



WITH GREAT INTENTION, DEMOCRACY ENDURES

Factions are the strands from which the DNA of American democracy is built, and yet each generation of Americans faces one or more existential challenges to our form of government as a result of factionalism.

Crises emerge as one faction rises to power, undertaking economic, social, or military action that alienates an increasing proportion of our populace.

In the past, such fault lines have emerged over time and made themselves known through tremors. The result was often devastating in hindsight, especially with regards to the factional compromises that preserved slavery and our collective struggle to contend with that legacy. But throughout our nation's history, the principles of the Constitution—themselves established by robust conversation and debate between rival factions—have held firm, offering a path through and beyond our worst moments as a nation.

Today feels different. The evolution of mass communication as an unfiltered and real-time aspect of our lives has accelerated the passionate division among citizens. As Jack Rakove states and Madison argued, the more diversity a republic has, the more the republic depends on genuine debate. Yet debate is suffering as our leaders emphasize consolidating their base by fanning the flames of divisions.

So in these pages we ask ourselves, in the continuing pursuit of rights, justice, and happiness, is it time to elevate the Founders' ideal that balancing a multiplicity of interests is indeed our greatest priority? Could a return to debate offer us a return to our greatest strength, to a vision born on these grounds?

Sincerely,

A stylized, handwritten signature in white ink, consisting of a large 'K' and 'I' followed by a horizontal line.

Kat Imhoff
President and Chief Executive Officer
The Montpelier Foundation



TABLE OF CONTENTS

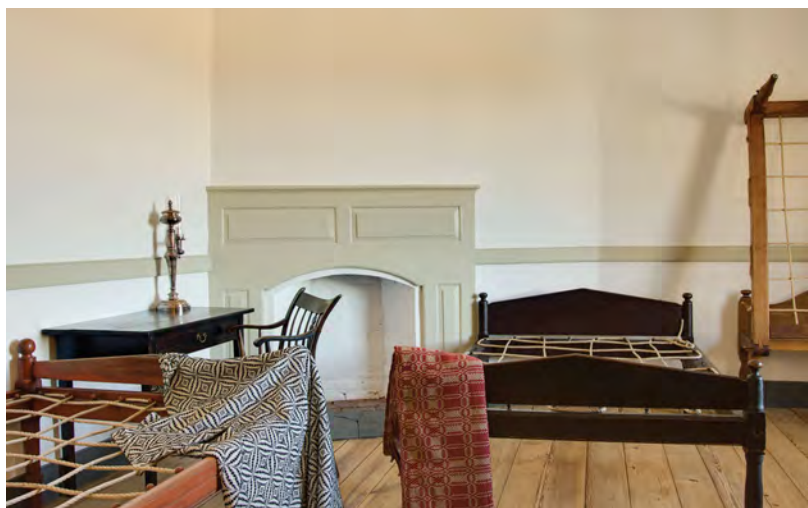
- 4 Highlights
- 6 Summit on Slavery Convenes Thought Leaders
- 7 “Mere Distinction” Earns National Acclaim
- 8 Rediscovering Madison’s Boyhood Home
- 10 Three Years That Changed History
- 12 Understanding Madison’s Impact on World Democracy
- 14 Madison’s Mind, Our Democracy
- 18 Center for the Constitution
- 22 Spirit of Philanthropy
- 23 Montpelier in the News
- 24 Upcoming Events

HIGHLIGHTS

MONTPELIER READIES FOR 2018

The House underwent some visually striking changes during the January closure, including the installation of Venetian carpeting and floor cloths in the downstairs passageways and north stairs. The changes were made following research into documentary and physical evidence, including the paint analysis of a floor cloth fragment found under a doorway between the Passage and Dining Room.

Along with the vibrant carpeting, the South Passage saw the addition of several Old Master paintings matching a Madison-era inventory and various first-hand accounts. The installation turns the passageway into a gallery hall, a popular practice John Payne Todd likely brought back from Europe. Highlights include a depiction of a couple drinking in a tavern by the workshop of Pieter Brueghel the Younger, and a poultry yard by Melchior d'Hondecoeter.



In addition to the work downstairs, two entirely new rooms were furnished: John Payne Todd's chamber and a guest chamber. Payne's chamber features wallpaper, bedhangings, and grass carpeting based on physical evidence. A fragment of the wallpaper was found behind the mantel, a large section of grass matting was found within the wall, and fragments of red/buff shot silk were found in a rat's nest in the walls of the room. Additionally, the room features numerous pieces with Madison and Montpelier provenances.

The guest chamber shows four lowpost bedsteads having their linens partially removed. Since the Madisons were sometimes host to more than 25 people at a time, housing multiple people in the same room was a necessity. Showing the beds being changed over shifts the focus of the room to the enslaved people doing the labor, giving them an active presence within the House.

BRINGING THE PAST TO THE PRESENT TERESA TEIXEIRA, CURATOR OF COLLECTIONS

Teresa Teixeira leads the Museum Programs' Collections Department as Curator of Collections, coming from the Textiles and Historic Interiors departments of Colonial Williamsburg. In the two years since she's been at Montpelier, she's been involved in the furnishing plans for the South Yard quarters, the acquisition of the artwork in the South Passage of the House, and the most recent furnishing of John Payne Todd's bedroom and a guest bedroom. Teresa explains that all of the installations and acquisitions are based, at least in part, on the work and discoveries of other departments like Archaeology, Research, and Architectural Preservation. She believes that the greatest challenge for her department is defending new research-based changes.



Teresa Teixeira in the South Passage

Some of the previous interpretation, such as the large upstairs bedchamber that was originally interpreted as the Madisons' "master bedroom," was based on faulty assumptions and modern ideologies. Guests' accounts and research on bedroom use support the idea that during the Madisons' period, the largest and finest chamber of the house was the best guest chamber, and that room is now interpreted as such. Upcoming projects include refurnishing one of the guest chambers with multiple beds to show how the Madisons accommodated such large numbers of overnight guests and filling another room entirely with reproductions so visitors can interact with the objects. Plan a visit to Montpelier soon to see all of the exciting changes!



VISIT US: BEHIND THE SCENES HOUSE TOURS

CONTACT VISITOR SERVICES AT
540.672.2728 x141

MEET THE MADISONS

Thursday-Sunday, April-October
Friday-Saturday, November-March

James and Dolley Madison left their mark on more than just politics. Get to know the Madisons and how they lived their lives in this special tour.

"LET IT BE RED" CURATORIAL TOUR

September 7 & 21; October 5 & 19

Dolley Madison once asked a friend to purchase for Montpelier fabric of any color, but "let it be red." Learn how Montpelier's curators are implementing their latest discoveries and expanding the Montpelier collection.

PAGE 4

Top right: The South Passage
Bottom left: John Payne Todd's bedchamber
Bottom right: A guest chamber

PAGE 5

Left: Venetian carpeting by Rabbit Goodey, on the North stairs
Right: "Bee and Star" wallpaper by Adelphi, in John Payne Todd's bedchamber, together with a wine bottle bearing the seal of James Madison Jr.
Bottom: Doorway between the South Passage and Nelly's Best Room



Montpelier staff and Summit participants brainstorm criteria for best practices in descendant engagement.

NATIONAL SUMMIT ON TEACHING SLAVERY

Nearly 50 of the nation's leading academics, public historians, and descendant community advocates convened at Montpelier February 9-11 to develop new guidelines for how cultural institutions and historic sites teach and interpret slavery by successfully engaging descendant communities.

The National Summit on Teaching Slavery, a partnership between Montpelier and the National Trust for Historic Preservation's African American Cultural Heritage Action Fund, is the first national, interdisciplinary effort to formulate a recognized model for best practices in descendant engagement. The conference builds on the successful model of descendant engagement implemented during the creation of Montpelier's slavery exhibition *The Mere Distinction of Colour*.

“Including descendants in discussions of slavery interpretation doesn't make them less scientific. In fact, it offers new perspectives, more accountability, and a path forward for assuring that African American history is not a sidebar of American history.”

—Michael Blakey

National Endowment for the Humanities Professor of Anthropology at The College of William & Mary, member of Montpelier's descendant community

Leading scholars like Harvard University's Evelyn Higginbotham, Ohio State University's Hasan Kwame Jeffries, and William & Mary's Michael Blakey interacted with leaders from important public institutions that included the Southern Poverty Law Center, Mount Vernon, Monticello, Whitney Plantation, and the National Civil Rights Museum, Memphis, in addition to descendant community representatives from sites across the South. The workshop sought to create best practices for engaging descendant communities in crucial aspects of slavery interpretation, including: definitions and rights of descendant communities; understanding the lasting legacies of slavery; creating community engagement and outreach models; new approaches to genealogical research; and portraying the emotional realities facing enslaved people.

The outcome of the Summit will be released during Montpelier's annual Juneteenth celebration.

THE MERE DISTINCTION OF COLOUR WINS MULTIPLE AWARDS

The National Council on Public History (NCPH) has announced that Montpelier's permanent slavery exhibition, *The Mere Distinction of Colour*, has won its 2018 Outstanding Public History Project Award. This award is presented for work completed within the previous two calendar years that contributes to a broader public reflection and appreciation of the past or that serves as a model of professional public history practice.

"We are honored that NCPH sees '*The Mere Distinction of Colour*' as setting a national standard for public history projects," said Montpelier President and CEO Kat Imhoff. "Our job is to engage people with history in a way that helps them connect the past to the present. Understanding slavery is crucial to understanding our world today, and the award reflects that."

"We share this honor with the descendant community," said Montpelier Vice President for Museum Programs Elizabeth Chew. "We hope the exhibition does justice to their ancestors' courage, hope, and determination and helps Americans understand the legacies of slavery in our society today in addition to illuminating the struggles and achievements of their ancestors."

The NCPH Outstanding Public History Project prize for *The Mere Distinction of Colour* specifically recognized the collaboration of Elizabeth Chew and Director of Education and Visitor Engagement Christian Cotz, in addition to the exhibition designers Chris Danemayer of Proun Design LLC and Molly O'Brien of Northern Light Productions.

Subsequent to garnering the NCPH award, Montpelier learned that *The Mere Distinction of Colour* won two American Alliance of Museums (AAM) MUSE awards, recognizing outstanding achievement in Galleries, Libraries, Archives, or Museums (GLAM) media. The international Alliance Media & Technology Professional Network's annual awards are presented to institutions or independent producers who use digital media to enhance the GLAM experience and engage audiences. The MUSE awards celebrate scholarship, community, innovation, creativity, education, and inclusiveness.

The Mere Distinction of Colour won for both "Legacies of Slavery" in the Video category and "Fate in the Balance" in the Multimedia Installations category. AAM offers Gold, Silver, and Bronze awards, but Montpelier will not know the levels it achieved until the awards ceremony takes place in Phoenix, Arizona, on May 6.

Visitor watches the multimedia piece "Fate in the Balance" in *The Mere Distinction of Colour* exhibition.

VISIT US: ENSLAVED COMMUNITY WALKING TOURS

CONTACT VISITOR SERVICES AT
540.672.2728 x141

ENSLAVED COMMUNITY WALKING
TOUR | Twice daily through October

Visit the sites where multiple generations of individuals enslaved at Montpelier lived, loved, and labored, and learn about the human experiences of those to whom liberty was denied.

JOURNEY FROM SLAVERY TO
FREEDOM | June 10, July 8, August 12,
September 9, October 14

Visit sites and original structures that bring to life the generations of enslaved individuals who lived at Montpelier.

1810s

MADISON FOCUSES ON UPGRADING THE SOUTH YARD

He adds two double slave quarters and two smokehouses and modifies the planter cottage to be a kitchen and a spinning house to be a slave dwelling.

1809

THE MAIN HOUSE IS MODIFIED AGAIN FOR THE PRESIDENCY

Madison's second redesign of Montpelier commences as he begins his Presidency. He adds a one-story wing to each side of the House, two cellar kitchens, and a back colonnade. He also establishes a grand central entrance and drawing room and constructs the neoclassical temple with an ice house below.

1797

THE MAIN HOUSE IS ENLARGED

James Madison, Jr., has retired from the House of Representatives. He and Dolley move their household from Philadelphia to Montpelier. The four-room addition takes three years to complete.

1765

THE MAIN HOUSE IS COMPLETED

The new brick house is located one-fourth mile northeast of Mount Pleasant, home of James Madison, Sr.'s parents, and about 25 yards from the planter cottage.

CA. 1750
-1760**PLANTER COTTAGE (LATER THE SOUTH YARD KITCHEN) IS CONSTRUCTED**

James Madison, Sr., and Nelly marry in 1749. They construct the planter cottage as their first marital home sometime in the next decade, setting themselves up for reorganizing the plantation.

MADISON'S BOYHOOD HOME UNCOVERED

Recent archaeological and architectural exploration at Montpelier sheds new light on the lives of President Madison's parents—the second generation of Madisons to live here. Recent analysis at the Kitchen in the South Yard has revealed that the building is older and more unique than we previously thought.

Excavations suggested the building was constructed as early as the 1760s and was not originally a kitchen. President Madison had extensive modifications made to the structure to make it a kitchen during the 1810s. The architectural design of the original structure, with a full brick end and a substantial hearth, is comparable to “planter cottages” from the mid-18th century. Such cottages were typically one room houses with second floor sleeping areas.

This suggests the building was built prior to the circa 1765 construction of the main brick house, serving as a “starter home” for James Madison, Sr., and Nelly Conway Madison away from the house of his parents. Just how early the building was built, however, is still unclear. Over the coming year, Montpelier's archaeologists, architectural historians, and historians will continue to dig into the evidence to learn more about James Madison's boyhood home!

LEARN ABOUT THE PAST: BEHIND THE SCENES WALKING TOURS

CONTACT VISITOR SERVICES AT 540.672.2728 x141

NEW! DIG IT! ARCHAEOLOGY TOURS | June 16, July 14, August 18, September 15, October 27

Learn about the many different components of the archaeological discovery process, including locating, excavating, analyzing, and reconstructing archaeological sites on the property, at the lab, dig sites, and the cemeteries.

NEW! ARCHITECTURE TOURS | June 23, August 25, October 20

These tours offer an examination of how our architectural historians restore and reconstruct significant structures, including the South Yard, the Temple, and ghost marks on buildings.

PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY PROGRAMS

CONTACT CHRISTINE GREENALL AT 540.672.2728 x161
OR DIG@MONTPELIER.ORG

Work with professional archaeologists on actual archaeological research sites on the property, learning the techniques and process of archaeology while contributing to the discovery and preservation of history.

DIG DATES: May 13-18, July 8-13 (Teacher Program), July 22-27, August 5-10, September 2-7, September 16-21, October 7-12, October 21-26

Background: Drone photography of the South Yard and House.

We the People

1787 YEARS

In Madison's Life

Young James Madison wasn't exactly sociable when his Taylor cousins spent a week at Montpelier in March 1786. Francis Taylor wrote in his diary that "Col Madison Jr while we were here, came to breakfast of which he eat sparingly, and then would go to his room till a little before dinner." Madison, however, had good reason to be preoccupied.

He was about to change the world.

Background: An etching of a young James Madison from The Montpelier Foundation overlaying the Constitution.

If Taylor had barged in on Madison, he would have found his cousin absorbed in two trunks of books, recently shipped from France by his friend Thomas Jefferson. This “literary cargo” wasn’t just recreational reading. Madison was doing serious research between sessions of the Virginia General Assembly. He was searching for historical examples to solve the most pressing problem of his day: thanks to the weak Articles of Confederation, the United States’ original governing document, America’s great experiment in representative government was on the verge of collapse.

Madison pored over world history and political theory, studying the few instances when confederations rather than monarchies governed nations. By analyzing the structures of these governments and the pitfalls they encountered, Madison concluded that confederations were fragile unless there was a strong central authority. Madison wrote up his research as “Notes on Ancient and Modern Confederacies.”

Was it audacious to think that a research paper could change the world? Perhaps, but Madison’s first political victory a decade before had hinged on changing a single word. In 1776, when Madison

was a twenty-something delegate to the Virginia Convention, he pushed to reword a statement in the Virginia Declaration of Rights, drafted by elder statesman George Mason. Instead of establishing religious “toleration” (which implied that the government could establish a state-supported religion and just “tolerate” the others), Madison’s edit secured “free exercise” of religion, a truly revolutionary concept.

Madison championed religious liberty again in 1784-1785. The Virginia General Assembly, still assuming churches needed government support, proposed a tax to pay “teachers of the Christian religion.” This time, to level the playing field, they would let the taxpayers decide which Christian denominations their taxes would support. Madison not only thought that was wrong, but he thought of 15 reasons *why* it was wrong, and—at the urging of George Mason and others—wrote them up in a paper titled “Memorial and Remonstrance.” (Madison would later keep a framed copy of this document on his dining room

wall until the day he died.) In the next Assembly session, Madison took advantage of the moment he had created, and reintroduced a bill that Thomas Jefferson had written nearly a decade earlier: the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom.

The statute, which opened with the ringing assertion that “Almighty God hath created the mind free,” ended the establishment of a tax-supported church in Virginia, and confirmed freedom of religion as a natural right of humanity. After shepherding the bill to passage in January 1786, Madison jubilantly informed Jefferson in France, “I flatter myself we have in this country extinguished forever the ambitious hope of making laws for the human mind.”

This was just the beginning of the most productive and impactful period of Madison’s life. As a Congressman in New York during the spring of 1787, Madison prepared an analysis titled “Vices of the Political System of the United States.” Informed by his research for “Notes” and “Vices,” Madison drafted an outline for a new Constitution. He seized

the agenda at the Constitutional Convention by having fellow delegate Edmund Randolph present Madison’s outline as the Virginia Plan. It became the starting point for a long, hot Philadelphia summer of

negotiation and concession that was later called the Second American Revolution. Although Madison was not entirely pleased with the final Constitution, he recognized that the choice was to compromise or to fail. Madison compromised.

Madison’s work was not done. He argued tirelessly in favor of the Constitution at Virginia’s Ratifying Convention in June 1788. He wrote 29 of *The Federalist* essays to sway voters in New York. And when the Constitution was ratified and Madison was elected to Congress in 1789, he addressed the one critique that had almost derailed the Constitution – he drafted a Bill of Rights from among the multitude of amendments proposed by the states.

In later life Madison shrugged off the title “Father of the Constitution,” writing, “It ought to be regarded as the work of many heads and many hands.” Yet it was Madison’s own analytical head and guiding hand that made the years 1786-1789 so transformative in the cause of liberty and representative government.

“Instead of establishing religious ‘toleration’..., Madison’s edit secured ‘free exercise’ of religion, a truly revolutionary concept.”



On Presidents' Day, Montpelier welcomed Madison biographer Noah Feldman for a standing-room-only talk and book signing.

UNDERSTANDING MADISON'S IMPACT ON WORLD DEMOCRACY

A conversation with Constitutional scholar and Madison biographer Noah Feldman

Few scholars today share Noah Feldman's perspective on James Madison, the Father of the U.S. Constitution. After all, Feldman was in his early 30s in 2003 when he was asked to serve as senior constitutional advisor to the Coalition Provisional Authority in Iraq, and subsequently advised members of the Iraqi Governing Council on the drafting of the Transitional Administrative Law or interim constitution. It was Feldman's commitment to constitutional government that led him to undertake his recent biography of Madison, *The*

"I chose to write about Madison because I'm a constitutions person. I care about the Constitution. It's what I do for a living, not just in the United States but globally. And Madison really is the Einstein of constitutions..." —Noah Feldman

Three Lives of James Madison: Genius, Partisan, President (Random House, 2017).

As a Felix Frankfurter Professor of Law at Harvard Law School, Feldman is perfectly placed to address Madison's relevance in contemporary conversations with a rising generation of legal scholars and practitioners, a conversation he feels is crucial to the future of global governance.

We spoke to him by phone just a week before he was scheduled to address Montpelier members at our annual Presidents' Day talk.

What is James Madison's principal legacy as a political philosopher?

NF: "One is the idea that a constitutional structure can protect liberty, while simultaneously allowing effective government. A second fundamental one is that a federal structure can work because different sovereigns can rule different aspects of people's lives. And both of those ideas can be found all over the world today."

"Those underlie his fundamental constitutional design. Those things were both thought of as deeply in tension with each other prior to Madison. The thought was that if you had a constitution that strengthened government sufficiently, it would contravene liberty. But Madison showed that they could in fact be made consistent and that an effective central government could exist with the protection of liberty. With respect to federalism, his insight was that a greater federal sphere could actually have the impact of protecting minorities and thereby protecting fundamental rights."

"It sounds so obvious today that it's like, 'It can't be Madison who thought of that.' But it really is. The way to think of it is that before Madison, people thought that every majority-based government would devolve into either dictatorship or anarchy. Madison was the pioneer of showing how a Constitution with balanced powers could save you from either of those two extremes. It could save you from a tyranny that violated rights or an anarchy where the government couldn't get anything done. In particular, in the case of a federal government, before Madison it was believed that a federal system would come apart at the seams and would be unable to govern effectively, but Madison showed that a federal system could achieve a lasting balance between power at the center and power at the periphery, through the states."

Why do you characterize Madison as the Newton or Einstein of "governmental physics"?

NF: "The reason he's the Newton or the Einstein of that physics is that people used to believe that if you had states, they would pull away and go flying off into their own orbits, or, alternatively, that the gravitational pull of the center, the sun, would pull those planets in and they would be destroyed by the sun. That was the theory and he showed that that wasn't right, that you could continue to have those

planets exist as they went in orbit around the sun. And that was a metaphor that was explicitly used at the convention, by others and by him."

How would you characterize the importance of Madison's approach to religious freedom as a basic right?

NF: "The Declaration mentions life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, which substitutes for property, but it doesn't say anything about religious freedom. Madison helped raise religious liberty and the freedom of speech, and the freedom of conscience more broadly, to be on the same level as the other three. It makes him very relevant today, because as Americans, while there are times when we are worried about threats to our life, liberty, and property, it could be argued that we're more often worried about threats to our freedom of religion and our freedom of speech."

What is the best way to engage young people with Madison's legacy? Aren't they tired of Founding Father myths?

NF: "Every millennial can understand that Mark Zuckerberg through Facebook took a technology that was out there and adapted [it] to allow certain new kinds of human interactions on a new scale, and Madison was a bit like that. Zuckerberg didn't invent the computer and Madison didn't invent the idea of a constitution, but Madison invented a particular form of the technology that enabled the different people who participated in the constitutional structure to interact with each other in new ways, to create new forms of networks, new forms of rights, new forms of protections, and new forms of interactions. I often use that with my students as a way to connect to contemporary issues. They all understand that the architecture of a system, the architecture of a network has huge and determining effects."

How do you explain Madison's role as a slave owner when you are explaining his constitutional legacy?

NF: "The way to deal with it is to be totally honest. I'm not trying to protect Madison against anything. You have to be totally aboveboard and direct with people, as I think Montpelier is. I think my biography is the first biography of Madison to be so direct and explicit about this and it's very much in the spirit of what Montpelier has been doing. You

have to full-on acknowledge the centrality of slavery to Madison's economic well-being and to demonstrate that he was a contradictory person who did a lot of great and important things and that he also failed on a lot of dimensions and we have to take the bitter with the sweet. You have to acknowledge the whole person, and I guess my own view is that nobody is a perfect hero in history and that's fine."

"I think it's an important lesson for everyone to learn, regardless of generation. The Founders had a tremendous, remarkable shaping impact on the way our polity works. There's no other polity on earth that is fundamentally structured the same way today as it was 225 years ago and this polity has in certain ways worked very well, but to the extent that it has had serious problems, one of those problems is the persistent inequality in our country around race and that is also attributable in many ways to our Founders, including Madison. It's just important to look that squarely in the face. I don't believe in ancestor worship or founder worship. These are actual human beings, not gods, and their institutions were in many ways imperfect. Our country remains imperfect and our job is to make it as perfect as we can make it."

Besides his legacy as a political thinker, what lessons have you taken away from your research of Madison's life?

NF: "I think Madison's career shows you the limits of originalism and the idea that our Constitution has to be seen through the lens of its capacity to evolve

while still protecting core rights. You can see that in Madison's eventual embrace of the Bank of the United States, which he was sure was unconstitutional. He founded the Republican Party in part because he was so sure it was unconstitutional and then by the time he was ending his presidency he was ready to sign the re-upping of the bank because he had come to the view that it was constitutional. It wasn't that he felt that he was wrong—he still thought he was right—but the view had been embraced by both parties and by practical necessity it had become the norm and he accepted that. One of the crucial lessons to me of Madison's life was that his own constitutional views left room for evolution and development."

With everything going on in your life, why did you decide to spend years researching and writing about James Madison?

NF: "I chose to write about Madison because I'm a constitutions person. I care about the Constitution. It's what I do for a living, not just in the United States but globally. And Madison really is the Einstein of constitutions. He is

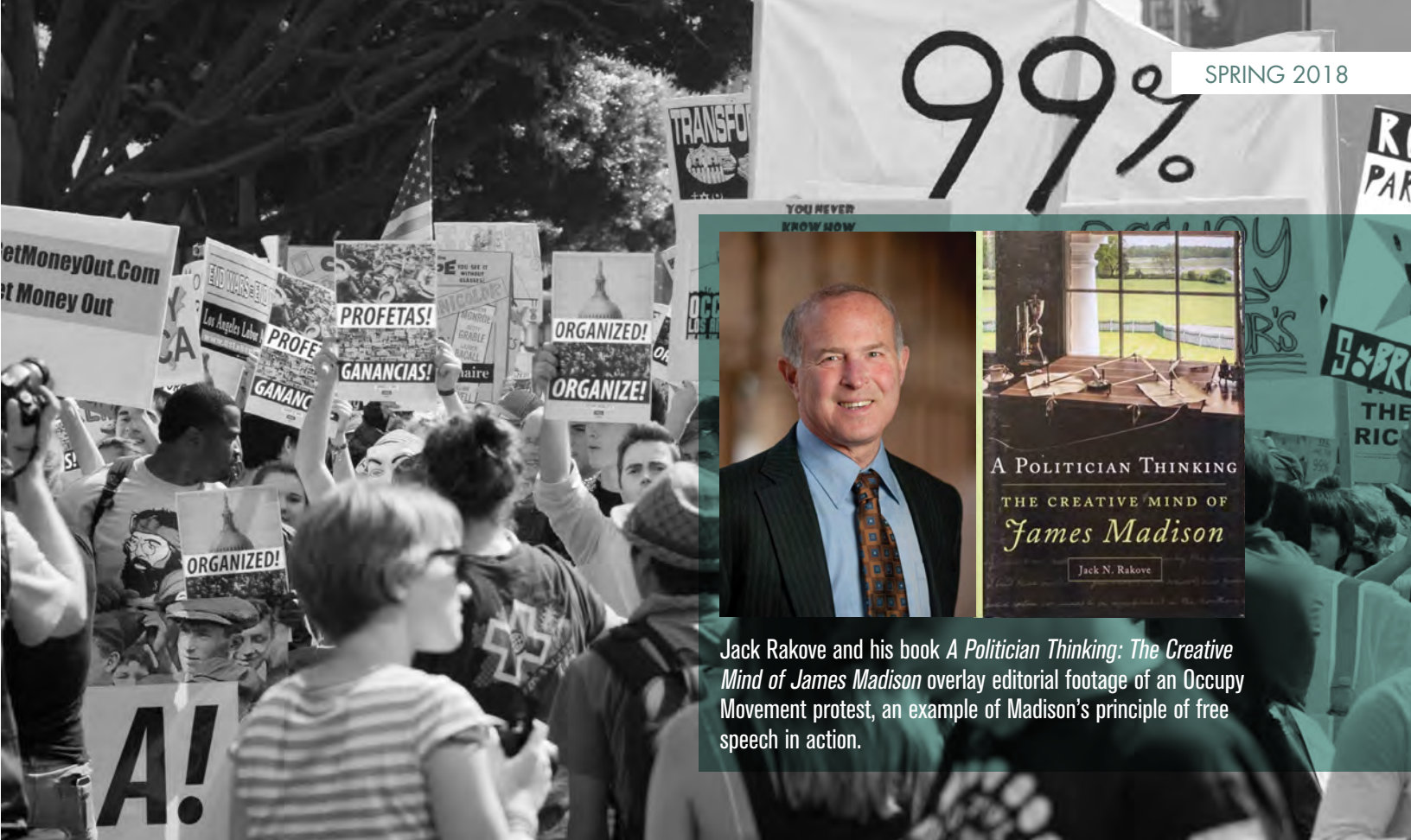
the central, towering figure who helped create a set of constitutional practices that exist not just in the United States but all over the world. When you look at India with over a billion people and a functional constitutional government, they have a federal constitutional system that is unthinkable without Madison. Germany, the same. You can go around the world and see extraordinary examples of constitutional governance, and he is really the single figure who is most significant in that trajectory of development. I wanted to go back to the origins and study the person who had this tremendous impact."

"One of the crucial lessons to me of Madison's life was that his own constitutional views left room for evolution and development."

—Noah Feldman

Below: The new perspective of the House from the Temple.





Jack Rakove and his book *A Politician Thinking: The Creative Mind of James Madison* overlay editorial footage of an Occupy Movement protest, an example of Madison's principle of free speech in action.

MADISON'S MIND, OUR DEMOCRACY

Understanding how the ideas of the Father of the Constitution shape our lives today with Jack Rakove, author of *A Politician Thinking: The Creative Mind of James Madison*

It's possible that the moniker "Father of the Constitution" has actually hindered the American public's ability to understand James Madison's fundamental contributions to our political philosophy, culture, and government. As the operating manual for our nation, the U.S. Constitution was the product of "many heads and many hands" and our understanding of it is shaped by our circumstances; but the ideas it represents and activates in our body politic bear Madison's fingerprints in a number of foundational ways.

Madison's greatest admirers tend to be lawyers whose "con law" class changed their lives or political scientists whom experience has trained to appreciate the delicate balance of opposing forces our system of republican democracy represents. That's because Madison wrote in closely constructed paragraphs that modern readers find hard to parse; it's because

Madison was part philosopher and part political pragmatist; it's because he was an empirical problem-solver who strove to create unified solutions to age-old problems of forming working republics and confederations of autonomous states; and, ultimately, it's because those solutions in turn encountered the working problems of being put into practice.

So how do you distinguish Madison's contributions to the American constitutional experiment from the equally important contributions that Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Adams, and Hamilton—the other five members of the "big six" of the Founders—made to the American Revolution? That's in part what Montpelier board member Jack Rakove, the William Robertson Coe Professor of History and American Studies at Stanford University, has spent the last few decades trying to resolve.

In his most recent book, *A Politician Thinking: The Creative Mind of James Madison*, Rakove treats Madison as a working politician and statesman who also possessed an acute capacity for reflecting on the dynamic character of the revolutionary experiment in republican government. We asked Rakove if he could distill his thinking on Madison to a few simple statements that accurately reflected his impact.

What was Madison's most fundamental contribution to our system of government?

JR: "I would start with Madison's first political commitment, his broad support for individual religious freedom. That illustrated and shaped his approach to the fundamental problem of how one would protect rights in a republican government. The real problem of rights in a republic was not to protect the people as a whole against the concentrated power of government, but rather to protect individuals and minorities against factious majorities, working through the legislature. This point seems so obvious to us today that it is difficult for us to grasp the novelty of Madison's position."

"Both Madison and Jefferson owed a lot to John Locke philosophically. But these two friends and allies also recognized that the American situation had diverged from the English model in at least two important ways. First, American Protestants placed a much greater emphasis on the importance of the experience of religious conversion, which in turn meant that individuals had to be free to make their own spiritual decisions on the basis of conscience. Second, even where religious establishments continued to exist in revolutionary America, they were very weak; even an established church like the Church of England, which became the Episcopal Church, were struggling for public support. These two conditions made it much easier to conclude, as Madison and Jefferson did, that religious activity could be wholly privatized, both to allow freedom of conscience to flourish, and to get rid of the inherent corruption of established religion."

"Madison imagined a national government that would act, not through the states, which was the case under the Articles of Confederation, but directly on the population by law. That is his definitive contribution to the whole ethos of American constitutionalism."

"Madison drew important lessons from the experience of getting Jefferson's Bill for Religious Freedom enacted in 1786. It directly supported the famous arguments of his two great essays, *Federalist 10* and *51*. The best security for civil liberty in a republic would follow the best security for religious freedom: a multiplicity of interests or religious sects."

When we call Madison "The Father of the Constitution," what are we honoring?

JR: "First and foremost, I think it was the way he set the agenda for the Federal Convention. Madison imagined a national government that would act, not through the states, which was the case under the Articles of Confederation, but directly on the population by law. That is his definitive contribution to the whole ethos of American constitutionalism."

Why does everybody always cite Federalist 10 and Federalist 51 as Madison's most important writing?

JR: "Those essays are the first main source for Madison's distinctive contribution to the political thought of his era. He argues that the larger the republic, the harder it will be for any

factious majority to dominate. As I noted before, religion formed the model for this conclusion, which Madison then generalized to a diversity of economic and social interests. The more diversity one has, the more you need genuine debate and deliberation to identify what the true public good is. The flip side of the argument is that the smaller the entity, the easier it will be for the wrong kinds of majorities to coalesce and to do their unjust deeds. Madison believed, and time has mostly proved him right, that the real danger to rights is more likely to arise in individual states than at the national level. That's why I like to say that the most Madisonian part of the Constitution is actually Section I of the Fourteenth Amendment, the due process and equal protection clauses, designed to protect the people against the state governments."

—Jack Rakove

As someone who has spent a career studying James Madison, what do you think is the most overlooked part of his thinking?

JR: “Madison was very concerned with the deliberative process and legislative deliberation. He thought that when you assemble the people’s representatives they should have a refined and enlarged view of what the people they represented wanted to accomplish. This marked the leading edge of his constitutional thinking, the way in which he thought about the role of institutions.”

“Over time, Madison also grew increasingly interested in how one could shape public opinion and create informed voters. Ideally, notwithstanding all their passions and interests, a republican people has to learn how to act responsibly as citizens.

Legislators need to be better informed and prepared to deliberate, but Madison also wanted citizens to enter into that process intelligently.”

“The more that party conflict heated up in the 1790s, the more important this subject becomes. Almost the first thing that Madison and Jefferson did after they founded the Republican party was to set up their own party newspaper to counteract Hamilton’s journal. That in turn forced Madison to think more seriously about the creation of a responsible public opinion.”

“How do you create an informed voter? What’s the role of public opinion? How does it work to preserve the republic? Those all became serious problems in Madison’s thinking, but they all represented genuine aspects in the evolution of American constitutionalism.”

“It is the distinctive American position that both in religion and in politics we want minimal influence from our government. The First Amendment says Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion or limiting freedom of speech and the press. The underlying hope is that we want to foster as much debate as you can and the underlying assumption, which may be naive,

is that the more debate you have the closer you get to eliminating the weak arguments. We know now that that’s not always the case. But we also see every day that efforts to restrict the free flow of information, crude efforts to deny people the right to speech or publish, remain one of the standard techniques of a repressive government.”

What is the secret to reading and understanding Madison as a political philosopher?

JR: “I would have everyone read *Federalist 37* first. Or maybe it’s the process of reading *Federalist 37* after spending three or four decades thinking about Madison [chuckles]. What Madison did in that essay was to reflect on the inherent difficulty of political reasoning. He presents

a very sophisticated, really epistemological argument, and it is a text one has to teach carefully. But once you understand what he’s doing and use it as a benchmark for examining his other writings, you gain a lot of insight into his distinctive turn of mind. There is really nothing else like it in the the entire and very rich body of political writings that Americans compiled in this period.”

—**Jack Rakove** “What he basically told his readers was that before they judged the Constitution on its merits, they had to consider the very difficulties its framers had faced. The most important passage says that you have to compare political reasoning to other forms of science or knowledge that existed in the eighteenth century, such as moral philosophy and natural science.”

“He then uses this presumption to discuss the fundamental problems of federalism and separation of powers. The real task in writing a Constitution is to draw lines of power around departments or between levels of government, and this is a far more difficult enterprise than people imagine. It’s a brilliant essay, and that’s why when I teach Madison I feel it’s in some ways the best place to begin.”

Background: Editorial photography of a crowd organized at the Washington Monument for the One Nation Rally, a march for union and civil rights in 2010.

THE ROBERT H. SMITH CENTER FOR THE CONSTITUTION

UNDERSTANDING CONGRESS

How much can we trust in, and expect from, our government to preserve democracy?

E PLURIBUS UNUM OUT OF MANY, ONE

For many, Congress seems an indecipherable idea. Outside of the fact that there are 435 members of the House of Representatives and 100 senators who represent 50 states, many of us only know what we hear on the news: they get together at irregular intervals to achieve next to nothing amidst much-publicized partisanship, filibustering, and argumentation.

Is Congress doing its job? How do we hold our representatives accountable?

At its most basic, Congress was set up to represent us, the people. “The president is not our boss,” says Representative Will Hurd, R-Texas, the first African-American to represent his West Texas district. “My boss is the 800,000 of y’all who elected me.”

But to truly understand how Congress works and why, we have to return to the Constitution.

LAYING THE FOUNDATION

There is a deficiency in understanding what Congress is designed to do for Americans. The Constitution wasn’t set up to solve all of our problems and surface answers to questions. Instead, it was created to encourage dialogue and provide, as Hurd states, a “framework to have a conversation.” In reality, the law making process was set up to be intentionally difficult to prevent rash, reactionary legislation from being passed without lengthy discussion and detailed study.

The Constitution grants Congress both enumerated powers and implied powers which are more open to interpretation. Most of the explicitly granted powers are listed in Article I, Section 8, which basically states that Congress may collect taxes and establish a government with armies, courts, and commerce. The murkier, implied powers are largely derived from the Necessary and Proper Clause, stating that Congress has the power to make laws that it needs to make and, to a lesser degree, the Commerce Clause, which regulates commerce with foreign powers and between the states.

To safeguard against the possibility of a totalitarian president, and encourage distinct separations of power, the framers of the Constitution granted Congress three crucial checks on executive authority: the power of the purse, the power of war, and the power of impeachment.

Congress uses these powers to ensure they control the funding of the other branches, foreign entanglements in times of war, and of course, the ability to remove the president.



Congressman Will Hurd (R-TX) in Washington, D.C.

IS IT WORKING?

IS CONGRESS DOING WHAT IT'S SUPPOSED TO?

Broadly speaking, many contend that Americans today want the same things from our government as the framers of the Constitution. We don't want our leaders making decisions based on the whims of the mob. We want to have the privacy versus security debate (though our founders could have never anticipated our digital age). And we want a strong Congress to ensure the smooth operation of the country and to make sure the other branches are adequately checked and balanced.

There are successes, but they are rarely publicized. "You never get stuff on television with the title 'Congress Worked!' You know?" jokes Hurd.

Representative Brendan Boyle, D-PA, echoes the sentiment that "it's not as bad as it looks." Boyle argues that "because primaries play an outsized role in determining which candidates get elected, it creates a powerful incentive to not compromise." But lower profile legislation is being efficiently passed.

Interestingly, the two Congressmen Montpelier recently interviewed vary in their solutions to some of our current congressional hang-ups. Hurd's prescription is less systemic and puts more onus on the members themselves to have a "back-and-forth exchange over long periods of time and be thoughtful."

Boyle, in contrast, takes issue with the system itself, calling for structural electoral reforms. "Gerrymandering has left us with hyper-Democratic and hyper-Republican districts," he explains. "We also need to change the way we determine who nominees of the parties are, and fundamental campaign finance reform."

No system is without its problems. However, we should be encouraged that both congressmen agree that there is more of a commitment to bipartisan policy solutions than meets the eye.

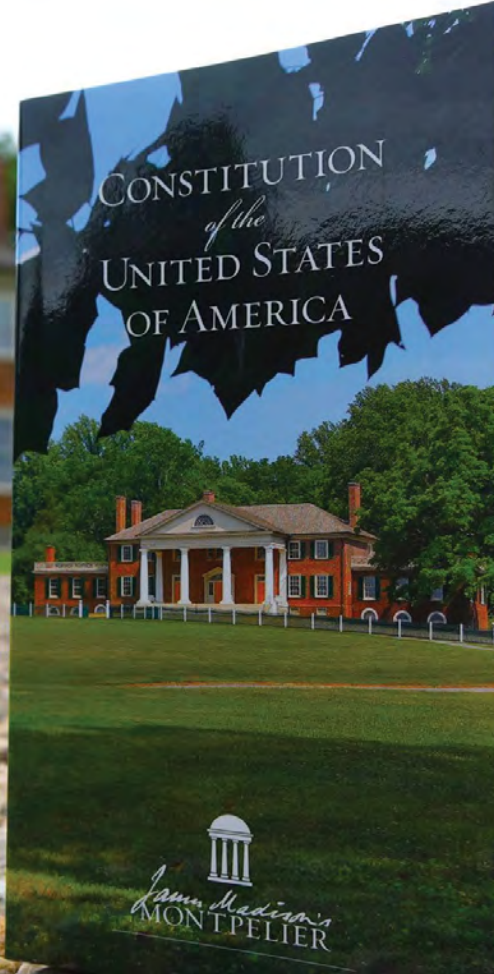
WILL IT LAST?

How sustainable is our current governmental system?

One of the most hotly-debated questions is how well our government, created by a document written over 230 years ago, will withstand the test of time. How will it stand up to emerging challenges like privacy, misinformation, and an emerging cultural landscape?

"I've come to the conclusion that way more unites us than divides us," says Hurd. "When we actually have a dialogue on even some of the more contentious issues, you can find that there's a lot of room for common ground."

Maybe there's hope after all.



WHY THE CENTER IS IMPORTANT

Connecting the past to the present through the Constitution

The United States Constitution is America's most important founding document. Having a written constitution outlining the basic rules and tenets of our society provides a solid foundation that we can return to as the starting point for all of our debates. And we love our debates!

At the Robert H. Smith Center for the Constitution, we help people gain a better understanding of James Madison's greatest legacy. Everyone is capable of engaging with the Constitution, especially with a little help. We give people the tools to more fully appreciate and understand its aspirations and encourage informed debate, deeper involvement in democracy, and continuous improvement to our nation.

The Center offers world-class educational programs at Montpelier, while also offering online courses with some of the world's most important constitutional scholars. Whether you work in the law or simply want to strengthen your understanding of our founding principles, Montpelier is your starting point.

The Center is also home to world-class conference spaces and recording studios in Claude Moore Hall. Since 2002, the Center for the Constitution has trained more than 60,000 people from over 110 countries, including teachers, law enforcement officers, young politicians, and international groups. Participants from all over the world explore constitutional theory, improve their understanding of the founding principles of the United States, and commit to deepening their involvement in democracy.

Every generation faces circumstances the Founding Fathers could never have predicted, and we turn to the Constitution again and again for guidance. It has become clear throughout American history that a deep, nuanced knowledge of Madison's most important work is crucial to improving our nation and ensuring the proper function of our government.

The revolutionary ideas embodied in the Constitution are as important today as they were over 230 years ago. At Montpelier, we call on the past to inform our future, and we hope you'll join us on that journey.



Emily Voss, Director of Education at the Center for the Constitution, walks with program participants after a House tour.

MADISON SCHOLARS ROUNDTABLE

Scholars attend Montpelier summer conference

The Montpelier Roundtable on James Madison and the American Constitution (June 12-14, 2018) will bring more than twenty nationally renowned scholars whose research and writing specialize in James Madison, political theory, and the creation of the Constitution, to Montpelier. It will provide them with an opportunity to gather and discuss their work in an open, collaborative, and inspiring environment. This year, the scholars will focus on Madison's long-term impact on American government and democracy.

This is America's only annual scholarly conference dedicated to the study of Madison and the Constitution.

LEARN WITH US: TEACHER SEMINARS & PROGRAMS

JAMES MADISON LEGACY PROJECT SUMMER INSTITUTE | June 24-27

Educators from the Mid-Atlantic will delve into constitutional issues and learn to create deeper civic engagement among students.

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTIONS | July 7-10

Work with a group assigned a defined set of interests to create preferred procedures and constitutional goals and share at a constitutional convention.

THE EVOLUTION OF RIGHTS & LIBERTIES | July 18-20

Examine equality through history, while also discussing contemporary debates forming today's discussions on rights and liberties.

THE MERE DISTINCTION OF COLOUR | July 25-27

Appreciate the legacies of slavery, refine skills to address those legacies in class, and learn how to use The Mere Distinction of Colour exhibition as a teaching tool.

LAW ENFORCEMENT PROGRAMS

CONSTITUTIONAL FOUNDATIONS FOR LAW ENFORCEMENT | May 9-11

Law enforcement officials learn how the Constitution enables them to protect and serve not just their communities, but also the rights guaranteed in the Constitution.

ADVANCED LAW ENFORCEMENT SEMINAR | May 14-16

Law enforcement officials dive deeper into the intricacies between their work and its direct ties to the Constitution.

SCHOLARLY CONFERENCES

MADISON SCHOLARS ROUNDTABLE | June 12-14

Twenty scholars specializing in James Madison and the Constitution gather at Montpelier to discuss their works in progress in an open, collaborative environment.

COMPARATIVE CONSTITUTIONAL LAW ROUNDTABLE | October 5-7

Law scholars present and review current constitutional research at the home of the Father of the Constitution.

OTHER PROGRAMS

MONTPELIER SUMMIT | May 18-20

Young professionals in government and public policy apply America's founding documents and values to 21st-century life while building a bipartisan community.

MANDELA WASHINGTON FELLOWSHIP FOR YOUNG AFRICAN LEADERS | July 11-16

Montpelier hosts its fifth cohort of Mandela Washington Fellows, working with them to dive into the evolution of rights and tools for constitution-building.

JMU HONORS COLLEGE FIELD DAY | August 20

Freshman students of JMU's Honors College visit Montpelier to build community, learn about James Madison, and engage in a service project.

12TH ANNUAL STATE OF THE CONSTITUTION | September 18

Montpelier will conduct a public survey of Americans' understanding of the Constitution and their attitudes toward the structure and function of government.

THE SPIRIT OF PHILANTHROPY WHY YOU LOVE MONTPELIER

We asked why you joined Montpelier; here's what you said:

“For me, **THE CHERRY ON TOP IS LIKELY THE MERE DISTINCTION OF COLOUR EXHIBIT**. I watched from the sidelines for a number of months as this important and ground-breaking exhibition came to fruition. I am so proud, inspired, and humbled to be part of an organization that embraces the values that make it absolutely necessary to tell this story. I recently visited the National Civil Rights Museum in Memphis. It helped me recall my youth, where I lived through the Civil Rights movement. The way that history dovetails with the MDC exhibit is beyond powerful.” **-MIKE TURNER**

“My connection is with **THE OLD WOODS THAT MADISON VALUED**, and we all should continue to value our big trees & the plant communities they are part of.” **-MARGARET CHATHAM**

“**JAMES MADISON HAS BEEN A PERSONAL HERO** of mine since an early age. The fact that he became such an influential leader, regardless of his small stature and shy nature, was inspiring to me as a child.” **-SARAH S.**

“[I am] proud that **DOLLEY WAS IN OUR FAMILY** and very happy that her legacy will continue at Montpelier.” **-JANE MARVIN**

MATCHING GIFT

We are excited to announce that an anonymous donor has challenged us to raise **\$150,000 BEFORE JUNE 30, 2018**, to benefit Montpelier's Annual Fund. This challenge grant will **MATCH ALL NEW AND INCREASED UNRESTRICTED GIFTS AND MEMBERSHIPS**, dollar-for-dollar, up to \$150,000!

We hope you will consider helping us meet this challenge with a new or increased gift this fiscal year.



Lisa Mann at the 2017 Madison Cabinet dinner.

REMEMBERING LISA MANN

On October 28, 2017, Lisa Mann, Montpelier's beloved Director of Development, passed away after a hard-fought battle with cancer. Lisa graduated from Loyola University in New Orleans and subsequently met her husband, Daniel, while working in the hospitality industry. Prior to Montpelier, Lisa worked as the longtime Associate Head of School for Development at St. Anne's-Belfield School. She was deeply dedicated to Montpelier and her valued colleagues. As a devoted mother, her years in Charlottesville were filled with activities surrounding her boys' lives. She also served on the Women's Committee and Martha's Market at Martha Jefferson Hospital, and as a volunteer for CASA. Lisa was an avid tennis player, gardener, and beach lover. She was unfailingly positive, selfless, and kind. A weeping cherry tree was recently planted near the David M. Rubenstein Visitor Center in Lisa's honor.

MONTPELIER IN THE NEWS

We may be a historical site, but we stay current. Check out the latest buzz.



THOMPSON, KRISSAH. "ALWAYS REMEMBER: YOU'RE A MADISON." THE WASHINGTON POST, NOVEMBER 14, 2017.

[washingtonpost.com/graphics/2017/lifestyle/dna-madison/?utm_term=.bbbd2167133c](http://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2017/lifestyle/dna-madison/?utm_term=.bbbd2167133c)



THE DESCENDANTS, BY RANDALL KEENAN GARDEN & GUN, FEBRUARY/MARCH 2018 ISSUE.



THIS ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE IN VIRGINIA SHOULD BE ON EVERY HISTORY BUFF'S BUCKET LIST, BY KRISTINA KILLGROVE. FORBES, FEBRUARY 6, 2018.

BRANNEN, PETER. "A SEARCH OF JAMES MADISON'S VIRGINIA ESTATE UNCOVERS EVIDENCE OF SLAVES WHO LIVED ON HIS LAND." THE WASHINGTON POST, JANUARY 2, 2018.

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GALAVIZ, AMBER. "MONTPELIER 2018 IN A WORD: 'CREATIVE.'" THE DAILY PROGRESS, JANUARY 31, 2018.

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BUILDING A ROAD MAP FOR TEACHING ABOUT SLAVERY, BY JORDY YAGER, FEBRUARY 14, 2018. WVTF.

WITH GOOD REASON RADIO SHOW—CONTAINS SEGMENTS WITH MICHAEL BLAKEY, HASAN JEFFRIES, JUSTIN REID AND A BRIEF BIT ON THE SUMMIT, FEBRUARY 14, 2018.

TEACHING SLAVERY? TELL THE TRUTH, BY AMBER GALAVIZ. OC REVIEW/DAILY PROGRESS, FEBRUARY 16, 2018.

TO UNDERSTAND SLAVERY, LISTEN TO THE DESCENDANTS, BY MICHAEL BLAKEY. THE WASHINGTON POST, FEBRUARY 23, 2018.

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UPCOMING EVENTS

DOLLEY MADISON'S BIRTHDAY | May 20
Celebrate Dolley's 250th birthday with free dessert in the Exchange Cafe. House tours are free for anyone who shares her name or birthday.

MICHAEL TWITTY COOKING DEMONSTRATION | June 2
Michael W. Twitty, food historian, historical interpreter, and author of "The Cooking Gene: A Journey Through African American Culinary History in the Old South," will bring the South Yard alive by demonstrating plantation cooking techniques.

ANNUAL JUNETEENTH CELEBRATION | June 16
Celebrate African American art, history, music, food, faith, family, and freedom, commemorating the end of slavery. Co-sponsored by the Orange County African-American Historical Society and the Arts Center of Orange.

AFRICAN AMERICAN GENEALOGY WORKSHOP | June 16
Open to all interested in discovering their African American ancestors, learning genealogy tools, and hearing about what Montpelier is doing with the African American descendant community.

SLAVE DWELLING PROJECT SLEEPOVER | June 30
Bring your sleeping bag and spend a night in the South Yard with historian Joe McGill, founder of the Slave Dwelling Project. Dinner and breakfast provided. Space is limited to 35 participants.

KIDS VISIT FOR FREE THIS SUMMER | July 5-August 31
All kids ages 14 and under visiting with a paying adult get free admission to the House. Enjoy "Discovering Montpelier: A Family Friendly Tour."

CONSTITUTION DAY | September 15
Begin the day with a "We the People" trail walk. Enjoy free house tours, history activities and colonial games, visits with Mr. Madison, live music, and a buffet by BBQ Exchange.

FALL FIBER FESTIVAL | October 6-7
Great workshops for adults and children, animal exhibits, sheep dog trials, hands-on demonstrations, a fleece sale, fiber and craft vendors, and music.

LOG CABIN EXPEDITION | October 14-19
Work with master craftsmen and historians to recreate one of the log cabin quarters at Montpelier. Learn about the history of the building you are recreating, attend site tours, and execute historic building techniques.

WALKING TOURS

HISTORIC LANDSCAPE TOUR: June 2, July 7, August 4, September 1, October 6
Peel back 250 years of landscaping, one layer at a time, to learn how the grounds of Montpelier became a trove of champion trees and unique plantings, cultivated over generations of care and preservation.

NEW! THE DOGS OF MONTPELIER LANDSCAPE WALK | June 10, September 2
Visitors and their canine companions will learn about the history of pets—and their owners—on the Montpelier property.

BIG WOODS WALK | July 8, October 14
Hike through the National Landmark Forest and learn about ecology, conservation, and Madison's role as an early environmentalist.

WORKING WOODS WALK | July 15, October 21
Venture into the Demonstration Forest to discover cultivation strategies that generate mutual benefit to man and nature, both in Madison's time and today.

NEW! GUIDED PROPERTY WALK | October 6
This interpreter-led trail walk on the 3.55-mile Montpelier Loop Trail will teach visitors about Madison's role as an early environmentalist, managing Montpelier today, tree identification, the duPonts, and more.

We want to hear from you!

