Presenting the past: Education, interpretation and the teaching of black history at Colonial Williamsburg

Rex Marshall Ellis

College of William & Mary - School of Education

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.wm.edu/etd

Part of the African History Commons, American Studies Commons, Higher Education Commons, and the Other Education Commons

Recommended Citation
https://dx.doi.org/doi:10.25774/w4-f656-sj28

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses, Dissertations, & Master Projects at W&M ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects by an authorized administrator of W&M ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact scholarworks@wm.edu.
INFORMATION TO USERS

The most advanced technology has been used to photograph and reproduce this manuscript from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book. These are also available as one exposure on a standard 35mm slide or as a 17" x 23" black and white photographic print for an additional charge.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.
Presenting the past: Education, interpretation and the teaching of black history at Colonial Williamsburg

Ellis, Rex Marshall, Ed.D.
The College of William and Mary, 1989

Copyright ©1990 by Ellis, Rex Marshall. All rights reserved.
PRESENTING THE PAST:
EDUCATION, INTERPRETATION AND THE
TEACHING OF BLACK HISTORY AT COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG

A Dissertation
Presented to
The Faculty of the School of Education
The College of William and Mary

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education

By
Rex Marshall Ellis
May 1989
PRESENTING THE PAST:
EDUCATION, INTERPRETATION AND THE
TEACHING OF BLACK HISTORY AT COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG

by

Rex Marshall Ellis

Approved April 1989 by

Dennis O'Toole, Ph.D.
Roger Baldwin, Ph.D.
John Thelin, Ph.D.
Chairman of Doctoral Committee

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to Paulette, Aaron and Amber. They have all helped me in the completion of this document. During the six years I have attended William and Mary, I have grown immensely. For better or worse they have had to grow with me. Their support has been selfless and many times I have been in the same house with them but in another world. For their patience and love, I am thankful.
### TABLE OF CONTENTS

**PREFACE**

1. INTRODUCTION 1

2. GLOSSARY 8

**CHAPTER I (1926-1946)**

3. Chronology 10
4. The Dreamers 18
5. Education 21
6. The Beginning of Interpretation 24
7. The War Years 32
8. Black History 35

**CHAPTER II (1946-1966)**

9. Chronology 43
10. The Post War Years 59
11. Education 64
12. The Alexander Years 76
   Consulting Firms 79
13. Student Programs
   School Visits 87
   Democracy Workshop 90
   International Assembly 92
   The Student Burgess Program 95

14. The Forum Series 96
   The Garden Symposium 96
   A Prelude to Independence 97
   The Seminar for Historic Administration 97
   The Institute of Early American History & Culture 98

15. Special Educational Programs 100
   Education and the Media 100
   Special Programs 101
   The Crafts Program 103
   Day Time Activities 104
   Education and Consulting Firms 105

16. Interpretation 124
   Crafts 127
   Training 129

17. Blacks 141
   The National Scene 141
   Segregation in Williamsburg 144
   Segregation at the Foundation 145
   Black History at Colonial Williamsburg 153

CHAPTER III (1967-1987) 159
My family and I moved to the town of Williamsburg in 1951. We have been citizens since then. For as long as I can remember, we have lived on the "Old Fort Road" in a house that my father built himself from the ground up. I knew it as Queen's Creek Road. When someone asked where you were from in those early days, you generally replied "East Williamsburg"; never "York County" or "off Penniman road", that connoted a lower class neighborhood that most of my contemporaries and I did not wish to align ourselves with; it was too country.

I grew up in the vicinity of what many consider the world's foremost outdoor history museum—a fact that many of my friends and I never understood or appreciated. Ironically, I never knew or even suspected that the museum's significance had anything to do with me as an African American. To those of us who lived in the black community during the 'fifties and 'sixties, it was simply a place to work; it was our McDonald's or Pizza Hut; that place you worked during the summer or after school to earn extra money. The significance of it as a place to visit was never even talked about, except by a few well-meaning teachers, who were careful not to mention that it was the capital of a slave-holding colony. I remember once, during my elementary school years in the late 50's,
our class was marched to a nearby highway leading to the center of town to wave at Queen Elizabeth II, who was on her way to Williamsburg. I knew she was a special person, but it never dawned on me that she was coming to visit a special place.

To us, Colonial Williamsburg was simply the place out-of-town visitors were trying to find as they blocked traffic. The "Restoration", as most people in town called it, was a hindrance, nothing more.

Almost everyone I knew worked there at one time or another. My brother worked as a dishwasher, my father once laid bricks at Bassett Hall; my Uncle was a bell hop at the Williamsburg Inn and my next door neighbor was the housekeeping supervisor for the Motor House. Full-time, part-time, after school, on weekends, during the summer or following retirement, black people of the town flocked to Colonial Williamsburg to pursue the almighty dollar. No one I knew was getting rich there, but no one was refusing to work either.

Once I even worked as a bus boy at the Motor House Cafeteria. I left after about three weeks—frustrated by the low wages that were offered and tired of cleaning up after "white folks".

Even then I sensed that there was something different about Colonial Williamsburg. It always had a special aura about it. Whether you acknowledged it or not, it was there. It was as close as my best friends father, who was a chef in one of the restaurants until his retirement. It was in the faces of all who worked there.
Wether you worked as a janitor, waiter, busboy or maid, working at Colonial Williamsburg made you feel ashamed. The way people looked at you; a flippant gesture; a caustic look; a condescending smile, each took a toll no matter how subtle.

Each family handled that shame differently. My uncle justified it by bragging about the tips he made. Others asserted that their jobs were easy; that they were just collecting a check. Still others mentioned fringe benefits like bringing home extra food given to them that would have otherwise been thrown out. My father simply refused to take us there to visit and since he was a brickmason he could simply avoid accepting jobs there.

I would be a full time employee before identifying the source of what that feeling was. It was slavery; Colonial Williamsburg constantly reminded us all of a place and time that flourished because we had been slaves. That was why my dad and most black people who lived on the periphery of the town felt the way they did. They were (economically) forced to work at a place that reminded them of a time they were desperately trying to forget; a time that was responsible for their continued dependence. No one maligned those who worked there. After all, Colonial Williamsburg was one of the area's largest employers. But anyone who went there to visit, I grew to learn, had to be white or crazy.

Now, my knowledge of slavery and its legacy was equal to the rest of those living in my neighborhood; we knew virtually nothing about it. We understood what a slave was and knew only too well
PLEASE NOTE:

Duplicate page number(s); text follows.
Filmed as received.
that we were not enjoying the rights of full citizenship-- even I
knew that. That was all we knew. So anything that brought up the
institution responsible for our present condition was to avoided
like the plague. Grown-ups never talked about it, except to say how
bad it was, and we never dared bring up except when it served to
illustrate what "they" did to us.

So when I began working in Colonial Williamsburg years later
in 1979, I should not have been surprised (as I was) to find that
the old feeling had also returned; that slave feeling. I was
reminded anew of a 200-year-old condition that for some reason
still lived and flourished in the colonial capital. Most blacks
were still holding the same kinds of jobs and relegated to the same
status they had when I was a bus boy years ago. Slavery itself was
no longer legal and no one was forced to work, but the same
psychological forces that began the initial conflict
(i.e.economics, racism and the need to create a dominant social
order) could still be seen.

When I started working at the Foundation it was as a "street
actor"--not because it was a "neat" thing to do but because that
was the only area in all of Williamsburg where black history was
beginning to be discussed. There were black costumed employees
working in the exhibition kitchens and craft areas, but none of
them talked about slavery or even acknowledged that they would have
been slaves had they lived in colonial times. In their minds, they
were "interpreters" or "craftsmen" who happened to be black.
Because Williamsburg was my home, when Harvey Credle, the initiator of the "living history" program offered me a job, I jumped at the chance to create a character who could "tell it like is was." Finally, I thought, I have a chance to do something positive for black people in Williamsburg; finally I could get to the root of the problem between the races and expose it for all to see. That, at least, was my original aim.

So, in the summer of 1979, two other actors and I put together composite characters of colonial black citizens and presented them to the visitors. My character was Gowon Pamphet, a minister who founded the first black church Williamsburg; the site chosen was an eighteenth-century tavern called Wetherburn's. On the first day of my scheduled interpretation, I was escorted to the site by Harvey and introduced to the hostess in charge of the tavern that day. After introducing me to the hostess, Harvey pointed out the various break rooms at the tavern (there were two; one on the first floor of the tavern and one in the cellar) and assured me that I could use either one. The hostess then smiled graciously and said, "he'll probably be more comfortable downstairs." As the day progressed, I noted that only white interpreters frequented the first floor break room. The cellar was where "we" were to take our breaks.

As the years progressed and my research became more comprehensive, I began to wonder why history at the Foundation was being taught as it was. Half the population in the eighteenth

viii
century was black. Some were literate and most were well off when compared to blacks living in rural areas. There were black artisans too. The only evidence of a cooper in Williamsburg (a maker of wooden buckets, barrels, kegs and the like) was a free black man by the name of Adam Waterford. Betty Wallace was one of eleven free black women who lived in Williamsburg on the eve of the American Revolution. Simon Gilliat was such an accomplished musician that he played for the Royal Governor at regular gatherings he held. The list went on. But none of this was being told. Blacks, Indians, women, Scots, Germans, and Irish were ethnic groups who were left out of the colonial American story. For some groups you could argue that the numbers were so small that documentation of their story would be impossible and of no real consequence. But you could not make that same claim when it came to blacks. They were fifty percent of the population!

Why was this? Why did those who restored, reconstructed and later began to interpret the town exclude blacks? Who decided to leave them out? Weren't they important to the story too? Was it on purpose? Was it a conspiracy? Was it oversight? Had the subject of interpreting black history come up before I arrived? Who decided how history was to be taught at Colonial Williamsburg and why did they make the decisions they did? If Colonial Williamsburg considered itself an educational institution why had it not, apparently, concentrated on telling the complete story of the old capital? Why was it not talking about all of the forces
that helped shape America's history? These were questions that began to gnaw at me.

This document, then, is an attempt to identify the forces that shaped Colonial Williamsburg's educational and interpretive thrust and how they changed over the years to include black history.

During the early years of the restoration, texts written by Rutherfoord Goodwin and Edward Alexander discussed interpretation and what its focus should be at Colonial Williamsburg. They were the first to recognize the need to create a comprehensive statement regarding the teaching of history. But those texts are limited as to what they can tell us about the transformation of education and interpretation from the Foundation's beginnings to the present.¹

In order to provide a proper framework specific to Colonial Williamsburg, I have followed the development of interpretation and education from the first hostesses who were hired to the present.

To prepare for this study, I have relied heavily on several sources. I have examined typescripts of interviews taken of past employees who took part in educational decision-making; I have analyzed minutes of the education and interpretation divisions from their inception to the present; I have searched out memos and correspondences focusing on educational programs, interpretation

or black history; I have read training and research documents; when available, I have examined all educational programs offered through the years; I have examined photographic archives, films and slides of various periods; I have researched the Rockefeller family archives in Pocantico Hills, New York, and I have interviewed over forty employees of Colonial Williamsburg who were in decision-making roles relating to education or interpretation. They were all asked the same questions concerning their years at the Foundation.

This study does not attempt to look into the impact of finances and how they affected education and interpretation. There is, obviously, a consistent concern for monies spent on programs. But because of the considerable wealth of the Rockefeller family and their support (at least during the early years) programs seem in general to have enjoyed prosperity—especially when compared to other museums.

I have not tried to chronicle the history of interpretation from the point of view of those who interpreted except when it advances a point about decisions made or programs begun. I have, however, provided the comments of employees responsible for interpreting the programs in question or for their implementation. Even though this is a rich area for further investigation and at some point should be pursued, my interest is in those who were in policy making roles.

I have not attempted to critique the effectiveness of the varying modes of interpretation. Historically, the Foundation has
consulted experts in the field to help them and their most consistent gauge of success has been and remains to be the visiting public.

Finally, this was never meant to be a "witch hunt". I have been interested in the major organizational, societal and administrative forces that have shaped Colonial Williamsburg as it is today. If a tone that is not worthy of an objective researcher appears, it is because the evidence available warranted it.

R.E. (December, 1987)

xii
INTRODUCTION

After convincing John D. Rockefeller Jr. of the importance of restoring the town of Williamsburg, Virginia, in November of 1926, W. A. R. Goodwin engaged the architectural firm of Perry, Shaw and Hepburn. They began by producing plans for restoring the Wren Building on the campus of the College of William and Mary. During the first few years of its existence, the Williamsburg Holding Company, as Colonial Williamsburg was first called, concentrated most of its energies on the restoration of a few major buildings. As Charles Hosmer would note:

"Williamsburg became an architecturally oriented project for several reasons. The profession of architecture was already history-minded in the 1920s. For several decades architects had been measuring old buildings throughout the United States and copying details from them to use on office buildings, schools, and suburban homes. The publication of the White Pine Series from 1915 on was an important manifestation of this interest in early buildings of all types. The firm of Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn had produced schools and other structures in the colonial style in the Boston area. William Perry had a genuine respect for history, in both buildings and documents. Andrew H. Hepburn was an excellent draftsman and student of eighteenth-century architecture. Other professions, however, were not ready to assume roles of any consequence in a restoration program".2

Thus, the first steps taken in creating a credible eighteenth century town were squarely on the shoulders of architects. It would remain so for at least the first decade of the Foundation's existence.

Meanwhile, as Americans became increasingly mobile and Williamsburg a popular destination (some thirty-one thousand people visited the Foundation in 1934 and that number tripled by 1936), it became apparent that decisions would have to be made by W.A.R Goodwin and his staff on what to do with this new found constituency. Although there already were a few exhibition buildings to be seen (the Raleigh Tavern opened in 1932, the Palace and Capitol in 1934, the Ludwell-Paradise House in 1935 and the Public Gaol in 1936)\(^3\) there was no procedure established for presenting historical information to the general public.

In 1932, Rutherfoord Goodwin, the son of the Reverend W. A. R. Goodwin, became the first dominant voice championing the effort to research, compile and deliver information about eighteenth-century Colonial Williamsburg. Largely due to his efforts, the first meeting of the Committee of Education was held in January of 1934, and Rutherfoord was put in charge of hostess training.\(^4\)

Seven years after its inception, then, Colonial Williamsburg began to hold formal conversations concerning its educational responsibility to the public. This committee would soon learn,


\(^4\) Ibid., 46.
however, that their definition of education would have to coincide with what Mr. Rockefeller thought appropriate. 5

Then there were the hostesses. They would be minor players for awhile. Upstaged by majestic doorways, marbled panels, hooked rugs and ladderback chairs, their importance to the story would have to be earned. Even the word "hostess" was meant to soften the harshness that Mr. Rockefeller Jr. felt "education" and "teacher" engendered. 6 So concentrated were the first few decades on buildings and decorative arts that Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, then professor of American history at Princeton University, commented in 1946 that Colonial Williamsburg educates the public using buildings and furnishings as representation while places like the Library of Congress used books for the same purpose. Interpreters, too, in the early years were part of that visual representation. It would be some time before they would be recognized as the educators who were as integral to understanding the colonial experience as the buildings and furnishings.

Contributions by black Americans in the early years at Colonial Williamsburg was primarily behind the scenes. From digging the original foundations to making bricks for the buildings, blacks worked to shape what was seen. At least three important incidents have come to light that refer to blacks and interpretation during

5 Ibid., 58.


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
the early years. A black man, Alec Pleasant, interpreted at the Powder Magazine while it was owned by the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities; Sam Robinson interpreted at Jamestown during the turn of the century; Lydia Gardner interpreted at the Wythe House when it was owned by the Reverend W.A.R. Goodwin, and a black family lived on the second floor of the Wythe Kitchen from 1941 to 1943 representing blacks who lived there during the eighteenth century.

Goodwin himself was concerned that the colonial black story be told...it was not to be.⁷ Like Thomas Jefferson, his loyalties were split between a commitment to the truth and political and social propriety. Racial segregation in the early part of the twentieth century made inclusion of black history impossible at a predominately white museum—even for an avowed liberal Christian like John D. Rockefeller, Jr. who had a distinguished family history of helping American blacks. The combination of southern sensibilities and what many southerners regarded as northern trespassing proved too weighty for even Mr. Rockefeller to change as quickly as he would have hoped. Many employees who found themselves taking orders from strange men with no southern ancestry, began referring to the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg as the "second yankee invasion"—so rife was upper management with northerners.⁸

⁷ W.A.R Goodwin to Woods, April 9, 1930,
⁸ Kopper, 168.
Researchers who have compiled information pertaining to the history of Colonial Williamsburg have yet to focus on the development of black history interpretation. The inclusion of the black experience in the story of the colonial Chesapeake by Colonial Williamsburg has been very recent, 1979. Although there is a parallel and, at times, shared experience by blacks and whites in the restoration of the eighteenth-century town of Williamsburg that began in 1926, there has never been an attempt to analyze the reasons blacks were excluded from the interpretation of the colonial story for so long.

The question of slavery is a significant one. There are few topics that have generated such a large and disparate body of opinions as has American slavery. From the works of Ulrich B. Phillips to the fairly recent work of Eugene Genovese, there has been a plethora of articles, essays and books on the "peculiar institution." Because Virginia was the first port-of-call for the majority of Africans entering colonial America, and because over two-thirds of all blacks entering mainland North America lived in the Chesapeake, if the black experience in America is to be looked at from its beginnings, Virginia and its environs must be explored.

To date, no other historically white museum has included the interpretation of black history in its general programming to the extent Colonial Williamsburg has. No other museum has created a department for interpreting black history or provided it with an operating budget as large. No other museum has received the notoriety or financial endowment for its black history programs as

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
Colonial Williamsburg. There has obviously been a significant change in the philosophical thrust of the Foundation's educational programming. This document sets out to identify those changes, chart their movement through the years and use the information gathered to determine future trends.

From its beginnings as a museum in 1926 to the present time, Colonial Williamsburg has served as a pace setter for the ways in which other history museums research, train and present information at their sites. Additionally, and more importantly, Colonial Williamsburg is representative of the larger museum community. Thus, one way to understand the process museums use to educate is by examining what some believe to be the pre-eminent American open air museum. Another important reason for such a study, is that a knowledge of how interpretation was formulated at Colonial Williamsburg and what effect it has had on efforts to interpret controversial issues like colonial black history, will give other museums—who have not yet begun to deal with the subject—a point of reference to use in beginning their own programs.

Finally, at the heart of this issue is a deeper question: How do the ideas of scholars, historians and administrators shape and guide educational programs at museums like Colonial Williamsburg?

While this study will not concentrate on a wide range of museums, it will provide valuable insight about Colonial

---

Williamsburg. Hopefully it will also lay the groundwork for further study on how American museums interpret American history. As with any study, there are many nuances of history that cannot and perhaps should not be broached. The department of archives at Colonial Williamsburg helped a great deal in the preparation of this document by allowing me access to the Foundation's files. Foundation policy on certain documents render them restricted to researchers who poke and prod, sometimes at their peril. There is little that can be gleaned (except suspicion) from documents that are not accessible. The scholarly process, then, can be tedious and frustrating— but also rewarding when one discovers individuals who go beyond normal bounds to help the researcher. Doug Smith, Bland Blackford and Donna Cassell have been those types of individuals. Special note must be made of Dr. Dennis O'Toole. He has taken time out of a very busy schedule to read this manuscript and keep me focused. He is a special friend and an excellent scholar. To all I express gratitude for their efforts.

The praise is theirs; the mistakes are mine.

R.E. (March, 1989)
Glossary

Mission: Any written statement of institutional policy meant to provide guidelines that legitimize its existence.

Educational Mission: Any written statement setting forth institutional policy regarding the dissemination of knowledge.

Interpretation: The oral teaching of history using first or third person interpretive techniques.

Living History: The oral teaching of history using a combination of first, second and third-person interpretive techniques.

Museum: Any institution that maintains a collection of art, artifacts, and natural objects for public display.

Program: Any formal demonstration, focusing on a specific topic, meant to enhance knowledge, entertain, or motivate learning.
CHAPTER ONE (1926-1946)
CHRONOLOGY

I have provided a chronology at the beginning of each chapter to give the reader an idea of the events that made the headlines during the time period discussed. The events have been arranged in a parallel fashion to show the extent to which national and international events and personalities influenced Colonial Williamsburg during the years being discussed.

National Events

1926 Calvin Coolidge is President.

* Queen Elizabeth II of Great Britain is born.

* Eugene O'Neill writes the "Great God Brown"

* Kodak produces the first 16mm movie film.

* Negro History Week is introduced by Dr. Carter G. Woodson.


* Gene Tunney wins heavyweight boxing championship from Jack Dempsey.

* Rudolph Valentino dies.

* Popular Song: "Bye, Bye, Black Bird"

* Popular Film: "Don Juan"

Colonial Williamsburg

John D. Rockefeller Jr. authorizes W.A.R. Goodwin to hire an architect and prepare drawings that will "depict a restored Williamsburg"

"David's Father" telegram from Mr. Rockefeller authorizes the first purchase of Williamsburg property, the Ludwell-Paradise House.
1927 Marcus Garvey is released from prison and deported to the British West Indies.

* Charles Lindburg flies the Spirit of St. Louis nonstop from New York to Paris 33.5 hours.

* John Dewey writes The Public and Its Problems.

* Harlem Globetrotters basketball team organized by Abe Saperstein.

* Popular Film: "The Jazz Singer" starring Al Jolson the first talking premiered.

* Popular Song: "Ol' Man River".

1928 Herbert Hoover elected President.

* Steven Vincent Benet writes John Brown's Body.

* Alexander Fleming discovers penicillin.

* Amelia Earhart is the first woman to fly across the Atlantic.

* Popular Film: "The First Mickey Mouse Film".

* Popular Song: "Am I Blue?"

1929 Ernest Hemingway writes A Farewell to Arms.


* "Black Friday" in New York; U. S. Stock Exchange collapses.

Boston architect William G. Perry arrives in Williamsburg to make preliminary studies and sketches.

Mr. and Mrs. Rockefeller come to the town of Williamsburg to discuss the restoration with Dr. Goodwin.

Mr. Rockefeller authorizes the purchase of additional properties and plans for restoration of the Wren Building.

At a conference held in New York, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. states that he will be responsible for the plans for the city's restoration.

The Williamsburg Holding Corporation is formed to carry forward the physical work of restoration.

Landscape architect Arthur Shurcliff is engaged by Dr. Goodwin to begin studies for the restoration of Williamsburg's gardens.

Colonel Arthur Woods is elected first president of Colonial Williamsburg Incorporated, and given the responsibility of the restoration work.

Adoption of a new building code allows Colonial Williamsburg to erect frame buildings on Duke of Gloucester Street.

Cable arrives from England announcing the discovery of the Bedleian Plate.
* St. Valentine's Day massacre six notorious Chicago gangsters machine-gunned to death by a rival gang.

* Popular Film: "The Love Parade".

* Popular Song: "Singing in the Rain".

1930 Founding the Temple of Islam, by Fard Mohammed (later to become the Black Muslims)

* Robert Frost publishes: Collected Poems

* C. S. Johnson writes The Negro in American Civilization.

* Comic strips grow in popularity in the U.S. especially the "Blonde" series.

* Popular Film: "All Quiet on the Western Front".

* Popular Song: "I've Got Rhythm".

1931 U.S. Senate passes Veterans Compensation Act over President's Hoover veto.

* Popular Film: "City Lights".

* Popular Song: "Minnie the Moocher".

1932 Franklin Roosevelt elected President.

* Bennington College opens in Vermont.

The Department of Research and Records is formed.

Excavations begin at the Governor's Palace.

The Travis House opens.

The restored Wren Building is dedicated and formally reopened.

The Curatorial Department is established under James L. Cogar.

Rutherfoord Goodwin designs an informational booklet for visitors.

The Raleigh Tavern opens as the first exhibition building.
* Olympic Games held in Los Angeles.

* Charles Linbergh's infant son is kidnapped.

* Popular Film: "A Farewell to Arms".

* Popular Song: "Brother, Can You Spare a Dime?"

1933 F.D. Roosevelt is inaugurated as 32nd President of U.S. and enacts the New Deal programs aiding blacks in housing and education.

* Adolf Hitler appointed German Chancellor

* Nazis erect the first concentration camps.

* "Tobacco Road" opens on Broadway.

* Popular Song: "Smoke Gets in Your Eyes".

* Popular Film: "King Kong".

1935 President Roosevelt signs the U.S. Social Security Act.

* Rumba becomes the fashionable dance

* George Gershwin writes "Porky and Bess" a black opera.

* Popular Film: "Mutiny on the Bounty".

1936 Roosevelt wins reelection by landslide.

Doris Macomber, first hostess, is hired by the Restoration.

Elizabeth L. Henderson, Eddie T. Healey, and Lily W. Nelson are hired as hostesses.

First tourists arrive.

Hostess training begins.

The Williamsburg Theatre opens.

The publications program begins with the appearance of Rutherfoord Goodwin's Brief and True Report of Williamsburg in Virginia.

Kenneth Chorley succeeds Arthur Woods as president of Colonial Williamsburg, Inc. Colonel Woods becomes chairman of the board.

Public Gaol opens.

Interpretive staff is increased to 27.
* Supreme Court requires Maryland University to admit Donald Murray, a black student to its graduate law school.

* Eugene O'Neill wins Nobel Prize for Literature.

* Popular Film: "Modern Times"

* Popular Song: "It's De-Lovely"

1937 Amelia Earhart lost on pacific flight.

* U.S. Supreme Court rules in favor of minimum wage law for women.

* John Steinbeck writes: Of Mice and Men

* Popular Film: "Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs"

* Popular Song: "Whistle While You Work"

1938 U.S. Supreme Court rules that University of Missouri Law School must admit Negroes because of a lack of facilities in the area.

* Orson Welles's radio production of H.G. Wells's "War of the Worlds" causes considerable panic

* Thornton Wilder writes the Pulitzer Prizing winning drama, "Our Town".

* Forty-hour work week established in the U.S.

* Popular Film: "Pygmalion"

The Department of Research and Education is formed.

Two new departments are created: The Department of Hostesses and Escorts, and the Department of Crafts.

Rutherford Goodwin is transferred to the Department of Research and education under Harold Shurtleff.

The Williamsburg Inn opens.

The Craft House opens.

14
* Popular Song: "Flat Foot Floogie with a Floy Floy"

1939  John Steinbeck writes: The Grapes of Wrath.

* Popular Film: "Gone With the Wind" and "The Wizard of Oz"

* Popular Song: "God Bless America"

1940  The Virginia legislature chooses "Carry Me Back to Ole Virginny" as the official state song.

* Benjamin O. Davis Sr. is the first black General in the history of the U.S. Armed Forces.

* Franklin Roosevelt reelected for a third term.

* "Galloping Gertie," suspension bridge over the Narrows of Puget Sound, Tacoma, Washington breaks up in wind and drops almost 200 feet.

* Jack Dempsey retires from the ring.

* Popular film: "Grapes of Wrath"

* Popular Song: "Blueberry Hill"

1941 Executive Order 8802 is established. It states that "there shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in the defense industries or government because of race, creed, color or national origin....."

The Department of Hostesses and Escorts is changed to the Department of Hostesses and Attendants.

John Marshall writes, "Some Educational Possibilities of the Williamsburg Restoration."

Wythe House Opens as an exhibition building.

John D. Rockefeller, Jr. is elected a board member of Colonial Williamsburg replacing Arthur Woods.

Volume One, Number One, of the employee publication, "Restoration News" appears—the first personnel newspaper.

Student Burgess and Democracy Workshop begin.

The Department of Public Safety is created.

Because of the war, attendance drops off. But this is offset, somewhat, by a large influx of servicemen.

Chowning's Tavern opens.
* Dec. 7th, the Japanese attack Pearl Harbor and U.S. enters World War II.

* U.S. Savings Bonds and Stamps go on sale.

* Popular Song: "I Don't Want to Set the World On Fire"

1942 The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) is founded.

* Sugar rationing begins.

* Joe Louis knocks out Buddy Baer to retain world heavyweight boxing crown.

* Carole Lombard is killed in a plane crash.

* Popular Song: "White Christmas"

* Popular Film: "Bambi"

1945 Japanese surrender after U.S. drops the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

* Nuremberg trials of Nazi war criminals begin.

* George S. Patton, American general, killed in automobile accident.

* Popular film: "The Lost Weekend"

1946 U.S. Supreme Court rules that segregation on interstate buses is unconstitutional.

* John D. Rockefeller, Jr. donates $8.5 million to the United Nations for site of permanent headquarters in New York City.

Mrs. Henderson, supervisor of hostesses and attendants, and her secretary are released as a budgetary measure. On July 1st, the 39 hostesses and attendants who remain are transferred to the Curator's Department. The responsibility of the hostess department is given to Mrs. J. R. Fisher and Mrs. Dorothy Geiger.

Carl Bridenbaugh becomes Director of the newly organized Institute Of Early American History and Culture, which is a joint effort between Colonial Williamsburg and the College of William and Mary.

The Department of Archives and Records is established.

Reader's Digest calls Colonial Williamsburg's hostess program "the best guide service in the world".

Edward Alexander approaches the College of William and Mary about starting a historical agency that would train students to
Benjamin Spock, M.D. writes "Baby and Child Care."

* Joe Louis successfully defends his world heavyweight boxing title for the 23rd time.

* Popular Song: "How are Things in Gloccamora?"

* Popular Film: "The Best Years of Our Lives"
Most chroniclers tracing the development of Colonial Williamsburg attribute its creation to the dream of one man, the Reverend W. A. R. Goodwin. Because his vision impressed John D. Rockefeller, Jr. and resulted in what some feel is the nation's preeminent history museum, it is no wonder his dream is the one that is touted as the driving force behind what the restoration became.

In reality, the restoration and development of Colonial Williamsburg was the result of a series of dreams. Some realized, some deferred, some stifled. The story of Colonial Williamsburg is tied to a host of dreamers who have contributed to over six decades of change and transformation. It began with W.A.R. Goodwin, but as his dream materialized many others took up the burden and carried the dream through a developing organizational maze that in many instances was the victim of its own success. The early years of Colonial Williamsburg's formulation has many actors: John D. Rockefeller Jr., W.A.R. Goodwin, William Perry, Arthur Woods, Kenneth Chorley, Rutherfoord Goodwin, Mary Goodwin, James Coger, and Elizabeth Henderson. All were in some way dreamers. All influenced the development of the larger dream called Colonial Williamsburg during the early years. Colonial Williamsburg literally began with a handful of people. By 1935 the number of
Today (1988), it boasts nearly four thousand employees. The dream has expanded and continues to do so. This study will be divided into three chapters: the early years; Williamsburg's renaissance; Williamsburg today. My focus will be on the development of education, interpretation and black history.

The story of the restoration parallels the national story. Its benefactor, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., was world renown. He and his family affected everything from foreign policy to economics and world peace. Because of his prominence every decision he made was news worthy. From the Detroit Free Press to the New York Times, all monitored his every move. Perhaps that is why he considered his residence at Williamsburg his favorite in later years. He recalled:

"Sunday Mrs. Rockefeller and I sat in front of the post office for a long time...and watched the people passing by. We often do that. And we like to walk home from the movies at night. We look in the windows and we look at the moon and the stars. You can't appreciate Williamsburg unless you walk through the town. Always you see something different: a fence or a chimney from some angle you never saw before. I feel that I really belong in Williamsburg."

The development of Colonial Williamsburg began with the physical recreation of the town, which would remain its focus for at least two decades. Mary Goodwin, the daughter-in-law of W.A.R. Goodwin and an excellent researcher in her own right, remembers the complicated task of researching records, inventories, locating and laying out parcels of land, tracing ownership and family genealogies. The huge task demanded all the time and resources that
a staff of one had available during those early years. The physical restoration was a story that would be told by landscape architects, engineers, draftsmen, curators, contractors, archaeologists, historians, and hundred of laborers, all of whom would become invisible as the years progressed. 4
EDUCATION

Education, from the first, was a high priority in the thinking of Goodwin, Rockefeller and, later, Kenneth Chorley. The type of education that John D. Rockefeller, Jr. envisioned, however, was unique. Shortly after plans outlining the restoration had been submitted to Mr. Rockefeller, two corporations were formed: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Inc. and The Williamsburg Holding Corporation (later renamed Williamsburg Restoration, Inc.). The first was set up to focus on business and the operations involved in the restoration project while Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Inc. was to become a non-profit educational corporation. Even at this time, Rockefeller's idea of education at Colonial Williamsburg had a unique definition. Rockefeller wrote to Arthur Woods, the first President of both corporations, "that the purpose of this undertaking is to restore Williamsburg, so far as that may be possible, to what it was in the old colonial days and to make it a great center for historical study and inspiration...".6

The Boston architectural firm of Perry, Shaw and Hepburn, which had been commissioned to undertake the restoration project, would dwarf education and interpretation for at least a decade. Literally millions of facts would have to be collected to restore Williamsburg to its eighteenth-century character. Historians and architects blanketed the eastern United States as well as the
libraries of Europe. Information from history-minded citizens, librarians, maps, plats, drawings and descriptions of all kinds would be gathered from every corner offering a clue to colonial structures and their foundations. From a floor plan of the Governor's Palace drawn by Thomas Jefferson during his term as Governor, to a copper plate engraving of the Wren Building, Capitol, and Palace found in the Bodleian Library at Oxford University, England. All efforts were concentrated on rebuilding the town.

For some, the educational importance of the restoration had always been apparent. As early as 1930 Rutherfoord, the son of W.A.R. Goodwin had designed an informational booklet covering the historical associations of Jamestown, Williamsburg, and Yorktown. Two years later Doris M. Macomber, the first hostess was hired. In January of 1934, a committee on education met for the first time. But there was still some disagreement on the form education should take. Philip Kopper mentions in his text, Colonial Williamsburg, that John D. Rockefeller, Jr. and his son, John D. Rockefeller, III came to a parting of the ways over disagreements regarding education. He writes:

as the son became increasing interested in education and international projects, the older conservative simply dug in his heels. John III was entitled and even expected to pursue his interests; having inculcated a sense of public service in all his boys, the senior Rockefeller hadn't meant to raise any slouches. But he believed his firstborn son could walk to his own drummer on his own turf and that Williamsburg should stick to its steady course. According to relatives it wasn't Chorley who clashed finally with young John but
Mr. Rockefeller himself. He had opposed efforts to make Williamsburg 'educational' in the first place, and only let the staff pursue de facto educational projects when they were thinly disguised as 'interpretation'. This was not a matter of a wise judge settling a dispute, it was a contretemps between father and son that ended in the son's resignation.10

Ed Alexander, vice president of the division of interpretation, mentioned that even the term interpretation was adopted because it had less of an educational connotation—which Rockefeller regarded as too didactic and structured. "To me, education means a formal kind of learning that has demands and too much direction and dictation and has assignments and examinations and grades."11

Despite these considerable obstacles, educational programs were experimented with, particularly during the war years, largely due to the efforts Rutherfoord Goodwin.
THE BEGINNING OF INTERPRETATION

When Rutherford Goodwin left Williamsburg in 1908 with his family at the age of seven, he could not have known that he would return to the town years later and make such a major contribution to the educational mission of Colonial Williamsburg. He was a normal child who grew up in the shadow of a famous minister who elevated fund raising to an art form. His father had always wanted him to go into the ministry, but despite an early calling he did not. In his biography, A Notebook of Memories, Dr. Goodwin relates the story of Rutherford's first "calling". During a conference held in Richfield Springs, New York in 1906, young Rutherford had been taken to a local drug store by one Molly Seaton, his self-appointed babysitter. Her initial intent was to obtain some ice cream for the child but through coaxing by a number of people assembled at the drug store who knew young Rutherford, he was persuaded to preach a sermon "On Noah and the animals going into the Ark." So successful was the sermon that when the senior Goodwin arrived at the store, he could see his son's pockets bulging with the proceeds he had collected from "parishioners" who were obviously moved by his sermon.12

As Hugh Desamper, senior director of media and government relations (and a long time tenant of Goodwin's), remarked in an editorial he wrote in 1962, "he [Rutherford] was one of the experts developed of necessity by a fledgling project of great

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
magnitude: and he was one of the most versatile of those experts".13

First employed in 1928 as an assistant to his father, he gave up a career in journalism to begin a nineteen year career at Colonial Williamsburg. During his early days of employment, the variety and scope of jobs he took on would later be handled by entire departments. He was put in charge of repairs and maintenance; served as liaison with life tenants (those who had sold their property to the Foundation but could remain residents until their deaths); worked with local health officials on sanitation codes; gave personal tours for VIP's, delegations and school groups, and was the public relations representative and overall information officer for the Foundation.

In 1930 he worked in the research and records department with the architectural firm of Perry, Shaw and Hepburn, and began exhaustive research on the history of Williamsburg. The publication Williamsburg in Virginia was his first scholarly effort. The text was so popular and accurate that three subsequent editions were printed without revisions--and it sold over three million copies.14 And, to top it all, he wrote the entire text using eighteenth century syntax and had it printed in type face of the period.15 He then went on to develop the concept of house histories which are informational abstracts on individual buildings within the town for interpreters. He later combined them into what became Colonial Williamsburg's first guide book. In 1937 he produced Colonial Williamsburg's first monograph, "The Williamsburg
Paper Mill of Williams Parks, the Printer". Helen Bullock's work
The Williamsburg Art of Cookery was also produced by Mr. Goodwin and
in 1939 (the year his father died). Williamsburg, Virginia, In
Photographies was done jointly by Rutherfoord and Richard
Garrison. And the entire training and interpretative methodology
for the hostess corp was overseen by Rutherfoord Goodwin.16 It was
Rutherfoord who made the decision to dress all hostesses in
eighteenth-century costumes. He was a remarkable man and his staff
knew it.

They had a special relationship, he and his hostesses. "He
was a man who had the admiration and loyalty of his ladies whether
he was outlining a stiff study program, the weekly work schedule,
or whimsically commenting on the hostess who set her costume
afire hiding an unauthentic cigarette."17 He also had great
admiration and respect for them. In 1935 he composed a poem in
their honor:

TO HOSTESSES AND ESCORTS AT GARDEN WEEK---

This lovely Governor's Palace,
I feel that you should know,
Was built by Henry Cary first
Two hundred years ago.
The governors here resided then...
The King? He stayed at home...
Now, follow with your party, please;
One's not allowed to roam---
As I said, the floor is marble...
That chair - It's Chippendale...
No, I never read his book...
That is a hand wrought nail...
Yes Ma'am, this group's just starting out---
The rest room? Its outside.
Yes, sir, the rug is tapestry---
(Oh, Lord, perhaps I lied)
Please little girl, don't handle that...
No, Ma'am, the paint is new....
(I'll have to choke that woman yet
Before this group is through)
Venetian blinds are of that day...
    Or, so the record said...
You must await the second floor
    To see the old oak bed.
The panel in the mantelpiece
    Has certain pieces old...
No, sir, the chair seat's needle point...
    Antique, so we are told.
And here the family dining room...
    No, that one lies ahead...
I fear your friend's mistaken then---
    Upstairs you'll see the bed.
This Chinese cistern over there...
    No, son they drank from wells...
Yes, sir, they took a glass or two...
    Or, so our history tells...
And this little pantry room...
    No, Ma'am the bed's upstairs...
The food came in covered plates...
    Yes, you may buy such chairs...
These tiles are old-- no, these and these...
    The others were not here...
Don't tighten up the napkin press...
    I don't know that, I fear...
And this the dining room of state...
    No, of the colony...
Virginia's now a Commonwealth...
    No, that's a state, you see...
These screens were carved.. we once said so...
    But now we've changed our minds...
Oh, yes the plates are Wedgwood made...
    He made so many kinds...
These chairs... no, Ma'am, the bed's upstairs...
    (Oh, Lord, with us abide)
These chairs... yes, that's the floor above.
    (Fast fall the eventide)
The stairs, no, sir, the treads are pine
    And this is hollywood...
No son, that's California...
    Yes, I see how you could.
This bookcase, - yes, the books are old...
    No, they were never hers.
The third floor's closed.. the door's not locked.
    You can't go up, I fear.
The northeast bed room is here,
    Yes, Madam, here's the bed...
You say your great aunt owned it...
    (I hope she's dead)
You say 'twas made of cherry wood...
    Well this one seems of oak...
You say she married Jacob Bean?
   (Quick, water, ere I choke)...
Oh, yes, they'll love to hear it;
   I'll tell the Curator...
No, I'll not forget to write...
   That's what we're looking for...
Ah, here's another hostess now...
   Please follow with her group...
I've learned that sixty school children
   Are waiting on the stoop...
Oh, thank you.. no, we don't take tips...
   And I've enjoyed it, too...
Please come again, - No, that's down stairs...
   I really hope you do.

Oh, God of hosts and hostesses,
We pray be with us yet---
Lest we should fail to earn
The forty cents an hour we get

Oh God of hosts and hostesses
Who did authenticate the zinnia
Pray give us time and strength
To tell the history of Virginia

by Rutherfoord Goodwin
composed in 1935

Rutherfoord identified and classified many of the artifacts that were excavated and exhibited at the opening of Colonial Williamsburg's first archaeological museum in the old Court House (which also housed the information center and the craft house) in 1932. He designed stationery, worked on Colonial Williamsburg's first film "Eighteenth Century Life", and somehow found time to become an authority on colonial typography, design and layout.18

Rutherfoord was not, however, an organizational person. Because of his varied interests, he worked at his own pace, which was substantial, and vehemently stated what he believed to be true.19
He had already drafted a booklet designed to answer visitors' questions about the restoration before he was named head of hostess training. He was the one who constantly harped about the educational possibilities of Colonial Williamsburg.20

But Rutherfoord was to be frustrated by the outcome of a special meeting that was held in 1932. Samuel Eliot Morison of Harvard and other scholars who were invited to attend the meeting, believed that the restoration should become a repository for colonial documents, but they had no interest in public education.21 Aside from that, they were not a standing committee and there would be no historians on staff to aid Rutherfoord in his fight to include education for another six years. Rutherfoord had to find ways to train his hostesses (who had been hired a year earlier in conjunction with the opening of the Raleigh Tavern) alone. So in the fall of 1933 he instituted the first host/hostess training program.22

Elizabeth Henderson, who attended kindergarten with Rutherfoord during the turn of the century and was one of the first hostesses he hired, remembered those early years of training in her oral history: "Our training in the early days was to some extent asking knowledgeable people about things that we might be asked...if someone asked a question they didn't know the answer to, hostesses would write it down and send it to Rutherfoord; he would write them a memo giving them the answer.23 Aside from questions, the early hostesses were small enough in number to be taken to other sites to observe interpretive methods. There were also
themselves.24

Before World War II, there were no interpretive programs other than the regularly scheduled tours through exhibition buildings provided by the hostesses and escorts. Their special blend of charm and grace became legend as guests were treated to the finest examples of "southern hospitality."

The little educational information available constantly gave way to this attempt to provide all visitors to the Foundation with graciousness and charm befitting a favored guest in a private home. Even the designations "hosts" and "hostesses" were meant to soften any comparisons to teachers. They were to greet visitors to exhibition buildings as if they were entering a private residence.

Mrs. Alberta Sneed, who began working as a hostess in April of 1938, recalled, "It just wasn't like any other place that you went to that had a guide to take you through with a cut-and-dried statement of this, that and the other. They talked to you as if you were going through their homes, and that's what we were told to do."25 Williamsburg's hostesses became so popular that Readers Digest called it, "the best guide service in the world".26 Ladies from the Williamsburg area were selected based on their charm, grace and gentility (and because few men could be enticed to work as a host on the meager wages that were being offered) not their scholarly abilities. They were representatives of an earlier time; a time when everyone recognized their place and station. Travelers came up from the south or down from the north to a town they had once passed by. And they came in large numbers--by the eve of
World War II, two hundred thousand Americans were visiting the exhibition buildings a year.27

Southerners lived up to their reputation for hospitality and visitors to the Foundation shared these traits. According to Mrs. Fannie Lou Stryker, the first people who came to see Williamsburg were different from those who come to see it now. In the depths of the depression, it was a elitist experience to tour Williamsburg. The women were gloved, hatted, and perfumed. The men were well dressed gentlemen of high taste who stopped off to visit each year on their way back from spending the summer in Florida. As a rule the women wore brown flat-keel tie shoes, tweeds; the coat, pocketbook and hat all matched. It would not be until the mid 40's that entire families would come bringing grandparents and children in tow.28 Elizabeth Henderson recalls vivid memories of being shocked seeing women who wore shorts, displaying lots of skin in mark contrast to the formal attire being worn by the hostesses.29

Interpretation was a mixed bag of past times and folk ways that were meant to revive the life that would complete the colonial scene that was being built. Costume hostesses were trained, black cooks were hired and patrons of taverns donned their wigs and knee breeches.30
THE WAR YEARS

While the Spanish Civil War was being fought in 1937, Rockefeller wrote, "As the work has progressed, I have come to feel that perhaps an even greater value (than the preservation of the beauty and charm of the old buildings and gardens) is the lesson that it teaches of the patriotism, high purpose, and unselfish devotion of our forefathers to the common good. If this proves to be true, any expenditure made there [Colonial Williamsburg] will be amply justified." When the war began, visitation and personnel had dwindled to a trickle. By the middle of 1942 many of the exhibition buildings had closed. Rationing of gasoline made travel difficult for most Americans and bicycles increased in number around town. Hostesses were even taken out of costume. "During the war costuming for hostesses was discontinued for a time 'as an economic measure' but not for long. People complained and they were brought back."

Interpretation was reorganized to focus on patriotic themes and as more and more servicemen visited Williamsburg from nearby installations, programs were developed to accommodate them. In 1943 special candlelight tours were given for servicemen and their families. Rockefeller even paid the admissions fees of servicemen and established the town's first U.S.O. center which opened in 1943. Working with the Defense Department's Information and Education program, sessions on democracy and
citizenship were enacted and motion pictures were made and sent to service camps. In November of 1943, the Eastman Kodak Company began filming a movie about a day in the life of a Williamsburg cabinetmaker called, "Eighteenth-Century Life", which was widely circulated to schools and special groups throughout the country. The script was written by--guess who?--Rutherfoord Goodwin. It would be three years later before the first student tours would be initiated.

Still, Rutherfoord became frustrated and finally admitted to Chorley: "Say what we will, the public, the press, the Board, the staff, and the citizens of Williamsburg have for the past twelve years been 'restoration minded'." He believed, and rightly so, that without historians to help, the guides stood little chance of really educating the public beyond the all too important material objects, furnishings and buildings they so faithfully interpreted; that if interpreters were to educate the public they needed historical facts. He wrote several reports for the Williamsburg board about his ideas of incorporating booklets, pamphlets and other historical publications to aid in telling the eighteenth-century story, in 1944, but because of Goodwin's "recklessness and independence," he was in constant conflict and disfavor.

It was not totally unexpected, then, when Chorley, in the fall of 1946, chose Edward Alexander, the director of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, to replace Rutherfoord. Another dreamer was to take up the gauntlet and bring it squarely in the
second half of the 20th century.

For Colonial Williamsburg, education during the years between 1926 and 1946 were transitional, from an architectural focus to a programmatic one. When the Capitol, Palace and Raleigh Tavern opened, it was the end of what came to be known as "Phase I" of the restoration. "Phase II" would begin ambiguously, since Chorley seemed content on planning activities one year at a time. Still, Colonial Williamsburg would enter its second phase with renewed focus celebrating the formation of a democratic society to the world.

As citizens and employees of the town gathered in the Williamsburg Theatre for prayer and thanksgiving on V.E. day, the Foundation was implementing plans that would established it as the ambassador of good will for the nation and the port of entry for international visitors anxious to learn about the roots of democracy.
BLACK HISTORY

Even before John D. Rockefeller, Jr. and W.A.R. Goodwin conversed on that faithful day in 1926, blacks were involved with interpretation at Williamsburg's Powder Horn (Magazine) and at the Wythe House. It was to be many years before they would be employed to interpret their own history.

Thanks to the foresight of Mary J. Galt, Mrs. Charles Coleman, Mrs. Israel Smith and Mrs. Randolph Harrison, the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, (APVA) was chartered in February 1889. Learning that the owner was about to put the Magazine up for sale, Miss Galt and her colleagues negotiated a deal to purchase it. When the building was opened in the early nineteen hundreds, "Uncle" Alec Pleasant, a black man, interpreted the structure. In 1926 when John D. Rockefeller, Jr. was taken through the building his guide was Alec. Little is known about Mr. Pleasants except that he was once a sexton at Bruton Parish Church.41

The APVA also acquired part of Jamestown. In the 1890's Miss Ellen Bagby of Richmond was named its guardian. Soon she was authorized to hire a sexton for the property. She hired Sam Robertson, a black man, originally from South Carolina's Sea Islands, who soon became a popular interpreter giving his version of Jamestown's settlement. He was particularly well-known for his interpretation of the "mother-in-law tree." It seems that in 1687

35

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
Benjamin Harrison's oldest daughter Sara entered into a contract to marry one William Roscoe; he was twenty-two and she was seventeen. Three weeks after the agreement was signed, Sara met Dr. James Blair, founder and commissary of the College of William and Mary, and accepted his invitation to marry. Sara's family was twice disgraced. First, because she married Dr. Blair against the wishes of her family, and secondly because at thirty-eight he was twice her age. In 1713 Sara died and was buried at Jamestown in the same vicinity of, but not with, her family. Thirty years later, Dr. Blair died and decreed that he be buried six inches from Sara. Seven years later a sycamore tree began to grow between the two graves. Since nothing was done over the years to cut the tree or protect the graves, the tree finally pushed the two graves apart so that Sara was finally pushed seven feet from her husband. Called the "mother-in-law tree" by Robert Ripley, it was entered in his column and included in subsequent shows of "Ripley's Believe It or Not". The mother-in-law tree and Sam Robinson became popular attractions at Jamestown. Park Rouse, a former director of publications for Colonial Williamsburg recalled: "somehow, Jamestown Island never seemed quite the same after Sam Robinson died."42

Lydia Gardner was another early black interpreter who lived in the restored area. Mrs. Gardner interpreted at the Wythe property from 1927 to 1930 when the building was used as the Bruton Parish House and an office by W.A.R. Goodwin. Mrs. Gardner remembers interpreting the building and says that "she was paid
around 25 cents an hour."43 Once the restoration began and the popularity of becoming a hostess increased, she was replaced by white hostesses.

James and Geraldine Payne were also among the first interpreters at Colonial Williamsburg. They were hired by James Cogar, the Foundation's first curator, to live on the second floor of the Wythe Kitchen. They lived there from 1941-1943. They dressed in eighteenth-century costume, with their two young daughters, and conversed with visitors to the Wythe site. "The entire property was like our home," recalled Mrs. Geraldine Payne, who was also the first black to work in the Information Center when it opened in 1957. "The girls played in their little costumes and we lived just as we always had, except we did it in costume representing blacks of the period." When the Naval Weapons Station opened in the early forty's to support the War effort, James Payne who was employed by Colonial Williamsburg as a laborer, took advantage of the higher wages paid government employees and left the Foundation to work at the plant in nearby Yorktown.44

The Rockefeller family had an honorable and long legacy of supporting black causes, particularly Negro education in the South. Spelman College, Hampton Institute, Tuskegee University, Fisk University and Atlanta University were all recipients of the Rockefeller's generosity. The General Education Board, which was founded by his father, dedicated a major portion of its money and resources to support Negro education. As Raymond Fosdick recounts, "When the Board started its work in 1903 there was not one single
public high school for negro students in the entire South, and over a period of half a century it helped to promote what was in essence a revolution in the standards of Negro Education." For ten years Rockefeller served as Chairman of the United Negro College Fund's National Counsel. When asked why he worked for the fund, he replied:

"first, because it is concerned with a tenth of our entire population. Second, because it is constructive and not controversial, devoting itself to education. Third, because it is cooperative-representing the united efforts of its thirty-two colleges to increase their financial support and enlarge the circle of their friends. We of the white race owe a debt of gratitude to our fellow citizens of the Negro race for having conceived and brought into being the idea of the educational chest, the value of which is so generally recognized...freedom does not come as a gift, we cannot have it for ourselves unless we are willing that others should have it also.... The extension of greater opportunities to our Negro population, becomes, therefore, a matter of not only national but inter-national importance. And it is urgent. We do not have any century to wait. The sands are running out."  

W.A.R. Goodwin also had connections to the black community. While serving at Saint John's Church in Petersburg in 1893, he was given a professorship at the Bishop Payne Divinity School for colored students and raised $8,000.00 a year. It was Goodwin, however, who in April 1926 received news from Hampton Institute, a local black college, that a group "of northern friends," who supported Hampton, wanted to see William and Mary. (a month earlier the same contact had told Goodwin of a Rockefeller visit which
resulted in the restoration.) Goodwin wrote a reply that asserted long established rules of southern segregation: "We take it for granted that the party will be composed exclusively of white persons. It would otherwise occasion you grave embarrassment and criticism, which we would not be willing here at the college to bring about or be responsible for."  

Racial attitudes of the South were deeply rooted and both men, especially Goodwin, had long since accepted the societal mandate that relegated blacks to second class citizenship.

During the early years of the Restoration, blacks were constantly being described as buffoons, dunces or slackers. One of the favorite stories of Dr. Goodwin was told of his black sexton William Galt. It seems that Galt misread a section of a booklet on the History of Bruton Parish Church. "Boss," he asked, "I want you to tell me whar de father of Mr. Hamlet that Mr. Shakespeare tell about is buried in de church yard....".

Galt had misread the text which was:

"Each in his narrow cell forever laid,
The rude forefathers of the Hamlet sleep."  

Then there was the one about a black man named Jim who came to Goodwin's house during the time he was purchasing land for Rockefeller. Jim wanted to know if Goodwin was interested in buying his property. Goodwin answered in the affirmative and question Jim
about the price he wanted. Jim replied, "$35,000." Goodwin exclaimed in astonishment that he could not offer him a price even approaching that sum. Jim then asked, "What about $3500?" Goodwin agreed to that price (pointing out that even $3500 was high) and asked Jim why he initially asked for such a large sum. Jim replied, "Well boss, they told me to start high and come down."50

Elizabeth Henderson tells of a black man Mr. Rockefeller Jr. encountered at Colonial Williamsburg on one of his visits. She recounts that Rockefeller came upon a black employee (who did not recognize him) sitting idle and asked him if he had nothing better to do. The black man replied, "Naw suh, I don't have nothin to do. I work for Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. and he got plenty of money."51 The employee was fired the next day.

These, then, were some of the prevailing attitudes toward black Americans during the early years of the restoration. Blacks were a part of the town, but it would be some time before they would be taken seriously. The restoration was too important a venture to employ blacks as interpreters and far too significant a place to begin discussing slavery—an "institution" that was after all not that far removed from the present. Socially, economically and politically, it was too risky and not in keeping with the equalitarianism that initiated the restoration project.

It would take two World Wars before America would begin to break down its long held racial tenants. But for the time being, Colonial Williamsburg was still full of employees, with strong ties to the Confederacy, who considered the restoration project "the
second yankee invasion."
CHAPTER TWO (1946-1966)
### Chronology

#### National Events

**1946**

* President Truman creates atomic energy commission
* John D. Rockefeller, Jr. donates 8.5 million dollars to the United Nations for the site of the permanent headquarters in New York City.
* Benjamin Spock, M.D. writes "Baby and Child Care".
* Supreme Court rules that segregation on inter-state buses is unconstitutional.
* Popular song: "Zip-a-dee-doo-dah"
* Popular film: "The Best Years of our Lives"

**1947**

* The "New Look" dominates female fashion.
* Bell Laboratories scientist invents the transistor.
* More than one million war veterans enroll in colleges under the U.S. "G.I. Bill of Rights".
* Jackie Robinson becomes the first black to sign a contract with a major league baseball team.

#### Colonial Williamsburg

* The Division of Education is formed. Edward Alexander arrives as head.
* Readers Digest calls Colonial Williamsburg's hostess program, "The best guide service in the world".
* Edward Alexander approaches the College of William and Mary with the idea of starting a historical agency to train students to enter the museum profession. The college turns him down flat.
* The Department of Publications is established.
* Richard K. Showman is appointed Director of the Department of Interpretation.
* The Symposium on Gardens and Flowers begins.
* The Franklin House, a dormitory for black employees, opens.
* The "Common Glory", an outdoor theatre near William and Mary, opens.
The Truman Committee on Civil Rights formally condemns racial injustice in America in a widely quoted report "To Secure these Rights".

Popular film: "Gentlemen's Agreement"

Popular Song: "Almost Like Being in Love"

1948 Selective Service Act is passed which provides for a continuous military draft.

Joe Lewis retires from the ring.

Mohandas K. Gandhi is assassinated.

Harry Truman elected President.

Israel becomes a sovereign state.

Popular film: "Hamlet"

Popular song: "All I Want for Christmas Is My Two Front Teeth".

1949 Israel is admitted to United Nations.

President Truman is inaugurated.

Apartheid is established in South Africa.

Popular film: "The Third Man"

Popular song: "Some Enchanted Evening"

Harry Truman gives speech at Canadian-American Day.

First reception center is built near Abby-Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Center.

Craft Shops transferred to the Department of Exhibition Buildings in the new Division of Interpretation headed by Minor Wine Thomas.

Magazine and Guard House opens during Fourth of July festivities.

First Antiques Forum is held.

John D. Rockefeller, Jr. retires as trustee for Colonial Williamsburg, Inc.
1950 Senator Joseph McCarthy advises Truman that the State Department is riddled with communists and communist sympathizers.


* Ralph J. Bunche is awarded Nobel Peace Prize.

* Gwendolyn Brooks is awarded a Pulitzer Prize for poetry—the first black so honored.

1951 Peace treaty with Japan signed in San Francisco.

* 22nd Amendment to the Constitution passed by Congress providing for a maximum of two terms (8 yrs) for President.

* Julius and Ethel Rosenberg are sentenced to death for espionage against the U.S.

* Color television is introduced.

* Electric power produced from atomic energy at Arcon, Idaho.

* Popular film: "The African Queen"

* Popular song: "Hello, Young Lovers"

1952 Dwight D. Eisenhower resigns as supreme commander in Europe; elected President of the United States.

New wing at the Williamsburg Inn opens.

King's Arms Tavern opens.

Audiovisual Department is created.

Colonial Williamsburg reaches its 25th anniversary; cost of restoration nears 50 million dollars.

The Brush-Everard House opens as an exhibition building.
* Nobel Peace Prize is awarded Albert Schweitzer.

* Rocky Marciano wins world heavy weight boxing championship from "Jersey" Joe Walcott.

* In a series of legal maneuvers the NAACP and other black groups succeed in desegregating a number of colleges and high schools in southern and border states.

* A Tuskegee report indicates that for the first time in its 71 years of tabulation, no lynchings have occurred in the United States.

1953 Dwight D. Eisenhower inaugurated President of the United States.

* Joseph Stalin dies, Khrushchev appointed First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party.

* Dag Hammarskjold elected Secretary-General of United Nations.

* Tornadoes in Texas, Michigan and Massachusetts kill 350 people.

* Lung cancer reported attributable to cigarette smoking.

* The Defense Department orders an end to segregation in schools on military bases and in Veteran's Hospitals.

Craft Shops now under the Division of Presentation headed by E.P. Alexander

Fifty exiled leaders of Central European countries adopt a Williamsburg Declaration at the Capitol, pledging to restore the principles of liberty to people in oppressed countries.

Cresap, McCormick and Paget survey recommendations are announced to the staff.

Former Trustee, Vernon Geddy, dies.

Division of Presentation headed by Mitch Wilder. Edward Alexander becomes Vice President, Director of Interpretation

Winthrop Rockefeller becomes chairman of the board.

President Eisenhower comes to Williamsburg where he inaugurates a program of visits by heads of state and other dignitaries.

Carlisle H. Humelsine joins Colonial Williamsburg as Executive Vice President.

The Crown Prince Akihito of Japan and the King and Queen of Greece visit.
* Popular song: "Doggie in the Window"

* Popular film: "Kismet"

1954 U.S. Supreme Court rules that "separate but equal" facilities are "inherently unequal" and that segregation is therefore unconstitutional

* Senator Joseph R. McCarthy continues his witch-hunting activities culminating in a nationally televised hearing seeking to prove Communist infiltration into the U.S. Army

* Arnold Palmer wins amateur championship of U.S. Golf Association

* U.S. tests hydrogen bomb on Bikini atoll.

* Nobel Prize for Chemistry: Linus Pauling for study of molecular forces

* Popular film: "On the Waterfront"

* Popular song: "Mister Sandman"

1955 U.S.S.R. decrees an end to its war with Germany.

* President Eisenhower suffers heart attack

* Mrs. Rosa Parks takes a seat in the front of a Cleveland Avenue bus, refuses to surrender it to a white man and is arrested.

The annual Christmas program is inaugurated.

John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, is the featured speaker at Prelude to Independence ceremonies

Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II, Queen Mother of England, becomes the first member of the British royal family to visit Colonial Williamsburg.

Democracy Workshop held for the first time.

The first proposal for the "Organization and Training of Hostess-Guide Corps at Colonial Williamsburg" is submitted.

Prince Albert of Belgium visits.

The Williamsburg Award is presented to Sir Winston Churchill in London.
* Blacks in Montgomery, Alabama, boycott segregated city bus lines

* "Sugar" Ray Robinson wins the world middleweight boxing championship from Carl "Bobo" Olson.

* Atomically generated power is first used in the United States.

* Albert Einstein dies.

* Popular film: "The Rose Tatoo"

* Popular song: "The Yellow Rose of Texas"

1956 Dwight D. Eisenhower reelected President of the U.S., with Richard M. Nixon as vice president.

* Fidel Castro lands in Cuba with small armed force intent on the overthrow of dictator Fulgencio Batista.

* Rocky Marciano retires undefeated from boxing, and Floyd Patterson, at 21 the youngest boxer to win the heavyweight crown, knocks out Archie Moore in a title fight.

* Transatlantic telephone service inaugurated.

* Oral vaccine against polio developed by Albert Sabin.

* Southern Senators, led by Harry Byrd of Virginia, take action to fight integration.

Christiana Campbell's Tavern opens.

Dag Hammarskjold, Secretary-General of the United Nations, is the featured speaker at "A Prelude to Independence" ceremonies.

Colonial Williamsburg's internationally famous movie "Williamsburg: The Story of a Patriot," is filmed.

Jim Short arrives to begin an oral history project.

William Geiger is appointed Director of Craft Shops.
Senator Harry F. Byrd, Sr., obtains signatures of one hundred congressmen on a "Southern Manifesto," which attacks the Supreme Court's ruling on segregation.

* Popular film: "The Ten Commandments"

* Popular song: "Blue Suede Shoes"

1957 Pres. Eisenhower formulates "Eisenhower Doctrine" for protection of middle eastern nations from communist aggression.

* Teamsters Union is expelled from AFL-CIO when Jimmy Hoffa refuses to expel criminals and the union refuses to expel Hoffa.

* Major John Glenn, Jr. (later an astronaut) sets speed record from California to New York in a jetfighter

* President Eisenhower orders paratroopers to Little Rock, Arkansas to enforce integration for black pupils at Central High School.

* A civil rights bill affirming the right to vote is enacted after provisions for strengthening school integration are withdrawn.

The Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Collection opens in its new building.

The Information Center and Motor House open.

The first "International Assembly" is held at Colonial Williamsburg. Forty-two foreign graduate students from forty countries attend.

Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Phillip visit Williamsburg.

Robertson's Windmill begins operation.
* Henry Aaron is voted the most valuable player in the National Baseball League and wins his first homerun title.

* "Beat" and "Beatnik" take hold as new words to describe the "Beat Generation".

* Popular film: "Twelve Angry Men"

* Popular song: "Young Love"

1958 Alaska becomes 49th state.

* Nelson Rockefeller is elected Governor of New York.

* Governor Orval Faubus of Arkansas defies Supreme Court by closing schools in Little Rock, Arkansas and reopening them as private segregated schools.

* Arnold Palmer wins his first Master's Tournament.

* U.S. establishes National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) to administer scientific exploration of space.

* Stereophonic recordings come into use.

* Popular film: "Cat on a Hot Tin Roof"

* Popular song: "Volare"

The first session of the Student Burgesses program is held. High school seniors from forty-seven states are present.

The Printing Shop and Post Office open.

Carlisle H. Humelsine becomes president of Colonial Williamsburg, succeeding Kenneth Chorley.

The President of Germany and the Prime Minister of Cambodia visit.
1959 Cuban President Batista flees to the Dominican Republic; Fidel Castro becomes Premier of Cuba.

* Hawaii becomes 50th state

* U.S. Postmaster General Summerfield bans D.H. Lawrence's Lady Chatterley's Lover from the mails on grounds of obscenity.

* U.S.S.R. launches rocket with two monkeys aboard

* Popular film: "Anatomy of a Murder"

* Popular song: "Tom Dooley"


* Historic television debates between John F. Kennedy (Democrat) and Richard M. Nixon (Republican).

* John F. Kennedy elected President of the U.S.

* Floyd Patterson regains world heavyweight boxing title from Ingemar Johansson.

Dean Acheson, former Secretary of State, is featured speaker at Prelude to Independence ceremonies.

Visits by the president of Argentina, the King of Jordan, and the King of Belgium.

Attendance for the year 1959 doubles at Colonial Williamsburg. Tour office attributes increase to the number of organized school, adult and military groups touring the restored area.

John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Colonial Williamsburg's benefactor, dies.

The old Eastern State Hospital property is acquired by the Foundation.

The King and Queen of Thailand visit.
American Heart Association issues a report attributing higher death rates among middle-aged men to heavy cigarette smoking.

First weather satellite, Tiros I, launched by U.S. to transmit TV images of cloud cover around the world.

Popular film: "Psycho"

Popular song: "Itsy Bitsy Teenie Weenie Yellow Polka Dot Bikini"

1961 Activities of the reactionary John Birch Society are a concern of the U.S. Senate.

Exiled Cuban rebels attempt an unsuccessful invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs; they were trained and supplied by U.S. A week later, President Kennedy acknowledges his full responsibility for the fiasco.

Dag Hammarskjold killed in air accident.

Adolf Eichmann found guilty in Jerusalem trial of atrocities against Jews.

"Freedom Riders," White and Black liberals loosely organized to test and force integration in the South, are attacked and beaten by White citizens (including women) in Anniston and Birmingham, Alabama.
Six more states pass laws forbidding desegregation in housing, raising the total to ten.

Popular film: "West Side Story"

Popular song: "Moon River"


Nobel Peace Prize awarded to Linus Pauling (U.S.), who was awarded 1954 Nobel Prize for Chemistry.


James Meredith, a black man, is denied admission to University of Mississippi by Governor Ross Barnett.

Twelve thousand Federal Troops are ordered to the University of Mississippi campus to maintain order as riots erupt in protest over the admission of James Meredith, a 29-year-old black veteran, to the university.

Sonny Liston becomes world heavyweight boxing champion, knocking out Floyd Patterson in the first round.

Rod Laver (Australia), wins Grand Slam of tennis.

Ox carts, Conestoga wagons, and a traveling forge are showcased during a trial closing of parts of Duke of Gloucester street.

Visits by the President of Panama, the Crown Prince of Libya, the President of Honduras and the Japanese Cabinet.

Elizabeth Callis and Shirley Low present an outline of "Preliminary Training" for escorts and teachers.

American Association of Museums annual meeting is held in Williamsburg.
Popular film: "Tom Jones"

Popular song: "Hello Dolly!"

1963 Riots, beatings by Whites and police, and maltreatment by officials mark civil rights demonstrations in Birmingham, Alabama, culminating in arrest of Martin Luther King, Jr., and in President Kennedy's calling out of 3,000 troops.

U.S. and U.S.S.R. agree on "hot line" between the White House and the Kremlin

More than 200,000 Americans of all races and colors gather at the Lincoln Memorial in "The March On Washington," the largest protest in the nation's history.

Governor George Wallace of Alabama declares: "I draw the line in the dust and toss the gauntlet before the feet of tyranny and I say 'segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever.'"

Medgar Evers, a prominent civil rights leader, is assassinated in the doorway of his home.

President John F. Kennedy assassinated by Lee Harvey Oswald in Dallas, Texas, November 22; Lyndon B. Johnson sworn in as president.

Carter's Grove is acquired by the Sealantic Fund, a nonprofit Rockefeller fund.

The Conference Center opens as part of the Williamsburg Lodge complex.

President Paschall of the College of William and Mary, and Colonial Williamsburg initiate a plan to interpret the Wren Building to the public.

Message Repeaters discussing slavery are installed in the Brush-Everard Kitchen.
* Jack Ruby shoots and kills Oswald.

* Jack Nicklaus wins his first Masters' Tournament

* U.S. astronaut Gordon Cooper completes 22 orbits in a Mercury Capsule

* Dr. Michael De Bakey is first to use an artificial heart to take over the circulation of a patient's blood during heart surgery.

* Popular film: "The Silence"

* Popular song: "Those Lazy, Hazy, Crazy Days of Summer"

1964 Jack Ruby, found guilty of killing Lee Harvey Oswald, the alleged assassin of President Kennedy, is sentenced to death.

* A U.S. destroyer is allegedly attacked off North Vietnam; U.S. aircraft attack North Vietnam bases in reprisal.

* Commission, appointed by President Johnson under Chief Justice Earl Warren, finds that Lee Harvey Oswald acted alone in assassinating President Kennedy.

Carter's Grove opens as an exhibition building operated by Colonial Williamsburg.

Reproductions of furniture, fabrics and decorative accessories from Colonial Williamsburg are exhibited at the New York World's Fair.

The President of Ireland, the Prime Minister of Turkey, the Prime Minister of Greece, the Prime Minister of Malaysia, and the President of the Philippines visit.
* Race riots erupt in Harlem, New York, as reaction against enforcement of civil rights laws.

* Cassius Clay wins world heavyweight boxing championship from Sonny Liston.

* World's Fair held New York.

* James Hoffa, president of the Teamsters Union, found guilty of jury tampering and sentenced to eight years' imprisonment and fined $10,000.

* Popular film: "Goldfinger"

* Popular song: "I Want to Hold Your Hand"

1965 Malcolm X, Black Muslim leader, shot in New York.

* Outbreaks of violence at Selma, Alabama; Martin Luther King heads procession of 4,000 civil rights demonstrators from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama to deliver a Negro petition.

* North Vietnamese MIG aircraft shoot down U.S jets.

* Severe race riots in Watts district of Los Angeles results in 35 dead, 4,000 arrested, and $40 million dollars in property damage.

The premiere of Colonial Williamsburg's newest educational film, "The Colonial Naturalist," is held.

Expanded evening visitation hours, Militia Musters in the mornings, and Band of Musick concerts in the afternoons set the stage for more summer visitors than ever before (98,000).

Approval to proceed with a juvenile publication called "Slave Girl in Williamsburg" was given and an author sought.
* Questions regarding civil rights, human rights, activism, militancy, and "black power" dominate media attention.

* U.S. spends more than $26.2 billion for public school education; $654 per student.

* Popular film: The Sound of Music

* Popular song: "King of the Road"

1966 Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Nehru's daughter, becomes Prime Minister of India.

* Color TV becomes popular.

* U.S. population totals 195,827,000.

* Consumer expenditure for alcoholic beverages in U.S. for 1966 totals $17,400 million.

* Jack Nicklaus wins the Masters' golf tournament for the second year in a row.

* Soviet spacecraft Luna 9 makes a successful soft landing on the moon.

* U.S. spacecraft Surveyor I makes soft landing on moon and transmits more than 11,000 TV images of the terrain.

* Huey Newton and Bobby Seale found the Black Panther Party in Oakland, California.

Secretary of State Dean Rusk is the featured speaker at Prelude to Independence ceremonies.

Rockefeller Brothers Fund approves a $2 million grant over a five year period.

The Anthony Hay Cabinetmaking Shop, and the Harnessmaking shop are opened as craft demonstrations bringing the total number of crafts demonstrated at Colonial Williamsburg to seventeen.

Foundation is laid for a Student Activities Building adjacent to the Information Center. It will provide meeting and recreation space for school group visiting Williamsburg overnight.

Colonial Williamsburg is featured on the "Today Show".
* Popular film: "Fahrenheit 451"

* Popular song: "Ballad of the Green Berets"

King Faisal of Saudi Arabia, General NeWin, the Chairman of the Revolutionary Council of Burma, visit.
THE POST WAR YEARS

On May 8, 1945, Germany lay in ruins. The war was over. The dead totaled 35 million plus 10 million killed in Nazi concentration camps.\(^{10}\) Four months later, On September 2, the war in the Pacific officially ended with a brief ceremony on the American battleship, U.S.S. Missouri. With General Douglass MacArthur and Lt. General Richard K. Sutherland looking on, General Yoshijiro Umezo signed a document verifying Japan's unconditional surrender.\(^{11}\) In New York, people spontaneously danced in the streets. In San Diego, drunken sailors broke shop windows. In the mid-west, farmers honked their horns as if they had just attended a wedding; and outside Naples, Italy, the Andrews Sisters sang "Don't Sit Under the Apple Tree" to soldiers packed in a USO hall.\(^{12}\) In place of skyscrapers, homes and churches there were rubble and ruins. The war that exhausted the world was finally over. Within six years, nearly fifty million people had died and property damage totaling 1 trillion dollars had been incurred.\(^{13}\)

\(^{10}\)Grun, Timetables of History, 524-559. (entire chronology taken from this source.)


\(^{13}\)Ibid., 604.
In Williamsburg on that same date in 1945, two hundred and fifty employees of Colonial Williamsburg met in the Williamsburg Theatre to pray for their dead, give thanks to those employees returning to the Foundation who had fought in the war, and express gratitude for the end of the long and difficult conflict. The names of six employees who had lost their lives in the war were read, as well as the names of 181 employees who were still in military service.14

Colonial Williamsburg, too, had made sacrifices for the war effort. Many employees, in an effort to find new jobs with higher pay, left the Foundation to work at jobs supporting the war effort. The United States Naval Mine Depot, which is known today as the Yorktown Naval Weapons Station, was one of the federal facilities offering better wages to employees who had become frustrated by the low rates offered at Colonial Williamsburg. Mrs. Geraldine Payne, whose husband worked in the landscape department under James Cogar, recalls, "we just couldn't make it on the money C.W. was paying so James went to work at the Weapon's Station."15

Employees at the restoration pitched in and adapted to the same challenges that other communities in Tidewater faced. They purchased war bonds and wrote letters to friends in war zones and occupied territories. Women employees knitted, sewed, made surgical


dressings for the Red Cross, took first aid courses and prepared
themselves to serve at emergency canteens in case of an evacuation
of the lower peninsula. The Williamsburg Inn was reserved for
officers of the Armed forces and their families in the area, and
a one-day course in American History was offered to the soldiers
at nearby Fort Eustis.16

Williamsburg also did its part to promote the patriotism that
was sweeping the country. Of the many stories that were chronicled
of those years, one told by former president Kenneth Chorley to
John D. Rockefeller, Jr. about a soldier visiting the Foundation
is particularly instructive:

He was a GI...a soldier from Fort Eustis down
the road, who'd come up in a truck with the
rest of his unit to tour Williamsburg. Part of
our wartime program. I saw this boy in the
clerks office at the capitol. He'd become
separated from his buddies, and he was standing
alone in the front of the Peale portrait of
Washington. Suddenly I heard him mutter, 'You
got it for us general and by god, we're going
to keep it!' and he saluted. I told that story
to Mr. Rockefeller a few weeks later, when I'd
finished, he looked up at me, and there were
tears in his eyes, and he said quietly, 'then
it was all worthwhile.'17

There was another phenomenon that occurred after World War II.
Visitors to the Foundation changed. "Before the war I saw a lot of
chauffeur driven limousines. A lot of rich people came to Colonial
Williamsburg..." recalls Thessalonians Judkins, a 46 year employee

17Ibid.
people." Thad Tate, who was a research historian for Colonial Williamsburg between 1954-1961, also recalled another significant change at Colonial Williamsburg after the war. Because of the patriotic themes that prevailed long after the war was over, Colonial Williamsburg's educational message changed. An effort to make the Foundation's message more political and international was launched. Topics that included the Stamp Act Controversy, the Pistole Fee, the Townsend Acts, the Virginia Declaration of Rights, the Battle of Yorktown and the Liberty or Death Speech were required reading for all interpreters during their training.

Programs such as the Democracy Workshop, the International Assembly, A Prelude to Independence, and Student Burgesses were formulated in part to remind graduate and undergraduate students of the privileges and challenges involved with living in a democratic society. A musical series, "Songs of Liberty" described as a "collection of songs and instrumental music relating to the American Revolution", was offered. And it was no coincidence that the military arsenal (Powder Magazine) of the town opened four years after the war's end on the Fourth of July!

---

18 Mr. Thessalonians Judkins, interview by author, Tape recording, Williamsburg, Virginia, 3 December 1987.


20 Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, "Songs of Liberty" (Brochure, AV Distribution Section, 1967)

As a result of these patriotic efforts, several things happened that launched Colonial Williamsburg on a course that would make it the port of call for dignitaries entering the country. On June 12, 1952, fifty exiled leaders of Central European countries adopted, in Williamsburg, the Williamsburg Declaration (a pledge to restore the principles of liberty to people in oppressed countries). A year later, president Eisenhower came to Williamsburg to inaugurate a program for visits by heads of state and other dignitaries. From that point on, Colonial Williamsburg became ambassador to the world. "That the Future May Learn From the Past" and a healthy dose of democratic ideals were the slogan and the political gem that would make Colonial Williamsburg the premiere history museum experience during the second half of the twentieth century.

---

22Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, "Minutes of a Meeting of the Board of Trustees of Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated" 26 April 1956, (This and all other references cited hereafter located in the Rockefeller Archive Center will be designated [RAC])
Museums in the period between 1946 and 1966 were not heavily educational when compared to colleges and universities. In most instances, they were still defining who they were and what part they wanted to play in the overall scheme of things. Many had mission statements that supported specific agendas that were of particular interest to their major donors. Although some had ideas about what could and should be done in a museum setting, many more were defined with other goals in mind. From the mid-nineteenth century on, most history museums were constructed by members of dominant classes in America, and the philosophies that supported them aligned, in many museums, with the benefactors' sense of propriety and appropriateness. Many saw themselves as transmitters and definers of what one historian has called "American Values". The cultural and social beliefs held by these museums were those of patricians who came from privileged backgrounds. They were the ones who inherited the wealth, ran successful businesses, and capitalized on industry. Ancestral societies like the Sons of the American Revolution, the Daughters of the American Revolution, and the Mayflower Descendants were part of this core group. Historic societies also took part in the historic preservation movement. Groups like the Association for the Preservation of Virginia

---

23Michael Wallace, "Visiting the Past," 141.
Antiquities, the Native Sons of the Golden West and the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities were all formed with the goals of teaching society by exhibiting and preserving the best that America had to offer. These organizations with their bent toward preserving their established way of life, set the precedent for historical societies and preservation groups that were formed in the late 19th and early 20th century.

A very successful argument could be made to support the thesis that the really dynamic developments in history museums in the United States did not take place until Henry Ford and John D. Rockefeller, Jr. brought their influence to bear. These men, along with others like C.R. Crocker, were part of an elite group that included middle-class professionals, businessmen, and political leaders.

For many of these patricians, aligning oneself with a museum was the first step in becoming a good American citizen. Museum-goers were good, sound thinkers who were not radical or dangerous to the status quo. Quite the opposite. They aspired to be part of the established order. Mrs. J.V.R. Townsend, Colonial Dame, vice-regent of the Mount Vernon Ladies Association, and chairwoman of the Van Cortlandt House Committee in New York City, explained, "Americanizing of the children--by enlisting their interest in historical sites and characters has a great significance to any thinking mind---the making of good citizens of these many foreign youths." The Sons of the American Revolution had similar aims. They sought to take young people "out of all these crass and crazy
notions of popular rights... into a true understanding of American liberty as handed down by our Fathers."24

But the decisive changes in the museum world, as well as museum education, began with two important men: Henry Ford at Greenfield Village and John D. Rockefeller, Jr.

Ford's opinion of history undoubtedly affected his decisions regarding museums and what they had to offer:

"History is more or less bunk. It's tradition. We don't want tradition. We want to live in the present and the only history that is worth a tinker's dam is the history we make today. I don't want to live in the past. I want to live in the Now."25

After World War I, he changed that attitude.

In 1923 Ford bought and restored the Wayside Inn, a Sudbury, Massachusetts, hostelry built in 1702. This was the same Inn that was mentioned in a famous Henry Wadsworth Longfellow poem. He then purchased 2,667 acres of land, built a highway to redirect traffic away from it, transported a gristmill, blacksmith's shop, sawmill, and a little red schoolhouse that Mary, of "Mary Had A Little Lamb" fame had allegedly attended. By the time he was finished, he had built one of the first museum villages in the United States at a cost of over 3 million dollars. But he still wasn't finished.

In 1927 he ordered 35,000 Ford dealers to collect "a complete series of every article ever used or made in America from the days

24Ibid
25Ibid., 143.
of the first settlers down to the present time." He dumped it all at a tractor plant warehouse in Dearborn, Michigan. A year later he announced that he was opening an Industrial Museum to display the articles he had ordered collected. In 1928 Ford announced that he would construct, in Dearborn, an early American Village. He brought in a windmill from Cape Cod, the courthouse where Lincoln had practiced law, two slave cabins, a country store, an old inn, a New Hampshire firehouse, a Massachusetts shoeshop, several assorted buildings of his own childhood days, and the "invention factory", the one in which his friend Thomas Edison invented the electric light bulb. His reason? "I'm trying in a small way to help America take a step, even if it is a little one, toward the saner and sweeter idea of life that prevailed...to show how our forefathers lived and to bring to mind what kind of people they were." The only way to do that was to, "reconstruct, as nearly as possible, the exact conditions under which they lived." Ford's desire had changed from a marked disrespect for history to an appreciation of the history of the common man. As Michael Wallace relates, "The museum hamlet paid homage to blacksmiths, machinists, and frontier farmers, celebrated craft skills and domestic labor, recalled old social customs like square dancing and folk fiddling, and praised the 'timeless and dateless' pioneer virtues of hard work, discipline, frugality, and self-reliance." Greenfield

26Ibid.

27Ibid., 145.
Village departed dramatically from the Daughters of the American Revolution model of a museum, with its praise of the elite and of the great men history. Yet his was still a vision held by the benefactor, and not any real attention to the way it actually was.

The other great history museum enterprise of the post-World War I period, was that of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. His effort was rooted more in the traditional house museum mode than was Ford's village. Although the original idea for the restoration of the colonial capital came from W.A.R. Goodwin, the financial contribution of John D. Rockefeller Jr. totaled 48 million by the time of his death in 1960.\(^{28}\) What moved him to such generosity? What was so special about the town of Williamsburg that this industrial giant committed so much of his fortune to restore it? From the time of his entrance into the picture until his death Mr. Rockefeller had made it clear that his intentions were of the highest order. Unlike Ford, Rockefeller was not interested in the "Folk" concept. His intention was to construct a monument to the "Planter elite" class. In a 1937 statement on the motives behind his support of the restoration, he explained what fascinated him at first:

\[
\text{to undertake to preserve a single building when its environment has changed and is no longer in keeping, has always seemed to me unsatisfactory---much less worth-while.}
\]

Williamsburg, he continued,

offered an opportunity to restore a complete area and free it entirely from alien or inharmonious surroundings.29

So, like Ford, he left no stone unturned in his quest to recreate the definitive eighteenth-century town of Williamsburg. So adamant was he about precision and accuracy that the majority of the correspondence between he and his assignees in Williamsburg was concerned with construction—not education, interpretation or training—but updates on how the buildings were being restored and reconstructed. As the restoration work progressed during the 30's and 40's, he was constantly being called upon to make decisions. Because the reconstruction of a colonial town had not been attempted on this scale before, many of the decisions concerning building placement, architectural design, relocation of major roadways and the like, fell to Mr. Rockefeller because of the sheer cost involved in such capital ventures. His usual reply was, "No scholar must ever be able to come to us and say we have made a mistake."30 He wanted to get it right the first time.

But even with this admirable commitment to accuracy, there emerged an agenda that spoke more to his personal objectives for what Colonial Williamsburg should offer than its potential as an educational institution.

As the work has progressed, I have come to feel that perhaps an even greater value is the lesson that it teaches of the patriotism, high purpose, and unselfish devotion of our forefathers to the common good. If this proves

29Humelsine, 20.

30Ibid., 10.
to be true, any expenditure made there will be amply justified.  

Fine words but he also felt the only way to do that was by focusing his attention on the "set" as opposed to the "actors". His mark on Colonial Williamsburg was so profound that some argue he branded it a:

corporate world: planned, orderly, tidy, with no dirt, no smell, no visible signs of exploitation. Intelligent and genteel patrician elites preside over it; respectable craftsmen run production paternalistically and harmoniously; ladies run well-ordered households with well-ordered families in homes filled with tasteful precious objects. The rest of the population--the 90 percent who create the wealth--are nowhere to be seen.  

If one subscribes to this argument, then there may be some truth in the notion that because Rockefeller's wealth allowed him the luxury of recreating the definitive colonial town, he reconstructed one that had little resemblance to a living breathing community.

So education--the teaching of skills or concepts that forward understanding and facilitate learning--was one-sided at best from the vantage point of two of the museum world's most prominent spokesmen. Their museums illustrated their sensibilities and the privileged positions they enjoyed in American society.

31Ibid., 7.

32Wallace, 149.
By the mid-30's it was apparent that America's, albeit from the upper crust, were interested and fascinated enough with "the restoration" to begin traveling to Virginia to see this 8th Wonder of the World. It became increasingly obvious to people like Rutherfoord Goodwin, who was responsible for the training of the hostesses and author of the first "guidebook", that a change was needed. John D. Rockefeller III, John D. Jr's eldest son, and chairman of the board of trustees from 1939-1953, shared Goodwin's concerns. Some formal and organized way of presenting the buildings and exhibits to the public was necessary. When they both were encouraged to begin serious thought about educational programs, interpreter training, and teaching history in general, and presented these thoughts to J.D.R. Jr, his response was clear:

While I have recognized for a long time the educational and extensional importance of the Restoration which Dr. Goodwin currently urged upon me during the later years of his life, it has always been my feeling, and still is, that this is an aspect of the work which, because of its great importance and possibilities and also because of its far lesser cost, could and would be taken up by later generations and financed if necessary by the current surplus earnings from the project itself, rather than by monies received by gift unless so designated. Naturally, therefore, I have felt right along, and continue to feel, that until the physical restoration has been completed, neither surplus capital nor even surplus income or earnings should be used for that purpose lest the larger project might fail of

---

33 Board of Trustees to Mr. John D. Rockefeller, 3rd, December 7, 1954, RAC.
completion.\textsuperscript{34}

So, while it is clear that Mr. Rockefeller Jr. acknowledged the importance of education, he was not willing to contribute to it until the construction process was complete.

This schism between the proponents of education and construction began to take on larger dimensions in the early 50's. What began as a disagreement between Kenneth Chorley, Colonial Williamsburg's second president, and John D. Rockefeller III, chairman of the board, was in actuality a difference in philosophy between father and son:

John 3d was chairman of the board but his father was still boss. As the son became increasingly interested in education and international projects, the older conservative simply dug in his heels. John 3d was entitled and even expected to pursue his interests; having inculcated a sense of public service in all his boys, the senior Rockefeller hadn't meant to raise any slouches. But he believed his firstborn son could walk to his own drummer on his own turf and that Williamsburg should stick to its steady course.\textsuperscript{35}

John D. III finally resigned in 1953. His departure was not precipitated by his busy schedule and the chairmanship of the Rockefeller Foundation, as was the stated in his resignation.\textsuperscript{36} Instead, his resignation was the result of fundamental

\textsuperscript{34}John D. Rockefeller, Jr. to Kenneth Chorley, November 27, 1945, RAC.

\textsuperscript{35}Kopper, 215.

\textsuperscript{36}John D. Rockefeller, III to Board of Trustees, January, 31, 1953, RAC.
philosophical differences between he and his father over the
direction Colonial Williamsburg should follow as a museum.

John D. III was successful during the early 40's in convincing
Kenneth Chorley to hire John Marshall, a consultant from the
General Education Board, to take a look at the educational
opportunities a museum like Williamsburg might be able to offer.
The result was a 40-page document outlining the needs, solutions,
and ways that visitors to the Foundation could take more away with
them than a pleasant stroll through the town looking at a cluster
of old buildings and objects. The most significant comment by
Marshall was that presentations by the host/hostesses were too
object oriented. He contended that visitors, especially those who
came after the war, were interested in the people and social
systems that existed in the Colonial Capitol.37

But the job of improving the presentation of the
hosts/hostesses was not an altogether easy one. Since its
inception, the focus of Colonial Williamsburg had been on
restoration. It had been the one thing that put the town on the
map. Every effort was spent in trying to replicate the physical.
As Mary Goodwin recounted, "every research effort was spent looking
through real estate documents and anything else we could locate to
find clues on what buildings went where."38 So it was no real
surprise to Chorley when Rutherfoord Goodwin, who was responsible

37Hosmer, 62.

38Mrs Mary Goodwin, interview by author, Notes taken,
Williamsburg, Virginia, 26 October 1987.
for host/hostess training, acknowledged the problem with the interpretation and added:

say what we will, the public, the press, the Board, the staff, and the citizens of Williamsburg have for the past twelve years been restoration minded. Habit is hard to overcome. We are now entering more intensively into the problem of historical emphasis. 39

And from the time he was made head of the department of interpretation in 1944 until his resignation, Goodwin made a valiant effort to improve interpretation—even to the point of experimenting with recorded voices in the Capitol to recreate sounds of the House of Burgess in legislative session. But Rutherfoord's personality and lone wolf attitude did not serve him well in his relationship with the administration. As Kopper recounts:

Rutherfoord was a 'creative' and sensitive person, one among many bound to fall out with the aggressive Kenneth Chorley. It seems to have been a matter of clashing personalities, dissonant purposes, differing opinions and--on Chorley's part--perhaps too much devotion to duty. 40

Mr. Chorley, it seems, had room for only one major player, himself. Goodwin was not to be the one to take interpretation into a new era. "He was just a reckless, daring individualist, a very brilliant one. This constantly brought him into conflict with people who were more organization-minded." 41

39 Hosmer, 62.

40 Kopper, 190.

41 Hosmer, 64.
So while the relationship between John D. Jr. and his eldest son was one factor, and the controversial nature of the relationship between Rutherfoord and Chorley was another. Chorley understood the importance of expanding the educational programs, he simply did not have confidence in Rutherfoord to carry it out. Further, Chorley was reluctant to do anything that he thought contrary to the wishes of John D. Jr.

Tensions came to a head when Rutherfoord, who had drinking problems, took a company car to Richmond and wrecked it. For Chorley, that was the last straw. Rutherfoord was forced to resign.

Those circumstances joined together to create a search that ended in the most educationally significant addition to the staff since Colonial Williamsburg's beginning.
THE ALEXANDER YEARS

The educational thrust during the years 1946-66, was sparked by the vision and scholarship of one man who fit the criterion set by Rockefeller and Chorley, and the circumstances engendered by both. His name was Dr. Edward P. Alexander. With the hiring of Alexander, a new era in Colonial Williamsburg began. The historical story to be told would finally take precedence over the restoration effort. The museum field was ripe for a shot in the arm, and the man who could do it joined forces with the money that could fund it, and both enjoyed the resources of the other for twenty-six years.

In the time he spent at Colonial Williamsburg, Alexander wrote the first booklet on interpretation; formulated a school visits program; began a program to train museum people in administration, collections, finance, preservation, exhibition and interpretation—-the first of its kind in the country--and also began a series of programs and projects that dramatically changed the organizational and educational thrust of Colonial Williamsburg.

Dr. Edward P. Alexander joined Colonial Williamsburg on February 1, 1946 as Director of Education. He was the first administrator hired at Colonial Williamsburg with a background in museums, and the first department head that was not tied to the restoration effort. Moreover, he was the first administrator hired, other than architects, who was not a product of "on the job
training." Most administrators before Alexander had been retainers of the Rockefeller family, architectural consultants or one of the few locals who had managed to distinguish themselves on the job. Even Chorley, the chief administrative officer, had no prior museum experience. (To give them all their due, however, there were no colleges or universities in the United States that taught courses in museum administration or education.) But Alexander had managed to expose himself to several institutions that gave him the most comprehensive foundation that Colonial Williamsburg had been able to attract up to that time. Before coming to the Foundation he served as director of the Wisconsin Historical Association, at Madison, from 1941-46. He was a former director of the New York State Historical Association, at Ticonderoga, and he set up a new central head-quarters museum for the historical association at Cooperstown. Both his undergraduate and graduate degrees were in history and his doctoral dissertation concentrated on James Duane, a revolutionary conservative of eighteenth-century New York. His dissertation was published by the Columbia University Press.42

Thus when Dr. Alexander came on board, he brought political savvy, administrative experience, historical expertise and an intense professional interest in education and interpretation. Perhaps his greatest asset was an intangible quality that could not be obtained through a college course but through a God-given gift: Alexander was a patient man. He had the ability to face

42Vita of Edward P. Alexander, written by the Colonial Williamsburg Public Relations Department, Williamsburg, Va.
defeat and not allow that failure to defeat the idea. As Hosmer chronicles, "He had the ability to accept one of his ideas being turned down and wait till next year or the year after when a more appropriate time might come along for it, and bring it up again." During the twenty-five years of his tenure at the Foundation, Alexander accomplished many things. He developed Colonial Williamsburg's first research department; under his leadership the interpretation program grew by leaps and bounds; he was instrumental in developing the Antiques Forum, the Garden Symposium, the publications department and the audiovisual department. He was influential in the establishment of the Institute of Early American History and Culture with the College of William and Mary. He was founder of the Seminar for Historical Administration, the first program created to teach museum administrators and professionals courses in museum education and administration. And it was his leadership that significantly changed the way hosts/hostesses were trained and programs were implemented at the Foundation.

Alexander was to lead the educational charge that had been started by Rutherfoord and John D. III, and to a lesser degree, by Kenneth Chorley. Rutherfoord had clearly outlined the problems that Alexander would have to contend with, namely, a dramatic shift from an architectural to a historical focus. Chorley had, however, started the ball rolling by setting up the Colonial Williamsburg

---

43 Hosmer, 64.
Planning Committee under the chairmanship of A. Edwin Kendrew. Although Kendrew, who had become Vice President of Restoration during the War, was a skilled administrator, his major focus was architectural. But it was his committee that began initial conversations dealing with the problem of interpretation at Colonial Williamsburg. As a result of the committee's work, Harland Bartholomew and Associates were hired to help plan for the construction and interpretation of the new reception center. In a report prepared by the firm they mentioned the need for a proper introduction of the visitor that would enhance their understanding and appreciation of the restoration effort.44

Alexander was not to have Rutherfoord's help in his efforts to establish education as a emphasis at Colonial Williamsburg. On March 1, 1947, only a year after Alexander was hired, Rutherfoord Goodwin resigned. Alexander stated later that many people blamed him for what happened to Rutherfoord, but it was not his doing. He also acknowledged Rutherfoord's talent and said he would have liked to work with him. But it was not to be.45

Consulting Firms

Two major outside factors contributed to the shift in emphasis at Colonial Williamsburg from architecture to education

44Ibid., 65.
and interpretation. One was a report by Earl Newsome and Company, and the other was a similar report by Teague and Harper of Madison Avenue.

On November 24, 1948, Teague and Harper submitted a sixteen-page report to the Williamsburg Restoration, Incorporated, concerning their recommendations for an improved experience for the visiting public. Their statements echoed some that were expressed by Newsome and Company, but their opening argument is worth quoting:

Our enjoyment was clouded by only one reservation: we felt that an even more exciting experience was barely eluding us; we felt that we were in the midst of a magnificent stage setting but that the drama had not yet begun. And there was a faint feeling of annoyance that our attention was being continually redirected to the set when our thoughts were on the play for which it was intended... Thus Williamsburg is performing a valuable service in guiding American taste, and even in helping to develop a distinctive American style of domestic art, derived as it should be from our own historical background. These both are legitimate interests, and they can and should be served, no matter what the city offers over and above them. But we believe that the reconstruction was not intended primarily to satisfy the archeological student or the home builder, and we believe that even these classes of visitors will be grateful if they also derive from the city a deeper emotional experience...we recommend a shift of emphasis in its (the Restorations') presentation: we recommend that emphasis be shifted from the restoration of Williamsburg to the values which made Williamsburg so greatly worth restoring.46

They went on to recommend several changes that were discussed or actually implemented. They believed that the setting must be preserved at all cost so that the historical picture could evoke the eighteenth century as naturally as possible. Many of their recommendations were made to create or sustain those conditions. They recommended that:

1. Automobile traffic should be excluded from Palace Green and from Duke of Gloucester Street between the hours of nine to five.
2. A peripheral bus line encircle the restored area. That it should include stops at all major parking lots, inns, lodges, picnic grounds, stores and convey passengers in close proximity of the principal points of interest.
3. There be an increased number of horse drawn vehicles within the restored area.
4. That an adequate and "impressive Reception Hall" be constructed adjacent to the restricted area. And that it contain a "large scale model of Colonial Williamsburg." \(^47\)
5. That in the theatre of the Reception Hall, there be a motion picture showing the history of Colonial Williamsburg "in color, extremely well done, professionally directed and emotionally moving." They also felt the emphasis should be on the revolutionary past of Williamsburg." \(^48\)
6. Guides in the various buildings needed to be retrained to focus on history instead of reconstruction.
7. Archeological exhibits in the Court House should be moved to a less focal point and the court house be restored to its original function.
8. There should be pamphlets giving a brief history of Williamsburg, its restoration, and easier to read that Rutherfoord

\(^{47}\)Ibid., 10.
\(^{48}\)Ibid., 11

81

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
Goodwin's book. 49

9. To present Market Square, at certain times of the year, as a place where goods were sold, peddlers hawked their wares and jugglers, dancers, and musicians performed in keeping with the period.

It should be noted that Teague and Harper also had a romanticized view of Williamsburg and its "high purpose." Thus, the report was careful to mention the responsibility they felt Colonial Williamsburg had to set the moral tone of the nation:

In this superb setting it should be easy to relive the establishment of the principles of liberty and equality on which our national greatness is founded. It should be possible to see here how the generations who shaped our destinies lived and worked, from cobbler to royal governors; we can see the circumstances in which the ideas of political freedom and equality germinated, during the Colonial period while English noblemen lived in state in the Palace but a generation of native Americans arose who would not accept a subordinate status for themselves; we can see a crowd of great men coming together here -- Washington, Jefferson, Patrick Henry, Mason, Wythe, Bland, the Randolphs -- to clarify their thinking in debate and work out procedures that still affect us; we can see these men not only as heroic figures dealing with great issues but as full-blooded human beings dining, drinking and gambling in the taverns while arguments went on far into the night; we can see the greater crowd of less celebrated, even anonymous men and women who formed the chorus of the drama..."50

Thus, as an institution, Colonial Williamsburg was increasingly being seen as representative to the world of all that made America

49Ibid., 14.
50Ibid., 5.
Another consulting firm that figured significantly in the reorganization of the restoration was Earl Newsome and Company. They looked at the Foundation from two vantage points. One related to the experience Colonial Williamsburg had on those who came to see the restoration for themselves, and the other had to do with the influence the museum had on people who could not and never would visit.

Their initial recommendation was to isolate the restored area, just as Teague and Harper had suggested. They even advocated that the restored area be "fenced off." They also wanted an orientation area where visitors could be "conditioned" to what they would be seeing. There were specific recommendations for the guides:

> It is our feeling that modern people in ancient costume—or simulated ancient costume—do not always create illusion, but may even tend to destroy it. It is our feeling that, if there are people in costume, they should be merely observed and should not act as guides or intrude 20th century personalities. The function of guides is to contribute to the understanding of Colonial Williamsburg and the illusion which is necessary for this purpose. The guide should be skillful, carefully trained and coached, and should be standing with his 20th-century fellow citizens looking across the centuries with them at this ancient and hallowed ground.  

They recommended activities in the restored area, such as fairs, concerts, balls, and re-enactments. Finally, they thought that Williamsburg could treat special groups and organizations to

---

special occasions. Included in this list was an antiques and decoration symposium, an annual forum for outstanding lawyers, a decorators conference, and an annual festival of American folk music using instruments of the period.

As for those who would never come to Colonial Williamsburg, they could share in the excitement by participating in competitive events that would culminate in Williamsburg:

1. An Annual Colonial Williamsburg Oration by a man or woman of world-renown on the subject of man's fight for freedom and representative government.
2. An Annual Colonial Williamsburg Awards, "to be given to several men and women who have contributed notably to the preservation or extension of human freedom..."
3. Participation of Great Living Men in Significant Memorial Events. This would be an annual public reading, on certain dates, by men widely known and respected for their belief in freedom and self-government.
4. Unknown Soldiers gravesite in Williamsburg.
5. The establishment of a school in government in collaboration with William and Mary.
7. A Program of traveling exhibits using models, photographs, slides and displays suitable for schools, museums, etc.
8. Using Colonial Williamsburg as a background for radio programs such as You Are There.52

Most of these recommendations would not see the light of day, but it is instructive that many of the suggestions to enhance the visitors experience at the Foundation were similar to other

52Ibid., 33.
consulting firm's agendas.

On February 11, 1946, Kenneth Chorley sent a memorandum to John D. Rockefeller, 3rd concerning a statement of purpose for Colonial Williamsburg. Mr. Rockefeller was very impressed by the statement. He stated, "I doubt if it (the purpose statement) could be improved upon." The statement read:

The purpose of Colonial Williamsburg is to re-create as accurately as possible the environment of the men and women of eighteenth century Williamsburg and to impart information about their lives and times that present and future generations may have a more vivid appreciation of the contribution of these early Americans to the ideals and culture of our country."54

The statement was adopted by the Foundation on May 1, 1947.55

So, with the help of the report by Earl Newsome and Company, the report by Teague and Harper, and the forty-page report by John Marshall of the General Education Board on Colonial Williamsburg's worth to the museum world, Edward Alexander began with a mission that was clearly outlined:

To re-create accurately the environment of the men and women of eighteenth-century Williamsburg

And second:

To bring about such an understanding of the lives and times of the men and women of eighteenth-century Williamsburg that present and future generations may more vividly appreciate the contribution of these early Americans to the ideals and culture of our country.

53Kenneth Chorley to Rockefeller, III, February 11, 1946, RAC.
54Ibid
55Board of Trustees Minutes, (1956), 2.
Americans to the ideals and culture of our country. 56

Add to this his obvious skills as a historian, educator, and administrator, and it becomes clear that he represented a coup for Chorley that would pay off in dividends long after Chorley passed away.

Edward Alexander began to champion the museums' mission in a way that no one had done (or no one had the skills to do) before. He came to the Foundation as Director of Education and within three years he was promoted to vice president of the newly formed Division of Interpretation. 57 Alexander made many contributions to the Foundation, but the ones that were most significant to the educational programs were: school programs, public programs, programs geared to scholars and historians, and the work he did to improve the training and interpretive skills of all costumed personnel.


57 Butler, 1.
STUDENT PROGRAMS

School visits program

During the months of November and December 1946, a program of student tours was instituted that concentrated mainly on elementary schools in Virginia. The strategy was to begin a program in Virginia and then use it to launch a general school program. The pilot program that began in 1946 provided for dinner, lodging, and breakfast for the phenomenal price of $2.75. Picnic facilities were provided for the school groups, and later, when the Williamsburg Motor House Cafeteria was opened, meals were provided for students there. There were four tours offered that were led by Colonial Williamsburg escorts: The Everyday Life Tour (grades four 4-7); Self Government Tour (grades 8-12); American Heritage Tour (senior classes, pre-graduation groups); and Specialized Tour (for classes who would be at Williamsburg for a longer of time).\(^5^8\) During the first decade of the program, white students were provided with a space south of Tazewell Hall and "colored" children were lodged at what is now Bruton Heights Elementary School.\(^5^9\) More than 2,622 students visited Colonial Williamsburg during that two month

\(^{58}\) Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, School Visits to Colonial Williamsburg, (Williamsburg, 1956), 7-9.

period. By the end of 1947 that number had grown to 16,801. The special rate was also offered to other school aged groups such as the boy's club, boy scouts, and girl scouts. Each school teacher was provided with a folder containing maps and other publications by Colonial Williamsburg, free of charge.

Before the initial program began, Alexander held discussions with officials of the Virginia Department of Public Instruction; articles were written for white and colored teachers' magazines; and Alexander spoke and provided exhibition booths at conferences throughout the state and during the state and regional teachers' convention held in Norfolk during the summer of 1946. In addition, he wrote to each school superintendent, supervisor, and principal in Virginia explaining the plan.

There were problems: (1) accommodating the large number of students coming, (2) the difficulties of race—other than Bruton Heights, the only other facilities offered blacks who stayed overnight were Hampton Institute and Virginia State College. Both were a long distance from Colonial Williamsburg. (3) Behavior problems of the children visiting. (4) Pre-visit materials for the teachers—Alexander wanted to provide teachers with slides, colored postcards, folders for each student and a teachers guide, but initially could not. (5) The potential conflict between the needs of the student visitors and the general public.61

60Ibid., 2.
61Ibid., 4.
But despite these disadvantages, the numbers were substantial and the program an obvious success. The number of school children who visited the Foundation in 1940 was 4,187. In 1946-47, the number had increased to 16,801. Even with the disadvantages mentioned, no one could scoff at an income of $46,202.75.62

As to the importance of school groups—or young people—as an audience, Alexander along with an interpretive staff that included Shirley Payne Low, Elizabeth Callis and Tom Schlesinger, believed that their attendance was necessary and that special provisions had to be made to accommodate them if they were to learn from their visits to the colonial capital:

A European outdoor museum director once said that 'children...lack the background knowledge possessed by adults but nevertheless prove such excellent spontaneous observers that nine-to-twelve-year-old children may be considered the brightest and most inspiring of all museum guests.' The Williamsburg experience has always appealed to young minds, and for many years Colonial Williamsburg has offered a program of school visits especially adapted to classroom and curriculum. Special interpretive methods have been designed for school use and for different age levels. The most successful school visits are those closely integrated with the regular school curriculum, carefully planned in advance, including the study of Williamsburg publications and audiovisual materials, and followed up by worthwhile school and community activities. School groups are especially important because of the impressionable nature of historical perspective and inspiration at their ages. Properly prepared classes offer an ideal learning situation; their background of classroom study can be joined effectively with on-the-spot

62Ibid., 2.
interpretation.63

Colonial Williamsburg's school group program is still an integral part of the Foundation's educational commitment. And much of what is done currently is little more than additions to the formula that began under Alexander.

The Democracy Workshop

On January 20, 1949, President Harry Truman gave his inaugural address. In it, he stressed the growing responsibility to help other countries that America was being given:

The peoples of the earth face the future with grave uncertainty, composed almost equally of great hopes and great fears. In this time of doubt, they look to the United States as never before for good will, strength and wise leadership. It is fitting, therefore, that we take this occasion to proclaim to the world the essential principles of the faith by which we live...64

Two years later, in February of 1951, Colonial Williamsburg met the challenge by hosting the first Voice of Democracy Workshop. It was the 25th-anniversary of the Foundation.

The workshop began when Colonial Williamsburg hosted an awards presentation honoring winners of a national writing contest sponsored by the Voice of Democracy, a branch of the United States

---


64 Harry S. Truman, Quotation taken from Inaugural Address, 20 January 1949, taken from announcement of the 1952 Awards Luncheon held in Colonial Williamsburg, CWFA.
Information Agency, established in 1942. The Voice of America was established to present radio programs in English and foreign languages to promote a favorable impression of life in the United States in other countries. Programs included news reports from on-the-scene correspondents, debates of topical issues, feature programs, and music. It was broadcast in 38 languages. The Voice of Democracy contest was designed to solicit young men and women from America to write and voice their opinions on five-minute broadcasts on the subject, "I Speak for Democracy". Each state had a writing competition and the winners were selected from more than one million participating students throughout the then 48 states, Alaska, Puerto Rico and the District of Columbia. A further goal of this program was to encourage young Americans people to think about their own democratic form of government, and to express its philosophy through the written and spoken word.

In 1951, the awards ceremony honoring the winners was held in Colonial Williamsburg. A series of programs were held for the students. Dignitaries such as Dr. Earl J. McGrath, United States Commissioner of Education, were invited to give keynote addresses.

---


67 Before arriving at Colonial Williamsburg the winners traveled to the White House to meet the president; had audiences with Senators and Representatives and heard their winning scripts read into the Congressional Record.
that were presented during the awards luncheon.  

The program was so successful that the Foundation initiated it as an annual event. Students arrived Friday evening and spent the weekend. Activities were planned throughout. The workshop was held on the first of February of each year and included films, parties held at local churches, tours, round table discussions, lectures, special programs, dramatic presentations, basketball games and attendance at local churches. By 1953 the annual program title had been shortened from "The Voice of Democracy Workshop" to "Democracy Workshop" and became the annual follow-up to the Voice of Democracy contest sponsored by the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce, The National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters and the Radio-Television Manufacturers Association. Each year the expenses of the finalists were paid by Colonial Williamsburg. Special prizes for award winners included college scholarships, trophies, gift certificates, savings bonds, record players and radios.

The International Assembly

On April 26, 1956 the Board of Trustees of Colonial Williamsburg Incorporated met to discuss events for the upcoming year. Part of that discussion proposed the establishment of a yearly event, The Williamsburg International Assembly. The proposal

---

68 Mentioned in The 1952 Awards Luncheon, CWFA.

69 Chalmer Denny, "Voice of Democracy Bulletin No. 5", DS, 31 October 1952, CWFA.
was approved and $10,000 was appropriated from the fund for Educational and Interpretive Purposes to finance the event in 1957. The proposal was submitted to Colonial Williamsburg by the Institute of International Education, The Committee on Friendly Relations among Foreign Students, The National Association for Foreign Student Advisors, and the United States Student Association.  

All of these institutions were interested because it was felt that the foreign students who came to this country for study represented a core of potential leaders for their respective countries. A program like the assembly could enhance their understanding of America and its past. This would serve to improve relations between the U.S. and her foreign neighbors. Also included in the invitation, were American students preparing to study abroad under Fullbright, Rhodes, Chamber of Commerce, Eisenhower, Marshall and other privately funded scholarships. Students met in Williamsburg for four days and discussed topics of international interest that were changed annually. Discussions were led by top leaders with expertise in American and foreign political, educational and journalistic life. Recommendations for the initial assembly included such notable names as Chester Bowles, Erwin D. Canham, Virginius Dabney, Marion B. Folsom, J. William

---

70 Later the College of William and Mary became a sponsor.
71 Trustee meeting, (1956), RAC.
72 Kenneth Chorley to Janet Warfield, June 27, 1956, RAC.
Fulbright, Arthur Goodfriend, George Kenneth Holland, Ralph McGill, Edward R. Murrow, Dean Rusk and Margaret Chase Smith.  

The Conference was held in Williamsburg during the month of June shortly before foreign students returned to their countries and after winners of the American Scholarships abroad were announced.

Usually held in June of each year, the program discussed political, socio-economic, and cultural implications of American life. The session lasted three days and usually involved ten speakers.

In 1958 the faculty included historian John Hope Franklin, Arthur Schlesinger; publisher Alfred Knopf and Senator Thruston B. Morton. It is also interesting to note that during the 1949 meeting of the Southern Historical Society hosted by Colonial Williamsburg, John Hope Franklin was refused a room in the Williamsburg Lodge where the conference was being held because he was black. Almost a decade later he is invited to attend one of the most prestigious programs sponsored by the Foundation.

---

73 Ibid
75 "Interpretation Divisional Minutes of Meeting Held in Williamsburg, Virginia Tuesday, May 27, 1958, CWFA."
The Student Burgess Program

The first Student Burgess program was inaugurated on February 9, 1958. Approximately 40 high school students from 48 states and 34 representatives from foreign countries met in Williamsburg.76 Alexander said this program came out of his desire to have a series that focused on history and was geared toward high school students. Interestingly, it represented a logical progression from the Democracy workshop and the International Assembly. Students were sent advanced reading materials on a central theme that focused on some aspect of history as opposed to current affairs. Like the International Assembly, the speakers represented a cross-section of experts and scholars from around the world.77 Cooperating agencies included the National Education Association, the U.S. Office of Education, and the American Field Service.

76 Interpretation Divisional Minutes of Meeting Held in Williamsburg, Virginia Tuesday, January 14, 1958, TL, CWFA.

77 Edward P. Alexander, interview by author, Tape recording, Dover Delaware, 12 September 1987.
THE FORUM SERIES

The Garden Symposium

The Garden Symposium was established in 1947. Its goal was to attract amateur gardeners and students of landscape design and horticulture. Held over a five-day period during March and April, the nearly one hundred gardens and greens at Colonial Williamsburg were the backdrops used. Lectures were offered by distinguished landscape and horticultural authorities, tours of Williamsburg and nearby plantations or other points of interest were also offered. Discussions, teas, evening entertainment, floral demonstrations, workshops and candlelight concerts rounded out this week-long session.78

Antiques Forum

The Antiques Forum was brought in to supplement the Garden Symposium in 1948.79 Sponsored for the first decade by The Magazine Antiques, this forum had as its audience museum curators, antiques dealers, and others interested in the decorative arts. It was held annually for two five-day sessions during the last week of January and the first week of February. The furnishings of Colonial Williamsburg have always been a major attraction. Usually a

78 Ibid
79 Ibid

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
important figure from abroad was invited to address the group of registrants. This program, as well as others, was enacted to provide additional revenue during months of low visitation.80

A Prelude to Independence

Starting in 1951, the period from May 15 through July 4 was observed annually as a Prelude to Independence.


These significant events prompted the creation of a Prelude to Independence. The President of the United States or some other national or international illuminary usually spoke in Williamsburg during this event.81

The Seminar for Historic Administration

In June of 1959, a seminar seeking to recruit young graduate students for historical agency and museum work, and to offer in-service training to a limited number of persons already in the

---

80 Alexander, The Interpretation Program of Colonial Williamsburg, 31.
81 Ibid
museum field, was initiated. Called the Seminar for Historical Administrators, this program, which lasted six weeks during the summer months, awarded twenty fellowships. Sponsors brought in authorities to lead discussions with the students; took them on visits to historical agencies and museums of the region, and required a carefully prepared study of various problems in the museum field from each student. This program was co-sponsored by the National Trust for Historic Preservation, the American Association for State and Local History, the American Association of Museums, and Colonial Williamsburg. Financial assistance was given by the National Endowment for the Humanities. The College of William and Mary allowed the students to use its dormitories and cafeteria. 82

The Institute of Early American History and Culture

In December of 1943, the Institute of Early American History and Culture was organized under the joint sponsorship of the College of William and Mary and Colonial Williamsburg. It was to be used as a center for the research and publication of topics relating to the field of American history through the Jeffersonian period. 83 It was also to serve as a general clearing house for scholarly historical work in the colonial period in America. The

82Ibid., 32.

major publication of the Institute, the William and Mary Quarterly, furnished students of the colonial field with an excellent resource for their studies as well as a journal for publishing original research. Institute staff members and Fellows also taught colonial history at the College of William and Mary and, on occasion, assisted with other historical courses and conferences. 84

84 Alexander, The Interpretation Program of Colonial Williamsburg, 36.
SPECIAL EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS

Education and the Media

Since its inception, Colonial Williamsburg has published an abundance of pamphlets, brochures, magazines and books to supplement and aid in explaining the various programs offered and to teach history. Publications are designed for the general public, popular and scholarly history fields, and for young readers. It is interesting to note that the first effort to discuss slavery in the colonial era was done through a monograph written by Thad Tate called *The Negro in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg*. Alexander understood the difficulty of discussing slavery and thought that the only viable beginning was through publications. In a memorandum to Carlisle Humelsine in the mid-sixties, he proposed an outline for a Juvenile Series to deal with a black girl who attended the Negro school conducted in Williamsburg during the 1760's. His justification for the series of books was clear:

> I am especially anxious to do this book because I think it is clear we are not emphasizing Negro life enough in our interpretation and I am rather well convinced that we will need to do this with books and films rather than buildings and furnishings.⁸⁵

In addition, several authors, among them Robert McColley, Edgar Toppin, John Hope Franklin and Benjamin Quarles, were

approached about writing publications relating to the Colonial black experience. In 1958, books about Colonial Williamsburg became so popular that Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Incorporated, became the national distributor of the Foundation's trade publications. Finally, the Foundation began a program to stock, in addition to Williamsburg publications, over 600 titles in the fields of Architecture and Gardens, biography, decorative arts and crafts, fiction, history, and For Younger Readers. By the late 60's Colonial Williamsburg had 69 titles of its own to offer the visiting public.86

Special Programs
When the Conference Center was completed in 1963 as part of the Williamsburg Lodge complex, the way was made clear to begin hosting educational and professional groups desiring to take advantage of the facility. Study conferences of the Brookings Institution, the United States Department of Agriculture, and many other organizations combined their regular programs with the programs and entertainment offered at Colonial Williamsburg. Special tours, lectures, musical entertainment, plays and dining at eighteenth-century taverns, proved to be so popular that another facility was opened, the Cascades, in 1968.87

In taking the educational story to a wider audience, an

86 Alexander, The Interpretation Program of Colonial Williamsburg, 40.
87 Ibid., 33.
audiovisual department was formed in June of 1951. The films, filmstrips, recordings and other materials produced by this department were meant to spread Colonial Williamsburg's educational message throughout the country. Audiences included those who attended evening programs; elementary and secondary schools, colleges and universities; libraries, museums and other adult groups—as well as television and radio audiences. By the late sixties there were a total of 17 films, 9 filmstrips, and 4 records that had been produced by the audiovisual department. 88

Evening lectures were informal talks that were usually accompanied by color slides and offered after 5 p.m. Topics relating to Williamsburg, colonial personalities, buildings, gardens, archaeology, costumes, crafts, Jamestown and Yorktown, and many other subjects were discussed.

Special entertainment activities that took place during various times of the day, though mostly at night, such as Lanthorn Tours of the crafts shops, organ concerts at Bruton Parish Church, rollicking eighteenth-century plays, candlelit concerts in the Palace ballroom, and colonial songs and music in the taverns, were developed during this period. 89

88 Ibid., 37, 46.
89 Ibid., 26.
The Crafts Program

Craft programs were a part of the Colonial Williamsburg experience very early in its development, but it was Alexander who organized them into a dynamic, cohesive group with the hiring of Minor Wine Thomas as its head. Before Thomas, there was no real head of craft programs. Although crafts began to be demonstrated in 1937, the programs were disparate and not organized under one department until Thomas was named Director of Craft Shops in 1948. Under Alexander's tenure 20 crafts, 9 shops and 4 new interpretive programs began.90

Crafts became so popular that Thomas was forced to hire students from William and Mary to help with daily interpretation.91 Not only did the demonstration of the craft become popular, many visitors purchased the items produced in the shops. Alexander's idea of a working, living crafts program to replace the demonstrations of the first three master craftsmen, who did little interpretation, was pivotal in the program that evolved.92

90"Chronological Development of the Crafts Shops", TD, 7 June 1974, CWFA.

91Edward P. Alexander, interview by author, Tape recording, Dover, Delaware, 12 September 1987.

Daytime Activities

Walking tours of the town, specialized tours like the Tricorn Hat and Young Patriots tour, as well as tours of exhibition buildings have long been a major offering to visitors. Most of these programs were creations of interpreters like Shirley Low, Mary Daniels and Tom Schlesinger. Many tours like the Art Lover's Tour, the Easy Does It Tour, the Gourmet's Tour and the Herb Garden tour were failed attempts at providing tours for people who showed a special interest. Similar tours are still a part of the educational program at Colonial Williamsburg. In addition, visits to craft shops and outdoor crafts demonstrations have complimented the tours offered. Carriage rides, various life-on-the-scene activities like oxen pulling wagons, sheep grazing in the fields, military drills, bowling on the Courthouse green and music by the fife and drum corps are a normal part of the daily interpretation. During special times of the year "Public times", an eighteenth-century occasion of heightened social activity when the colonial courts met was held, was featured. There were also Christmas programs such as A Grand Illumination (a ceremonial lighting of all the building and shops in town) accompanied by fireworks, music and dancing. All these programs were initiated under Alexander's tenure.

93 Shirly P. Low, Proposals given to the author, TD, (personal collection of Ms. Low), Williamsburg, August, 1987.

94 Ibid., 25.
Most of them represented a departure from the normal fare presented by Colonial Williamsburg prior to Alexander's arrival. Education became important under his leadership—and not just for adult learners. Alexander understood that if the Foundation was to be truly dedicated to the education of Americans about past, he would have to create programs that were respected by the educational community. At the same time he understood the importance in having a daily program of interpretation that was qualitatively beyond reproach. That was a legacy that he had inherited from Chorley and the Rockefellers. Plans were made to improve the presentation of the host/hostess core by improving the way they were trained. Alexander introduced a concept that had not existed before at Colonial Williamsburg: interpretive objectives. As Shirley Low, supervisor of hostess training, recounted, "Before Ed arrived we had no idea of what an objective was. When he came we began to organize ourselves differently." 

Education and Consulting Firms

Part of the new educational thrust of programming had to do with a series of reports that were done for Colonial Williamsburg by outside organizations and firms analyzing its mission and whether it was being fulfilled. Four of the most important were a report by Earl Newsom and Company done in 1948; a confidential report to John D. Rockefeller III; a report by Cresap, McCormick

---

95Shirley P. Low, interview by author, Tape recording, Williamsburg, Virginia, 19 August 1987.
and Paget done in 1952, and a visitor survey done by Child and Waters in 1960. All four assessed the Foundation in general and offered suggestions for improvement to the administration at Colonial Williamsburg or to the Rockefellers.

Earl Newsom and Company were asked to make recommendations as to how Colonial Williamsburg could develop and maintain a "present day purpose" that would make it a dynamic force for good in the life of contemporary America. First the report was to assess the problem from the "affect Colonial Williamsburg has on those who come there to see for themselves" and second, "from its ability to exert an influence on the very much larger number of people who cannot, and never will, visit Colonial Williamsburg." From the viewpoint of its affect on those who come to the museum, Newsom and Company believed that Colonial Williamsburg was essentially trying to create an illusion. It was trying to transport the visitor to a time and place which was unfamiliar to him.

To achieve this, they recommended that the Foundation "isolate and mark off the restored area so that the visitor will know when he has crossed over from the present into the past." They thought that automobiles should be eliminated from the restored area. They also recommended a "conditioning center" that could be used to provide the visitor with an emotional and intellectual understanding of what they would see in the restored area.

---


97 Ibid., 3.
company recommended a film be made that would aid in conditioning the visitors, "one so well-planned and executed that it could also be used for outside showings." They felt the handbook that was being offered to guests was cumbersome and that it lacked a guide map. There was no forward explaining how and why Williamsburg was reconstructed and no photographs or illustrations. In other words, there was not a "user friendly" text that made suggestions to visitors on where they should go and what they needed to do in order to get there.

They also suggested that guides in costume should be role players of the era they were representing. They felt that a guide should be skillful, carefully trained and coached, but that he should be "standing with his 20th-century fellow citizens looking across the centuries with them at this ancient and hallowed ground." They recommended activities such as festivals, fairs, concerts, balls, re-enactments of key incidents, and Cotillions at the Governor's Palace. Outside the restored area they recommended entertainment for young people, and events in the local outdoor theatre, the Common Glory. Special occasions such as "antiques and decoration symposium to be held in February" and forums that would attract teachers, students of history, scholars, etc., were needed. Finally, they suggested an annual festival of American music, folk music, old music, old instruments, etc. The was to attract large numbers of music lovers, students and teachers.

98 Ibid., 24.
In order to exert a greater influence on the people who would never visit Colonial Williamsburg, Earl Newsom and Company suggested that a statement of purpose be created that declared "publicly and eloquently the significance and purpose of Colonial Williamsburg. That an Annual Colonial Williamsburg Oration be presented each year by a man or woman of world renown. This oration would acknowledge the historical significance of man's fight for freedom and representative government." That an annual Colonial Williamsburg Award be established that would honor men and women who have contributed "notably to the preservation or extension of human freedom and good government by writing, by speaking or by noteworthy actions." Finally, suggestions were made for:

1. a school in government in collaboration with William and Mary College.
2. CBS Assembly on "American Foreign Policy" during February.
3. The annual meeting of U.S. Governors at Williamsburg.
4. A program of traveling exhibits.
6. "You Are There" radio programs.
7. Monographs on various aspects of Colonial Williamsburg by "name" authors in the field of history.
8. A program involving "displaced Persons--20th century refugees from tyranny and persecution."
9. A top grade children's book on Williamsburg by Walt Disney or some other influential cartoonists of the time.
10. A post-election visit by the newly elected governor of Virginia.

---

99 Ibid., 31.
100 Ibid., 34.
The addition of these programs, they felt, would make it "come to life" it would facilitate the illusion people who came to Williamsburg sought. Ironically, none of the programs had anything to do with the restored area specifically.

The most telling reaction to the next report is a memorandum to Mr. John D. Rockefeller, 3rd from Kenneth Chorley, the president of Colonial Williamsburg from 1935 to 1958:

I think you will be interested to know that it was as a result of Arthur Goodfriend's visit to Williamsburg and his letter to you that I had a meeting with the Administrative Officers a short time ago. We have set a deadline of January 1, 1955 after which we will no longer talk in our presentation program about 'things' but we will talk about 'people'.

The confidential report submitted to John D. Rockefeller III was a result of a visit by Arthur Goodfriend, his wife and daughter, aged nine. They visited the Foundation in the month of February, 1954, and stayed for "a few weeks". The importance of this report is in the method used to gather data. Goodfriend took great pains to gather the responses of visitors:

Our habit these past few weeks has been to tag along on the fringes of groups going through the Restoration, noting reactions, questions and comments. Many of these groups were high school and elementary school children, accompanied by their teachers, who kept arriving by the busload throughout our stay. Other groups consisted of adults, usually visitors for a few hours or a day. Evenings, in the Lodge, we talked with guests whose visits were of longer duration. Jill, of course, kept picking up friends of her age who gladly submitted to our questions. And finally, one afternoon, through the offices of our aunt,
a sorority house-mother on the William and Mary campus, we had a chance to discuss Williamsburg with college seniors who have lived and studied adjacent to the Restoration for several years.102

The report, therefore, was Goodfriend's effort to look at Williamsburg through the eyes of tourists, teachers, children, parents, and college students, to report what they said, and to make recommendations based on that information. Much more was gathered from negative remarks than from positive ones because—by his own admission—visitors with negative responses "have more to say, and say it in some detail."103 Of the adult visitors, this was a sample of the comments Goodfriend overheard:

"Isn't that lovely!"
"It must cost millions to do anything so wonderful!"
"Wouldn't you just love to own a house like that?"
"Here's an idea I'm going to copy when I get back home!"

Children's questions (up to age fourteen) were more basic:

"Why are the keyholes all so big?"
"Why did men wear wigs?"
"When is the man going to blow the (powder) horn?"
"Is the crown on the gate real gold?"

Conversations with teachers, parents and students revealed deeper insights:

A teacher: "The children seem concerned only with objects and trivial things. But you'd be surprised at what they're really learning

102 Arthur Goodfriend, written to John D. Rockefeller, III, TDS, 9 March 1954, RAC.
103 Ibid., 2.
while they're here. Later back in school, it all comes out...They learn—not by memorizing anything—but by seeing and doing."

A mother: "It isn't altogether a matter of what the children say and do here. The real thing is the incentive they get to read when they return home. At school, they draw pictures and put on plays dealing with these times."

A teacher: "The children are given too many facts not directly related to the subject. I brought them here thinking they'd learn something about Washington and Jefferson. Instead, they come away all confused about British kings, queens and governors."

A mother: "Somehow I felt a lack of warmth in Williamsburg. I brought Martha here because I thought she'd come away with a deep sense of being an American, and love for the people who made America what it is. Instead, it's ice cold. All about things and not people."

A child: "They should tell us less things and let us ask more questions."

Question: "Didn't the hostess ask you if you had any questions?"

Answer: "Yes, but it was mostly too hard for me to understand. How can you ask questions about what you don't understand in the first place?"

A mother "The place is so rich and clean and packed with museum pieces. Instead of making the visitor feel like a participant, he somehow is made to feel like an intruder on some rich man's estate. Instead of being made
to feel this is mine, it seems
to belong to somebody else."104

There were also reactions to specific aspects of Williamsburg:

**Buildings and Gardens:** "Some people feel a lack of buildings and neighborhoods less opulent than those shown. They refuse to believe that the Brush-Everard house, for instance, is a middle-class, artisan's abode. They want to see how really poor people lived, and slaves, and indentured servants. The absence of any evidence of lower-class life gives some visitors a feeling that either Williamsburg is ashamed of this aspect of colonial life, and anxious to conceal it--or simply negligent in giving the whole picture."

**Hosts and Hostesses:** Most visitors were highly complimentary about the quality, efficiency, courtesy, cleanliness, dignity and intelligence of the guides. One visitor commented, "I've visited museums, ruins and exhibitions from the Angkor Wat to the Hyde Park archives, without ever encountering a guide service comparable to Williamsburg's."105 Negative comments included:

"The guides dwell on Williamsburg's royal English aspects. They give you an idea they wish it still belonged to the King.

"Once in a while you run into a hostess who talks too fast, or with a southern accent so thick, you can't understand it. Some of them act like FFVs (First Families of Virginia) and look down their nose at you, as if you were profaning a southern sanctuary with your Yankee presence."

104 Ibid., 6.
105 Ibid., 8.
"You can't drag a word about Jefferson or Washington out of them. All they want to tell you is if the place is reconstructed or restored, and how special all the furnishings are. They show you a bed, but they don't say who slept in it. They show you a table, but they won't say who ate on it. They manage to dehumanize the place completely. Too bad, because if once in a while you could capture a feeling for the great Americans who lived here, Williamsburg would do a lot of good." 106

As far as Williamsburg publications and their effectiveness, reactions were mixed:

"If people read it (the guidebook), they wouldn't ask so many silly questions."

"They look like nice books to have, but they cost too much money. This trip is costing me plenty without spending more on books"

If they had a few nice children's books, I'd buy a few to take home with me, so the boy and girl would find out more about Williamsburg and history. I looked over what they have. Nothing there kids would go for."

"There's nothing that really breathes the spirit of those wonderful days--nothing to help ordinary people to know the men who made America free. What did they say? What did they write?" 107

The discussion with William and Mary students, eight women and four men, showed them to be more sophisticated, cynical and penetrating in their responses:

"The Restoration is a false city. For example, when my folks came down on a visit, and saw it, they said life in the eighteenth century must have been fine. Well, I study the eighteenth century here in college. It wasn't really that way at all. When I tried to give them a true

106 Ibid., 9.
107 Ibid., 12.
picture, they wouldn't listen. What good were my words against the show the Restoration puts on?"

"They say their purpose is to teach American history. Instead, they falsify history. With fifty million dollars you can doll up Harper's Ferry too, and make John Brown a national hero. That's what they're doing here—ballooning Williamsburg way out of proportion, making a town that was important maybe one month a year into the biggest thing in American history."

"As an Education Major, I think the Williamsburg people make a mistake in not helping ordinary folks more. You can't count on people learning about Jefferson, the Bill of Rights, freedom and other ideas just from looking at buildings and gardens."

"I don't think we're being altogether fair about the Restoration. We're lucky. We can go to college. But millions can't. Williamsburg goes a long way toward giving people historical concepts they'd never get any other way. It's the biggest thing in mass education in the country. There's plenty wrong with their emphasis. But we ought to help and make it better instead of pulling it down."

After sharing these comments, Goodfriend then made his own assessment. "As spectacle, as beauty, as pleasure, it seems to be an unqualified success." But, as he continues, "Williamsburg's appeal seems directed more to the eye than to the spirit. Its emphasis is more on material things, and less on men and ideas. While one may indeed lead people to the other, the interpretive link seems weak. The beauty and charm of its buildings and gardens have been preserved, but somehow, in the process, its historical

---

108Ibid., 13.
109Ibid., 15.
significance seems, to me, diminished."110 With that said, his initial recommendation was that the chief of interpretation take a long, hard, and objective look at the way history is being interpreted by the Restoration. Second that the implementation of changes be done in phases. Third, that some decision be made about historic personages; which ones were important; which ones best express Williamsburg's character and contribution, and which ones every child and adult should know about. Fourth, that publications and films be created that reveal how these great men of colonial Virginia spoke, thought and reacted to the many situations confronting them as they tried to build a new nation.

Goodfriend felt that if these things were done, the effect on the listener would be clearer, more impressive and more memorable; "that one by one these men and their ideals (would) come alive."111 Goodfriend, throughout the document he presented, played down any insight he might have been able to provide from his experience and constantly reiterated the need for a member within Colonial Williamsburg's administration to look at the program as objectively as he had. If that could be done, Goodfriend felt sure that they would realize the problems and implement programs and ideas that acknowledged his and others recommendations for the continued growth of the Foundation. His summarizing statement made that as a final case:

"Williamsburg, to fulfill its interpretive

110Ibid., 17.
111Ibid., 21.
function, needs someone, in its inner counsels, who speaks for people—the people of the past, and the people of today. He must know the living as well as the dead. He must spend much of his time among the people, here and all over the land. He must ride home with children on their buses and listen. He must know their teachers and parents, gain their advice, evaluate all they think and say, and bring it back to the Corporation...If he listens well, and evaluates shrewdly, and reports honestly—Williamsburg will become part of the people—not a relic of a distant past, but warm, alive, strong and sentient. Williamsburg can give the people inspiration only to the degree that Williamsburg, and all it is and does, is inspired by the people, and responds to their felt and unfelt need.

Other than setting a deadline of January, 1, 1955 as the date that the presentation department would stop talking about "thinking" and start talking about "people", there is no evidence that part of the report by Goodfriend was acted on or that anyone saw the report other than Chorley.

The report assembled by Cresap, McCormick and Paget, in 1952, was basically a study of the organizational structure of Colonial Williamsburg. Initially, something should be said about the structure of Colonial Williamsburg before the report was done. There was a Division of Interpretation, with a vice president as its head. Two assistant directors reported to him, one responsible for outside audiences and the other with inside audiences. Six departments were located in the Division of Presentation, archives, publications, research, audiovisual, curation and exhibitions.

112Ibid., 23, 24.
Then, there was a Division of Public Relations. It was headed by an Executive Vice president. Reporting to him was one department, Public Information. Within that department was advertising and sales promotion, press, radio and television, and special events.

Chapter two of the report dealt exclusively with the structure of the educational areas, and those are the ones I will focus on—since they relate to the educational and interpretive programs. Special attention will be given to how these areas were affected by the survey.

Cresap, McCormick and Paget focused on the Division of Interpretation and the Division of Public Relations. In looking at both divisions, they found several organizational problems that were broken into four categories: (1) observations on relationships between Public Information and Interpretation, (2) observations on the planning of the educational program, (3) observations on the presentation of the educational program, (4) other matters of internal organization:

I. Observations on Relationships Between Public Information and Interpretation

Within this area, both groups had a similarity of objectives that allowed for duplication of efforts or uncoordinated actions. This, in many instances, had caused problems when both divisions competed for credit, as well as funds, for the same activities. One of the administrators even admitted that he could, "see not difference between his functions and those of the Head of Special
II. Observations on the Planning of the Educational Program

In this area there was a lack of agreement on objectives in the planning of educational projects within the division of Interpretation. When the firm asked the six directors of the various departments what their thoughts were of the objectives relating to the audience, programs and emphasis of the educational program, the evaluators were given six different answers. As they listed their concerns, the problems became obvious:

A. There was insufficient long-term program planning.
B. The Research Department did not have a well-developed means of planning its program in support of operational needs.
C. The educational and sales objectives were in conflict with one another.
D. There was no suitable material being used for school aged groups.
E. And even though 50% of the funding for the Institute for Early American History and Culture came from Colonial Williamsburg, the Institute was not supporting research and publications dealing with the colonial period.

III. Observations on the Presentation of the Educational Program

The firm found that within the Division of Interpretation there was too much emphasis on the historical, scholarly and

---

113 Cresap, McCormick and Paget, "Chapter II: Observations on Relationships Between Public Information and Interpretation", TD, II-5, October 1952, CWFA.
114 Ibid, II-4.
research approach. Added to that concern was another for the decision to put emphasis on "special events" for selected audiences, and on developing programs to reach people away from Williamsburg. "There does not appear to be a similar interest or effort devoted to the task of improving presentation at Williamsburg."115

IV. Other observations

Finally, units within the Division of Interpretation did not seem logically located: (1) The curator complained that he was so burdened with administrative details that he had no time to function as a curator. Cresap, McCormick and Paget also pointed out that the curator wasted his time in meetings that should have but did not pertain to his function as a curator: "A review of the minutes for that division discloses that, of 196 recorded items in the first five months of 1952, only two matters presented by the Curator could be classified as items of business, as distinct from announcements or suggestions."116 (2) In the archives department, there were six and one quarter positions that the firm thought could have been handled by four. In addition, one of the staff members was spending three quarters of his time at the Institute for Early American History and Culture. (3) The head of Archaeology wore two hats. He was also responsible for Craft shops, and spent more time with the shops than with the archaeology laboratory. And

115Ibid., II-8.
116Ibid., II-10.
(4) the bus, coach and travel offices were not located in the area that was responsible for them.

Recommendations centered around the firm's belief that there should be two areas of responsibility. One that dealt with planning educational programs and the other with executing them. Specifically it was recommended that they should:

1. Appoint a "Director of Interpretation" to be responsible for the planning, research and development functions involved in education.
2. Appoint two Project Planning Assistants as staff advisers to the Director of Interpretation.
3. Locate the Curator organizationally as a staff function with direct access to the President.
4. Combine the Archives and Research Departments under a "Director of Research and Archives," and develop a research program in support of operating requirements.
5. Transfer the promotion and sale of publications, slides and films to the Division of Development.
6. Transfer the Archaeological Laboratory to the Division of Restoration and Maintenance.
7. Establish closer collaboration between Colonial Williamsburg and the Institute of Early American History and Culture.
8. Appoint a "Director of Presentation" to assume full responsibility for visitor orientation, operation of the exhibitions, and visitor reaction analysis.
9. Appoint a qualified "Director of Public Service Training" to administer a positive program of Hostess and attendant training.
10. Appoint a "Director of Visitor Orientation" to administer the reception centers, visitor information, bus and coach services.
11. Appoint a "Director of Exhibitions" to be responsible for presenting the buildings, grounds, and other points of interest in such a manner as to communicate to the visitor the atmosphere and significance.
of eighteenth-century Williamsburg

12. Appoint Directors of Crafts, Costumes, Hostesses and Special Presentations. These four positions would be responsible to the Director of Exhibitions.\textsuperscript{117}

Following these recommendations was a series of illustrations of how the Directors of "Presentation and Interpretation would interrelate.

Most of the suggestions by Cresap, McCormick and Paget were used by the Foundation. By October 22, 1952, a few months after the survey was done, the reorganization was put in effect.\textsuperscript{118}

In April of 1960, the travel research firm of Child and Waters, Inc. conducted a survey under the direction of Raymond Franzen. Their objective was stated as:

\[
\text{(The) determination of individual attitudes, knowledges and avowed prejudices, or their absences, which may be attributable to a Williamsburg visit and (2) identification of the satisfactions, or dissatisfactions, which visitors can recall as experiences during their Williamsburg visit.}\textsuperscript{119}
\]

The sampling of responses were taken during the months of August, September and October, 1960. The areas of the country represented were New York, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia and the Baltimore-Washington area. A total of 735 interviews, from people who had visited the Foundation, were tabulated—280 males

\textsuperscript{117}Ibid., 20, 21.

\textsuperscript{118}Organizational chart for Colonial Williamsburg, TD, 22 October 1952, CWFA, 4.

(38%) and 455 females (62%). The large proportion of females was a result of their being home at the time the surveys were taken. Respondents ranged in ages between 25-54. The average income, between $2,000-$8,000 per year. Most, (86%) had only completed high school.120

In looking at the section on the "Educational Value of a Visit to Colonial Williamsburg," visitors were asked structured questions on the following topics:

1. Treatment of Criminals
2. Home Building and Furnishings
3. Preparation of Food
4. Leaders of Government
5. Self-Government
6. Working Conditions
7. Vocational Education
8. Opportunity for Business and Professional advancement
9. Colonial Education

Based on the above topics, the following questions were asked:

A. "If you were to compare the time in history represented by Colonial Williamsburg with today, in which of the following fields do you think we have made progress? Suppose we look at progress or change in one field at a time. As I mention each subject, would you mind telling me whether there has been progress or change for the better?"
B. What did you see in Williamsburg that had something to do with this subject?
C. What did you find out about this subject? What impression were you left with?
D. Are you sure, or aren't you sure that what you saw on this subject is historically accurate and authentic?

The bulk of the report was raw data that was tabulated.

120Ibid., 6.
There was relatively little analysis of the data.

The conclusions that stood out were the ones indicating that a high proportion of visitors to Williamsburg could in fact mention specific Williamsburg experiences and could show an "educational correlate." Secondly, there was significant evidence that groups surveyed that included children showed a higher retention of educational value than did groups without children. Based upon this information, Colonial Williamsburg began to take greater advantage of family groups and began instituting tours and programs focusing on them.

All of the documents show clearly that Colonial Williamsburg was going through a period of reevaluation during the late forties and early fifties. That self-evaluation was what brought Edward Alexander on board and what subsequently led to a new focus at Colonial Williamsburg. The concentration began to focus on what was said instead of what was seen; on people rather than objects. For the first time since its inception, the Foundation asked questions of visitors and itself. The result was a clearer picture of what was being taught and how it could be improved upon.

---

121 Ibid., 62.
INTERPRETATION

Interpretation began in Colonial Williamsburg as early as 1936 when the Department of Research and Education, the Departments of Hostesses and Escorts, and the Department of Crafts were created. 122 These units remain a major part of the Foundation's interpretive efforts today.

The first interpretive program, however, was in the form of a guide service that was sanctioned by a Williamsburg City ordinance. Guides were granted licenses after taking an examination. They paid an annual fee to the city of Williamsburg of $5.00. They could charge any group requesting their services $2.00 for the first hour and $1.00 for each additional hour. Guides could not, however, accompany parties they were escorting into private buildings that were owned by the restoration. Thus, it became necessary for the Foundation to begin its own guide service. Colonial Williamsburg felt that two things hindered these freelance guides: (1) the restrictions placed on them by the city, and (2) poor training.

"The examination is not properly handled, and we have received a number of complaints not only as to the character of the guides, but also to the charges which they make." 123

---

122 "Interpretation Chronology", TD, 12 January 1988, CWFA.

123 Kenneth Chorley to John D. Rockefeller, III, May 24, 1934, RAC, 4.
In 1946 the Division of Education was formed "to carry forward the task of interpreting Colonial Williamsburg to the American public". This division was put under the leadership of Edward Alexander. It represented a natural progression that began with John Marshall, a consultant from the General Education Board. Marshall was hired by Kenneth Chorley to write a report on the Educational possibilities of the restoration and present his findings October 18, 1939. His most significant concerns were similar to the ones expressed by Arthur Goodfriend. The interpretation needed to be more "people" centered. Marshall went further to state that he had definite problems with the presentations made by the hostesses. He felt their interpretations were too object-oriented. Visitors, he felt, wanted to know more about the people and the social system. This problem had been acknowledged by Rutherfoord Goodwin, the first head of the Host/Hostess program, but his frustration was in the historical information available.

It was to be a long wait before significant changes were to take place. Almost a decade later, in 1948, the same concerns were being expressed by yet another report--this one from Walter Dorwin Teague. Several recommendations were made about the Foundation in general, but specific to the interpretive process was this:

Guides in the various buildings should be

---

124 "Interpretation Chronology", CWFA, 1.

retrained to shift emphasis from reconstruction to history in the same manner. A brief mention that the building has been faithfully reconstructed or restored should suffice; then the patter should deal with its background. Let the visitors dream and indulge in informed fantasy to as great an extent as their imaginative capacities will allow. Those who are interested in the reconstruction process itself will seek and find information on this subject, and it should be readily available but not underscored.  

Finally in 1964, Alexander felt he had enough knowledge about interpreting history at Colonial Williamsburg, that he revised and distributed a paper on the "Interpretation Philosophy at Colonial Williamsburg" and distributed it throughout the Foundation. By 1965, Shirley P. Low, supervisor of Hostess Training since 1954, wrote a technical leaflet, The Human Approach, for the American Association for State and Local History. In it she expressed her views on what interpretation was. Then in 1971, Alexander's thoughts on interpretation were put into a booklet, distributed and printed by Colonial Williamsburg, titled The Interpretation Program of Colonial Williamsburg. This was the first text of its kind, produced by the Foundation and widely distributed, on interpretive methodology.

126 Ibid., 12.
128 Alexander, The Interpretation Program of Colonial Williamsburg, 1.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
For many years now, the emphasis of the Foundation had been on the restoration. In order to change that focus there would have to be a significant change in the focus of the museum. Chorley felt that the hiring of Alexander was the answer. The experiments that Alexander tried, that have been mentioned in detail, became more than experiments; they became the basis for a new type of interpretation.

Despite recommendations for improvement, as with the restoration process, the interpretive programs created at Colonial Williamsburg by Alexander and his colleagues were on the cutting edge in the field of museum education. No other history museum had done what Williamsburg had in terms of creating an educational thrust. Even the National Park Service (for which Colonial Williamsburg personnel wrote interpretive texts) had neither the resources nor the expertise to produce such programs. Perhaps the resources that were brought to bear on the entire project were part of the uniqueness of the process.  

Crafts

The crafts department began, as mentioned above, in 1937. Initially it was called Williamsburg Craftsmen, Incorporated. Three shops, the Deane Forge, the cabinet shop and the pewter shop opened that year. The three master craftsmen of those shops did little

129 Hosmer, 62.
interpretation. The programs were incorporated as part of the Curator's Department under James Cogar in 1939. Candlemaking and spinning and weaving were added that year. In 1940 the boot shop and barber and peruke maker opened. In 1948, Minor Wine Thomas, Jr. was appointed the first Director of Craft Shops under the Department of Interpretation headed by Alexander.

At first, the craft shops were run by craftsmen who knew little about interpretation but a great deal about their crafts. Colonial Williamsburg had no product line of their own to sell, so they hired craftsmen to come in, open up their own shops, and whatever they sold and made as a profit, was theirs to keep. Trouble began because many craftsmen were rude to visitors and some were unskilled. Some considered the visitors annoyances who stood in the way of their primary task of production (as well as hindrances to any extra money they might make, since talking to them would naturally slow down production).

In 1956, William Geiger replaced Minor Wine Thomas as Director of Craft Shops. A livestock program beginning in 1953, musicians in 1959, and a Fife and Drum corp in 1960 were also added. By 1966 there were 4 programs and 22 crafts managed by the Department

130 Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, President's Report, 7.
131 Ibid.
133 "Some Dates in the History of the Craft Shops Department", TD, CWFA, [1968]
Training

Not suprisingly, the first training took place the year that the decision was made to institute a guide service at the Foundation, May of 1934. It was decided that the training of guides would consist of "a course of reading not only the historic (background) but the social background of Colonial Virginia, and more especially Colonial Williamsburg, definite instruction on the history and interesting events which took place in Williamsburg, the history of all buildings, the history of the Restoration, etc. and so on." A handbook for guides was also proposed, but there is no evidence that one was actually created.

Although there must have been training between 1934 and 1954 when Alexander introduced the concept of objectives, there is little evidence to tell us the extent to which interpreters were trained during that time. Two pieces of information shed some light on the problems during that period, as well as the recommendations forwarded by the consulting firms already mentioned. One is an oral history by Shirley Payne Low, who was hired in 1953 and became supervisor of hostess training a year later, and the other is a memo written in 1951 by Richard K. Showman and Walter J. Heacock. Showman was the assistant to the director of interpretation, and

134"Chronological Development of Craft Shops", 3.
135Chorley to Rockefeller, May 24, 1934.
Heacock was director of the department of exhibition buildings.\textsuperscript{136} Low recalls a list of 50 questions that were given to her when she was hired as a hostess. She was then given some books and asked to find the answers to the questions. Then she "watched someone else do it, and that was it."\textsuperscript{137}

The memo from Showman and Heacock indicates that a basic weakness in the training program was a result of their failure to provide the beginning hostess with a comprehensive selection of historical material. They continued:

Too often the beginning hostess, lacking a well-defined body of knowledge for which she is responsible, has chosen the easier, and far less satisfactory, alternative of learning from experienced hostesses. And too often she has also fallen back on the comforting device of talking about objects in the rooms instead of the ideas, men and events which gave a particular building significance.\textsuperscript{138}

They then proceeded to outline a long range program aimed at improving the training aids for beginning hostesses:

1. Comprehensive manuals for each building which would present an adequate coverage of facts in their proper perspective and which would suggest ideas and concepts to enrich the interpretation. Included also for each building would be a manual revising and adding to the present data on furnishings and architecture.

2. A specific plan for study of these manuals.

3. Examinations, both written and oral, for

\textsuperscript{136} Staff of Colonial Williamsburg, TD, 18 October, 1952, CWFA.

\textsuperscript{137} Shirley P. Low, interview by author, Tape recording, Williamsburg, Virginia, 19 August 1987.

\textsuperscript{138} R.K. Showman and W.J. Heacock to Hostesses and Escorts, December 21, 1951.
the purpose of showing where further study is called for.

4. Reference guides to further reading.

5. A brief outline of the more important points to be made in each building. This outline would be only the core of a hostess' presentation and would allow sufficient leeway for individual interpretation.\textsuperscript{139}

To this end, a series of lectures began on January 8, 1952, between 8:45 and 9:45 a.m. over an eight week period.

It should also be noted that from the beginning of the creation of guide service at Colonial Williamsburg, guides were chosen from a finite group of ladies in the Williamsburg area who were related to, or friends of, administrators at the Foundation. In any case, it was decided that certain groups were to be excluded: "At the present time we are using exclusively white women as hostesses, and it is recommend that this policy be continued at least for the present. As to individuals for guides, it is suggested that men, women and students be trained as guides."\textsuperscript{140}

It is not as clear whether guides were under the same racial restrictions as the hostesses, but the first black escort was not hired until the early 70's.\textsuperscript{141}

An additional problem with the interpretive corp was mentioned in the Paget report:

The docents and public contact personnel have been employed largely on a part time hourly

\textsuperscript{139}Ibid

\textsuperscript{140}Chorley to Rockefeller, III, 6.

\textsuperscript{141}Elaine Wilson, interview by author, Notes taken, Williamsburg, Virginia, 24 October 1987.
basis, with little job training...In the interests of economy, as many docents as possible have been retained on an 'on call' basis. Thus, in peak seasons we would like to have available as many qualified docents of superior talent as the buildings require for maximum attendance. However, in the off season we cannot employ these people on a regular salary basis. Therefore, there is too little incentive to devote oneself completely to the mastery of the educational opportunities in Williamsburg for it is impossible for a docent to earn enough from his position to live here the year around.\textsuperscript{142}

In 1954, a proposal was introduced as a result of the Cresap, McCormick and Paget survey. Under the recommendations for a new division of Presentation was a request to establish a program for the training of hostesses and "attendants".\textsuperscript{143} It was recommended that in order to recruit and train skilled "docent" personnel, Colonial Williamsburg would have to offer:

\begin{enumerate}
\item Regular full-time employment
\item A wage scale
\item On the job training
\item Job satisfaction in terms of esprit de corps.
\end{enumerate}

In addition, Cresap, McCormick and Paget recommended basic and advanced courses, a lecture schedule, the hiring of a Training Officer, and a course designed to help the interpreters in presenting the material learned:

A multitude of vices and virtues are constantly debated whenever our public contacts are discussed. These vary from poor enunciation to personal charm; obvious ennui to stirring narration. We cannot hope to convert every


\textsuperscript{143}Ibid., 1.
person to oratorical perfection or create 'dynamic personal magnetism' for one lacking in charm. However, great advances are open to us through the employment of the many techniques well known in personnel work in other fields. Full attention would be given to this need at CW.  

The first training program was designed, then, for hostesses and guides. No mention or consideration was given in the early years to crafts. Earl Soles, the current director of the Historic Trades Department, recalls that "In those days training was very limited and was left up to the supervisor of each unit".  

Host/Hostesses received 26 hours of pay for their participation in training in 1952. Before that time there was no pay for interpretive training.  

In 1954 the hostess training staff consisted of one part time training supervisor. There were two types of training, preliminary and in-service. In preliminary training, hostesses were given a list of 50 questions to which answers were written out. Answers were handed in, but there was no checking to see how much of the information was being retained by the trainees. Each person developed his or her own interpretation of the exhibition buildings without supervision and without regard to goals or experience levels. Infrequent checks of new hires performance was made by the Training Supervisor.  

For in-service training they were given infrequent lectures.

---

144 Ibid., 6.

on historical events and personages two or three times each winter by the research staff. There were occasional meetings on routine business and there was no payment for these sessions. There were a few trips, to other museums in the area, for a limited number of hostesses at irregular intervals. Twenty books were a part of the library, but there were no journals and no research reports available to interpreters on a regular basis. There were no tape recordings or lectures, no scripts, no meeting place and the emphasis of interpretation was on furnishings and buildings.

By 1958, major revisions in training had taken place thanks to Shirley Low, Elizabeth Callis and Ed Alexander and increased participation from the department of research under Edward Riley. Courses were set up in history and government, the decorative arts, architecture and archaeology, costumes, gardens, public relations, mechanics, and principles of interpretation. Each class was monitored and every interpreter was required to attend. Personnel was assigned according to their level of experience and lectures were given by professionals within Colonial Williamsburg as well as the museum community at large. If an interpreter had special problems, remedial training was available. There were also special courses for special projects. Hostesses were paid for 100 hours of reading, class attendance and lectures. Interpreters who participated in special programs like the Antiques Forum, Garden Symposium, International Assembly, Bronxville group, Student Burgesses, and others received additional training. Special tours like the Tricorn Hat Tour, VIP tours and foreign group tours were
also a part of training.\footnote{146}

In 1961, there was another change in hostess training. Preliminary training was divided into two parts. Part I dealt with "How the Restoration Took Place and How People Lived in Eighteenth Century Virginia."\footnote{147} It prepared escorts for the Everyday Life tour, and hostesses for interpretation of the Palace, Wythe and Brush-Everard Houses.

Part II focused on History and Government. Escorts were prepared for the Self-Government Tour, American Heritage Tour and for adult groups. Hostesses were trained to interpret the Capitol and Raleigh Tavern.

Training time had increased to 150 paid hours, and training supervisors were designated as the official answering service for inquiries to Colonial Williamsburg. That year, 1961, they answered 225 letters, 1,000 phone calls and conducted about 100 personnel interviews with visitors wanting special information.\footnote{148}

Special training was given for Christmas programs, including, "Mr. Wythe at Home", "Christmas at the Capitol and Raleigh", and "A Plantation Christmas."\footnote{149}

By 1966, training had been adapted to include, Introductory, Preliminary, In-service, and Special Projects training.

\begin{itemize}
\item \footnote{146}{"Summary of Changes in Training 1954-1963" TD by Department of Exhibitions, [1963].}
\item \footnote{147}{Ibid.}
\item \footnote{148}{Ibid.}
\item \footnote{149}{Ibid., 8.}
\end{itemize}
Introductory training was designed to give beginning interpreters basic information of general interest to the visitor. It was divided into two parts:

I. General Background Information  
   A. The Restoration of Colonial Williamsburg  
   B. Geography of Virginia  
   C. The City of Williamsburg  
   D. Homes of Colonial Williamsburg—Architectural Features

II. Presenting Colonial Williamsburg to the Public  
    A. Principles of Interpretation  
    B. Interpretive Procedures  
    C. Public Relations

Preliminary training was divided into four parts. It differed from Introductory training by preparing interpreters for interpretation of specific exhibition buildings. The course of instruction for these buildings included:

I. Preparation for the Wythe, Brush-Everard, James Geddy and Peyton Randolph Houses  
   A. Family life in Colonial Williamsburg  
   B. Religion in Colonial Virginia  
   C. Making a Living in Colonial Williamsburg  
   D. Homes of Colonial Williamsburg  
   E. Gardens  
   F. Costumes  
   F. Homes in Colonial Williamsburg—furnishings and gardens

\[^{150}\text{Shirley P. Low, "Training Interpreters At Colonial Williamsburg", TD, November, 1967, 6.}\]
II. Preparation for the Raleigh and Wetherburn's Taverns151
   A. Public Times
   B. Taverns

III. Preparation for Carter's Grove and the Governor's Palace152
   A. Plantation life
   B. Royal Authority in Virginia

IV. Preparation for the Wren Building and the Capitol153
   A. College Education
   B. Virginia History and Government- Beginnings
   C. Virginia History and Government- Jamestown
   D. Virginia History and Government- Williamsburg
   E. Virginia History-Independence
   F. Virginia History-The Revolution
   G. Virginia Government-General Assembly and the Burgesses.
   H. Virginia Government-General Assembly and The Council
   I. Virginia Government-Legislative Procedures
   J. Virginia Government-Local
   K. Virginia Government-Courts

In addition, there were in-service and specialized training. These were not as comprehensive as the above courses and were meant to enhance knowledge that had been gained in the introductory and preliminary courses. The in-service course had several objectives: "to keep up with new interests and skills so that interpreters can


137
be called on for talks on topics not usually covered in the regular

tours of the exhibition buildings; for work with groups who have

unusual needs, such as VIP's and foreign groups; to help

interpreters develop and maintain fresh approaches to their work;

and to provide remedial training for those who need it."154

Special projects training was similar to what had been done

in previous years. Training focused on programs such as the

Antiques Forum and Garden Symposium. It is unclear what

responsibilities interpreters had for these programs. Indications

are that during these events, special presentations that involved

touring sites in the restored area were planned and hostesses were

asked lead these tours.155

Training from 1954-1966 seems to have been influenced by

several things: (1) the number of buildings or sites to be

interpreted (2) the number of interpreters on staff (3) the number

of sites to be interpreted (4) types of programs to be interpreted

(5) and the sensibilities of those responsible for training. There

is a noticeable trend toward objectives and social history in the

mid-sixties. Courses on family, religion and education begin to

appear. There are even recommended readings that deal with slavery.

But the mood of interpretation, as well as education, is obvious

in its elitism when considering Shirley Low's methods for selecting

potential employees for the interpretive corp:

We know the type of person we seek to be a host


154 Low, "Training Interpreters at Colonial Williamsburg", 11.
155 Ibid.
or hostess. First we are looking for a cultivated person. This usually means some college background, but not always. It means a person who is a generally well-informed, well-bred individual, who speaks in a grammatically correct and culturally acceptable manner, who is poised and able to keep calm under tension, who shows good taste in dress and behavior, and who makes a pleasing appearance.  

There is a noticeable lack of training, in the same degree, for craftsmen and domestic interpreters who were hired primarily to interpret the Wythe and Palace kitchens in the late fifties. Most of their training was on-the-job, or acquired through reading research reports provided by the research department. In the early sixties there was a training assistant for craft programs, Raymond Townsend. William Hammes was hired for the same purpose in 1966, but there is no record of the courses or curriculums that were used in support of the 17 individual shops and masters of each shop that were a part of the craft programs. Some type of training must have taken place. Especially in light of the fact that the Foundation was boasting that there were, "30 crafts, trades, and professions--probably the largest effort of its kind in this country, involving a highly skilled staff of 85 people."  

---

156Ibid., 3.  
157Also known as kitchen interpreters, all of whom were black and female.  
158"Colonial Williamsburg Organizational Roster", TD, 1962, CWFA.  
Probably the most important and lasting aspect of the crafts training program was the apprentice program. William Geiger, the second director of the craft shops, realized the need to preserve eighteenth-century crafts and that the Foundation could not continue to hire craftsmen from outside. He began an apprenticeship program that trained employees to become journeymen and masters while working under the masters of the various shops in the historic area.\textsuperscript{160}

There is no evidence that kitchen interpreters received training other than what was necessary to interpret their assigned spaces during the time that they were a separate unit within the host/hostess department. It is instructive, however, to note that when kitchen interpreters, who were members of the host/hostess corp called in sick and there were no other blacks to replace them, the kitchens went uninterpreted—even though there were white interpreters who could have filled in.\textsuperscript{161}

\textsuperscript{160}William B. Pfeifer, interview by author, Tape recording, Williamsburg, Virginia, 4 August 1987.

\textsuperscript{161}Ibid
The National Scene

The National black experience between 1946-66 was a dynamic series of events resulting from growing unrest between the races. The most significant of these events took place in the political and social arena. Economically, there were improvements but blacks were still laboring at a deficit.

In 1941, Asa Philip Randolph, founder of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, developed plans for a national march by blacks on Washington, D.C. His plan was to assemble 100,000 blacks to force a change in the hiring practices in defense plants under contract to the federal government. Blacks employed in the defense industry were relegated to menial jobs such as janitors and warehouseman. Though the march never came to fruition, it sent a clear message to political leaders of the period.

On June 25, 1941, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt signed Executive Order 8802, which forbade discrimination in government and defense hiring and established a Fair Employment Practices Commission to enforce the order.162 But despite this significant beginning, Randolph and others like Willard S. Townsend, president of the United Transport Service Employees, Frank J Farrell, a

---

Knights of Labor delegate, and W.E. B. DuBois, founder of "The Crisis" magazine, had an uphill battle to pursue.

To add fire to this period of political unrest, economic disparities in the black community further frustrated and angered many black Americans. The unemployment rate for black teenage males in New York City was 40%.\textsuperscript{163} About three out of every five black men over 50 years of age started their life's work as a laborer or service worker compared with only one in three white men over 50.\textsuperscript{164} Even two decades later, 15% of blacks (and other minorities) had white collar jobs as compared to 40% of the white male population. Blacks were spending a higher percentage of their income for rent than were whites, and 42% of the black population owned the homes they occupied as compared to 65% for whites.\textsuperscript{165} In 1959, the median income for blacks was $3,161, and for whites, $5,893.\textsuperscript{166}

Many blacks tried to fight this trend by moving to northern cities. In 1940 over 77% of the black population was in the South. During the 50's blacks were leaving the south at a rate of 146,000 a year.

In addition, the inability to secure decent health care coverage resulted in 77 maternal deaths, per 1000 persons, for

\textsuperscript{163}Ibid., 439.
\textsuperscript{164}Ibid., 449.
\textsuperscript{165}Ibid., 39.
\textsuperscript{166}Ibid., 480.
black women while their white counterparts suffered only 6. Infant mortality for blacks was 74 per 1000 in 1940, for whites it was 16. Even thirty years later, the death rate for black babies was twice that of whites, and only 60% of blacks had health insurance as compared to 80% for whites.

During the 50's and 60's, most public officials, as well as businessmen, felt that the key to reducing mounting racial tensions was bettering the job situation for blacks. To support this growing belief, several legislative changes came following World War II. The first, a report by The Truman Committee on civil rights, called "To Secure These Rights", formally condemning racial injustice in America. This was followed by Executive Order 9981 (1948) which ended segregation in the Armed Forces of the United states. Third, The Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1962. The first affirmed the right to vote and the second authorized judges to appoint referees to aid blacks to register and vote in federal elections.\textsuperscript{167} Both Executive Order 10730, which ended segregation in Little Rock Arkansas' Central High School, and Executive Order 11053 dealt with the fallout that occurred in education resulting from the landmark decision, Brown versus Board of Education. On May 17, 1954, by a vote of 9-0, the Supreme Court declared that "separate but equal" educational facilities were, "inherently unequal: and that segregation was therefore unconstitutional."\textsuperscript{168} Finally, in 1964

\textsuperscript{167}Ibid., 33.

\textsuperscript{168}Ibid., 31.
the Civil Rights Act was enacted. This law prohibited discrimination in voting, public accommodations, public facilities, public schools, federal aid, employment and several other areas meant to enforce and affirm the rights of black Americans.169

Segregation in Williamsburg

How did racial unrest in the national arena, and the subsequent laws that were passed, affect Williamsburg between 1946-1966, and how did those events and laws affect Colonial Williamsburg? Four areas will be looked at to see what policies were enacted at Colonial Williamsburg and how they related to national events and attitudes regarding black Americans and their place in history: education, programs, interpretation and training of interpretive staff.

Before World War Two, the separate but equal mentality that had been accepted by both blacks and whites in the small community of Williamsburg, was expected to endure. Blacks and whites had lived together peacefully for years--each one following a rule that stipulated, "all is well as long as you know and remember your place." Marie Sheppard, a long time black resident of the town recounted, "We never had a problem really. We knew them (whites) and they knew us. If we wanted to skate, we used their sidewalks and nothing was said. We didn't go to their restaurants and we didn't go to their churches, but we couldn't have afforded to pay

169Ibid., 128.
for the food in the restaurants anyhow, and we weren't particular about going to their churches. The only thing I wish, is that I could have been a nurse. If I had gone to William and Mary, I could have been a nurse, maybe. In those days the only thing you could have been if you were black was a teacher or a preacher. That left only one thing for me." 170 Nathaniel Reid, who was employed as a Bellman at the Williamsburg Inn for many years recalls, "I guess if you knew your place, you got along fine." 171

Segregation at the Foundation

Colonial Williamsburg's policy concerning blacks revolved around maintaining a delicate balance between the sensibilities of the Rockefeller family and those of the white community in Williamsburg prior to the restoration.

In many ways the "Jim Crow" laws that characterized separate but equal made the town no different than areas considered the Deep South. John D. Rockefeller III was painfully aware of this and took steps in 1949 to correct the problem. In response to the Truman reelection, and Truman's advocacy in the area of civil rights, John D. III tried to eliminate the segregated dining and housing regulations that were a part of Virginia law. He sought the advice of three prominent Southerners: Virginius Dabney, a noted author

170 Marie Sheppard, interview by author, Tape recording, 10 November 1987.

and editor of the Richmond Times Dispatch; Douglas S. Freeman, noted historian and a Trustee of the Rockefeller Foundation; and Colgate Darden, a former Virginia Governor. All three agreed that white Virginians would not accept or patronize hotels that welcomed Negroes. This fact became uncomfortably obvious later in 1949 when the Southern Historical Association held its annual conference at Colonial Williamsburg. The Williamsburg Lodge was the host facility. John Hope Franklin, a noted black historian, was a member of the organization. Although he was allowed to attend the catered events, he was denied lodging and access to the public dining facilities. He stayed at the home of professor Douglass Adair at the College of William and Mary. Ironically, in December of 1965, he was invited by Colonial Williamsburg to write a book on slavery in Virginia. He declined.

The Rockefellers found other ways to exhibit their concern for blacks. One involved an offer made by John D. Rockefeller, Jr. to consolidate three churches in the restored area and another from him to help build Bruton Heights School. The first project came under consideration in 1949 and was still being discussed four

---


173 Thad Tate, interview by author, Tape recording, 18 August 1987.

174 Edward Alexander to John Hope Franklin, December 16, 1965, CWFA.
years later. Colonial Williamsburg was approached by representatives from First Baptist Church, one of three black churches located in the restored area, about buying their church. It seems the congregation was outgrowing the church and the members had discussed building an addition. After hearing the offer, John D. Jr. offered $100,000 to the three churches, Mount Ararat (also referred to as Second Baptist), Union Baptist and First Baptist if they consolidated. First Baptist and Union Baptist agreed, but Second Baptist proved to be a problem:

The other Baptist Church, which is known as the Second Baptist Church, is located on the east side of Botetourt Street and is a rather handsome brick building; because of its size it is the church in which the consolidated congregation should have worshipped; this church was opposed to the consolidation. This church is 'practically owned' by Parson Wales. He was brazen enough to say that if we wanted a consolidation you [Rockefeller, Jr.] would have to pension him at a very substantial sum for life.

As a result, the offer was withdrawn and negotiations continued with the other two churches.

In July 25, 1938, Kenneth Chorley assembled the Williamsburg Superintendent of Schools, the Virginia State Agent for Negro Rural Schools, the Dean of the College of William and Mary, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, members of the staff of Hampton Institute (now Hampton University), and representatives of

---

175Kenneth Chorley to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., TDS, RAC.
176Kenneth Chorley to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., July 15, 1953, RAC.
the State Health Department. Their charge was to come up with a study that would replace the school blacks were presently in and build a new one that would improve the quality of "negro education" in general.\textsuperscript{177} Twelve years later, on March 5, 1950 a memorial tablet was dedicated to Mrs. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. in honor of the contribution the Rockefellers had made to the building of the school on her behalf.

Then in 1954, Brown vs Board of education sent ripples throughout the country--Williamsburg as well. The town had to look at the racial question like never before. White political leaders in Virginia adopted a posture called "massive resistance." This was a move to deny blacks access to the privileges that had been stipulated in the Brown case. Many areas close to Colonial Williamsburg, Norfolk and James City County in particular, had made public promises to close down schools at the first attempt by blacks to enter a "white school". The James City County Board of Supervisors declared that the first black who entered the school would result in the cutting off of funding for that school.\textsuperscript{178} John Harbour, Jr., who was chairman of the Williamsburg School Board during the years following the Brown decision, and the Vice President for Presentation at Colonial Williamsburg, recalled that the mayor of Williamsburg accused him of moving too fast in his efforts to abide by the new regulations set forth by the Supreme

\textsuperscript{177}Chorley to Rockefeller, Jr., July 25, 1938, RAC.

\textsuperscript{178}John W. Harbour, interview by author, Tape recording, Williamsburg, Virginia, 2 August 1987.
Court ruling in the Brown case. Harbour wanted to begin a dialogue with the black community and start a strategy that would follow federal guidelines, but he was stifled at every hand. It finally reached a point where Harbour actually called a colleague in Texas to arrange for sending his son to school there if the situation in Virginia got worse.  

The Rockefellers had been champions of black causes for many years, but they also understood the political and social mores of the citizens of Williamsburg. Rockefeller Jr. understood too well the social customs that existed in Williamsburg prior to his coming. And even though he knew and understood them to be wrong, he was not going to break that tradition. As early as 1943, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. sent a letter to Kenneth Chorley offering a statement to be made to blacks applying for accommodations:

The management has not thus far found it practicable to provide for both colored and white guests. I (or we are) am sorry we cannot accommodate you (or cannot take care of you; or cannot offer you hospitality).

By the early 50's his attitude had not changed, even though confronted with the problem by his elder son, as Harr and Johnson, co-authors of the book The Rockefeller Century, acknowledge:

Junior unmistakably was a man of his times and a gradualist...he was not willing to accede to his oldest sons's request and break the prevailing law in Virginia by opening the guest facilities of Colonial Williamsburg to blacks in the early 1950's. All his life, he had carefully observed the laws and customs.

179 Ibid.

180 Rockefeller, Jr. to Chorley, May 5, 1943.
wherever he functioned, and he was not going to change that practice.  

Desegregation would be a long process at Colonial Williamsburg. But until that became a reality, no program in colonial black history had a chance of succeeding.

Visitors to the Foundation were coming from diverse areas. And many, including blacks, were challenging the Foundation's statement of high democratic purpose in a segregated community. One such challenge was expressed by George Cohorn:

To all except the Negro the philosophy enunciated in this historic place 'that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights' cannot help but give more substance and meaning to their status as American citizens. Are not Mr. Rockefeller, Jr. and the Rockefeller Foundation through financing this project obligated especially in Williamsburg to practice, regardless of race, democracy as defined by these men? 'That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights' is little less than mockery to the Negro especially in Williamsburg where he cannot find a comfortable place to stay, cannot eat in restaurants of the Restoration Project and whose time is virtually wasted after 5 p.m. with the closing of the Project buildings in which he is accepted. The Negro suffers these embarrassments, discomforts and disadvantages only because a national project privately financed adheres to local public policies. Is it not irony that Williamsburg, restored and publicized as the place democracy was founded, should permit discrimination or democracy in reverse.

Ironic indeed. It should be noted that blacks were allowed

---

181 Harr and Johnson, The Rockefeller Century, 82.
182 George E. Cohron to Allston Boyer, March 6, 1950.
access to Colonial Williamsburg's facilities—which was not the case in the rest of the town. The City of Williamsburg was not the restoration and answering complaints from visitors who thought that was not the case caused a great deal of embarrassment for the Foundation. Whenever complaints about discrimination toward blacks occurred, the officials were quick to deal with them. One such incident happened in 1962 when Nicholas Madeira from Washington D.C. was witness to derogatory remarks, made by the proprietor of a tourist home he was staying in, that he assumed was run by Colonial Williamsburg. In answering the complaint, care was taken to separate the Foundation from the community at large:

We likewise regret this incident very much and can say only that the lady in question is a private citizen who operates a tourist home on her own property. She has no connection of any kind with Colonial Williamsburg and the opinion you attribute to her appear to be in direct contrast to the official policy of Colonial Williamsburg. The facilities of Colonial Williamsburg including the Information Center, exhibition buildings, craft shops, three hotels and seven restaurants are operated without regard to race, creed or color. We cannot, of course, dictate policy to others. However, we sincerely appreciate your bringing the matter to our attention.183

Three months earlier, however, the Foundation was quick to point out that in the case of the Williamsburg Theatre, a movie house owned and operated by the Foundation, they were simply following the letter of the law by discriminating against blacks:

The Code of the State of Virginia requires that separate facilities be provided in a theatre

183George Eager to Nicholas Madeira, November 1, 1962, CWFA.
if and when the races are mixed. This is often
taken care of by a balcony or some other
physical separation. In our case we have only
three choices: to refuse admission to members
of the Negro race; to reserve seats within the
general facilities and comply with the law; or
to break the law.184

Ironically, the restoration in Williamsburg was beginning to
excite the same arguments about democracy and blacks that labeled
Americans hypocrites during the American Revolution: how can you
espouse democratic ideals and support racial inequality.

These types of letters persisted throughout the 50's, 60's
and 70's. And while the administration continued to quote policy,
visitors continued to question the wisdom of a Foundation that
welcomed black visitors to its public facilities (with certain
restrictions), but maintained separate facilities for its
employees.

It should also be stated that by the time the visitor center
had opened in 1957, Colonial Williamsbury had relaxed its stand on
segregation considerably. Long before other public facilities
integrated, Williamsburg welcomed blacks in the historic area. When
full integration took place in the mid-sixties Colonial
Williamsburg simply adjusted fully to state-wide policies that were
already a part of Foundation policy.

184 Thomas Halligan to Reverend Terry Burch, September 6, 1962,
CWFA.
Black History at Colonial Williamsburg

The first door on black history was opened as a result of recommendations made by the survey conducted by Cresap, McCormick and Paget. Their suggestion that more social history be incorporated into the programs at the Foundation prompted the research department, under the direction of Edward Riley, to develop new topics to be researched that would support this new thrust. The topics selected were, colonial crafts, social life of colonial Virginians, economics, theatre and slavery.

Thad Tate, a research fellow from the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill had arrived in 1954 and decided he would write a monograph on slavery. Tate took on the project because of his own involvement in integrating the graduate program at his school. His report was turned into a text, *The Negro in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg*, and is still the only text treating Williamsburg's Colonial black population written to date.¹⁸⁵

The first formal interpretative program that tried to address the slavery issue at Colonial Williamsburg was done using "Message Repeaters." These machines, similar to present-day pre-recorded audio presentations found in many museums, were the state of the art in the early 60's. It was felt that a pre-recorded message could broach the difficult topic of slavery without causing undue discomfort for white interpreters or black workers who would also

---

¹⁸⁵Thad Tate, interview by Dennis O'Toole, Notes taken, 23 October, 1987.
be exposed to it. Repeaters were put in the George Wythe Laundry and the Brush-Everard Kitchen. A test recording was done and put on the Wythe site to evaluate audience reactions on July of 1964. On April 3, 1965 the recordings were done and the scripts were read by Carl Stuz, an actor from Richmond. By summer 1965, the repeater located at the Wythe site became the first attempt to interpret "negro life" at Colonial Williamsburg.

The cleared script was brief and to the point:

You are standing in the Wythe House Laundry. Slaves were quartered in rooms such as this and in lofts and garrets of other outbuildings. Body servants probably slept in the halls of the mainhouse and in the bedrooms of those they served. As many as 18 men, women, and children lived and worked on Mr. Wythe's property. Their quarters were usually furnished with castoffs (sic) from the main house.

Most slaves in the colony were field hands for the large plantations upon which Virginia's economy depended. In a small city such as Williamsburg, they were used chiefly as house servants and craft workers. Five of every six families in Williamsburg owned one or more slaves, and many more were required by the inns and taverns.

Here at Mr. Wythe's house, the Negroes were on constant call for a variety of daily jobs. As part of their routine, they prepared and cooked the food, smoked the meats, cleaned, made minor repairs to the buildings, cared for the animals, and tended the grounds.

Throughout Williamsburg's years as a colonial capital, Negroes made up about one-half of the town's population. Those who lived at homes like Mr. Wythe's probably fared better than their brothers on the plantations. Here was a broader community life and the possibility of better training in crafts and skills. Like many other Virginians of his time, however, George Wythe opposed the principle of slavery, and through his will freed all of the
slaves belonging to him.\textsuperscript{186}

This initiation of black history was not to be without incident, however. Both John Harbour and Edward Spencer, Director of Historic Area Services, recall that the machines were being tampered with. Both were convinced that the janitorial staff, working at the Wythe site, had deliberately covered the repeater with clothing and other articles so visitors would not see the button to be pushed in order to hear the interpretation.

In 1968, Edward Alexander proposed that an additional message repeater be installed at the Brush-Everard House Laundry. The script was written and cleared but there is no evidence that it was ever done.\textsuperscript{187}

Finally, an attempt at two new publications about blacks was mounted in 1965 by Edward Alexander. His purpose for doing the book was clear: "I am especially anxious to do this book because I think it is clear we are not emphasizing Negro life enough in our interpretation and I am rather well convinced that we will need to do this with books and films rather than buildings and furnishings."\textsuperscript{188}

The proposed book was to be called, "The School for Slaves in Williamsburg" and was to be included in the already existent Juvenile series that the Foundation had instituted some years

\textsuperscript{186}"Wythe House Laundry Script", TD, [1963], CWFA.

\textsuperscript{187}Edward Alexander to Duncan Cocke, 19 December 1968, CWFA.

\textsuperscript{188}Alexander to Humelsine, 11 February 1965, CWFA.

155
back. Anne Petry, a black author, was considered but rejected by Alexander. There is no indication that this book was ever done.

The second attempt was a proposal to add a book, titled The Negro in Eighteenth-Century Virginia. This book was to be added to the Williamsburg in America Series, which was a series of short historical monographs produced by Colonial Williamsburg on various colonial topics. As mentioned before, John Hope Franklin was first approached about the possibility of doing this text, but he declined. Hope recommended Robert L. Clarke and Edgar A. Toppin, both faculty members at Virginia State University in Petersburg. Alexander could not find writings by either man and finally settled on Robert McColley, who had just written Slavery and Jeffersonian Virginia, after reading a review by Melvin Drimmer of Spelman College in Atlanta, Georgia.

McColley accepted the job and moved to Williamsburg for five weeks to begin working on the manuscript. Eight years later, May 23, 1974, his manuscript was rejected. The reasons given were brief and to the point:

Our decision follows lengthy re-review by our staff, by outside readers, and by the Publications Committee, which is ultimately responsible for this judgment. Although we are appreciative of your cooperation and responsiveness to suggestions for changes, we have reached a consensus that further work is unlikely to produce a substantially improved

---


190 Alexander to Franklin, December 16, 1965, CWFA.

191 James Short to Edward Alexander, January 18, 1966, CWFA.

156
A continuing disappointment with your style of presentation, over the course of your preparation of chapters, weighed heavily in shaping this response, though historians on our staff still retain reservations about the solidity of your material...\textsuperscript{192}

The Foundation had begun to deal, at last, with the slavery question. But no one, not even blacks themselves were sure of the form that it should take. Tate's book was included in the training of interpreters but nothing substantial was ever done with it. There were still questions to be answered; still wounds and embarrassments that made black history too uncomfortable to include.

On May 11, 1960, the Foundation's major donor, John D. Rockefeller, Jr. died. His passing signaled the end of one era and the beginning of another. Colonial Williamsburg was changing, ever so slowly, but changing. The dynamic leadership that was needed to bring the black experience to the fore began with Alexander and his colleagues Jim Short, Ed Riley, Thad Tate, John Goodbody, and John Harbour. It would take a new team to move it further.

The sixties brought the question of integration to a head like never before. But Colonial Williamsburg had not yet hired its first black escort, hostess, ticket seller or bus driver. Blacks who worked for the Restoration were still relegated to "traditional" positions like waiters, bus boys, valets, grooms, chauffeurs, bellmen, cooks, janitors and maids.

\textsuperscript{192}James Short to Robert McColley, May 23, 1974, CWFA.
To them, slavery seemed still too close for comfort.
CHAPTER THREE (1967-1987)
## Chronology

**National Events**

1967 Six-Day War between Israel and Arab Nations begins.

* Black Power conference held in Newark, N.J.

* President Johnson appoints Thurgood Marshall to the Supreme Court.

* Negro riots in Cleveland, Newark, and Detroit.


* The People's Republic of China explodes its first hydrogen bomb.

* Dr. Christiaan N. Barnard performs the world's first human heart transplant operation at Groote Schuur hospital, Cape Town, South Africa.

* Expo '67 opens in Montreal.

* Heavyweight boxing champion Muhammad Ali is indicted in Houston, Texas for refusing to be inducted into U.S. armed forces.

* Mickey Mantle (New York Yankees) hits his 500th career home run.

**Colonial Williamsburg**

President Johnson Visits Williamsburg.

President Johnson addresses the Gridiron Club at the Conference Center of the Williamsburg Lodge and attends Bruton Parish Church.

C.K. Yen, Prime Minister and Vice President of Nationalist China, makes an overnight stop in Williamsburg on his way to Washington, D.C. for a meeting with President Johnson.

Colonial Williamsburg's Fife and Drum Corps participates in the first inter-service military tattoo at the Smithsonian Institution along with historical musical groups from the U.S. Marine Corps, U.S. Air Force, and U.S. Army.
* Peggy Fleming wins world championship for women's figure skating in Vienna.

* Twiggy, a British model, takes U.S. fashion by storm.

* Mrs. Billie Jean King wins almost every American and international tennis match open to women.

* For the third consecutive year and the sixth time in eight years, the Green Bay Packers, coached by Vince Lombardi, win the National Football League Conference championship, then go on to win the NFL championship.

* Popular film: "Guess Who's Coming to Dinner"


* Senator Robert F. Kennedy announces his candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination.

* Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., leader of the Negro civil rights movement and winner of 1964 Nobel Peace Prize, is assassinated in a Memphis, Tennessee motel.

* Pierre Elliott Trudeau is sworn in as Canadian Prime Minister.

161
Senator Robert F. Kennedy assassinated in Los Angeles immediately after his victory speech upon winning the California Democratic primary.

Richard M. Nixon is elected 37th President of the U.S. by the narrowest margin since 1912.

Mrs. Jacqueline Kennedy marries Aristotle S. Onassis.

Lee Trevino defeats Jack Nicklaus to win the U.S. Open golf championship.

Popular Film: "2001: A Space Odyssey:"

Popular Song: "Hey Jude"

1969 Sirhan Sirhan tried and convicted of the murder of Senator Robert Kennedy.

Richard M. Nixon inaugurated as 37th President of the U.S.

Mrs. Golda Meir becomes Israel's fourth Prime Minister.

Senator Edward Kennedy, driving a car at Chappaquiddick Island, Mass., plunges into a pond; body of woman passenger Mary Jo Kopechne found in car.

The Concorde, Anglo-French supersonic aircraft makes its first test flight at the College's Wren Building.

Sealantic Fund donates Carter's Grove to Colonial Williamsburg

Colonial Williamsburg sells Kingsmill properties to Anheuser-Busch. Proceeds used for expanding the interpretive services at Carter's Grove Plantation.

Former Vice President Hubert Humphrey gives address at the annual Prelude to Independence ceremonies.

Soviet cosmonauts Georgi Beregovoy and Konstantin Feokistov, accompanied by William Anders, former astronaut and member of the Apollo 8 moon mission, visit.
* U.S. astronauts Charles Conrad and Alan L. Bean land on the moon in Apollo 12 lunar module; return to Earth with samples of material from the lunar surface.

* Bodies of actress Sharon Tate (wife of Roman Polanski) and four others found at her Los Angeles home; Charles Manson, leader of hippie commune nearby, indicted for the crime with several others.

* For the fourth year in a row—and for the eighth year out of the past 10—Wilt Chamberlain leads the National Basketball Association in rebounding.

* Lew Alcindor emerges as one of the greatest stars of basketball, playing for UCLA.

* Popular film: "Midnight Cowboy"

* Popular song: "In the Year 2525"

1970 Arab commandos hijack three jets bound for New York from Europe.

* Student protests against Vietnam War result in killing of four by the National Guard at Kent State University in Ohio.

* Joe Frazier of Philadelphia becomes official world heavyweight boxing champion.


Opening of the music teacher's Shop and the employment of a musical instrumentmaker are additions to the crafts programs.
* Burt Bacharach emerges as a personality in the realm of popular music (two Academy Awards; for the musical score of "Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid; and the song "Raindrops Keep Falling on My Head:).

* The U.S. Open Tennis Championship at Forest Hills, N.Y., awards a record $160,000 in prize money.

* Popular film: "True Grit"

1971 U.S. planes bomb Vietcong supply routes in Cambodia; fighting in Indochina spreads to Laos and Cambodia; U.S. conducts large-scale bombing raids against N. Vietnam.

* Maj.-General Idi Amin establishes himself as Ugandan strongman.

* Lt. William L. Calley, Jr., found guilty of premeditated murder in Mylai massacre.

* The 26th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, allowing 18-year-olds to vote, is ratified.

* 10 guards and 32 prisoners are killed when police storm Attica prison following a five-day uprising.

* U.S. Apollo 14 and 15 crews become the third and fourth groups to explore the moon's surface.

John Harbour resigns as Director of Presentation and is replaced by Peter A.G. Brown.

Visits by the prime Minister of Denmark, the President of Indonesia, the President of Finland, the President of Rumania and the Vice President of South Vietnam.

President Nixon attends the national Conference on the Judiciary.

President Nixon and Vice President Spiro T. Agnew attend the Republican Governors Conference.

Experimental brickmaking and a quintet of strolling musicians begins programs during summer months.

Visit by the King of Saudi Arabia and the Japanese Cabinet.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
* Cigarette advertisements are banned from U.S. television.

* Joe Frazier outpoints Muhammad Ali to retain world heavyweight boxing championship.

* Hank Aaron hits his 600th career home run, the third baseball player ever to reach that mark.

* Popular film: "A Clockwork Orange"

The Providence Hall wing of the Williamsburg Inn opens.

The Powell-Waller House opens as a special in-depth learning experience for visiting school groups.

Russian track team visits.

Anthony Hay and Musical Instrument Maker shops open.

1972 District of Columbia arrests five men inside Democratic National headquarters in the Watergate complex--beginning the "Watergate" affair.

Gov. George C. Wallace of Alabama, a contender for the Democratic presidential nomination, is shot by Arthur Bremer and partially paralyzed.

Republican Richard M. Nixon reelected President of the U.S. in a near-record landslide; Spiro T. Agnew reelected vice president.

Arab terrorists kill two Israeli Olympic athletes in Munich; take nine others hostage; all nine killed during a shoot-out with W. German police and soldiers.

Bobby Fischer (U.S.A.) wins world chess title from Boris Spassky (U.S.S.R.).
* The military draft is phased out in the U.S.; armed forces become all volunteer.

* "All in the Family" leading TV show in U.S.

* Best Picture: "The French Connection"

* Best Actress: Jane Fonda

1973 Watergate: the five original defendants plead guilty before Judge John J. Sirica; before he is sentenced conspirator James W. McCord, Jr., begins to implicate Republican party officials; on April 17 President Nixon, who has previously maintained that there is no official involvement in the affair, announces major developments arising from his own investigation; his aides H.R. Haldeman and John Ehrlichman are forced to resign.

* Vice President Spiro T. Agnew resigns and pleads "nolo contendere" to one count of income tax evasion.

* Arab oil-producing nations move to embargo shipments to the U.S., western Europe, and Japan in retaliation for their support of Israel; the cutoff precipitates an energy crisis in the industrialized world.

Winthrop Rockefeller dies.

Lewis Powell, Jr., Associate Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, succeeds Mr. Rockefeller as chairman of the board.

The Prentis and Tarpley's Stores, retail outlets for items made in Colonial Williamsburg crafts shops and other 18th-century items—opens. This allows craftsmen to increase interpretation rather than focusing on selling merchandise.

As a result of the energy crisis, bonfires and cressets are used instead of electric bulbs during the annual Christmas celebrations.

Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti of Italy, the Shah of Iran, and Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto of Pakistan visit.
* George Foreman scores a technical knockout to win world heavyweight boxing championship from Joe Frazier.

* Secretariat wins horse racing's Triple Crown: the Kentucky Derby, the Preakness Stakes, and Belmont Stakes.

* Energy crisis: a petroleum products shortage of undetermined magnitude, coupled with Arab oil embargo, forces cutbacks in the American, western European and Japanese home heating, transportation services and fuel-consuming industries.

* Best picture: "The Godfather"

* Best Actor: Marlon Brando

* Best Actress: Liza Minnelli

1974 Worldwide inflation helps to cause dramatic increases in the cost of fuel, food and materials; oil-producing nations boost prices, heightening inflation.

* After marathon negotiating sessions, U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger persuades Syria and Israel to agree to a cease-fire on the Golan Heights.

* Gerald Ford becomes 39th President of U.S. as Richard Nixon resigns amid charges of his involvement in the Watergate-coverup and threats of impeachment.

As a result of the energy crisis, visitation at Colonial Williamsburg drops 40% below the 1973 level for the first quarter.

Kenneth Chorley, former president of Colonial Williamsburg, dies.

Visits by President Giovanni Leone of Italy, Prime Minister Gough Whitlam of Australia and Chancellor Bruno Kreisky of Austria.
* President Ford grants former President Nixon a pardon for any criminal offenses committed while in office.

* President Ford grants a limited amnesty to Vietnam War draft evaders and military deserters.

* Muhammad Ali wins 12-round non-title decision over Joe Frazier; defeats George Foreman in Zaire, reclaiming heavyweight championship of the world.

* Patricia Hearst, kidnapped heiress, announces she has decided to join her captors, the Symbionese Liberation Army.

* Henry Aaron betters Babe Ruth's record of 714 career home runs.

* "Streaking" becomes popular fad in U.S.

* Best Picture: "The Sting"

* Best Actor: Jack Lemmon

* Best Actress: Glenda Jackson

1975 Margaret Thatcher becomes leader of the British Conservative Party, succeeding Edward Heath.

* John N. Mitchell, John D. Ehrlichman, and H.R. Haldeman--powerful members of the Nixon administration--are convicted and sentenced to two-and-a-half to eight years in prison for their roles in the Watergate-

The James Anderson House archaeological exhibit opens.

"A Williamsburg Sampler", a 30 minute color film, premiered at the annual Antiques Forum, shown on national television, sent out to clubs, schools, and various public groups.
Two assassination attempts are made on the life of President Ford in California.

Daniel J. Boorstin, historian, becomes librarian of the U.S. Library of Congress.

Mrs. Junko Tabei, 35-year-old Japanese, becomes first woman to climb Mt. Everest.

The International Woman's year World Conference in Mexico City adopts a 10-year plan to improve the status of women.

Patricia Hearst, missing since Feb. 7, 1974, is caught by the F.B.I. in San Francisco.

W.A. ("Tony") Boyle, former head of the United Mine Workers, is sentenced to three consecutive life terms for ordering the murder of union official Joseph A. Yablonski.

Jack Nicklaus wins his fifth Masters and his fourth Professional Golfers' Association championship.


The U.S. celebrates its Bicentennial with special events in Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., and across the country.

Ticket selling structure is altered in anticipation of the Bicentennial year.

A new craft exhibition, the wheelwrights shop, is opened in the coach house of the Governor's Palace.

At the request of First Lady Betty Ford, the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Collection staff provides and coordinates the central theme for Christmas decorations at the White House.

Colonial Williamsburg Dancers perform outdoors when President Ford lights the national Christmas tree.

Outstanding events and visits by 11 heads of foreign nations including, Anwar Al-Sadat of Egypt, and the Emperor and Empress of Japan, resulted in attendance rates that were the highest ever.

President Ford and Jimmy Carter debate at Phi Beta Kappa Memorial Hall.

Commemorative magazine, "Fifty years of Colonial Williamsburg" is published.

* U.S. President Ford and Jimmy Carter, democratic candidate for President, debate social, political, and economic issues on national television three times.

* Jimmy (James Earl, Jr.) Carter is elected 39th President of the U.S., narrowly defeating President Ford.

* World's first scheduled supersonic passenger service is inaugurated when two Concorde jets take off simultaneously from London and Paris.

* Boston Celtics win the National Basketball Association championship.

* Mysterious illness kills 29 persons who attend a state American Legion convention in Philadelphia; 151 others are stricken by "Legionnaires' disease."

* Henry Aaron retires as a baseball player, holding the U.S. major league record of 755 career home runs.

* Best Picture: "One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest"

* Best Actor: Jack Nicholson

* Best Actress: Louise Symposia on Fifty years of Historic Preservation opens Colonial Williamsburg's 24-day commemorative celebration on its beginning.

Independence Day is highlighted by reading of portions of the Declaration of Independence, volleys by costumed muskets and artillerymen; the event is covered by CBS-TV as one of many live telecasts of the day. Roger Mudd, CBS correspondent, reports the event.

The two hundredth anniversary of the adoption of George Mason's Virginia Declaration of Rights is held; three eminent scholars, Peter Gay, Durfee Professor of History, Yale University; Julian Boyd, Professor of History, Princeton University; and A.E. Dick Howard, Daniel J. Boorstin, Librarian of Congress, serves as moderator.

Colonial Williamsburg incurs financial loss of $693,800 as visitation fails to meet expected levels.

Mr. DeWitt Wallace and his wife, Lila Acheson Wallace, provide $4 million to the Foundation; the funds were to be used to construct facilities for showing the orientation film, "Story of a Patriot" and for special educational programs.
Fletcher

Cary Carson replaces Edward Riley as director of the Department of Research.

Three new educational films are offered—"The Musical Instrumentmaker of Williamsburg", "Spinet Making in Colonial America" and "Violin Making in Colonial America".

1977 President Carter grants a pardon to almost all American draft evaders of the Vietnam era.

* Tom Bradley, elected Los Angeles's first black mayor in 1973, is reelected, defeating 11 white opponents.

* Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin resigns.

* U.S. Department of Energy is established.

* Edward I. Koch is elected Mayor of New York City.

* More than 570 persons die in the world's worst aviation disaster when a KLM Royal Dutch Airlines Boeing 747 crashes into a Pan American World Airways Boeing 747 on the runway of Los Rodeos Airport on the Canary Island of Tenerife.

* "Seattle Slew" wins horse racing's Triple Crown.

The Curriculum Committee Report, Teaching History at Colonial Williamsburg: A Plan of Education is submitted to Mr. Humelsine.

Carlisle H. Humelsine retires as President to become Chairman of the Board of Trustees and Chief Executive Officer. Charles R. Longsworth becomes President and Chief Operating Officer of CWF.

Under the direction of Ivor Noel Hume, excavations that began at Carter's Grove in 1976 result in two new sites dating from the first half of the seventeenth century.

For the fourth time in five years, more than one million people visit Colonial Williamsburg.

A two hour walking tour of the town is implemented. Approximately 81,000 visitors sign on.
A massive blackout in New York City leaves 9 million persons without electricity; airports, tunnels, banks and offices close down; rampant looting, vandalism, and other criminal activity leads to the arrest of 3,700 persons; at least 500 fires erupt.

Janelle Penny Commissiong, representing Trinidad-Tobago, is the first black woman to win the Miss Universe title.

Best Picture: "Rocky"

Best Actor: Peter Finch

Best Actress: Faye Dunaway

1978 Nobel Peace Prize: Israeli Premier Menahem Begin and Egyptian President Anwar Sadat.

"Test-tube baby" born in England: Lesley Brown gives birth to girl-first human baby conceived outside the body of a woman.

David R. Berkowitz, also known as the .44-caliber killer and the "Son of Sam," receives life imprisonment for six murders he committed before his arrest in August, 1977.

Leon Spinks wins world heavyweight boxing championship; Muhammad Ali beats Spinks seven months later to regain title and to become the first boxer ever to win a heavyweight title three times.

Visits by President Jose Lopez Portillo of Mexico, Former President Gerald Ford, President Carlos Andres Perez of Venezuela, President Jimmy Carter and the First Lady.

First refreshment center areas open in Historic Area selling apple cider and pastries.

The Williamsburg Daily Seminar is offered to groups interested in special lectures and tours of the Historic Area and Carter's Grove; the program offers study in different aspects of colonial life each day.

A six-mile scenic private roadway to Carter's Grove begins construction.

Plans to refurbish the Governor's Palace with an eye toward presenting a picture of life there during Gov. Botetourt's reign begins.
* The supertanker "Amoco Cadiz" breaks apart in heavy seas off France's Brittany coast, spilling a record 220,000 tons of oil which blackens more than 110 miles of coastline.

* Brigadeer General Margaret A. Brewer is the first female general in the U.S. Marine Corps.

* U.S. Congress extends the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment from March 22, 1979 to June 30, 1982.

* U.S. Supreme Court affirms a lower court decision requiring the University of California Medical School to admit Allan P. Bakke, who claimed the school's minority-admissions plan had made him a victim of "reverse discrimination".

* U.S. Representative Leo J. Ryan and four other Americans are shot to death in Guyana by members of the Peoples Temple, a California-based religious cult; murder-suicide of 917, including Peoples Temple leader Jim Jones, occurs at the cult's Guyanese jungle commune.

* "Affirmed" wins horse racing's Triple Crown.

* Best Picture: "Annie Hall"

* Best Actor: Richard Dreyfuss

* Best Actress: Diane Keaton
1979 The Shah of Iran is ousted after 37 years rule and is replaced by the Ayatollah Khomeini.

* Egypt's President Anwar el-Sadat makes treaty with Israel; in retaliation, 18 Arab countries move to impose sanctions which call for the immediate recall of Ambassadors from Egypt, a complete termination of diplomatic relations within a month, an end to all financial aid and the imposition of economic sanctions.

* Ugandan President Idi Amin Dada flees from the capital city with what is left of his Ugandan army.

* Margaret Thatcher becomes first British woman Prime Minister in a decisive victory in Great Britain's general election.

* The worst nuclear accident in the United States takes place at Three Mile Island nuclear generating plant in Pennsylvania.

* Evelyn Ashford breaks 11-second barrier in women's 100-meter dash.

* Chrysler Corporation asks the federal government for $1 billion loan by new President, Lee Iacocca.

* Patricia Harris becomes the first black woman to occupy a presidential Cabinet post as Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare (retitled Health and Human Services).

John D. Rockefeller, III gives Bassett Hall to CWF.

Hotel and Restaurant Division employees vote in favor of Union of Hotel, Restaurant and Cafeteria Workers of America, Local 23.

Experimental "living history" program incorporating black and white actors and actresses begins.

Travel and Group Marketing Department is established.

New administrative unit called Company of Colonial Performers is formed to coordinate "Life-on-the-Scene" activities.

Division of Museums is established.

Carlisle H. Humelsine, Chairman of CWF Board, relinquishes responsibilities as chief executive, and CWF Board of Trustees. Assigns duties to Charles R. Longsworth, president of Colonial Williamsburg.

"Wintertime in Williamsburg" is initiated. Program offers visitors three alternatives to the regular "self-guided" tour.

A gift from A-T-O Incorporated is awarded to enrich the experience of the student program at the Powell-Waller (renamed Benjamin Powell House).
Baseball standout Lou Brock steals his 938th base.

Iran seizes U.S. Embassy in Tehran following a charge by the Ayatollah that the U.S. was behind an attempt to kill a top member of his government.

Cincinnati: 11 dead, eight hurt in rush to see The Who at a rock music concert.

Mother Teresa wins Nobel Peace Prize.

Best Picture: "Kramer vs. Kramer"

Best Actor: Dustin Hoffman

Best Actress: Sally Field

Dennis A. O'Toole is appointed to the newly created position of deputy director of museum operations.

William A. Tramposch is appointed director of interpretive education.

"Teaching History at Colonial Williamsburg is submitted to the President per his instructions to review and evaluate interpretive programs and to "review the substance and quality of efforts to portray the role of blacks in the colonial society and to devise a curriculum for dealing openly and frankly with the difficult problem of slavery".

1980 President Carter summons Olympic hopefuls to the White House to tell them the U.S. will boycott the Olympics.

An attempt to free American hostages in Tehran is dubbed "fiasco" when a U.S. helicopter collides with a transport plane in the Iranian desert.

Ronald Wilson Reagan is elected the 40th President of the U.S.; vice president George Bush.

Former Beatle, John Lennon, is shot to death by a crazed fan outside his residence in Manhattan.

A 15th black youth is found murdered in Atlanta.

Martin's Hundred Wolstenholme Towne Exhibit opens at Explorers Hall, National Geographic Headquarters.

First issue of the "Interpreter", a pamphlet for interpreters put out by the Department of Interpretive Education, is printed.

Bassett Hall opens to the public.

Black Music Program gives first performance; becomes second program designed to focus on black history.

First Colonial Fair Days held.
Muhammad Ali, 38, fails to answer the 11th round bell in his bid to take heavy weight boxing title from Larry Holmes.

Sadaharu Oh, the highest paid athlete in Asia, retires after dominating Japan's professional leagues for more than 21 years.

Procter and Gamble recalls a brand of tampons, citing a like between the brand and TSS (Toxic Shock Syndrome).

Best Picture: "Ordinary People"

Best Actor: Robert De Niro

Best Actress: Sissy Spacek

1981 After 444 days, 52 hostages are released form Iran with the help of Algerian mediators.

President Ronald Reagan and Press Secretary, James Brady, are shot and wounded; authorities arrest John W. Hinckley Jr., a 25-year-old man from Colorado.

Pope John Paul II is shot and wounded by an escaped Turkish criminal as he rides in an open car among 10,000 worshipers in St. Peter's Square.

Wayne B. Williams, a music promoter and talent scout, is arrested and charged in the most recent murder of 28 black children and young adult in Atlanta.

New emphasis given to social history in the training of interpreters.

African American music, storytelling, and vignettes of black family life are incorporated during the summer season.

Six scholars gather at Colonial Williamsburg for a two-day seminar to discuss interpreting black life in the eighteenth century.

The refurnished, reinterpreted Governor's Palace, using first person interpreters on a regular basis, reopens in April.

New headquarters for the Colonial Williamsburg Fife and Drum Corps opens.

A two-hour walking tour focusing on black history, "The Other Half", is introduced.

Nationally known authorities on women's studies come to Williamsburg for a conference on "Women in Early America".

Plans are refined for the reconstruction of the Public Hostital of 1773.
* Prince Charles and Lady Diana wed in a ceremony held at St. Paul's Cathedral.

* Anwar el-Sadat, Egyptian President, is assassinated in a hail of gunfire at a military parade in Cairo.

* Andrew Young, former delegate to the United Nations, is elected Mayor of Atlanta.

* Richard Petty wins Daytona 500 for the seventh time.

* The space shuttle Columbia, the world's first reusable spacecraft, completes its first orbital flight.

* Bob Marley, the most influential star of Jamaican reggae music, dies of cancer in Miami.

* Doctors identify a disturbing disease that has no known cure; AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) destroys the body's immune system.

* Best film: "Chariots of Fire"

* Best Actor: Henry Fonda

* Best Actress: Katharine Hepburn

1982 Wayne B. Williams, 23, is found guilty of killing two of Atlanta's 28 murdered young blacks and is sentenced to two consecutive life terms.

A Management Review Committee, and Program Planning and Review Committee are initiated to improve the management structure and coordinate and evaluate all educational programs.

Visits by President and Mrs. Ronald Reagan, President and Mrs. Francois Mitterrand of France, His Royal Highness, Charles, the Prince of Wales.

Anheuser-Busch Foundation gives $100,000 toward the archaeological pavilion that will provide an overview of Wolstenholme Towne at Carter's Grove.
Several thousand Argentine troops storm the Falkland Islands and overrun 84 British marines stationed there.

With a goal to punish the Palestinian guerrillas and annihilate the leaders of the PLO, Israeli forces drive deep into southern Lebanon to battle Palestinian and Syrian forces.

Leonid Brezhnev, leader of the Soviet Union for the past 18 years, dies at 75.

A jetliner taking off from Washington's National Airport in a snowstorm crashes into a crowded bridge and sinks in the Potomac River within sight of the White House, killing 78 people.

John Belushi, a popular comic, dies of a drug overdose.

Claus von Bulow, Newport, Rhode Island magnate, is found guilty in attempting to murder his wife, Martha von Bulow.

The manufacturer of Tylenol recalls all capsules of the pain-reliever after the eighth case of poisoning by deliberate contamination occurs.

Best Picture: "Gandhi"

Best Actor: Ben Kingsley

Best Actress: Meryl Streep

Chase Manhattan Bank gives a $10,000 grant to help stimulate new initiatives in the field of economic education.

Dupont gives $10,000 grant to support Colonial Williamsburg's school visit program.

Dennis O'Toole becomes vice president for Historic Area Programs and Operations.

Robert Birney promoted to senior vice president for Education, Preservation, and Research.

Peter A.G. Brown is shifted to vice president of Programs and Exhibitions.

Exxon Foundation grants $50,000 to Colonial Williamsburg to provide four one-year internships for starting professionals who have successfully completed course work at the Masters level in art history, American studies, folk culture or museum procedures.

The second black, Dr. Edgar Toppin, professor of history and dean of graduate studies at Virginia State University is appointed to the Foundation Board of Trustees.

Department of Interpretive Education introduces "Core Curriculum Program", a new concept in the interpretive education program.
1983 The U.S. Embassy in Beirut is bombed killing 16 Americans when a man driving a car loaded with 300 pounds of TNT smashes into the building.

* Margaret Thatcher is elected to a five-year second term as Prime Minister of Britain in a landslide victory.

* Sally Ride becomes first American woman in space.

* Benigno Aquino, considered a major rival of Philippine President Ferdinand E. Marcos, is assassinated; Marcos denies any responsibility for the killing.

* Soviets shoot down a Korean Airlines 747 killing 269 passengers; the Soviets claim the plane was on a

Hosts and Hostesses are honored at their 50th anniversary celebration at Carter's Grove.

Craft Programs personnel complete a 18th-century Fire Engine made possible through a grant by Harry E. Figgie of Figgie International.

Reginald Butler, a black historian, is hired for a two-year appointment in the research department to prepare a documentary source book on African-American slavery in Virginia.

Ninth Annual Summit of Industrialized Nations is held in Williamsburg.

Quality Circles Program, an effort to improve problem-solving capabilities Foundation-wide, is initiated.

Department of Historical Interpretation formed, merging two departments, Exhibition Buildings and Group Visits.

Colonial Williamsburg advertises for the first time on TV.

A plaque commemorating the former site of First Baptist Church, one of the oldest black churches in America, is dedicated on the corner of Nassau and Francis Streets where it once stood.
spying mission for the U.S.

* The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization warns that 22 African countries face starvation resulting from catastrophic food shortages.

* More than 1,900 U.S. Marines storm the shores of a small Caribbean island to help restore democratic institutions and defeat a band of what President Reagan calls "Cuban thugs."

* New evidence suggesting that chronic brain damage is prevalent among prizefighters leads the American Medical Association to call for a ban of the sport.

* Bjorn Borg, 6-time winner of the French Open, all-time Grand Slam winner, and titleholder to 5 straight Wimbledon victories, retires at 26.

* Still playing for audiences at 98, Eubie Blake, popular ragtime musician, dies five days after his 100th birthday.

* Best Film: "Terms of Endearment"

* Best Actor: Robert Duvall

* Best Actress: Shirley MacLaine

1984 Prime Minister of Canada, Pierre Trudeau, resigns.

IBM awards $150,000 to support educational offerings.

Institute of Early American History and Culture publishes Rhys Isaac's text The Transformation of Virginia, 1740-1790, which wins a Pulitzer Prize.

Best Film: "Terms of Endearment"

Best Actor: Robert Duvall

Best Actress: Shirley MacLaine

1984 Prime Minister of Canada, Pierre Trudeau, resigns.

A new tour, "According to the Ladies", focuses on the experiences of women in the 18th-century.
Walter Mondale, democratic presidential nominee, chooses the first female running mate, Representative Geraldine A. Ferraro.

An unemployed security guard armed with three guns walks into a McDonald's in San Ysidro, California, and kills 20 people.

International Olympic Games held in Los Angeles, California.

One year after the assassination of Benigno Aquino, 900,000 demonstrators fill the streets of Manila to observe Aquino's death and protests against the government of President Ferdinand Marcos.

Indira Gandhi, India's four-time Prime Minister, is gunned down by two members of her personal security guard.

Ronald Reagan is elected to a second term as he defeats Walter Mondale by carrying all but one of the 50 states.

Bishop Desmond Tutu, who continues to wage a nonviolent protest to end apartheid in South Africa, is awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

A gas leak at an insecticide plant in Bhopal, India, kills 2100.

A full-time position, manager of Black Programs, is created to continue nurturing the Foundation's focus in black history. Gifts and grants to Colonial Williamsburg reach their highest level in six years, $9,200,000; the highest was in 1979 when the Foundation acquired Bassett Hall from the Rockefeller family.
The National Education Association estimates that 14,000 United States schools have asbestos problems and that children are more vulnerable to the cancer causing agent than adults.

One of the nation's most avid proponents of jogging, James F. Fixx, dies of a heart attack at age 52 while jogging.

21 year-old Vanessa Williams, the nation's first black Miss America, relinquishes her title after nude photographs of her are published in an issue of "Penthouse" magazine.

Best Picture: "Amadeus"

Best Actor: F. Murray Abraham

Best Actress: Salley Field

1985 For the third time in two and a half years, a Soviet leader is buried; Konstantin Chernenko was replaced by Mikhail Gorbachev, who at 54, is the youngest man to take the office since Stalin.

After 17 days and one death, radical Shiites who are members of Hezbollah, or the Party of God, releases 39 Americans in Beirut.

Carlisle H. Humelsine retires as Chairman of the Board of Colonial Williamsburg Foundation; Daniel J. Boorstin and Ralph Ellison also retire.

The Public Hospital opens.

The newly renovated Visitor center opens.

Dewitt Wallace Decorative Arts Gallery opens; Robert M. Adams, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, delivers keynote address.
Palestinian terrorists stage coordinated attacks on check-out counters of the El Al Israeli Airlines in the Rome and Vienna airports; 14 people are killed and 110 wounded.

A new form of cocaine—purified, less expensive and almost instantly addictive—hits the streets of New York.

President Reagan is hospitalized for removal of a small tumor.

"Live Aid", a worldwide TV simulcast featuring performances by top musical performers, raises money for African famine relief.

Boris Becker, at 17, becomes the youngest ever to win Wimbledon.

Bernard Goetz, the confessed assailant in the shooting of four black youths, is indicted on illegal weapons charges only.

Best Picture: "Out of Africa"

Best Actor: William Hurt

Best Actress: Geraldine Page

The space shuttle Challenger explodes shortly after takeoff killing the seven astronauts aboard in the worst accident in the history of the U.S. space program.

Carter's Grove Reception center opens

A new "Official Guide to Colonial Williamsburg", with references to blacks who lived in the 18th-century town is introduced.

Teaching History at Colonial Williamsburg is published. A series of reinterpretations follow: the James Anderson Blacksmith Shop, Carter's Grove, the Magazine, the Wren Building, the Geddy House, Wetherburn's Tavern and the Cabinetmakers Shop.

$400,000 grant is given by the AT&T Foundation to expand Colonial Williamsburg's educational programs in black culture.
* Corazon Aquino succeeds Ferdinand Marcos as President of the Philippines.

* Three decades of dictatorship end as Haitian President-for-life Jean-Claude Duvalier flees to France.

* American planes bomb two areas of Libya after intelligence officials uncover evidence of a "direct" Libyan involvement in the deadly bombing of a discotheque in West Germany.

* A Nuclear reactor in Chernobyl explodes releasing large amounts of radiation; nearby town of Pripyat is evacuated as Soviets take 11 days to publicly acknowledge the accident.

* After months of refurbishing, the Statue of Liberty is reopened 100 years to the day that France delivered the statue to its present location in New York harbour.

* The White House is plunged into the worst crisis of the Reagan presidency with the disclosure that the administration has been selling arms to Iran and that the money from the sales was diverted to aid rebels in Nicaragua.

* The experimental airplane Voyager, using only a single load of fuel, lands safely in California after ABC-TV's "Good Morning America" is broadcast from Colonial Williamsburg.

* Several administrative changes are made to recognize the Foundation's educational mission and the "collegial working relationships among the educational divisions".

* Lawrence C. Henry is named the first director of Carter's Grove.

* Total assets for the Foundation reach $328 million.

* Foundation purchases the Powder Magazine from the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities.

* Benjamin Powell House opens to public; new interpretation emphasizes eighteenth century family life--incorporates black characters of the period.

* Newly constructed James Anderson Blacksmith Shop opens on the Duke of Gloucester Street; buildings incorporate latest research on 18th century construction and research techniques.

* Lila Acheson Wallace Garden opens at the Wallace Gallery.
completing a non-stop flight around the world.

* Ivan Boesky, one of the richest and most famous names in New York's financial district, pleads guilty to buying and selling stocks and securities based on illegal secret information.

* Federal agents report the largest seizure of cocaine—4,620 pounds—in history.

* The Coca-Cola Company brings back Classic Coke two months after its replacement, New Coke, ends an unsuccessful two months of sales.

* Best Movie: "Platoon"

* Best Actor: Paul Newman

* Best Actress: Marlee Matlin

1987 Senate report on Iran-Contra affair finds that Administration officials deceived one another as well as Congress.

* Iraqi missiles kill 37 in attack on U.S. frigate Stark in the Persian Gulf; Iraqi president apologizes.

* Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher wins a rare third term in Great Britain.

* Supreme Court Justice Lewis F. Powell, Jr., retires.

* Marine Lieutenant Colonel Oliver L. North tells Congressional inquiry higher officials approved his secret Iran-Contra Board of trustees approve a $113.1 million consolidated expense budget.

New interpretation that includes blacks at Wetherburn's Tavern begins.

Construction of a slave quarter at Carter's Grove begins; planning team is appointed to create an interpretive plan for the site.

A new History Forum, twice-a-week guided tours, and special salutes celebrate the bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution in Williamsburg.
operations; Admiral John M. Poindexter, former National Security Adviser, testifies he authorized use of Iran arms sale profits to aid Contras.

* Wall Street industrial average plunges 508 points in one day; worst stock market drop in history.

* Soviets sentence three Chernobyl officials for safety violations in nuclear disaster.

* F.D.A. approves drug AZT for treating AIDS victims.

* National Football League players strike; walkout ends without new contract.

* Best Picture: "The Last Emperor"

* Best Actor: Michael Douglas

* Best Actress: Cher

With the help of the AT&T grant, plans are made to place black artifacts in exhibition sites; to hire a visiting scholar to produce a manuscript on urban blacks; scholarships for black interns and a series of special programs for black history month.

Construction begins on the first reconstructed slave quarter at Carter's Grove using 18th-century building techniques.
NEW DIRECTIONS

The next two decades proved to be among the most traumatic and dynamic in the nation's history. Political, social and economic relations with other countries were strained as seldom before and domestic unrest was at an all-time high. Technology provided advances in communications and travel. Thus, on the one hand, Americans were able to hear and see how other nations functioned. On the other, many actually traveled abroad to experience them first-hand. The result was an increased awareness and understanding of the world-at-large. For perhaps the first time since the 18th century, Americans began seeing themselves as part of a larger whole.

A broadening of the world-view and subsequent events throughout the period served not only to undermine American's confidence in the position their country held in relation to the rest of the world, but it influenced their confidence in the effectiveness of their own government. More importantly, American citizens began to question the ability of their elected officials to run it.

The Vietnam war, acknowledged by many to be the most unpopular in America's history, became an emotional cause celebre for many Americans. Criticism abroad, and at home, undermined war efforts and confounded many American's search for answers. The confusion—created by a lack of answers and by frustration at having to
accept the status quo or be branded unAmerican--further split an already widening gap between those who initiated the war and those forced to fight it. Even at the war's end in 1973, the pomp and circumstance that welcomed American soldiers home from previous wars was absent for the Vietnam veteran.193

But the dwindling of America's confidence began earlier, with the deaths of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Robert Kennedy. Given less than five years to adjust to the assassination of an extremely popular president, John F. Kennedy, the nation sank into an even deeper level of despair and distrust when these two other youthful leaders met their untimely and tragic ends.

Other senseless events occurred during the late 'sixties that, for most Americans, defied reason. In 1969, as a result of a "prophecy" interpreted from the "White" album of the popular rock group, the Beatles. Charles Manson and a group of his followers entered the home of a Los Angeles actress, Sharon Tate, and murdered her and four companions. Blood from the victims was then used to smear obscenities on the walls of Tate's home. It was learned later that Manson believed that a major conflict between blacks and whites was on the horizon. The horror of that event along with a rapidly escalating war in Vietnam, demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention by the "Chicago Eight" shook the confidence of the nation and further polarized young and old,

---
rich and poor, black and white.  

On January 15, 1973, President Nixon ordered a halt to the fighting in Vietnam and the nations longest and most unpopular war ended. But another conflict had already begun--this time on the homefront. On May 15, 1972 five men were arrested by police who were part of a conspiracy to bug democratic National Committee Headquarters in Washington, D.C.'s Watergate complex. What followed was conflict, that began with a series of charges and counter-charges and ended in the resignation of President Richard Nixon. Watergate served to further undermine the fragile confidence American citizens had in the nation's government.  

That same year terrorism took on a new meaning as five Arabs killed 11 Israeli athletes at the Olympic Games in Munich. That event ushered in a spate of atrocities, and a method of warfare--terrorism--that would span more than 16 years.  

Racial rioting continued to remind America that civil rights for all citizens had not been realized. Oil embargoes and skyrocketing oil prices resulted in an energy crisis. Oil spills resulted in even more pollution of the nation's rivers and streams because of negligence and greed. Increasing refusal to acknowledge the double standard that existed between men and women brought about the women's liberation movement. In a Guyanese jungle

---


commune, 917 victims were led to commit suicide by another fanatic, Jim Jones. A nuclear accident at Pennsylvania's Three Mile Island reminded Americans of the constant threat of domestic nuclear accidents. An application to the Federal government to aid the Chrysler corporation which was on the verge of bankruptcy; a boycott of the 1980 Olympics; Americans being held hostage for 444 days in Iran; innocent people being killed by Tylenol pills laced with poison; a new disease (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) more deadly than cancer or heart disease; a space shuttle disaster that killed eight Americans; the Iran-Contra affair and drug addiction reaching epidemic proportions, are just a few of the issues that motivated Americans to redefine their country and its state of being in the two decades following 1966.196

Desegregation and Education in Virginia

The conflict causing the greatest schism was desegregation. For the town of Williamsburg as well as the Foundation, integration was a challenge that had to be handled delicately. On one hand was an increasing vocal black population that openly attacked the status quo; on the other was an unyielding white population perfectly willing to let things remain as they were.

Education, where the greatest and most dynamic fight for integration took place, was a challenge that would not elude Virginia or the town of Williamsburg. A lack of blacks on boards

196Ibid.
of higher education, a staunch belief in "states rights" and politicians who were more concerned about political fallout than civil rights made attempts at integration in Virginia futile at first:

Politicians were concerned more with the political impact of their decisions than with the educational opportunities for minority children. The primary interest of Virginia politicians was to retain the political and educational system as it existed. This desire was also evidenced after the 1964 Civil Rights Act as politicians used similar strategies to maintain the dual system of public higher education in Virginia.

In 1969, fifteen years after Brown vs Board of Education and five years after the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Office of Civil Rights, which was mandated to examine compliance of the federally sanctioned law, declared that Virginia was operating a segregated system of public higher education in direct violation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act. Virginia was then notified that it had 120 days to submit a statewide plan for desegregation of its institutions of higher education.

Up until 1982, in some areas of Virginia, a "black or white child could still receive sixteen or more years of continuous education in Virginia without ever having a classmate of the other race."


198 Ibid, 55.

199 Ibid, 72.
Williamsburg

The town of Williamsburg, instead of adopting the indignation shown by others to the current of events, remained somewhat removed from the national fallout.

The Foundation involved itself in the process of integration by advocating that the letter of the law be followed early on. Colonial Williamsburg actively fought "massive resistance", which was a political movement meant to deny blacks access to integration by openly defying or misinterpreting federal mandates. The Foundation knew that students as well as visitors—a sizeable number of whom came from the north—would not come to Williamsburg knowing that segregation was the social norm.200

During the mid-'sixties and early 'seventies, the Foundation added to its status as ambassador to the world. Heads of state continued to visit, forums and symposia still brought the worlds elite, and although the Rockefeller family curtailed its support of the Foundation, it continued to enjoy the support of the largest endowment fund of any history museum in the United States. Colonial Williamsburg was now a well-oiled machine. Except for occasional new programming, most of the events represented a tradition of quality that had been systemized, quantified and regularized to a fine degree of predictability. Heads of state poured in each year, national magazines were constantly writing about the Williamsbury

200Dr. John Selby, interview by author, Tape recording, Williamsburg, Virginia, 18 August 1987.
experience and few boards of trustees could boast the likes of Ralph Ellison, David Brinkley, Abbey O'neil Rockefeller, or Daniel Boorstin. That predictability became an assurance to external organizations (i.e. the State Department, governors, senators, presidents, heads of state, school systems as well as other museums) that Colonial Williamsburg could be relied upon to put on a class act; that one could always depend on the quality and appropriateness of the Williamsburg message and its ability to represent the best that was, and is, America.201

It was important, then, for the town to support the national image that had been cultivated and maintained for so long by Colonial Williamsburg. For many years, the restoration was the largest employer in the town. And because much of the work to be done was concentrated in service areas, a large segment of the black population worked there.

---

201Michael Wallace, "Visiting the Past," 148-149.
EDUCATION

Political, social, and economic norms in America changed and with that change came a broadening constituency of visitors to Williamsburg looking for their history. The challenge was to maintain the best of the old, while adapting to the demands of the new and remaining true to the historical record.

The two decades following the mid-'sixties took on a different educational context than the preceding years at Colonial Williamsburg. This change was brought about not only because of the consultants, visionaries, and researchers of preceding decades, but also because of the corresponding arrival of new theorists and researchers who brought new ideas, questions and insights. The dynamic 'fifties and 'sixties gave way to the spirited 70's and 80's. Questions changed or evolved, corresponding to a new awareness of history and its importance to an increasingly heterogeneous museum-going audience. Points of view changed about what history was as well as what it should be.

New challenges and concepts emerged in the museum world relating to research, preservation, exhibition and delivery techniques. Innovative researchers like archaeologists William Kelso and Leland Ferguson, writer Jay Anderson, historians Phillip D. Morgan, Sterling Stuckey, James Axtell and Cary Carson began to ask challenging questions: "Where and how did blacks live?"; "How were women treated?"; "What did children do and where were all the
Indians?" These questions, and many others, created an interest that began to challenge Colonial Williamsburg as never before. The Foundation, once again, was becoming an innovator; the model that other museums would come to respect and imitate. No longer could it be accused of "making the past too pretty." 202

There seems to have been a noticeable lull in the decade of the sixties. The old guard had not yet given up the ghost and the new generation had not arrived. Colonial Williamsburg was enjoying national and international acclaim with existing programs and saw no real need, at first, to change.

Even the civil rights movement posed no real threat to the status quo. The movement was not as dynamic in the colonial capital as it was elsewhere in the nation. Minority unrest was handled swiftly and amicably:

Reverend Collins from First Baptist Church and John Goodbody who worked for the restoration did a lot to cool tempers in Williamsburg. I remember a group of students came from Hampton Institute to stage a sit-in at Woolworth's. Well Reverend Collins contacted them and told them that we didn't need them here. We were handling things amongst ourselves. 203

Reverend Junius Moody also remembers being part of a task force made up of integrated members of the community. The purpose of the group was to help bridge the gap between the races.

We met in the basement of Williamsburg Baptist Church about once a month. I was even invited

---

to exchange pulpits with the white Baptist minister once or twice. 204

But the educational thrust of the 70's and 80's was not a process of reinventing the wheel. It called for a strategy that required looking at the old wheel and asking new questions that hadn't been asked before. During that period, the best of the old and the best of the new met each other and the contributions that took place at Colonial Williamsburg were a result of one adapting and adding to the work of the other.

The school program, for example, was refined. Thanks to innovators like William Pfeifer, teacher training programs, inquiry methods of teaching and "hands on" activities were developed. New buildings opened and brought with them new directives for interpretation. Interpretive methods evolved to include "living history"—not a new idea, simply a new twist on an old one.

The new guard included Peter A. G. Brown, Charles Longsworth, Cary Carson, Robert Birney, Dennis O'Toole, William Tramposch, Shomer Zwelling, Reginald Butler, Douglas Smith, William Pfeifer, Jane Strauss, Barbara Beaman. The old guard was Carlisle Humelsine, Charles Bodie, Jim Short, Edward Alexander, Elizabeth Callis and Shirley Low. Together these men and women produced concepts of history that began to give credit to a broader segment of the colonial populace. Each in his or her own way forwarded ideas that are still vibrant and relevant today.

With the new guard, women's history and black history would have never become a reality. Educational objectives that are now a part of the ten-year plan would have been in question and a slave quarter would have not been possible. The difference in the two philosophies was the difference between talking and doing. The old guard talked about the importance of these educational areas but they never actively pursued them with an eye toward implementation.

Many of the new members of the Williamsburg family remembered and respected the work of those who had gone before. Cary Carson, who came aboard as director of research in 1976, especially remembered Edward Alexander:

I've always regretted that I never knew Ed Alexander very well because when I had gone back and read the things that he has written, although they are not, of course, things that we ourselves would write, nevertheless here was a--he had many of the same objectives that we have and are still trying to achieve.205

Dennis A. O'Toole, who came to the Foundation in 1979 as the director of Group Visits and Educational Programs, not only had a healthy respect for Colonial Williamsburg but also remembered the key players with respect:

I also met and liked right away some of the old hands who had been around; Jim Short, Ed Spencer, Doug Smith and Peter Brown. And I was impressed with the resources that this place has. I was struck by the scope of the whole restoration project and so I was excited about

The movement spearheaded in Williamsburg by the newcomers was the result of a movement in historical circles called the new social history. This movement was defined by a growing belief, held by a new breed of scholars and historians, that history was not only defined by decisive dates, significant moments, or shakers and movers like Thomas Jefferson, George Washington and Patrick Henry. It was the result of a series of events—some anomalous, some complimentary—that involved all of the constituent groups within a community or society. Peter Stearns, a social historian, says of social history that "first it deals with ordinary people, rather than the elite." This type of history extends to interactive networks that include events affecting the group, community, locale, region, state and the nation as a whole.

Social historians, scholars and educators, then, have provided new ways to look at the past. Methodologies have been introduced that help contemporary audiences understand the increasingly diverse communities that formulate society at large. These scholars believe that all segments of the population should be acknowledged.

---


207 Rex M. Ellis, "Interpreting Colonial Black History" [paper presented at Smithsonian Institution], TD, 6 February 1987, Williamsburg, Virginia.

for their contributions to the shaping of American history. It pays considerable attention to the "forgotten" classes—women, Indians, blacks, etc. Minorities have received special attention, particularly blacks. Questions that had not been asked in the past, when looking at primary sources of information relating to blacks, were asked and a surprising number of answers emerged that indicated a new educational focus for the teaching of American history.

At Colonial Williamsburg, the movement was not going unnoticed. Quite the opposite. It was accepted with open arms by Carson and his staff of scholars. In the mid-'seventies the President of Colonial Williamsburg, Carlisle H. Humelsine, initiated a taskforce to design a new interpretive program based on a broader view of colonial history. In an explanation of that change, the 1980-81 "Curriculum Report", as it was called, addressed the new social historical perspective:

A new historiography reflected the dominant characteristics of the 1960s: suspicion and distrust of leaders and a concomitantly populist view of the world. An increasingly available revolutionary instrument of technology—the computer—made it easier to process and draw statistically based conclusions from past and previously unmanageable masses of historical data. What evolved was a blending of these modified views of the world with a technology for exploring the validity of such views in statistically reliable detail. There emerged a kind of social history that, according to Dr. Cary Carson, director of research at Colonial Williamsburg, 'pays primary attention to the associations that every person in a community formed with his fellow men and women in the cause of raising families, earning livings, making laws, practicing religion, and whatever else cannot
Research and Education

This new social history began at Colonial Williamsburg in the late fifties, however. As a result of the Cresap, McCormick and Paget survey of 1952, topics relating to people and events were generated within the research department in the late 'fifties. Researchers were shown a list of topics to choose from and conducted original research in their chosen areas. Subjects were assigned based on interest and researchers were allowed to choose topics based on their interest in them. With the introduction of these reports, the research department began to take a more proactive role in the educational and interpretive process under Edward Riley. But the real transformation in research seems to have less to do with Riley, who was the first director of research not tied to the department of architecture, as with the expertise and interest of his research staff. Of particular note were Jane Carson, Hugh Rankin, James Soltow and Thaddeus Tate. Even though they were products of the 50's their works were still being used into the '80's.

210 Tate interview.
211 Alexander, The Interpretation Program of Colonial Williamsburg, 42.
Nothing of consequence came out of the research department after those documents until the leadership had changed. John Selby, who was a member of the research department from 1961 to 1966, wrote a paper on family and culture but it never received the attention that the previous series by Tate, Carson, Rankin and Soltow received.

Pat Gibbs, a historian in the department of research at Colonial Williamsburg, began working at the Foundation as an intern in 1965. A masters candidate from the History department at nearby William and Mary, Gibbs remembers the transition to social history and how it affected the educational thrust:

The emphasis when I arrived was interpretation. There was a great deal of lip-service, and I might not be totally fair, to social history. It was social history but in an elitist sense...you talked about George Wythe but not Elizabeth. You mentioned him as a lawyer, one of the seven signers of the Declaration of Independence...aside from mentioning the house as visitors walked in, there wouldn't be much more. The rest would be on the man.

Gibbs went on to say that one of the reasons the gentry was talked about was because historians knew more about them. And, "that's what people wanted to hear. It was really a political focus." 212

Gibbs believes, too, that the decade of the 'sixties was a time of complacency and self-satisfaction with education as well as interpretation:

I think that during that period [1957, after the Story of a Patriot was produced] that Colonial Williamsburg began to hit a plateau

that did not end until the mid-'seventies. They were very satisfied with what was being done.

They had scripts for interpreters but by the time I arrived they were using ones that had already been written. This is why I say when I arrived there seemed to be nothing new...In the '50's virtually all of the researchers had PH.D's. When I arrived only John Selby, who stayed for a very short while, had a Ph.D.

There is one thing that Dr. Riley began that, I'm sorry to say, has fallen by the wayside: grant-in-aid programs for history students. Ph.D or post-doctorate candidates were given a stipend to come to Williamsburg to do research in Colonial history. That enlivened the department because it brought in people who sparked ideas for the rest of the staff.213

Thaddeus Tate, research historian from 1954 to 1961, agrees "Toward the 60's and 70's, a group of people settled in but they weren't the best or the brightest."214

So, while education had changed at Colonial Williamsburg, it did experience a lull during the 60's. It was ten years between the time Humelsine took office and the three exhibition buildings opened with their new interpretive thrust. It was as if the turmoil and social unrest brought on by the Brown versus Board of Education case and the Civil Rights Movement during the '50's from outside the Foundation, and the various evaluations and reorganizations taking place within, was replaced by the complacency of the 60's.

To be fair, Colonial Williamsburg was flying high as a museum. It had no equal in the museum field. Many of the precedents that

213 Ibid.

214 Tate interview.
were set in the museum field were set by Colonial Williamsburg. The popular Seminar for Historic Administration began at Colonial Williamsburg, the apprenticeship program that began in the crafts department, the Garden Symposium, the Antique's forum, the Democracy Workshop, the Student Burgess and International Assembly, were all programs that began at Colonial Williamsburg. Humelsine alone sat on seven museum boards in Virginia and five out-of-state—including the Smithsonian Institution cluster. \(^{215}\)

As the new guard came to the fore at Colonial Williamsburg, bringing with them the new social history, new methodologies of interpretation developed. History was not being seen entirely through exhibits, buildings and elaborate arrangements of artifacts. Visitors began to see and participate in their own learning through interactive programs and strategies aimed at participatory learning.

The new guard also included, for the first time, a visible presence of the president in Colonial Williamsburg. Both Carlisle Humelsine and Charles Longsworth lived on-site and took an active role in the educational goals of the Foundation. Humelsine was an organizer; a politician; a diplomat. Longsworth, an educator turned administrator. Collectively they brought about a museum that was financially solvent and educationally sound.

Humelsine and Education

With the retirement of Kenneth Chorley and the entrance of Carlisle Humelsine, a different approach to the running of the Foundation took place. While Chorley ran the Foundation from his office in New York, Humelsine became the first president to live on site. Humelsine had a decidedly different management style as president of Colonial Williamsburg than did his predecessor Kenneth Chorley. While Chorley developed a reputation as a task master, Humelsine was a gentleman. No less demanding than his predecessor, Humelsine's style was more refined, polished, professional.

Humelsine joined the staff of Colonial Williamsburg in 1953 as executive vice president. His first concerns were:

the reorganization of the operational and administrative functions in accordance with the recommended plan and the establishment of a longer-range outlook for financial stability (of the Foundation)\textsuperscript{216}

He also represented Colonial Williamsburg on various planning commissions such as the Colonial Virginia Regional Planning and Economic Development Commission, a local group set up to monitor and plan the development of the Williamsburg, York and James City Counties area. He became president of Colonial Williamsburg in 1958.\textsuperscript{217}

\textsuperscript{216}Ibid, 12,
\textsuperscript{217}Ibid, 44.
A colonel in the army before he was thirty, Humelsine was an expert at handling details. Kenneth Chorley met him at the end of World War II and was impressed. Undoubtedly this memory lingered and Humelsine was finally invited to New York by Mr. Rockefeller's general council and offered a job. His first task was to find ways to increase revenues. He used his connection with the State Department and instituted a deal with the Chief of Protocol to begin a program of visits for foreign dignitaries to Colonial Williamsburg:

Humelsine left Washington knowing that the State Department had a chronic problem: what to do with visiting dignitaries. His old friend and associate, Deputy Chief of Protocol Clement Conger was sick to death of holding foreign visitors' hands while leading them around places like Detroit automobile plants which resembled factories everywhere. The Visitors were neither markedly impressed nor put in a receptive mood for whatever official business awaited them in Washington. The former duty undersecretary realized that he had a superb alternative, one that would help the institution he now headed and serve his old employers as well.

Williamsburg was different, indeed unique and uniquely American, a place unlike anywhere abroad. It offered comfortable guest facilities, rides in carriages, and glimpses of the national genesis. Once the State Department discovered it—with Humelsine beckoning like a Siren—it became a virtually mandatory stop for every visiting head of state bound for an Oval Office meeting. It was appealing, entertaining, diverting, interesting—and its cuisine didn't disturb foreign stomachs. The Inn could handle a state visit on short notice, the bellmen didn't lose luggage and, Conger remembers, it offered him bargain rates. Relatively removed from cities and hotbeds of dissidents, it also offered good security, while enabling the visitor to recover from jet lag less than 150 miles from the White House.
house. Almost every administration from Eisenhower's time onward happily made use of it by scheduling a stop enroute to Washington for reigning dignitaries. And as one hand washes the other, Williamsburg profited from the business which enhanced its image in the eyes of American travelers and attracted more civilian visitors.218

Managing these visits became an even more complicated problem in organization, and Humelsine solved that dilemma by instituting the "Operations Plan". This was a document containing a series of step-by-step procedures for a foreign visit, from preparation for arrival to departure of the guest. Everything, including seating arrangements, name tags, transportation, security, etc, was included in this document. Everyone who had responsibility, from the groundskeeper to the ticket seller, was included.219

Humelsine was instrumental in leading the Foundation from an elaborate hobby of its benefactor to an independent institution capable of maintaining itself financially and educationally. Indications are that he focused most of his attention on financial solvency. Following the death of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., finances became crucial as the Foundation began to experience life without its benefactor. But Humelsine also did a great deal, during his tenure, to move the educational programs into new levels of quality and dynamism.

The first two decades of his term as president centered on finance and construction. In 1962, the first of three grants by the

218Kopper, 217-218.
219Ibid.
Rockefeller Brothers Fund, $2 million, was awarded to the Foundation to carry forward work in colonial restoration. In 1966, a second grant was given by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. A year later three major exhibition buildings opened, The James Geddy House, the Peyton Randolph House, and Wetherburn's Tavern. In 1969 a 2,500 acre tract of land, Kingsmill, was sold to the Anheuser-Busch Company. In 1972 Providence Hall guest rooms opened. In 1976, a formal funds development program began. In 1978 a third grant from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund was given. And in 1980, a new budgeting procedure was initiated.220

When asked what were his proudest accomplishments during his presidency, he replied:

I have been most pleased with the physical completion of the Historic Area. That's what Mr. Rockefeller (Jr.) wanted to see, and you have to get a sense of satisfaction that it has been accomplished. The last missing link just fell into place with the authorization to restore the Public Hospital and turn it into a decorative arts gallery.221

When asked how he wanted to be remembered:

I think the most I want to be remembered for is the development of an organization that represents quality. I think that's the hallmark of Colonial Williamsburg. If you talk to anybody about Williamsburg, they see this as a quality effort. You look at the quality of the collections, the quality of the personnel, the physical setting, the quality of the maintenance, the quality of the hotels—this is the image of Williamsburg to visitors and

220Blackford, DeSamper, Gonzales. The Humelsine Years, 48.


207
the primary reason for our success.\textsuperscript{222}

Four educational projects began under Humelsine: (1) the acquisition of Carter's Grove (1969),\textsuperscript{223} (2) the opening of three new exhibition buildings, (3) the opening of the Powell-Waller House (1972) for school groups, (4) a curriculum committee report (1977), and (5) a "living history" program (1979).\textsuperscript{224}

With the opening of the Geddy House, the Peyton Randolph House and Wetherburn's Tavern in 1967, the Foundation embarked on a new kind of education. It was a calculated decision that Humelsine was prepared to explain:

We selected these three new Exhibition buildings with care, after systematically considering every other eighteenth-century structure in the Historic Area; we chose these because we saw in them an opportunity to give an even broader view of colonial life. The enthusiasm of the staff grew as it became apparent that we could now enrich our interpretation of the old city with the life stories of a lawyer-stateman whose family lived in his town house for fifty years, a leading innkeeper whose tavern building was substantially as he had left it in 1760, and a prosperous craftsman who was probably the best of Virginia silversmiths of his era.\textsuperscript{225}

To accompany the opening of the three exhibition buildings in 1967, a number of research reports were produced by the research

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{222}\textit{Ibid}, 4.
\item \textsuperscript{223}\textit{Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, "...some one always coming to perfection" Presidents's Report, 31 December 1969, 50.}
\item \textsuperscript{224}\textit{Blackford, DeSamper, Gonzales, The Humelsine Years, 47.}
\item \textsuperscript{225}\textit{Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, "...Williamsburg tells it like it was" President's Report, 31 December 1967, 41.}
\end{itemize}
The nine texts represented a significant departure from the norm. Topics were chosen that discussed people—what they did, what they ate and how they lived. From accounts of travelers, cookery of the time, recreation of Colonial Virginians, to criminal trial proceedings and the Negro in colonial Virginia, Social history was at the door beckoning for entrance.

This was the beginning of a long and continuing relationship between research and education at the Foundation. This attempt to bring to life the people who lived in the buildings, as well as the buildings themselves, afforded research the opportunity to work closely with the men and women who interpreted the buildings. For the first time they were dealing with people as well as objects.

The first educational statement to be made during the years between 1967-1978 was made by Humelsine. It was a nine page essay that accompanied the opening of the Geddy House, the Peyton Randolph House and Wetherburn's Tavern. The report discussed the development of the buildings as well as the interpretation of them. It went on to discuss the training and preparation of the hostesses, hosts, escorts, and members of the Historic Trades department who would be interpreting the buildings. A brief statement was made about the selection of interpreters and the challenges faced by escorts from the many schools groups visiting

---

226 Ibid, 42.
The first philosophical statement was made via a text published by Colonial Williamsburg and written by Edward Alexander. Written in 1971, and titled The Interpretation Program of Colonial Williamsburg, the booklet gave a brief history of the restoration, its aims and purpose. Next it covered topics that Colonial Williamsburg should teach:

The whole idea of individualism with its related concepts of individual worth or human liberty, responsible leadership of public service, belief in self-government, individual rights, and opportunity were well understood in eighteenth-century Williamsburg and still undergird the American system of government. Everyday life in the eighteenth century and architecture, gardens and furnishings were also on Alexander's list of priorities. He went on to discuss interpretation and its many challenges. From museum interpretation in general to the special problems encountered with school groups, foreign visitors, forums, conferences and the like.

Alexander also felt that interpretation was not just people. Publications, news articles, audiovisual programs, souvenirs, films, and the like, had interpretive value. His next section dealt with that effort at Colonial Williamsburg.

---

227 Ibid, 41-51.
228 Alexander, The Interpretation Program of Colonial Williamsburg, 15.
229 Ibid, 14-21.
230 Ibid, 36-37.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
His final chapter discussed interpretation problems and challenges that Colonial Williamsburg had to deal with in the future. Among them he mentioned continuing research, changing audiences, black interpretation, classroom preparation of student groups, and expanding the use of alternative interpretive methods.231

The final document, the curriculum committee report, was actually initiated by Humelsine, but it had an interesting beginning. Cary Carson, Vice President for Research, who had just arrived in 1976 replacing Edward Riley, recalls it genesis in detail:

Sometime in 1976 or 1977, we were going through yet another -- well, for me the first -- of the belt tightening budget reduction situations, and Carl Humelsine appointed a future directions committee. Those, as you remember, were very popular in corporate America in the mid to late '70's. Well, we had one. And poor Roger Thaler was put in charge of it. And it was only -- I found out later to my chagrin -- the only other people on it were vice presidents. It must have been really very early after my arrival here because in my kind of bushy-tailed innocence, I went to Jim Short who was then my boss, 'gee, I see from memoranda that are crossing my desk that the President has appointed a future directions committee. I certainly think that this is something that the Director of Research ought to sit on. And if, after all, research is to be in the vanguard of what we need to know in order to present what we want to teach to visitors to Colonial Williamsburg, I think I ought to be among those who hear it first.' And Jim who was nothing if not accommodating ...... he pulled some strings, and when we had the first meeting...from the moment I entered the room I realized I was with the wrong cast

of characters.... I sat quietly throughout the first couple of meetings, realizing I was very much the junior senator... who had talked his way into the wrong setting. So I would sit and listen to the big boys at Colonial Williamsburg and see how they did this kind of thing. Well about the middle of the second meeting, it dawned on me that they hadn't a clue. I realized that the device they hit upon for planning the future was to send every member of this committee--as I recalled there must have been 15 people on it; 15 vice presidents and I don't think that poor Roger Thaler had every had this kind of assignment with this group of people before... and consequently, I was not surprised when after an interval that grew longer and finally became forever, the committee was simply never convened again... I got a phone call after two or three weeks from Mr. Roger Leclere to meet him in his office at a certain hour, which I did, and found Peter Sterling. Peter Sterling and I were the only two people at the meeting and Roger had, by then, concluded that the future directions committee was stalled and was not finding a way to the future. And he thought that maybe another way to do this would be to impanel, to ask Carl Humelsine to convene a small group, or ask a small group of recently arrived folks here in Williamsburg, to ponder this problem further. So we had a conversation, really Roger Leclere led, in which obviously he was getting Peter's ideas and my ideas about the future of what Williamsburg ought to be doing to catch up with other museums and really move out ahead again... About three weeks later, Humelsine called a number of us into his office.

In its final form, the document that was finally written became the basis for a subsequent ten-year plan, "Teaching History at Colonial Williamsburg" that was implemented in 1985.233 The

232 Carson interview.

committee was composed of six members. Stephen Elliott, executive Assistant to the president and assistant secretary of the Foundation, Harold Gill, research historian, Roy Graham, Resident Architect, Brock Jobe, curator of furniture, and Peter Sterling, Director of Group Visits and Educational Programs. In the summary and conclusion statement, the committee justified the need for their report, profiled the diverse audiences visiting Colonial Williamsburg, and reintroduced the idea of "Clusters" or learning units within the historic area focusing on one of three themes:

...every great educational institution must reassess its goals, bring them up to date, and adjust its curriculum and teaching methods accordingly. In the 'forties, 'fifties, and early 'sixties Colonial Williamsburg's educational programs took meaning and momentum from a shared sense of the museum's special role in contemporary American society. Since then the dominant national issues that Colonial Williamsburg put into timely and telling historical perspective have been nudged aside little by little by other issues, issues that our curriculum—the history we teach here—addresses less successfully. A paradox results. Although we offer more instruction now than ever before, our teaching has less effect. It attracts fewer and fewer visitors, and for those who do come it matters less.

Today's visitors to Colonial Williamsburg look for evidence of community. They want to know who lived here and came here, not just who the town's and the colony's first families were, but everyone else besides. They want to know, too, how the various communities within communities—the families, the households, the neighborhoods, the work units, the officeholders, the church congregations—each went about their own business, how together they exerted the will of the community as a whole, and how they reconciled differences between them...

Our committee has responded by placing one
familiar and two new historical themes at the center of a revised curriculum. Called for short 'Becoming Americans,' 'The New Consumers,' and 'Choosing Revolution,' these three complementary perspectives on the past are the basic elements in the Williamsburg story as we would recast it. They are intended to help visitors understand the structure and function of pre-industrial communities in several ever-widening senses: families and neighborhoods at the center, Williamsburg and its surrounding countryside, colonial Virginia and the Chesapeake world, and finally the transatlantic communities of England and her colonies and Africa and its captured progeny...

The committee has recommended reorganizing the Historic Area and Carter's Grove into thematic exhibit clusters. Exhibition buildings, craft shops, and a program of interpretation so arranged would lead, we believe, to a more manageable and intellectually coherent teaching museum. A more exciting one too, because our interpreters, working in exhibit clusters, would be able to enlarge and elaborate on stimulating ideas using a variety of teaching techniques. Clustered exhibits would also lend themselves to easy adjustments in our educational programs to meet seasonal needs and short-range economic circumstances. Such learning centers could be supplemented, thereby further enhancing the visitor's experience, by the addition of so-called performance centers, satellite museums, revitalized life-on-the-scene activities, and a form of merchandising in the Historic Area that could (with extreme care) positively enhance our portrayal of eighteenth-century Williamsburg as the retail center it once was.234

The 82 page report was a comprehensive attempt by "junior faculty" to answer four basic questions posed by Mr. Humelsine: what has the educational mission been over the last fifty years? What should it

be in the future? What are the best methods for achieving the new mission and how can we do it without going broke?\textsuperscript{235}

Whether Humelsine was preparing for retirement and didn't have time to react to the report, whether he felt the future president should forward the plan, or whether he felt the report was too ambitious, is unclear. There is no indication that he tried to implement the plan in any form. It's possible that the "junior faculty" had introduced a concept that had no holes except its liberal ideas that may have been too much too soon.

In any case, the next time it would appear would be in a new document under a different name and forwarded by a new administration.

These three documents, then, set the educational course that Charles Longsworth and his administrative team would follow, revise and refine into the 'eighties.

Longsworth and Education

Charles R. Longsworth was elected by the board of trustees to succeed Mr. Humelsine on November of 1977.\textsuperscript{236} Longsworth was a magna cum laude, Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Amherst College. He has a master's degree from the Harvard graduate school of business administration. He was a founder of Hampshire College and became its second president in 1971. He helped the college grow

\textsuperscript{235}Ibid, v.

\textsuperscript{236}Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, "Revolution in Williamsburg", A Summary of the Year 1976, 31 December 1976, 50.
financially, and he was instrumental in formulating its educational curriculum.  

Beginning in 1978, Longsworth had as a goal to lead the Foundation into a new era as a teaching institution. That phase began with a committee initially formed by Humelsine, the Curriculum Committee. As mentioned above, this committee was eventually led by Dr. Cary Carson, Vice President for research. Its directive was to develop a new educational plan that would "maintain Colonial Williamsburg's position as the leader in outdoor museum education".

Four years after the initial curriculum report, the Governor's Palace was reinterpreted. New information gathered from research and collections was joined with new interpretive techniques to begin a popular and innovative interpretive program. In the same year Wolstenholme Towne, a seventeenth century outpost located on the Carter's Grove site that was overrun by Indians, was discovered by Ivor Noel Hume, Colonial Williamsburg's Resident Archaeologist.

In 1983, the Greenhow Store, an eighteenth-century retail store, began an interpretive program that re-created the store based on Virginia Gazette advertisements. The store sells commercial goods to visitors and incorporates the character of John Greenhow to greet and converse with visitors. This program has become an excellent resource for teaching about the eighteenth-

---


238 The State of the Foundation, 2.
century economy.

In 1985 the Benjamin Powell House was reinterpreted. Its major objective was to concentrate on Family. The family—both black and white—of eighteenth-century builder Benjamin Powell were introduced and the entire site was reinterpreted to show a typical day in the Powell household.

In the same year, the reconstructed Public Hospital and the DeWitt Wallace Decorative Arts Gallery opened. It was a major exhibition space for displaying artifacts and works of art as well as a major resource for supporting educational programs and special events.

In 1986 the James Anderson Forge opened to the public. The latest architectural research was brought to bear on this building but the chief innovation was that the building was constructed using 18th-century building techniques.

Also in this year, the Magazine, the Wren Building at the College of William and Mary, and Carter's Grove were reinterpreted.

Finally in 1986 plans were made to reinterpret the Geddy House, which was the home of James Geddy a prominent Silversmith. At present, he is still the Foundation's president and chief executive officer. He sees the next several years as educational challenges, but his future agenda focuses on the same agenda left by Humelsine at his retirement: enhancing standards of quality:

While our future ambitions are substantial, we

---

239 Ibid, 4-5.
are consciously working toward a change in perspective that will be revealed through greater focus on consolidation, interpretation, and refinement; better, rather than more, programs. I believe the emphasis over the next several years should be on the improvement of quality and service. We, as all service organizations, are suffering from a scarcity of eligible workers and the threats to our service culture from a growing indifference to, or hostility to, service jobs. Further, we, as any large complex organization that has grown rather rapidly, suffer variation in standards. In 1987 I began a reorganization designed to achieve a number of objectives, the first of which was to find ways to help foster improvements in our service culture, extending to problems of finding, recruiting, training, motivating, and rewarding employees and to the consolidation of functions and delegation of authority. \(^{240}\)

Teaching History at Colonial Williamsburg

Educationally, the groundwork that had begun under Humelsine with the 1977 curriculum report was adapted, reworked and developed into a booklet titled *Teaching History at Colonial Williamsburg.*

The text adopted as a theme "Becoming Americans". This was one of the three themes suggested by the '77 curriculum report. But this was to be the single thrust for the ten years between 1985 and 1995. The reason for the decision was set out in the Preamble:

> We are attracted to it because we sense that the million or more visitors who come to Williamsburg every year seek to know something of their own origins, not simply to hear the story of those who colonized Virginia. We sense in their inquiries and expressed interests a distinct assumption that the narratives they hear here, the information they receive, even the visual and spatial experiences they undergo, have something to say to them about

\(^{240}\)Ibid, 5,15.
their own lives.\textsuperscript{241}

In choosing the theme they also brought to bear information that had been compiled from three surveys:

We have some 'hard' evidence that our visitors seek the origins of their American identity. As early as 1965 a survey of a national sample of visitors revealed that a sizable proportion felt Colonial Williamsburg should present the story of 'ordinary citizens of colonial times, as well as the heroes.' Subsequent surveys in 1979 and 1980 showed that half the respondents reported reading an historical work of fiction 'in the past five years' which we take to be a high level of interest in early societies. The popularity of craft shops and store sites and of presentations of everyday life also reflect visitor interest in the lives of workers and slaves. Recognizing this impulse, we are now prepared to speak to it.\textsuperscript{242}

The text outlined a thematic approach because it was felt that such an approach focused objectives and allowed educational planners to create "coherent storylines, set priorities, and select sites and programs that made most effective use of the Foundation's resources to achieve its mission."\textsuperscript{1} It also was a way of coordinating research efforts; of setting the agenda Colonial Williamsburg historians, archaeologists, curators and architects were to use when searching for answers to historical questions. The authors were Robert Birney, Cary Carson, Kevin Kelly and Dennis O'Toole. In writing the document, the group divided the themes into topics: government, work and enterprise, family and community life, and


\textsuperscript{242}Ibid.
cultural life. 243

"Government" was meant to focus on the "development of political ideology, which includes the growth of the ideal of republicanism and its manifestation in representative assemblies, in political discourse, and in the acts of popular defiance that bred a revolution." 244

"Enterprise and Work" was not only meant to explain the economic system and its development in colonial Virginia. It was also designed to make certain that visitors understood "that capital accumulation was limited to whites and that the planters' expropriation of the labor of blacks slaves is also part of the explanation of the growing prosperity of Virginia's eighteenth-century economy." 245

"Family and Community" centered on the development of "orderly associations between individuals, families, and other groups." 246 Family size, kinship patterns, marriage ages, death rates, sex ratios, health customs, hierarchies and the like were topics to be discussed in this topical area.

"Cultural Life" fixed on "learned behavior; the formal and informal rules by which they (people) think and act." 247

243 Ibid, 7.
244 Ibid.
245 Ibid, 8.
246 Ibid, 11.
247 Ibid, 12.
Each exhibition site and major program was assigned a series of topics to discuss. Each was also given "storylines" or thematic ideas meant to tie the topic interpreted together.

Most importantly for interpretation, *Teaching History at Colonial Williamsburg* signaled the end of an assumption that had gone on in the teaching of history at the Foundation for many years: all information was valid, especially if it could be documented as cold hard fact. Except for the goals and objectives set forth under Alexander's tenure and the scripts that were written for interpreters by people like Shirley Low, Douglas Smith and Tom Schlesinger, there was no attempt to provide a unified theme that all educational departments within the Foundation could adopt. The result was that all departments researched, wrote and taught based on their individual understanding and belief of what was appropriate to say, build, or exhibit. The only prerequisite was that it had to be established fact. Cary Carson remembers that attitude vividly. The Foundation's view of teaching history was strictly "constructionist", even in his own department of research:

...there were people who felt that if you didn't know it—if you didn't know it for a fact, that is to say, you couldn't find a document that said that happened here in Williamsburg, that it had no part in an interpretation presented at Williamsburg.248

From an interpretive standpoint, *Teaching History at Colonial Williamsburg* not only encouraged participation from other departments; its success depended on it. Research in particular had

---

248 Carson interview.
to take a more proactive role in helping to formulate concepts and ideas. This was a departure from the norm according to Carson:

I don't know how far back, but research had played a kind of wait by the telephone until somebody calls with a question. The department then went into gear and answered that question, but had no role really to play in planning the larger, well, I guess the term that first became current in the mid-seventies here was curriculum. My view was that I had been hired for my abilities as a professional historian, not simply as the number one sleuth to find answers to questions that other people pose.\(^{249}\)

To date, this document has made the boldest and most significant educational statement regarding the teaching of black history of any other document that has been done before at Colonial Williamsburg. And this document represented educational policy that was also Foundation policy. This text was not just the hopes and aspirations of a few liberal thinkers who were moved by the civil rights era. Unlike the Curriculum Report, it was approved, supported and sanctioned by all administrative officers at the highest levels from president Longsworth down. And the statement left no doubt in the minds of those who would interpret its meaning:

In Virginia the history of English settlement is inextricably joined with the history of the transformation of black Africans into Afro-Americans. Slaves though they were, they and soon their American-born sons and daughters created successful and supportive communities in the country of their subjugation. An emergent Afro-American society centered on the immediate family and its kin. A skilled, creative people, their handiwork was manifest on the landscape. Blacks adapted common traits\(^{249}\)
from variety of West African traditions to make a New World culture rich in music and religion. While closely interconnected with Anglo-American society, dependent Afro-American communities were culturally divergent. They, too, contributed to the complex civilization that took root here.  

The plan was presented to employees in 1985 and implementation has begun. Several sites were reinterpreted with these themes in mind, the Benjamin Powell house, Carter's Grove, the Wren Building, the Magazine, Wetherburn's tavern and the James Geddy House.

Organizational Changes in Education

The other changes that have taken place educationally have been organizational. Three committees were formed in the early '80's to discuss and oversee educational programs within the Division of Education and Preservation: the Educational Administrator's Group (EAG), the Educational Standards Committee (ESC), and the Programming Review Committee (PRC).

The Educational Standards Committee was first titled the Educational Policy Committee and was formulated in 1982. It was established as a subcommittee of the Program Planning and Review Committee. Its purpose, as stated in 1982, was:

1. To review and/or develop internally generated proposals for the future development of our educational programs.
2. To review and recommend action for all externally generated educational proposals for the use of Foundation resources.
3. To conduct periodic audits of the strengths and weaknesses of current Foundation educational efforts.

250Teaching History at Colonial Williamsburg, 4.
4. To work toward a comprehensive educational policy statement for adoption by the Foundation.

5. To open its agenda with a review of the recent AD Hoc Committee on Education report [Teaching History at Colonial Williamsburg] for the purpose of recommending a schedule for the adoption and implementation of the Ad Hoc Committee's recommendations. 251

In 1987, the committee was renamed the Educational Standards Committee and new goals were established:

Under the direction of the Programming Review Committee, the Educational Standards Committee will evaluate a number of programs each year which have been motivated by our new ten-year plan...the ESC is a group which meets monthly in order to evaluate new programs which have been in place for at least six months.

...When programs come up for evaluation by this group, its members will first want to talk at length about the objectives of the new programs with those individuals who have been chiefly responsible for the development of them. After such a discussion, each committee member will make at least three visits in order to observe the activity and/or program. After a month, they will reconvene in order to discuss their observations, based on the objectives set forth by the coordinators... 252

In 1982, committee members were drawn from the department of research, the department of interpretive education, the Division of Museums, and museums studies. It was chaired by the Vice President for Historic Area Programs and Operations. 253

---

251 "Educational Policy Committee Meeting #1", TD, 1 October 1982, CWF, 1.


253 "Educational Policy Committee Meeting #1," 1.
By 1987, members were supervisors, managers, assistant
directors and directors from the educational divisions.\textsuperscript{254} It was
co-chaired by the Assistant Director for Interpretive Planning and
the Director of Interpretive Education.

The Program Planning and Review Committee was formed in 1980
"to coordinate and evaluate all educational programs and the
architectural implications of historic and public buildings and to
provide central coordination of all educational program development
and resource allocation."\textsuperscript{255} Members were administrative officers
and directors from a cross-section of the educational divisions and
the products division. Its chairman was the Senior Vice President
for Education.

The Educational Administrators Group is named by the president
and chaired by the Vice President an Chief Education Officer. It
oversees projects that involve the entire Foundation, with its
chief functions being the establishment of educational policies and
programs and research priorities. It is made up of senior
administrators.

At their best the committees have great potential to enhance
program quality and assure that only the projects that align with
Foundation policy and have been well thought-out receive support.
But like all such groups, committees can also frustrate, baffle
and nullify the creative energies of valuable employees who's

\textsuperscript{254}Ibid.

\textsuperscript{255}“Communicating the Past to the Present”, 23.
projects are put on hold while waiting for committee members to resolve seemingly trivial points.
Organizational changes

Interpretation between 1966-86 became so diverse that an additional department, the Department of Interpretive Education, was formed to accommodate it. As this diversity became widespread, the decision was made to change the organizational structure within the divisions of interpretation and presentation. Not just because of the interpretive programs. Other factors, including financial considerations and organizational efficiency, influenced the decision. Interpretive programs became a major factor in the everyday experiences of the visitor, and it was believed that a reorganization was in order.

In June of 1972, the Board of Trustees approved a plan to reorganize the Foundation's organizational structure. The reorganization came as the administration became increasingly concerned that the future operation and maintenance of the historic area was in jeopardy. The Foundation was operating at a deficit and the funds used to stabilize the yearly shortfall were dwindling:

If it were not for the substantial endowment income, all of which is being used to support current programs, our situation would be far different from what is its today. Steadily increasing expenses brought about by inflation and higher cost, however, are exceeding our growth in investment income, resulting in increasing deficits. Unless other sources of income are found the quality of our programs will increasingly decline or diminish in
Their solution was threefold:

First, the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation must utilize more effectively the entire Historic Area with its eighty-eight original, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century buildings, and other features to provide a comprehensive picture of the everyday life of eighteenth-century Williamsburg and the significant events that occurred here.

Second, we must broaden the basis of our financial support by encouraging all visitors to share in the cost of Colonial Williamsburg's museum, educational, and cultural programs.

Third, we must accentuate, particularly in the years ahead, the unique character of the Historic Area by protecting it against the discordant elements of modern life, such as automobile traffic, and restore the life on the scene and tranquillity of an eighteenth-century town that was a significant part of colonial times as the capital of the colonial of Virginia.257

The changes included the introduction of a general admission ticket ($4.50), closing of streets and parking lots in the historic area, a transfer of sales from the crafts shops to improve interpretation, adding more "life on the scene" and encouraging off-season visitation.258

257 Ibid, 26-27.
258 Ibid, 28.
It is also interesting to note that this decision was made only two years before the Arab oil embargo of 1973 which heralded an energy crisis that affected the United States in general and tourism in particular.

Several organizational changes were made that affected interpretation. James Short, former Assistant Director of Interpretation, succeeded Edward Alexander who retired on February of 1972. Short was named Vice President of a new Division of Preservation and Research. The Division of Interpretation was eliminated and its responsibilities were assigned to other areas. The new division headed by Short consisted of the departments of research, archaeology, publications, audiovisual programs, and the office of the resident architect with its associated departments of architectural research, architectural planning, architectural projects, and landscape architecture.

The Division of Presentation, which was headed by Peter A.G. Brown, was retitled the Division of Museum Operations. This division remained intact except that the administration of bus services was transferred to it.259

By May of 1980 the Division of Museum Operations had been renamed the Division of Historic Area Programs and Operations. A Deputy Director, Dennis O'Toole, was named. O'Toole was also named as Director of the Company of Colonial Performers. Finally, a director of the newly formed Department of Interpretive Education,

259Ibid, 33.
William Tramposch, was named. 260

The first decade

Between 1967 and 1977 interpretation maintained an equilibrium that was fairly predictable. "Members of the Interpretation staff prepared building 'scripts' for the use of hostesses and hosts, escorts and craftsmen, summarizing the basic facts in lay terms." 261 Interpretation was an important skill, but those who interpreted were likened to students whose monumental task was never really mastered. The more information an interpreter mastered, the better they were. Little thought was given to interpretation based on concise and well defined interpretive objectives. Even the new experiments that were tried at the Peyton Randolph and James Geddy Houses and Wetherburn's tavern, were seen in terms of their comprehensiveness:

Once historians have exhausted the sources of documentary evidence and evaluated their findings, and the curator has matched inventories and other documents with the most appropriate furnishings, the combined product goes into the hands of the three hundred men and women of our presentation staff; the hostesses, hosts, escorts, and craftsmen take the story to our public.

The moment of truth, as it were, comes when a guide is alone with an unpredictable group of visitors, people of widely divergent backgrounds, ages, outlook, interests, and origin—people who may come from any state and almost any nation on earth. From the moment


261 "...Williamsburg tells it like it was," 41-42.
that the guide faces these newcomers, all that has gone before, history, architecture, archaeology, the work of curator and landscape gardeners and all the rest becomes merely raw material. The period furnishings, the original buildings, the melange of inventories, wills, deeds, insurance policies, newspaper ads, diaries, journals, letters, and the anecdotes of great men are in the hands of a student in our small college, the curriculum of which is eighteenth-century Virginia.262

A monumental task indeed.

The Second Decade

By 1977, interpretation had begun a new era. The curriculum report had been submitted and the administration seemed excited about its possibilities. Cary Carson, the new director of research, had been assigned the task of formulating a new concept for research and interpretation.

Carson did not have to be convinced that changes were needed. He remembered Colonial Williamsburg upon his arrival in 1976:

I found it antediluvian...this museum was out of the main stream. Those institutions that I have known in graduate school as history museums...places like Plimouth Plantation, Sturbridge Village, even Strawberry Banke to a certain lesser extent, and certainly the institution I worked for for six years after leaving graduate school; the St. Mary's City Commission in Maryland where thinking and doing very different things than - and very much newer things than - it seemed to me that was being done here at Colonial Williamsburg in 1976.263

262Ibid, 43.

263Carson interview.
This view of interpretation was the natural result one could expect when an academic scholar like Carson began working at an institution like Colonial Williamsburg. It had no equal among history museums. No other museums had the budget, resources or legacy that Williamsburg had. Consequently, its reputation and name had become the benchmark that other museums sought to emulate. And it had become too comfortable; the institution had begun to take comfort in that privileged position to the detriment of its educational thrust and mission. Other museums were catching up and making changes that were beginning to threaten Colonial Williamsburg's standing as an innovative force in museum education.

Many of the interpreters, too, had gotten caught up in the glamour and romance that was Williamsburg. So much so, that the romance sometimes overshadowed the depth of thinking that a scholar such as Carson expected to see. Mildred Arthur, a former hostess, still maintained much of that attitude six years after Carson's arrival:

Sometimes I feel that I am actually walking among those staunch individualists of that exciting era when the matrices for our country were being shaped. I pass the Peyton Randolph house and envision Mr. Randolph and his wife, Betty, entertaining the newly arrived governor, Robert Dinwiddie. At the Geddy house, I can see the silversmith, his wife, and five children crowded into those few small rooms, the youngest child asleep on the trundle pulled out from beneath the main bed. All the exhibition buildings—all my houses as I call them—are as familiar to me as the one to which I retreat at night when my costume comes off and I have to renew my acquaintance with the present.

Sometimes in candlelight showings of the buildings after dark when most of the visitors
have left and it is almost time to close for the night, I find myself lingering, reluctant to leave, compelled somehow to remain after all the others have gone.264

When Dennis O'Toole, Vice President and Chief Education Officer, arrived in 1979 to head the department of Group Visits and Educational Programs, he was impressed with the Foundation's educational emphasis. He also felt that the way decisions were made about what was to be taught was familiar if not logical—since it represented similar patterns he had seen at the National Portrait Gallery of the Smithsonian Institution where he worked prior to his arrival at Colonial Williamsburg:

What drove interpretation at the Portrait Gallery were the series of exhibitions that people were doing and we, down in the education department, we could do what we wanted to do, which is a combination of indifference, you know, those guys aren't important. But also, they might come up with something pretty good, and we did. I probably was thinking that that's how museums are. That's the first museum I worked in. And when I came here it looked like this seemed to be the way this place operated too.265

The Company of Colonial Performers

In October of 1980, John C. Moon, who had served as Musick Master for the Fife and Drum Corp, was promoted to director of the Company of Colonial Performers.266


265O'Toole interview.

266"Communicating the Past to the Present," 37.
The establishment of the Company of Colonial Performers was a major change in the way history was being taught at Colonial Williamsburg. The new theatrical interpretation program, which began as an outgrowth of the living history program, gained in popularity and helped create the need for a department that focused on the many programs that used performance as a teaching tool:

Members of the company also presented a range of related activities including special evening programs such as 'An Evening of Military life' and 'A Capitol Evening,' both at the colonial Capitol, 'An Evening on Palace Green,' and two dramatic farces entitled Miss in her Teens and Country Wife. Other less formal activities of the company included public auctions, militia recruiting on Market Square Green, and a colonial election.

Members of the troupe also presented vignettes of black family life and Afro-American music and storytelling during the summer season.267

Other types of programs included a juvenile performers program that recruited and trained young area students for participation in programs such as the Fife and Drum Corp, the dance program and the African-American interpretation programs.

But the real motivator for the Department was the living history program. Peter Brown had seen living history at Plimouth Plantation and was impressed. So a trial period, to see how it might work at Colonial Williamsburg, was designated. After a year and several programs, Brown had a meeting with Dennis O'Toole to discuss the project's future. O'Toole had just been appointed

267Ibid, 16.
deputy director of Museum Operations and one of his assignments was to spearhead the program and create the new unit:

I was in the role of Director of Group Visits and Educational Programs for three months before I was made Deputy Director of Museum Operations. And Peter gave me a series of responsibilities. 'Let's build a central training department. Let's go further with this experiment with first person on the streets and let's pull it together in a unit, Fife and Drum Corps, the Magazine because of its military link, and the music teacher's room and the music programs in the evening. And let's make it a part—in this new fledgling thing called theatrical interpretation. And let's call it—what shall we call it?' Peter Brown came up with the Company of Colonial Performers 'and, Denny, you be the head of that.' So as you know, myself, Shomer Zwelling from research, and Harvey (Credle) was signed in on a contract basis that first year. And then on a full time basis as things grew. We decided what we wanted in the way of a program on the streets in the summer of '79.268

Living history was a concept that involved using actors to portray eighteenth-century characters. Harvey Credle, artistic director, and Shomer Zwelling of the research department, were recruited to help plan the experiment. It was Credle who introduced the first colonial characters that fateful summer of 1978. One was George Reynolds, a planter and gentleman of York County, and the other was Andrew Kelly, an itinerant Irish laborer and sot, who was suffering punishment in the pillory for his excesses the night before. Each character presented a short diatribe on his life. Kelly, who the visitors encountered locked in the pillory at the Gaol, cajoled the onlookers to sympathize with his plight and plead

268O'Toole interview.
Beginning in March the three of us (O'Toole, Credle and Zwelling) met to review last year's successes and miscues and to lay the groundwork for the coming summer. It was not unlike spring training in which team veterans and newly acquired players get together to limber up, catch up…and dream out loud. Brainstorming sessions, meetings with members of the Research Department, studio viewing of Colonial Williamsburg films, and extended tours of the Historic Area resulted in the compilation of more than twenty-five presentations.

At this point we were ready to begin auditions. After a two-day stint in Williamsburg, we traveled to Richmond, Norfolk, Hampton, and Washington [D.C.] in search of additional players. We auditioned approximately seventy-five actors ranging in age from fourteen to sixty-five, many of whom had considerable professional experience. After each audition we talked, discussed, debated, listened to tapes of the auditions, looked at pictures of the actors, reviewed resume's, and talked some more. By the beginning of May we had chosen our actors, contacted them, and settled on the shape of our summer program.

In mid-May the entire group of actors and museum personnel gathered in Williamsburg. During the next three weeks we researched and developed scripts, familiarized the actors with the eighteenth century and the restoration, and practiced lines. On June 4 the actors took to

---

269 Dennis O'Toole, Colonial Williamsburg Today, Vol. II Number 1, Autumn, 1979, 2.
That summer was so popular that President Longsworth made mention of it in an annual publication put out by the Foundation, Colonial Williamsburg Today:

Literally and figuratively, perhaps the most dramatic moments encountered are the theatrical vignettes presented by Harvey Credle and his small company of actor-interpreters.271

But Credle didn't stop there. He also began evening diversions:

Afternoon theatrical performances offer a fresh, exciting experience at the site of the first theater in English America. These short presentations by Mr. Credle's troupe are interspersed with other colonial 'entertainments' such as juggling and 'after plays.'272

The summer programs expanded each year and in 1981 a reinterpretation of the Governor's Palace introduced full-time character interpretation at a major site. Nine actors were hired to staff the Palace on a daily basis year-round.273

In subsequent years, several forms of entertainment developed. One was the living history program of daily interpretation, a second was the evening productions—dubbed Eighteenth-century entertainment. These plays have become a mainstay at the Foundation


271 Ibid, 1.

272 Ibid.

not only because they were a part of Colonial Williamsburg's programming as early as the 'fifties, but also because they provide an important educational function: they illustrate, and comment on, a popular eighteenth-century leisure-time activity. The third was one that was popular in the taverns and restaurants using balladeers, musicians and magicians.

By 1987, the three programs had been divided. The restaurant performers became known as tavern entertainers and were contracted directly by the hotel and restaurant division. The character interpreters and eighteenth-century entertainers continued as a part of the Company of Colonial Performers.274

Several new programs began under the new department. Most notably a dance program and a woman's tour titled "According to the Ladies". The dance program was a natural progression that began as an added activity for the various musical programs that were done throughout the year. "According to the Ladies", was a conscious attempt to begin the interpretation of another neglected segment of the colonial population, women.

In 1981, a three-day conference on "Women in Early America", was held at Colonial Williamsburg. The conference was sponsored jointly by Colonial Williamsburg and the Institute of Early American History and Culture:

The historians, official observers, and scholarship recipients who came together on November 6, 1981, to present and critique a number of papers on women in early America portrayed generally a picture of repression and

274"Communicating the Past," 37.
frustration. The so-called 'golden age' for women ascribed by past historians to the eighteenth century (although these scholars rejected that view) had altered by 1800 to the housewife's disadvantage. As Cary Carson and Lorena Walsh, both of Colonial Williamsburg, remarked in their paper on the Material Life of the Early American Housewife, 'universal male suffrage left women the unenvied equals of only slaves and lunatics.'

"According to the Ladies", then, was the result of an initiative that began as early as 1981:

Led by presentation skills instructor Mary Wiseman, the tour highlights the routine of women from different social strata and gives an overview of society's expectations of all women--the master the art of housewifery and uphold her husband's good qualities while downplaying the bad.

The tour covers such subjects as a wife's duty as family nurse, the importance of manners and demeanor, music and dance, and the contrast between the daily routine of women living in towns and those whose existence evolved around the plantation.

By the end of 1987, the Company of Colonial Performers boasted over 150 part-time or full-time employees.

The Department of Historical Interpretation

Between 1966 and 1980, three departments were responsible for interpretation: Group Visits, Exhibition Buildings and Craft Programs. Group Visits handled all escorted groups, special tours,
and school groups. Exhibition Buildings handled the interpretation of all exhibition buildings that were not a part of the crafts program or the products division. The crafts department dealt exclusively with recreating eighteenth-century working life and technology through the practice of traditional crafts, and the preserving of crafts through an apprentice program.

The departments trained separately. The only text that was published about Colonial Williamsburg's interpreters was by Shirley P. Low. While the text acknowledged the existence of a diverse interpretive corps, Low only discussed the host/hostess area in any detail:

At Colonial Williamsburg we have at present about 300 people trained to interpret the life and events of colonial times to the visiting public. The largest group is composed of hosts and hostesses who interpret the Palace, the Capitol, the Raleigh Tavern, Wetherburn's Tavern, the Wythe House, the Brush-Everard House, the James Geddy House, the Peyton Randolph House, Carter's Grove Plantation, and the Wren Building at the College of William and Mary. Hosts and hostesses work in costume and conduct guests in groups as they arrive independently at the exhibition buildings. Escorts interpret the same buildings, but they conduct organized groups, including many school groups, who usually travel on their own buses. The escorts do not wear costumes. Another large group of interpreters is the costumed craftsmen who interpret and demonstrate some 30 different crafts. There are the gaoler-guardsmen who interpret the Gaol and Powder Magazine; the stableboys and kitchen attendants; and the carriage drivers, all of whom talk to visitors about Colonial Williamsburg.277


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
She then goes on to describe the recruitment, selection, and training of hostesses.278

The departments maintained separate identities until the late seventies. Though all three departments wore costumes at some point and interpreted to the public, they did not train together, participate in the same programs, or share the same philosophy about how history should be taught:

We know a lot about technology. We've known a lot for years. But we haven't decided yet how this whole thing we call history ought to be taught. We've come up with some ideas but I don't think we really agree yet about what interpretation really is.279

Then on July 10, 1983, the Department of Historical Interpretation was formed, merging the Departments of Exhibition Buildings and Group Visits.280 Under the new department, the duties of the historical interpreter—which combined Hosts, Hostesses and escorts—were redefined:

The Department of Historical Interpretation is staffed by approximately 200 historical interpreters who work in the exhibition buildings (in costume) and in the Historic Area with groups (in their own attire). Interpretation assignments include Carter's Grove, Wolstenholme Towne site, the Governor's Palace, Bassett Hall and the Powell property. Educational programs designed for students from the primary grades through graduate school are assigned to historical interpreters who use the museum as a learning laboratory. Under the guidance of the interpreter, students gain

278Ibid.

279Soles interview.

280Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, "Interpretation Chronology", TD, 10 July 1983, 2.
insight into the lives and times of people of another age, using such teaching techniques as hands-on participation in some programs and the inquiry process.²⁸¹

The Department of Historic Trades

Between 1966 and 1973, 18 new shops or crafts demonstrations began. Bill Geiger had been the director of craft shops (Historic Trades) since 1956. During his tenure 26 crafts demonstrations, shops, or programs had been initiated including a military program and a Fife and Drum Corps.²⁸² The annual Christmas program was also begun by Geiger.²⁸³ In 1970 William Geiger was replaced by the current director Earl Soles Jr.

Between 1977 and 1987, the Department of Historic Trades (Crafts), continued to grow:

Today, [1979] nearly 100 craftsmen and women in colonial dress ply their trades in cozy, functional shops within the 173-acre Historic Area. They employ the sturdy tools of a bygone era, fashioning in authentic manner articles of beauty, substance, and utility without which life in this colonial city could hardly have existed.²⁸⁴

Colonial Williamsburg had produced a series of popular books on crafts and by 1979 six films were distributed on the cooper,

²⁸³Soles interview.
basketmaker, gunsmith, blacksmith, silversmith, and musical instrument maker.\textsuperscript{285}

By 1987, changes had been made. Over 100 craftsmen in 20 shops demonstrated 30 trades. A newly formulated carpenter's program had taken off under the direction of Roy Underhill, an agricultural program at Carter's Grove had been tried, brickmaking had been done, the coach and livestock programs had been expanded, operations, a seven-forged blacksmith shop opened at the James Anderson site, the carpentry staff began construction of a slave quarter at Carter's Grove and craftsmen were increasing their expertise in research:

Harold Gill, a researcher who has spent most of his career at Colonial Williamsburg studying craftsmen and merchants, has led the way in making use of the new computer technology. One computer program he developed analyzed some 340 runaway slaves and servants, and now will answer 43 different questions about them. If anyone cares to know how many 18th-century runaways wore beards, the answer is six percent; wore leather breeches; 16 percent. Soon researchers will begin computer-analyzing the fashions of the middle and upper classes. Out of it, says Mike Kipps, will come 'a transformation of our ideas about how people looked.' One day when researchers have learned enough about the product, a tailor shop will stitch today's Williamsburg even closer to the 18th century.\textsuperscript{286}

In addition, operating costs for crafts (Historic Trades) continued to be subsidized by the sale of handmade products. Items

\textsuperscript{285}Ibid.

from the various shops were sold in the Golden Ball, the James Geddy Shop, and all Colonial Williamsburg retail stores.

Soles acknowledges that the success of his department has been a result of a constant attempt by him to showcase his staff rather than himself:

most ideas for new programs and projects have traditionally come from the people who are responsible for interpreting them—not Edward Alexander, not Peter Brown, not Denny O'Toole, not Earl Soles. And that's the way it should be.287

287 Soles interview.
TRAINING

In May of 1972, J. Douglas Smith, Director of Exhibition Buildings, submitted a proposal to Peter A.G. Brown to combine the training of all interpreters in the Division of Presentation. Smith outlined five reasons justifying his proposal that ranged from cost effectiveness to "training load." The most persuasive argument educationally was evaluation of interpretation on the job:

One of the greatest weaknesses in the Division of Presentation at present is the relatively small amount of time devoted by Training Supervisors in the various departments to the evaluation of interpretation on the job. Hostesses, Hosts, and Kitchen Interpreters need to be observed and evaluated in their interpretations constantly. Escorts need to be observed and evaluated on their tours. Craftsmen need to be heard and evaluated on what they are saying in interpreting the Craft Shops. Gaoler-Guardsmen need to be observed and evaluated by their Training Supervisors. I believe that a reorganization of Divisional training will permit greater time to be devoted to interpretive supervision by our several Training Supervisors.\(^\text{288}\)

Smith then outlined training to include a three phase training curriculum:

The first phase, which all new employees of the division attend, consists of an introduction to and history of the Foundation and an in-depth look at some of the other divisions which make up the Foundation. These lectures are presented by personnel from each division and provide contact personnel with considerable background into the supporting division.

\(^{288}\) J. Douglas Smith to Peter A.G. Brown, May 12, 1972, CWF., 2.

245
operations of other divisions. Also included in Phase I is a detailed study of the appeals of Williamsburg presented by appropriate persons from throughout the Foundation.

Phase II training, which is attended mainly by interpretive personnel or costumed employees, consists of lectures with historical content based on all facets of the life of 'The Colonial Virginian.' These lectures are presented by personnel from the CW Research department, the Institute, and training supervisors and other persons with special talents and expertise from within the Division of Museum Operations. The classes, usually of a three-hour length, deal with the colonial Virginian's economic, social, and political life and the relationship between his life and the times with particular emphasis on the part played by and in Williamsburg.

The third phase of this preliminary training is conducted concurrently with the second. Personnel from each department are separated from the group and are given special training relating the historical information they have learned to the particular job to be done by the employee. Phase III also includes special training in furnishings, mechanics of operations, and interpretive principles.

The unified program is usually given in complete form twice a year and once in shortened form for summer-only employees. The full program of Phases I, II, and III is held from September through December each year and again from February through May.289

According to the plan, the winter following the completion of preliminary training, an in-service program of training began and continued throughout the employee's service. Extensive further training in history, architecture and/or archaeology, furnishings, and other topics was conducted by various experts from Colonial

289J. Douglas Smith to Burke Davis, May 29, 1975, 2.
Williamsburg, the College, the Institute and other appropriate sources. Each winter approximately 25 hours of classroom training was given. All Hostesses, Hosts, and Kitchen Interpreters were assigned in-service classes each winter.290

Also within the proposal was a recommendation for a unified training manual for all interpreters.291 By July, Smith had met with divisional directors and had outlined his program to them. Gaining their support, he then made plans for implementation.292

This, then, was the first effort at a unified training program for all interpreters within the Division of Museum Operations at Colonial Williamsburg. Smith felt that the program was a success. In a memo reintroducing the need for an interpretive training manual, he expressed his pleasure at the program's success and the need to make it better:

The success of the new unified training approach for the division is evident. While there are continuing refinements and adjustments to be made, the basic approach has proved sound. One thing which could strengthen the program and provide a further strong element of unity is a training manual to be used as the basic teaching "text" for the divisional training.293

In September of 1979, a Department of Interpretive Education was formed. Its new director was William J. Tramposch. Formerly

290Ibid, 3.
291Smith to Brown, 3.
292J. Douglas Smith to Host/Hostesses, November 21, 1972, CWF.
293J. Douglas Smith to Peter Brown, Earl Soles, Edward Spencer, Peter Sterling, December 6, 1973, 1.
coordinator of interpretation and training at Old Sturbridge Village, Sturbridge, Mass., Tramposch's responsibility was the training and education of the, now, more than three hundred interpreters within the emerging division of Historic Area Programs and Operations. The department's mandate was:

To expand the organization's training endeavors and to create pertinent and consistent programs for the five departments comprising the Divisions of Historic Area Programs, and Operations.

The departments at that time were, Hosts and Hostesses, Escorts, Crafts, Company of Colonial Performers and Historic Area Services personnel. Three master teachers were hired: Jane Strauss, Master Teacher for the escorts; Barbara Beaman for Hosts and Hostesses; and Jim Rubley for Crafts-persons. Also in its first year of existence, the department began publication of two flyers: a bimonthly publication for interpretive personnel titled The Interpreter and Questions and Answers. The Interpreter included information of importance and interest to the entire community of interpreters at Colonial Williamsburg. Question and Answers, handled more specific questions that visitors and staff asked. Were people shorter in the eighteenth century? Did people have to attend church? Did free blacks have to pay taxes?

__________________________
294 "Funding the Dream," 29.
296 Ibid.
In 1983, a new interpretive training program was implemented. It included a six year course of study divided into two phases. Phase one was called Preliminary Interpretive Education (P.I.E) and Core Curriculum (C.C.). The goals for P.I.E. were:

1. To explain to new interpreters the mission and function of Colonial Williamsburg as a museum.
2. To provide interpreters with an introduction to the theme, 'Becoming Americans' and its ramifications to them as interpreters.
3. To provide the interpreter with a basic understanding of interpretation and interpretive technique.
4. To present to the interpreter a broad understanding of English and African-American culture.

P.I.E. was held during the first year of employment.

Core Curriculum was by far the most complex phase. It consisted of five sub-groupings: Core Curriculum I, II, III, IV, V, and VI+. This was on-going (in-service) training for employees who had been with the Foundation more than one year. It was offered annually to all Historic Area interpreters and was division-wide in nature. All of the sub-grouping shared common objectives:

1. To provide concepts and historical information based upon the "Becoming Americans" theme.
2. To offer guidance in the organization and application of these concepts and information to specific interpretive situations.
3. To develop interpreters' skills in communications and in the use of

---

298 "Interpreter Training", An outline of the first through fifth year of interpreter training, TD, 1987, CWF.

299 "Preliminary Interpretive Training," TD, Outlines goals of training, 1985, CWF.

---

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
historical source materials of all kinds.

4. To identify and underscore those aspects of interpretation that will serve to strengthen the sense of common purpose among interpreters from Colonial Williamsburg's various interpretive departments.  

The length of time spent in training depended on one's department and length of service. Historical Interpreters received the bulk of all training. For the first year they trained for 12 days and in the second year, 26 days. For Core 3, 4, and 5, interpreters who completed Core 1 and 2 (and those hired before January 1, 1980) were offered a choice of one to three electives. All electives were taught in the course of an eight hour day.  

Core Curriculum 6 plus offered interpreters with six years or more experience more sophisticated interpretive development. Interpreters at this level could choose special programs, such as seminars and field trips to fulfill their curriculum requirements. This group could take up to 24 hrs of course work.

Since its inception, there has been a Core Curriculum Committee that bears the responsibility for setting policy and making changes that may be recommended by other departments or by interpreters. Interpreter feedback is solicited through evaluations passed out at the end of each class session.  

---

300 The Department of Interpretive Education, "Core Curriculum Catalog for Historic Area Interpreters Core Curriculum 5+", Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1988, 3.

301 Ibid, 4.

302 Ibid, 5.
As Tramposch stated during the programs inception, "Interpretive education programs at Colonial Williamsburg attempt to recognize and respect an interpreter's personal interest and growth while providing a firm footing in early American history and culture."^303

How has the change in training helped the effectiveness of all interpreters? To begin with, combining training efforts provided a more cohesive interpretive effort among departments. Now all interpreters have similar historical grounding because they share common instructors, reading, and materials as well as overarching objectives. Core Curriculum insures that experienced interpreters are provided with a variety of educational challenges that discourage duplication. Finally, interdepartmental communication and cooperation is enhanced because interpreters, by virtue of the structure, are forced to interrelate with one another.

Two areas need further consideration. Departmental training and presentation. Departmental training, which is more site and occupation specific, is up to individual departments to outline. Except for a program developed by Historic Trades, Interaction Interpretation, departmental training needs further study. No department has come up with a comprehensive curriculum that represents the kind of thought that has gone into PIE and CORE. The second concern is presentation. For some time now, interpretive training has focused on content. Even though there have been

courses over the years that have offered skills training in presentation, they have either not been effective or have not been considered an integral part of what the department should be doing, at least on a regular basis.

Black history training has been integrated into all phases, but there is still the very real chance that visitors can come to the Foundation and the subject not be mentioned—despite mandates set forth in Teaching History at Colonial Williamsburg. Courses in racism, controversial issues, feedback sessions with black and white interpreters and other courses aimed at promoting interracial cooperation and understanding should also be seriously considered by the Core Curriculum Committee.

Another question must be asked: how much information is enough? When will content be sufficient? Already interpreters have information that is being excluded. Interpretation with a theme has been introduced but it is still not a well-developed strategy that is used by a majority of interpreters. Finally, there does not appear to be sufficient monitoring of interpreters and what they are presenting to the public. Too often assignments are given to supervisors who haven't the time, or refuse to take time, to monitor employee interpretations.

If the educational unit is to continue to meet the needs of the visitors and improve the way history is taught at Colonial Williamsburg, it must aggressively pursue these areas.

---

304 Teaching History at Colonial Williamsburg, 4.

252
THE BLACK EXPERIENCE

Between 1966 and 1986 the social, economic and political life of black Americans reached an all-time high. There were more black office holders than ever before. Blacks became more politically aware and began to use the ballot to their advantage. Economically, per capita income for blacks, while still lower than whites, was gaining ground. And socially, more and more blacks gained acceptance as full partners in a society that was becoming even more culturally diverse.

But inequities remained that still relegated blacks to low income jobs, high unemployment, victims of broken political promises, educational deprivation, rising drug abuse, teenage pregnancy and a depressingly high participation in crime.

The civil rights movement, while still a significant movement, was greatly diminished by the death of Martin L. King, Jr. in 1968. And by the late 'seventies the movement was virtually dead. Also in 1968, the Kerner Commission released preliminary findings that indicated a sharp rise in the number of blacks who accepted urban rioting as a justifiable response to conditions that prevailed in the nation's ghettos. In 1971, Vice President Agnew criticized American blacks who he felt had "arrogated unto themselves the positions of black leaders and spend their time in querulous

305 Ploski and Marr, 53.
complaint and constant recrimination against the rest of society instead of undertaking constructive action." 306

In response to Agnew, R.L. Grant, Special Assistant to H.U.D. (Housing and Urban Development), Assistant Secretary Hyde and Representative William Clay of Missouri charged that Agnew was "seriously ill." Gerald Ford, Republican House Leader, demanded that Grant apologize. Grant refused and was dismissed from his post. 307 By November of 1975, the number of black elected officials rose at federal, state and local levels. All blacks in Congress were re-elected and one new member, Harold Ford of Memphis, Tennessee was added. Blacks were also elected Lieutenant Governors in California and Colorado during that year. 308

But by January of 1984 several political strides made by and for blacks were being called into question. The United States Commission on Civil Rights voted to discontinue the use of numerical quotas to promote blacks. Opponents of the measure cited comments made by President Reagan as the major reason for the decision: "Such racial preferences merely constitute another form of discrimination, create a new class of victims and, when used in public employment, offend the constitutional principle of equal protection of the law." 309

307 Ibid.
308 Ibid, 77.
309 Chronicle of the 20th Century, 1229.
And in 1986, Senator Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts led an unsuccessful fight against the appointment of Justice William Rehnquist as Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court. Kennedy's hesitation was due to his belief that Rehnquist was "too extreme" on decisions affecting minorities. Kennedy believed the chief justice "has a virtually unblemished record of opposition to individual rights in cases involving minorities, women, children and the poor." 310

Politically, then, decisions were being made on a federal level that set the precedent for local governmental changes affecting blacks.

In 1970, there were 182 black U.S. and State Legislatures, 715 City and County Officers (County commissioners and councilmen, mayors, vice mayors, aldermen, regional officials), 213 Law Enforcement Officers (Judges, magistrates, constables, marshals, sheriffs, justices of the peace), 362 educators (Members of state education agencies, college boards, school boards). 311 As of January 1986, there were 289 black mayors, 2,396 members of municipal governing boards, 396 state legislators, and 20 U.S. representatives. 312

While these numbers represent an improvement of black participation in federal, state, and local politics, it does not

310 Ibid, 1284.
311 The 1988 Information Please Almanac, 49.
end the story. Though history details cases of many blacks who died for the right of African-Americans to vote, blacks still were not voting in large numbers. In the 1984 election only 55.8% of the eligible black voters went to the polls as compared to 61.4% of whites.  

In the business world, the number of black-owned businesses rose by more than 47% between 1977 and 1982. There were 339,239 black-owned businesses in 1982, up from 231,203.  

When comparing black occupations with their white counterparts the gap was still wide. In 1987, the majority of black Americans held jobs in the support, service, or labor related fields. There were 12,200,000 whites (12.5% of the population) who had jobs in the executive, administrative and managerial fields. For blacks the number was 741,000 (6% of the population).  

Blacks were still victims of unemployment in 1987. The unemployment rate for whites between the ages of 16-19 was 14.5%. For minorities (of which blacks are the largest) the percentage was 32.2. 215,000 blacks, over the age of 16, who were married with a spouse present were unemployed. 529,000 single blacks were unemployed.

---

313 The 1988 Information Please Almanac, 617.  
315 Information Please, 62.  
316 Ibid, 67.  
But on a more positive note, while the poverty level for whites increased between 1969 and 1986 (33%), it went down for blacks (26%).

Although gains had been made in the education of blacks, the tables had not yet been turned to their advantage. By 1985, 24.8% of the white population had attended four or more years of college. In the same year, only 13.7% of the black population had done so. 80% of those college bound whites taking the Scholastic Aptitude Test scored between 400-600 points on the verbal and math tests. Only 8.9% of the black population did as well. In the American College Testing Program, out of an average score of 18.5, 82% of the tested population receiving that score were white and 8% were blacks.

Socially, incidents of teenage pregnancy, drug abuse and crime had reached such proportions that Benjamin Hooks, former executive Director of the NAACP, indicated that the problem may be in the dependence that many blacks now have on the federal government and in their failing ability to deal with minority problems:

In the old days, the black poor found hope and relief in work, in education, in the stability and security of a strong, extended black family structure. Today, many are condemned to the debilitations of the welfare system, the opium of dependence. Others turn to prostitution and crime. All too many seek relief in crack and cocaine.

Too many of our children are bored or uninspired by school, so they drop out--taking their places among the legions of the unemployed and unemployable. Too many of our young women--girls, really--are bearing

---

children without benefit of marriage. this dreadful cycle of babies having babies is repeated... 319

So while social advances were unparalleled during the period between 1967-1987, there were still a number of challenges awaiting new ideas and solutions.

Blacks in Williamsburg

In 1970 the population of blacks in the James City County and Williamsburg area was 1156 to a white population of 7862. By 1980 the number of whites had increased to 8624, and the number of blacks had decreased to 1031. 320 In 1980, 40% of the black male population and 46% of the black female population were without work. 321

The service field had overtaken agriculture as the primary occupation of blacks in the area, and white-collar jobs were still out of reach for the average black citizen. And in 1988 there was only one black judge and no blacks holding elected offices in the city or county.

Although there were many black educators working in the school system, SAT and ACT scores for blacks students mirrored the national trends. William A. Molineux, editor of the Editorial Page


320 Phillip D. Morgan, Black Education in Williamsburg-James City County 1619-1984, (The Williamsburg-James City County Public Schools and The Virginia Foundation for the Humanities, 1985), 56.

321 Ibid, 25.
of the *Daily Press*, summed up the challenge both nationally and locally:

> Looking at the Education Department figures, it's apparent that more needs to be done to get black students into predominantly white colleges and black teachers on predominantly white faculties. But that 'more' includes providing better economic opportunities for an expanding black middle class, better remedial programs for black youngsters who come from disadvantaged backgrounds, and better financial aid for those who qualify for college but can't afford it.\(^{322}\)

Thus, in large part the social, political and economic conditions of a majority of blacks in the Williamsburg-James City County area still leave a lot to be desired.

**Black History at Colonial Williamsburg**

Following desegregation, the idea of doing more with black history interpretation became possible. During the decade of the late 'sixties and early 'seventies, the development of social history, an increase in black history scholarship, the arrival of a new administration at Colonial Williamsburg, improved social attitudes that produced a less volatile work force and an increasingly receptive visiting public, created conditions that opened the door for instituting a program of black history at Colonial Williamsburg.

The first documentation of an attempt to begin teaching black history at Colonial Williamsburg was a report written by James [Molineux](#).\(^{322}\)

---

Short, Program Assistant for the Department of Interpretation, on January 22, 1969. Shorts' report was the result of a meeting held with Edward Alexander, Vice President and Director of Interpretation, Duncan Cocke, Senior Vice President; John Harbour, Vice President and Director of Presentation; William Geiger, Director of Craft Shops; J. Douglas Smith, Director of Exhibition Buildings; Edward Riley, Director of Research; Thomas Schlesinger, Program Assistant, and Arthur L. Smith, Director of Audiovisual Programs. A memo from Alexander set up the purpose of the report:

Some time ago the Division of Interpretation discussed the problem of the presentation of the Negro in eighteenth-century Williamsburg. We agreed then to take two positive steps: (1) to have Mr. Short examine our present interpretation papers for each exhibition building and make a general report on the problem, and (2) to persuade Thad Tate to prepare a lecture on the Negro in eighteenth-century Williamsburg for presentation in the Evening Lecture Program.323

The report found that, on paper at least, only "incidental" attention was given to interpretation of black history. Films and publications were also sadly lacking. Short's conclusion was that, "we have everywhere assigned a low priority to it".324 But his report did not stop at assessing what had been done. He went on to offer reasons for the neglect and made recommendations to increase its emphasis. His first point was that Williamsburg was guilty of doing what other museums did: they interpreted "the fact

323 Edward Alexander to administrators, January 24, 1969, CWF.  
324 J.R. Short to Edward Alexander, January 22, 1969, CWF.
instead of the concept and the pleasant before the disagreeable..."325 A second point was that interpreter's presentations tended to be tied to objects. "The question to raise at this point is whether we stop right there and choose not to interpret those human conditions that cannot be dramatically presented through objects..." Conditions like slavery.

He then went on to outline, in realistic terms, the reasons he felt Colonial Williamsburg had avoided the topic of slavery for so long:

we have had a corporate sense of embarrassment about the subject and have felt the less said the better.

we have not felt very secure in our specific knowledge of slaves in Williamsburg (although it could be pointed out that in another area—gardens—lack of knowledge has not been a handicap)

with mixed groups of visitors, the subject is an awkward one to handle.

we have (so we have told ourselves) been loathe to arouse tender feelings among our own Negro employees.

we have assumed that the presence of Negroes on the staff (usually in subservient jobs) was sufficient to suggest that we recognized slavery as once having existed here.

where some mention has proved unavoidable, we have elected to substitute the euphemism "servants" when referring to slaves—a practice well established now among the hostesses.

325 Ibid, 2

261
we have been under no pressure or compulsion to be more forthright.

Short also observed that because voice repeaters were used at the Wythe and Brush sites, it was assumed that all that needed to be done with black history was being done. His recommendations to improve the situation included:

1. A brief interpretive paper on the subject of Negroes and slavery in Williamsburg
2. A revision of the existing interpretive papers that would give more conscious attention to the black experience
3. Lectures to interpretive personnel—both white and black
4. Hostess training lectures—basic and advanced
5. The selection of two areas where specific focus could be given slavery in a natural or logical setting. [As an example he mentions interpreting one or two kitchens]
6. Using more films and publications that would allow a more graphic representation of the subject
7. Increasing the number of objects relating to slavery
8. Instituting an evening lecture at the Visitor Center
9. A conference or seminar on the subject.

The final portion of his report outlined what had been written in existing interpretive papers about blacks. The Wetherburn's Tavern paper had the most information, one page.

Following Short's report, another memo was written to affirm another meeting held on the subject of re-interpreting slavery. The committee recommended that a basic interpretation paper be

---

326 Ibid, 4.
327 Ibid.
328 Ibid.
written by Thad Tate and supplemented by Winthrop Jordan, the author of *White Over Black*, a new book on slavery that the Institute of Early American History and Culture had just published. They also recommended that Mr. Short establish clear objectives for the interpretation of slavery. Dr. Alexander then asked that the authors of the existing interpretive papers for the Geddy, Wren, Peyton Randolph, and Wetherburn's tavern revise them to "incorporate any significant information on slavery or Negro life that might have been omitted." Revisions of older papers covering the Wythe and Brush-Everard Houses, the Governor's Palace, the Magazine and the Gaol were also assigned. Finally, a seminar "on museum interpretation of Negro history in the colonial period was agreed upon.330

The memo also indicated that trouble was looming. John Harbour, after reviewing a meeting of his division came up with several observations:

- there is universal confusion about whether Negroes feel Negro history ought to be studied much more intensively and given broader public notice—or whether it should continue to be kept out of sight; no consensus exists among Negroes

- the Negro employee is not the person to carry the burden of interpreting slavery of the life of the Negro in the eighteenth century

- employee reactions to new emphasis on this aspect of interpretation need to be better

---

329 UJ.R. Short to Addressees, February 14, 1969, CWF.

330 Ibid.

263
Along with this admonition was one by J. Douglas Smith who felt that the best road to take for interpreting slavery was via films. While he endorsed the idea of a conference or symposium, he also wanted to proceed with care "Dr. Smith reminded the group that should we hold such a colloquium it would be for the purpose of discussing ideas and directions, not obtaining either a consensus or a mandate."332

Short then went on to write his interpretation paper. In introducing the subject to his readers, remembering that this was probably the first time on-line employees would be exposed to the idea, he again stated the rationale for interpreting black history and its difficulties:

Slavery has not been emphasized in the interpretation of Williamsburg in the colonial period for a variety of reasons. Its existence was not ignored, but it was not stressed either.

Changes in social attitudes within the last twenty years in this country have caused both whites and blacks to reconsider as never before the history of their attitudes and actions. This increased awareness of the role of black people in American history has naturally focused more attention on the dilemma of many colonial Virginians—how to reconcile the institution of slavery with the doctrine of the natural rights of man on which much of the struggle for independence was based.

The time is now propitious to make additions to our interpretation of slavery. These additions are designed neither to overstress the place of slavery nor to deemphasize its importance. Rather the new

331 Ibid.
332 Ibid, 2.
material is designed to give our interpretation of Williamsburg in the colonial period better balance. It is preferable, and more honest, to deal with slavery candidly rather than obliquely. 333

By September the word had gotten around to the Hosts and Hostesses. Elizabeth Callis and Shirley Low, training supervisors for the department of Exhibition Buildings, sent their reactions to Dr. Smith. Both applauded the action but also expressed their belief that the situation needed to be handled gingerly. Callis' concerns were obvious:

I feel, as Jim Short and many others do, that this will have to be handled very carefully and not too much at once. I liked his statement that whatever we say must be said naturally. Over-emphasis would cause what we warn the hostesses against---getting involved in discussions on race, politics, and religion. 334

Low had much the same view, but she seemed resigned to the fact that they would just have to live with any repercussions that arose:

I have the feeling that we are going to be damned if we do and damned if we don't in this whole matter. It seems sensible to go ahead honestly and sincerely in an attempt to 'tell is as it was' and to let the chips fall where they may. 335

Then, on December 30, 1969, Alexander wrote a letter to Zora Felton, who was Assistant Director of the Anacostia Neighborhood Museum in Washington, D.C. Ms. Felton had visited Colonial

333 "Slavery Interpretation," TD, CWF.
334 Elizabeth Callis to J.D. Smith, September 26, 1969, CWFA.
335 Shirley P. Low to J.D. Smith, September 26, 1969, CWFA.
Williamsburg in early December and was so disappointed that she would not return because of the "demeaning" attitude toward blacks that she encountered there. Alexander promptly wrote her back and asked her to "write me your frank reactions." Felton did so in March of 1971 and assured him that even though her response to his request came a month after her visit, her memories of the experience were still vivid:

(1) The introductory film viewed in the visitors' hall created the stage for the plantation-like setting with blacks in their 'traditional' roles.
(2) The demeaning and stereotyped roles of blacks employed in Williamsburg proper encourages the visitor to remain unaware of and insensitive to any significant contributions made by blacks--both free and slave, skilled and unskilled--of that period.
(3) The absence of black docents.

Alexander's response, while defensive, was nevertheless accurate:

I am surprised about your comment on the roles of our black employees. We have many black craftsmen--a superb silversmith, bakers, windmill operator, to name only a few. Our interpreter at the Palace stables happens to be black. Many of those working at the Information Center and in other so-called white collar jobs as well as bus drivers, gardeners (our best topiary man is black), and other blue collar jobs are held by Negroes. We honestly try to discriminate nowhere in our operation. We have had two different black college girls as hostesses or docents during the last two summers and are hoping to have two more

336 Mary Alexander to Edward Alexander, December 16, 1970, CWFA.
337 Edward Alexander to Zora E. Martin, December 30, 1970, CWFA.
338 Zora Martin to Edward Alexander, March 4, 1971, CWFA.
He did, however, fail to acknowledge the traditions that existed relating to black employees and the jobs they were offered as a matter of course. "All of the blacks were hired by H.O. DeWitt and all the whites were hired by Jimmy Fuller. That's the way it was." Deidre Rainey, one of the hostesses he referred to, was the first black hostess and remembers being hand picked by DeWitt:

H.O. Dewitt called my grandfather (Reverend Junius Moody) and asked if I would be interested in summer work. According to my grandfather all of this was done because of Rockefeller. The always said Rockefeller, so whoever was in charge in 1969 said that he wanted the interpretive staff to be integrated. They wanted it hush, hush. I don't know why it happened at that time, all I know is they said it was what Mr. Rockefeller wanted. There was no competition, my grandfather asked me how would I like to be a hostess for Colonial Williamsburg. I said, great I needed a summer job.

I was then introduced to Mrs. Low and Mrs. Callis and I had to go through two weeks of training to learn about the four buildings I would be interpreting. They were the Geddy house, Governor's Palace, Wetherburn's tavern and the Peyton Randolph, those four.

I was light-skinned, pretty and just the type of black they were looking for. I wouldn't embarrass them and I had done well in school.

I felt a lot of pressure that summer. I knew they were talking about me behind my back. I remember that one of the hostesses went to Florida on a vacation and got a very deep tan. Well they were giving her stares because they thought she was me. The younger hostesses were

---

339 Edward Alexander to Zora Martin, March 15, 1971, CWFA.

very nice, they took it all in stride. The older hostesses—those that didn't like it just didn't say anything. They were polite, but distant. They never said anything nasty to me...I mean that went against what they were supposed to represent...the aristocracy you know...the well mannered southern lady.

I stayed there one summer. Mr. Humelsine sent me a letter asking me to come back but I declined. I was going to school at Ohio State University and I just stayed there during the summer.

I felt a lot of pressure from the other hostesses, they listened to my every word. The positive side of that was one hostess came up to me after I had passed muster, so to speak. She was listening to my interpretation in the next room and I didn't even know it. Well she asked if she could incorporate some of my interpretation into hers.

I was very honored that my grandfather asked me. But I felt that I had to uphold the whole race that summer.\footnote{Deidre Rainey, interview by author, Tape recording, New York, New York, 7 April 1988.}

Even Shirley Low acknowledged in her text that there were special qualifications that tended to exclude minorities:

First, we are looking for a cultivated person. This usually means some college background, but not always. It means a person who is a generally well-informed, well-bred individual, who speaks in a grammatically correct and culturally acceptable manner, who is poised and able to keep calm under tension, who shows good taste in dress and behavior, and who makes a pleasing appearance.\footnote{Shirley P. Low, "Training Interpreters," Guideline, 1 April 1969, p.3.}

By 1973, the problem of interpreting slavery was still of concern to many. Charles Bodie, Assistant Director of Craft Shops, still saw the same problems outlined by Jim Short in 1969:

From my own observations (and I hope that you

\begin{quote}
\footnote{Deidre Rainey, interview by author, Tape recording, New York, New York, 7 April 1988.}
\footnote{Shirley P. Low, "Training Interpreters," Guideline, 1 April 1969, p.3.}
\end{quote}
will accept my honesty) I feel that rearrangements must be serious if we intend to interpret this subject as well as we can. Who will question that slavery was one of the supreme tragedies of American society? An uncomfortable past to confront by everyone, it is especially so for a Southern town. People are confronting it, however. As interpreters, we do so by our silence or by the small ways we refer to slaves, but we are beginning to talk more openly.

I see two major hurdles. One is staff reluctance. The other is a traditional set of priorities used in interpretation. 343

Three years later in May of 1976, the first Black Studies Workshop for interpreters was held. Kay White, who coordinated the event, was coordinator of Training for the Department of Museum Operations.

The workshop was held May 11, 12 and 13. A second one was held in October. While they both covered different topics their objectives were basically the same:

To provide interpreters with the opportunity to formulate a viable approach to the interpretation of the role of the Black in every facet of life in eighteenth century Williamsburg. To be able to present the Black as an individual with an understanding of his history, culture, and the quality of his life. 344

Then in 1978, a memo to Peter Brown was initiated by Barbara Beaman, hostess training supervisor, on the current status of slave interpretation along with her proposal for its improvement. After interviewing interpreters at various sites and listening to their

---

343 Charles A. Bodie to Peter Brown, March 29, 1973, CWFA.

344 Kay White to Dick Carter, Allan Forbes, Bill Hammes, Kay Kipps, Frank Pearsall, Jane Strauss, Rob Weir, May 11, 1976, CWFA.
interpretations she concluded:

No one interviewed interprets the evolution of slavery in Virginia, the life of slaves, relationship of slave to master, or the development of Afro-American culture, with the exception of the interpreter who volunteers this history as line interpretation. The consensus is that there is not enough time to deal broadly with the topic during a typical interpretation—only enough time for a cursory mention of particular slaves associated with a particular building.345

Also that year in a duty officer report, Cary Carson offered his views on the state of black history interpretation at the time of his arrival in 1978:

The visitor who tours the historic Area purposely looking for 'the black presence,' as I did, must be prepared to raise the subject himself to get interpreters to talk about it. Otherwise he finds that slaves and slavery still figure hardly at all in the Williamsburg story. This despite winter in-service training sessions devoted to the subject of black family life and despite Barbara Beaman's recent reminder to all interpretive personnel 'reiterating the importance of active, consistent interpretation of black history in all buildings.' In two days of touring quarters, kitchens, craft demonstrations, and the Capitol I heard the word 'slave' only twice, once from Harvey Credle and again from that wonderfully animated hostess Mildred Arthur, who referred in passing to two slaves purchased from Governor Fauquier's estate. Had I been an ordinary visitor I would not have known that approximately half the town's population was unfree...In short, the black presence in our interpretation of Williamsburg is as scarce as black visitors are. One wonders if there isn't a connection.346

345 Barbara B. Beaman to Peter A.G. Brown, April 11, 1978, CWFA.

346 Cary Carson to Mr. Longsworth, August 7, 1978, CWFA.
Finally, in that year the newly hired Director of Planning, Robert Birney, had arrived. One of his first challenges was to invite a number of employees to a discussion on interpreting slavery:

I called a meeting and I don't remember exactly how we put together the list of people we wanted to talk with, but I do remember walking into the Board Room and realizing that there were a lot more people there than I had had in mind. I mean, there was standing room only and people were standing up against the wall. And this new vice president and this person from Massachusetts opened this conversation about what the best way would be to interpret black colonial life. And we had Willie Parker and Jimmy Curtis and we had -- I think Mrs. Curtis was there and we had three or four other people who were black employees involved in or close to interpretation. That was my first sort of direct encounter with what I assumed had been motivating the behaviors of the interpreters. Because I got it straight from the shoulder of our black employees that they had two things on their minds; one, that they were not going to interpret black colonial history because they were black. No way was that going to happen. They were craft interpreters. They were skilled craft people in their own right. They did not feel they had a command of black colonial history and there was no way that somebody was going to divert them or convert them or otherwise interfere with the excellent interpretation they did now. Proposition two was that they were -- to put it politely -- they were very polite -- extremely skeptical that the present interpretative core could be trusted -- could be intrusted, maybe, is a better way to put it -- to develop a story of black colonial life. Of course, I have run into this one many times in my university and college days. Unless you were a black American and had a sense of black life, there was no way you could be trusted to interpret black life. ...Willie and Jimmy and rest had there own agenda about how history is made and how it is interpreted. They could not really conceive that the institution that they knew as Colonial
Williamsburg could possibly interpret their history the way it needed to be done -- it was just that simple.³⁴⁷

Another comment made, and perhaps the most significant one for black history interpretation, was that if they wanted someone to role play blacks of the period, then they would have to get professional actors. What followed from that meeting was the beginning of the most comprehensive effort to interpret black history in the history of Colonial Williamsburg.

A New Beginning

Comprehensive interpretation of black history began at Colonial Williamsburg in June of 1979. Shomer Zwelling, research historian, Dennis O'Toole and Harvey Credle were the first to include the black experience as part of the newly formulated "living history program."

Theater students at local black colleges were invited to audition for summer jobs as actors. The jobs would focus on the creation of eighteenth-century characters who would be presented during the summer months. Six of the twelve characters to be represented were slaves or free blacks living in the town.

Gowan Pamphlet, a black minister who began the first black Baptist church in Williamsburg; Nioto, a newly arrived African youth; Belinda, a scullery maid at Wetherburn's Tavern; Rebecca, a maid for Archibald Blair; Jack, an apprentice cooper; and Caesar

³⁴⁷ Robert C. Birney, interview by author, Tape recording, 7 October 1987.
Valentine, a free black barber, represented the first major effort to interpret African-American history.

In 1980, the "Black Music Program" was implemented. Incorporating religious, secular, vocal, and instrumental music, this program focused on the importance of music and storytelling to the survival of African-American culture. Still in existence, the popularity of the program has made it a favorite. Its diversity, and its creation of chances for audience participation allow it to be incorporated into various formats to accommodate young as well as older audiences.

Two new programs were created in 1981: "African Traditions," an evening program of vignettes, stories, and music; and "The Other Half Tour," a two-hour walking tour focusing on Williamsburg's black population. The tour used first and third person interpretation techniques to discuss West Africa, the middle passage, urban and rural lifestyles, freedom, and many other topics relating to black life in the eighteenth century.

In 1982, "Black Life," an evening program for student groups, was initiated. The program focused on family, religion, and leisure-time activities.

The department of Interpretative Education offered an elective in-service course entitled "Afro-American History" in the winter of 1983. It was taught by Philip Morgan, Reginald Butler, and Lorena Walsh of Colonial Williamsburg's research department.

Colonial Williamsburg also provided funding to the Institute for Early American History and Culture for a fellowship to support
the work of Dr. Morgan on slave economy in the Chesapeake.

In 1982, a subcommittee for interpretation of the black experience was appointed. Its report was submitted in March 1983 and served as impetus for inclusion of black history in the text that has already been mentioned, *Teaching History at Colonial Williamsburg*.

In 1984, black history programs had reached such a level of development that a full-time Black Programs Manager, Rex Ellis, was hired to oversee existing programs and create new ones.

Also in that year, "On Myne Own Time" debuted at the Williamsburg Lodge auditorium. This program was a ninety-minute presentation using scenes, vignettes, and storytelling to discuss the private time of colonial blacks.

Still in existence today, an experimental outreach program also began in 1984. It was designed to take colonial black history to local junior and senior high schools. In return for a visit to the school (which includes a 45 minute assembly program and classroom teaching), each school had the option of visiting Colonial Williamsburg as part of its pre-visit agreement. The schools were concentrated within a geographic area bordered by Richmond and Norfolk. The "on site" portion of the program incorporated Historical Interpreters, craftsmen, and Black interpreters. The on-site visit was encouraged because it was thought to be essential in providing a greater understanding of contributions by African-Americans and their lives as members of the larger community of Williamsburg.
In recent years, the program has been adapted to tie in more closely with the constraints that are put on schools wishing to visit the Foundation. Several options are offered. Schools that cannot come to the Foundation can opt for a school visit only. The in-school phase be as short as 50 minutes or as long as two days.

In 1985 internships for two black graduate students were provided by Judy and Tony Curtis, both Raleigh Tavern Society members. One intern assisted in gathering information on the First Baptist Church, and the other worked on a "black dictionary." The dictionary was to be a compilation of names and other information concerning blacks known to have lived in the town. The project was to "provide a collection of all available information concerning black history."348 Because of the time constraints and scarcity of information neither project was totally successful.

In 1985 "Behind Closed Doors" was also introduced. An evening program developed for school children, it used first person interpretive techniques to create "a slice of life" within the colonial black community. By using reproduction artifacts in historic buildings, a special look into black family was created. "The Storyteller," another new evening program focusing on the art of storytelling, provides a look at the oral legacy of Africans and how it was transformed by African Americans.

In 1986, the AT&T Foundation awarded Colonial Williamsburg with the largest restricted gift for educational programming it had

---

acquired to that time, a grant of $400,000. It was to be used to help expand and enhance black history programs. The money was to be spent over four years. It was to be used to:

- hire a senior scholar in black history, to do archaeological research at the Brush-Everard site, to help support the educational outreach program, to aid in teaching interpreters, and to purchase artifacts to convey the black presence in Williamsburg.\(^{349}\)

The visiting scholar hired was Michael Nichols, a history professor at Utah State University. He was appointed for two years to study and teach urban African-American history and culture of the colonial Chesapeake. As part of the grant stipulations, he was to collaborate with other teachers and scholars from the departments of research, collections, archaeology, architectural research, and interpretive education.

The Brush-Everard complex was designated as the principal site for interpretation of the black experience at Colonial Williamsburg. A major portion of the AT&T funding, which is still being implemented, was used to undertake the necessary archaeological excavation of what is believed to be a slave quarter site in the north yard of the property. The work was scheduled to be carried out during two seasons (June to August of 1987 and 1988).

A portion of the grant was to be used to expand the educational outreach program already described: students in junior and senior high schools, with the help of the grant, would receive

\(^{349}\)Ibid, 6.
pre-visit materials, and black programs staff members would travel to the schools to teach black history to classes participating in the program.

The grant also enables black interpreters to consult with African-American ethnomusicologists, historians, and performers in support of programs offered by the Foundation. Outside artists will be invited to share their talents with our own black performers. By keeping abreast of the latest information and techniques of interpretation, the grant money will allow interpreters to maintain a high level of credibility.

The Brush-Everard and Wythe sites, Wetherburn's Tavern, the Ludwell-Paradise stable, and Anderson's Blacksmith shop were selected to exhibit articles representative of the material culture of black residents in Williamsburg. The AT&T gift has been used to secure artifacts for these sites and to provide information about them for all interpreters.350

In 1987, the first annual Black History month celebration took place and the long-awaited slave quarter construction at Carter's Grove was begun.

Also in 1987, a series of five special programs began, acknowledging the contributions of black citizens to the growth of Williamsburg and other communities. The programs were the first attempt by Colonial Williamsburg to acknowledge the birthday of slain civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr., and Black History

350 Ibid.

277
Month:

The series began on January 15 with a forum honoring the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. It was held in the Hennage Auditorium of the DeWitt Wallace Gallery. Dr. Edgar Toppin, Dean of the Graduate School of Virginia State University, gave the keynote address, focusing on Dr. King and the civil rights movement. Dr Toppin, a member of the Board of Trustees of Colonial Williamsburg, was a visiting professor at the College of William and Mary in 1985-86. Following the keynote address, members of the Williamsburg black community shared their memories of Dr. King and his influence on them.\footnote{Pat Saylor, "Black History Month Celebration Starts in January," Colonial Williamsburg News, Volume 41, Number 1, January, 1988, p.5.}

Then on January 22, black citizens of Williamsburg were featured in a special slide presentation on their reactions and memories of the restoration of 18th-century Williamsburg during its early years. The oral histories that were collected in preparation for the presentation will become a part of Colonial Williamsburg's permanent archives.

On January 29th, Dorothy Redford, a Portsmouth native, gave a presentation at the Williamsburg Lodge auditorium. Redford was responsible for the genealogical research on the slave families of Somerset plantation in North Carolina, and the organization of a reunion for 2,000 descendants of those families in September of 1987. Ms Redford spoke on researching family histories.

The last two events were performances by local community residents and a concluding three-day conference on "Black Artists
and Craftsmen in Early America." 352
In addition, fifteen students from predominately black colleges were invited to the conference with assistance from the AT&T grant.

The Slave Quarter at Carter's Grove

The slave quarter at Carter's Grove has been the most significant interpretive and educational statement made by the Foundation to date concerning the teaching of black history. Plans for the quarter began as early as 1984 but it did not become a reality until a grant was made to the Foundation by the Winthrop Rockefeller Charitable Trust Fund in 1987.

On December 17, 1987, the frames of the first of four structures, three slave houses and a corn crib, were raised:

Employees throughout Colonial Williamsburg, visitors and members of the press had gathered to witness the beginning of a new age in our interpretation of 18th-century life. At the appointed time they lined up, with ropes in hand. With a signal from carpenter Garland Wood they pulled and tugged, employees and visitors together, raised the framework for our first slave quarter building. 353

The final product involved the efforts of people from a variety of departments. Architectural historians researched and designed the structures; the department of archeology located the outlines of the structures and artifacts that tell a story of what slaves might have used in their daily lives; Colonial Williamsburg brick masons

352Ibid.
353Ibid, 1.
laid foundations and built chimneys and the blacksmith shop forged
the nails that were used to hold the buildings together.\textsuperscript{354}

The quarter was completed in October of 1988 and began daily
interpretation on March of 1989.

\textsuperscript{354}Ibid.
POSTSCRIPT

The most significant change in 1988 was an organizational change. Dennis O'Toole, Vice President for Historic Area Programs and Operations was named Vice President and Chief Education Officer. As a result of his new position, Earl Soles, former director of the department of Historic Trades was named senior director for interpretation. Soles is now responsible for "all Historic Area interpretive planning and programming and will oversee operations of the department of Historical Interpretation, African-American Interpretation, Interpretive Education, Historic Trades and the Company of Colonial Performers."\footnote{Pat Saylor, "Earl Soles, Doug Smith take on new duties as part of HAPO reorganization," \textit{Colonial Williamsburg News}, Volume 41, Number 8, September, 1988, p.2.}

The direction of education and interpretation has been set, but if history is true to form, with new leadership will come new decisions and perspectives.

On August 17, 1988, Dennis O'Toole announced that Bill Tramposch, Director of the Department of Interpretive Education, would be leaving Colonial Williamsburg. Tramposch accepted the post of Executive Director of the Oregon Historical Society, and will be leaving in July, 1989. An interim director, Connie Graft, formerly the Assistant Director of Interpretive Planning, has been named.
In October of 1988, Rex Ellis, Assistant Director for African-American Interpretation, was named Director of African-American Interpretation and Presentations. Earl Soles spelled out his new responsibilities:

He will take on direct administrative and programs responsibility for Black History programming. The African-American Programs unit, formerly a part of the Company of Colonial Performers, will report directly to Rex. This unit is responsible for the Other Half Tour, Black History interpretations at Wetherburn's Tavern, Educational Outreach Programs, and the Black Music Program. Two members of CCP's Character Interpretation effort at the Powell house will also report to Rex. Interpretation of the slave quarters at Carter's Grove, which begins in March of 1989, will be the responsibility of this unit.356

The final organizational change happened in the department of Historical Interpretation. For some time the department had experienced low morale, employee turnover and interdepartmental conflict. In an effort to assess the problems and find solutions, a task force was named in November of 1988. The results were released in January of 1989. As a result of the report submitted by the task force restructuring began in late January, 1989:

The first phase of a program to improve operations within the department of Historical Interpretation has been announced by Dennis O'Toole, vice president – chief education officer. The changes, which were announced in a special meeting with Historical Interpreters on January 26, involve restructuring the department and elimination of one supervisory position.

The actions are a result of recommendations made by the Department of

356 Earl L. Soles, Jr. to Administrative Officers, Directors, and HAPO Managers and Supervisors, October 19, 1988, CWF.
Historical Interpretation Study Team. The team, made up of seven Foundation employees from outside the department, was formed in the fall to examine the operations and structure of the department, identify areas in need of improvement, and recommend solutions.

The team conducted 164 interviews with Department of Historical Interpretation employees during November and December. Their report and recommendations were presented on January 13 to O'Toole and Earl Soles, senior director for Interpretation.357

Mary Ann Brendel, who became the director of group visits in 1979, and was named the director of the newly formed department of Historical Interpretation in 1983, resigned her position effective February 3, 1989.

Educationally, plans were launched by President Longsworth to develop a seven-year plan outlining goals and objectives for the Foundation. The objectives were submitted in draft form in January, 1989. The one related to Education was:

To strengthen the educational program by concentrating resources on interpreting the Historic Area, expanding exhibition facilities, integrating museums more fully into the educational effort and focusing outreach activities more sharply.358

Dennis O'Toole, as the chief education officer then drafted a 14 paged Education Strategic Planning Document:

To preserve and present the Heritage of America's Beginning. Preservation is our first responsibility, the preservation of the physical presence of the Historic Area,


358 "CWF Seven-Year Objectives Summary," TD, 28 December 1988, CWF.
representing the environs in which the Virginia colonists and their leaders chose revolution, transforming this British colonial possession into the most successful free country in the history of the world. After preservation comes presentation. That means helping visitors understand how the Historic Area buildings were used—who lived in them and what their lives were like.

To teach the History of Early America. Beyond the presentation of the Historic Area and the buildings we teach American history, using the setting of Williamsburg to help visitors understand the relationship of the Virginia colonists to the king and mother country, to the other colonies, and to each other. We teach the politics, economy, culture, and society of 18th-century America—before it was America, through the transition, and as a new nation.

To Provide Visitors with Hospitality, Service, and Products of Quality and Value. Our goal is to have excellent lodging and food at several price levels for visitors with a range of tastes and means. We offer visitors a range of products based on, or inspired by, 18th and 19th century objects in our collection in the hope that possession of such objects will further their understanding of that period of American history when a colony became a nation. We are friendly and courteous to the visitors, for they are our guests (and our livelihood) and we're glad they are here. 359

A proposal was also drafted outlining the need for an education building in June of 1987. Over 90,000 school groups visit the Foundation each year. Interpreters had been frustrated by a lack of adequate classroom space and audio-visual aids that could enhance the experience of school children visiting the Foundation. If approved and constructed the education building

would have housed space for classrooms, conferences, training and interpretive programs. The rationale for such a building was set out in a report by Anne Willis in 1987:

The Colonial Studies Center, like the Early American Institute of History and Culture, would be a facility that houses the space, materials, and technology needed to provide particular learners with the tools they need to get the most out of their Historic Area experience. now only would the Center improve 'how' we presently teach, but the facility, or instructional laboratory, would enable our staff to develop exciting 'new methods of teaching history to popular audiences' in the future.\(^{360}\)

In the department of Historic Trades, a new publication titled "Historic Trades" was produced in September. In his forward to Volume 1, Earl Soles commented:

Throughout the world there are many attempting to preserve early skills and technical knowledge.

We believe...that the research in this field deserves to be shared with a wider audience. With this journal we hope to encourage specialists throughout the world to record and share their studies of traditional technology with both scholars and the widening audience of serious lay-students of historical processes.\(^{361}\)

Finally, at the semi-annual meeting of the boards of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation and CW Hotel Properties, Inc., President Longsworth praised the work that had been done in 1988:

---

\(^{360}\) Educational Building Task Force to Dennis O'Toole, June 18, 1987, CWF.


285

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
Success at Colonial Williamsburg is, however, best measured by the quality of our educational activities, whether in research, publication, or interpretation for the public...1988 is notable for significant advances in our black history program and the acclaim for our second History Forum. Accomplishment also is evident in curatorial and conservation programs, research of social and legal history, archaeology and architecture.\textsuperscript{362}

Black history is firmly rooted in the thinking of President. At the meeting of the board in November, the trustees were given a special tour of improvements that have been made in the interpretation and presentation of black history:

CW's extensive black history program was the subject of a program at the reconstructed slave quarters at Carter's Grove. Trustees experienced the hands-on interpretation by participating in patching up the side of the house with mud. After Carter's Grove, they visited the site at the Wythe house and viewed an abbreviated version of 'Williamsburg in Black and White' at the Lodge.\textsuperscript{363}

The organizational changes in 1988 represented the most extensive since Longsworth took office in 1977. While only the changes in education were mentioned, all major areas within the Foundation were restructured. The president expected repercussions because of the changes and he knew they would present challenges. The changes were meant to strengthen the Foundation, as witnessed in this lengthy preface to the actual changes that began as early as August of 1988:


\textsuperscript{363}Ibid, 8.
We organize ourselves to serve those purposes and to make prudent use of our people and our other resources.

As our various activities evolve and change in response to external and internal forces, as our people grow and gain experience, and as we plan for the future, we must adapt the organization and adjust individual responsibilities.

The time has come for such an organizational adjustment. It reflects the natural growth process experienced by any dynamic organization—and we are certainly one—and is accelerated and given focus by the Management Structure Review we undertook this spring and summer. Although organizational change alone does not assure progress, it positions us to develop further the culture I have advocated and encouraged to enable all of Colonial Williamsburg's people to realize their full potential.  

The challenges were apparent. The door was now open for change and innovation in many divisions. Existing programs would receive a fresh look and the newly appointed administrators now had an opportunity to breathe new life into all facets of the Foundation.

Educationally, both O'Toole and Soles had to begin thinking in a broader perspective. For Soles it meant an additional six departments to include in his deliberations, for O'Toole it meant the loss of the close relationship he had encouraged in Historic Area Programs and Operations. The division that had accepted him as its champion would now look to a new champion. O'Toole's interests now had to expand to include all of the educational divisions within the Foundation.

For Historic Area Programs and Operations the reverberations

---

364Charles R. Longsworth to All Supervisors, July 15, 1988, CWF.
of those changes would last well into 1989.
EPILOGUE
Between 1926-1946, Colonial Williamsburg can be likened to an infant just learning to crawl; discovering a new world; communicating and understand a new world and all of its possibilities. This was a time to learn, to create and to explore the many prospects that could be realized through the resources that the Rockefellers could provide. It began with W.A.R. Goodwin's imagination. As the institution gained confidence, spurred on by the fact that virtually no one was doing what it was doing, other dreamers took up the challenge. The Foundation gained confidence year after year until, in a short while, it became the teacher, the innovator that other museums would emulate.

After World War II, a more diverse crowd of Americans began to visit the Foundation. They brought a different agenda with them. No more did they seek only the heroes, they sought the ordinary. They sought to find themselves in the glorious past that Williamsburg had begun to exhibit. At first, they seemed to seek the heroes of democracy. The interest in ordinary folks came later.

During this period, too, questions of race, and democratic ideals were asked as never before. Black Americans began to ask for—and then demand—the respect, participation and acceptance that all Americans were entitled to. This, along with new faces on staff asking different questions about the teaching of history, challenged Colonial Williamsburg as a museum and an employer.

At the same time, programs, forums, conferences, symposia, publications, films, visiting scholars and dignitaries combined to
make Colonial Williamsburg second to none in the influence it could bring to bear on America's self-image.

Between 1967-1987, the best of the old and the best of the new converged to usher in a new age for Colonial Williamsburg. New ways of teaching history came to the fore. Now the Foundation could hire true museum professionals. In the early years, museums had difficulty finding administrators with extensive museum backgrounds. There were few training facilities for aspiring museum folk and museums as places to focus careers was still new. So by 1967, museum professionals began to appear with prior training that added an atmosphere of credibility that was lacking in earlier years. Now administrators with experience at how museums should be run and what was appropriate to teach could bring their knowledge to bear on the problems and challenges at Colonial Williamsburg.

Educators like Charles Longsworth, Robert Birney, Dennis O'Toole and William Tramposch came to Williamsburg. They brought with them the concept of planning and organizing. Educational programs within museums were not seen as separate entities that were apart from legitimate institutions of higher education. Instead, they were expected to adhere to the principles that all educational institutions followed if they wished to serve the public and remain solvent and effective.

Just as priorities have changed, so has the focus from construction of buildings, to decorative arts, to people. As Williamsburg continued to define and redefine itself, as research techniques were refined, as visitor demographics changed, as
transportation and technology improved, as the museum and Colonial Williamsburg grew more popular, as social conditions for minorities improved, as economic conditions improved, Colonial Williamsburg grew nationally and internationally. To a great extent, Colonial Williamsburg was a reflection of what the nation was—or more importantly how the nation wanted to see itself.

What it did educationally was a result of its best effort to be historically accurate and politically accommodating. The Rockefeller money was a blessing and a curse. It made a history museum like no other; it became a model of a well-run business, one that was atypical; one that could never be duplicated because of the sheer time, place, and wealth that were attached to it.

As for black history, the same social, political and economic changes that affected American society at-large also influenced Colonial Williamsburg. But what seems worth mentioning is the fact that despite the equalitarian disposition of the Rockefeller family toward blacks, they maintained a reluctance to defy the sensibilities of whites living in the town of Williamsburg who refused to let go of the "old south". Those who made the decisions were invariably from the north, those who had to implement the decisions were from the south and they were not going to "go gently into that good night." There is a story still held true in the town that the Confederate monument on what is now Palace Green was the shrouded in black by the citizenry before it was finally torn down. Whether it is true or not, there is ample evidence that Yankees were not welcomed, and that the Rockefellers were seen as unique.

292
Carlisle Humelsine called, "To me, one of Mr. Rockefeller's greatest achievements was the way that he, a 'Yankee Northerner,' was able to fit quietly into the tiny Williamsburg community." Gradually, time accomplished what Rockefeller and his emissaries refused to do overtly. Black history came at the only time it could have--when it could be supported by the administration, historical methodology, scholarship, societal attitudes, employees and the community.

There are several individuals that should be mentioned because of the significance of their contributions to the development of black history interpretation at Colonial Williamsburg, W. A. R. Goodwin, James Cogar, Thad Tate, Edward Alexander, James Short, Peter Brown, Dennis O'Toole, and Cary Carson.

Goodwin's contribution was in his acknowledgement, during the formative years of the Foundation, that in order for the whole story to be told, black history needed to be a part of what Colonial Williamsburg did. There is no indication that his understanding of the significance of black history to Colonial Williamsburg went beyond this early assertion to Mr. Rockefeller. But the fact that he made the statement, indicates he knew better. For Goodwin, recreating the physical town of Williamsburg consumed his time and imagination. Black history was a passing thought, nothing more.

The same could be said for James Cogar and Edward Alexander. Both men were scholars who knew that a great portion of the Colonial Williamsburg story was being left out. Cogar tried to correct that omission by hiring a local black family to dress themselves in colonial garb and live in a space that was inhabited by colonial blacks in the late 1930's. This was the first documented attempt to broach the topic. Although the fact that the family lived there for so long says a great deal about the condescending way whites saw blacks during that period, it also indicates an awareness by Foundation employees that the entire story of colonial Virginia was not being told.

Thad Tate was perhaps the most impressive of all those working for the inclusion of black history at Colonial Williamsburg. At a time when race relations were at a fevered and unhealthy pitch, Tate began research on slavery in Williamsburg. Motivated by a desire to help facilitate integration, Tate in writing *The Negro in Eighteenth Century Williamsburg*, probably had no support for what he was doing from the black or white community. His integrity, scholarship, and sense of purpose spurred him on. Though written in the late 50's, the text remains the definitive work on blacks in Williamsburg, thirty-two years later!

Among his many contributions to black interpretation, Edward Alexander hired an author to write a book on slavery in Virginia; was instrumental in supporting the book that was written by Thad Tate on blacks in Williamsburg; set up static exhibits using voice repeaters to inform visitors about blacks at two sites in the
historic area, and even invited blacks from other museums to evaluate the interpretive programs at Colonial Williamsburg. While Alexander was the first to make an attempt to formally interpret black history, it should be noted that he was uncomfortable unless the efforts were made via publications. He understood the limitations placed on him by a southern community highly resistant to change. It was no mistake that during his tenure domestic interpreters, all of whom were black and female, were hired exclusively to interpret colonial kitchens. It was also no mistake that these hapless people knew literally nothing about their own history. Instead their days were spent discussing 18th-century cuisine and cooking techniques—always careful not to mention the word slavery. Alexander was, however, comfortable enough with his own position and sensibilities to nudge the Foundation toward black interpretation. But political and social conditions in Williamsburg were not yet ripe for a candid and realistic discussion of slavery.

Even though James Short wrote the most comprehensive explanation on the possible reasons that many at Colonial Williamsburg wanted to keep the doors closed on black history, he too was limited by the tensions and apprehensions of the turbulent sixties. Short, more than any other during his period thought long and hard about the reasons slavery interpretation was so difficult to broach at the Foundation. Museums were moving slower than other mainstream institutions and Colonial Williamsburg took great pains to deal with one problem at a time.
It should be remembered that many public access facilities at the Foundation were not yet fully integrated. Peter A.G. Brown led that charge. He was responsible for hiring the first cashier at the Information Center. Under his administration, the first black bus driver, hostess, and escort was hired. So while he had very little to do with the interpretive programs that emerged during the later part of his tenure, without the integration of many of the public facilities, those programs would have been as effective as pouring water on a duck's back.

Dennis O'Toole and Cary Carson came to the Foundation in the late 70's with the vision and drive to improve the state of education. Both had the advantage of advanced degrees in history, and both had arrived as a new administration was being launched. The Civil Rights Movement had matured and a new era of understanding and toleration changed the social, political and economic character of black/white relations. Scholarship in black history was at an all time high, and new techniques of interpretation were being introduced.

Thus, the battle for inclusion was taken up and won with the help of these men. One thing more should be noted. O'Toole, whether purposely or by accident, happened on to the solution that would bring black history interpretation to a new prominence at Colonial Williamsburg. All previous administrators believed their expertise, knowledge and constituencies were enough to begin programs in black history. Only O'Toole understood that the hiring of blacks to help plan and conceive the program was essential to
its success.

Today visitors to Colonial Williamsburg are exposed to tours, music programs, plays, outreach programs, student programs, archaeological digs, exhibits, as well as museum internships focusing on black history.

Many challenges lie ahead. Black history has not been successfully mainstreamed into the interpretations of all interpreters. One can still come to Colonial Williamsburg and not hear information relating to blacks. The concern of John Harbour in the late 'sixties about employees' attitudes not being understood is still a major barrier. Colonial Williamsburg now has information, training, employees and methods to interpret black history. More historians from all disciplines are researching and accepting black history as an agenda than ever before, but that is not enough. The comfort level of interpreters must improve. Information is of no use if the major teachers, the interpreters, refuse to teach it. Interpreter's fears, doubts, and inhibitions, whether real or imagined must be effectively dealt with if black history is to reach the next logical step in its development. Training courses meant to help all interpreters come to grips with their attitudes and how those attitudes influence their performance must be a part of the training curriculum set up by the Department of Interpretative Education. Not courses on 18th-century black history. Courses on cultural pluralism, racism, ethnicity, and inter-cultural communication must be instituted.

Secondly, programs relating to the black experience must
begin to deal with serious issues. Too often interpreters hide behind a happy face that leaves the visitor assuming slavery must not have been all that bad. If the program is to succeed it must resist attempts to make slavery palatable. Doing so relegates it to a simplicity that is just as demeaning as not discussing it at all. The truth of the black experience is the only liberator. Until it is seen as that by both blacks and whites, any programmatic attempts will be shallow.

Finally, safeguards must be enacted to prevent interpretation of black history from being the purview of only the few African-American interpreters employed by the Foundation. The most dangerous trend is one that makes black history an exclusive topic that only a precious few, "who can really relate to it," can interpret.

In conclusion, I am convinced that the educational and interpretive changes that have taken place at Colonial Williamsburg have been due to innovative, dynamic, hard working individuals who have taken the lead, and not given up until they had convinced others of the importance of their cause. They are many: W.A.R. Goodwin, Rutherfoord Goodwin, Mary Daniels, James Cogar, Kenneth Chorley, Edward Alexander, Edward Riley, James Short, Thad Tate, John Selby, Tom Schlesinger, Peter Sterling, William Pfeifer, Shirley Low, John Goodbody, Elizabeth Callis, William Geiger, Cary Carson, Earl Soles, Charles Longsworth, Douglas Smith, Robert Birney, Peter Brown, Carlisle Humelsine, Barbara Beaman, Jane Strauss, Charles Longsworth, Robert Birney, Harvey Credle, Shomer
Zwelling, Dennis O'Toole, and William Tramposch. These were the shakers and movers in education and interpretation at Colonial Williamsburg from its beginnings until now. These were the men and women who made the concepts work. They were the ones who came up with the ideas. They were the ones who had a vision.

If Colonial Williamsburg, as an educational institution, is to move successfully into the 21st century, it must dramatize its colonial uniqueness. It must teach all history as it was, not as it should have been. People must be allowed to cry, to laugh to hate and to fear. They must also be shown as oppressors, taskmasters, and bigots when the occasion demands. Americans must see the colonial period in all of its glory and all of its degradation. They must acknowledge both the pleasant and unpleasant. Mr. Rockefeller expressed it well when he explained his reason for embarking on the restoration:

I wasn't trying to recreate a lovely city, nor was I interested in a collection of old houses.
I was trying to recreate Williamsburg as it stood in the eighteenth century. 366

As Colonial Williamsburg continues to grapple with its past in a truthful way, it should realize that doing so will fulfill its major benefactor's highest ambition. More importantly, it will send a clear message to other museums that the entire history of America must be told. Not just the parts that are palatable, but all of it. Only then can the 'future learn from the past.'

ABSTRACT

The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation began in 1926. Within four years after its initial construction, the need to begin some means of presenting information to a growing population of visitors became apparent. In this study, an attempt will be made to answer the question, "How has the history of interpretation at Colonial Williamsburg influenced its teaching of black history?"

The major research question and the subsidiary questions were prompted by the recent inclusion of a black history programs at the foundation. In this study, primary focus will be given to the history of interpretation at Colonial Williamsburg. An attempt will be made to assess the extent to which social, economic, political and cultural norms, within American society, affected the Foundation's decision to exclude the interpretation of black history until the late 1970's.

The major method of analysis will be done by comparing and contrasting the various decisions that were made regarding the teaching of history in Williamsburg and national trends. Focusing on ten-year increments, each period will be contrasted with the development of Colonial Williamsburg so that conclusions can be made concerning the extent to which the Foundation was affected by societal norms of the period.

Evidence for the proposed study will be primary sources found in three major areas: the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Archives, the Rockefeller Family Archives, and interviews of current and former employees of the Foundation.