

SELLING CAPTAIN SMITH: 1950s COLONIAL REVIVAL AND THE MARKETING  
OF THE 1957 JAMESTOWN FESTIVAL

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## INTRODUCTION

The Jamestown Festival of 1957 was held to celebrate the 350<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the British landing at Jamestown. The settlement, established by the Virginia Company, a joint stock corporation founded in 1606 and charged by King James to settle Virginia, was the first permanent English-speaking colony in the Americas. The first settlers were a diverse group of laborers, craftsmen, soldiers, and aristocrats all in pursuit of a similar goal – to both establish a British presence in the New World and through that presence make a significant profit. Led by Captain Christopher Newport, the *Susan Constant*, the *Godspeed*, and the *Discovery* landed at Jamestown Island on May 14, 1607. Despite a significant mortality rate, the Virginia Company settlement outlasted the Company itself, which was dissolved by order of the Crown, and Virginia became a Crown Colony in 1624. Jamestown served as the capital of Virginia until 1698, when the capital was moved to nearby Williamsburg. After the move, Jamestown began to decay, and within fifty years, much of the land occupied by the original settlement and the town that grew up around it had been repurposed as farmland. Unlike the colony at Roanoke, for example, Jamestown was consciously abandoned for a more desirable site; without question it was, in fact, the first permanent British presence in North America.

By the time of the Festival, through holidays, public celebrations, and government sanction, the Pilgrim settlement at Plymouth was firmly installed in the American popular consciousness, or collective memory, as the origin of the nation, in spite of the fact that the Plymouth settlers arrived thirteen years after the first successful English settlement in the New World had been established at Jamestown. The planning, marketing, advertising, and goods created in conjunction with the Festival appear to be a conscious effort on the

part of Festival planners to rewrite this story by asserting Virginia's claim to the title "Birthplace of America."

The argument over which location could claim the title "Birthplace of America" raged for over a hundred years, from the late 18<sup>th</sup> to the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Virginia claimed that the foundations for the United States were laid at Jamestown, the first successful British colony. Massachusetts argued that the ideological bases for the nation's founding - democracy and freedom - came to the New World with the Puritan settlers of New England. In essence, the argument concerned a very basic question - were the roots of the nation based on commerce, the primary focus of the Jamestown settlement, or on ideals of personal and religious freedom that had been associated in popular imagining with the Puritan settlements? The argument also came down to one of British history - was the United States founded on moral principles brought by Oliver Cromwell's Roundheads or by the profit-driven efforts of the Stuart Cavaliers?

The question was essentially settled by Virginia's decision to join the South during the Civil War. Massachusetts's claim was strongly reinforced in 1863 when Abraham Lincoln declared Thanksgiving Day a national holiday. Although the single day was a variation on the Puritan practice of holding periodic days of thanksgiving, the mythology associated with Thanksgiving Day and its New England roots established New England as the "official" birthplace of America and the Puritans as the officially sanctioned Founders. Gradually discredited through the efforts of several prominent New Englanders, the story of Pocahontas, John Smith, and John Rolfe - the Native American girl, representing the purity of nature, and the aristocratic Cavaliers who tamed nature

through Western religion and custom - moved from widely recognized origin myth to a footnote in the establishment of the colonies.

The Jamestown/Plymouth debate was only one facet of the search for a cohesive American national identity that has been a point of discussion since shortly after the American Revolution. Accustomed to looking to an ancestral British past for traditions, early Americans struggled to establish a place for tradition in a democratic society that should, by virtue of its existence, be in a constant state of change. Over time, various attempts have been made to codify a national identity and to establish an officially sanctioned “memory” of the past as a common history. These efforts have allowed various groups to “create and control the collective national memory of revered sacred sites and objects.”<sup>1</sup> As the groups attempting to create and control collective memory become more diverse, more conflicts occur and collective memories shift. The most enduring ideals of a collective American identity, however, have manifested as the Colonial Revival, a tradition of concerted efforts to establish an “American identity” predicated on Anglo settlements and historic figures.

When considering the Colonial Revival, perhaps the most problematic issue is coming to an understanding of what is meant by the term. While there is an aesthetic vocabulary that can arguably be associated with Colonial Revival style in architecture and the decorative arts, the Colonial Revival extends far beyond aesthetics. It is less a style than an ideology – a manifestation of ideas of patriotism and American identity rooted in, as noted above, an Anglo-centric interpretation of American history. More specifically, this interpretation states that the nation was founded upon New England Puritan tradition and realized through the exalted ideals of a pantheon of Founding



Fathers familiar to any American schoolchild – George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, etc. It is important to note that Colonial Revival begins neither stylistically nor ideologically with American independence, but groups early American history as a whole, making the designation “Colonial Revival” potentially as problematic as the topic itself. In terms of the decorative arts, the manufacture of goods in the Colonial Revival style essentially commodifies American history, allowing anyone with sufficient means to acquire a piece of the (idealized) past.

The style, which had been slowly developing since the mid-19th century, appeared in force following the Civil War. The nation faced radical social and political changes in terms of Reconstruction, rapidly increasing immigration, a wide-scale population shift from rural areas into the cities, and increased social mobility occasioned by the Industrial Revolution, to name only a few. Some Americans sheltered themselves from these changes by creating a mythical, idyllic past. In this past, Anglo-Americans worked together in an agrarian society free of the pressure of rebuilding the nation and the perceived threats to a supposed American Way of Life posed by an influx of European immigrants, many of whom were Catholic or Jewish, rather than Protestant. After its initial appearance, the Colonial Revival followed an observable cycle of resurgence in popularity during times of political and social upheaval in the United States, particularly in the years following a war. Having cycled downwards during the late 19th and very early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Colonial Revival again came to the forefront after World War I. One of the most notable aspects of this iteration was the development of Wallace Nutting's *Old America*. It is not surprising, then, that Colonial Revival, always present as an undercurrent, again became popular following World War II. Social changes caused by

America's new role as a world leader, the beginning of the Cold War and the perceived Communist threat, as well as civil rights activity on an unprecedented scale led to the atmosphere of social uneasiness that characterized each resurgence.

The basis of the Colonial Revival aesthetic, echoing the ideology of an idealized past, has been more thoroughly documented than the continuing employment of that aesthetic. Showcased in Colonial Kitchens, most famously at the 1876 Centennial Exhibition, the Colonial Revival aesthetic grew from a combination of the famous 19<sup>th</sup> century sentimentality and an eclectic collection of antiques, heirlooms, and reproduction from varying times. Little has been written, however, regarding its evolution and continuing appeal. The standard texts, *The Colonial Revival in America*, edited by Alan Axelrod, and *Re-creating the American Past*, edited by Richard Guy Wilson et al., were published in 1985 and 2006, respectively. These volumes have two distinct commonalities – both present the Colonial Revival as a conglomeration of ideas and aesthetics drawn from an idealized interpretation of history and both end their study in the 1930s, when the Colonial Revival aesthetic is seen to have died out in the face of Modernism. Karal Ann Marling's *George Washington Slept Here*, is subtitled “Colonial Revivals and American Culture, 1876-1986” but of twelve chapters, only two examine the Colonial Revival post-1932. Far more about the Colonial Revival can be gleaned from the multitude of texts examining collective memory, tradition and/or identity in American culture, including Michael Kammen's *Mystic Chords of Memory*, John Bodner's *Remaking America*, and William Hogeland's *Inventing American History*, to name but a few. Contrasted with an examination of popular culture ephemera, particularly ladies' magazines and the new medium of television, in the 1940s and 50s, the tendency

of scholars to end their study of the Colonial Revival aesthetic in the 1930s suggests that by that time it was so firmly engrained in American consciousness as to become essentially invisible.

Collective memory, however, “often comes at the expense of a subordinate group.”<sup>2</sup> Until the relatively recent development of race and gender studies, national collective memory focused on American history as established by those in command of social and political events – Anglo-Americans; the subordinate group excluded from national memory in the United States comprised all social and ethnic groups lacking an Anglo-Saxon heritage. The exclusionary nature of collective memory is particularly evident in national myth-making, the glorification of historical figures, events, and sites which plays heavily into attempts to establish a collective memory. In the United States, national myth-making consists primarily of founding myths, such as the story of the Pilgrims’ First Thanksgiving, George Washington and the cherry tree, Betsy Ross, Molly Pitcher, and the story of Pocahontas and John Smith. These stories serve a variety of purposes – they raise historical figures to superhuman levels of morality for purposes of both instruction and national pride, they reinforce socially proscribed gender roles, and they justify and excuse treatment of so-called inferior racial groups that might otherwise cause guilt in the dominant group. The Colonial Revival expresses this glorified view of the American past both stylistically and morally.

As it is impossible to understand the importance of the Festival planners’ attempt to rewrite the origin myth without understanding how completely Colonial Revival imagery was absorbed into middle-class culture and there has been little research regarding this phenomenon, Chapter 1 will discuss in detail the place of Colonial Revival

in post-World War II America. Chapter 2 will discuss the planning of the Festival, particularly the marketing plan and creation of a larger Colonial Revival landscape for the event. The production of Festival-related goods, few of which were directly commissioned by the planners, was driven by an intense marketing campaign intended to both spur popular interest in the Festival and to encourage dry goods manufacturers to create a “Jamestown fashion” – the after-mentioned spin on Colonial Revival imagery that incorporated the Jamestown-specific symbolism. Chapter 3 will address the ways in which standard Colonial Revival goods were named, or re-named, and marketed as Jamestown-specific and Chapter 4 will focus on the ways in which standardized iconography was used both on material goods and in performances to identify Jamestown with Early America and to validate Virginia's claims to national origin.

As the history of the debate regarding America’s “origin myth” has been amply covered by Ann Urhy Abrams in her book *The Pilgrims and Pocahontas: Rival Myths of American Origin*, and the development of Jamestown-specific symbolism has been explored in multiple publications, most notably Robert S. Tilton’s *Pocahontas: The Evolution of an American Narrative*, this paper will only briefly address the debate and the development of the imagery. The Conclusion, as well as summarizing the paper’s essential thesis, will suggest areas for further study regarding the role and “ownership” of Colonial Revival in American culture, a question that is more immediately pertinent in the current social and political landscape than it has been for many years.

## CHAPTER 1: Suburban Living and the Colonial Revival in Post-War America

For many Americans, the 1950s were a time of national prosperity and individual opportunity. The Serviceman's Readjustment Act of 1944 (commonly known as the GI Bill) funded education and training and provided low cost home loans to returning veterans. During the twelve years the Bill was in place, 7.8 million World War II veterans took advantage of the education and training opportunities it made accessible.<sup>3</sup> Many of these veterans chose to attend a college or university and in 1947, at the peak of the Bill's educational funding, over 1,122,700 veterans were enrolled in institutes of higher education.<sup>4</sup> Graduates left colleges and universities intending to join the worlds of business and engineering – in 1949, the first year for which the Department of Commerce reported “Earned Degrees Conferred, by Major Field of Study”, 37% of Bachelor's and first professional degrees were categorized as “Business and commerce” or “Engineering.”<sup>5</sup>

Expanding employment in these fields offered opportunity for social and economic entrée to the single income suburban middle class, a lifestyle encouraged by an increased focus on the social value of home and family reminiscent of the Victorian “cult of domesticity.” Higher incomes, government-financed and low-cost home loans and mass-produced (and thus cheaper) housing made home ownership economically feasible for a larger portion of the population. Changes to the tax code made it economically advantageous for returning servicemen to buy a new home in the suburbs rather than rent an apartment in the city.<sup>6</sup> As a result, the rate of home ownership increased by almost 20% between 1940 and 1960.<sup>7</sup> Single income families became the norm among the

suburban middle-class. As plants closed during post-War reconversion, married women were laid off at a disproportionate rate, particularly those who had been housewives before the war. An analysis of layoffs at the Ford Motor Company, for example, indicates that approximately 57% of female workers who had listed their previous employment as “housewife” quit after the war and approximately 41% were laid off – the highest rate of layoffs and the second lowest rates of voluntary exit.<sup>8</sup>

The median age of marriage fell in the years after the war, from 24.3 for men in 1940 and 21.5 for women, to 22.8 for men in 1950 and 20.3 for women. By 1959, 47% of brides were under the age of 19.<sup>9</sup> College enrollment and graduation rates for women fell as well. Relative to male students, the proportion of women attending college in 1920 was 47%, by 1958 it had fallen to 35%. Of the women who did attend college, by the mid-1950s, 60% dropped out, most of them to marry. Birthrates, fairly flat since the Great Depression, soared from 20.4 (per 1000 population) in 1945 to 24.1 in 1950, reaching a high of 25.3 in 1957, after which it began a steadily decline.<sup>10</sup> These rapidly expanding families poured out of the cities into the newly developed suburbs, becoming avid consumers of goods designed to either beautify the home or to decrease the burden of daily housekeeping.<sup>11</sup> In this era of prosperity, manufacturers produced a wide variety of innovative styles for home décor. But along with innovation, the 1950s saw a resurgence in the popularity of the Colonial Revival aesthetic.

Somewhat analogous to the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Americanization of immigrants, the new entrants to the middle class had to assimilate to their new surroundings. Print media, such as magazines and catalogs and later, television, instructed the new suburban middle-class as to what it should want and expect from the suburban

American lifestyle. Two of the catch-phrases for the new suburban lifestyle were “gracious” and “genteel” – these were the qualities to which the middle class was told to aspire. Although it is difficult to determine what such terminology may have suggested at the time, it seems that a gracious and genteel lifestyle was one removed from both the perceived tastelessness of the lower classes and the ostentation of the wealthy. As the image of a Colonial and Early American past that fulfilled these expectations was already well ingrained in popular consciousness, these styles dominated the newly developed suburbs and goods advertised as “Early American” and “traditionally” styled identified their owners as fully assimilated participants in the American Dream. American history, or at least the idyllic view represented by the Colonial Revival style, became a popular commodity, easily accessible to the new suburbanite.

When Levittown, Long Island, the poster child for the post-War suburban tract, was begun in the late 1940s, William Levitt did not go out on a limb in adopting a Colonial Revival aesthetic for his tracts of affordable housing.<sup>12</sup> Colonial style houses had become wildly popular in the 1920s and, through the Depression, homebuyers resisted attempts to modernize. In 1934-35, American Homes, Inc. introduced a line of inexpensive, prefabricated International Style houses, a Modernist style that emphasized space, flat planes, and the complete absence of ornament. The houses did not sell well until the designer redid the model with a clapboarded exterior that more closely resembled “traditional” houses.<sup>13</sup> Likewise, when a 1938 Life magazine home design competition pitted modernists, led by Frank Lloyd Wright, against traditionalists, led by Royal Barry Wills, the traditionalists carried the contest.<sup>14</sup> Although the margin of victory was only ten percent, when model homes were initially built from the contest

designs only one was by a modernist (not Wright) while eight were by Wills.<sup>15</sup> Wills, whose name has faded in comparison to Wright, was a well-known designer of homes styled along “traditional” American lines.<sup>16</sup>

Those purchasing a house in Levittown had a choice of a Cape Cod or a ranch house – options that kept well within the bounds of the long-established determination that Colonial Revival was the appropriate, and preferred, style for suburban architecture (figures 1 & 2). The Cape Cod style was identified as a wholly American, traditional style of architecture in the early 19th century (figure 3). The association of Cape Cod with Massachusetts and the Plymouth colony made the form a natural choice for Colonial Revivalists. Ranch houses were stylistically the product of another strain of Colonial Revival, being derived from Spanish architecture of the American West but this heritage was not widely acknowledged and the style was seen as a modern alternative to the Cape Cod style. In Levittown, the addition of siding and shingles similar to those of the Cape Cod, as seen in figure 2, made the clean lines and spare ornamentation characteristic of the ranch house more palatable to consumers in search of traditional American home.

Just as Colonial Revival was the preferred style for home exteriors, advertisers and designers marketing household goods conjured Early America to appeal to the Colonial Revival sensibilities of the middle-class. Advertisements for Dromedary Gingerbread Mix, published from the 1930s into the 1950s, may be seen as an example of both the cyclical nature of Colonial Revival popularity and its resurgence in the 1950s. In the late 1920s, a recipe for gingerbread attributed to George Washington’s mother, Mary Ball Washington, was uncovered at Kenmore, the home of her daughter, Betty Washington Lewis. The house had been slated for destruction but had been saved through



the efforts of the Kenmore Association, a ladies' group comprising the founding members of the Washington-Lewis Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. In 1933, the Kenmore Association sold the recipe to the Hill's Brothers Company for \$100 plus all the free mix they wanted – the free mix was a necessary part of the deal as it was served in the site's Colonial Kitchen.<sup>17</sup>

As images of the Washington family had been integrally linked to the ideals of suburban American middle-class identity since the nineteenth century, the Hills Brothers could be expected to draw heavily on this connection to market their product. Contrary to expectation, early advertising for the mix mentioned the Washington connection only in the small text, and only some, not all, of the ads featured an artist's imagining of Mary Washington's silhouette (figure 4). These early advertisements for Dromedary Gingerbread focused on the convenience and the ease of using the mix, with mentions of Mrs. Washington confined to the smaller text. Through the 1940s, however, the advertisements increasingly referenced the Washington family connection. Full-page ads for the mix published in 1951 featured an image of George Washington offering the viewer a handful of gingerbread in a Federal-style frame in the upper right corner. By 1956, the advertisements focused wholly on the Washington connection. A 1956/57 advertisement for the mix, published in both *Ladies Home Journal* and *Better Homes & Gardens*, epitomizes the use of Early American associations to endow products with a level of authenticity and gentility (figure 5). The center of the full-page ad offers housewives the opportunity to "Bake Dromedary Gingerbread From the World's Most Treasured Recipe." In the upper right corner, the ad informs the reader that the "World's Most Treasured Recipe" is the "private recipe of Mary, George Washington's Mother."

Between these pieces of text is a photograph of two women in period costume, one representing Betty Washington Lewis, taken in the kitchen of Kenmore. An image of Kenmore, enclosed by an oval, appears to the upper left of the image, with the accompanying explanation that Betty Lewis “supervised the baking of Gingerbread from her mother’s private recipe” *in the very kitchen shown in the photograph*.<sup>18</sup> By using Dromedary Gingerbread Mix, then, the housewife became a link in the chain of American tradition, using a recipe passed from mother to daughter in America’s First Family. “You, too, can make history,” promised the advertiser.<sup>19</sup>

If it was the baker's opportunity to “make history”, the advertiser had drawn from more recent history to design the advertisement. The interior scene on the advertisement displays the standard Colonial Revival iconography established when the style first developed in the 19th century - women performing practical domestic tasks in front of a hearth, representing the home, food hung to dry, representing abundance, and a variety of kitchen implements (figure 6). The same elements were repeated fifty years later in Wallace Nutting's *Trimming the Pie Crust*, an iconic example of Nutting's “Colonials” - one of the classes of images Nutting marketed as part of the industry he created based on the invented idea of Old America (figure 7). The inclusion of blue and white china in the advertisement adds an additional suggestion of a refined lifestyle (figure 8). Nutting's domestic interiors were populated with idealized views of women as productive domestic producers performing practical domestic tasks or genteel pursuits, such as strolling in park or admiring fine china, in a pre-industrial era. Nutting's images are generally interpreted as a reaction to the New Woman of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century – young, single, and relatively independent. Given the difference in women's roles during and following the

War, the message of woman as homemaker that Nutting expressed mirrors the post-War image of women abandoning pursuits outside of the home, both productive and genteel.

If making Mary Washington's gingerbread ushered the homemaker into the annals of American gentility, improvement of the domestic interior, also associated with suburban culture since the nineteenth century, could raise the family to a new level of living and entertaining.<sup>20</sup> Advertisers continued to embody the expression of culture, taste, and prosperity in Colonial Revival good, a trend that remained essentially unbroken from the late 1940s through the late 1950s. As is typical of the Colonial Revival, both goods and advertisements relied heavily on the atmosphere over authenticity slant characteristic of Colonial Revival, as seen in the advertisement above. The consistency of the limited range of methods employed to express an Early American connection and/or to appeal to the Colonial Revival sensibility is displayed in advertisements published in the December 1948 issue of *Life Magazine*. At least twelve such advertisements appeared in this single issue.

As noted, the advertisements utilize a limited range of methodologies to link the goods to Early America. Some of the items advertised combined 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century decorative elements with contemporary design to evoke a feeling or impression of pre-Modern America while others relied almost completely on the phrasing of the advertisement. A "magnificent Grandfather clock of Eighteenth Century design" is an example of the first method (figure 9). The clock advertised combined Federal-style visual cues with a more contemporary aesthetic. The clock's broken scroll pediment, urn finial, and the lunette surmounting the clock face are fairly typical of 18th-century tall clocks. However, 18<sup>th</sup>-century clock cases were, as a rule, divided into three distinct

sections – hood, waist, and, base and the pendulums were not visible (figure 10). The streamlining of the case into a simple rectangle and inclusion of glass, while it did not historically occur on a regular basis until the 1870s, would appeal to an audience that had become accustomed to the simpler forms of Modern furniture, while maintaining an perceived Early American aesthetic. In this instance, authentic elements have been added to a contemporary form to suggest Early America in a way that would appeal to a Modern audience.

Crosley and RCA Victor's advertisements for Colonial Revival entertainment consoles represent the other end of the spectrum, where the Early American link is established almost solely through the names of the items and the format of the ad (figure 11). Despite the cabriole legs of one and the bracket feet of the other, the suggestion of the Colonial/Early American nature of these items lies in the text and imagery of the advertisement. The association is first made through the names and descriptions of the furniture - one named the “Monticello”, the other described as “18<sup>th</sup>-Century style”. More subtly, the Crosley console is shown juxtaposed with a set of shelves with turned posts – an element often associated with the handcrafting valued in the Colonial Revival ideology. The font used in the ads is even more subtle, but appears to be based on a font developed in the 18<sup>th</sup> century by William Caslon and widely used in Colonial typesetting, including the Declaration of Independence. Use of the font would again have been suggestive of an Early American connection. The Betsy Ross Spinnet, advertised in the same magazine, takes the reliance on nomenclature one step further (figure 12). According to the Bluebook of Pianos, the Betsy Ross Spinnet was a complete line of

pianos, not just spinets, made in both “traditional and modern styles.” By 1951, consumers could customize a piano from the line.<sup>21</sup>

There is no lack of examples for the combination of marketing techniques to suggest a Colonial Revival/Early American connection. The Lane Hope Chest company, for example, employed both methods to market their product (figure 13). Like the entertainment consoles, the font used in the advertisement is reminiscent of Caslon's 18<sup>th</sup> century style and the chests are variously described as “18<sup>th</sup> Century”, “Colonial”, and a “Graceful Colonial lowboy of Queen Anne design.” Like the clock described above, some legitimately historic elements are present. The “Graceful Colonial lowboy”, a simple design with cabriole legs and shell motif, lacks the lightness of authentic Queen Anne furniture, but a dressing table at the Metropolitan Museum of Art displays similar characteristics (figures 14 & 15). The other two chests, however, do not reflect Early American design to any appreciable degree, despite the addition of bracket feet and skirting (figure 16).

This is not to suggest that Colonial Revival advertising and styling was confined to furniture. The “Classic” table lighter, also included in the December 1948 *Life Magazine*, suggests a vaguely Neo-Classical lobed vase form seen in c. 1800 sauce tureens, creamers, and other types of silver hollow-ware (figure 17). Once again, the font used in the advertisement is reminiscent of the Caslon font and the lighter is juxtaposed with another object suggesting Colonial wares – in this case an elaborate silver candelabra.

Given the pervasive notion that Colonial Revival objects lent an air of

sophistication to the suburban home, it is not surprising that Colonial Revival items were incorporated in lifestyle advertisements, particularly those for dining and entertaining. In an ad for Old Forester Bourbon Whiskey, hot water is dispensed from a globular silver urn reminiscent of an late 18<sup>th</sup> century style (figures 18 & 19). The text stresses the age of the refinery while the inclusion of this particular urn would both support the veracity of the whiskey as “Old” and suggest that it was part of a desirable American tradition. Other advertisements touted the ease with which an inexpensive product can be turned into elegant fare, appropriate for entertaining through the use of the correct (Colonial Revival) serving dishes. A Nabisco ad, for example, displays Ritz cracker canapés on a silver tray with a Chippendale-esque rim (figure 20). In a contemporaneous Del Monte ad, a ceramic version of the same tray bears a fruit cocktail pudding that contains “only five ingredients” yet is “dressy enough for company” (figure 21).

Colonial Revival products continued to appear over the next decade, presented as a necessary means by which to achieve a desirable suburban lifestyle, part of which included tasteful, but not ostentatious, homemaking and entertaining. The varying methods of incorporating actual Early American design elements and/or making the association through advertising copy also continued. A 1957 *Ladies Home Journal* feature article “The Low-Fat Diet” shows “diet” food, a potentially unappealing idea, elegantly displayed on Colonial Revival dishes, continuing the idea that inexpensive or unappealing foods could be perceived differently through proper presentation on Colonial Revival serving ware. In 1955, *Ladies Home Journal* ran ads for Nichols & Stone Windsor chairs (with the tag line “What better welcome than your favorite chair?”) that did, in fact, approximate 18<sup>th</sup> century designs. Startex Kitchen Corner Fashions – hand-

printed toweling for “delightful color effects *you* can create in your own home” - on the other hand, displayed the visual cues for “Early American” established in the Colonial Kitchens three quarters of a century earlier - fireplaces, fire-tool sets, spinning wheels, hurricane lamps, etc. (figure 22).

Possessing the appropriate items was only part of presenting a Colonial Revival home. DIY articles, as well as articles on historic homes, provided further suggestion for establishing a proper Colonial Revival décor and were regular feature in *Ladies Home Journal* between 1953 and 1957. These articles provided suggestions and visual cues to assist homemakers in incorporating Colonial Revival objects in their own homes. In January 1953, Ladies Home Journal ran an article entitled “Yesterday’s treasures... today’s pleasures,” which provided advice for using “today’s traditional pieces” to “fill in” a decorating scheme dominated by “antiques and all the charming old accessories that go with them.” Noting that “an eighteenth-century wing chair” is an “almost standard requirement in today’s traditional living room,” the author goes on to praise the “inviting comfort” of the “traditional living room” as a “part of family life.”<sup>22</sup> This article provided a “how-to” expansion to another article in the same issue – a heavily illustrated look at homes in Providence, Rhode Island dating from “pre-Revolutionary to the beginning 1800s.” These articles, run throughout the decade, stress the perceived grace and elegance of historically oriented decoration and the superior beauty and graciousness of the “traditional.”

Throughout the 1940s and early 1950s print was the primary means of educating the new middle class as to purchasing patterns and desirable items. By 1954, however, about half of the homes in the United States had a television, and print advertisements

were no longer the only means of expressing the desirability of Early American furnishings. In a more subtle way, popular sitcoms strongly reinforced the Colonial Revival style as the most appropriate for a (white) middle-class suburban home through the houses of model sitcom families. The strong association of the Colonial Revival with the suburbs can be seen in these programs, as well as the waning appeal of Colonial Revival styling as America moved into the 1960s.

Premiering in 1954, *Father Knows Best* was one of the early family sitcoms broadcast on television in the United States (the show, like others, was based on a radio serial.) *Father Knows Best* chronicled the adventures and mishaps of a “typical” idealized mid-Western family, comprising Father, Mother, and their three children. The structure used for exterior shots of the family’s home stands on the Warner (Columbia) lot in Burbank, CA – it is a typical Cape Cod cottage (figure 23). The furnishings run along Colonial Revival lines as well, with a drop-leaf coffee table and wing chair in the living room, Windsor chairs and a Colonial Revival style shelf in the kitchen, and in the hallway, a mirror topped with spindles perhaps more suited to a chair back, but meant to evoke an Early American “feel” (figure 24). The Colonial Revival styling was not remarked upon in the show – it was simply presented as the appropriate furnishing style for this middle class home.

While the Colonial Revival was not remarked upon in *Father Knows Best*, the intertwined ideas of Colonial Revival style and suburban life can be read more overtly in another, even more popular, TV show. *I Love Lucy*, starring the real-life husband and wife comedy team Lucille Ball and Desi Arnez as Lucy and Ricky Ricardo premiered in 1951 and followed the small family from a small city apartment to a historic suburban



home. Many episodes offer consumption as a solution to Lucy's dissatisfaction and anxiety and questions of desirable furniture and furnishing arose fairly frequently in the show - of the sitcom's 179 episodes, four were specifically focused on furniture and redecorating. In two of those episodes, the acquisition of new furniture accompanies a move to a new, larger, space as the Ricardo family progresses through apartments in the city to a desirable house in the exclusive Westchester suburb.<sup>23</sup> When the show first went on the air, Lucy and Ricky Ricardo lived in a small apartment at 623 East 68th Street, in New York City. After the birth of Little Ricky in 1953, the fictional family moved to a larger apartment. This move necessitated the acquisition of new furnishings, even though the family had won a new living room set only a few episodes before. In 1957, midway through the show's sixth (and final) season, Lucy, Ricky, and Little Ricky moved from New York to prosperous Westport, Connecticut. This real-life suburb, within commuting distance of New York, experienced immense growth during the 1950s, almost doubling in population between 1950 and 1960.<sup>24</sup> The remaining episodes of the show played heavily on, and with a broad wink at, popular associations of the suburbs with the Colonial Revival and the high jinks Lucy gets up to trying to fit into their new neighborhood.

The suburban/Early American connection first emerges in "Lucy Wants to Move to the Country," which aired on January 28, 1957. The initial point brought up in favor of the move is the benefit it would be to Little Ricky to live outside of the city. Lucy then tells her neighbor Ethel Mertz that on their trip to Connecticut the previous weekend, she and Ricky saw "the most wonderful house for sale – a quaint old Early American," exactly the "quaint old Early American house" she has wanted to live in "all my life." Lucy changes her mind about wanting to move, but only after Ricky has put down a \$500

deposit on the house without telling her, intending it to be a surprise for their anniversary. If they do not move, Ricky will lose the \$500 deposit. The solution to which Lucy, Ethel, and her husband Fred come presents a serious critique of suburbia, cloaked in vaudevillian comedy – they will make the current owner think they are “undesirable” so that he will change his mind and cancel the sale.

To prove that the Ricardos are “undesirable,” Lucy, Ethel, and Fred show up at the Westport house dressed as gangsters. The current owners (Mr. and Mrs. Spaulding) are presented as the quintessential stereotype of the Connecticut WASP, an image only broken for a moment when Mrs. Spaulding mentions the radio show *The Lineup*. Apparently horrified by the thought of such people living in “his” house, Mr. Spaulding insists that the sale be cancelled because “we don’t want your kind of people out here.” In the characters of the Spauldings, the show presents in comic garb issues that have been the subject of discussion and critique since the early 1950s – the conformity, homogeneity, and exclusionary nature of the American suburb. Interestingly, Ricky’s ethnicity is not addressed as an exclusionary factor, even though minorities were strongly discouraged from moving into white middle-class neighborhoods.

When Ricky arrives at the house and leaves with Mr. Spaulding, Lucy and the Mertzes slip back into their normal personas. Now that Lucy and Ethel appear “desirable,” Mrs. Spaulding is happy to join in their admiration of the house. As Mrs. Spaulding proudly explains, the house is “over 100 years old” and that “you won’t find beamed ceilings like that in the houses they build today.” Lucy and Ricky are, then, buying a link in the chain of American history because they have the means to do so. If Ricky was not as financially successful, they would have stayed in New York or moved into one of “the

houses they build today.” The suggestion is that no matter how much a suburban Cape Cod may reference history, it is infinitely better to obtain the “real thing.”

The Colonial Revival theme, coupled with the WASP-y nature of the Ricardos’ new neighbors, continues to feature heavily in the show’s remaining episodes. In “Lucy Gets Chummy with the Neighbors”, which aired on February 18, 1957, Lucy decides that their modern city furniture does not look right in the new house, and that it will have to be refurnished in “beautiful Early American” furniture like that of their new neighbors. Although the snobbery of “antiquers” and the exorbitant price tags on the furniture are roundly mocked, the house ultimately ends up decorated with Colonial Revival furnishings (figure 25). Once again, the acquisition of a piece of American history becomes a display of financial security as well as a means of conforming to the community’s accepted lifestyle.

The Ricardo’s activities also reflect their new suburban lifestyle – they attend country club dances, and Lucy plans “antiquing” trips. In stereotypical suburban “joiner” fashion, Lucy joins the Garden Club and gets involved with the Westport Historical Society. The latter association forms the basis for two episodes - “Ragtime Band,” aired on March 18, 1957, and the show’s last episode, which aired on May 6, 1957.<sup>25</sup> In “Ragtime Band,” Lucy volunteers Ricky’s band for a benefit show sponsored by the Historical Society (having swapped out her more usual dresses for a black suit with fur collar.) The last episode revolves around a “Yankee Doodle Day” celebration in Westport and the dedication of the town’s Minute Man statue (figure 26).

When *I Love Lucy* ended in 1957, CBS took on a new show, *Leave It to Beaver*. Over the years, June and Ward Cleaver, and their sons Wally and Beaver, have become a

byword for the idealized suburban American family. The show's creators, Joe Connelly and Bob Mosher, no doubt envisioned that the Cleavers would be seen as a fairly average family when they started writing a sitcom based on their own children.<sup>26</sup> Reflecting their position as the all-American family, the Cleavers started their television run in a Colonial Revival house in vaguely mid-western Mayfield, with the fictional address 485 Mapleton Drive (figure 27). The dining room is the most overtly Colonial Revival room in the house, with a silver coffee set at one end of the room, a piece of Colonial Revival case furniture at the other, and chairs with bell-flowers on the splat (figure 28.) The waning popularity of the Colonial Revival becomes apparent in 1959, when the Cleavers move to a new house and refurnish. Vaguely Colonial Revival elements linger in the new house, but the furnishings are of mostly modern design.

So why was the Colonial Revival so appealing to the new denizens of the suburbs? It has been suggested, in a seemingly contradictory manner, that the cleanliness of modern conveniences became associated with an earlier era's notion of genteel improvement expressed through Colonial Revival objects. The Colonial Revival thus came to epitomize the image of a gracious lifestyle conducted in the sort of "genteel yet modernized home" to which suburban life was supposed lend itself.<sup>27</sup>

## CHAPTER 2: Planning & Marketing

The 1957 Jamestown anniversary celebration was not the first Festival held to commemorate the landing. The first two celebrations, the 1807 “Grand National Jubilee” and the 1857 event, called simply the “Celebration of the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary” were parochial events. Lasting a single day each, these celebrations comprised a variety of orations and a theatrical performance, followed by a dinner and ball for the well-to-do. For others, they were opportunities for “vulgar” amusements such as gambling and drinking. These celebrations were held on Jamestown Island itself, requiring a boat trip up the James River, an additional inducement to attend.<sup>28</sup> Attendance at the first two celebrations is estimated to have been 2,500 in 1807 and between 6,000 and 8,000 in 1857. As day-trips, these events were intended for a local audience, both to recognize the importance of Jamestown in American history and to solidify Virginia state patriotism.<sup>29</sup>

The 1907 and 1957 celebrations were held on a much larger scale, purposefully planned and executed to draw significant attendance from a national, if not international, audience. The 1907 Jamestown Tercentennial Exposition, though not officially a World’s Fair, was modeled on the 1893 Columbian Exposition.<sup>30</sup> Primarily intended as a display of the United States’ newly established naval superiority, the celebration was in Hampton Roads, due to the relative inaccessibility of Jamestown Island at that time. Late to open and hampered by significant financial difficulties, the 1907 Exposition was not a success – an outcome noted by the planners of the 1957 Festival.<sup>31</sup>

In addition to the dismissal of Virginia's claim as the true birthplace of America, the abject failure of the 1907 tercentennial exhibition (which many of the planners may have attended as children) and a resurgence of anti-Southern sentiment among Northerners watching the atrocities that would lead to the full-blown Civil Rights Movement playing out on their televisions must have been on the minds of the native Virginians charged with planning the 350<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Celebration. The conscious attempt to (re)establish Virginia as America's birthplace was a central theme in the Festival's multi-part marketing plan. The plan was designed to provide national advertising for the Festival from both the Festival Commission and private sponsors, as well as to enlist dry-goods manufacturers in the creation and promotion of a "Jamestown fashion" incorporating traditional Colonial Revival aesthetics with Jamestown symbolism. The intention was to provide additional publicity for the Festival and, through the licensing of the official Festival seal, bring in funds to supplement those allocated by the Commonwealth of Virginia and the Federal Government. The use of the seal would allow manufacturers to infer that their goods were officially sanctioned by the Festival Commission, adding to the "authenticity" of their products or souvenirs. Spode's *Jamestown* line is one example of independently manufactured goods bearing the Festival seal (figure 29).

In 1953, the National Park Service and Colonial Williamsburg established a joint committee to "consider the entertainment of the visitor and the means of dramatizing and attractively interpreting the Lower Peninsula's historic sites." In effect, this meant that the committee was charged with determining the type of visitor to which the Festival entertainments would be geared and the means by which attendance would be organized.

In their report dated January 15, 1954, the committee set forth their expected demographic for attendance through the character of “a hypothetical Mr. Smith, ‘only mildly history-minded and inclined toward benevolent domination by his wife and two children, aged five and fourteen.’”<sup>32</sup>

With this model in mind, planning began in earnest. Site selection was an important initial step in planning the Festival. Given the expected demographic, the Festival grounds were laid out for access by automobile. It could be assumed that most of the attendees would arrive by car, as automobile ownership was almost universal among the middle-class and that automobile tourism was on the rise. The site selected for the Festival was not on Jamestown Island itself, but on adjacent land donated to the Commonwealth of Virginia by the National Park Service and dubbed “Jamestown Festival Park.”<sup>33</sup> (figure 30). Exhibits at the Park included reconstructions of the Jamestown Fort and Glasshouse, a “typical Indian long house of the period”, and Pavilions recognizing both the New World and the Old – the latter sponsored by the British government.<sup>34</sup> Replicas of the three ships that brought the settlers, *Susan Constant*, *Godspeed*, and *Discovery*, were anchored in the James River.

Primary access to the Park was via the Colonial National Parkway. Only one of a number of scenic, historic parkways planned during the 1920s and 30s, the Colonial Parkway was initially authorized by Congress in 1930 to connect Jamestown, Yorktown, and Williamsburg. Due to the Great Depression and World War II, the Colonial Parkway remained incomplete when the Festival planning commenced. Special assistant to the U.S. Secretary of the Interior and author of the original legislation, Louis M. Cramton stated that “he would like the visitor to Jamestown to be able to drive on to Williamsburg

and to Yorktown [the three sites designated as a memorial to Colonial America], without the impression of early days being driven from his mind by a succession of hot dog stands and tire signs—on a strip sufficiently wide to protect it by tress shutting out all conflicting modern development, this highway not to be a blazing modern pavement but as much as feasible giving the impression of an old-time road.”<sup>35</sup> The road was to be an escape from Modernism and was engineered to preserve the views and, as stated, impressions of a Colonial road, while meeting the comfort needs of drivers accustomed to highways. Concrete bridges were veneered with brick, the road was acid-washed for an aesthetic impression of an old road (without the discomfort of the real thing) and a tunnel ran under Williamsburg so as not to disrupt the attraction’s “historic” view.<sup>36</sup>

The reconstruction of the Jamestown Glasshouse, funded entirely by the glassmaking industry, was the first Festival building completed. To preserve the site's archaeological integrity, the reconstruction was built near, but not on top of, the original site. Promotional materials for the Jamestown Festival stressed Jamestown as the seat of the nation’s first industry – glassmaking. To “enhance the prestige of domestic handmade glassware and call public attention to its rich tradition as America’s very first industry,” Carl Gustkey, president of Imperial Glass Corporation, in cooperation with other glassmakers, raised \$135,000 for the reconstruction of the Jamestown Glasshouse.<sup>37</sup> While glassmaking was, in fact, the nation’s first successful industry, the “Jamestown as the seat of industry” claim is a bit shaky. The first successful glasshouse in the colonies was not founded until 1739, 130 years after the landing at Jamestown.

It was in ultimately in tableware that the majority of Jamestown-associated decorative arts objects was produced. “Jamestown-inspired” lines that had little to do



with the settlement or Festival, other than expressing ideas of gentility and American-ness, were developed, some of which stayed in production for many years after the Festival closed. The deeper involvement of tableware designers in adopting the Jamestown imagery may be partially attributed to the involvement of the glass industry in the construction of the Jamestown Glasshouse. As manufacturers of tableware in all media are closely entwined, the glass industry's interest influenced tableware production in other media.

Meanwhile, in 1956, while the Park was still under construction, an advertising and marketing blitz began. The Festival Commission placed ads in newspapers and magazines nationwide. A public relations firm was retained to, among other tasks, place articles in "publications of special interest," and to work with various groups and organizations, including travel agents, automobile clubs, travel writers, and local tourist carriers to promote the Festival.<sup>38</sup> Nationally, firms such as the Ford Motor Company and Sinclair Oil independently chose to include Jamestown themes in their advertising – providing a great deal of free advertising for the event (figure 31).

Local businesses also invested heavily in advertising, anticipating a surge in tourism. The most active local organization was the Miller & Rhodes department store, based in Richmond. Not only did Miller & Rhodes lobby other department stores to adopt Jamestown-themed displays, the store installed a ten part display in the windows of their Grace Street store front titled "The Jamestown Story." The "Story" began with the landing of the ships at Jamestown and extended through Patrick Henry's famous "Treason" speech and the battle at Yorktown (figures 32 & 33). The series ended with an idyllic scene at Berkeley Plantation on the James River. The Southern slant to the store

window displays was blatant. None of the windows, including those about the Revolution, referenced the North in any way – the windows were an expression of pride in Southern history, and in the role of the South in the making of America. When the Festival opened, the department store marked the occasion with a collection of hats in the Festival's official colors.

A portion of the marketing campaign encouraging dry goods manufacturers and distributors (i.e., department stores) to create Festival-inspired objects was spearheaded by Mary Burnley Gwathmey. A native of King William County, VA, Gwathmey was designated Consultant on Merchandising, Color, and Design by the Virginia Commission. *The Final Report to the President and Congress of the Jamestown-Williamsburg-Yorktown Celebration Commission*, credits Gwathmey's "knowledge of the field and its executives" (she spent over a decade as design and fashion consultant for New York department stores) with the successful "promotion of the Jamestown theme in a variety of ways affecting things bought and sold."<sup>39</sup> Gwathmey herself explained that her goal was to create the "Jamestown fashion" that would be adopted by designers and manufacturers. As Gwathmey explained:

To do this, it was necessary to contact—personally as far as possible—leading manufacturers, designers, fashion editors and specialists, and to acquaint them with the far-reaching plans and opportunities that such a celebrations opened up for their creative ideas. From that point on, these men and women in all lines of fashion merchandise have kept the Jamestown Festival headquarters on its toes to supply requested information and to follow through on special inquiries as to the most minute details connected with the early Jamestown Area and the colonists. There was a pressing—almost desperate—need for brochures on color and design to distribute to these influential creators of merchandise.<sup>40</sup>

The brochure on color was the first produced. The Color Association of the United States took an interest in the Festival – an interest the Jamestown-Williamsburg-Yorktown Commission attributes this to the Association’s president being a Virginian.<sup>41</sup> Estelle M. Tennis, the Association’s executive secretary, and Mary Gwathmey selected a palette and the Association funded a brochure that contained swatches of the colors and information about the Festival. Marketing for the color scheme began before the palette was officially introduced. The September 15, 1956 edition of *The Washington Post and Times Herald* included a section dedicated to “Homes of ’56 and National Home Week” – sponsored by the Home Builders Association of Metropolitan Washington, with a short “teaser” blurb titled “Colors in the Crystal Ball Courtesy the Jamestown Festival.” The snippet reads:

An early American color revival—eventually to be known as Jamestown colors—is predicted for the 1957 celebration of the 350<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the first permanent English settlement in the New World at Jamestown in 1607. The Jamestown Festival of 1957 is sure to be inspirational to such members of the color world as paint manufacturers, men and women’s fashions, and the automobile industry.

This initial marketing foray for the color palette appears next to an image of the living room in one of the 1956 model homes - the “Bonheur”, designed by the W. C. and A. N. Miller Co., and furnished by Corrados, Inc. The furnishings and decoration are described as “rich and luxurious” and “in keeping with the Colonial styling of this home.” In the living room shown in the article, a pair of candle brackets and a round tea table are vaguely styled on 18<sup>th</sup>/early 19<sup>th</sup> century lines, but the fleur-de-lis pattern on the draperies and an ornamental sun over the fireplace are equally suggestive of Louis XV. From the very beginning, then, the plan for Festival-inspired objects held in line with pre-

established norms for Colonial Revival objects – the “suggestion” of Early America was sufficient; the objects themselves need not be produced on reproductive lines.

The colors “in the Crystal Ball” were officially introduced the following month.

On October 21, 1956, The *Chicago Daily Tribune* reported that:

Jamestown Festival colors, six advance spring and summer tints for home furnishings and fashions, have been announced by the Color Association of the United States to honor the Jamestown Festival of 1957... The colors, based on research at the historic island are: River aqua, a misty blue green; Jamestown clay, a light earth tone developed from the pottery made there; Indian corn, a sunny yellow; glass green, marking the colony’s first highly skilled industry; golden tobacco, a rich, tawny gold, and Virginia sky, clear azure blue.<sup>42</sup>

Once the Festival’s official colors were established, additional brochures were produced to assist designers and manufacturers in the production of Festival-related merchandise. These included instructive handbooks for furniture makers and guidelines for department stores to create Jamestown window dressings, but the most comprehensive was *An Advance Release for Use in the Field of Merchandise Design Based on Recently Discovered Wares Used by the First Colonists and Fashions of the Seventeenth Century America*. Prepared by Mary Gwathmey, the brochure states that:

This booklet has been published by Miller & Rhodes [Department Store], Richmond, Virginia, to assist the National Retail Dry Goods Association in its nationwide effort to enlist the interest and cooperation of retailers and their suppliers in the promotion of the Jamestown Festival of 1957.<sup>43</sup>

The booklet contains information on licensing agreements for the use of the Festival’s official insignia, information about the Festival, a brief history of Jamestown, examples of 17<sup>th</sup> century costume and artifacts upon which designs might be based. A later booklet provided information specifically for furniture designers.

On April 2, 1957, Marilyn Hoffman's *Round Trip from Manhattan* column reported that the Jamestown Festival, which opened that week, would be "marked not only by a six-month series of festivities, but also by design and color influence in fashion and decorative home furnishings." Although Hoffmann was unsure whether the Festival would have "lasting significance" in design, she noted to readers that "Jamestown may be a factor in our homes and dress this year." It was her opinion that the color palette was keyed to spring, summer, and early fall fashions, falling into line with the Festival dates. Hoffman notes a number of areas in which the effects of the marketing campaign were being felt. She mentions that Columbia Wax Works, in Ozone Park, NY, had begun making candles in the Festival colors, and that Du Pont was offering interior paint. An enterprising (and state-patriotic) Virginian had worked with the Burpee Seed Company to offer planting suggestions in the Festival colors.<sup>44</sup>

Basic fabrics, made in the Festival colors with no other indication of a relation to the event, were reportedly produced by Dan River Mills, Danville, VA. Two "name" ready-to-wear fashion designers reportedly featured the colors in Fall lines. The June 26, 1957 edition of *The Washington Post and Times Herald* carried an article about designer Nelly Don's fall dress collection in "colors inspired by the Jamestown Festival" and Hoffman, in the April 2, 1957 article mentioned above, noted that designer Claire McCardell would be "featuring the Dan River 'Jamestown' fabrics." Like the more usual association of Colonial Revival objects with a New England heritage, the importance lay not in any true association to either Jamestown or American history, but in placing Jamestown as an important location merely through the merit of mention. A particularly good example of this is a line of novelty hats featured on the July 9, 1957 fashion page

of the *Chicago Daily Tribune*. These included John Frederics's "Founding Father" tricorne and "Clipper Ship" bicorne, Walter Florell's "Layettes", also a series of bicorne and tricorne, and Laddie Northridge's "wide brimmed, tall crowned Pilgrim father hats," all of which linked the name "Jamestown" to traditional symbols of Colonial New England. This Festival-inspired apparel was produced by manufacturers who must have believed there was adequate interest in Jamestown to justify the investment in Festival-related goods; the majority of the designers noted above were based in New York, with no direct connection to Virginia or Southern interests.

The promotion of these fashions only in newspapers and the highly standardized composition of the articles suggest that the intended audience for the designs was the department store shopping suburban middle class. High fashion designers were clearly not interested in adopting a Colonial Revival style, as their wealthier patrons would typically be more interested in cutting-edge fashion than the conservative styles of the suburbs.

### CHAPTER 3: Symbolism Manifested

In addition to the assignment of the “Jamestown” label to various goods, as discussed above, the combination of Jamestown symbolism with more traditional Colonial Revival iconography was used to assert and reinforce the claim that Jamestown, rather than Plymouth, should be considered the origin place of the United States. The iconographic combinations occurred far more frequently in those items specifically related to the Festival – souvenirs, commemorative items, speeches and plays presented on the Festival grounds while the application of the Jamestown label to standard Colonial Revival style goods was more commonly employed by home goods manufacturers. Many of the items produced were tableware, likely because of the glass industry's interest in the Festival.

Promotional materials for the Jamestown Festival claimed not only for Jamestown the title of America’s birthplace, but also the seat of the nation’s first industry – glassmaking. Glassmaking was, in fact, the first successful industry in British North America, but the “Jamestown as the seat of industry” claim is shaky and is documented by substantive and comprehensive research: the first truly successful glasshouse in the colonies was not founded until 1739, when Caspar Wistar, a German immigrant, established a factory in southern New Jersey, and imported German glassblowers to staff it. The factory was established in defiance of English policy prohibiting all manufacture in the colonies – America was to provide raw materials which would be used in English factories and serve as consumers for expensive re-imported goods. This restriction was laid down after initial settlement attempts, when Virginia was seen as an ideal location for

the establishment of a glass-making industry. In England, forests were being so rapidly denuded that a 1615 Royal Proclamation declared that the nation's remaining timber was to be preserved for shipbuilding and glassmakers were forced to switch to coal for fuel.<sup>45</sup> While England's glassmakers struggled to support an unsuccessful domestic industry, most wealthy Englishmen used Venetian, rather than English, glass.

The seemingly limitless forests of the New World and access to good sand provided ample raw material for glassmaking. Glassmaking had been attempted at Roanoke, but failed with the colony. At Jamestown, The Virginia Company, established to provide financing for the Jamestown settlement, again saw opportunity for glassmaking and sent eight Polish and German glass artisans to the colony in 1608. Some glass items, likely bottles and windowpanes, were produced in 1608 and 1609, but during the "starving time" of 1609-1610 all eight of the glassmakers died. A second attempt, backed by investor William Norton, was made between 1622 and 1624, when a second group of glassblowers, this time Italians, was sent to the settlement. But the inability of the glassblowers to work with one another, the destruction of the furnace by a disgruntled glassmaker, and Norton's death combined to cause the venture to fail. After the 1624 failure, no further attempt to produce glass was made at Jamestown.

The presence of a glassworks at Jamestown was recorded in John Smith's journal. Smith described the glasshouse as "a place in the woods near a mile from Jamestown."<sup>46</sup> The specific location was not identified until 1931, when Jesse Dimmick, then owner of the property, located the remains of a glass furnace. After limited excavations, Dimmick enclosed the area with a fence until such time as it could be examined by experts.<sup>47</sup> Excavation began in earnest in 1948, after the site had been acquired by Colonial



National Historic Park. Following the results of the initial excavation, Glass Crafts of America, Inc., an “organization of a dozen firms specializing in handmade table and decorative glass,” financed further research by the Park’s supervisory archaeologist, J. C. Harrington. Glass Crafts then published Harrington’s findings, which included not only the history of glassmaking at Jamestown through 1624, but also described the “techniques, tools and terminology of glassmaking” from the period.<sup>48</sup>

At the 1957 Festival Glasshouse, glass artisans in period dress gave glassmaking demonstrations for visitors. The artisans produced souvenir bottles, described in the Jamestown-Williamsburg-Yorktown Celebration Commission’s Final Report as “apothecary vials.”<sup>49</sup> The bottles may have been based on a pharmaceutical bottle found at the site. However, archaeological excavations have still not revealed any specific items made at Jamestown – most of the fragments recovered have been traced back to Europe. The glass used for the souvenir bottles in 1957 was based on drippings found at the glasshouse site - a color referred to as “common green” that is attributed to an iron oxide occurring naturally in the local sand.

The efforts at authenticity employed at the Festival Glasshouse did not extend to commercial production. Glass manufacturers produced a variety of functional patterns, some directly referencing the Festival and others relying on other forms of advertising to express their ostensibly Colonial origins. The use of traditional craft techniques was sometimes cited to lend “authenticity” to their wares, but the patterns were usually based on mid- to late-19th century designs. Given that Carl Gustkey, president of Imperial Glass Corporation, founded the Jamestown Glasshouse Foundation, responsible for the construction of the Festival Glasshouse, it is not surprising that the Imperial Glass

company produced multiple Jamestown and Americana designs in conjunction with the Festival. Other notable lines were produced by the Fenton Art Glass Company, Fostoria Glass, and Libbey Glass (figures 31a, 32a, and 34.)

Imperial House of Americana Glass, located in Bellaire, Ohio, had been producing a line of “authentic reproductions” before the Jamestown anniversary and, while the line was not developed with the Festival in mind, advertising appears to have been stepped up during the years immediately before and after the Festival, when at least one line of bottles was renamed to link an extant Colonial Revival design specifically to Jamestown (figure 34). In 1956 and 1957, Imperial marketed six blown glass bottles as “Colonial bottles, colorful and authentic reproductions of antique collectors’ pieces.”<sup>50</sup> Depending on the advertisement, the bottles were alternately called “Colonial” or “Olde Jamestown.”<sup>51</sup> The “Colonial bottles” appear to be replicas of mold-blown flasks made c. 1820 – 1870, certainly early American, but not colonial, and dating from over two centuries after the Jamestown settlement (figure 35).<sup>52</sup> Heavy marketing and the relabeling of identical or nearly identical items were employed to make them more appealing to the consumer in search of a piece of their ideal of American history and so blurred the boundaries between authenticity and the *idea* of the Colonial. Typical of Colonial Revival goods, the idea of the Colonial, applied to items that would appeal to consumers, took precedence over actual authenticity.

Fenton Art Glass, located in Martin's Ferry, Ohio, likewise relied on advertising to link the company’s products to Jamestown. In January 1957, Fenton introduced their *Jamestown Blue* collection. A number of these items were marketed as “antique reproductions of dot optic vases...styled in the traditional mode.”<sup>53</sup> Like the bottles

produced by the Imperial Glass Company, it is possible that the “dot optic” style is based on 19<sup>th</sup> century glass patterns. The rows of graduated thumbprints that characterized the “dot optic” style can be seen in an 1850-1875 covered bowl produced by Bakewell, Pears & Co., Factory (figures 36 & 37). Finally, the rims of the vases were fashioned in Fenton’s signature petticoat style. Neither of these elements - body ornament or rim design, then, actually relate to Jamestown in any way.

Even the name *Jamestown Blue* was purely a marketing ploy meant to appeal to the suburban middle class. *Jamestown Blue*, the catalog claims, is “the brilliant peacock color favored by the earliest American glassmakers.”<sup>54</sup> While blue glass was made in the United States following the Revolution, there has been no evidence found at Jamestown suggesting glass was made in any color other than “common green” – the Jamestown label was applied wholly to forge an association with the Colonial past and to connect the items to the Jamestown anniversary. Fenton promoted the line heavily in a 1958 brochure that details at length the craftsmanship that goes into their pieces, “introducing” the reader to individual craftsmen (figure 38). The combination of handcraft and the evocation of Colonial America were the pattern’s primary selling points.

The Fostoria Glass Company of Moundsville, West Virginia, experienced a downturn in production after 1950, and seized upon the 1957 Jamestown Festival to try to change its fortune. The 1958 introduction of their *Jamestown* line of stemware and tableware was likely intended to appeal to the widest possible consumer base – it was produced in a wide range of colors and assigned a name that, in the wake of Festival advertising, could potentially resonate with the middle class consumer. Following strong Festival year advertising, the Fostoria manufacturers may also have hoped that the

Jamestown label would fit their design into “the [current] strong trend toward traditional décor.”<sup>55</sup> Once again, however, the pieces were more suggestive of 19th century design, resembling free-form items made in the United States during the first half of that century (figures 39 & 40). The connection to Jamestown was purely through advertising, as was true with so many of the Festival-related wares.

Other than the application of the name “Jamestown” to these items, however, the forms and advertising were in no way different from other Colonial Revival glassware marketed at the same time. Libbey glassware is a prime example of the extent to which pure marketing was used to sell the idea of Early America to consumers. These marketing practices included the design of merchandising displays for retailers. In November 1957, in the *China, Glass & Tablewares* trade journal, a Libbey advertisement presented a new set of merchandising tools for its Colonial Heritage and American Antiques patterns (figure 41). Neither pattern was modeled on historic forms but the advertising stage places them, in the consumer’s mind, as representing or, in the case of the American Antiques line, depicting American history (figures 42 & 43). The advertisement claimed, “in these attractive displays, Libbey’s lovely Colonial Heritage and American Antiques patterns practically sell themselves.”<sup>56</sup> The *American Antiques* display unit included space for all five of the pieces produced in this pattern “stimulat[ing] sales of complete sets.” The display piece consisted of a stand with “A New Measure of Old Charm” emblazoned across the bottom and topped with an “olde tyme” style sign. Just as with the Jamestown-related items, and for Colonial Revival goods in general, consumers were buying the *idea* of Early America rather than authenticity.

Like the glass manufacturers, china manufacturers also produced items related to the Jamestown Festival. Many of these items were developed and marketed in much the same way as glassware – standard Colonial Revival designs were dubbed “Jamestown” and marketed as historically related. With more possibilities for pictorial decoration and a wider category of goods, both practical, such as table settings, and decorative, such as souvenir plates, chinaware also displayed more complex Jamestown-specific imagery, which will be discussed in Chapter 4.

As discussed above, throughout the 1940s and 50s, Colonial Revival styling was advertised as the appropriate aesthetic for suburban America and the one that most inspired the sought-after “gracious lifestyle.” Tableware manufacturers played heavily on this idea, directing extensive advertising campaigns towards the superiority of Colonial and Early American styles. An undated mid-20<sup>th</sup> century advertisement for the *New Blue Chateau* dinner service starts with the headline “The Charm of 18<sup>th</sup> Century Dinner Service.” The remaining text, next to a drawing of a woman obviously transported by the joy her dinnerware provoked in her, relates the pattern to “rare old china” with “all the sophisticated dignity and grace of Georgian culture.”

As tableware manufacturers encouraged young women to select their personal “patterns” earlier and earlier, a plethora of advertising manuals were published, ostensibly to aid young brides in selecting desirable china patterns. The manuals encouraged the purchase of not only formal dinnerware, but provided suggestions for china settings appropriate for other types of entertaining, such as casual breakfasts, casual luncheons, formal luncheons, and informal dinners. As in the advertisements, many of the manuals stressed the appropriateness of tableware with Colonial Revival styling. *The*

*Romance of your Dinnerware*, published by the Home Economics Department of The Salem China Company is an undated instruction booklet probably issued in the late 1940s – 1950s. The booklet begins with “Milady’s quest for beauty” in tableware, the antiquated term immediately conjuring a romantic past, followed by an extremely brief overview of the history of pottery. The history ends in 1825, winding up with the assurance that using tableware from Salem China Co. will allow “milady” to set a table that “Queen Mary herself would have envied.”<sup>57</sup> The patterns included in the booklet lean heavily towards the Colonial Revival. Salem’s “reproduction of a Colonial fireside”, a pictorial pattern of an idealized New England hearth, is suggested as a “cheerful and gay” solution for breakfast. For “luncheon,” the *Mount Vernon* and *Lansdowne* patterns, the latter described as “adapted from an 18<sup>th</sup>-Century floral print” are deemed “informal” without lacking “distinction.” The three patterns suggested for dinnerware continue the Colonial Revival theme – *Basket Petit-Point*, recalling cross-stitched samplers and *Indian Tree*. A 1940s Salem wholesale catalog informs the buyer that the latter design was “originally created by the celebrated English designer, Thomas Minton, in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century.” The final dinnerware pattern presented also references “days gone by” but the Godey Prints plates shown are “based on the old-time themes of Grandmother’s day” rather than 18<sup>th</sup>-century designs.<sup>58</sup>

American manufacturers were not alone in seizing upon the marketing possibilities presented by the Festival. The British china manufacturer Spode produced a pattern dubbed *Jamestown* that was specifically marketed for the Jamestown Festival, as evidenced by the official Festival seal stamped on the bottom of each piece. The pattern is an excellent example of the periodic resurgence of the Colonial Revival aesthetic.

Spode licensed the official Jamestown Festival logo to clearly identify the pattern as Festival-related. Identified pieces from the service include a dinner plate, salad plate, bread and butter plate, covered tureen, and creamer. The most distinctive piece is the creamer (figure 44), an “inverted helmet shape with molded lobes rising from the base” with a curved, textured handle extending out from the body of the creamer.<sup>59</sup> The handle terminates in a flat circle half an inch above the lip of the creamer. *Jamestown* was issued in a single blue-and-white pattern, a design of hexagons and moths similar to that found on 18<sup>th</sup>-century export porcelain (figure 45).

The *Jamestown* body shape of this Spode set was not, in fact, developed for the Festival. The distinctive creamer is easily recognizable as a re-issue of Spode’s *Lowestoft* shape, introduced in the late 1920’s (figure 46). Recognizing the Colonial Revival trend in America at that time, Sidney Thompson, Spode’s American agent, pushed the factory to create the *Lowestoft* shape.<sup>60</sup> The *Lowestoft* shape was copied directly from 18<sup>th</sup>-century Chinese export porcelain; a creamer in precisely the same shape was included in a “Compleat Sett fine Image china” shipped from London to Mount Vernon in 1757.<sup>61</sup> It is notable that the Colonial Revival connection in this set draws from an association not only with George Washington, but with items imported to the Colonial South, rather than to New England. The *Lowestoft* shape was originally issued with a number of patterns, both brightly colored floral patterns and basic blue-and-white. The shape was then reintroduced with different patterns a number of times over the years. The *Gloucester* pattern was added around 1930. The *Heritage* pattern, in which a Federal eagle has been combined with the *Jamestown* rim pattern, was produced from 1962-1972 (figure 47). *Garden-Blue*, with a simplified, more flowing floral pattern, was available from 1970-72

(figure 48). The *Lowestoft* body shape, with continuing pattern variations, was marketed at upscale retailers such as Tiffany & Co. into the 1980s, and at other retailers until the early 1990s, a testament to the enduring popularity of Colonial Revival styling.<sup>62</sup>

Much like the Dromedary Gingerbread ad mentioned previously, the Canonsburg Pottery Co. of Canonsburg, Pennsylvania, referred to the Washington family, rather than the 350<sup>th</sup> Anniversary, to add to the appeal of their *Washington Colonial* shape introduced in 1956. Although not directly referencing the 350<sup>th</sup> Anniversary, the pattern was advertised in trade magazines as “Timely!... a reproduction of a dinnerware shape much admired by the First Families of Old Virginia...now re-introduced at the request of many Dinnerware Buyers who know their customers will show unusual interest in this shape.” (figure 49). This pattern, with a rim containing a raised pattern of alternating sections of basket-weave and diapering, separated by scrollwork, is more historically accurate than most, as a similar plate made in England for the American market in the early 18<sup>th</sup> Century is in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (figure 50). The body was available in both plain white, as seen in the advertisement, or with floral ornament (figure 51).

Like the glassware, though, these patterns varied little from other Colonial Revival goods made at the same time, which depended just as heavily on advertising to make the link between the contemporary object and Early Americana. In its *Heritage* line, the Harker Pottery Company, located in Chester, West Virginia, split the difference between North and South, advertising the shape (again available in multiple patterns) as a “charming remembrance of a *gracious* [italics mine] age. Its antecedents graced the tables of the great – from classic Federalist mansions of the Old Bay Colony to the lovely



Georgian homes of the James Plantations of the Old Dominion.”<sup>63</sup> Harker also drew on the company’s longevity to add authenticity. ”Harkerware, since 1840” figures prominently in their ads. Once again, consumers were assured that the “graciousness” deemed desirable for suburban homes could be obtained and expressed through the purchase of “Early American” goods.

#### CHAPTER 4: Jamestown Iconography

In addition to the pseudo-historical design and heavy marketing typical of Colonial Revival goods, china manufacturers combined a standard Jamestown-specific iconography with familiar Colonial Revival forms to produce commemorative merchandise. This limited iconography stressed two primary elements to put Jamestown back on the map regarding the nation's origin as well as to assert the “rightness” of Anglo-American primacy in the writing of American history. The relationship of Pocahontas to the colony was central to the argument that Jamestown deserved the title "Birthplace of America" and that the history of the United States was simultaneously one of hereditary right and perceived divine favor for the colony. Although the dramatic story of Pocahontas's "rescue" of John Smith was, and remains, more well known than her marriage to Englishman John Rolfe, Virginians claimed hereditary right to the lands controlled by her father, Powhatan. Pocahontas and Rolfe had one son, and Virginia families have continued to trace this lineage to the present day. *Pocahontas, Alias Matoaka, and Her Descendants Through Her Marriage at Jamestown, Virginia, in April, 1614, with John Rolfe, Gentleman*, a genealogy compiled in 1887 by Wyndham Robertson, who traced his own lineage to the couple, has been updated and republished as recently as 2003. Additionally, the success of the settlement, in particular the survival of the Jamestown Church Tower evidence to divine favor, has been claimed as evidence of divine favor for the English settlement of North America.

The majority of the Jamestown-specific iconography, with the exception of the famous “Rescue” scene, is depicted on a toile produced by F. Schumacher & Co. in 1957 (figure 52). F. Schumacher & Co. is a manufacturer of textiles, wallpaper, and carpets,

both original designs and historic reproductions, founded in New York in 1889. The company's products have been used in the White House, Supreme Court, and both the Senate and House of Representatives, as well as in high-end homes. Schumacher recognized the importance of the growing middle class as early as 1926, when the company established the Waverly piece goods department with designs and price points intended for the middle class. With a history of providing products for both the upper and middle classes, the company appears to have had no qualms about capitalizing on the Jamestown Festival. As described in the May 16, 1957 edition of *Christian Science Monitor*, the toile “depicts the journey of the Susan Constant, Godspeed, and Discovery [the three ships that made the initial journey]; the James fort; first glass factory; Chief Powhatan’s lodge; Capt. John Smith; Pocahontas” as well as a map of Virginia, likely from Smith’s *General Historie*, and arms and armament representing the settlers’ struggles.

The *Jamestown* tableware pattern, produced by the British pottery William Adams & Sons for import by the Jonroth company, depicts almost exactly the same iconography as the toile (figure 53). As the pattern was intended to be both commemorative and functional, the Rescue scene was likely deemed too violent for dinnerware. The images were densely applied to the set’s five pieces, which were available in blue-and-white and rose-and-white only. The colors may have been meant to be suggestive of Chinese porcelain and/or transfer-ware, with which the average middle class viewer may have been familiar - not necessarily through a knowledge of the history of china, but through exposure to advertising, as blue-and-white wares were frequently depicted in Colonial Revival scenes and marketed as such. In the Adams set, the teacup

and saucer are the most elaborately decorated pieces, possibly because cups and saucers were popular collectibles and souvenir items. The teacup, with the handle to the viewer's right, shows The Old Church Tower; the sketch of James Fort with the handle to the left. The saucer has a central dogwood pattern, surrounded by the words (clockwise from top) "Jamestown 1957 Virginia 1607. On the rim, four 'cloud-shaped' fields are separated by floral (dogwood?) designs. Clockwise from top, the fields contain images of "The Ships that Brought the Founders of the Nation", "Princess Pocahontas", "Blair Tomb", and "Captain John Smith." The other pieces, a dinner plate, dessert plate, and a variation on the tea-cup, are ornamented with the same images in varying combinations.

Although the settlement at Jamestown was entirely removed from the pre-Civil War Jamestown/Plymouth origin discussion on a national level, many Southerners, particularly Virginians, maintained the claim to having been the founding site for the nation. While hereditary land rights were not part of Native American culture, in Western understanding the marriage of Pocahontas to settler John Rolfe placed their descendents in a line of perceived royal (native American) inheritance through her father, Powhatan. The settlers referred to Powhatan, a powerful leader among regional tribes, as an "Emperor" and his daughter a "Princess." As such, images of Pocahontas have frequently been used to validate the Jamestown settlers' ostensibly hereditary rights to the lands they claimed for the British king. Images of Powhatan's lodge, generally incorporating Pocahontas's "rescue" of John Smith, further reinforce the ties between Pocahontas and the Jamestown community.<sup>64</sup> While the romance of the Rescue scene have made Pocahontas and Smith popular figures in the Jamestown iconography, images of John Rolfe, who ultimately converted and married Pocahontas, are entirely absent.

The image of Smith used on Festival goods is a reproduction of an engraving made by Simon Van de Passe in 1616 and published in Smith's *Generall Historie of Virginia, New England & the Summer Isles* (1624). The standard image of 'Princess Pocahontas' (in Western garb as Lady Rebecca, wife of John Rolfe) is also loosely based on a Van de Passe engraving made the same year, allegedly based on a portrait painted from life and likewise included in the *Generall Historie* (figures 54 & 55). If there was a portrait made from life, it has been lost, as no such image is known to exist. The Van de Passe engraving was reinterpreted in the mid- to late-eighteenth century by an unknown artist who westernized Pocahontas's features, smoothing the strong features that Van de Passe depicted into a more softer appearance more in line with European ideas of feminine beauty. This painting, the so-called 'Booton Hall Portrait', became in the public mind an "authentic" portrait of Pocahontas/Lady Rebecca.

Divine right plays into the Jamestown version of the origin myth equally, if not more heavily, than hereditary right. Established as a nation without an official religion, Americans wreathed the national founders in almost religious terms. The church at Jamestown, which withstood not only assaults against the colony, but even remained standing after the town had been abandoned in favor of the more comfortably situated Williamsburg, became symbolic of divine favor for the colonists, a pious but relatively diverse group. As a means of contrast, supporters of the Jamestown myth cited the "theocratic, autocratic state whose principles of behavior were the ordinances of the Hebrew Old Testament" established by the Puritan settlers – a seemingly less desirable heritage to a nation priding itself on democratic governance.<sup>65</sup>

Souvenir plates, however, rather than practical dinnerware, were the most common canvas for expression of the Jamestown iconography, though not as much in combination with traditional Colonial Revival imagery as in other object types. The collecting of souvenir plates, commemorating large geographic areas, such as states or national parks, or others commemorated a specific historical location, frequently through imagery of a particular building from the site, had been a popular hobby in the United States since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. During the 1950s, souvenir plates were a way to commemorate a visit to a variety of tourist attractions, including historic sites. Souvenir plates depicted easily identifiable images from the locations they represented. Intended as a means of both preserving a memory through an object and expressing the owner's ability to spare leisure time for tourism, it was vital that the locations be easily recognizable. The souvenir plates produced for the 1957 Festival differed in no way from the standard model for souvenir plates and simply incorporated Jamestown-specific imagery into the standard form. These plates are also an excellent example of the way in which objects and imagery were recycled in Colonial Revival styling as many of them were more heavily based on those created for the 1907 celebration than on any of the marketing ideas suggested for the 1957 Festival.

While the decision not to depict Pocahontas's rescue of John Smith on functional dinnerware spared diners the vision of the Captain about to get his head bashed in, the majority of souvenir plates identified, as well as souvenir tiles and ashtrays, do illustrate the famous scene, which reinforces the link between the settlers and Pocahontas, the Indian "Princess" from which hereditary land rights were perceived to have originated. In keeping with the limited Jamestown-specific iconography employed in Festival-related

merchandise, many of the souvenir plates are almost identical to each other. Souvenir plates by Homer the Colonial China Company, and Conrad Crafter Wheeling, Inc (working with Homer Laughlin) all replicate a tin lithograph souvenir plate made in 1905 in anticipation of the Tercentennial celebration (figures 56 - 58). The central image of the Rescue is surrounded by (clockwise from top) 'Jamestown' in a bean-shaped field, an image of a women labeled 'Pocahontas', a depiction of the Old Church Tower, an open book with '1607' on the left leaf and '1957' on the right leaf, a masted ship, and an image of a man labeled 'John Smith.' The image of Pocahontas, stresses her "Indian-ness," rather than her European persona. The depiction is highly stereotyped, with a marked resemblance to late 19<sup>th</sup>-century portraits of Lakota chiefs (figure 59).

The depiction of all Native Americans using the stereotypical visual vocabulary of the Plains tribes is evident in a c.1850 painting by Edward Corbould - particularly notable is the inclusion of a horse with a red handprint on its left flank (figure 60). Sam Margolin suggests this painting may have been the source for the depiction of the Rescue shown in figure 58.<sup>66</sup> However, as the indoor setting echoes that of the scene's depiction from Smith's *Generall Historie* (figure 61), the positioning of Pocahontas and Smith suggest the Frontispiece to Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of Virginia* (figure 62), while the figures of Powhatan and the warriors could have been adapted from any number of depictions; it seems more likely that the designer drew on a number of standard imaginings of the scene to create an image that would be easily recognizable, just as the image of Pocahontas had been stylized to express the idea of her "Indian-ness" although her features were westernized. Images of the Rescue have been used extensively to again express the idea of Pocahontas as the "good Indian" while those who

do not accept Anglo culture are “bad Indians” whose fate, though perhaps unfortunate, is no one’s fault but their own. The pairing of Pocahontas with the Old Church Tower on these plates suggests both her conversion to Christianity, underlining her role as the “good Indian” and the divine providence that allowed the settlement to prosper.

A commemorative tile made in Germany depicts Pocahontas with braids and a single feather in her hair again draws on the use of stereotyped images of Plains Indians to represent all Native American cultures (figure 63). The images on the tile are arranged in the same standard fashion as the plates examined above, with the Rescue scene in the center surrounded by the standard set of images – John Smith, Pocahontas, the Old Church Tower, the *Susan Constant*, *Godspeed*, and *Discovery*, and an inscription “Jamestown 1607 – 1657.” Unlike the scene reproduced from the 1907 plate, the image on the tile is based on a known engraving – Alonzo Chappel’s *Pocahontas Saving the Life of Capt. John Smith* (1861) (figure 64). The halo effect surrounding Pocahontas in Chappel’s image once more references her “goodness” and her conversion to Christianity.

While the Rescue scene appears more frequently than any other single symbol on Jamestown Festival souvenirs, it was not the only way in which the hereditary connection between the British settlers and the New World was expressed. An example of an alternate depiction is a souvenir dinner plate produced by Conrad Crafters Wheeling Inc. (figure 65). In the center, a square transfer print shows a 17<sup>th</sup> -century map of the Chesapeake Bay overlaid with medallion portraits of Smith and Pocahontas separated by the coat of arms of James I, above the ships *Susan Constant*, *Godspeed*, and *Discovery*, and a banner reading “Jamestown 1607 1957.” This plate, produced in green, black, and



brown, employs the map, the ships, and the images of Pocahontas and John Smith to underscore the Anglo claim to American land to one of heritage, in which the arms of James I tie Pocahontas's place as an American 'Princess' to the rights of royal blood.

The new system of government developed in Early America was more of a source of pride than simple land rights and was thus more hotly contested. Under the Puritan myth, the *Mayflower Compact* represents the basis for American democracy. Jamestown supporters countered this claim by citing the Virginia House of Burgesses, a group of elected officials who first met in Jamestown in 1619, two years before the landing of the *Mayflower*. While this event is not represented in the standard Jamestown iconography, it was frequently cited in the rhetoric presented at the 1957 Festival, where orations and performance were used to reinforce Jamestown's claim to the title "Birthplace of America."

Inside the Festival grounds, activities, speeches, and exhibits continued to combine Jamestown imagery with traditional Colonial Revival symbols and reinforced Jamestown's role as the birthplace of the nation. The inclusion of the long house exhibit underscored the Native American presence at Jamestown, although advertising and Festival information suggests that the inclusion of the Native American village was primarily intended to reinforce the symbolic importance of Pocahontas as American progenitor. Any acknowledgement of the New England settlers was completely omitted from the Festival except in several speeches where they were mentioned as definite runners-up in the origin argument; events focused entirely on the Southern aspects of European settlement in North America. The inclusion of a ceremony recognizing the

Spanish Jesuits who had truly been the first Europeans in Virginia highlights the regional/Southern focus of Festival proceedings.

Park interpreters/guides in period costume and historical re-creations, most notably glass-blowing demonstrations at the Festival Glasshouse, provided attendees with an opportunity to immerse themselves in historical context. In addition to other organized festivities, the Festival Planning Commission commissioned a stage production specifically for the event. *The Founders, A Symphonic Outdoor Drama*, written by Paul Green, narrates the story of Jamestown from the landing in 1607 to the death of John Rolfe in an Indian attack in 1622. Over-dramatized and overly sentimental, the play presents a fairly rosy view of the settlement, with just enough pathos included to ensure that the viewer feels the settlers' struggles. What is most notable about the production is the continual affirmation of Jamestown as the nation's birthplace, summarized in the last line – "And so it was we settled Jamestown and founded our new nation in the world!" While historical evidence indicates that the majority of these settlers, sent to America under the auspices of a private company, made the trip primarily with the intention of bettering their financial situations, the play presents their actions as the exact opposite - a conscious decision to leave England and found a new nation in the New World.

Speeches given at the Festival and accompanying events expressed the same sentiments as the advertising, material goods, and performances, namely that Jamestown should be recognized as the birthplace of the nation. At the christening of the reproductions of the settlers' ships on December 20, 1956, Mr. Samuel M. Bemiss, Vice Chairman of the Jamestown-Williamsburg-Yorktown Celebration Commission and President of the Virginia Historical Society, offered the following:

The passengers on these three ships [the *Susan Constant*, the *Godspeed*, and the *Discovery*] lifted their eyes to different horizons [than the Mayflower passengers]. They adventured their all that they might have life more abundantly—spiritually, politically, materially. They opposed arbitrary government in any form [as opposed to the Mayflower passengers, whose settlement was based on strict religious conduct]. The two groups of Englishmen in their ideologies were poles apart in England and they were poles apart after they landed in Massachusetts and Virginia. If one seeks to understand the miracle of America, he must examine these contracts. Not only these but the other elements thrown into the great crucible by the proprietaries of Carolina and Catholic Maryland, by the Quakers of Pennsylvania, the Dutch of New York and the Rhode Islanders of Roger Williams, tested and tempered for 175 years on the anvil of our nationalism become crystallized in the heart of our Bill of Rights and the Constitution of the United States...the story after their landing...is a story of the recognition of the dignity of productive labor and of the recognition of the right of free men to govern themselves and, finally, it is the greatest of success stories.

These ships which we are about to christen are symbols. They are symbols of our fathers' indomitable courage. They are symbols of our faith in the God who guides our destiny. They are symbols of man's aspiration and striving to a position just a little lower than the angels. They are symbols of our immortal American heritage.<sup>67</sup>

Other speeches presented were in the same vein –and reiterated that the Jamestown settlers came to the New World closely associated with British rule and carried with them the ideals set forth in the Magna Carta and the religion of the King James Bible. Queen Elizabeth, in a message sent via Viscount Hailsham, British Minister of Education and Chairman of the British Goodwill Mission to the Jamestown Festival, stressed the close association of Britain and the United States:

With their law they brought the inveterate tendency of the Anglo-Saxons toward representative institutions, those same institutions which fathered the model alike of the British Parliament, the Congress of the United States, the State legislatures, the

legislatures of the British Commonwealth, and every European parliament.

With their language and their law these men whom we honour today brought also their Bibles across the sea, those Bibles in 1607 to be superseded by the newly printed Authorized Version of King James, that same James whose name is commemorated at this spot... These four assets [language, law, representative institutions and religion] coupled with the indomitable spirit of the pioneers, toughened by a century and a half of frontier life served to found the American nation. And it was founded here in Virginia of these British elements, men, language, law and religion.<sup>68</sup>

While this type of solidarity between Great Britain and the United States, a former sovereign nation and colony may seem strange, it both reinforced the idea that Jamestown was settled on democratic principles (in contrast to Plymouth which was established under strict Church law) but given the political context of the time, it served as a message of solidarity for the West. Several speakers, including then vice-president Richard Nixon, mentioned British and American cooperation during World War II and their continuing alliance during the ongoing Cold War. Speakers compared the struggles of the settlers to the rebuilding after World War II and used Jamestown to suggest that the West presented a united front strengthened by historical ties against the perceived Communist threat. The speakers used Colonial Revival ideals of freedom, democracy, and religion to discredit the Plymouth claim, echoing much of the imagery discussed above in that it was based on an imagined, yet state-sanctioned, view of history.

## CONCLUSION

In an attempt to reassert Jamestown's claim as "Birthplace of the Nation" typical Colonial Revival marketing and aesthetics were widely employed in goods created in conjunction with the Festival – either through literal images or by applying the Jamestown label to generic Colonial Revival style goods. Given the claim that the Jamestown Glasshouse was the first successful British industry in the Americas, most of these goods were produced by the glass industry, as well as the closely associated china and tableware companies. In contrast to the souvenir items which drew on a codified visual vocabulary to reinforce ideals and claims regarding American history, glass and china items intended to be functional incorporated a certain set of stylistic elements and relied heavily on advertising to reference the valued "gentility" of the past and also employed other than pictorial tools to suggest the *idea* of Jamestown/Early America. Typical of Colonial Revival goods, the Colonial association these objects were intended to evoke originated more frequently in the advertising of the objects than in the objects themselves. The attempt by Festival planners to reassert Jamestown as the true birthplace of the United States was unsuccessful not only because the origin myth of Plymouth as the founding settlement had already been soundly established, but because the origin debate that had raged between North and South from the late 18th century to the Civil War quite simply no longer existed. Plymouth was firmly established in the collective memory as the Birthplace of the Nation and, particularly as the 1950s were a time of social and political uneasiness, there was likely no argument strong enough to put even a dent in that conviction.

The Festival-related goods themselves demonstrate how completely irrelevant the origin debate between North and South had become. While Miller & Rhodes department store in Norfolk promoted the event heavily, only a very few Festival-related items were developed or made by companies with a vested interest in the fortunes of Virginia or the South. Items produced in Virginia include a line of fabrics in the official Festival colors made by Dan River Mills in Danville, Virginia and a souvenir beer can produced by Regent Brewers, based in Norfolk (figure 66). In contrast, the Imperial Glass Company and Fenton Art Glass were located in Ohio and Fostoria Glass was located in West Virginia, just across the river. The commemorative Jonroth-Adams service (figure 53) and the Spode service marked with the Festival seal (figure 44) were imported from England. Festival-inspired clothing and millinery were designed and produced in the Midwest and New England. So while the Festival itself was intended to promote Virginia's place in American history, the goods created in relation to the Festival were purely commodities produced by manufacturers who saw the Jamestown Festival as a marketing opportunity; Northern or Southern, Colonial Revival goods sold well.

The commodification of history is an integral part of Colonial Revival decorative arts. The style exists to evoke a vision of Early America. Thus, through the purchase of Colonial Revival goods, anyone can own a piece of history. This quality was not new to the objects created for the 1957 Jamestown Festival. Disneyland had opened two years earlier in Anaheim, CA and featured "Frontierland," an idealized version of life in the American West that was quite literally the origin of the term used to describe simplistic, candy-coated versions of history - "Mickey Mouse History." Walt Disney was by no means the first purveyor of American history, however. From the beginning, Colonial

Revival offered history as a commodity to be experienced in the Colonial Kitchens - for the price of admission. The trend became more pronounced as time passed, until Wallace Nutting was offering a complete Colonial Revival lifestyle by the 1920s and an Appalachian "folk" culture had been created and standardized to Northern tastes essentially between 1930 and 1940 and was being mass produced as "Southern Highlands" style furnishings by 1942. The goods created in conjunction with the 1957 Jamestown Festival were in no way different. Nor was the Festival itself, where attendees could ostensibly experience a piece of history - for the price of admission.

Many of those who had adopted a middle class suburban lifestyle in the post-War years had already paid the "price of admission" to American history by adopting Colonial Revival styling to express their self-identification as "real" Americans. Items produced in conjunction with the 1957 Jamestown Exhibition did not start a trend but rather drew upon an acknowledged preference for "traditional" styling among its intended suburban middle class consumers. The establishment of the Colonial Revival as the appropriate style for suburban housing pre-dated World War II and in the post-War white migration to the suburbs and the Colonial Revival aesthetic, strongly advocated as the means of "gracious" living through print advertising as well as television, remained a popular choice for household goods. The difference in the Jamestown pieces to other instances of Colonial Revival was purely ideological: It represented nothing less than the attempt to shift the American origin myth from Plymouth to Jamestown. The fact that the Colonial Revival style was already widely popular among the Jamestown Festival's target audience may have contributed, albeit slightly, to the Festival's utter failure to even bring Jamestown into consideration as "America's Birthplace." The style is so closely tied,

particularly in advertising, to New England, that it may have only reinforced Plymouth's primacy in the origin myth.

Fifty years of hindsight allow us to see that the 1950s did not represent the “last gasp of the Colonial Revival,”<sup>69</sup> but rather was just one manifestation in a seemingly predictable cycle of white middle class reaction to identifiable social and political issues. In both the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century, the adoption of a Colonial/Early American style represented a claim to “American-ness” in the face of perceived threats from ethnic subgroups and a touchstone for a seemingly superior lifestyle in the face of tumultuous social and technological change. The earlier 1930s Colonial Revival which highlighted the nation’s agrarian roots can be seen as analogous to the Back to the Earth Movement of the 1960s, and the Hippie fascination with cultural subgroups, particularly their selective adoption of Native American symbols as a badge of “American-ness.” In the latter two instances, the symbols changed, but the search for a distinctly American identity remained the same.

The Colonial Revival, both aesthetically and ideologically, is still observably with us and is experiencing another popular resurgence. While the study of history provides the benefit of hindsight, it is far more difficult to assess a current cultural climate. However, it does indeed seem that a new manifestation of the Colonial Revival is occurring in the United States today. Faced with an increasingly ethnically diverse population, not to mention the election of the first mixed-race President, many Americans are reacting in much that same way that their forebears reacted in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century – calling for tough restrictions on immigration and attempting to define “real” America. Self-declared “patriots” are expressing themselves through Colonial associations, as



evidenced by the emergence of the political movement popularly known as the Tea Party, and a revived interest in historic tourism to places such as Colonial Williamsburg.<sup>70</sup> As evidenced by the 2010 Census, the population is shifting from traditionally liberal coastal areas to more conservative Southern and Western states.<sup>71</sup> This movement appears to be having a small effect on American decorative arts. Furniture sales are indicative of a trend in either direction, as American consumers tend to prefer traditional furniture; for the past 20 years, the top 10 slots in the trade magazine *Furniture Today's* report of Top 100 U.S. Furniture Stores have been dominated by retailers of traditional furniture, such as Haverty's, American Signature, Ashley Furniture, and Ethan Allen.<sup>72</sup> New products offered by lifestyle stores such as Pottery Barn and IKEA are more revealing. For example, IKEA, the Swedish-based retailer known for the use of bright colors and a Scandinavian design sensibility, has begun offering textiles reminiscent of 18th-century copperplate-printed fabrics (figure 67). Pottery Barn has featured a line of "Palampore" textiles; advertisements claim the design is based on "antique clothing." Given the plethora of styles and aesthetics available to the American consumer, it remains to be seen whether a strong presence of Colonial Revival design will be apparent in years to come.

Attempts by individual groups over the years to claim ownership over the Colonial Era suggest multiple directions for further research regarding both Colonial Revival imagery and the Jamestown-specific iconography. While the image of Pocahontas has been examined in multiple ways, her depiction alone merits further examination. As noted above, little research has been conducted regarding the absorption of the Colonial Revival aesthetic into popular culture, another possibility for further

research. The conservative "Tea Party" political movement has adopted a Colonial Revival aesthetic, donning tricorne hats and "powdered" wigs for rallies and demonstrations. At a 2011 debate between Republican presidential hopefuls, members of the audience arrived in Colonial Revival garb, laying claim to an imagined heritage that dismisses much of the gender and cultural studies of the past several decades. The Jamestown Festival and accompanying iconography is one example of a single group laying claim to the nation's heritage; other such attempts should continue to provide fertile ground for exploration.

## ENDNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Paul Schackel, ed., *Myth, Memory, and the Making of the American Landscape* (University Press of Florida, 2001), 3.
- <sup>2</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>3</sup> United States Department of Veterans Affairs, *Born of Controversy: The GI Bill of Rights*, [http://www.gibill.va.gov/gi\\_bill\\_info/history.htm](http://www.gibill.va.gov/gi_bill_info/history.htm) (accessed 11/8/2010)
- <sup>4</sup> Statistical Abstract of the United States, 70<sup>th</sup> Edition (1949), US GPO, 122.
- <sup>5</sup> Statistical Abstract of the United States, 71<sup>st</sup> Edition (1950), US GPO, 128.
- <sup>6</sup> Albert Chevan, "The Growth of Home Ownership: 1940-1980," *Demography* 26 (2), May 1989, 249-50.
- <sup>7</sup> U.S. Census Bureau, *Historical Census of Housing Tables: Homeownership*, <http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/housing/census/historic/owner.html> (accessed 11/8/2010)
- <sup>8</sup> Sherrie A. Kossoudji and Laura J. Dresser, "Working Class Rosies: Women Industrial Workers during World War II," *The Journal of Economic History* 52 (2), June 1992, 431-446.
- <sup>9</sup> Brett Harvey, *The Fifties: a Women's Oral History* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993), 68-69.
- <sup>10</sup> Data from the Department of Health and Human Services, [www.dhhs.gov](http://www.dhhs.gov). Accessed 3/9/2012.
- <sup>11</sup> It has been argued that many of these products did not actually decrease the amount of time spent in housework, but expanded the expectations as to what activities comprised "good" housekeeping. For a detailed discussion of the ways in which "advancements" in home technologies increased expectations and workload, see Ruth Cowan Schwartz, *More Work for Mother: The Ironies of Household Technology from the Open Hearth to the Microwave* (New York: Basic Books, 1983.)
- <sup>12</sup> By the late 1950s, six models were available, but initially only the Cape Cod was available. The ranch style was introduced in 1949.
- <sup>13</sup> William B. Rhodes, "The Effort to Kill Off the Colonial Revival" in Wilson et al., 18.
- <sup>14</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>15</sup> Ibid, 16.
- <sup>16</sup> Royal Barry Wills Associates, Inc. remains an active architectural design firm under Royal Barry Wills's son, Richard Wills. The firm continues to focus on traditionally-styled domestic architecture, as well as the rehabilitation and restoration of historic buildings. Royal Barry Wills Associates, Inc. website, <http://www.royalbarrywills.com>
- <sup>17</sup> Barbara Crookshanks, "The Search for Kenmore's Gingerbread," *Free Lance-Star* (Fredericksburg), Nov. 18, 2006.
- <sup>18</sup> For a discussion of the use of the oval to suggest gentility in advertising, see Natalie Fizer and Glenn Forley, "Advertising Gentility: Ovals and Mass Market Women's Magazines, 1910-1960," Wilson et al., *Recreating the American Past: Essays on the Colonial Revival* (Charlottesville, 2006.)

<sup>19</sup> Dromedary also offered a white cake mix inspired by Mrs. James Monroe. The 1956 advertisements for the cake mix are almost identical to those for the gingerbread mix; see <http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=888&dat=19560304&id=bs4NAAAAIBAJ&sjid=LXYDAAAAIBAJ&pg=3606,2147977> for an example from the St. Petersburg Times, published March 4, 1956.

<sup>20</sup> Fizer and Forley, 339.

<sup>21</sup> Bluebook of Pianos, [bluebookofpianos.com/agesl.html#Lester](http://bluebookofpianos.com/agesl.html#Lester), accessed 2/4/2012.

<sup>22</sup> Ladies Home Journal, January 1953, 46-47.

<sup>23</sup> Madelyn Pugh Davis and Bob Carroll, Jr. (writers), *I Love Lucy*. Originally broadcast on CBS. Episode 43, "Redecorating," aired November 17, 1952; episode 64, "Lucy Wants New Furniture," aired June 1, 1953; episode 74, "Redecorating the Mertzes' Apartment," aired November 23, 1953; episode 171, "Lucy Gets Chummy with the Neighbors," aired February 18, 1957.

<sup>24</sup> According to the official census returns provided by the Office of the Secretary of the State of Connecticut, the population of Westport was 11,667 in 1950 and had reached 20,955 by 1960. (State of Connecticut, Secretary of the State, Population of Connecticut Towns 1900-1960, [http://www.sots.ct.gov/sots/cwp/view.asp?A=3188&QUESTION\\_ID=392398](http://www.sots.ct.gov/sots/cwp/view.asp?A=3188&QUESTION_ID=392398))

<sup>25</sup> The May 6, 1957 episode is generally referred to as the "last" rather than the "final" episode, as the show had no official closing episode, and continued in permutations for several more years.

<sup>26</sup> Horace Newcomb, *Encyclopedia of Television* (New York, 2004), 1338.

<sup>27</sup> Fizer and Forley, 336.

<sup>28</sup> Terminology surrounding Jamestown can be confusing. The original Jamestown settlement was on a peninsula, which flooding later separated from the mainland. The Colonial Parkway reconnected the island with the mainland.

<sup>29</sup> David James Kiracofe, "The Jamestown Jubilees: "State Patriotism" and Virginia Identity in the Early Nineteenth Century," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 110(1), 2002, 35-68.

<sup>30</sup> Frederic W. Gleach, "Pocahontas at the Fair: Crafting Identities at the 1907 Jamestown Exposition," *Ethnohistory* 50 (3), 2003, 419-445.

<sup>31</sup> The 350<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Jamestown, 1607 – 1957: Final Report to the President and Congress of the Jamestown-Williamsburg-Yorktown Celebration Commission, Washington, D.C., 1958, 6.

<sup>32</sup> The 350<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Jamestown, 1607 – 1957: Final Report to the President and Congress of the Jamestown-Williamsburg-Yorktown Celebration Commission, Washington, D.C., 1958, 33.

<sup>33</sup> Jamestown Festival Park was renamed Jamestown Settlement in 1990.

<sup>34</sup> 350<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Jamestown Festival Guidebook (Richmond, VA: Virginia Travel Council, 1957), 10.

<sup>35</sup> Ulrich Troubetzkoy. *Significant addresses of the Jamestown Festival, 1957*. Jamestown-Williamsburg-Yorktown Celebration Commission, 1958, 11.

- <sup>36</sup> Timothy Davis, *The American Parkway as Colonial Revival Landscape*, in Wilson et al., 154.
- <sup>37</sup> Jamestown Glasshouse Begins “Production”, *China, Glass, and Tablewares*, May 1957, 75 (10), 16. As intended by industry funders, the Glasshouse remains open today as an interpretive teaching facility.
- <sup>38</sup> The 350<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Jamestown, 1607-1957: Final Report to the President and Congress of the Jamestown-Williamsburg-Yorktown Celebration Commission, Washington, D.C., 1958, 144.
- <sup>39</sup> *Ibid*, 158.
- <sup>40</sup> *Ibid*, 159.
- <sup>41</sup> *Ibid*.
- <sup>42</sup> Chicago Daily Tribune, October 21, 1956, p. SWA. *Six Jamestown Colors Picked for Festival*
- <sup>43</sup> Mary Gwathmey, *An Advance Release for Use in the Field of Merchandise Design Based on Recently Discovered Wares Used by the First Colonists and Fashion of the Seventeenth Century America* (Richmond: Whittet & Shepperson, 1956), final page (unpaginated.)
- <sup>44</sup> Marilyn Hoffman, “Round Trip from Manhattan,” *Christian Science Monitor*, April 2, 1957, 12.
- <sup>45</sup> Jane Shadel Spillman, *Glassmaking; America’s First Industry* (Corning Museum of Glass, 1976), 5.
- <sup>46</sup> John Smith, *Journal*, extracted in John Milliken Thompson, *The Journals of Captain John Smith: A Jamestown Biography*, Washington, D.C.: National Geographic Books, 2007, p. 140.
- <sup>47</sup> Charles E. Hatch, Jr., “Glassmaking in Virginia, 1607-1625,” *William and Mary Quarterly* (Second Series, v. 21, n.3, July 1941), 233.
- <sup>48</sup> The 350<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Jamestown, 1607-1957: Final Report to the President and Congress of the Jamestown-Williamsburg-Yorktown Celebration Commission, Washington, D.C., 1958, 62.
- <sup>49</sup> *Ibid*.
- <sup>50</sup> Imperial advertisements, September 1957.
- <sup>51</sup> James Measell, *Imperial Glass Encyclopedia* (Marietta, OH: National Imperial Glass Collectors Society, 1999), 271.
- <sup>52</sup> Jane Shadel Spillman, *Glassmaking; America’s First Industry* (Corning Museum of Glass, 1976), 17.
- <sup>53</sup> The Fenton Art Glass Company, *America’s Finest Glass in Color* (catalog), (Williamstown, WV: Fenton, 1958.)
- <sup>54</sup> *Ibid*.
- <sup>55</sup> *China, Glass, and Tablewares*, Feb. 1958, 16.
- <sup>56</sup> Libbey advertisement, November 1957.

- <sup>57</sup> *The Romance of your Tableware*, undated pamphlet, Home Economics Department, Salem China Co., Smithsonian Archives, Salem China Collection.
- <sup>58</sup> Salem advertisement, reproduced in Jo Cunningham, *Collector's Encyclopedia of American Dinnerware*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Paducah, Kentucky: Collector Books, 2005), 250.
- <sup>59</sup> Object notes, Mount Vernon, accession numbers W-131 A/B.
- <sup>60</sup> Charles Venabel et al. *China and Glass in America 1880 – 1980*. Dallas Museum of Art, 2000, cat. 92.
- <sup>61</sup> Object notes, Mount Vernon, accession numbers W-131 A/B.
- <sup>62</sup> Venabel, cat. 92.
- <sup>63</sup> Harker advertisement, *China Glass and Tablewares*, January 1958.
- <sup>64</sup> Many scholars debate whether it was ever Powhatan's intention to behead Smith, or whether Pocahontas's intervention was part of a ritual either misunderstood by Smith or misrepresented in his famous *Generall Historie*. For an in-depth discussion, see J.A. Leo LeMay, *Did Pocahontas Save Captain John Smith?* Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1992.
- <sup>65</sup> Address by Samuel M. Bemiss, Vice Chairman of the United States J-W-Y Celebration Commission/President of the Virginia Historical Society, at the Christening of the Three Ships, December 20, 1956, Norfolk, VA. In *Significant Addresses of the Jamestown Festival 1957*, Ulrich Troubetzkouy, ed. Richmond, VA: Jamestown-Williamsburg-Yorktown Celebration Commission, 1958, p. 3-5.
- <sup>66</sup> Sam Margolin, "A Magnificent Failure: Ceramic Souvenirs of the 1907 Jamestown Tercentennial Exposition," *Ceramics in America*, Robert Hunter, ed., Chipstone Foundation, 2008.
- <sup>67</sup> Address by Samuel M. Bemiss, Vice Chairman of the United States J-W-Y Celebration Commission/President of the Virginia Historical Society, at the Christening of the Three Ships, December 20, 1956, Norfolk, VA. In *Significant Addresses of the Jamestown Festival 1957*, Ulrich Troubetzkouy, ed. Richmond, VA: Jamestown-Williamsburg-Yorktown Celebration Commission, 1958, p. 3-5.
- <sup>68</sup> Letter from Queen Elizabeth of England. In *Significant Addresses of the Jamestown Festival 1957*, Ulrich Troubetzkouy, ed. Richmond, VA: Jamestown-Williamsburg-Yorktown Celebration Commission, 1958.
- <sup>69</sup> Timothy Davis, *The American Parkway as Colonial Revival Landscape*, in Wilson et al., 154.
- <sup>70</sup> Amy Gardner, "Tea Party" activists drawn to Williamsburg and its portrayal of Founding Fathers, *Washington Post*, August 1, 2010, A1.
- <sup>71</sup> Hope Yen and Charles Babbington, "2010 Census Count Expected to Bring News of GOP Gains", *AP Newswire*, 12/21/2010.
- <sup>72</sup> *Furniture Today* reports from 1993 to present. Accessed via Dow Jones Factiva, 03/18/2012.

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## ILLUSTRATIONS



Figure 1. Levittown Cape Cod style house, 1948. <http://tiger.uic.edu/~pbhales/Levittown/building.html>, accessed 2/5/2012.



**Figure 2. Bernard Hoffmann, for Life Magazine, Bernard Levey Family in Front of Their 1949 Ranch Model, 1950. Although the form of the house is less traditional than the Cape Cod shown in figure 2, certain traditional elements, most notably the shingling on the sides of the house, have been added.**  
<http://tiger.uic.edu/~pbhales/Levittown/building.html>, accessed 2/5/2012.



**Figure 3. Gormley House, Herring Pond Road, Wellfleet, Massachusetts, built c. 1830. A typical Cape Cod house with peaked roof, central chimney, and shingled sides. LOC HABS, MASS,1-WEL,7- .**

**IMAGINE BAKING GINGERBREAD LIKE THIS  
—JUST BY ADDING WATER!**

**DROMEDARY GINGERBREAD MIX** is guaranteed to make the tenderest, tastiest Gingerbread you ever ate!

**Everybody raves— And no work!**... Serve it hot—it's wonderful! Light in a breeze—and just spicy enough. A dozen different ways to serve—all delicious—and so quick. Use it plain, with nuts—or top it with ice cream, apple sauce, or whipped cream for dessert! Try it with a generous pat of butter. Thrilling variations! Enjoy one today.

**Watch them devour this!**... Whole gingerbread is moist, cut through warm with a string. Fill and top with banana and whipped cream. Or use pineapple apricot... or us!

**So good—so easy!**... Crispy, crunchy, ginger cookies. A child can make them! Just add water to Mix, and drop by spoonfuls onto pan. A lot for your money... see 40-cent cookies from 1 pkg.

**ENJOY THE WORLD'S ONLY PATENTED DATE—DROMEDARY!**

**DOUBLE your money back if you don't say this is the world's finest gingerbread!** It's made from the original recipe of George Washington's mother... made so accurately, mixed so precisely, that your gingerbread is perfect every time. Try this wonderful Mix just once—and you'll never be without it.  
The Hills Brothers Company, Tinseltown, New York, N. Y.

**DROMEDARY GINGERBREAD MIX**

ANOTHER DELECTABLE TREAT—AND NOURISHING! DROMEDARY DATE-NUT BREAD—ready to serve

**WHAT I CALL BREAKFAST!**  
Serve as is—delicious! Toast lightly—spicy! Mix, love it!

**SWEET LUNCH, THE SIZE?**  
Spread thin with peanut butter, jam, or cream. Quick—wonderful!

**WITH HONEY!**  
Makes "delicious" bridge sandwiches. Keep on hand, for guests.

**Good with coffee, molasses and cream.**  
Just powdered flour, to suit—no whole...

**...and so very convenient!** Get a can today—and give your family a treat!

Figure 4. Advertisement for Hills Bros. Dromedary Gingerbread Mix. Published 1941.

You can bake your Gingerbread from  
the private recipe of  
*Mary, George Washington's Mother*



In the old kitchen at Kenmore, Fredericksburg, Virginia, Betty Washington Lewis, sister of George Washington, supervised the baking of Gingerbread from her mother's private recipe.



Photographed in the kitchen of Kenmore, Fredericksburg, Virginia.

## Bake Dromedary Gingerbread From the World's Most Treasured Recipe

Mary Washington made history when she created the original secret spice blend for old-time gingerbread. Think how proud she must have been when she served this favorite to her family and to such famous visitors as Lafayette, who paid her a high compliment on it. Her famous gingerbread recipe was given to her

daughter, Betty Washington Lewis. Down through the years it has grown in fame. Today, Mary Washington's recipe is the world's most treasured recipe and it is used *exclusively* in Dromedary Gingerbread Mix!

You will find that Dromedary Gingerbread is extremely easy to make. All you add is water.

It always turns out rich, moist, spicy. Serve it piping hot for dessert on cold evenings—plain, or with whipped cream, apple sauce, or ice cream.

You, too, can make history when you use Dromedary, the *only* gingerbread mix inspired by the secret recipe of Mary Washington, mother of our first president. Get a package today.



Dromedary reserved the rights to this recipe in return for its contribution to the Washington-Lewis Chapter, D. A. R., and the Kenmore Association, Inc.



Dromedary Gingerbread Mix makes wonderful cookies.



**SPECIAL DROMEDARY TREAT**  
Cut gingerbread into squares. Then cut squares into equal halves. Place almond biscuits and whipped cream on lower half. Replace upper layer and top with more almond biscuits and whipped cream.

Figure 5. Advertisement for Hills Bros. Dromedary Gingerbread Mix. Published 1957.

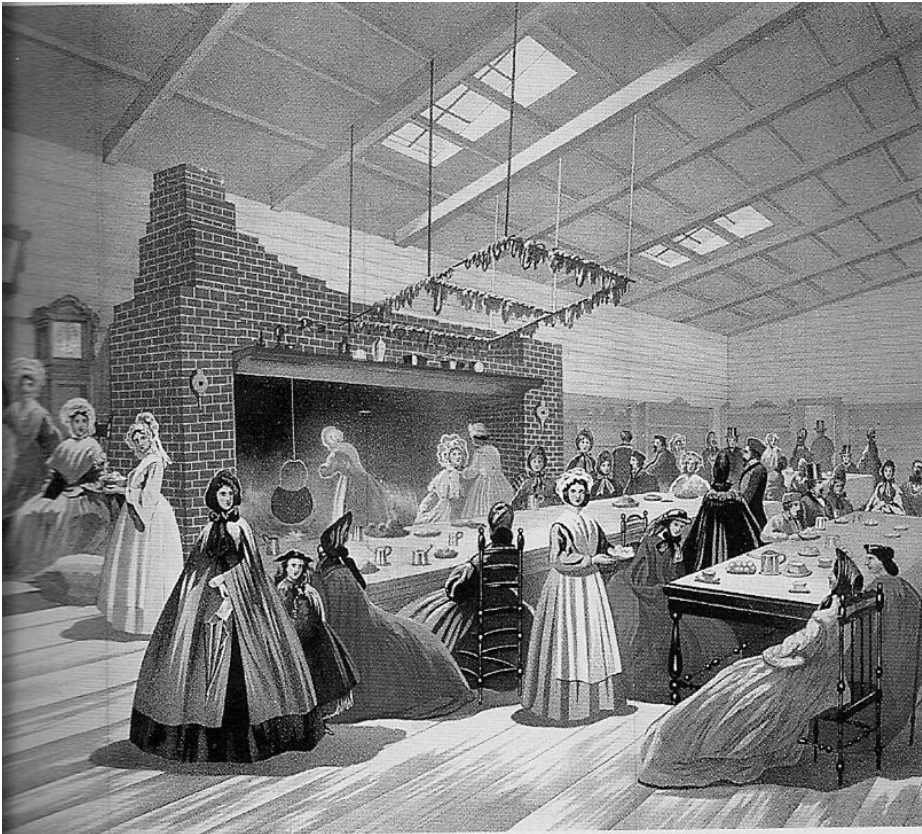


Figure 6. A. Brown and Company, *The New England Kitchen*, Brooklyn Sanitary Fair, 1864, chromolithograph. Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art. Reproduced from Denenberg, Wallace Nutting and the Invention of Old America.



Figure 7. Wallace Nutting, *Trimming the Pie*, copyright 1915, hand-tinted platinum print. Reproduced from Denenberg, Wallace Nutting and the Invention of Old America.



**Figure 8. Wallace Nutting. For the Honored Guest, c. 1910, hand-tinted platinum print. Reproduced from Dennenburg.**





Figure 9. Grandfather Clock advertisement. *Life*, December 1948.



Figure 10. Tall Clock, 1740-1750, made by William Claggett (1696-1749), New England, Newport, Rhode Island, United States. Metropolitan Museum of Art acc. 30.120.17.

*The present  
that brings the present  
into your home*

Merry Christmas! Say it, sing it, SEE it, with this EVERYTHING-in-one console, the "Monticello." Here's "Eye Witness" television PLUS a luxurious AM-FM Victrola radio-phonograph! A season ticket for complete home entertainment! 52 sq. in. screen. Walnut, mahogany or blond finish. AC, RCA Victor 8TV323.\*



EYE WITNESS  
TELEVISION

Never before have your dollars bought so much . . .

*luxury listening*

At last! A luxurious new radio-phonograph, priced to give you one-hundred cents in value for every dollar you spend! It's the Crosley 9-214M, with all the newest advancements for *luxury listening!* Glorious full-range FM, crystal-clear and virtually static-free. New, improved-range AM radio—and a fast, gentle record changer that plays up to 12 records *automatically*. Yours in a magnificent 18th-Century styled cabinet, finished in rich mahogany. See it, hear it before you buy *any* radio-phonograph. Your Crosley dealer will welcome you for a demonstration. His name is listed in your telephone classified directory.

new . . . all-new  
**CROSLEY**  
automatic radio-phonograph  
with FM-AM

CHECK THE HIGH VALUE FEATURES  
IN THE CROSLEY 9-214M

- Full FM-AM reception
- Fast, Gentle Automatic Record Changer
- Continuous Tone Control
- Concert-type Speaker
- Tilt-out Tuning Panel
- Push-Pull Audio with 12 watts power output
- Exclusive Signal Web Antenna
- 10 tubes plus rectifier tube.



Figure 11. "18th-Century styled" phonograph cabinet (top); "Monticello" television radio phonograph cabinet. Life, December 1948.

say MERRY CHRISTMAS with the

**LESTER** *Betsy Ross Spinet*

Make this a musical Christmas for your family with America's most famous Spinet... the Lester Betsy Ross.


Children and adults will find new pleasure in playing this fine piano because of its glorious tone, responsive touch and abundant volume.

Famous for quality since 1888... the Betsy Ross Spinet is carefully built of the finest materials to insure lasting satisfaction.

Choose your Christmas favorite now... your dealer will gladly arrange convenient terms.

Made ONLY by the Lester Piano Manufacturing Company, Inc., builders of world renowned Lester Grand Pianos.

ONE *name quality price* sold by America's foremost piano dealers



a beautiful piano with a magnificent tone

MAIL THIS COUPON FOR ILLUSTRATED BOOKLET

LESTER PIANO MANUFACTURING CO., Inc., LESTER 13, PA.  
 Send me your 18 page illustrated book showing piano arrangement in the home. (Enclose 10c for postage.)

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
 Address \_\_\_\_\_  
 City \_\_\_\_\_ Zone No. \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ L-3M

Foreign Sales Representatives: H. A. BATTLETT & CO., 27 William Street, New York 5, N. Y.

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Figure 12. Betsy Ross spinet advertisement. Life, December 1948.





No. 2260. Quaint, feminine Colonial design in beautiful antique Maple. Added convenience—has Lane's patented round-cornered automatic tray.



No. 2221. Ever-desirable 18th Century design in lustrous Honduras Mahogany. Full-length drawer in base, two simulated drawers above.

Figure 16. Advertisement for Lane Hope Chests, Life Magazine, December 1948. (detail)

*Light touch  
for  
Bright Occasions*

*The Classic  
by A.S.R.*

A sophisticated touch for any table, the new A.S.R. table lighter becomes a friendly gesture when lit! A flip and it flames—and you can pass the light without passing your thumb.

In rich-looking Platinum-group Rhodium finish. Resists tarnish, can be engraved! \$12.50—No Federal Tax!

Pocket lighter in Platinum-group Rhodium finish. \$7.50—No Federal Tax.

Others in dramatic Enamel, high-style Leathers and Gold finish. \$9 and \$10. Sterling Silver \$22.50 plus Fed. Tax. 14-carat Gold, styled by Cartier, \$200 plus Fed. Tax.

**ASR**  
*The lighter that lights*

At your favorite jeweler or department store. Precision-made and fully guaranteed by the makers of Cartier, Rolex—American Safety Razor Corp., Brooklyn 1, N. Y.

Figure 17. Classic Lighter advertisement. Life, December 1948.

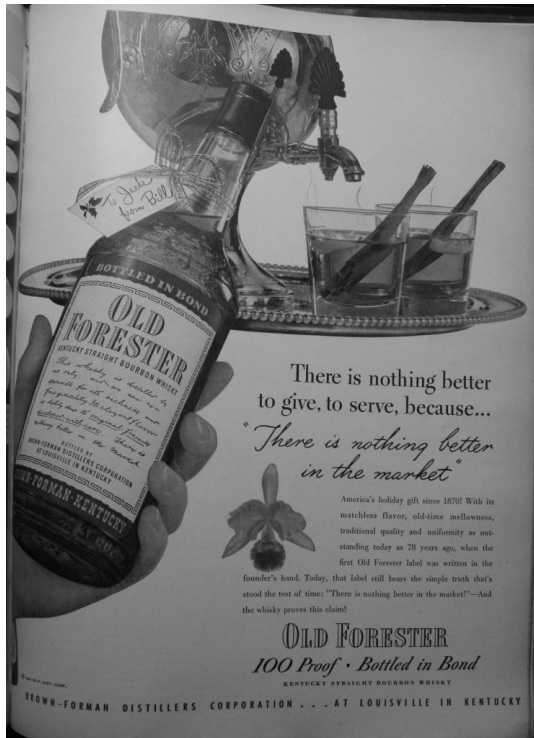


Figure 18. Old Forester Bourbon advertisement. *Life*, December 1948.



Figure 19. Tea Urn, ca. 1765. Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. 13.8.1a,b.

**50 YEARS OF FINE BAKING**  
 1898-1948  
**NATIONAL BISCUIT COMPANY**

**RITZ**  
 CRACKERS

For your spreads on RITZ CRACKERS—and you're sure of the *tantrum*, crumbled *canapés* you ever ate! RITZ CRACKERS share their glorious flavor with *any spread*... make a canapé base that *stay crisp!* Always serve RITZ CRACKERS. There's not another in all crackerdom so enriching to flavor—so *appealing* in itself!

**For Canapés**  
*nothing tastes as good as Ritz... but Ritz!*

Figure 20. Ritz Cracker advertisement. Life, December 1948.

**Five flavorful fruits in one easy lesson —**

**Just say "Del Monte Brand Fruit Cocktail!"**  
 —that's all you need to know to get five luscious fruits, combined in perfect flavor balance — all ready to eat. They're Del Monte fruits, every one of them — and you know what else, *they flavor that means!*

**Just think how handy!** This fruit cocktail is handy enough for company — quick and easy enough for everyday use. No peeling, slicing or mixing for you to do. Just open and serve.

**Ready for starters, salads, desserts —** it makes your simplest dishes brighten, your "lightest" "main-courses" simple. That's why millions of women get Del Monte Fruit Cocktail. Why not you?

**NEW CHOCOLATE PUDDING**  
 Drain the 2 1/2 cup Del Monte Fruit Cocktail, measuring syrup. Before 1 1/2 cups, add to 1/2 cup syrup from Del Monte Fruit Cocktail. Beat for 2 minutes. Add 1/2 cup milk, 2 tsp. instant jelly, 1/4 tsp. almond extract, 1/4 tsp. sugar. Cook to consistency of pudding. Stir in which make pudding as follows: Beat 2 egg whites till foamy, then add 1/2 cup sugar, 1 drop of a cream-beating after you're finished. Now add 2 lightly beaten eggs with the white mixture. Cook in water bath.


Why get this in the next shopping season. Get Del Monte Fruit Cocktail. It's the only brand of fruit cocktail that's made in the U.S.A. and is made with the finest fruit. Five delicious fruits in one easy lesson. Try with cranberry cake sauce. Call it New Del Monte! It'll take control and control of any well-chilled fruit cocktail. Serve it.

One more good food from the brand that puts **FLAVOR FIRST**

**Del Monte** **FRUIT COCKTAIL**

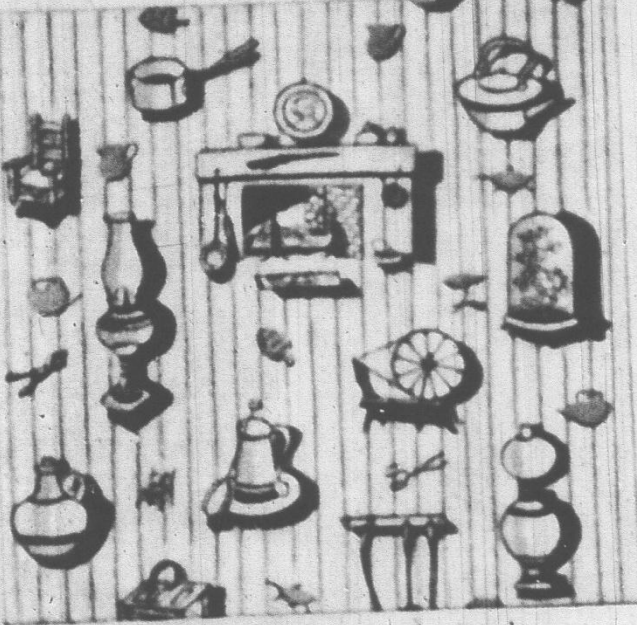
Figure 21. Del Monte Fruit Cocktail advertisement. Life, December 1948.

*Household Linens!*  
*March 1955*



What delightful color effects you can create in your own home with the new Startex Kitchen Towels and Towelings, hand printed in smartest fast-to-washing colors. Harmonizing with

these  
 Star  
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One of the many new hand printed cotton Towelings, 20 inches wide

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Figure 22. Startex toweling with Colonial Revival symbols. Ladies Home Journal, March 1955.





Figure 23. "Father Knows Best" house. Warner Bros. Ranch, Burbank, California. Image from <http://www.fatherknowsbest.com>.





Father Knows Best (CBS) 1954-1960  
© 1960 CBS Television Network  
All Rights Reserved. No. 100. Produced by Elmer Crone and Loren Chapin. Jane Wyatt  
David L. Lasker  
Reproduction of this still is prohibited. Please refer to still usage in newspaper or other print. Permission fees may apply. If no images are used.

Please Credit:  
PHOTOFEST  
(312) 623-6200

Figure 24. Three interior stills from *Father Knows Best*.



Figure 25. Interior stills of the Westport, CT house in *I Love Lucy*. In addition to the spindle chairs and rustic construction, note the Colonial Revival coffeepot in the background of the bottom image.



Figure 26. Lucy Ricardo posing as the Westport Minute Man statue.



Figure 27. 485 Mapleton Drive, the Cleaver's home for the first two seasons of *Leave It to Beaver* (1957-1958.)



Figure 28. Stills from Leave It to Beaver, season 1, 1957. Dining room at 485 Mapleton Dr.



Figure 29. Spode Jamestown pattern creamer showing Festival seal, 1957.

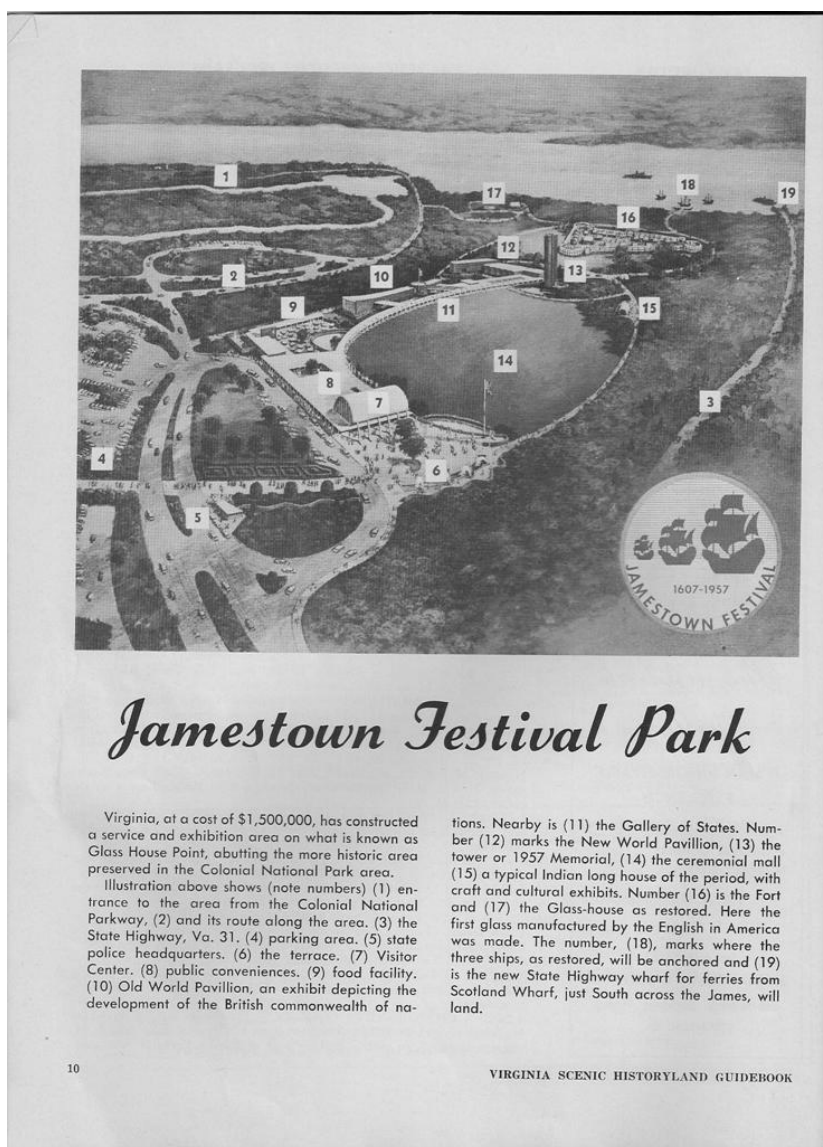


Figure 30. Jamestown Festival Park. From the Virginia Scenic Historyland Guidebook, 1957.





Tourists in historic Jamestown, Va., see guards in colorful uniforms of 1607 entering replica of original stockade. You can board full-scale reproductions of the three ships that brought the first English settlers to America.

## It's America's 350th birthday party—and you're invited

On a bright May morning in 1607, the *Susan Constant*, the *Godspeed* and the *Discovery* sailed up the James River and anchored at what is now Jamestown, Virginia. Out of these three tiny vessels came 105 pioneers to found the first permanent English settlement in America and mark the beginning of America as we know it.

This year America is celebrating the 350th anniversary of the Jamestown settlement with an eight-month festival. There are pageants, fairs, exhibits, concerts and entertainments. You can see the reconstructed James Fort, the Glasshouse, and the Old Church Tower whose 3-foot-thick walls have stood for over three centuries.

**SINCLAIR SALUTES THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE PRESERVATION OF VIRGINIA ANTIQUITIES . . .** The Association was first to begin the preservation of the Jamestown site, more than half a century ago. In cooperation with the National Park Service and the Commonwealth of Virginia, it continues to treasure this nationally important shrine. For this enduring achievement, and the many other contributions to recreating our historic scene, the APVA deserves the highest regard of patriotic Americans everywhere.

Just a few miles from Jamestown, you can relive later chapters of exciting colonial history in the beautiful restoration of Williamsburg and the Yorktown battlefield.

This year, why not bring your family to America's birthday party? You'll find the guest of honor hale and hearty after 350 years.

**FREE Tour Information** 

If you would like to visit the Jamestown Festival, or drive anywhere in the U.S.A., let us help plan your motor trip. Write: Tour Bureau, Sinclair Oil Corporation, 600 Fifth Ave., New York 20, N. Y.

**SINCLAIR**  
*A Great Name in Oil*

Another in Sinclair's American Conservation Series

Figure 31. Sinclair Oil advertisement, 1957.



*Scene I: "The Arrival of the Ships at Jamestown,"  
from The Jamestown Story, as told in the Grace Street Windows  
of Miller & Rhoads, Richmond, Virginia 1957*

Figure 32. Postcard showing Scene 1 from the Miller & Rhodes Jamestown Story.



*Scene IX: "Yorktown: The War of Independence, 1775-1781,"  
from The Jamestown Story, as told in the Grace Street Windows  
of Miller & Rhoads, Richmond, Virginia 1957*

Figure 33. Postcard showing Scene 9 from the Miller & Rhodes Jamestown Story.



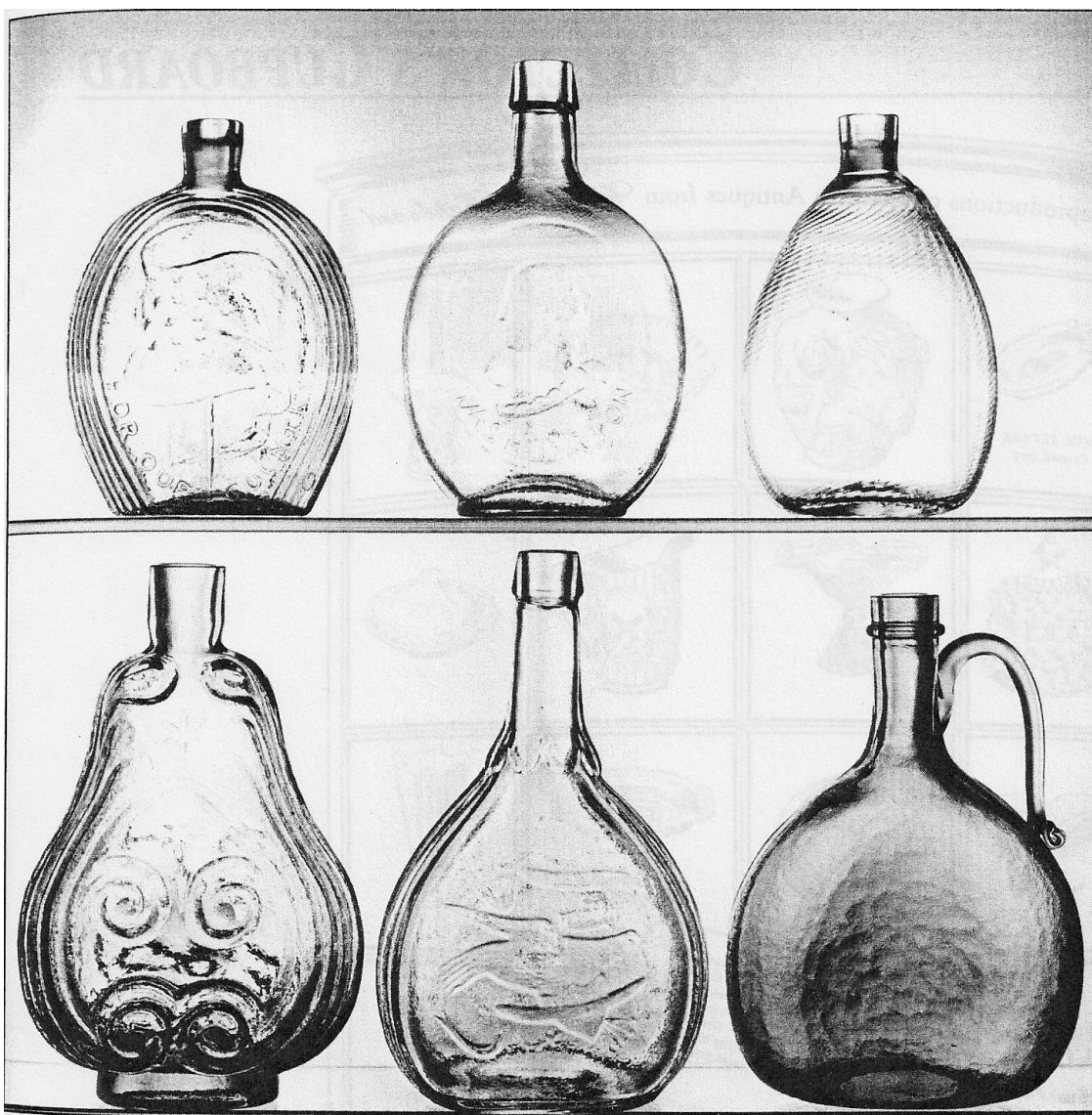


Figure 34. Colonial Bottles, Imperial Glass, c. 1956-57. Reproduced from Measell, vol 1., p. 271.



Figure 35. Scroll Flask, American, about 1830-1845. Corning Museum of Glass, 60.4.436.



**Figure 36. Fenton dot optic vase in Jamestown Blue, c. 1957.**



**Figure 37. Covered Bowl Pressed in "Argus" Pattern, Bakewell, Pears & Co., Factory, Pittsburgh, PA, 1850-1875. Corning Museum of Glass, 50.4.364.**



Figure 38. Cover of Fenton Art Glass Company brochure stressing hand-craftsmanship and featuring the Jamestown line. 1958.



Figure 39. Water goblet in Jamestown pattern, Fostoria Glass Company, after 1958.



Figure 40. Salt Cellar, Stiegel-Type, United States; Midwest, 1800-1825. Corning Museum of Glass, 55.4.80.

This smaller display shows three glasses . . . creates interest in the entire line.

American Antiques display unit shows all five glasses in this popular pattern . . . stimulates sales of complete sets.

A New Measure of Old Charm

Nine glasses in the fast-moving Colonial Heritage pattern are displayed with this counter merchandiser. It's a real sales builder.

**With these Libbey counter displays  
customers stop, look . . . and purchase**

SET UP these new Libbey counter merchandisers and see how they build traffic and sales. In these attractive displays, Libbey's lovely Colonial Heritage and American Antiques patterns practically sell themselves . . . create faster turnover and more profits for you.

Libbey's continuing advertising, in magazines women read most, brings customers to your store for the beautiful every-day glassware with the famous Libbey guarantee: "A new glass if the rim of a Libbey 'Safedge' glass ever chips" . . . and these new displays stop them and show each striking pattern. Displaying multiple sizes in each pattern stimulates larger-unit sales, too.

Get your Libbey counter displays now. They're easy to set up, require little counter space, and are real traffic stoppers. See your Libbey Supply Dealer now for full details on how to get them, or write to Libbey Glass, Division of Owens-Illinois, Toledo 1, Ohio.

LIBBEY SAFEDGE GLASSWARE  
AN  PRODUCT

OWENS-ILLINOIS  
GENERAL OFFICES • TOLEDO 1, OHIO

NOVEMBER 1957 CHINA GLASS & TABLEWARES seven

Figure 41. Libbey Glass advertisement, China, Glass & Tablewares, November 1957.



**ELEGANTLY SIMPLE**—a light and luscious table glinting with the deep-cut fire and sparkle of handsome Colonial Heritage glasses—in-the-round. (Francisco "Silver Pine" china; Quark "Showercase" stainless)

**SIMPLY ELEGANT**—the grace, the brilliance, the art of quality beautiful Colonial Heritage stoneware brings to a proud and pretty traditional setting. (Lena "Imperial" china; Wallace "Discovery" sterling)

*Keep the family table "company pretty"*  
**with Colonial Heritage in Libbey every-day crystal**




**H**ERE IT IS!—a superb new, mitre-cut glass you don't put away on a shelf! Your family can enjoy the deep-carved fire and brilliance of beautiful Colonial Heritage every day of the year. Each shining piece

has the famous Libbey rim that defies chipping.\* And for all its look of luxury this elegant every-day crystal costs far, far less than you would expect—8-of-a-kind tumblers only about \$4.95. Stemware about \$6.95.

*Beautifully Gift Boxed, too.*



Cocktail   Old-fashioned   Juice   Beverage   Coffee   Cocktail   Cocktail in Wine   Whisky   Chianti   Flute

\*At the rim of a Libbey "SafeEdge" glass every chip, Libbey will replace the glass. At all leading stores. Price slightly higher in South West and Canada.  
**LOOK FOR THE LIBBEY  ON EVERY GLASS**

**LIBBEY SAFEDGE GLASSWARE**  
 AN  PRODUCT

**OWENS-ILLINOIS**  
 GENERAL OFFICES - TOLEDO 1, OHIO

Figure 42. Ad for Libbey Glassware's Colonial Heritage line. Life Magazine, November 4, 1957.





Figure 43. Tumbler from Libbey Glassware's "American Antiques" line.



Figure 44. Spode, Jamestown creamer, 1957.



Figure 45. Plate, c. 1785. Chinese for export. Metropolitan Museum of Art, 17.73. Rogers Fund, 1917.



Figure 46. Spode's Lowestoft shape, introduced late 1920s. Reproduced from Venable et al, 212

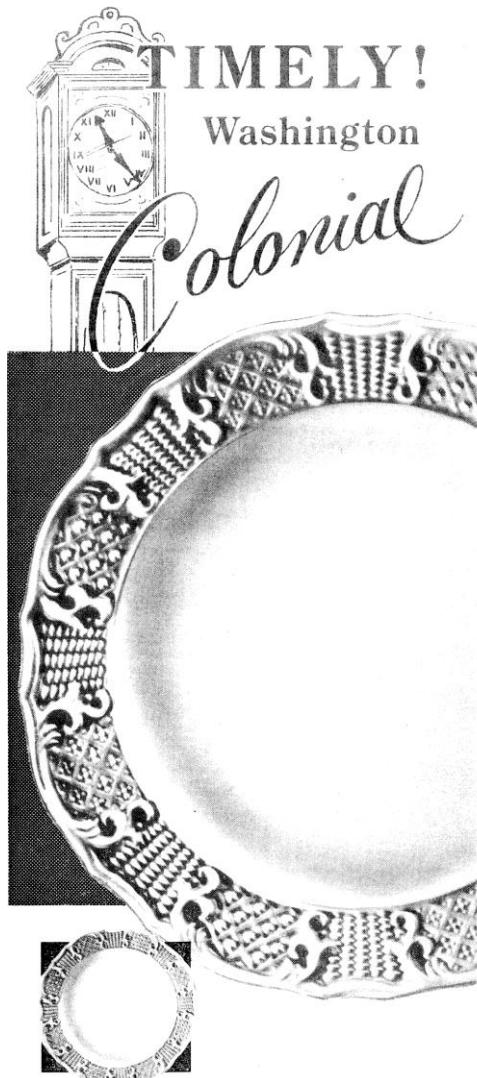




Figure 47. Spode, Heritage dinner plate.



Figure 48. Spode, Garden Blue dinner plate.



A reproduction of a dinnerware shape much admired by the First Families of Old Virginia . . . now re-introduced at the request of many Dinnerware Buyers who know their customers will show unusual interest in this shape.

"Washington Colonial" . . . . . is offered in plain white and decorated.

**Canonsburg Pottery Co.**  
Canonsburg, Pa.



Figure 49. Washigon Colonial by Canonsburg Pottery. Adverstisement, 1956.



Figure 50. Plate, 1750-60. West Midlands, England. Metropolitan Museum of Art 50.145.373. Bequest of Mary Stillman Harkness, 1950.



Figure 51. Washington Colonial pattern with painted center. Cannonsburg Pottery, 1950s.

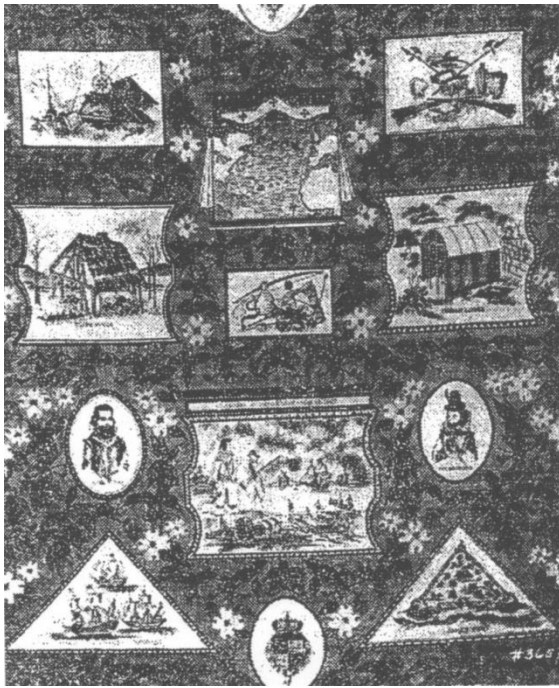


Figure 52. Jamestown Festival Toile by F. Schumacher & Co. Reproduced from Christian Science Monitor, May 16, 1957.



Figure 53. Jamestown tea cup & saucer, 1957. William Adams & Sons, Stoke-on-Trent, imported by Jonroth.



Figure 54. Engraving of Captain John Smith by Simon van de Passe, c. 1616.



Figure 55. Engraving of Pocahontas by Simon van de Passe, c. 1616.



Figure 56. Plate, Coshocton, Ohio, 1905. Tin. Reproduced from Margolin, fig. 21.



Figure 57. Dessert plate, Colonial China Company, South Hill, Virginia. Jamestown Souvenirs Newport News, Virginia, 1956. Reproduced from Margolin, fig. 21.



Figure 58. Plate, Homer Laughlin with Conrad Crafters Wheeling, Inc., West Virginia, 1955. Reproduced from Margolin, fig. 48.

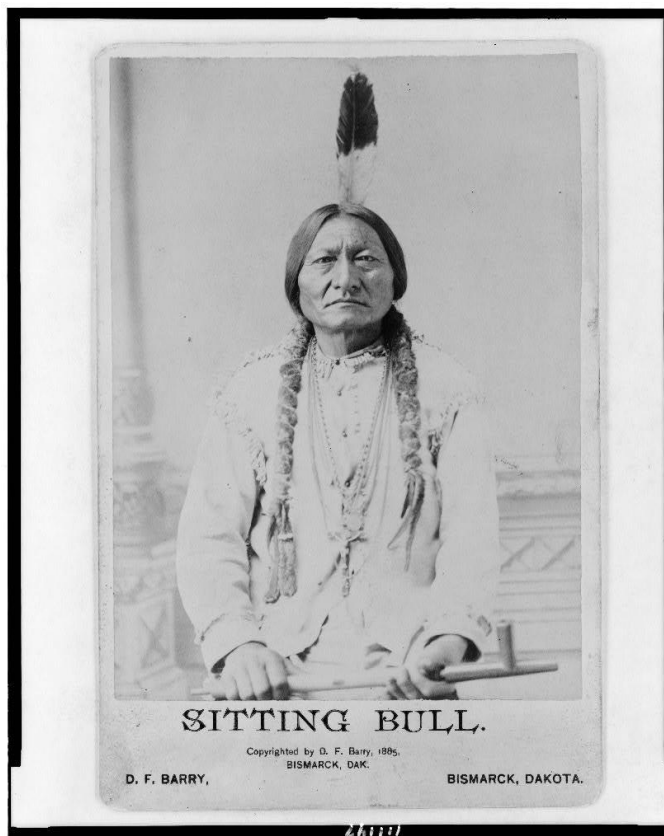


Figure 59. Sitting Bull. Photograph by D.F. Barry, 1885. Collection Library of Congress.





Figure 60. Smith Rescued by Pocahontas. Print by H. Schile of New York after a painting by Edward Henry Corbould, 1870. Original painting has been lost.



Figure 61. Ould Virginia (partial). Engraving from John Smith's Generall Historie, 1624.





Figure 62. "Virginia". Frontispiece from Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of Virginia*, 1852.



Figure 63. Tile, Germany, ca. 1957. Reproduced from Margolin, fig. 52.

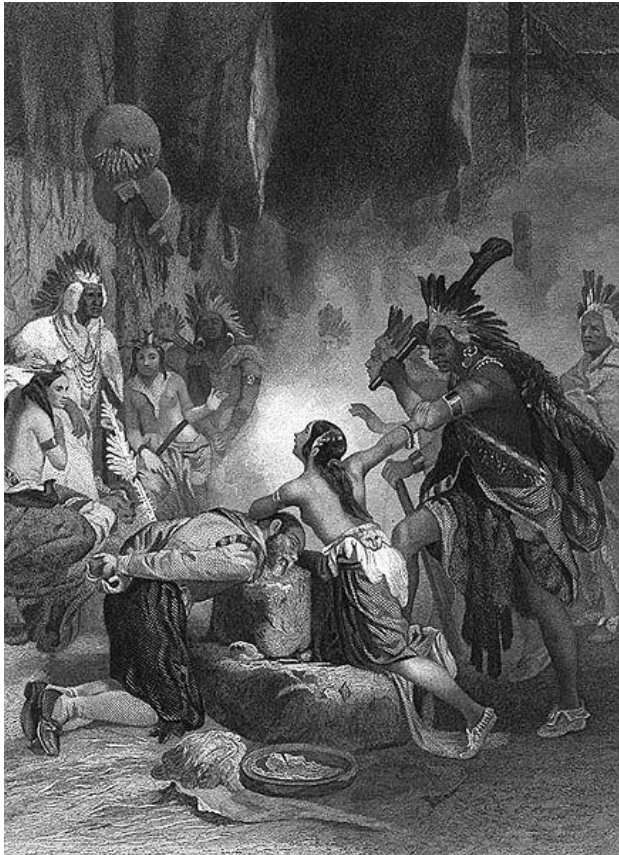


Figure 64. Alonzo Chappel, Pocahontas Saving the Life of Captain John Smith (1861.) Engraving published 1866.



Figure 65. Dinner plate, Conrad Crafters Wheeling, Inc., West Virginia, ca. 1957. Reproduced from Margolin, fig. 54.



Figure 66. Jamestown Festival souvenir beer can, Regent Brewery, Norfolk, VA, 1957.



Figure 67. Emmie Land duvet cover and pillowcases, IKEA, 2012.