journal the article “William Patterson's Shattered Dreams and the Darien Scheme,” a story about a seventeenth-century Scottish attempt to colonize the Isthmus of Panama.
Of GARDEN
by Michael Olmert

VISION, CLARITY, AND PERSPECTIVE: such are the benefits of altitude. And altitude is what you got, from the sixteenth through the eighteenth century, when you erected an earthen mount, or mound, in your ornamental garden.
At heart, garden mounts were meant to be artificial platforms from which to consider the sweep of nature, the tapestry of God’s grandeur. It was said that God gave humankind two essential books—the first, scripture; the second, nature—both to be read.
Just so, a garden mount was a scientific and moral instrument for peering into life. It was capable of stimulating the senses and the imagination, offering views of gardens, terraces, walks, allées, canals, follies, and all the other interventions and improvements you might use to tame and refine nature. And, by extension, yourself. Mounts gave mortals the view from on high.

It took servant, tenant, and slave labor to build them. Still, for the ruling classes and for their institutions—Virginia’s colonial government, for instance—a garden mount was de rigueur. Which is why there is one at Colonial Williamsburg’s Governor’s Palace. And why not? In England, Charles II, after his restoration in 1660, erected such a mount in St. James’s Park, a fit partner to its flowery walks and orchards burdened with fruit. According to courtier-poet Edmund Waller, the finished park was:

All with a border of rich fruit trees crowned, 
Whose loaded branches hide the lofty mound.

In 1625, jurist, alchemist, and natural philosopher Francis Bacon wrote in the essay “Of Gardens” that a proper garden must have:

In the very middle, a fair mount, with three ascents, and avenues, enough for four to walk abreast . . . and the whole mount to be thirty foot high; and some fine banqueting-house, with some chimneys neatly cast, and without too much glass.

Later in the essay he suggests that two mounts would be grander: “At the end of both the side grounds, I would have a mount of some pretty height . . . to look abroad into the fields.”

Thomas Jefferson owned Bacon’s Essays. Before 1811, he erected two twelve-foot-high garden mounts at his Poplar Forest retreat. He set them on either side of his octagonal house, on an axis that runs through the house and toward his two octagonal privies. The line-up is privy-mount-house-mount-privy.

Jack Gary, Poplar Forest archaeologist and landscape historian, says Jefferson’s “design was four weeping willows atop each mound, golden willows ringing the middle, and aspen trees around the base. It seems he meant the willows to be domes and the aspens to be columns. He had created a neoclassical domed rotunda out of dirt and trees.”

Jefferson saw a garden mount in the Williamsburg of his youth. There, in about 1715, Lieutenant Governor Alexander Spotswood began to undertake architectural and landscape improvements at the Palace, refashioning it to reflect Britain’s majesty and sway. Part of this would have been the Palace’s twenty-two-foot-high garden mount.

Trouble is, there is no record of when the mount was built. Nor is there any documentary mention of it, from the Palace’s authorization in 1705 until the Palace burned in 1781. We chiefly know of the mound because it was built above—and was thermal insulation for—an underground icehouse of brick, Virginia’s most spectacular. Palace accounting en-
tries show that a carter was paid for carrying ice to, or possibly from, the ice pit in 1769 and 1770. The icehouse is under there still. The pit is nine feet wide and eighteen feet deep. About half was dug into the earth, down to a layer of gravel that could carry off meltwater. The top half, with a vaulted brick roof, originally was exposed to the elements.

On completion, Spotswood covered the structure with earth, angling up to a flat twenty-by-twenty-foot viewing platform. Since the mount is square at the base, and the top platform is a smaller square, it appears to be a truncated pyramid. A stairway led to the top. Halfway up, a terraced walkway gave access to the four sides of the mount and hinted at what glories might be seen from above. This walkway also led servants around to the icehouse door.

The Most prominent mention of the mound appears in an 1845 memoir, written well after the Palace burned and its grounds went to seed. By then, a portion of the icehouse vaulting had collapsed, giving the site the air of ruined antiquity. Recalling her life in Williamsburg, Cynthia Beverley Tucker Coleman wrote:

One spot in the Palace grounds has been reserved for preservation. It is a large earthen mound covered with trees, Virginia creeper, and bamboo briers. In one side is a cavernous opening, a cave into which one peers suspiciously down a circular shaft walled up with brick.

What was it? Anyone of the locality will tell you that it was only Lord Dunmore’s icehouse.

After 1927 and the founding of Colonial Williamsburg, the icehouse core preserved the garden mount in the plans for the reconstructed Palace grounds. Foundation archaeologists Pren-tiss Duell and Herbert S. Ragland were not thinking garden mounts at all. They wrote in their Archaeology Report for the Summer Season, 1930:

Still further to the north is the so-called Governor’s Ice-House, which it very well may be. It is an interesting structure, more or less egg shaped, with a total height of probably 20 to 25 feet. A few steps (which had wooden nosings) lead down an arched entrance.

A Palace site sketch by landscape architect Arthur A. Shurcliff dated September 17, 1931, identifies a large lump, with trees growing out of it and a stairway, as the “mound at ice house.” This visualization of the restored grounds shows the mound in relation to the canal and pond, the horse stable, and the seven-foot brick wall that separates the Historic Area from the public road.

At this stage, Shurcliff little understands the cultural heft of garden mounts, but he changes his mind after an August 1932 research trip to England. There, he visits ornamental gardens, and he returns fired by the notion of mounts. He is determined to make
the Palace hillock more than practical earthen insulation for winter ice. November 3, 1934, restoration sponsor John D. Rockefeller Jr. agrees.

Colonial Williamsburg has a smaller garden mount, about eight feet high, at the end of a long allée of boxwoods on the Van Garrett property, now the Grissell Hay house. It too is a truncated pyramid, with nine-step stairways on its south and north faces. Its gravel platform on top is twenty by twenty feet, supporting three live oaks.

In a plan of the lot dated December 17, 1927, Shurcliff notes that Mrs. Van Garrett “says a mound stood here in 1896. It was 3 or 4 ft. high originally. She thinks it may have been a ‘mount.’” But the spot Mrs. Van Garrett put her finger on is twenty feet from Nicholson Street, at the front of the lot. Shurcliff puts his reproduction mount 200 feet away, down the double row of boxwoods, making a dramatic eye-catcher. It’s a romantic choice, the landscape architect going for emotion over accuracy. Today, eighty-some years on, it still seems a good choice.

N POWER LANDSCAPES, GARDEN MOUNTS ARE MEANT to foster awe in the hearts and minds of friend and foe. Which is why so many of England’s great country houses have garden mounts. At Dunham Massey in Cheshire, owned by the Earls of Stamford, a mount rises to the left rear of the mansion, bearing the same relationship to the house that the Williamsburg mount does to the Palace. A 1750 painting of the estate by John Harris shows that its mount has four concentric terraces leading to a crowning gazebo.

Jefferson visited Oxford on April 9, 1786. You wonder whether he saw any of the mounts found in the colleges. New College, for example, has a thirty-foot-high pyramidal mount with a flat top, a Mount Parnassus, home of the muses. The mount is as high as the medieval defensive walls and bastions that still surround the college.

The Exeter College mound is tucked in the corner of the Fellows’ Garden, where its south and east walls join at right angles. The mound is thought to have been created between 1731 and 1734, and so was in place at the time of Jefferson’s Oxford visit. About twelve feet high, one part botanical display and one part garden folly, the L-shaped mount allows a view of James Gibbs’s 1749 Radcliffe Camera, whose rotunda influenced the capitol in Washington, DC.

At Wadham College, there were two mounds. One
remains. The first, in the Fellows' Garden, stood in the center of four rectangular parterres. It had a summerhouse attached to its front and a statue of Atlas on top. In a 1732 engraving, the mound appears to be a little taller than the roof ridge of the summerhouse, perhaps sixteen to eighteen feet. The mound is round and bulbous. A sort of balustrade surrounds the top platform, on which Atlas does not shrug. A storm collapsed the statue, and in 1753, the mound was swept away. Garden mounds and mounts were approaching the end of their fashionable summer's lease.

The second Wadham mound runs 150 feet along the edge of the Fellows' Garden. It is six to seven feet high, with a six-to-eight-foot-wide walkway along the top. It is part of the defensive earthworks thrown up by the Royalist forces at the start of the English Civil Wars in 1642. Shurcliff walked along this wall in 1932, trying to take on board the presence of mounts as garden features. "It is perfectly straight," he wrote. "The top of this mound is provided with chairs and tables and looks down on nearby gardens and low buildings."

This sort of long, low mound is reminiscent of a suspected garden mount that survives at Green Spring, the site of the mansion of Governor Sir William Berkeley, built between 1643 and 1677, about five miles from Williamsburg. Green Spring functioned as a palace and would have been expected to have dazzling gardens. The house is gone today, but still visible is a long, man-made earthen berm covered with trees, an unnatural form in a rural space. About 250 feet long and 15 feet high, it probably is the linear mount from which the governor and his friends viewed his grounds. One wonders whether Jefferson walked it.

Jefferson could have seen Oxford Castle, a defensive work put up in the Middle Ages. The Normans erected about 500 such works in Britain after 1066 to occupy and supervise a conquered Saxon land. Such mounds, called mottes, were meant to be seen as stern presences in the landscape. The Oxford Castle, built in 1074, is 240 feet in circumference and 64 feet tall.

Mottes are taller and larger than garden mounts, because you want to wear your attackers out before they start fighting, and because the top must have room for a castle or keep. Most surviving mottes in Britain have lost their castle or have a few ruined walls left. Oxford Castle has long been just a green castle, mainly covered with grass, as it was when Jefferson was in town.
Because mottes are meant to control a murmuring populace, they usually are built in towns. Once the mottes had become lumpy relics, loads of people got used to the pleasure of climbing their local green castles in the sunshine and looking out over the countryside. So did the aristocrats and their landscape architects, who wanted viewing platforms from which to admire their estates. The garden mount is the civilized descendent of the once-bristling and angry motte.

Altitude is the key. Prehistoric humans often selected hilltop sites for their sacred places, possibly thinking they were closer to the heavens, to their gods, to the light. One such place, Silbury Hill, twenty miles from Oxford in the English county of Wiltshire, is for Britain the precursor to every motte or garden mount. Starting in about 2,750 BCE, it gradually rose 131 feet, with a flattened platform on top. It is said to have taken eighteen million man-hours to excavate and pile all the chalk to that height.

No one has sorted out what went on at Silbury Hill. Neolithic people left no written language to spell out their intentions. Was it a spiritual site? A demonstration of power? A warning to outsiders? Or a soft place to grab an eyeful of nature, its sunsets and blossoms, its seasons and tides?

These are the sorts of questions that still can be put to the restored garden mount at the Palace in Williamsburg. Here, three centuries later, the mount still supervises the colony's royal enclave: its neoclassical buildings, its ornamental gardens, its elongated garden canal and pond—all orthogonal and proper.

It looks toward a dark and tangled wood that once extended north. All that green, of course, was a metaphor for the rest of untamed nature, whose wild exuberance had to be regularized and civilized for God, king, and country. Were they right?

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Heaving itself up to a height of 131 feet, Silbury Hill in Wiltshire, England, is a Neolithic ancestor of mottes and mounts.
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.

These men, Thomas Jefferson, George Washington, Patrick Henry . . . and many others, came to Williamsburg to declare their rights and independence.

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Colonial Williamsburg

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Wind, Water, Gravity . . . Energy Was Natural to Early Americans

by Ben Swenson

Eighteenth-century Virginia planter John Cocke wanted to make his real estate ad sing. In a May 1771 Virginia Gazette, he said he was selling a Surry County tract adjacent to Chippokes Creek that “has a never failing stream of water, where merchant mills may be erected . . . and may be so built that there would be 10 or 12 feet of water near the mill-house at common tides.” What he left unsaid—what need not have been said at all—was a benefit the creek offered: ready energy.
Inhabitants of today’s industrialized world are removed from the power that their routines consume. They flip switches, push buttons, and turn ignitions, often with little thought of the energy’s source. Before the Industrial Revolution, people were more attuned to what it took to stay warm, prepare food, light the parlor, and to travel. They chopped firewood, ground grain by hand, and walked—exertions that taxed the human body. They coveted stores of power that furnished alternatives to drudgery.

The natural world offered reservoirs of sustainable energy. People knew how to harness the power of water, wind, and animals, and, to a degree, the sun. In modern jargon, those are forms of environmentally friendly, green, or renewable energy. Colonial Americans used green energy because it was cheap, dependable, and plentiful, not out of ecological consciousness. When an alternative to renewable power became accessible, those technologies fell out of favor and a new energy paradigm emerged.
Now, Americans are looking for ways to reintegrate the earth’s free-flowing energy into their lives.

Eighteenth-century Americans were not earth friendly. They poisoned and killed critters that threatened their vegetable gardens. They felled swaths of forest for farmland. The burgeoning American iron industry required wood. In the form of charcoal, Pennsylvania’s Hopewell Furnace burned 200 acres of forest a year. By the time of the American Revolution in 1775, thirty furnaces stood along the Schuylkill River and its tributaries. Such villages as Cabin Point on Upper Chippokes Creek and Hanover Town in Virginia and Port Tobacco, Maryland, turned into ghost towns when the eroding topsoil around them from deforestation ran off into the rivers, making channels shipdeep no more.

“I must wonder what succeeding years will do for firewood,” wrote Virginia planter Landon Carter in 1770, noting the timber taken for home and kitchen fires, fences, and construction. “Add to this the natural death of trees and the violence of gusts that blows them down and I must think that in a few years the lower parts of the Country will be without firewood.” By lower parts, Carter meant the more-populated eastern counties.

Direct solar energy was little more than a curiosity. Some colonial towns’ main roads, such as Williamsburg’s Duke of Gloucester Street, were aligned east-west so they caught the full arc of the sun’s warm rays. In 1767, a Frenchman, Horace de Saussure, developed a solar oven capable of sustaining 230° Fahrenheit, but there was no practical way to store or use this energy.

One thing early Americans could depend on was the energy—water and wind—that moved across the continent. The diminishing forestland could not meet all their needs, and for life’s day-to-day necessities, they looked to the reliable power at their doorsteps.

Much of the renewable energy colonial Americans harvested they devoted to food production. Processing, for instance, could enhance food. Americans favored energy-rich cereal grains. Wheat and, especially, corn were as much as 80 percent of their diets—in some cases 800 pounds per adult, per year. German scientist Johann David Schoepf, after a two-year tour of the former British colonies, said that corn was, after tobacco, “the most important crop . . . the chief nourishment of the family, the negroes, and the large and small stock; for everything else lives on corn.”

Kernels could be cooked and eaten whole, but grinding them into flour or meal meant bread or fried cakes and easier digestion. Mortars and pestles fashioned of logs or stones could be used, as could such hand mills as a rotary quern. For the preferred option, however, Americans looked to water. The effort needed to capture flowing water’s energy was worth the returns. Gristmills—those that crushed grain—were among the first structures erected in new settlements and frontier communities.

Waterwheel technology had been around since at least the first century BCE. A vertical waterwheel was the most efficient. Gravity pulled water down across a bladed wheel, forcing it to turn on an axle that transferred mechanical energy to a workspace.
By reversing the process, draining the pond, a miller could reap energy from an outgoing tide. Union soldiers burned the mill during the Civil War, but it was replaced; tidal energy was valuable.

More common than tide mills were water mills that captured energy from streams that tumbled toward sea level from higher ground—the teetering, creekside waterwheel of American iconography. As with tide mills, water mills required landscaping. Damming a stream ensured that even during dry spells, when the flow might slow to a trickle, there would be water enough to turn the wheel. Builders also dug millraces, canals from the source to the waterwheel.

There were at least a dozen water mills within that many miles of eighteenth-century Williamsburg. Governor Francis Fauquier wrote in 1766 that Virginians “daily set up mills to grind their wheat into flour.” By 1800, 10,000 waterwheels turned in New England.

George Washington and Thomas Jefferson owned mills, and so did Americans of lesser means. Pastries of milled flour graced tables of the gentry. Fried pone of milled corn filled the stomachs of the enslaved.

On the grounds of Poplar Grove, an eighteenth-century estate in Mathews, Virginia, stands an example of the energy early Americans harvested from tides. Three hundred tide mills once dotted coastal lowlands from Canada to Georgia. Poplar Grove’s is one of five that remain in the United States.

Laborers dammed the mouth of a tidal creek, creating a millpond where once marsh had been. Two openings in the dam had floodgates that allowed a miller to raise and lower the millpond water level. A gristmill stood beside one of the openings, which the waterwheel fit inside of. At low tide, when the millpond was empty, the miller closed the floodgates. When high tide returned, he opened the sluice, allowing the water to rush in, turning the mill’s wheel.
Windmills were not as popular in North America, but they furnished an energy alternative in places unsuitable for water mills. Dutch settlers peppered New Amsterdam—present-day New York City—with windmills. Englishmen built them on coastal islands and spits in their colonies. Eighteenth-century Williamsburg had William Robertson’s, built before 1723, and a brick windmill Hugh Walker advertised for sale in 1771. Most others were built shoreside to access winds that blew over wide water.

Animals hauled away the flour and such that the mills produced. Their brawn might not have derived directly from earth’s natural cycles but with the right attention could be used without altering the environment too much. Oxen and horses functioned much the same as tractors and trucks would in the era of the internal combustion engine. Animal power cleared forests and plowed fields. Whole grains often made the trip to and from a mill in an oxcart. Animals hauled raw materials to trading ships at wharves and manufactured goods away.

Oxen were the go-to draft animals of the eighteenth century. Beasts of up to 2,500 pounds apiece, they could pull two or three times their weight depending on what was beneath and behind them. Oxen were more docile than horses and cheaper to keep, and farmers had no qualms about putting them in the stew pot when their working days were done. But horses performed jobs faster than oxen and could be ridden. College of William and Mary professor Hugh Jones wrote in 1722 that his countrymen “are such Lovers of Riding, that almost every ordinary Person keeps a horse.”

A benefit of both kinds of draft animals is that they could be made to provide the same rotary motion as windmills and water mills. Animals hitched to long shafts walked in endless circles around an edge runner–type crushing mill or pumps that drew water out of mines.

Weather was a worry. The Virginia Gazette reported “almost every mill-dam in the country given way” after a hurricane struck Virginia in 1775. Windmills had the potential to capture more power than water mills, but their exposure to the elements made them more vulnerable. Every storm held the potential for high winds and lightning that could destroy a windmill.

Tide millers did not have a consistent schedule. High tides, and thus the time for work, occurred about fifty minutes later every day. Wind millers had to be ready to drop everything when winds picked up. And windmills were useless on days no breezes blew. Animals could sicken or die.

Nevertheless, green energy gave colonial Americans power. Animals pulled weight humans could not. A well-designed water mill provided more than five units of horsepower, a good windmill almost nine. These structures remained a part of communities long after new energy sources arrived.

Wind power has long been part of humans’ lives. No one is sure who first used it to propel watercraft, although some scholars suggest rudimentary sailboats predate Homo sapiens’s exodus from Africa. Egyptians sailed small craft up the Nile River by 3100 BCE. Sailboats altered the distribution of the world’s population, allowing people to colonize...
lands that were otherwise inaccessible, spreading the reach and influence of dominant civilizations.

For early Americans, the wind powered one of the few accessible modes of travel. Transatlantic crossings and trade were impossible without large sailing vessels, but wind power also provided an alternative to dangerous or undeveloped overland travel of short distances within the continent. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the fastest sailing ships, so-called clippers, could reach speeds of up to 22 knots, or about 25 miles per hour. Even the best-rigged sailboats were beholden to wind’s unpredictability, meaning that they averaged speeds much lower. When a more reliable alternative came along, merchants and mariners trimmed their sails for good.

Steam engines, which convert heat to mechanical energy, made renewable sources seem feeble. The Watt steam engine could produce twenty-seven horsepower by 1800 and thirty times that a century later. Such engines turned drive belts and hauled freight—without nature’s limitations. Internal combustion engines and electricity transmission yielded volumes of power unmatched in history. A late model Honda Civic produces about 143 horsepower, more than twenty-eight times that turned out by an eighteenth-century water mill.

But some modern energy sources—coal, oil, natural gas, uranium—are finite, and their use pollutes or poisons the atmosphere, oceans, and land. As supplies of them dwindle, the principles of pre-industrial energy production are being reexplored.

Yet green energy technologies have retained a degree of favor in some human endeavors despite more potent alternatives. Renewable sources are well-suited to meet small-scale power demands. Individual windmills were a common sight on the American landscape through the latter half of the twentieth century. There’s an enduring fondness, too, for recreational sailing and the freedom it symbolizes. Stone-ground grains are rebounding in popularity, offering a flavor many consumers feel machine-ground grains cannot match. Efforts are also under way for green technology to create the amount of energy that modern society demands.

Hydroelectric power has moved beyond massive dams to harvesting energy from the waves and tides again. There are wind farms from Maine to Hawaii. Instead of burning the limited amount of solar power stored in plants and animals long ago, which we extract as coal and oil and gas, some people are tapping the source directly. The shift reflects a time when earth’s natural rhythms powered our lives—rhythms eighteenth-century Americans knew well.

Renewable energy, in the form of the sails on a windmill, opposite, and the water-driven wheel of a gristmill, left

Ben Swenson is a Williamsburg, Virginia, freelance writer working on “Abandoned Country,” a book about forgotten historic places being reclaimed by nature. He contributed to the spring 2014 journal a story about the impact of the eighteenth-century discovery of Uranus on ideas about the universe.
The leading local promoter of the restoration of Williamsburg to its eighteenth-century aspect, the Reverend Dr. W. A. R. Goodwin, summoned townspeople to a meeting June 12, 1928, to put his plan to a vote. A College of William and Mary fund-raiser and professor, as well as rector of Bruton Parish Church, he had negotiated the details with the city and county governments. They had surveyed public properties, drafted contracts, and secured the assent of Goodwin’s once-anonymous backer.

African Americans and the Restoration of Williamsburg

by Mary Miley Theobald
The philanthropist, his identity no longer much of a mystery to people paying attention, had secured scores of private lots and buildings. It was as close to done as a deal could be, and its backers aimed to seal it this night with the agreement of the citizens at large. In the standing-room-only auditorium of the city’s new high school, Goodwin announced the town would become a national shrine. He reassured his mostly male audience it would profit “in spiritual, as well as material, ways. Every businessman will be benefited.” And, he said, they had Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller Jr. of New York to thank.

The ballots tallied one hundred-fifty to four in favor, but not everyone with an interest in the outcome got to cast one, as pro forma as these may have been. In those years, seven hundred of the town’s 2,500 residents were African Americans. None attended the gathering. In Jim Crow’s Virginia, they could not enter the whites-only school. Williamsburg’s black citizens heard secondhand the official word that the town would become a museum, and that white Williamsburg had voted its approval. The times being what they were, the city’s African Americans had no seats at the meeting.

The Restoration, as at first the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation was known, soon modernized the town with up-to-date water, sewer, electricity, paved roads, and a state-of-the-art fire station; it brought new school buildings, hundreds of jobs, and opportunity. Goodwin was right—everyone benefited. Nevertheless, Colonial Williamsburg’s creation displaced historic district enterprises and households, white and black, in the path of demolitions, reconstructions, and restorations. The adjustments were harder on the city’s African Americans than on its whites.

Before the Restoration, the city was an integrated mixture of black- and white-owned homes and businesses, although “people knew where the boundaries were,” says foundation historian Linda Rowe. Her research showed “eleven black households living side-by-side with eighty-six white households on the main street, Market Square, Palace Green, and the Capitol grounds. Five black families and thirty-three white households were neighbors on Francis Street. African American and white families lived on Prince George, Henry, Nassau, and York Streets.”

Black-owned businesses—including Banks Café, Crump Restaurant, Crutchfield Barber Shop and Tea House, Skinner’s Tavern, Hitchen’s Store, Smith’s butcher shop, and Theodore Harris’s vaudeville theater—spread about town as well.

Goodwin, his words reflecting the attitudes of his times, said in a 1934 speech, “Up nearer the College was a row of tumbled-down modern stores and disreputable houses of some very reputable negroes. They had inherited the

The Restoration purchased and tore down this recently built school on Palace Green, building a new one a block away.
houses, as negroes often do, when no white man was left who would live in them.”

“In other places old homes of colonial days hung over caved-in foundations being held up by their rotten framing timbers. In one instance, the negroes who slept in one of these colonial buildings slept in rainy weather with umbrellas over them. They slept there without paying rent. Some sense of humanity was left, for who would seek to collect rent from dwellers in a colonial house whose only protection from the rain was an antique umbrella which leaked also?”

To remove most nineteenth- and all early twentieth-century structures from the center of the city, Rockefeller’s new Williamsburg Holding Company purchased more property and relocated owners. Vernon Geddy, an attorney who handled most of the Restoration’s real estate title transactions and became a Colonial Williamsburg vice president, said in a 1952 interview that he “always had splendid cooperation from most of the people of Williamsburg.” Whites who owned eighteenth-century houses that could be renovated for the Restoration usually had the option of surrendering their titles and moving back in after repairs to live rent-free as life tenants. There was as well, at least for College of William and Mary professors, the option of moving to such new white neighborhoods as Chandler Court next to the college.

Some of the city’s less-advantaged owners of 1700s homes had properties deemed poor candidates for life tenancy agreements, too time-worn for revitalization. Goodwin said, “This is not either a complete or in any sense an adequate description of Williamsburg as it was. Some few colonial houses retained a fair measure of their ancient grace and beauty, but no one of them was protected from fire and very few from the fire menace of neighboring fire-traps. The extent to which this was true may be realized when it is recalled that 442 buildings of modern construction have been demolished.”

Real estate agent Gardiner Brooks, who worked with Goodwin, too, said in a 1930 interview that he was having trouble getting African Americans to sell. They were “suspicious of the purchasing power of the white man’s money,” he said, and once a black man owned a piece of property, it was “hard to get him to turn it loose.”

At least thirty-six black families removed to neighborhoods outside the museum area with less or none of the assistance white families got. Two were offered life tenancies. Goodwin said he thought most would move away and “take care of the housing problem.” He was right. Some found homes in a new black neighborhood called Braxton Court, a few blocks west of the restored area. Others moved south of Francis Street on Henry Street, or north of Duke of Gloucester along Botetourt. The reloca-
tion of displaced residents, black and white, Rowe wrote, “established racially segregated residential areas along lines unknown in pre-Restoration days.”

Available to displaced black residents were six blocks along Botetourt Street where it intersects Franklin and Nicholson Streets. This was the site of the city’s black school, Union Baptist Church, Samaritan Odd Fellows Hall, and black-owned businesses and homes. The Restoration built a row of cottages for its African American workers. Painted white, the houses got the moniker White City. The section grew in the 1930s as African Americans were moved off the main street; it contracted in the 1950s and 1960s as Colonial Williamsburg raised support facilities and employee dormitories in those blocks.

Retired employee Edith Heard was born in a White City house and has happy memories of growing up in that neighborhood. Her father, a foundation chauffeur and mailman, rented a White City house for years. She remembers the brickyard across the street, where black men made most of the bricks used to reconstruct foundations and houses. Williamsburg’s restoration, she said, “was the best thing that happened to everybody, black and white. Many black people sold their property for big money and then bought more. The goal in those days was to build a brick house. Everybody wanted a brick house and their own property. Ninety percent sold their lot and bought acres of property and built a brick house. They upgraded. One family ended up with forty acres out of town. People prospered.”

The Williamsburg Holding Company bought white-owned Duke of Gloucester businesses and moved them to Merchants Square, the new shopping center it built in front of the college’s Wren Building. Black-owned businesses relocated outside the historic restoration boundaries. A few went to the triangle between Prince George, Scotland, and Boundary Streets. Others, such as Banks Café, the Crump Hotel, Epps’s barber shop, and a pool hall, moved to the Botetourt neighborhood.

Williamsburg churches built after the eighteenth-century—which is to say, all but Bruton Parish Episcopal—were torn down and replaced with new buildings outside the historic district. The original Mt. Ararat Church, an African American place of worship on Francis Street, was declared a firetrap in 1933 and demolished. A new Mt. Ararat was constructed across from the White City houses and diagonally across from the Union Baptist Church at Botetourt and Franklin.

The James City County Training School, a one-story, six-classroom school for African American children, grades one through eleven, was the Botetourt Street neighborhood landmark. Constructed in 1924, it consolidated children from smaller schools. Its principal lived steps away. It stood in the way of the Restoration, but was replaced with a modern and model, if still segregated, school just north of the Historic Area.

Restoring and reconstructing a colonial capital was an undertaking that brought hundreds of jobs to a town where the largest employers had been the College of William and Mary and Eastern State Hospital for the mentally ill. In the first seven years, Colonial Williamsburg removed 450 buildings and constructed 150 more, generating work for laborers, builders, and truck drivers. As
tourists poured in, hotels, restaurants, and gas stations sprang up to serve them, creating more jobs. When the Great Depression of the 1930s paralyzed America, the Restoration chugged on. The national unemployment rate reached 25 percent; Williamsburg's never exceeded 4 percent.

But “the pay was too low, and advancement was nil,” said Williamsburg-born Robert A. “Bobby” Braxton, who became the town’s second black city councilman. With exceptions, opportunities for African Americans at Colonial Williamsburg were low-wage positions in restaurants, hotels, laundry, and landscaping. This also was true at the college and the hospital and typical of the era. “You can’t look at history with twenty-first-century vision,” Heard said. “CW met integration ahead of the game, putting blacks in key positions.”

Until the 1930s, black women who worked for wages were employed mostly as domestics in white homes. The Restoration brought the prospect of a steady paycheck and higher pay, even if the majority of jobs on offer were the traditional positions of maid, laundress, or cook. Black women now left their domestic jobs in a rush, confirming a Goodwin prediction that the Restoration would make it impossible for white families to hire female servants.

Black men who had been farmers or had made do with seasonal or part-time work found full-time opportunities and an improved standard of living. In the beginning, most worked as chauffeurs, waiters, janitors, gardeners, cooks, grooms, and carriage drivers, but not all. Heard said Chef Crawford and Mack Williams were management from 1938, “brought to Williamsburg by Mr. John D. Rockefeller.” Executive Chef Ira Bonner and Earnest Heard “opened the Motor House Cafeteria” in 1957.

By the 1960s, departments once closed to blacks were opening up, and opportunities to advance increased. In 1967 Edith Heard became a supervisor in the accounting office.

The restoration of Williamsburg brought improvement to African American schools. Early in the twentieth century, a young John D. Rockefeller Jr. had taken trips through the South to observe the sad state of African American education, a subject that had long concerned his family. He found not a single public high school for blacks in the South. Two crippling factors—racism and a low tax base—made improvement unlikely.

So Rockefeller launched a charitable foundation in 1903 called the General Education Board to support black schools and universities throughout the South. By 1905, his father had funded it with $42 million, slightly more than $1 billion in today’s dollars, a sum that tripled over the next couple of decades.

It was this mission that brought Rockefeller, who was by then fifty-two, to Virginia in 1926. On a visit to Hampton Institute—now Hampton University—thirty miles southeast of Williamsburg, he took a side trip to Williamsburg, where Goodwin had offered to show him the town’s colonial survivals. Because that visit led to the town’s restoration, it is no exaggeration to say that Colonial Williamsburg owes its existence to the Rockefeller family’s commitment to black education. That commitment directly benefited Williamsburg’s black community.

Williamsburg’s first postcolonial black school had opened in a rented room six years after the Civil War. A second opened thirteen years later in a two-room frame building behind today’s Market
Square Tavern. It moved in 1908 to the Samaritan Odd Fellows Hall, a fraternal care-and-support organization at Nicholson and Botetourt Streets. During these years, there were about 130 black students in all grades taught by ten black teachers. The white schools had similar numbers but better facilities, and white teachers earned twice as much.

When the James City County Training School was built, it consolidated these small black schools into one location at Botetourt and Nicholson, across from the Odd Fellows Hall. By the late 1930s, the Training School had fallen into disrepair, and Colonial Williamsburg officials were eyeing that part of town for expansion. They proposed buying the Training School from the Williamsburg School Board, tearing it down, and building a school on thirty acres donated by Rockefeller, just north of the railroad tracks. The projected cost of the facility was $245,000, a sum far beyond what the local school board could afford.

It would be “the most up-to-date program for negro education in this country,” wrote Colonial Williamsburg President Kenneth Chorley in 1938 to Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes. Chorley asked for a federal grant. The school should have “the possibility of influencing negro education throughout the South,” he said, and be “much more important than simply another negro school.” Ickes approved a $95,000 gift. Rockefeller’s wife, Abby Aldrich Rockefeller, contributed $50,000, and the facility, Bruton Heights School, opened in the fall of 1940.

“The James City County Training School was a nice building,” said Braxton, a 1956 Bruton Heights graduate, “but Bruton Heights was nicer. Fifteen schools closed when Bruton Heights opened—mostly one-room schools in York County and James City County,” whose students could now be bused into the new one.

Historian Andrea Foster wrote in her 1993 Ph.D. dissertation that Bruton Heights focused on job training, stressing such home economics courses as cooking and laundry that would equip students for jobs in Williamsburg’s hotels and restaurants. But by the time Heard graduated in 1961, its academic courses were college prep quality, thanks to the insistence of its principal and faculty. Bruton Heights, she said, offered technical courses, too. “You could choose domestic classes—cooking, sewing, and such—or not.”

From the day it opened, Bruton Heights was far more than a school. “It was a community center, too,” Braxton said, with amenities the black population had heretofore gone without, including an auditorium that doubled as the community movie theater, a gymnasium, a library, a dentist’s office, and a clinic. During World War II, it served as the black USO for the Peninsula.

The old James City County Training School was demolished. An eighteenth-century building, the Davenport House, had once stood on the site and
many wanted it reconstructed. “Fortunately the school had very shallow foundation walls,” Colonial Williamsburg archaeologist Meredith Poole said, so the underlying Davenport House remains were minimally impacted. The site was excavated in 1954. Another colonial building, the Ravenscroft House, once stood opposite the Training School. That site, too, was excavated in 1954, and in 1997, and again from 2006 to 2008. Colonial Williamsburg officials of the 1950s entertained hopes of reconstructing those two houses and enlarging the Historic Area. “The block was actually a very important element in the colonial landscape,” Poole said. The school site has seen subsequent use as an exhibition brickyard, a carpenter’s yard, and since 1997, a pasture.

With its academic anchor gone, the black community around Botetourt Street shrank as Colonial Williamsburg gradually bought up land and used it for support and maintenance facilities. In 1949, the foundation purchased the Crump Hotel and demolished it a year or two later. The Union Baptist Church was torn down in the early 1960s after its congregation moved to Highland Park, a black residential area north of today’s Governor’s Inn. During those years, two of the White City houses were moved to Highland Park. The rest were torn down. Today one building remains in the old neighborhood, the Mt. Ararat Baptist Church, an island in a sea of parking lots, office buildings, maintenance shops, and warehouses.

By some lights, the Restoration was a mixed blessing for Williamsburg’s African American community. While some blacks saw increased segregation and low-wage jobs, others saw job opportunities and improved schools. During subsequent decades, “senior administrators changed the environment,” said Rex Ellis, Colonial Williamsburg’s first African American vice president.

During the turbulent years of desegregation, such foundation executives as John W. Harbour, vice president and Williamsburg school board chairman, were “at the forefront to do everything possible to make sure the community transitioned in ways that did not create unrest. The theater was integrated when some blacks simply went in and sat down. School integration occurred with little conflict, no marches, riots, or violence. In that respect, CW was more of a pacesetter than most institutions and a much better organization than it had been in the early years.

“When you see the third generation of families working for the foundation, when you see retirees living in the area defending the organization, when you see the professional way the foundation acknowledged Bruton Heights as an African American school—these are all signs of a solid, credible, and nurturing relationship” that exists today between Colonial Williamsburg and Williamsburg’s black community.
A Vanished Community

BY WILL MOLINEUX

Academy Award–winning Hollywood writer and director George Seaton was filming Williamsburg: The Story of a Patriot on Duke of Gloucester Street in the spring of 1956. A block away, Anthony Conyers was looking after farm animals used in The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation’s orientation film.

His poultry and sheep pens stood on an otherwise empty eastern Nicholson Street lot in a neighborhood of African American families where Conyers, his wife, Inez, and their children lived in a rent house. He welcomed the opportunity to supplement his day job earnings as a janitor to help him build a home in adjoining James City County. The Conyerses had to move, because their quarter was being integrated with the Historic Area.

The heart of their once-vibrant residential neighborhood was the intersection of Nicholson Street, which parallels Duke of Gloucester Street to the north, and North Botetourt Street. Botetourt had been extended toward the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway tracks, and along it, Colonial Williamsburg had constructed African American employee housing. To the east and to west ran wooded ravines. The only significant eighteenth-century dwelling in that area of Nicholson had been Thomas Ravenscroft’s, destroyed by fire in 1896 and not reconstructed.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, when a third of Williamsburg’s 2,000 residents were African Americans, blacks acquired lots along the north side of East Nicholson—lots measured and recorded when the city was founded.
The first community buildings in this African American enclave—a hotel and a church—were built about 1905. Thomas and Harriet Crump acquired property in the 300 block of Nicholson and built an eleven-room hotel for boarders and travelers. Two kitchens and two dining rooms were available for catered celebrations. Union Baptist Church’s congregation established its house of worship around the corner on Botetourt’s west side.

In 1907, when Williamsburg was on the James-town Tercentenary Exposition’s tourist itinerary, the city moved its two-room schoolhouse for black pupils from behind the Powder Magazine to the Nicholson-Botetourt intersection. The school had been built for $950 in 1885 under the supervision of Samuel Harris, a black member of the Williamsburg School Board.

Harris, perhaps the city’s wealthiest merchant, lived with his family on the second floor of his Cheap Store near the northwest corner of Duke of Gloucester and Botetourt. At his death in 1904, he had Nicholson Street—area properties and other real estate. His contemporaries John Cary, a barber, and George W. Potts, who kept a grocery, owned land nearby and were city councilmen during Reconstruction. Harris’s youngest son, Theodore, had an amusement hall on Nicholson, among other business interests in the area.

In 1924, a brick James City County Training School replaced the clapboard black schoolhouse. There, agriculture was taught and black history commemorated. It stood where Conyers now fed chickens and guarded sheep as they grazed.

Bruton Heights School replaced the training school in 1941 on the other side of the railroad tracks. Students walked to class through a pedestrian tunnel at the foot of Botetourt—today a passageway to the foundation’s Bruton Heights Education Center.

The erection of Morning Light Lodge No. 1475 of the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows on Nicholson is difficult to date. Nevertheless, it was a recreation center with a cramped indoor basketball court and a meeting hall above it until after World War II.

Two of the community’s leading families once resided on Nicholson between the Training School and the Odd Fellows lodge—those of William and Clara Baker and of the Reverend Lewis Wellington Wales Jr. Beginning in 1926, Willie Baker was for years the Bruton Parish Church sexton. Clara Byrd Baker, educated at Hampton Institute and Virginia State College, began a teaching career in a one-room James City County school and completed it fifty years later at Bruton Heights. Today, a James City County elementary is named for her. Rev. Wales, who succeeded his father as pastor of Mount Ararat Baptist Church on Francis Street, moved to Nicholson Street about the same time when, in 1932, the congregation built a brick sanctuary at the corner of Botetourt and Franklin—catty-corner from Union Baptist.

Facing Franklin opposite Mount Ararat was the residence of Fred and Fannie Epps, whose four sons attended the training school directly behind their home. When Fannie Epps sold the house to Colonial Williamsburg, she was given life tenancy in the George Reid House on Duke of Gloucester. She lived to be 101.

As the restoration of eighteenth-century Williamsburg took shape in the early 1930s, Colonial Williamsburg erected a dormitory on Franklin for employees. Initially, it was a wooden structure but was replaced by two brick two-story buildings. Nearby, to the west of Botetourt on a short dead-end, Colonial Williamsburg built six two-bedroom cottages for families the restoration displaced and for skilled employees. Residents dubbed the block White City because all homes were painted white.

Designated at the Restoration’s outset as a “negro section,” the neighborhood has disappeared, its dwellings taken down or moved. Nicholson Street
is incorporated as Historic Area green space. Only Mount Ararat Baptist remains, next door to the foundation’s Franklin Street office complex and amid a conglomeration of warehouses, a commissary, carpentry and paint shops, maintenance sheds, and garages.

By all accounts—documentary recollections and contemporary conversation—the Nicholson-Botelourt neighborhood was close-knit. Every home had a porch, and there were rose bushes and tomato patches in the yards. Baseball was played on Potts Field, and there were curbside basketball hoops. Toby Scott had a restaurant and store adjacent White City. In the early 1950s, William Thomas had a restaurant, where he cooked for inmates at the jail. Men gathered in beer gardens, or at the waiters’ club.

Some families had lived in the Williamsburg area for generations—such as that of Clifton Gardner of 441 East Nicholson, whose father, Malachi Gardner, drove a wagon for Benjamin Ewell, the president of the College of William and Mary, and whose son, Dennis, managed the Franklin House and lived in the Historic Area. After he moved to York County, he was elected to the board of supervisors. Other families were newcomers, as was Anthony Conyers, who left a tenant farm in South Carolina in 1942 and settled behind the Gardner household on Raleigh Lane.

On a cold, rainy Saturday, January 14, 2006, his son, Anthony Junior—Tony to all who know him—traveled to Virginia’s reconstructed colonial Capitol at the eastern end of Duke of Gloucester to attend Governor Tim Kaine’s inauguration. He came as the appointed commissioner of the Virginia Department of Social Services, the executive leader of 1,600 staff and a statewide system of 10,000 social workers. Just beyond the Capitol’s brick wall, within his imagination, stood the neighborhood of his youth. He remembered riding a bicycle back and forth on Nicholson, bouncing a basketball through the tunnel to Bruton Heights, and his father as a shepherd in what is now a vanished community.

Williamsburg journalist Will Molineux contributed “The Duke of Gloucester Street Special,” a story about a train that ran down that street, to the winter 2012 journal.
Statesman, scientist, architect, writer, Thomas Jefferson, here Bill Barker, could converse with the brightest of dinner guests.

Welcoming a group of Nobel Prize laureates to dinner, President John F. Kennedy said, “I think this is the most extraordinary collection of talent, of human knowledge, that has ever been gathered together at the White House, with the possible exception of when Thomas Jefferson dined alone.” He quoted James Parton, an early biographer of Jefferson, who wrote that the third president “could calculate an eclipse, survey an estate, tie an artery . . . try a cause, break a horse, dance the minuet, and play the violin.”

Had Jefferson given a dinner for distinguished eighteenth-century Britons and Americans, whom might he have invited? Already a friend of some of
the 1700s’ giants, perhaps he might have included lesser-known, but still deserving, persons of achievement in the undertakings Parton mentioned. Consider:

In early October 1793, Caroline Herschel wrote, “Last night, I discovered a comet.” What might seem a singular achievement for an eighteenth-century woman was neither her first nor last celestial charting.

Michael Hoskin, author of Caroline Herschel: Princess of the New Heavens, said her brother, William, an organist in what is now Germany, moved to England in 1757, and “became an amateur astronomer. In 1781, he discovered Uranus, and in 1782 was appointed astronomer to the court of George III at Windsor Castle.” Caroline, who “accompanied him to Windsor as his housekeeper and astronomical assistant,” evolved from a handmaiden to an astronomer, too. Using small telescopes her brother made, “she discovered some two dozen nebulae and, later, eight comets, which earned her fame,” Hoskin said. “More importantly, her nebulae encouraged William to embark on a survey of the entire northern sky . . . that led to catalogues of 2,500 objects.”

When William Herschel returned to Germany in 1786, Caroline Herschel wrote that she took “the opportunity of his absence to sweep in the neighborhood of the sun, in search of comets; and last night, the 1st of August, about 10 o’clock, I found an object . . . I suspected to be a comet.” Word of her work spread through Great Britain and the new United States. In 1802, an anonymous contributor to the Philadelphia Repository wrote, “I envy Miss Herschel her astronomical knowledge. What wonderful things she sees through her telescope. . . . Happy woman!”

After her brother’s death, she continued to map the heavens, working with her nephew. She “entirely recast the observations into a form that William’s son John could use to re-examine his father’s nebulae,” Hoskin said, “and this would lead to . . . the New General Catalogue that we use today. For this, Caroline was awarded a Gold Medal of the Royal Astronomical Society.”

Author Myron Magnet says that the American Revolution began earlier than people think. John Adams dated it to fifteen years before the battles of Lexington and Concord. Magnet said that “the truth is that that revolution in the ‘hearts and minds’ of Americans, as Adams put it, began even earlier in a magazine called the Independent Reflector that William Livingston published in New York in 1752 and ’53.” The publication, he said, “broadcast widely throughout the colonies John Locke’s notions of government by consent of the governed and the right of the people to depose a tyrannical king.”

Some of the magazine’s articles—Livingston penned 60 percent—had such titles as “Of the Use, Abuse, and Liberty of the Press,” “The Vanity of Births and Titles; with the Absurdity of claiming Respect without Merit,” and “A Catalogue of sundry Grievances, which require immediate Redress.” In an article about the abuse of government, the Reflector said: “Ignorance . . . is absolutely criminal in the Ruler; for no one has the right to govern but he that is wise. Charles I paid his Head as a Tribute to his Ignorance.”

Livingston, a New York–born attorney who clerked for the lawyers defending journalist John Peter Zenger and freedom of the press, attended the Continental Congress, led a militia during the
Revolution, and signed the Constitution. His brother Philip signed the Declaration of Independence.

Livingston, who became governor of New Jersey, built a house he named Liberty Hall. In *The Founders at Home: The Building of America, 1735–1817*, Magnet examines the connections between eighteenth-century homes and the ideas of the men who lived in them. Magnet says Liberty Hall is “a modest but stylish villa.” Livingston, perhaps reflecting his antiroyalist sentiments, said it was “my neat, but simple mansion.”

A professor at the University of Tasmania, Australia, Simon Brown wrote in 2011 that “it would be regrettable were this year to end without some commemoration of the 250th anniversary of the death of the Reverend Stephen Hales. Clinicians and virtually all biologists rely on some aspect of his research.” Brown credited the British minister-scientist with making “significant contributions to plant and animal physiology on which we still depend, while also contributing to chemistry, inventing ventilation systems and winnowing machines and an instrument to remove urinary calculi through the urethra, and publishing papers on the causes of earthquakes and the control of fires.”

A man of such disparate talents should have fascinated Jefferson, himself a polymath. In an interview, Brown called Hales “a very early instance of a scientist who used quantitative measurements and calculation,” and cited as an example how he “estimated the length of the root system of a plant and then calculated its surface area. Based on these values, he then compared the flux of water into the plant through the roots with the transpiration from the leaves . . . an extraordinary approach at the time.”

One of his trials, performed in 1711, led to new understanding of blood pressure. Hales’s method, however, involved flipping a mare on her side, slitting her carotid artery, inserting a long tube, and measuring how high the blood rose. “Sadly,” Brown
said, “many of those who remember Hales do so because of his rather gruesome experiments on animals. A more balanced view would include his important work in other areas and an appreciation of his use of both experimentation and calculation.” All things considered, Brown said, Hales “made important contributions to several areas of science.”

A vegetarian who grew prize-winning potatoes, John Howard was appointed high sheriff of Bedford, England, in 1773. “One of his new responsibilities required him to attend the Assizes,” said Tessa West, author of The Curious Mr. Howard: Legendary Prison Reformer. “It was in court that he saw ill, badly clothed and badly treated prisoners. This made him determined to visit prisons. He made a strong, positive impact within only a few years.” His visits were not his only encounter with iron bars; he had briefly served time as a political prisoner in a French lock-up.

After four years as sheriff, Howard wrote The State of the Prisons in England and Wales, in which he identified penal system flaws. Among them were jailers whose salaries grew the longer they kept people imprisoned, the incarceration of innocent men, and the prevalence of diseases, such as smallpox, that spread in the cramped and filthy confines of cells. “Many who went in healthy,” he wrote, “are in a few months changed to emaciated dejected objects. Some are seen pining under distress, expiring on the floors, in loathsome cells.”

Howard’s observations echoed one of the scientific findings reported in Hales’s 1740 book, Statical Essays. Experimenting on himself to find how much fresh air was needed for healthy respiration, Hales concluded that it was “no wonder that the air should be infected, and apt to breed distempers in close prisons, where not only the breath, but also the plentiful perspiration of many confined together stench the air, and make it apt to breed what are called gaol distempers.”

West said Howard “was adamant that there should be both regular and unannounced inspections of prisons, because without them standards fall. Clearly, he was right. Inspections today often reveal that things are not as they should be, or are indeed very, very wrong—even criminal. Prisoners have little right to redress, so others are needed who have the authority to hold those in power to account.” West said Howard “caused Parliament and the public to become aware of the terrible conditions in prisons in England and in most other countries, and to understand that things could and should be done to improve them.”

The British coming to smash the American Revolution in April 1777, a patriot mounted a horse to race through the night and rally troops from every county, village, and town. Not Paul Revere, but Sybil Ludington, a sixteen-year-old New Yorker who galloped forty miles to muster the patriots who served under her father, Colonel Henry Ludington. She offered to make the ride because another messenger was exhausted after hurrying from Connecticut to Dutchess County in New York to report the assault.

Or so the story goes, but did it really happen? The website of the Daughters of the American Revolution, dar.org, says that “no evidence has been found that proves the authenticity” of the Ludington ride. The National Women’s History Museum, on the other hand, celebrates the teenager’s gallop, and credits her bravery. In 1975, the United States
Postal Service issued a stamp honoring her as a youthful heroine.

One reason the authenticity of the tale is doubted is that it didn’t appear in print until the late nineteenth century. An entry on American National Biography Online, anb.org, says, “Newspaper and magazine embellishments of the dramatic ride created a morass for researchers.” The author was Carole Troxler, a history professor, who said in an interview, “I don’t have an opinion on whether she made the ride or not. I have seen no evidence to convince me that she did.” She said Ludington’s story emerged a century after it supposedly happened because it served the purposes of different constituencies. Troxler listed the interested parties as the town where she lived, “advocates of respect for women’s history,” the Postal Service, journalists, supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment, the National Rifle Association, and “bloggers, writers of children’s books, and their publishers.” She said, “There’s nothing ‘wrong’ with any of those usages. I don’t care as much about whether she rode or not as I care about the controversies and what they suggest about their protagonists. The fight is significant to me in thinking about how we use our history, or what passes for it.”

On the other hand, V. T. Dacquino, who researched the story for a book, Sybil Ludington: The Call to Arms, is convinced of the ride. Dacquino said, “There seems to be no question that her father went to the aid of Connecticut that night. If so, there was really no one available who knew where his troops lived.” The value of her story in the twenty-first century, Dacquino said, is that “a call to arms is a duty that should always be respected. We should also take note that this sixteen-year-old girl rode forty miles in what we believe was a rainy, cold New York night and morning. She was also a target for her father’s many enemies. With so many questionable ‘idols’ for our American teens today, it is good to have someone like Sybil and her courage to point to for our youth.”

Kennedy’s 1962 dinner guests included a poet, Robert Frost, so Jefferson’s invitation list should feature one as well. Say Phillis Wheatley. Her attendance might have led to a confrontation, however, because the president had insulted her and, in the view of University of Maryland Professor Vincent Carretta, displayed his racism. Carretta, who has written a Wheatley biography, said, “She wrote a volume of poetry when she was a teenager and in literary circles was not a minor figure. She was the first person of African descent to publish a book and only the second woman to publish a book in America. She was a feisty young woman, as shown in her letters and poems, 90 percent of which were written before she was twenty-five.”

Wheatley, whose first name was taken from the name of the slave ship that brought her to America when she was about seven, was owned by a Boston couple “who recognized she was something of a prodigy,” Carretta said. The Wheatleys educated her and instilled in her a love of poetry. She produced verse on such subjects as George Washington, at the time in command of Continental forces during the Revolution. When he read her ode, which appeared in the Virginia Gazette in Williamsburg, among other places, he wrote Wheatley to apologize that “a variety of important occurrences, continually interposing to distract the mind,” had delayed his letter of gratitude. Complimenting her genius, Washington invited her to visit him at his encampment.

Jefferson said a black person was incapable of producing poetry. It “was not a high point” for him, Carretta said. If a black person were a poet, “that exception destroyed racism. Jefferson couldn’t acknowledge Wheatley.” In his refutation of her art, contained in his Notes on the State of Virginia, Jefferson said, “Misery is often the parent of the most affecting touches in poetry. Among the blacks is
misery enough, God knows, but no poetry. . . . The compositions published under her name are below the dignity of criticism.” In rebuttal, a newspaper said that the poetry itself condemned Jefferson’s criticism. It said that had Jefferson reproduced a few lines of her poem on imagination, it would have proven the injustice of his criticism.

ERSCHEL, LIVINGSTON, HALES, HOWARD, Ludington, and Wheatley: such a guest list might have meant lively dinner conversation on everything from comets and vivisection to women scanning the skies and, maybe, calling out the troops.

James Breig contributed an article on the eighteenth-century artist William Hogarth to the winter 2014 journal. He writes from near Albany, New York.

Suggestions for further reading:

V. T. Dacquino, Sybil Ludington: The Call to Arms (New York, 2000).

Former slave Phillis Wheatley published a book of poetry.

Jefferson eating alone was equal to the “extraordinary collection of talent” of Nobel laureates dining at JFK’s White House.
Back Issues

Many, though not all, back issues of Colonial Williamsburg are available. Find a helpful current index at history.org/Foundation/journal/images/index2012.pdf, or search for the subjects that interest you most at research.history.org/JDRLibrary/Online_Resources/. To order, specify date(s) of issue(s), and remit $7.50 per copy (includes postage). Mail checks (no cash) payable to The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation to: Colonial Williamsburg Journal, Post Office Box 1776, Williamsburg, VA 23187-1776.
Nearly sixty-year-old, eight-sided, brick fasthold of arms, ammunition, and explosives in Williamsburg's central square became the flash point of the Revolution in Virginia. Beyond the boundaries of the Old Dominion, the three-story curiosity's place in the march to American independence is, perhaps, not as well known as that of Lexington's green or Concord's bridge, but it was as important.

Let's begin at the beginning.

Lieutenant Governor Alexander Spotswood proposed the storehouse in 1714 to safeguard weapons and gunpowder he had secured from Queen Anne for Virginia's defense—muskets and munitions that he said lay in an older depot exposed to neglect and embezzlement. Spotswood offered to loan funds of his own for the new building, may have designed it, and quickly obtained the General Assembly's assent. About £200 and two years later, contractor John Tyler turned over the keys to the bastion that the legislature had decreed “be called the magazine.” Before Colonial Williamsburg began to renovate the depot and restored it to its rightful title in 1933, the Magazine had been identified, too, as the Public Magazine, the Powder Magazine, and,
lately, the Powder Horn. Often the adjective “old” preceded the labels.

Appellations aside, since Friday, April 21, 1775, it has been known best as the place to which James Murray, Earl of Dunmore and the colony’s last royal governor, touched the spark to a train of events that fired Virginia’s enthusiasm for independence from Great Britain, and led to a unanimous declaration of the thirteen united states assembled in Philadelphia.

EXECUTING ORDERS FROM LONDON, HIS LORDSHIP Earl of Dunmore summoned to Williamsburg a royal marine and twenty armed sailors from the schooner Magdalene, anchored in the James. Between 3 A.M. and 4 A.M., he dispatched them with a small Governor’s Palace wagon to the Magazine, where they spirited away fifteen of the seventeen or so half-barrels of government gun-

powder on hand before the raiders were discovered and the alarm sounded.

Bands of Virginians flew to arms, suggesting that the theft had left the province not so defenseless as was alleged. In any event, careful and cautious men forestalled violent reprisals, but fearing for his and his family’s safety, Dunmore abandoned this the colony’s capital and his post June 9. Virginia quit its allegiance to England on May 16, 1776, becoming the first of Great Britain’s possessions to break with the mother country, and instructed its delegation to the Second Continental Congress to move the same for the other twelve. The motion carried. Thomas Jefferson wrote up the result.

THE MAGAZINE’S YEARS OF MILITARY SERVICE HAD been enhanced by construction of a guardhouse and ten-foot-tall wall in 1755, and a fortifica-
tion trench circa 1776. The thirty-three-foot, five-inch wide, sixty-foot-tall octagon was a repository of such martial items as axes, basins, bayonets, bedclothes, belts, blunderbusses, buckshot, canteens, cannon, cannonballs, carbines, cartouche boxes, clothes, cutlasses, drums, Dutch ovens, flints, hand grenades, hatchets, hats, holsters, kettles, knapsacks, lead, mallets, match rope, mortars, muskets, picks, pistols, powder horns, rifles, sheets, shoes, shovels, shot, shot bags, swords, tents, tent poles, and trade guns.

Virginia’s government and its gear moved to Richmond in 1780, leaving the Magazine to local troops, who found less and less use for it. By 1797 the structure served Williamsburg for a market house. The second floor became a Baptist meeting house in the 1850s. The first floor was still a venue for kitchen provisions in 1857, seven or eight years after visiting historian Benson J. Lossing had the building sketched for his two-volume *The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution or Illustrations, by Pen and Pencil, or the History, Biography, Scenery, Relics, and Traditions of the War for Independence*, and reported it was a partial ruin. Before the Civil War, when the Confederates made it an arsenal, the Magazine housed a dancing school, and after the fighting, turned into a livery stable.

It was still sheltering horses and hay when one morning in 1888 someone noticed the northeast wall had fallen. The Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities—as Preservation Virginia was then called—paid Moses R. Harrell $400 for the deed in 1890, rebuilt the east, north, and northwest walls, as well as the one missing, with bricks scavenged from area wrecks, and turned the Magazine into a cabinet of historical knickknacks and miscellany.

Colonial Williamsburg, partnering with Preservation Virginia, by 1935 had spent $11,811.28 on another restoration of the building, and $8,865.16...
Its military usefulness over with the end of Civil War, the Magazine about 1881, below left, and sometime before 1888, below, right.

to rebuild the wall, acquired a lease on the property in 1946, restored the building again in 1952, and took title thirty-four years later. It stands today—supported by the John and Linda Muckel Endowment Fund for the Magazine—appearing much as it did in 1716, as an exhibition building stocked with eighteenth-century arms. But no gunpowder.

—Alexander Chesterfield

In this antebellum drawing, the Magazine had lost its surrounding wall, and a market lean-to had been added to its south side.
Service as a stable, left, and all-purpose storage building, minus a wall that collapsed in 1888, right, were two of the Magazine’s incarnations. In 1890, the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquity purchased the building to forestall its ruin.

A horse grazing nearby and Bruton Parish Church’s tower in the background, the repaired Magazine early in the twentieth century.
Left, checkerboard bricks gathered from old foundations repaired the Magazine about 1906. A pool hall was neighbor to the ivy-covered Magazine in the late 1920s. Below, 1935 architectural restoration drawings done by Colonial Williamsburg draftsmen.
Revolution changes communities, intentionally and unintentionally. Among other things, it shifts the character of buildings and landscapes by removing symbols of an old order. Architectural history is written by destruction as well as by construction.

The shifts often depend on the ideology as well as the reach of the revolutionaries. The English Civil War destroyed fixtures and monuments in churches that Puritans saw as idolatrous, replicating on a smaller scale the demolition of monasteries by Henry VIII in his bid to establish preeminent religious authority in England. The French Revolution sanctioned vandalism, cleansing the landscape of papal accoutrements seen as buttressing the Old Regime. In 1871, the Paris Commune sought to overthrow authority by destroying the Tuilleries. Communards also pulled down Napoleon’s high Vendome column, calling it a “symbol of brute force and false glory.” More state-sponsored mob violence destroyed palaces, grand houses, and peasant villages in the restructuring of society in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics and Eastern Europe. Mao demolished Beijing’s city walls and gates as a first step toward modernizing the Chinese capital to symbolize the destruction of imperial authority as well as to open the city up to vehicular traffic.

The characteristics of the population as well as ideology affect what happens during popular revolt. Colonial Boston had an appetite for mob violence, as Governor Thomas Hutchinson discovered when, enraged by the Stamp Act in 1765, a mob attacked his house, smash-
ing doors and windows, and tearing out woodwork and partitions. The ruffians were not satisfied until they threw down a cupola on the roof from which the governor and his guests once enjoyed vistas of the North End and Boston Harbor. Hutchinson was lucky to escape with his skin.

Such local Williamsburg elites as Peyton Randolph were more in control of the town’s smaller population. Patrick Henry had to assemble a militia in Hanover County, fifty miles away, to march on Williamsburg when Virginia’s governor, Lord Dunmore, directed royal marines to clandestinely remove fifteen half-barrels of the colony’s gunpowder from the public Magazine one April night in 1775.

Dunmore viewed Williamsburg citizens as little better than a Boston mob. After abandoning the Governor’s Palace for a British warship, he condemned groups of men who forced their way into the building and took what they liked. “They broke open every lock of the doors of all the rooms, Cabinets and private places, and carried off a considerable number of Arms of different Sorts, a large collection and valuable.” It was, he wrote, “an infamous robbery, this violation of private property as well as atrocious outrage against the King’s Authority.”

Virginians interpreted the removal of firearms and edged weapons from their ornamental hanging in the Palace differently. To them, it was an orderly and public action to secure the arms in the bright light of day, in contrast to Dunmore’s nighttime raid on the Magazine. They took three carts through the main streets, each accompanied by respectable citizens, and planter-politician Theodorick Bland inventoried the arms. They published a letter to Dunmore that said they acted in the interest of security, moving the arms from the periphery of the town to its public core. The arms were issued and used by Virginia forces, and archaeologists have found pieces of the ornamented infantry small-swords at such Williamsburg sites as the Palace, Magazine, and James Geddy workshop.

Revolutionary attacks on property in Williamsburg were focused on overt symbols of royal authority. The General Assembly paid builder Benjamin Powell to remove carved royal arms from the pediment of the two-story Capitol portico, which had faced down Duke of Gloucester Street since mid-century. As in almost every restive colony, royal portraits disappeared from the walls of public buildings. Virginians removed paintings of George III and Queen Charlotte, although likenesses of earlier monarchs were still hanging in the Capitol in 1777. Only the hand of one queen, resting on her crown, survived a clean sweep of official canvases in South Carolina, cut from a portrait of Charlotte—or was it Queen Anne? The hand’s identity is long lost, but not its potency as a trophy.

Militiamen cut lead from the Virginia Capitol roof for bullets, a less theatrical gesture than New Yorkers’ pulling down the gilded lead statue of George III toward the same purpose. There is archaeological evidence that an ornamented wrought-iron fence and gates at the Palace were carted across town to James Anderson’s armory, presumably for material for weapons work rather than repair and regilding.
The new Virginia Assembly met in the Capitol from 1776 through 1779—when the government moved to Richmond—and the first two commonwealth governors took up residence in the Palace, broken locks notwithstanding. The new revolutionary governor Patrick Henry lived in the ransacked old official residence at the end of Palace Street.

Much of Norfolk, Virginia's principal port, was destroyed early in January 1776. Once the damage was blamed on Dunmore's demolitions and naval shelling, but now it is partially attributed to revolutionaries burning the houses and stores of loyalists. Such partisan vandalism appears to have been limited in Williamsburg. There were no recorded attacks on the houses of such loyalists as Attorney General John Randolph and merchant George Pitt, despite the tempting target offered by Randolph's imposing wooden house on south England Street. The marble statue of Lord Botetourt in the Capitol loggia was unmolested until after the Revolution, the assembly paying Humphrey Harwood to have it cleaned four times between 1777 and 1779.

When militias and armies occupied Williamsburg during the Revolution, most intentional destruction was strategic. The British destroyed the U-shaped barracks built for Continental forces on what had been the governor's property north of town but seem only to have demolished the forges at the armory near the Capitol, not the armory itself or the tinshop. An accidental fire on the Anderson block in 1842 and Federal soldiers' burning of the college building in 1862 appear from archaeology to have been more destructive. Neither side smashed the baroque funeral monuments of past governors or gentry or stole the silver coffin fittings from Botetourt's tomb below the College chapel—left for soldiers to do during the 1862–65 Union occupation.
Nevertheless, the Revolution affected the town. The war precipitated moving the seat of government west to Richmond at the end of 1779, setting the scene for Williamsburg’s restoration a century and a half later. Although the town remained an active community after the war, the absence of state government and the commerce that went with it reduced development of the sort that transformed such other state capitals as Philadelphia and Hartford. No more would councilors, burgesses, and litigants assemble at legislative seasons or Native Americans come to address treaties with the governor.

The Revolution made Williamsburg a more ordinary community, removing the trappings of old authority, as well as most of the action. British and Virginia leaders had planned and built Williamsburg as a structured, hierarchal community, intended as a physical expression of institutional and civic order for the official center of the agricultural colony. Unlike jumbled and scruffy Jamestown, it was designed to have wide, straight, orthogonal streets balanced where they divided at either end of the town.

The Capitol rose at the east end of the main boulevard, a mile from the College of William and Mary in Virginia at the west end. By 1709, the Palace for the governor or his resident lieutenant, stood at the end of a broad northern cross-axis. Like the college building, they were given tall cupolas that focused attention on the edifices and offered heights from which to survey the landscape. All three buildings were recessed from the street within spaces that set them apart from the general populace.

By 1715, Bruton Parish built a church next to its seventeenth-century predecessor near the intersection of these two vistas. The king’s representatives took interest in such matters. Lieutenant Governor Francis Nicholson conceived the town plan. Lieutenant Governor Alexander Spotswood adjusted it, and designed the new church as well, four years later, along with the octagonal Magazine, centered in the southern half of Market Square.

Eighteenth-century Williamsburg was arranged for the pomp and public display of authority. As a map drafted in 1782 by a garrisoned Frenchman and decades of archaeology illustrate, nearly every property was fenced to stake out private lots, defend them against foraging animals and trespassers, and subdivide the spaces by function. The average fence height may have been five to six feet, made of materials...
appealing as firewood for soldiers bivouacked in the town. Most public buildings were more substantially enclosed. Brick walls with spiky gates encircled the Capitol and church. The Capitol gates had ceremonial significance. The Virginia Gazette reported in 1768 that upon arriving in Williamsburg, the new governor, Lord Botetourt,

Stopped at the Capitol, and was received at the gate by his Majesty's Council, the Hon. The Speaker, the Attorney General, the Treasurer, and many other Gentlemen . . . after which being conducted to the Council Chamber, and having his commissions read, was qualified to exercise his high office, by taking the usual oaths.

An engraved copper plate found in the 1920s at Oxford University's Bodleian Library shows the front of the Palace as walled, with a curving outer curtain broken by piers carrying a lion and unicorn. High walls with crenellated tops flanked the building itself. Beyond, the governor's garden was divided into ornamental segments, like rooms in a great house. Most formal was the long central space, with high walls capped by imported stone balls. At the far end were a fence and gates made of wrought iron, keeping open the extended view of the governor's farm, or what was usually called his park.

This cultivated ceremonial landscape lost its purpose during the Revolution. The bodies of more than a hundred Continental soldiers, most casualties of the Siege of Yorktown, were buried in one set of four parterres, creating a large archaeological fossil of Dunmore's garden plantings and walks. Eventually, the walls were pulled down. Most of what we know about the Palace grounds comes from excavations done for its reconstruction. The governor's icehouse and a stone finial were all that survived partially above ground.

A parallel story is being revealed at the College of William and Mary, founded by royal decree in 1693. The Bodleian Plate shows a formal landscape there, too, with artificially shaped evergreens marching in parallel lines along the axis between the main building and Duke of Gloucester Street. Recent archaeological work uncovered the edges of planting beds and holes, confirming testimony that the college yard was a formal landscape until the Revolution. In 1777, Ebenezer Hazard described it as “a large court yard, ornamented with gravel walks, trees cut into different form, and grass.” At the front of the college, like the large gridded gardens the richest Virginians created as settings for
their plantation houses, this was more in public view than the Palace garden. Nevertheless, access had its limits.

In 2011, the Colonial Williamsburg–William and Mary archaeological field school taught by Mark Kostro found long-filled postholes from fences that, from early in the eighteenth century until the 1780s, enclosed the garden. There were four generations of fences, the earliest older than the 1723 construction of the Brafferton building, intended for an Indian school, and the last removed at the end of the Revolution. A posthole abandoned and backfilled during cleanup after the war contained the carved neck of a baroque stone finial.

It is the sort of ornament placed on brick pillars framing fences, walls, and gates that enclosed the most lavish settings of Virginia plantation houses like Westover and Kingsmill. The fragment is more ornamented than most surviving from eighteenth-century Virginia, and it probably came from one of the gateways that opened into the precinct of the college. Peering carefully at the Bodleian Plate, one can see the engraver included two such gateways facing the sides of the main building. Corroborating evidence, including archaeology and surviving fabric, have proven much of the detail in the Bodleian Plate accurate. If the side gates existed, they suggest that another stood guard at the front of the garden, on axis with the street and limiting entry to the manicured setting of the college. Gates, wood fences, and ornamental plantings disappeared in the 1770s and 1780s. The yard took on the informal, unevenly planted guise that it still enjoys, open to all comers.

Archaeology will reveal more about the college’s early setting, but the excavation shows that its immediate precinct was a dramatic part of the hierarchical town. It also shows that the college’s armatures
of authority were swept away at the end of the eighteenth century, when the town settled into its reduced new role, a scene of modest trade and solely local administration. The prim Williamite landscape became impractical and out of step with the politics and financial realities of a newly impoverished school in a small town of a young republic.

If the Revolution as it touched Williamsburg was a gentlemanly war compared with later conflicts, there were losses. After Yorktown, the Palace, then a soldiers' hospital, burned, as did the college's President's House when it became a hospital for French officers. A district court sat at the Capitol, which also briefly served as a grammar school. Much of the building was battered by 1796, when architect Benjamin Latrobe said that young would-be revolutionaries attacked Lord Botetourt's statue and knocked off his marble head. The eastern and middle sections of the Capitol were demolished, and the west wing and its classical portico burned in 1832. Its paving was hauled away, and stone elements of the columns were left for archaeologists to find nearby. Accidental or not, these were losses contributing to the gradual postwar removal of the markers of regional and imperial authority. In the process, Williamsburg changed into a picturesque town travelers visited and whose past glories, revolutionary and otherwise, they wrote romances about.

Colonial Williamsburg's Shirley H. and Richard D. Roberts Architectural Historian, Ed Chappell contributed to the summer 2012 journal a story about the reconstruction of the James Anderson Armoury.
American resistance encouraged Britain to repeal her colonial stamp tax a year after its enactment—too late to forestall the damage of a trade embargo, or save from ridicule the officials who advanced the measure. Published in London about 1766, the satirical “The Repeal, or the Funeral of Miss Ame-Stamp,” satirizes Parliament’s folly. The engraving depicts, the Library of Congress says, the act’s supporters gathering “at a dock to carry a small coffin containing the remains of the bill toward an open vault.” Men responsible for the dead-letter law lead the procession. “Quantities of unshipped cargoes destined for America have accumulated on the dock during the time that the act was in force.” The caption reads, in part, “The Hero of this Print is the gentle Mr. Stamper, who is carrying to the Family Vault his favourite Child, in a Coffin, Miss Ame-Stamp, about 12 Months old. . . . Upon the Fore Ground are two large Bales of Black Cloth and Stamps returned from America.”

—J. Hunter Barbour
The President’s Report
The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation
2013
A n institutional commitment to early America n history requires a firm focus on the future, with no irony intended.

It has been that way from the early years of the Restoration, when John D. Rockefeller Jr. proudly measured progress in the 1930s and reflected “that perhaps an even greater value is the lesson [Colonial Williamsburg] teaches of the patriotism, high purpose and unselfish devotion of our forefathers to the common good.”

His sense of progress began, however, in a feeling of loss. Seeing “beautiful and historic places and buildings disintegrating had long caused me very real distress,” he wrote.

But the process of restoration led to a broader consideration of purposes. How do you make the most of bringing the past back to life?

That central question finds an evolving answer. The destructive good we derive from Colonial Williamsburg has to be realized in the context of the current era. “That the future may learn from the past” remains the objective, but in the 25 years of my direct involvement—as either trustee or president—there have been constant reassessments, reappraisals, and almost non-stop innovation.

In part, those fall under the heading of “relevancy,” but we have to be cautious there, too. We must be both creative and true—true, that is, to the core mission of the institution. The result is a rather complex picture, one that delicately blends and balances those dynamics to attract, energize, and educate a diverse audience.

In other words, Colonial Williamsburg must be as inspirational in the present moment as it was when first conceived. This remains our challenge, and our opportunity.

Happily, as described in the Development section of this report, we have achieved considerable success. In 2013, more than 113,000 donors representing all 50 states gave or pledged a total of more than $75 million to support what we do here. This represents an 18 percent increase over the previous year and includes a record $15 million for the Colonial Williamsburg Fund, our most vital source of support for daily operations.

This is a most impressive endorsement of our efforts, and I am deeply grateful.

Last year, we saw a 2 percent increase in total ticket revenues, reflecting higher core ticket sales, including single-day, multi-day, and annual passes. A several-year trend of declining visits in our peak summer season was reversed, a most gratifying and encouraging development.

More than 208,000 people visited the Art Museums of Colonial Williamsburg last year, representing an increase of nearly 5 percent. We eagerly look forward to the day when visitation will surely increase once our planned museum expansion becomes a reality. Among other things, a new and far more inviting street-level entrance will more clearly convey what lies within—a vast improvement on the present entrance inside the Public Hospital, the reconstruction of the Commonwealth’s first mental institution.

So how do we repay the faith and support we continue to receive? With institutional efficiency and careful investment.

In our case, you see investments at Colonial Williamsburg in the hard work of a most remarkable collection of people who bring the Revolutionary City to life each day. These talented professionals make Colonial Williamsburg so much more than an extraordinary historical setting by transforming it into a dynamic center of history and citizenship, rich in scholarship and teaching, period architecture, art and artifacts.

In support of their efforts, and with the generous help of our donors, we have dedicated resources for new facilities, new programs, and new exhibits.

The result? New energy throughout the Historic Area, where every facet of 18th-century life presents an opportunity for inspiration.

As the winds of revolution gained strength in early America, daily life encompassed the prosaic and the extraordinary, the familiar and the uncertain.

Such is the seemingly endless ground for our scholars, staff, and guests to explore. How were livings made? What crafts
and skills were demanded? How did the colonists spend their leisure time?

And, as the Revolution approached, what would the future hold? How would aspirations of freedom and liberty be fulfilled? What shape would our new nation take, and what principles would we weave into its constitutional fabric? The Historic Area becomes the canvas on which we paint this vivid and complex picture.

In the ongoing effort to deepen the Colonial Williamsburg experience, our benefactors continue to make a huge difference. For example, I am delighted to announce that we are bringing back one of Colonial Williamsburg’s most beloved icons, the windmill. Thanks to Raleigh Tavern Society member David McShane of New Hope, Pennsylvania, we will have a newly reconstructed—and operable—windmill at the entrance to Great Hopes Plantation. As soon as 2015, this structure will be visible for all to see above the Colonial Parkway, across the bridge from the Visitor Center.

Last year, trustee and philanthropist Forrest Mars Jr. made it possible to open the James Anderson Blacksmith Shop and Public Armoury. In like manner, he underwrote the reconstructed Tin Shop—the only one of its kind in this country.

This summer, once again with the support of Mr. Mars, we will break ground for a new, outdoor 18th-century Market House and an expansive Marketplace adjacent to the Powder Magazine. This lively commercial space will enhance the sense of community in our Revolutionary City.

Meanwhile, we have also opened two new retail shops in the heart of the Historic Area: the Dubois Grocer, offering light refreshments, and the William Pitt Store, focused on children’s wares. All of these additions reflect Williamsburg’s history as a bustling center of commerce while adding to the comfort and enjoyment of our guests.

We are continuing the successful “High Life below Stairs” dramatic program we piloted last year at Shields Tavern, where we have just expanded the dinner theater offerings to include “The Life of a Jolly Pyrate.” Dining options and entertainment have also expanded at Chowning’s, including an Ale House in the evenings.

And thanks to the support of James McDonnell of Boardman, Ohio, we have also constructed a new outdoor theater space behind Charlton’s Coffeehouse. Our research tells us (no real surprise) that bringing more life to Williamsburg in the evenings adds immeasurably to the experience of our guests. This new space and the programs in the taverns will speak directly to that expressed interest.

To more accurately capture and depict the politically charged atmosphere of colonial Williamsburg, we began our “Revolution in the Streets” programming in March.

This year’s combination of scripted scenes and improvised encounters gives guests a better sense of life in an exuberant emerging democracy, with all the social upheaval that comes with it. On any given day, our guests will encounter fencing demonstrations, military recruitment parties, even an auction, to cite a few possibilities.

And to fully engage the next generation, we have launched our fourth season of RevQuest: Save the Revolution, our interactive, technology-driven game for families. More than 43,000 guests played RevQuest last year—an increase of 16 percent over the previous year.

Earlier versions of the game were designed essentially for the peak summer and spring break visitation periods. But our guests have spoken, and they want more. So this year, we are offering the game for the first time from March 31 through Thanksgiving.

This fourth RevQuest season centers on the French-American alliance, with Benjamin Franklin himself recruiting participants to further the American cause with France. Participants gain insights into that crucial historical alliance and have fun in the process. We expect even more families to take part this year.

In the late 18th century, intense intellectual activity defined colonial Williamsburg. Leaders examined and engaged ideas in a multitude of manners and settings, and we seek to provide no less an experience. The guest speaker series we initiated
last year continues, reminding audiences that events in this city shape the governing philosophy of the United States to this day.

On June 16, presidential historian, author, and columnist Michael Beschloss spoke about American history and how it necessarily informs and intertwines with the meaning of American citizenship. To this point, he also addressed more than 100 new U.S. citizens at a naturalization ceremony at the colonial Capitol.

On September 22, retired Marine General Anthony Zinni, former head of the United States Central Command, will discuss his upcoming book: “Before the First Shots Are Fired: How America Can Win or Lose off the Battlefield.”

General Zinni is also a newly elected trustee of the Foundation and will bring invaluable experience and knowledge to this assignment.

We are also partnering with other historic sites and like-minded institutions to encourage active citizenship and highlight 18th-century Williamsburg’s contemporary relevancy.

Among these partners is the Chautauqua Institution in New York, with which we held a lively event in Williamsburg on February 21 and 22 to explore the origins, principles, and challenges of revolution, both past and present. Our next joint program, which will take place July 14–18 at Chautauqua, will use the Egyptian experience as a case study to explore the roles, responsibilities, and trials facing citizens in a 21st-century society with democratic aspirations.

Last year, we launched the Williamsburg–CSIS Forum with the Center for Strategic and International Studies and the Reves Center for International Studies at the College of William and Mary. As with the Chautauqua partnership, the objective of this conference series is to bring the context of America’s history to a discussion of current issues. The forum gathered Egyptian and American leaders in April 2013 to debate and discuss the Arab Spring. In March of this year, the forum focused on the uncertain political and economic trajectories of the European Union. We plan to hold a conference in 2015 on the challenges and future of African constitutionalism.

We cannot talk about partnerships, of course, without mentioning our collaboration with Preservation Virginia to showcase the rich history and resources of Historic Jamestowne. With our initial five-year agreement now coming to an end, we are working with Preservation Virginia to extend that partnership, through which we continue to enhance public archaeology and the guest experience at this important site of America’s origins.

Williamsburg’s legacy also reaches into the arts. We are working hard to extend that as well—not only through our ongoing series of superb exhibitions at the Art Museums of Colonial Williamsburg, but also through our partnerships with the Virginia Arts Festival and the Williamsburg Symphonia.

In February, we opened “A Rich and Varied Culture: The Material World of the Early South” at the museums. Curated by Ron Hurst and Margaret Pritchard, two of Colonial Williamsburg’s most respected scholars, this blockbuster exhibition represents the largest and most comprehensive presentation of early southern material culture ever mounted. We are grateful to Raleigh Tavern Society members Carolyn and Mike McMara of Williamsburg, who made this wonderful show possible.

In March, we opened “China of the Most Fashionable Sort: Chinese Export Porcelain in Colonial America.” And we recently unveiled “A Handsome Cupboard of Plate: Early American Silver in the Cahn Collection.” I hope you will be able to
explore each of these superb exhibitions. They are true jewels.

Of course, whether you are building a country or studying the art and artifacts of our past, the reach and effectiveness of Colonial Williamsburg’s lessons rely upon teachers far and wide. Improving teaching is central to our mission, and this year we proudly mark the 25th anniversary of our Colonial Williamsburg Teacher Institute.

Thanks to the support and advocacy of friends like Bob and Marion Wilson of California—founding supporters of the Institute—we have trained more than 7,700 teachers in creative, hands-on methods of immersing students in discovery of our country’s past and its importance to our future.

If each of these teachers remains in the classroom fifteen years after attending, collectively they will directly impact more than three million students with the lessons they learned in Williamsburg. It is a remarkable success story.

I recently travelled to California to honor the Wilsons, Raleigh Tavern Society Life Members, and those others who have joined with them, for their visionary support of this program. By the end of this year, their generosity will have made it possible for close to 2,800 California teachers to come to Williamsburg for this enrichment opportunity.

The enthusiasm with which so many of our friends have embraced and supported the Teacher Institute makes me optimistic about our determination to change the way history is taught in our schools, to give it new life. This enthusiasm also underlies my optimism about the success of our comprehensive Campaign for History and Citizenship, which we will announce more broadly and in greater detail this fall.

One of our most important decisions last year in helping us reach a wider audience and enlist new supporters was to retain the Martin Agency, a nationally recognized advertising firm based in Richmond, Virginia.

Relying on independently conducted research, these very able professionals are helping us better understand our guests’ inclinations—their likes and dislikes, why they visit, and why others do not. With Martin’s help, we are moving forward with a strategy to attract new guests and encourage all who come here to return more often.

We can never lose sight of what Colonial Williamsburg means to America and the world and the potential it represents. Colonial Williamsburg honors America’s past by exploring and interpreting its myriad social, political, and cultural details. But how we make all that work in the moment—in the present era and the decades to come—remains an ever-evolving process.

Your support is essential to all of these endeavors. Indeed, your support makes Colonial Williamsburg a movement in and of itself. In a steady, sure progression, we better understand and convey to our visitors how one 18th-century Virginia com-

President’s Report 2013

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President’s Report 2013
Donor Support for the Foundation
Was Strong in 2013

The shared commitment of Colonial Williamsburg’s friends to our mission as a center for history and citizenship is both humbling and inspiring. In 2013, individuals, corporations, and foundations committed a total of $75.2 million to the Foundation, representing an 18 percent increase over 2012.

2013 was not a year without economic uncertainty—from a 16-day federal government shutdown to unemployment rates that were disappointingly slow to improve. Yet the rate of philanthropic giving to Colonial Williamsburg last year reflected a phenomenal rebound—102 percent—since the economic downturn that began with the recession in December 2007. We were pleased in 2013 to count supporters in all 50 states and beyond, who affirmed their sustained appreciation for our educational, civic, and preservation initiative.

The Colonial Williamsburg Fund

The Colonial Williamsburg Fund, a vital source of unrestricted support for daily operations, received a record $15 million in 2013, up 3.4 percent over 2012. Of the more than 113,000 donors who gave to the fund last year, nearly 20,000 did so for first time, compared with the previous year’s 18,400 new donors.

Membership in the Colonial Williamsburg Raleigh Tavern Society, Colonial Williamsburg Associates, and Colonial Williamsburg Burgesses grew in 2013 to a record total of 2,466 households. The benefits and opportunities enjoyed by these donor groups draw them ever closer to Colonial Williamsburg and its story—through cultural excursions; on-site annual meetings; and behind-the-scenes tours, talks, and demonstrations led by the Foundation’s curators, conservators, tradespeople, and interpretive staff.

A Tradition of Philanthropy

Donors provided significant gifts in 2013 for virtually every facet of the Colonial Williamsburg experience, from the preservation of historic buildings to virtual field trips for middle-school students across the country. Historic Area preservation and programming, museum collections and conservation, and educational outreach all benefited from generous philanthropic support. In addition, we received $1.3 million from the City of Williamsburg to support destination advertising.

Senior trustee and longtime benefactor Abby O’Neill of Oyster Bay, New York, pledged $1 million to create a wealth of professional development opportunities for history and civics teachers in her home state. The six-year Abby M. O’Neill Teacher Enrichment Project will enable Colonial Williamsburg to partner with New York school districts, museums, and higher education institutions to provide a variety of both hands-on training and distance learning for New York educators, with special emphasis on those in Long Island and the five boroughs of New York City.

In June 2013, the Foundation announced that trustee and major benefactor Forrest E. Mars Jr. of Big Horn, Wyoming, had pledged $1 million to reconstruct the Market House on Market Square. It was Mars’s third major gift to enrich and expand the portrait of community life and commercial enterprise in 18th-century Williamsburg. Mars, who previously underwrote the reconstruction of both Charlton’s Coffeehouse and the James Anderson Blacksmith Shop and Public Armoury complex, received Colonial Williamsburg’s highest award, the Churchill Bell, in November 2013 for his service, leadership, and support of the Foundation.

Additional support for the Historic Area came from the Kern Family Foundation in Waukesha, Wisconsin, which granted $150,000 for religious interpretation programming. President’s Council members and longtime friends Douglas N. Morton and Marilyn L. Brown of Englewood, Colorado, provided $400,000 to continue and expand Native American programming throughout the Revolutionary City. Foundation trustee Mark J. Kington and his wife, Ann, of Alexandria, Virginia, committed to a $500,000 endowment for planned preservation, which will provide key funds to maintain historic buildings for years to come.

Senior trustee Bob Wil-
son and his wife, Marion, major benefactors in Rancho Santa Fe, California, remained unwavering in their support for the Colonial Williamsburg Teacher Institute, providing $250,000 for the flagship educational outreach program they helped create 25 years ago. Through a $300,000 grant from the Batten Educational Achievement Fund of the Hampton Roads Community Foundation, benefactor Jane Batten of Virginia Beach, Virginia, continued her support for the Jane P. Batten Teacher Project for Virginia. Drs. John and Beclee Wilson, President’s Council members in Saint Helena, California, contributed $100,000 in support of the next generation of “The Idea of America,” Colonial Williamsburg’s groundbreaking digital history curriculum that will re-launch in 2015.

The Foundation’s ambitious $60 million initiative to expand the Art Museums of Colonial Williamsburg continued to draw strong support. Longtime Foundation friends Marilyn and Robert (Bob) Asplundh of Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania, provided $500,000 for the expansion—their fourth such commitment. President’s Council member L. Kay Wilkinson of Southlake, Texas, committed $1 million to the project.

Other support for collections and conservation included a National Leadership Grant for Museums of more than $213,000 from the Institute of Museum and Library Services. The funds are enabling important research on the effect of various fire extinguisher agents on cultural resource materials.

**Planned Gifts**

**Colonial Williamsburg will benefit for years to come thanks to realized bequests and life income gifts received in 2013 totaling $4.7 million.**

“We are particularly grateful for the distribution from the charitable remainder trust of the late Kathryn (Kitte) and Royce Baker, who were Raleigh Tavern Society and President’s Council members and remarkably engaged friends during their lifetimes,” said Kenneth M. Wolfe, director of Planned Giving Programs.

In 2013, membership in the W. A. R. Goodwin Society for donors of planned gifts increased by 6 percent to 1,930 members. Colonial Williamsburg’s pooled income fund celebrated its 25th anniversary and received a record number of contributions.

To quote one of our benefactors, “In almost 50 years of visiting, it has been fascinating to see Colonial Williamsburg change and evolve. . . . We love history and appreciate all that Colonial Williamsburg does to bring America’s story to life.”

**A Summary of the Foundation’s 2013 Financial Results**

The Foundation’s net assets increased by $97 million in 2013, ending the year at $907 million, largely as a result of a net increase in endowment value that was partially offset by lower operating results.

The market value of Colonial Williamsburg’s endowment was $784 million as of December 31, 2013, an increase of $49 million over the 2012 year-end value. The endowment investment return was 16.3 percent for the 12 months ended December 31, 2013, which compares favorably with the performance of other endowed institutions.

All principal sources of revenue were modestly higher in 2013 than in 2012. Gifts to the Colonial Williamsburg Fund increased to $15 million, reflecting strong donor support of Colonial Williamsburg’s mission. Total revenues for the calendar year, including budgeted endowment support, were $181 million, an increase of $4 million compared with 2012.

Expenses for 2013 were $215 million, an increase of $1 million compared with 2012. Operating expenses exceeded operating revenues by $34 million.

The Foundation continues to focus on the highest priority...
revenue-generating initiatives including continued enhancements to and integration of Revolutionary City programming with hotel and retail offerings and the use of technology to enhance guest interactions.

Colonial Williamsburg monitors and reports internally on the regularly recurring, or operating, revenues and expenses resulting from routine activities in order to assess the financial performance of educational and for-profit activities. It reports in the audited financial statements all revenues and expenses in accordance with generally accepted accounting principles to reflect the consolidated financial impact of all activities of the Foundation and its subsidiaries. A third reporting format is required by the Internal Revenue Service on Form 990, an annual information return for The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, the 501(c)(3) entity that is exempt from federal income taxes on most of its activities. The financial results on Form 990 represent the unconsolidated financial results of only this 501(c)(3) organization; the foundation’s taxable subsidiaries—for example, Colonial Williamsburg Company—report their financial results separately on corporate income tax returns.

The operating results reported in the top half of the Consolidated Income Statement and Statement of Changes in Net Assets table shown in this President’s Report refer to: ticket sales; all revenues generated by hospitality and products; unrestricted operating gifts and restricted gifts for operations spent for their intended purpose during the year; the budgeted amount of endowment support provided by our endowment spending policy; and all operating expenses of the Foundation and its subsidiaries.

Below the operating deficit line in the report we include non-operating items, such as the difference between the total return produced by the endowment and the budgeted endowment support; all other gifts and grants, that is to say, pledges, restricted gifts received but not spent; gifts for endowment and capital projects, and gifts of objects; gains on sales of real estate; and the financial statement impact of changes in generally accepted accounting principles. The combination of the operating and non-operating items is reflected as the change in net assets, which is consistent with the audited financial statements.
Colonial Williamsburg

ELECTRONIC FIELD TRIPS

2014-2015

The Global Economy
October 9, 2014

When Freedom Came
February 12, 2015

The American Revolution on the Frontier
November 6, 2014

Working Children
March 12, 2015

The Amazing Trade Shop Science Race
December 11, 2014

Research Rescue Squad
April 18, 2015

Colonial Idol
January 15, 2015

Colonial Williamsburg

Electronic Field Trips
efsupport@cwf.org
www.history.org/trips
800-761-8331

The Colonial Williamsburg Electronic Field Trip Series is supported in part by the William and Gretchen Kimball Young Patriots Fund.
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