

ment.³² Apparently unbeknownst to Blair, Blathwayt had made his report on the likely effect of the College on Virginia revenues available to the Lords of the Treasury on February 22, 1692.

Their report does not appear to have been submitted to the Privy Council until July 10, and not until July 28 was the matter considered by both Mary and the Privy Council together. The Lords of the Treasury were in favor of supporting the College as well as providing a salary for the commissary, but the quitrents Blair had proposed as a revenue source were rejected. At some date in 1692 Nicholson had urged Blair, with regard to the drafting of the College's charter, to enlist the aid of "Mr. Robert Sawyer and Mr. Finch, because they were great lawyers and Church of England men."³³

On September 1, 1692, exactly a year after Blair's arrival in London, definitive action came from Whitehall:

On reading the Treasury report, concerning a college in Virginia. The Queen approves said report, saving as to the clause relating to escheats [quitrents]: and hereby orders that the sum of £1,985 14s. 10d. be applied to the building of a free school and college.³⁴

This is the most explicit extant reference that shows Mary authorizing money to be spent on the College's building. Blair's actions in the subsequent months until the charter was granted on February 8, 1693, remain unclear. During this period he must have finalized the draft of the charter and sought advice on the building itself. Nicholson, who meanwhile had been appointed governor of Maryland, arrived in London in December 1692 and remained there until the spring of 1694. Thus both Blair and Nicholson were in London in the crucial period from December through March when the College received its charter and probably its design. Yet evidence as to how Blair and Nicholson might

have collaborated (or even worked separately) on behalf of the College in this four-month period, whether on charter, design, or both, remains elusive.³⁵

Immediately after the charter had been granted, Blair obtained the College's seal from the College of Heralds and employed its first usher, Mungo Inglis. Blair reportedly ran up a bill in London with Micaiah and Richard Perry, the College's accountants, for nearly £142, presumably in addition to his allowance of £200. In 1694 he listed these as "building expenses," which may have included costs for a design. Before leaving England he wrote a letter from Portsmouth on March 29, 1693, and indicated he would shortly embark for Virginia.³⁶ William made at least one further gesture on behalf of the College, probably late in 1692. He wrote a letter to the archbishops of York and Canterbury stating:

We doubt not you wish well for the spread of Christianity in Virginia by erecting churches and schools within the colony; wherefore we authorize you to write to the bishops of the several dioceses within your provision, directing them to give order to the ministers and other zealous men of their diocese, by their examples in contributions, and by exhortation to others, to move our people within their several charges to contribute to so good a work in as liberal a manner as they may. These collections are to be made on four several occasions within the next two years.³⁷

It has been noted that Nicholson remained in London nearly a year after Blair had returned to Virginia. It is difficult to believe he did not continue to work on behalf of the College. Nicholson was well known to Compton, Tenison, Perry, and Daniel Finch, the earl of Nottingham, and may have played a key role in arranging for Thomas Hadley, undertaker of construction at the College, and for English masons and a gar-

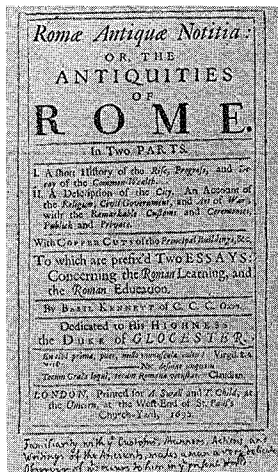


Fig. 9. Basil Kennett, *Romae Antiquae Notitia: Or, The Antiquities of Rome* (London, 1696), frontispiece, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

dener to be sent to Virginia in 1694. Moreover, most of the 200 plus books Nicholson purchased there that year would soon constitute the first large bequest to the College. Among them was John Evelyn's translation of Jean de la Quintinie's treatise on gardening, published first in 1693 as *The Compleat Gard'ner*, a work Nicholson is thought to have drawn from in designing Annapolis in 1694 and Williamsburg in 1699.³⁸ Another book Nicholson probably knew by the time Williamsburg was laid out and the Capitol authorized in 1699 was Basil Kennett's *Romae Antiquae Notitia: Or, The Antiquities of Rome*, the first edition of which appeared in 1696 (figure 9).³⁹ The book, with its implicit focus on republican features of Roman culture, may be viewed as a document of the revolution, for it illustrated the Capitolium, where Rome's Senate met, as well as the Pantheon (figure 101). In initial legislation authorizing the move of Virginia's capital from Jamestown to Williamsburg, then called Middle Plantation, the "Capitol" was called the "Statehouse." Given Nicholson's earlier allusion to "olympick games," his literary interest, and his experience in town planning, he can also be given credit for coining this important euphemism. This was the first use in any language of the word "Capitol" to designate the major legislative building of a colony, state, or nation, and the only one that became nearly universal in the United States after the American Revolution.⁴⁰

Given the efforts being made by Locke and others, both in England and abroad, to stabilize and democratize government and to foster freedom of expression, the appearance of *Romae Antiquae Notitia* was perfectly timed. It is intended that this brief introduction cast the creation of the College, both as an institution and as a work of architecture, and, subsequently, Williamsburg and its major public buildings, in the light shed by the Glorious Revolution. Both college and town are best illuminated when seen against the other as direct consequences of ideals and realities of this upheaval. The Glorious Revolution brought an end to a century and a half of religious, political, educational, and artistic uncertainty in England and in the colonies, and provided a good part of the foundation for the freedoms associated with the modern world. It was not inevitable that the ideals of the Revolution would find immediate expression in the colonies. But with the College and Williamsburg, they did.

Notes to Chapter I

1. A basic bibliography on the Glorious Revolution includes George Macaulay Trevelyan, *The English Revolution, 1688–1689* (Oxford, 1938); Henry Horowitz, *Parliament, Policy and Politics in the Reign of William III* (Newark, 1977); Gerald M. Straka, ed., *The Revolution of 1688 and the Birth of the English Political Nation*, 2nd ed. (Lexington, Mass., 1973); David Hawke, *The Colonial Experience* (Indianapolis, 1966); Paul Hazard, *The European Mind* (London, 1964); and Michael G. Kammen, ed., "Virginia at the Close of the 17th Century: An Appraisal by James Blair and John Locke," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXIV (1966), 148–159. Hawke considered the major impact of the Glorious Revolution in the colonies to be an underscoring of political liberties, a strengthening of the Anglican church, a new respect for local traditions, and the establishment of legislative supremacy in all colonies.

2. The major history of the College in the Colonial period is J. E. Morpurgo, *Their Majesties' Royall Colledge: William and Mary in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Washington,

D.C., 1976). Morpurgo, however, scarcely mentioned the architecture of the College. William and Mary receives worthy treatment in Paul Venable Turner, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), especially, 31–37. The definitive architectural history of Williamsburg's public buildings remains Marcus Whiffen, *The Public Buildings of Williamsburg* (Williamsburg, 1958). Also, see John W. Reps, *Tidewater Towns: City Planning in Colonial Virginia and Maryland* (Charlottesville, 1972). Two specific studies on the influence of the ideals of the Glorious Revolution and Dutch architecture in Williamsburg are Glenn Patton, "The College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, and the Enlightenment," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XXIX (1970), 24–32; and Nancy Halverson Schless, "Dutch Influence on the Governor's Palace, Williamsburg," *JSAH*, XXVIII (1969), 254–270. See also Schless, "Dutch Influence on New England Architecture," *JSAH*, XXVIII (1969), 218.

3. The basic biography of Blair (1656–1743) is Parke Rouse, Jr., *James Blair*

of Virginia (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1971). Nicholson (1655–1728) has yet to receive the book-length study he deserves. However, see Bruce I. McCully, "From the North Riding to Morocco: The Early Years of Governor Francis Nicholson," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Ser., X (1962), 534–556; and McCully, "Governor Francis Nicholson, Patron Par Excellence of Religion and Learning in Colonial America," *WMQ*, 3d Ser., XXXIX (1982), 310–333, an article that Dr. Thad Tate pointed out to me. Also see Stephen S. Webb, "The Strange Career of Francis Nicholson," *WMQ*, 3d Ser., XXIII (1966), 513–548. None of these articles treats Nicholson's years in Maryland and Virginia in depth. The most complete study of him appears to be Dorothy Louise Noble, "Life of Francis Nicholson" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1958).

4. For early efforts to found a college in Virginia, see Morpurgo, *Their Majesties' Royall Colledge*, especially chaps. 1 and 2.

5. In the seventeenth century, the word, "design" probably carried more non-artistic connotations than it does today, but its reference

to works of art had been established as early as 1638: "a preliminary sketch for a work of art; the plan of a building" (1638), "to devise artistic patterns" (1662), "to fashion with artistic skill" (1666), and "to make the plans and drawings necessary for the construction" (1697): *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1964), I, 490. For quotation sources for William III, see notes 28 and 29; for Blair and Archbishop Tillotson, see Louis G. Locke, *Tillotson, A Study in Seventeenth-Century Literature, Angelistica* (Copenhagen, 1954), 53–54.

6. Basic bibliographies on William III (1650–1702) and Mary II (1662–1694) include Stephen Baxter, *William III and the Defense of European Liberty, 1650–1702* (New York, 1966); Henri and Barbara van der Zee, *William and Mary* (New York, 1973); Elizabeth Hamilton, *William's Mary* (New York, 1972); Mary Ede, *Arts and Society Under William and Mary* (London, 1979); Nesca Robb, *William of Orange*, 2 vols. (London, 1966). According to Trevelyan, the Revolution was "glorious" because William, with the odds against him until the end of 1688, had

the course of human history riding with him afterwards. At personal risk to himself, his audacious move was a resounding success. He caused a revolution, Trevelyan wrote, because when he called a convention of both houses of Parliament early in 1689 they responded and assembled without a monarch. This was then, and remains still, a legal impossibility in England: Trevelyan, *The Glorious Revolution*, 132 and *passim*.

7. For an analysis of the political ideals behind the American Revolution, see Carl L. Becker, *The Declaration of Independence: A Study in the History of Political Ideas* (New York, 1958). A personal, but cogent, interpretation of these ideals throughout American history may be found in Henry Bamford Parkes, *The American Experience* (New York, 1955). Once asked who was the "author" of American independence, John Adams responded, "The only answer must be the first emigrants:" Charles Francis Adams, ed., *The Life and Works of John Adams*, 10 vols. (Boston, 1851–1865), X, 282, 359. Moreover, the grievances patriots laid before George

III in 1776 in the Declaration of Independence are nearly identical to those set forth an exact century before by "patriots" in Surry County, Virginia. These are reprinted in full by B. C. Holtzclaw in his essay, "Surry County in Bacon's Rebellion," in John B. Boddie, *Colonial Surry* (Redwood City, Calif., 1948, reprint, 1959). They are further discussed in James D. Kornwolf, *Guide to the Buildings of Surry and the American Revolution* (Richmond, 1976), 166–167.

8. During the American Revolution Whig and Tory took on new meaning. American Whigs were in favor of independence, whereas Tories or "Loyalists," as they were known, were opposed. Not surprisingly, given the then liberal connotation of the Whig Party, the first two American presidents, George Washington and John Adams, were liberal Whigs. Jefferson's more radical policies resulted in the Whig party becoming identified with more conservative ideas and the new Democratic Party being identified with Jefferson.

9. One definite consequence of the Glorious Revolution and the offen-

sive taken by the Church of England was the founding of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.) on March 8, 1699, and the founding in 1701 of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to Foreign Parts (S.P.G.F.P.). Crucial to the founding of both was the Reverend Thomas Bray (1656–1730) whom Compton made commissary to Maryland in 1696 when Nicholson was governor. See William Holden Hutton, *The English Church from the Ascension of Charles I to the Death of Anne, 1625–1714* (New York, 1903); and W. F. Thompson, *Thomas Bray* (London, 1954). The S.P.G.F.P. sponsored the founding of Codrington College in 1711–1714. Both these societies and Codrington College are correctly viewed as outgrowths of the initiative begun with the founding of William and Mary. For Codrington College and the S.P.G.F.P. see note 59, chapter III.

10. For Locke (1632–1704), see Maurice Cranston, *John Locke, a Biography* (London, 1957); Peter Laslett, "John Locke, the Great Recoinage, and the Origins of the Board of Trade, 1695–1698," *WMQ*,

3d Ser., XIV (1957), 370–402; Kammen, ed., "Virginia at the Close of the Seventeenth Century," 141–169; Peter Gay, *John Locke on Education* (New York, 1964); and C. B. Martin and D. M. Armstrong, *Locke and Berkeley—A Collection of Critical Essays* (Garden City, N.Y., 1968). Laslett discussed Locke's interest in having Blair list "some of the chief grievances" about Virginia's government and to prepare Nicholson's program of governance upon his return in 1698: Laslett, "John Locke," 400.

11. Quoted from Warren Billings, John Selby, and Thaddeus Tate, *Colonial Virginia: A History* (White Plains, N.Y., 1987), 140, 152. On Blathwayt, see note 30, this chapter.

12. See Henry Hartwell, James Blair, and Edward Chilton, eds., *The Present State of Virginia and the College*, ed. Hunter D. Farrish (Williamsburg, 1940).

13. William Stevens Perry, ed., *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church*, 5 vols. (Hartford, Conn., 1870–1878), I, 66–67.

14. For a basic introduction and bibliography on

the Picturesque *jardin anglais*, see John Dixon Hunt and Peter Willis, eds., *The Genius of the Place: The English Landscape Garden, 1620–1820* (New York, 1975); Leslie Parris, *Landscape in Britain c. 1750–1850* (London, 1973); and the special issue on "British and American Gardens," *Eighteenth Century Life*, VIII (1983).

15. See William Temple, *Upon the Gardens of Epicurus: or, of Gardening in the Year 1685* (London, 1693), discussed in Hunt and Willis, eds., *The Genius of the Place*. For Temple in Holland, see K. H. D. Haley, *An English Diplomat in the Low Countries: Sir William Temple and John De Witt, 1665–1672* (Oxford, 1986).

16. In 1712 Addison wrote essays in *The Tatler* and *The Spectator*, identifying the natural garden with British liberties, the French formal garden, with absolutism. For him, nature was more "grand and august than the curiosities of art:" see Hunt and Willis, eds., *The Genius of the Place*, 138–147 and *passim*. In 1713 Pope satirized the gardens of Versailles: *ibid.*, 212. Addison and Pope also criticized the Dutch taste in English gardens; Addison

spoke against the "niceties of Dutch design which dominated England:" *ibid.*, 138. Later in the century Stephen Switzer and Joseph Spence protested the "stiff Dutch way" of planting gardens "brought over to England in King William's time:" *ibid.*, 162, 269. The growth in taste for the Picturesque was closely linked with the Palladian movement in architecture; for an introduction to the latter, see John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530–1830* (Harmondsworth, 1969), 189–204.

17. The major biographies on Compton (1632–1713) and Tillotson (1630–1694) are Edward Carpenter, *The Protestant Bishop—Being a Life of Henry Compton, (1632–1713), Bishop of London* (London, 1956); and Locke, *Tillotson*. Tillotson died in the fall of 1694; Thomas Tenison (1636–1715) was selected as his successor. For Tenison, see Edward Carpenter, *Thomas Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury: His Life and Times* (London, 1948). Blair was also to account to the bishop of St. Asaph, William Lloyd (1627–1717), who had been Mary's chaplain in the Netherlands and who was also her almo-

ner. See A. Tindall Hart, *William Lloyd, 1627-1717: Bishop, Politician, Author and Prophet* (London, 1952). A biography on Edward Stillingfleet (1635-1699) has not yet been published.

18. Gilbert Burnet, *Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Time*, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1723), IV, 119-120. The emphasis Burnet (1643-1715) placed upon Mary's interest in the College suggested that had she not died in December 1694, the College might have had a more successful start, to the point that the entire design might have been built. Burnet also mentioned that "those concerned in the management of the plantations" feared that creation of the College would, among other effects, make Virginians "too knowing to be obedient and submissive." The College's detractors had a point; where would Jefferson, a back-country youth of seventeen when he entered the College, have gone without it?

19. Noble, "Life of Francis Nicholson," 59. The letter is in the collection of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, London, mss. B 1, 758. On Compton's interest in gardening, see Carpenter, *The Protes-*

tant Bishop, 365-367.

20. Burnet, *History*, IV, 120.

21. Rouse, *James Blair of Virginia*, 70-71.

22. Noble, "Life of Francis Nicholson," 730. His plea is reprinted in H. R. McIlwaine, ed., *Executive Journal of the Virginia Council*, 6 vols. (Richmond, Va., 1925) I, 121-122. The Commission is mentioned in the Public Record Office, London, Colonial Office (hereafter cited as PROCO), V, no. 1305, 37.

23. Both Morpurgo and Noble concurred that the first actions that proved definitive for the founding of the College occurred in July 1690: Morpurgo, *Their Majesties' Royall Colledge*, 30; Noble, "Life of Francis Nicholson," 731-732.

24. Blair's instructions from the House of Burgesses are reprinted in the *Calendar of State Papers: America and the West Indies, 1689-1691*, nos. 1509-1516, 450 and *passim*. The reference to Jeffries is found in *ibid.*, no. 1516, 453.

25. Whiffen suggested a possible Scottish source for the design of the College in Heriot's Hospital in Edinburgh, and even went so far as to suggest that Blair

visited Scotland in the period 1691-1693 and may have sought assistance from Scottish architects such as William Bruce or Robert Mylne: see Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, 29. Morpurgo stated that there is "strong evidence" that Blair never left London, but failed to say what it is. He found Whiffen's suggestion of a Scottish design source "hypothecating" on a "wild scale," and he went so far as to state that Blair tried to "abjure the taint of his own Scottishness," perhaps referring to his later dismissal by Governor Edmund Andros (1637-1714) from the Governor's Council: see Morpurgo, *Their Majesties' Royall Colledge*, 38; and Rouse, *James Blair*, 94. Clearly, there was nothing to prevent Blair from visiting Scotland where he had both family and friends. He and Burnet were fellow graduates of Marischal College, Aberdeen, and Blair took his Master's degree at Edinburgh. On the matter of Scottish influence on American colonial colleges, see A. B. Cutts, "The Educational Influence of Aberdeen in Seventeenth-Century Virginia," *WMQ*, 2d Ser., XV (1935), 231-235;

George S. Pryde, *The Scottish Universities and the Colleges of Colonial America* (Glasgow, 1957); and Douglas Sloan, *The Scottish Enlightenment and the American College Ideal* (New York, 1971).

26. *Calendar of State Papers, 1689-1691*, nos. 1509-1516, 450 and *passim*.

27. Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, I, 3-8. Rouse reported that the original letter is owned by the S.P.G.F.P.: Rouse, *James Blair*, 280n. Rouse discussed this letter on pp. 64-65.

28. Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, I, 3-8; Burnet, *History*, IV, 205.

29. Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, I, 3-8.

30. On Blathwayt, see Gertrude A. Jacobson, *William Blathwayt* (New Haven, 1933); Stephen S. Webb, "William Blathwayt, Imperial Fixer: From Popish Plot to Glorious Revolution," *WMQ*, 3d Ser., XXV (1968), 1-21; and Lester Cappon, "The Blathwayt Papers of Colonial Williamsburg, Inc.," *WMQ*, 3d Ser., IV (1947), 317-331. Cappon listed some 2,500 items in this collection, dating from 1674 to 1715, 90% of which date between 1680 and 1700. Secretary of the Lords of the Treasury

from 1675 until 1696, surveyor general of royal revenues in the colonies from 1680 until his death in 1717, and secretary of war from 1683 until 1688 and from 1692 until 1701, Blathwayt played a direct role in negotiations about the College. He also appears to have been interested in houses and gardens, living at Dyrham Park in Gloucestershire, a design attributed to William Talman (c. 1698). John Harris described the gardens at Dyrham Park, laid out by George London, as "baroque, but whimsical:" see John Harris, *William Talman* (London, 1982), 33, and Harris's entry on Talman in *The Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects*, (New York, 1982), IV, 173.

31. Blair to Nicholson, Feb. 27, 1692 as printed in *WMQ*, 2d Ser., X (1930), 242.

32. For details on Blair's dealings with Kirkwood, the Boyle bequest, and the pirates, see Rouse, *James Blair*, 67-68; and Morpurgo, *Their Majesties' Royall Colledge*, 33-35. According to John Evelyn, the funeral of Robert Boyle (1621-1691) took place on January 1, 1692, in St. Martin's, London with Burnet

preaching the sermon. Evelyn was himself named a "Trustee of the Bequest" on February 7, 1692: see Edmund S. de Beer, ed., *The Diary of John Evelyn*, 6 vols. (London, 1955), I, 35, V, 88.

33. Morpurgo wrote that Blair also made an "ally" in the Treasury, "Mr. Lowndes," whom, he stated, assisted in drafting the College's charter. Sawyer was probably Robert Sawyer, lawyer and Whig member of Parliament; Finch was Daniel Finch, second earl of Nottingham, secretary to William III, who would build his country house, Burley-on-Hill in Rutland, in the period 1696–1701. On Finch, see Henry Horwitz, *Revolution Politics. The Career of Daniel Finch. Second Earl of Nottingham. 1647–1730* (Cambridge, 1968). "Mr. Lowndes" was clearly William Lowndes, secretary of the Treasury, who occupied a new office next to the Exchequer in Whitehall in 1694 and for whom Winslow Hall in Buckinghamshire was built in 1699–1701, a design generally ascribed to Christopher Wren. With regard to Lowndes, Finch, and Sawyer, see Rouse, *James Blair*,

67–68; and Morpurgo, *Their Majesties' Royall Colledge*, 33–35. Nicholson's suggestions to Blair are reprinted in "Papers Relating to Nicholson and the Colledge," *VMHB*, VII (1899), 159. According to Mary R. M. Goodwin, Blair "paid lawyers in London 'for advice in drawing the Charter and their Clerks at times' £29 15. 6. Mr. Nichols, 'who wrote the Charter there,' received 2 Guineas, or £2 3. 8.:" Goodwin, "The Colledge of William and Mary: A Brief Sketch of the Main Building . . ." (Research Report, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1967), 4. Goodwin found these references among the Nicholson papers at the Foundation: see Goodwin, "The Colledge of William and Mary," 325–326.

34. "Report to the Queen from the Treasury Lords. . .," *Warrants Not Relating to Money*, XIV, 44–75, *Treasury Books*, July 15, 1692, 1725–1726, also printed in "Out Letters" (Plantations auditor), 353–363, where it was reported further that "we have referred same [Colledge] to William Blathwayt and to the Customs Commissioners and annex their reports."

35. Edmund Andros, newly named governor of Virginia, arrived there in September 1692 when, apparently, Nicholson left for Maryland. According to Webb, Nicholson returned to Virginia that fall in order to obtain back pay when Edward Randolph reported that Nicholson "was so very angry that Commissary James Blair and Secretary William Blathwayt combined to get the Secretary of State, Lord Nottingham, to prevent Nicholson returning to Virginia:" Webb, "Strange Career of Francis Nicholson," 538, 540. According to Noble, Finch, as well as Compton and Tenison and Micaiah and Richard Perry, London merchants and, later, accountants for the Colledge, were Nicholson's friends. Mary R. M. Goodwin stated that the Perrys acted as "treasurers" for the Colledge from 1691 until 1697, and were consulted again in 1716 when the rebuilt building was being refurnished: Goodwin, "The Colledge of William and Mary," 57 and *passim*. Rouse reported that Blair "had used his influence" in 1693 to have Nicholson transferred from Virginia to Maryland and that Blair

wrote the earl of Nottingham accordingly: Rouse, *James Blair*, 127–128.

36. Morpurgo, Rouse, and Whiffen all reported different spellings of the usher's name. Blair's letter to Nottingham, written from Portsmouth and dated Mar. 29, 1693, is quoted from Rouse, *James Blair*, 77, 282n. Rouse did not further identify this letter or discuss it. See also Morpurgo, *Their Majesties' Royall Colledge*, 36.

37. *Calendar of State Papers—Domestic—William and Mary*, (1692), IV, 542.

38. Reps built a strong case for Nicholson's use of Evelyn's translation of Jean de la Quintinie's book: see Reps, *Tidewater Towns*, 125 and *passim*. For what is known about Thomas Hadley, see Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, 21–22, 30, 41. Neither Hadley nor the English masons, Baker or Cryer, also cited by Whiffen, was mentioned in any of the volumes published by *The Wren Society*, 20 vols. (Oxford, 1923–1943), nor were they listed in Howard M. Colvin, ed., *History of the King's Works*, 7 vols. (London, 1976), especially V. Blair mentioned a workman named "Pocock" in connection with construction of the first Colledge building:

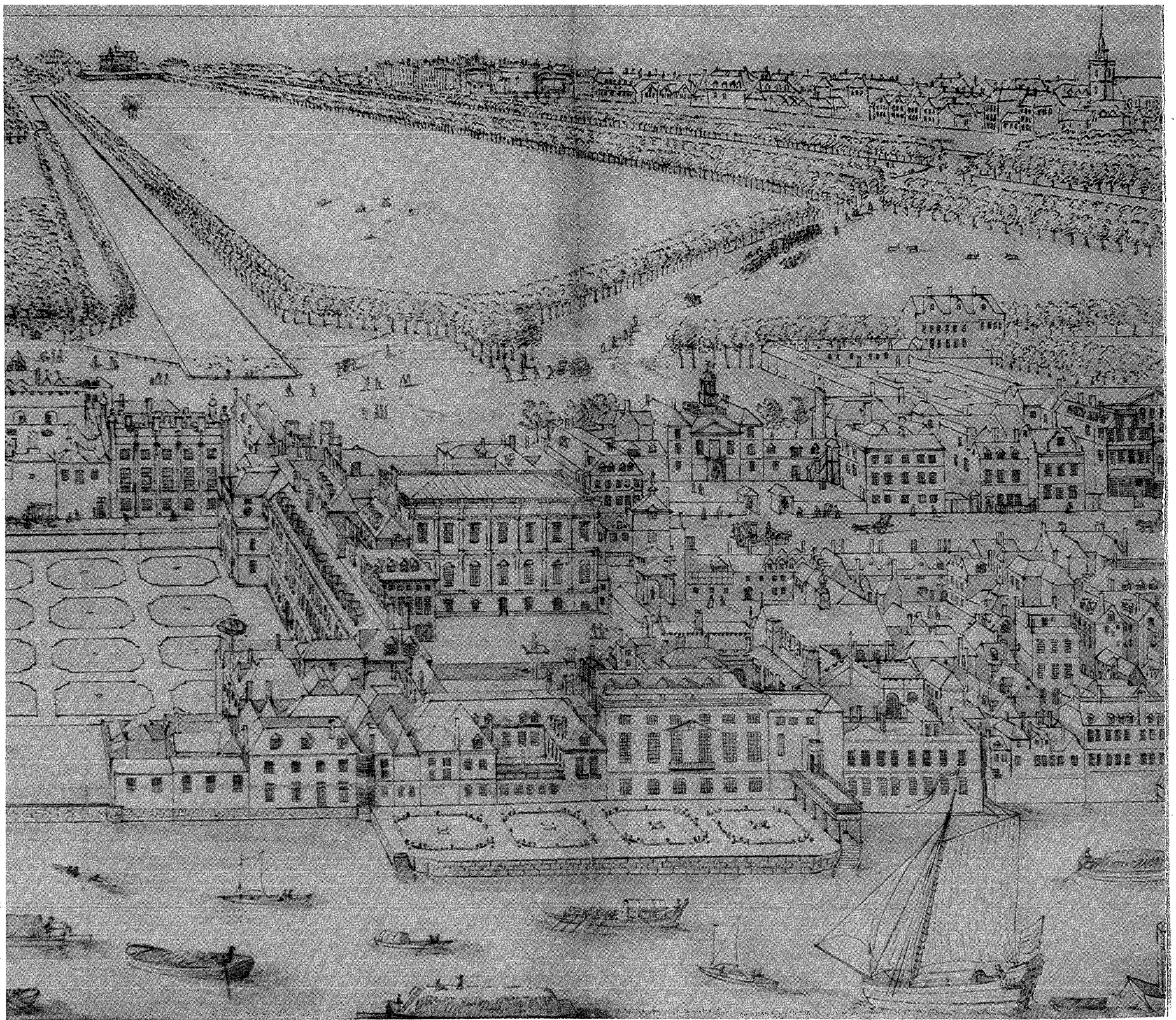
Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, 19. The author located one "Linke Pocock" in *The Wren Society*, XX (1943), 166 (Pipe Roll 4), where it was noted Pocock was paid £18 15s. for unspecified work. Since Whiffen's book was published, it has become clear that George London, in charge of landscape design at Hampton Court in the period 1689–1694, sent a gardener, probably James Road, to Virginia in mid-1694 with a design for the Colledge's gardens, with instructions to lay them out, and to return to England with a collection of "foreign plants." Reference to the Colledge's gardens appears to have been first published by Ruth Bourne, "John Evelyn, The Diarist, and His Cousin Daniel Parke II," *VMHB*, LXXVIII (1970), 3–33. Bourne found them mentioned in Evelyn Manuscript no. 39 in the Evelyn Library of Christ Church, Oxford, (Evelyn Mss., Letter Book, 1679–1699, f. 176), "Evelyn to Parke, Wotton near Dorking in Surrey, May 12, 1694." On the same day Evelyn wrote Parke telling him that "I have not seen Cap. Nicholson." Parke apparently wanted Evelyn and Nichol-

son to meet. Evelyn did not name the gardener; Thomas E. Thorne and William Pavlovsky located the likely person, James Road, in 1974 in *The Whet Society*, IV (1927), 34. There, Road is recorded as being given £234 11s. 9d., a hefty sum, "for going to Virginia to make a collection of foreign plants."

39. Nicholson's scholarly, as well as philanthropic, inclinations emerge clearly in McCully, "Governor Francis Nicholson, Patron," 310–333, and in Reps, *Tidewater Towns*, especially, chaps. 2, 3, and 4. Whiffen implied, but did not state directly, that the Kennett book might have occasioned reversion to the word "Capitol," just as he did not absolutely attribute its coinage to Nicholson: see Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, 11 and *passim*. Robert Beverley did, however, credit Nicholson when he wrote that Nicholson "graced . . . [the] stately Fabrick . . . with the magnificent Name of the Capitol." Robert Beverley, *The History and Present State of Virginia*, revised as *The History and Present State of Virginia in Four Parts*, ed. Louis B. Wright (Richmond, 1942), 105.

40. Apparently finding

Virginians deficient in their concern for both government and defense, Nicholson appears to have devised a plan wherein "Olympick games" were to be held in each of Virginia's counties, to culminate with colony-wide games in the capital: see Webb, "The Strange Career of Francis Nicholson," 513. It will be seen that the Roman word "campus" was first used to describe college grounds at Princeton. See note 58, chapter IV.



II. *History of the Original College Design, 1693–1931*

In the nearly fifteen months that elapsed before the College was granted a charter on February 8, 1693, Blair must certainly have come to know Whitehall Palace very well. It housed many offices of state besides the apartments of the monarchs. Immediately adjoining the Whitehall complex was a series of three courts known as Scotland Yard, one of which housed the Office of Works. As surveyor general, Christopher Wren had his house and office there. The invaluable bird's-eye view of Whitehall and adjacent areas, dated c.1694–1696 and attributed to Leonard Knyff, reveals what Blair saw during his year and a half in London (figure 10 with key A–M). An earlier plan of Whitehall, dated 1669–1670, had perhaps been made at Wren's instigation. A comparison of Knyff's perspective and the 1669 and 1688 plans permits some understanding of the architectural changes wrought between 1679 and 1695 (figures 11a–b).¹ Moreover, a glance at buildings in the complex provides a microcosmic view of how interrelated English, Dutch (and, very shortly, American) architectural traditions were in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Inigo Jones's Banqueting House (A), the most monumental structure in the complex, is shown in the center of Knyff's drawing. Immediately to its left, separating the Pebble Court (B) from the Privy Garden (C), was a series of important buildings James II had instructed Wren and the Office of Works to execute in the period 1685 to

1688. Although these buildings as well as most of those against the Thames River burned in the disastrous fire that consumed Whitehall in 1698, a few drawings of them by Wren or the Office of Works survive. The Roman Catholic chapel (D), which jutted into the Pebble Court to the left of the Banqueting House, was designed by Wren for James II. It was connected to the new Council Chamber (E), for which a Wren elevation survives (figure 85). Adjoining the Council Chamber was the Privy Gallery (F), a three-and-a-half-story range of more than twenty bays of newly fashionable sash windows that separated the Court from the Garden and linked the aforementioned buildings along Whitehall Street to those against the Thames.

It is most likely that Blair received both audience and charter in these buildings. The Council Chamber housed the Privy Council; the Privy Gallery contained offices housing William and Mary's secretary, Daniel Finch, the earl of Nottingham, as well as the secretary of the Treasury, William Lowndes, with whom both Blair and Nicholson had to deal. It is known that Blair had at least one meeting with Bishop Compton in his Whitehall quarters. The Knyff perspective suggests that the Privy Gallery was a building whose character was very much like the main ranges of the yet-to-be-designed College. It appears to have been a rather plain, even vernacular building at the very core of the Court of St. James, close to Wren's house and office and to

Detail, figure 10.

Fig. 10. Leonard Kniff (attribution), *Bird's-eye View of Whitehall Palace*, drawing, c. 1695, Westminster City Archives

- A Banqueting House
- B Pebble Court
- C Privy Garden
- D Roman Catholic Chapel
- E Council Chamber
- F Privy Gallery
- G Queen's Apt.
- H Volary Bldg.
- I Terrace
- J Wren's Office
- K Admiralty
- L Horseguards
- M 'Georgian' House

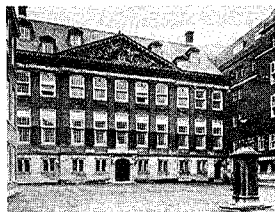
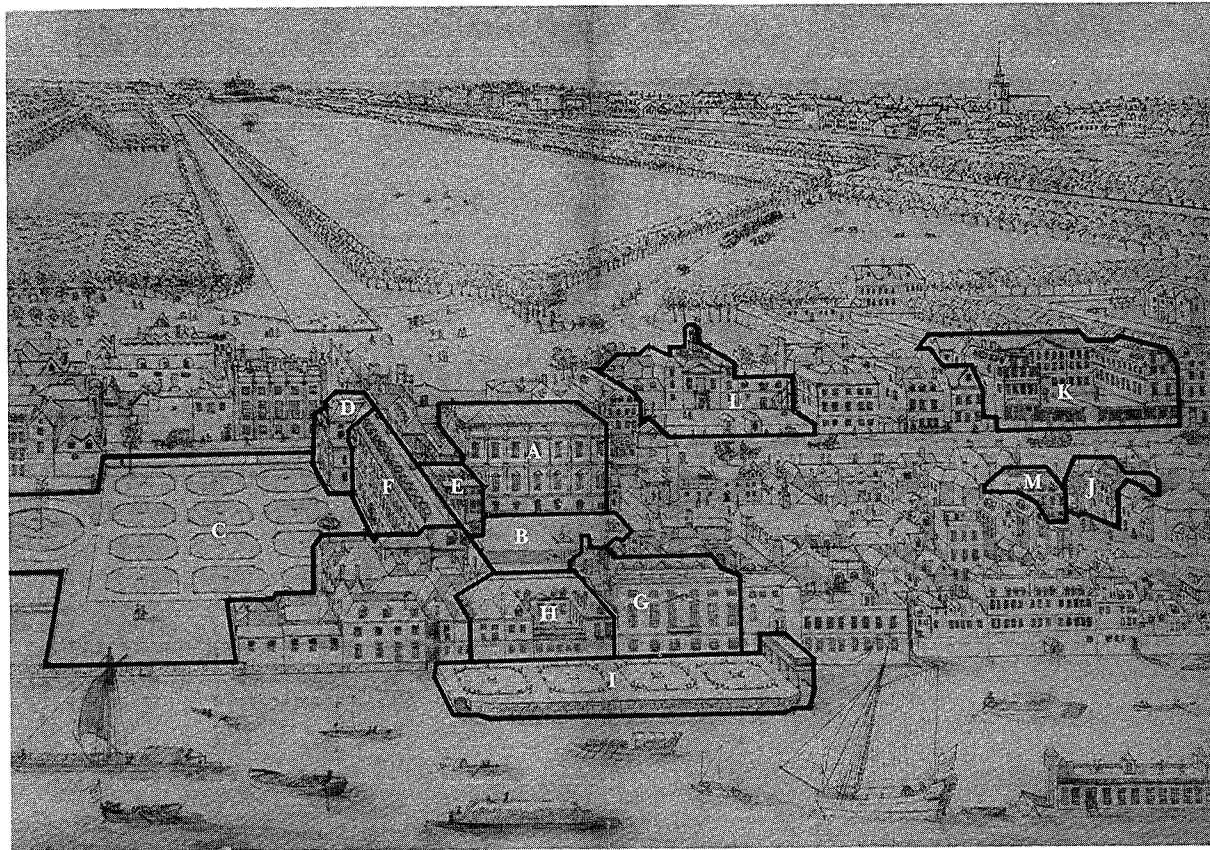


Fig. 12. *The Admiralty, Amsterdam*, Daniel Stalpaert (attribution), architect, c. 1656, photograph: Gemeentearchief, Amsterdam

other offices both Blair and Nicholson were obliged to visit in order to conduct their business. The Privy Gallery was, then, a recent work by Wren, one of vernacular cast, one which Blair knew, and one that had important features soon to characterize the College.

Other buildings in the Kniff drawing also deserve attention. The two adjoining houses (G–H) fronting the parterred terrace projecting into the Thames served both James II and William and Mary as their private apartments at Whitehall Palace. The Queen's Apartment (G), a Wren design from 1687–1688, has English, Jonesian features, and was scarcely finished when James fled Whitehall in December of the latter year;

the earlier Volary Building (H), on the other hand, has certain Dutch features. These two buildings were William and Mary's first and primary residence upon being jointly proclaimed monarchs in February 1689, but William's asthmatic condition soon caused them to relocate to more suitable primary residences. Mary complained to William in 1691 that all she saw at Whitehall was water and walls, and that she went to Kensington "as often as I can for air."² As a result, from 1689 until 1694 Wren was kept busy remodeling and enlarging Kensington Palace and Hampton Court. After fire destroyed buildings (shown in the 1669–1670 plan) adjoining the river and the Privy Garden to the left of the

between the two buildings are striking and suggest William III had the Dutch Admiralty in mind when having that in London designed.³

Two further buildings suggest Dutch influence at Whitehall. The Horse Guards (L) was built by Charles II in 1663–1664 shortly after the Restoration and replaced in the next century. Like the Admiralty the Horse Guards also suggests Dutch (and ultimately French) influence. The center pile, crowned by a cupola, was set back from Whitehall Street and was flanked by subordinate but attached forecourt dependencies. A final building to be noted in middle Scotland Yard, shown partially blocked in the Knyff perspective (M), does not appear on the 1669 plan. Although it is more thoroughly “Georgian” than the Horse Guards, it, too, probably reflects Dutch influence. Were it to sport a cupola, with its hipped roof with balustrade, two-and-a-half-story height, and five- to seven-bay façade, it would have been a near identical twin of Williamsburg’s Governor’s Palace, the construction of which was a mere decade away.

This glance at Whitehall, as it appeared during the visits of Blair and Nicholson, is important for a number of reasons. The Knyff perspective enables us to see what they saw at the very place both were obliged to do business on a regular basis. It also reveals how English and Dutch architectural features appear to have both intermingled and confronted each other after the Restoration. The plan and perspective show how readily accessible the office of the surveyor general was to the king and queen and therefore, to Blair and Nicholson. Blair had obtained both the College’s charter and endowment at Whitehall, and Nicholson had probably sought guidance from Wren or his office in determining the buildings and plan of Annapolis in 1694 and Williamsburg in 1699. Finally, Whitehall’s buildings suggest that those who consider Williamsburg’s public buildings to be basically pro-

vincial, vernacular structures since become common and anonymous in England oversimplify the situation. The character of many Whitehall buildings appears to have been quite similar generically to those about to go up in Williamsburg. On the other hand, if Williamsburg’s College, Capitol, and Palace are considered vernacular, so also were recently constructed buildings at Whitehall, some of which were designs of Wren. Consequently, reasoning that the possible vernacular character of the College’s first building is an argument against it having been originally a design by Wren or his office is wide of the mark. Finally, there is the knowledge that history has treated Whitehall even more severely than Williamsburg with regard to the loss of, or changes made to, the buildings, of devastating fires, and of the loss and destruction of drawings and documents that might enable firm attributions and knowledge of a building’s details. These Whitehall drawings should be borne in mind in the ensuing discussion that makes the first attempt to more completely visualize the appearance of the first College building.



It is important to remember, however, that the structure one sees today is actually not the first College building, but the fifth, as reconstructed and restored by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation in the period 1928–1931. The only known view of the original College building, as it was probably designed in 1693 and constructed in part from 1695 to 1699, is the crude elevation made in mid-1702 by Franz Ludwig Michel, a Swiss traveler. The building burned in 1705 but was rebuilt over a ten-year period from 1705 to 1715. The oldest surviving images of this second building are in the so-called Bodleian Plate of 1732–1747 and in the portrait Charles Bridges painted of James Blair in the same pe-

riod. This second building appears to have survived without major modification until it burned in 1859. The remaining walls were then incorporated by Henry Exall of Richmond and Eben Faxon of Baltimore into an Italian villa design. This third structure stood for only three years before it was burned by Federal troops in 1862. Reconstruction did not take place until 1867–1869 when Alfred L. Rives of Richmond recycled the surviving brick walls once again; he removed the Italianate towers on the east façade and added a three-bay pedimented porch. This fourth building survived until restoration began in 1928 by the Boston firm, Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn; the result was the structure we now see. While its façades were remodeled to conform to those shown in the various prints and a photograph of the second building, its steel-cage frame and other modern requirements justify it as a fifth building.

Marcus Whiffen's book *The Public Buildings of Williamsburg* (1958) included the first in-depth study of the five phases of the College building. Whiffen considered the first building and its design only briefly. The attribution of the design to Christopher Wren in Hugh Jones's *The Present State of Virginia* (1724) was also treated. However, after weighing the arguments for and against Jones's attribution to Wren, Whiffen left the matter unresolved. Since then, no conclusive documents have to come light as to the origin of the design or to the designer of the first building. Nonetheless, considerable evidence points to the design originating in England, in the Office of Works where Christopher Wren would certainly have known about it. Because of his position he would have had ultimate responsibility for the design, and, on this basis, could also have made it. The most obvious reason for the involvement of this office is William and Mary themselves. Both were avidly interested in architecture and landscape design and worked on a

regular basis with Wren, who lived only minutes from the royal apartments at Whitehall. His almost daily supervision of construction there, at Kensington Palace, and at Hampton Court was ongoing in the period when the College was designed. Moreover, the College was the result of a royal charter, and it was usual for royal foundations to employ architects from the King's Works.

Given the financial restraints on the College, it would have been natural for Mary to ask Wren to volunteer a design, which would explain why surviving building accounts fail to mention any. Another reason suggesting the hand of a skilled English architect familiar with classical design is the complete absence of evidence for an American designer or builder capable of undertaking a building the scale and size of the College. William Penn had been obliged around 1690 to bring the English architect James Porteus to Philadelphia, just as Thomas Hadley and several English masons were hired and brought to Virginia to supervise and construct the College. Why bring over English masons and architects if they were available in Virginia and Pennsylvania? Clearly, they were not. It follows, therefore, that an American designer for the College would be even more difficult to locate.

The style and large scale of the College and the small fireplace openings that may have been a cause of the 1705 fire also point to a source in England. Its proportions point to the school of Inigo Jones of which Wren was a part. The east range of the building measured 46 by 138 feet; the Hall, as rebuilt after the 1705 fire, and the Chapel (1729–1732) each measured 32 by 64 feet. The former dimensions create a proportion of 1:3, the latter of 1:2, as Marcus Whiffen first observed.¹ He also suggested that the original three-story height of this range was forty-six feet, equal to the width, thereby making the building a series of three nearly perfect cubes.

Rooms or spaces conceived as a series of cubes, double cubes, or triple cubes not only originated in England with the designs of Jones, but were also characteristic of his followers.

Two pieces of clearly related evidence provide links for the design of the College as a project of Wren and the Office of Works. A letter written in 1694 by Wren's close friend, John Evelyn, mentioned a gardener sent to Virginia that same year with a design for the College's gardens. Evelyn wrote John Walker, a Virginia planter who had sent him sassafras oil:

Whatever else you are pleas'd to mention design'd for me will be best convey'd to me by Mr. London, (his Maj's Gardner here) who has an ingenious Servant of his in Virginia, not unknown I presume to you by this time: being sent thither on purpose to make and plant the Garden, designed for the new College, newly built in yr Country; & likewise enquire out, what plants, rare in this Kingdome, may be transported hither.

Pipe Roll IV for Hampton Court, listing accounts for the period May 1, 1689–March 25, 1696, cited one “James Road, Gardiner,” who was given £234 11s. 9d. “for going to Virginia to make a collection of fforeign Plants.”⁵ From these two accounts, it is clear that James Road, in the employ of George London, in charge of the gardens at Hampton Court, was sent with a design prepared there for the College's gardens. He was instructed to lay them out as well as to return with a collection of “rare” and “fforeign” plants. William and Mary's intense interest in gardens, not to mention that of Henry Compton, certainly accounts for Road's trip, probably undertaken in mid-1694. At the time, Mary was fully absorbed in the development of her “water garden” at Hampton Court.

Unfortunately, no description of the College's original gardens survives before that made by Hugh Jones in 1724 when he wrote of the College as set in its gardens:

It is approached by a good Walk, and a grand Entrance by Steps, with good Courts and Gardens about it, with a good House and Apartments for the Indian Master and his Scholars, and Out-Houses, and a large Pasture enclosed like a Park with about 150 acres of Land adjoining, for occasional Uses.

Eight years later, possibly at the time the Bodleian Plate was drawn (figure 21), the Reverend William Dawson, professor of philosophy at the College who succeeded Blair as president in 1743, noted that the College's “garden [was] planted with evergreens kept in very good order” in the forecourt or College Yard. The gardens as shown in the plate appear very similar to those shown in contemporary prints of Kensington Palace.⁶ These were maintained at the time by Thomas Crease, a gardener and nurseryman, who variously attended the College or Palace gardens between 1724 and 1756. Until the recent discovery of the c. 1680 formal gardens at Bacon's Castle in Surry County, the gardens of the College, as probably designed in 1694 and surviving in principal ways thirty years later when Jones wrote of them, were the earliest evidence for the formal garden in the English colonies.

When Evelyn wrote of the “ingenious Servant” of George London sent to Virginia in 1694 “to make and plant the Garden, designed for the new College, newly built in yr Country,” he did not know that its construction would not begin until the following year, that the College was five years away from being completed in its first phase, or that the original design would never be completed. But Evelyn's statement makes clear that a design for the College's gardens had been made by George London or under his supervision at Hampton Court, which means it would have been an Office of Works project for which Wren had ultimate responsibility. Preparation of a garden design presupposes one for the building it surrounds. Since a design

and gardener were provided by the crown, the case is greatly strengthened for royal involvement with the building. Because London provided Road and the College with a design for the gardens, it may be inferred further that Wren and the Office of Works had earlier provided Blair, Nicholson, or even Hadley with a design for the building itself.

A plan of the College shown at location A on the survey of Williamsburg as laid out by June 1699 by Theodorick Bland is drawn with solid lines that indicate those portions of the building that had been constructed by 1699 (figure 13). A note on the survey states that the “prick’d” lines show those portions yet to be built.⁷ The east range had been built as had the Hall to the north, but the west range and Chapel to the south had not. Bland’s plan is consonant with all other descriptions of the building at this time. The small scale of the plan prevents accurate measurement, but the two ranges and inset Chapel and Hall approximate a square. If the length of the Chapel and Hall was originally seventy-two feet, as the foundations indicate, or even sixty-four feet, as rebuilt in 1729–1732, then the building was not the square Bland shows. He drew the never-built west range, and as such, the sole surviving, if woefully vague, image of this range is shown to match that to the east exactly. Here, Bland was probably correct, which means that the original design measured 138 by 164 feet, shortened in 1729–1732 to 156

feet. In this regard, the two other buildings Bland drew on the survey, the first Bruton Parish Church and the Capitol, do not reflect exactly what was built, although he drew the latter building in the form of an “H” that was specified in the act for its construction.

Contemporary accounts that survive from before the 1705 fire also help to confirm the appearance of the first building as well as to chart the progress made in its construction. On September 1, 1693, Blair presented the College’s charter to the House of Burgesses, which began to debate various sites proposed for its location—near Yorktown, another York County site, a site in Gloucester County, and the one finally selected in October, at Middle Plantation in James City County, which, midway between Jamestown and Yorktown, was found “most convenient and proper.” The College was to be “erected and built as neer the church now standing in Middle Plantation old ffields [Bruton Parish Church] as convenience will permitt.”⁸ On December 20, 1693, the College paid Thomas Ballard £170 for 330 acres west of the church extending to Archer’s Hope Swamp, the ravine that was later dammed and is today embellished by Lake Matoaka (figure 14). In 1694 boundary stones bearing the royal monogram were set out, two of which survive.⁹

Meanwhile, Francis Nicholson had been appointed governor of Maryland, and Virginia’s new governor, Edmund Andros, would prove

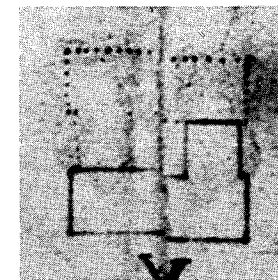


Fig. 13 *Plan of The College of William and Mary*, detail of the redrawing after Theodorick Bland of *A Draft of the City of Williamsburg, of Queen Mary's Port and Princess Anne's Port, Virginia drawn in 1699* (original in the British Public Records Office), 1940, from Rutherford Goodwin, *A Brief & True Report Concerning Williamsburg in Virginia* . . . (Williamsburg, 1940), Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library

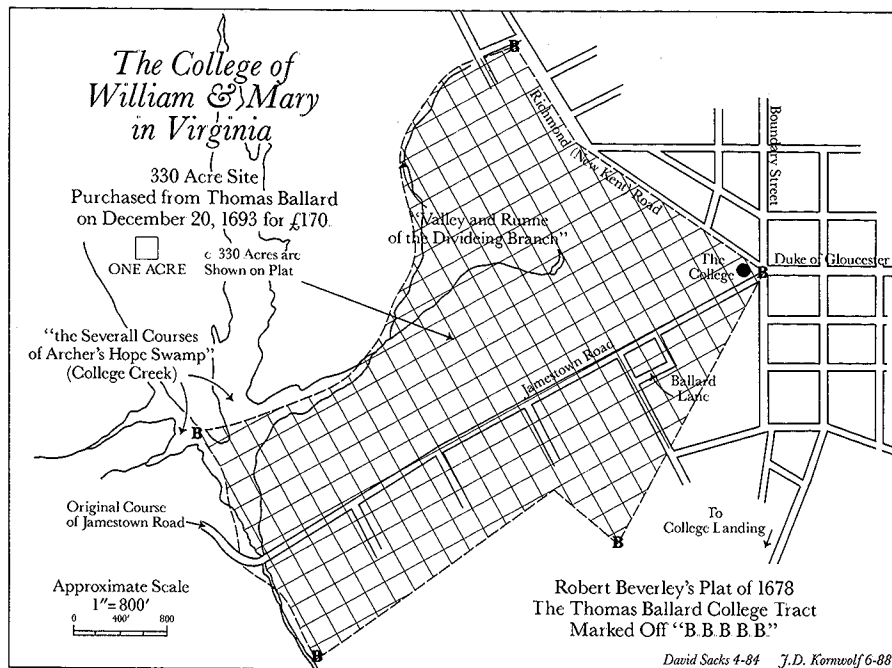


Fig. 14. *Plan of the Original Lands of The College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, 1693*, by the author, after David Sacks's honors thesis (*College of William and Mary*, 1984).

less zealous than Nicholson in promoting the College. On January 2, 1694, President Blair wrote Nicholson that "as to the College tho nothing was done for its encouragement in comparison to what might have been expected had you been here, yet we reckon it is well that it is no worse."¹⁰ For Blair, Andros was already foremost of the "enemies" of the College. Not until June 11, 1694, did the House of Burgesses approve funds for construction—£1,135 for the College and £100 annual salary for Blair as president. With £1,985 from the crown and £300 from the pirates, endowment stood at a minimum of £3,420. The earliest building accounts also date to 1694, when the important task of making bricks was entrusted to Daniel Parke II; he was paid fourteen shillings per 1,000 to make some 800,000 bricks.¹¹

On May 8, 1695, Blair wrote Nicholson again that progress with construction "now looks with as bad an appearance as ever," citing this time

Col. Philip Ludwell, who refrained from assisting for "fear of Sir A." Blair claimed that Andros had:

seduced . . . some of the workmen that were gone from England to Virginia upon the account of the College. Money was given to Pocock to relinquish the work of the College, & was afterwards entertained and work given him by Sir E. A. Mr. Park[e] when agreed with, to burn the bricks for the College was desired by the Governor to make & burn some 30,000 for him.

Despite these intrigues, the cornerstone of the College was laid on August 8, 1695. Construction was supervised by a building committee composed of members of the College's Board of Visitors, chaired by Miles Cary.¹²

Presumably, by August 1695 Thomas Hadley had arrived from England to supervise construction; he had been given an advance of £40. Building accounts also show payment to Pocock, a mason whom Blair mentioned, as well as to two other masons, Samuel Baker and George Cryer, sent from England with advances of £22 each.¹³ Whiffen estimated that Hadley served as undertaker for only sixteen months, but if he began in August 1695 and left about October 1697, as Blair claimed, Hadley was on the job for over two years. Despite a dearth of references to construction for 1696, work must have proceeded because accounts dated April 16, 1697, affirm that £3,889 1s. 10d. had been spent on construction, £170 more than had been allocated. The walls of the east range had been erected; the Hall, the basic interior framing, and the rafters appear to have been in place: "Coll. Ludwell having promised to Shingle [the roof] upon Credit."¹⁴ On April 22, 1697, the College's Visitors reported to Governor Andros:

We doe humbly certify to yr Exclty that we have carried on the building of two sides of the designed square of the Colledge (wch was all wee judged wee had money to goe through with) and have brought

*up the Walls of the Said building to the roof wch [we] hope in a short time will be finished.*¹⁵

However, on December 27 of that year, Blair met with Archbishop Tenison, John Locke, and others and noted, "With much ado we have got the roof on but half of the building, the other half we have not meddled with, and how we shall finish what we have built I cannot tell."¹⁶ Blair was correct when he wrote of the "half . . . not meddled with," for archeology has revealed that no foundations for the west range were ever attempted. It would never be built, and the president would need to wait another thirty years before construction of the Chapel would begin.

Less than a month later, Blair noted:

*As to the Coll. the early Winter took us before there was a shingle layd upon it; so that That is delayd till the spring. The main Timbers are up, but the Roof could not be finished, because the Chimneys which are to go up through it, are not yet carryed up for want of Bricks, & by reason of the unseasonableness of the Weather, to lay them if we had them. Mr. Hadley has been out of the Service of the Coll. about two months ago. The Work is like to meet with a full stop for want of money; for the building hath allready exhausted what money we had either in Mr. Perry's &c. their hands; or in Col. Birds: and its very uncertain how the subscriptions of this Country will come in: most people shifting the payment, & shew plainly that they intend not to pay, unless the Law compell them.*¹⁷

Clearly, construction did not proceed as it should have, particularly in building the chimneys. This was probably the ultimate cause of the 1705 fire.

It appears that the College was complete enough for use by mid-1699. In February 1700 Blair was able to write Archbishop Tenison more optimistically: "The subscriptions that were made to our College do now come in apace, so that we are in hopes of having it quite finished

before the next Winter." The following month the *London Post Boy* reported, probably too optimistically, that "Some letters from Virginia tell us, that the University . . . is so crowded with Students, that they begin to think of enlarging the College, for it seem divers from Pennsylvania, Maryland and Carolina, send their sons thither to be educated."¹⁸

On April 24, 1700, the College's Board of Visitors offered use of the building to all branches of Virginia's government until the Capitol was completed. The offer was accepted, and the building also became a statehouse between October 17, 1700, and April 1704.¹⁹ By October 19, 1700, "His Excellency Sir Edmund Andros [had] paid Sashing the College £56 7s. 6d." It is quite likely the sash windows had already been installed on credit, as had the shingles, by Colonel Ludwell. The installation of sash windows at the College is the first known use of them in the colonies, although legislation in 1699 authorizing the "Capitol" was amended in June 1700 and actually specified sashes. This is the earliest document yet located that mentioned sash windows in the colonies, a specification that appears to have been influenced by the use of them at the College. Unfortunately, none of the images of the first or second buildings shows the windows except the mid-nineteenth-century daguerreotype of the second building (figure 28), and this shows mainly later replacements.²⁰

Perhaps because government sessions were held at the College, Governor Nicholson was able to write, as early as Christmas 1702, his "Memorandum of Several faults in the Building of William & Mary Colledge which have proved dangerous & prejudicial to the said Building." Among the faults mentioned were the small grate sizes of the fireplaces on the second floor. These had already enabled a log to fall out on to the floor and start a fire, apparently extinguished quickly, "where the Sectys office

was kept." A second fire was caused by "some Joysts laid into the very hearth," and a third fire occurred in the Council Chamber on Christmas 1702 where a "plank" had been carelessly laid under the hearth. This caused Nicholson to remark that "the chimney over the Hall hath one of the principal Girders running through the middle of the hearth whereby no use can be made of it." It seems clear, however, from Blair's January 21, 1697, letter that all framing had been complete before the chimneys had been built. The fireplace openings have also been cited as being too small, further evidence for the design having originated in England.²¹

For Blair and Nicholson, life in the same building from 1700 to 1704 does not appear to have helped their relationship. On April 25 and May 1, 1704, Blair prepared two "affidavits" stating his charges against Nicholson. These affidavits effectively ended their previously productive collaborations. Among other things, the president blamed the governor for the building's defects: "As to the Finishing Part of the College, he did so excessively hurry it on for those several Uses, that partly by the Plank & Timber being green & unseasoned & partly by employing a great number of unskillful Workmen to comply with his Haste, it was shamefully spoilt." Blair further claimed Nicholson had sworn "that he would seize the College for the King's Use . . . & had all his public Treats in their Hall to the great Disturbance of the College Business."²²

Archeology undertaken on at least three occasions from 1929 to 1950 reveals further information on the first building. The foundation plan of the building, prepared by Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn during restoration in 1929–1931, reveals brickwork dated to at least five periods: 1695–1699, 1705–1715, 1729–1732, 1859, and 1867–1869 (figures 15–17). The 1695–1699 brick walls were laid in English bond above and

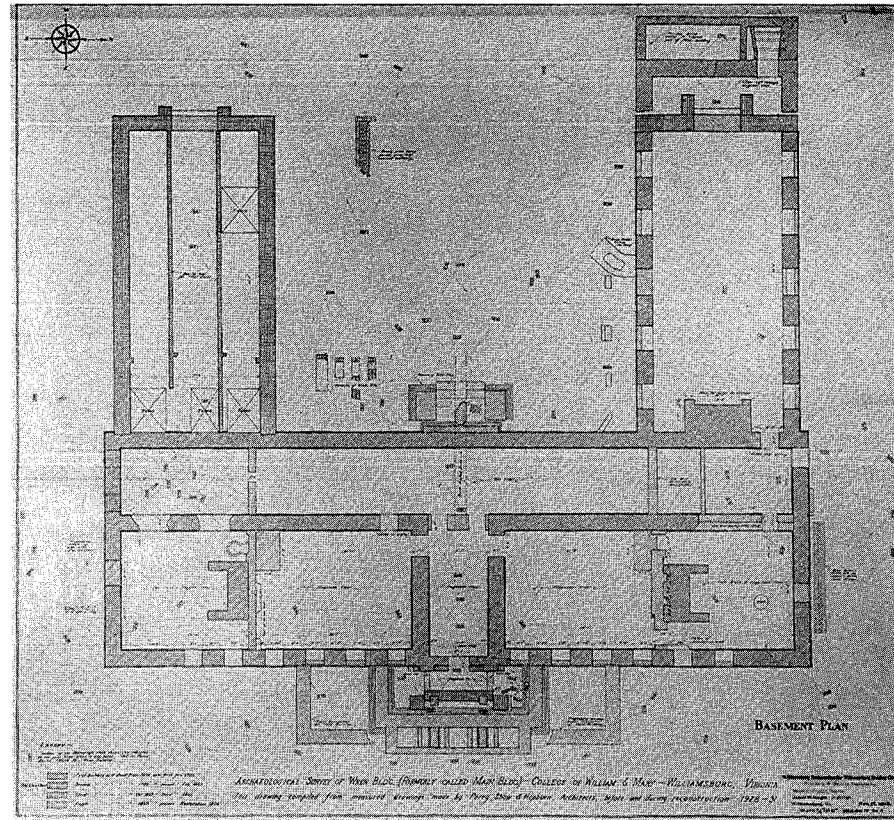
below the watertable and also appear to have featured random glazed headers. It is not clear what brick may date to the period of rebuilding in 1705–1715. Obviously, considerably more brickwork was added in the period 1929–1931. The archeology undertaken originally was supervised by Prentice Duell, who prepared the report. Restorers used English bond in the 1695–1699 portions of the College, English and Flemish bond in those built or rebuilt 1729–1732. Brickwork dating 1695–1699 was found complete at the level of the foundations; only those of the Chapel and west façade of the Hall date later.²³

All original foundations were built with a similar thickness of about three feet. The foundations of the main range imply four evenly disposed rooms against the east façade, the outer two smaller than the inner two, which are separated by a center passage with its own foundations. The presence of these foundations supports the theory of a major staircase in the passage. The two sets of rooms were originally separated only by the foundations of two large hearths. The only other fireplace foundations excavated are those for a third fireplace at the east end of the Hall. All images of the second building, as well as Michel's image of the first, agree that the College had at least six separate chimney stacks projecting above the east range, including four smaller stacks set between the two large stacks for which foundations exist—no foundations are revealed for these smaller chimneys in the foundation plan of 1929–1931. Foundations also separated the rooms and center passage from the open loggia or piazza to the west. These last foundations may have supported smaller fireplaces on the upper floors shown in the exterior views of both buildings. Witnesses to the 1705 fire indicated two additional staircases existed; one inside the loggia at its north end, possibly in the Hall, the other, at the southeast

corner of the main range. However, no foundations of first period date were found for either. Additional points need to be made with regard to three important details in the foundation plan.

The first detail is the most interesting, as well as problematic, portion of the foundations, and is shown at the west end of the Hall on the plan (figures 15–16). The present west façade of the Hall dates to 1729–1732, when the Chapel was constructed. Two sets of parallel foundations exist to the west of the present west façade of the Hall. The innermost has the same thickness as its north and south walls and is shown by the restoration architects as dating to the original building period. The thickness of these walls is an inch or two more than three feet, and the innermost set is perfectly aligned with the north and south walls. Moreover, this set clearly suggests that it had been broken into in order to create the present west façade of the Hall. If these foundations indicate the Hall's original length, it extended about seventy-two feet, not the present sixty-four feet, west from the east range. The outermost set is shown unbonded to the inner set and extends outward another eight and a half feet. Curiously, it is shown to date to the original building period, or at least to a period before 1729–1732. These last foundations vary in thickness from one and a half to nearly four feet. They also contain the remains of a descending stair, also seen in photographs taken during the excavations, which, presumably, led to the kitchens below the Hall. The stair has foundations to either side and may have been covered differently from the rest of the outermost foundations. An architect's note on this portion of the foundations suggests both that they may have supported a porch and that the inner set of foundations supported the original west wall of the Hall.

If the Hall did extend outward seventy-two



feet before 1729–1732, it obviously was redesigned in that period to match the Chapel. Moreover, a seventy-two foot length of Hall and Chapel would have produced a nearly square courtyard, about seventy-two feet square. The dimensions of the entire building as first designed would, then, have been 138 by 164 feet, producing an approximate 7:8 proportional relationship, still compatible with Wren's mode of design. This greater length would also have necessitated a sixth bay of arched windows on the north and south façades, although the brick bay at the west ends of these façades would have been a few feet wider than those at the east ends. Both sets of foundations extended the

Fig. 15. Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn, *Foundation Plan of the College Building*, drawing, 1929, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

Fig. 16. Foundations of the Hall of the First College Building, 1929, photograph: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

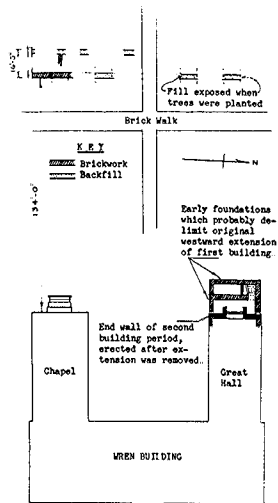


Fig. 17. James M. Knight (copy after), *Foundation Plan, Hall Extension and Jefferson Addition, 1940*, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

length of the hall wing to about eighty-two feet and would have enabled a seventh bay of windows, exactly the number of bays in the Hall of Wren's Chelsea Hospital. If the original design had called for a Chapel and Hall eighty-four feet in length, the result would have been a building 138 by 176 feet, an exact 3:4 proportion.

Two reasons come to mind for shortening the Hall and the Chapel design in 1729–1732. Both assume that any plans to complete the original quadrangle had been abandoned and, consequently, that the west façade of the Hall, originally meant to be enclosed, had to be redesigned in order to match that of the Chapel. This reason is, thus, aesthetic—to achieve a 1:2 proportion and two matching façades characterized by ocular windows. The other reason may have been structural and, to some extent, economic. The original west walls may have been faulty, and the greater length may have been deemed unnecessary. Moreover, the present length of Chapel and Hall is probably more satisfactory aesthetically, provided a west range remained unbuilt. The reverse is true had this range been built, for a greater length would have helped to alleviate a cramped courtyard and would have

provided more expansive north and south façades for the entire building.

A second most important detail in the foundations that has gone unnoticed is the pier-like projections on either side of the entrance on the east façade. They were incorporated exactly flush with the diminutive, remodeled pavilion added in the 1705–1715 rebuilding, probably at Governor Alexander Spotswood's instigation. Although Michel does not show these projections, it is highly unlikely that they were pilasters or mere supports for a porch, but, instead, supported a projecting pavilion narrower than what was rebuilt after the fire. The wide arched opening of the entrance accounts for the pier-like nature of these foundations, which provided support for this projecting pavilion as part of the first design and building.

A final detail is the foundation centered on the central bay of the arcade on the west façade of the main range, a foundation some three feet narrower in width than those on the east façade. This foundation is shown as being unbonded to the 1695–1699 walls, though, inexplicably, the cross-hatching designates that period's brickwork. It would appear it supported a pavilion identical in size to that built on the east façade in 1695–1699. Because of the angle selected, the Bodleian Plate does not show this pavilion, and neither does the only other image known of this portion of the west façade, the drawing made in 1856 by Travis or Mary F. Southall (figure 29). Because the east pavilion was clearly shown in the drawing of that façade, questions are raised as to whether this pavilion was actually built or whether it somehow had been removed by 1856. The width of the foundation corresponds exactly to that of the original pavilion on the east façade. Thus it is likely matching pavilions were also included for the courtyard in the original design, especially since the center arcade is wider than those to its sides.