

Figs. 19a–b. Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn, *North and South Elevations, The College of William and Mary*, drawings, 1929–1931, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

Sections of surviving walls that were considered those of the original building by both architects and archeologists during the restoration (figures 18 and 19a–b) confirm the size of the original building with respect to plan and partial elevations, with two important exceptions. As noted, the original west façade of the Hall is entirely gone. So little 1695–1699 brickwork remained on the west façade of the main range that only the two end arcades of the five that composed the loggia retained their arches together with about a third of the original brickwork framing the two windows above them. No original brickwork survived on the third floor. Because the Bodleian Plate shows this wall to have been a full three stories, it is likely its upper portions fell either in the fire of 1859 or in that of 1862. Because the structure was rebuilt to a lower height after the 1859 fire it is likely that this fire brought down the greatest section of original brickwork. It is clear then that the original height of the building below the roofline cannot be determined from the surviving walls.

The drawings that Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn made of the elevations in order to determine the

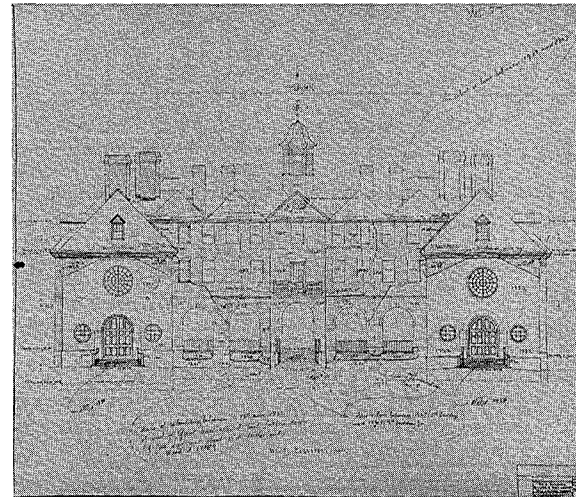


Fig. 18. Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn, *West Elevation, Showing Dates of Brickwork, The College of William and Mary*, drawing, 1929–1931, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

age of the brickwork indicate that most structural brick from the first period survived on the north, east, and south façades of the main range. However, changes in window and door openings on at least two occasions required much patching at these points. The northwest corner of the north façade of the main range and the abutting north façade of the Hall had, for an unknown

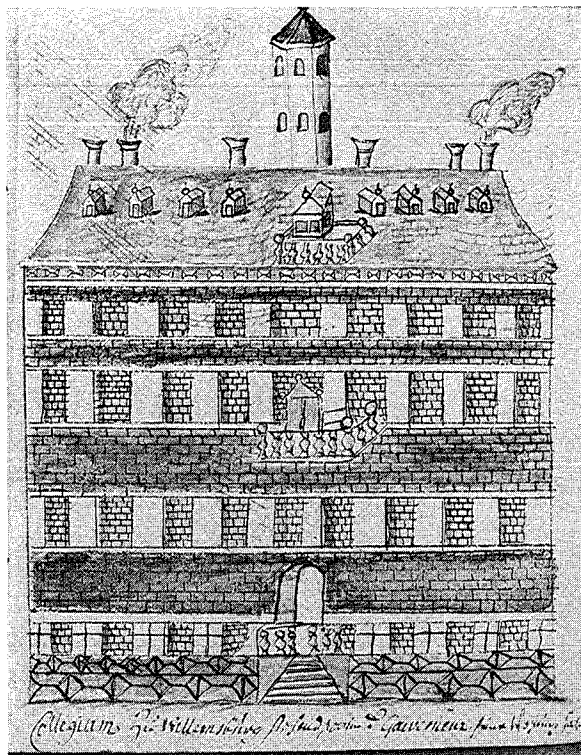


Fig. 20. Franz Ludwig Michel, *East Elevation, The College of William and Mary* (first building, 1695–1705), drawing, 1702, Burgerbibliothek, Bern.

reason, required reconstruction during the restoration. Similarly, original brick, whether dating to 1695–1700 on the Hall or 1729–1732 on the Chapel, did not rise higher than the haunches of the five arched windows on each of the side façades. The first period brickwork that remains is the most important artifact of the College; nothing tells us more about the actual first building and it is all that is left of it.²⁴

The 1702 Michel elevation is part of another contemporary account describing the first building (figure 20). According to Michel, the east façade of the College had “three balconies” and its cupola had a “highest part” accessible by foot; since Michel slept in the cupola one night, it was obviously at least six feet across inside. This is all he said about the building. Yet these two fea-

tures—the three balconies, shown at attic-, second-, and ground-floor levels, and the cupola, shown with two stories—were lost in the 1705–1715 rebuilding. Further points need to be made about the building Michel shows. The most obvious feature is its full three-story height, a full story higher on the east façade than was rebuilt after 1705. Not only would it be difficult to mistake the number of stories, given Michel’s familiarity with the building, but also the three-story height of the west façade as shown in the Bodleian Plate offers further proof of its original height. The next most obvious feature is the windows shown in the Michel drawing. Perhaps because of a lack of sufficient paper, Michel showed only ten on each floor and not the thirteen that were actually built. It is also unfortunate that other surviving Michel drawings (the first Bruton Parish Church and the Capitol under construction) are from a copy made of his drawings by his brother.²⁵

Six additional details may be gleaned from the Michel drawing. First, no center pavilion is shown, a feature Michel may have missed, for archeology confirmed 1695–1699-period foundations were sufficient for a pavilion there. Second, Michel showed the height of windows to vary. The height of those at the ground and third-story levels is shown as four or five “bricks” high; those on the first floor appear slightly shorter than those on the second. Third, the central attic dormer, on axis with the entrance and cupola, was larger than the others, obviously in order to accommodate the balcony. Fourth, the entrance itself is shown midway between the ground and first floors, implying that one immediately encountered a principal staircase upon entrance, a feature (if it actually ever existed) also eliminated in the 1705 rebuilding. Fifth, the unbroken horizontal lines at the top and bottom of the windows may imply some sort of string-course for which there is no evidence whatever

in the surviving brickwork. These, then, may be interpreted as mere guidelines in drawing the windows and, perhaps, in suggesting headers and sills. Moreover, Michel failed to show the existing stringcourse between the first and second stories. Finally, there is the quoin-like rustication shown at the foundations and at the eaves of the roof. Because no archeological evidence has been found to suggest such use of stone, those at the eaves may be interpreted as a crude effort to depict a bold modillion cornice; those at the foundations may have been some type of French gutter or, more likely, they may have been an effort to show simulated stone rustication rendered in stucco or, possibly, even in wood as in the reconstructed cupola of the Capitol. Stone rustication at basement level generally is found with stone quoining at the corners, and both were rare in colonial Virginia. This is yet another reason to support an English origin for the first design.²⁶

That the College's first building sported a hexagonal two-story cupola as shown by Michel is supported by those two- and three-story cupolas that grace the Capitol and the Governor's Palace. The one above the Capitol, in place only months before the College burned in 1705, was surely meant to balance it exactly. Perhaps its three-story height and hexagonal form were selected because the College's cupola had that form and then stood a full three stories compared to the Capitol's two. Counting the stories of cupolas and number of floors in the two buildings, both stood at five, six if the attic stories are included. Before the Bodleian Plate surfaced, architects had no image whatever of the first Capitol other than the incomplete structure shown by Michel and the excavated foundations. A broader, lower cupola was planned. Because the plate did not include the Capitol's south façade with its semi-circular apses (only barely perceptible in the archeology undertaken

at the site), Michel's drawing proved definitive in the determination to illuminate these apses with ocular bull's-eye windows (figures 100a–b). Given his errors in depicting the windows on the College's buildings, new light is shed on the trustworthiness of his drawings. The circular, bull's-eye windows of the Capitol may well have inspired those installed on the west façades of the College's Chapel and Hall in the period 1729–1732 because the original quadrangular design would have prohibited windows entirely. Similarly, by the latter date, when the President's house stood complete, the dependencies of the Governor's Palace had influenced the placement of it and the Brafferton. The creation of the west façades of Hall and Chapel and the placement of the Brafferton and President's house also provide further evidence that any plans to complete the west range of the College had been abandoned, at least temporarily.

Three years after Michel landed at Yorktown in 1702, Robert Beverley published his *History of Virginia*. Beverley is the only writer known to have described the first College building in print:

[It] is to consist of a Quadrangle, two sides of which, are yet only carried up. In this part are already finished all conveniences of Cooking, Brewing, Baking, &c. and convenient Rooms for the Reception of the President, and Masters, with many more Scholars than are yet come to it; in this part are also the Hall and Schoolroom.

Shortly after, on October 26, 1705, the College burned. Blair was away from the College that night, and subsequent testimony as to the cause or origin of the fire remained inconclusive. In the revised 1722 edition of his book, Beverley reported that the College "happen'd to be burnt (no Body knows how) down to the Ground, and very little saved that was in it. . . . In this condition it lay, till the Arrival of Colonel Spotswood their present Governor, in whose time it was raised to the same Bigness as before, and set-

bled."²⁷ Because considerable sections of the remaining walls were incorporated in the rebuilding, Beverley was mistaken when he stated that it burned to the ground. Furthermore, because its east façade was not rebuilt to a full three stories—a height suggested by Michel's drawing and by the three-story height of the west façade as shown in the Bodleian Plate—the College was not rebuilt to the same "Bigness" as before. Reconstruction proceeded slowly in the period 1706–1710. Consequently, when Lieutenant Governor Alexander Spotswood arrived in June 1710 he found the College a long way from being habitable.

Hugh Jones's description of the second building in *The Present State of Virginia* was probably written in 1723, the year Wren died. Jones was professor of Natural History and Mathematics at the College from 1716 to 1721. His comments are of immense interest to a study of the first building because Jones attributed the design to Wren. Of the second building Jones wrote:

*The Building is beautiful and commodious, being first modelled by Sir Christopher Wren, adapted to the Nature of the Country by the Gentlemen there; and since it was burnt down, it has been rebuilt, and nicely contrived, altered, and adorned by the ingenious Direction of Governor Spotswood; and is not altogether unlike Chelsea Hospital.*²⁸

Nearly every writer on the College has considered this reference as support for Wren as designer of the first building. Reactions have

ranged from full acceptance to vigorous rejection of the statement (see Appendix II).

Jones's comments, more than any others that survive, show concern about the quality of the College's curriculum and reflect the most sensitivity to the aesthetic quality of the building and its gardens. He is the only writer, apart from John Evelyn, whose comments on the College's gardens have survived. They proceeded from his description of the building itself:

*The Front which looks due East is double [two-story], and is 136 Foot long. It is a lofty Pile of Brick Building adorn'd with a Cupola. At the North end runs back a large Wing, which is a handsome Hall, answerable to which the Chapel is to be built; and there is a spacious Piazza on the West Side, from one Wing to the other.*²⁹

Jones made no reference whatever to the fact that the building had originally been designed as a quadrangle. While he noted the impending construction of the Chapel and described the Piazza between it and the Hall as if it had already been built, his absence of reference to the west range suggests its construction had already been abandoned, if not forgotten. Jones, of course, had not seen the first building. However, it is likely, since he was obviously interested in it and may have been inquisitive (he already had his book in mind), that someone, probably Blair, had described the first building to him. From whom else except a source in England could he have obtained his information about Wren? It

was obviously not gained first-hand. Certainly his brief reference to Wren in the book would not merit inquiry at the Office of Works, and Blair, or Jones for that matter, would have no intelligible motive in inventing the attribution. If there was a reason to publicize the name of the College's architect, Blair would probably have already made the most of it. In short, there is no reason to discredit Jones or to suggest his attribution was an effort to embellish the image of Virginia or the College. Jones's book contains critical comments about the College, Blair, the curriculum, and other matters that affirm his objectivity.³⁰

Jones's attribution of the first design to Wren, when taken together with the Evelyn-Pipe Roll references to the design for its gardens and gardener, are strong arguments for an Office of Works-Wren connection, as is the College's royal origin and the building fabric itself. Many who have not accepted his statement appear unaware that the building they see in Williamsburg today, or in earlier images such as those in the Bodleian Plate, is not the building Jones attributed to Wren. His statement that it was "first modelled" by Wren has no modifiers whatever; it is definitive. He does not say that the building "resembles one by Wren," "was possibly influenced by one by Wren," "may have been designed by Wren," "was made in Wren's office," or any other combination. His statement that the design was "adapted" acknowledged, again with probable

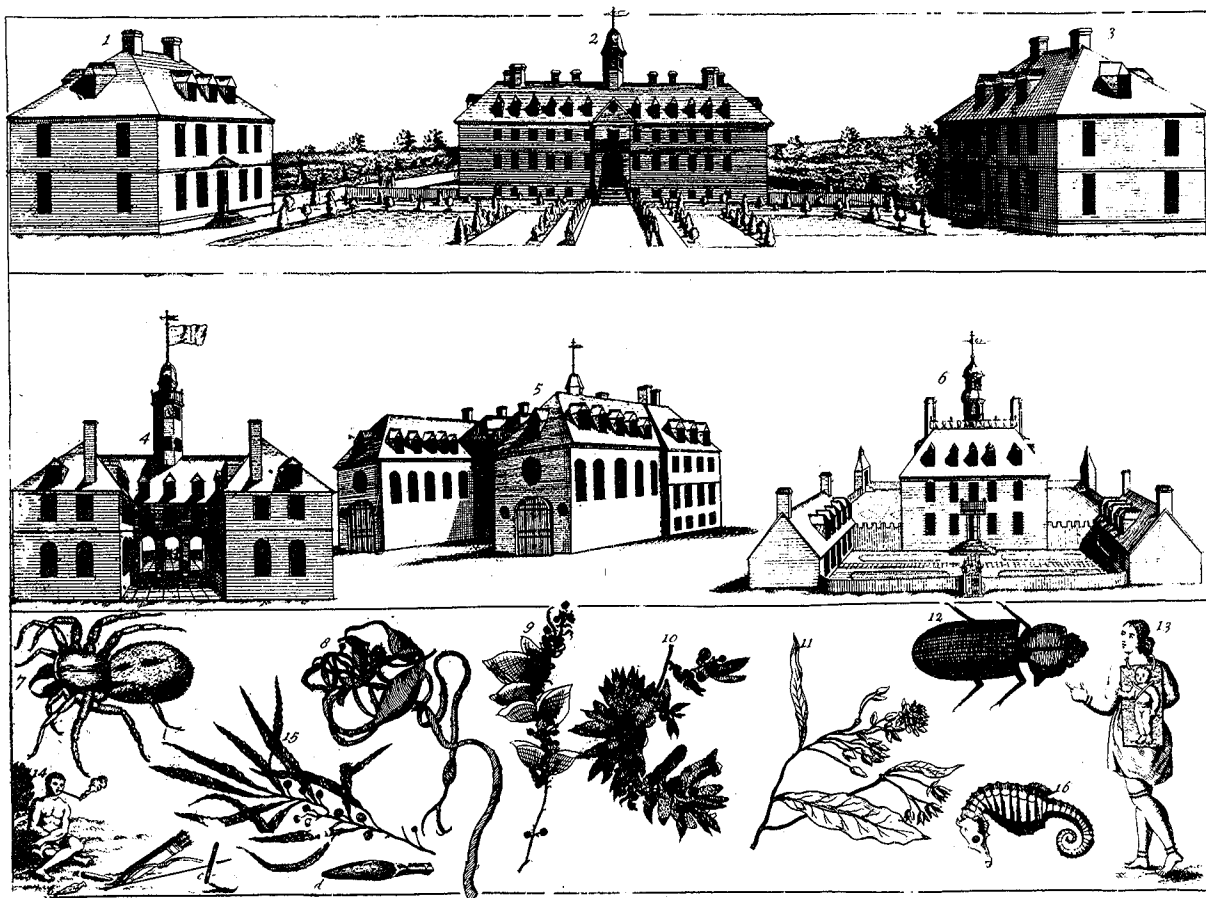
information from Blair, that certain unspecified modifications were made to it as constructed in the period 1695–1699. These adaptations may have been major, minor, or neither. They could have referred to nothing more than the way the chimneys were constructed, or they could have referred to major changes in scale or design. In speaking of these adaptations, it does not appear he was referring to the rebuilding after the fire, which, he makes clear, was guided by Spotswood, who "altered" the building even more. No one has challenged Jones's crediting Spotswood with the changes made in the rebuilding. Why then challenge his Wren attribution? That the present building, or those shown in the Michel drawing and Bodleian Plate, may not look like an obvious work by Wren is basically irrelevant, for great artists do not always produce such work. No matter how a work of art is damaged, adapted, altered, or adorned by others, it remains the work of its creator.

The discovery, in 1929, of an engraving in the Bodleian Library at Oxford showing the College, the Capitol, and the Governor's Palace, greatly helped and changed the way architects planned to complete the College and the other buildings (figure 21).³¹ The plate is roughly contemporary with Charles Bridges's image of the building in the portrait of Blair where he is shown with a bird taken to represent a phoenix which, like the College, had arisen from ashes to rebirth (figure 22). Both date to the period

1732–1740 and together are the earliest images of the second building. The images in the engraving and portrait are consonant. The Bodleian Plate contains the only pre-mid-nineteenth-century view of the south and west façades of the College and shows a series of five diminutive hipped roofs abutting the ridge beam of the main range, a detail that greatly affected changes in the planned restoration. As Howard Dearstyne noted, however, it is difficult to picture how this sequence of roofs would have continued, since the Chapel was not constructed until 1729–1732. If these five hipped roofs do

not date to the period when the Chapel was built, its construction would necessarily have required some alteration of the roof above the west façade of the main range. However, it appears that this roof arrangement was occasioned, in part at least, by the fact that enough 1695–1699 brickwork survived from the fire on this façade to encourage retention of the third floor in the rebuilding. It was in this regard, as in others, that the plate provided data for the first building as well. It also confirmed that in the period 1732–1740 the second building appeared much as shown in all surviving mid-nineteenth-

Fig. 21. Engraving from the Bodleian Plate, Showing The College of William and Mary (second building, 1705–1859), the Brafferton (1723) and the President's house (1732), copper plate, c. 1732–1747, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.



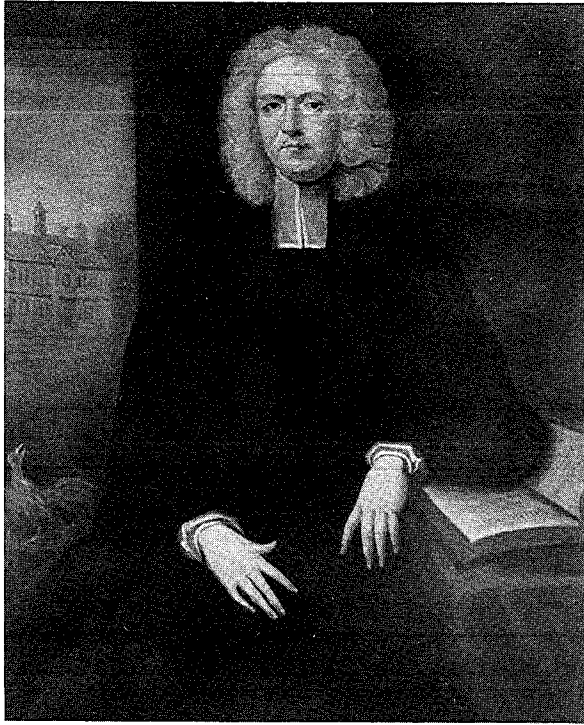


Fig 22. Charles Bridges,
*Portrait of The Reverend James
Blair*, oil on canvas, Joseph
and Margaret Muscarelle
Museum of Art, College of
William and Mary.

century images of it. The plate also contains the earliest known view of the College's garden with its Dutch-inspired clipped evergreens and is the earliest image to depict the College together with the Brafferton, built as an Indian school in 1723, to its left, and to the President's house, on the right, built in 1732. The principal discrepancy between the plate and the restored building is that the former shows only four bays of window openings on the south façade of the main range while the restoration included five bays of windows (or doors) on both the north and south façades. As will be seen shortly, the plan made of the building c.1771 by Thomas Jefferson shows three windows illuminating these façades, which was probably the correct number in the first, second, and third buildings, and, possibly, in the fourth building as well. On the

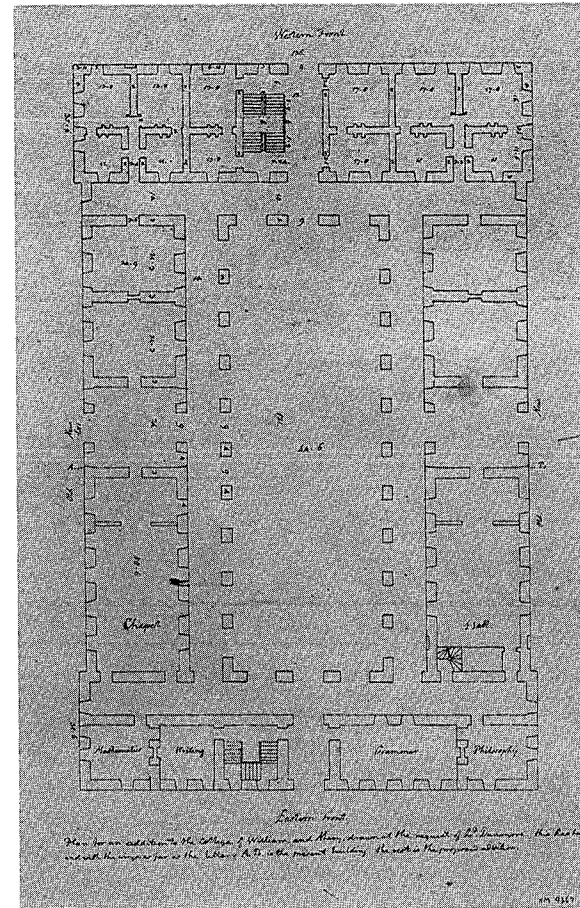
other hand, the original design may have called for five bays on the north and south façades (and, for that matter, for fifteen bays on the main façades of the ranges), and that these numbers were reduced from the start because of reasons of economy. At any rate, the Bodleian Plate, like Michel's drawing, is proven fallible.

A floor plan drawn c.1773 by Thomas Jefferson at the request of John Murray, earl of Dunmore (then governor), consists of the plan of the College as first constructed and remodeled in 1705–1715 and of an extensive addition to the west which, if completed, would have more than doubled the size of the College (figure 23).³² It is the only plan to survive showing the interior arrangement of rooms and passages as they existed before the Civil War. It appears that the only significant change from the original plan may have been the removal of the principal staircase from the center passage to the room to its south. The dimensions Jefferson provided for the original pile are correct except for the width of the east range which he undercalculated by ten feet. He judiciously brought into harmony of dimension and proportion the extensions he proposed, construction of which had been begun when hostilities broke out in 1776. As noted, Jefferson included only three windows on the north and south façades of the main range and on those which he proposed. The fenestration he showed on other façades agrees with the Bodleian Plate, with other images of the second

Fig. 23. Thomas Jefferson, *Plan of The College of William and Mary (second building, 1705–1859, shown with addition, c.1771–1773), drawing, c.1773, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California (HM 9637).*

building, and with the restoration. Jefferson's new west range matched the east range in both size and proportion. The west façade consists of thirteen bays but shows no pavilion or other embellishment at the entrance.

Given Jefferson's later dismissal of the College as a "rude, mis-shapen pile," and his impending use of monumental porticoes, it is surprising he did not design one at this entrance.³³ No elevations of the addition survive, and perhaps none was even made, which suggests Jefferson's attention to the addition was mainly functional—the College needed more classroom space. This is probably why he pushed the loggia out of the west range in order to create a double-pile plan that doubled the number of rooms and thereby reduced in length those in the arms meant to balance Chapel and Hall. This subtle deviation from strict symmetry for functional gain would be missed, however, by even the most discerning eye. *Porte cochères*, presumably allowing vehicular traffic, would have made the "joints" between the existing and new piles. The five-bay loggia of the original east range was replicated on that of the west, but both were reduced to three bays in order to accommodate loggia extensions within the court connecting them. How the roofs of these loggias would have been reconciled with the windows of Chapel and Hall is unclear since the height of the arcades in the east range rises above their sills.



If Wren is believed to have been disinclined to design quadrangles, especially for collegiate buildings, Jefferson is credited to an even greater extent as one who broke decisively with this medieval and Renaissance convention with his design for the University of Virginia about 1817. Even Jefferson, however, at a youthful twenty-five, could work innovatively with a traditional quadrangular design. Perhaps authorities in Williamsburg remembered, nearly ninety years later, that a quadrangle had been the original intent of the designer. It is even possible

that an original plan (or a copy of it) survived into Jefferson's day and was not lost until fires consumed the building in 1859 or 1862. Jefferson had probably read Hugh Jones's book and knew of his attribution of the building to Wren. He may also have read Beverley's book and have known that its original design called for a quadrangle. Honoring Wren's original scheme may, in fact, help to account for Jefferson resorting to an uncharacteristic quadrangle.



It is now appropriate to turn to a consideration of each of the five building phases of the College. The object of the conjectural drawings of the first College building was to show how it might have been built, not how it was first designed (figures 24a–d).³⁴ A further object of these drawings was to give coherent form to the first building, reconciling all the available evidence—physical, pictorial, and documentary. Bearing in mind in a general way precedents in Dutch and English architecture, these were also drawn upon for specific details for which insufficient information was available for the first building. It will be recalled that Hugh Jones made clear that the original design was “adapted,” but it is safe to assume that the builders followed the design as closely as possible. They may have eliminated or changed features too difficult or expensive to execute in Virginia,

and perhaps made minor plan modifications as convenience dictated. It appears that one adaptation they failed to make—widening fireplace openings designed for narrow coal grates—led directly to the building's destruction in 1705. The drawings consist of a conjectural plan of the first floor (figure 24a), of the east and north elevations (figures 24b–c), and of the west elevation of the east range with sections through the Chapel and Hall (figure 24d).

With regard to the plan, the general form of the original projected quadrangle as established by the Bland survey of 1699 was accepted (figure 13). The conjectural plan readily assumed two nearly identical ranges, each measuring 46 by 138 feet, connected by Hall and Chapel wings. The present sixty-four foot lengths of both Hall and Chapel must be regarded as consequences of the 1705 fire and of the construction of the Chapel in 1729–1732. Archeology established the original length of the Hall as seventy-two feet, a length at some point before 1729 extended to eighty-four feet with the addition of a vestibule (figure 15). The projected Chapel, as originally designed, would also have had a seventy-two foot length. The width of the Hall and Chapel was always thirty-two feet, with one-foot-nine-inch setbacks from the north and south façades of the main ranges. These dimensions produce a court almost exactly seventy-two feet square. The 1:1, 1:2, and 1:3 proportions of the Golden Section remain largely at work.³⁵ While

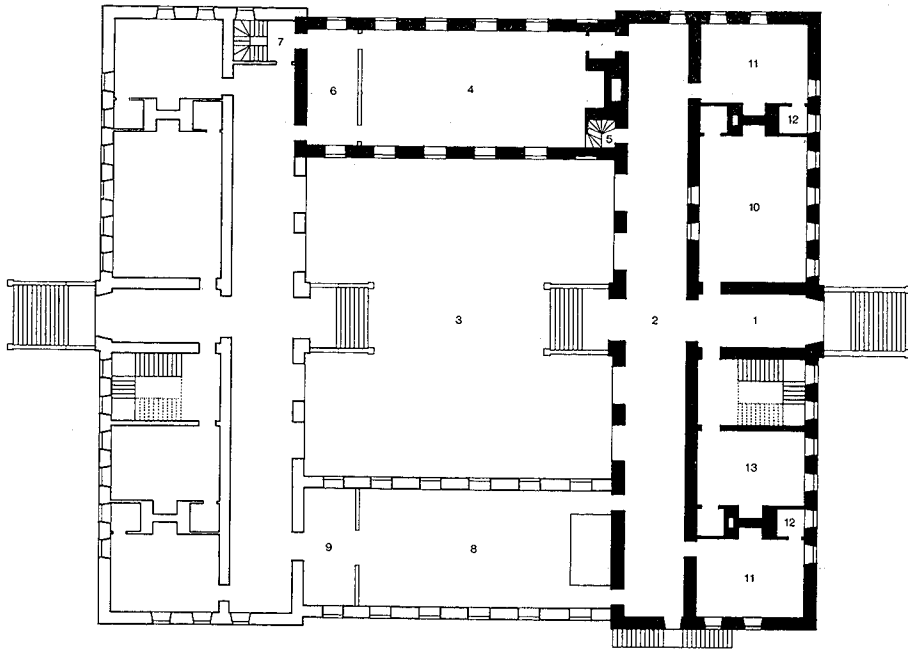


Fig. 24a. William S. Pavlovsky, *Conjectural Plan, The College of William and Mary (first building, 1695–1699)*, drawing, 1988.

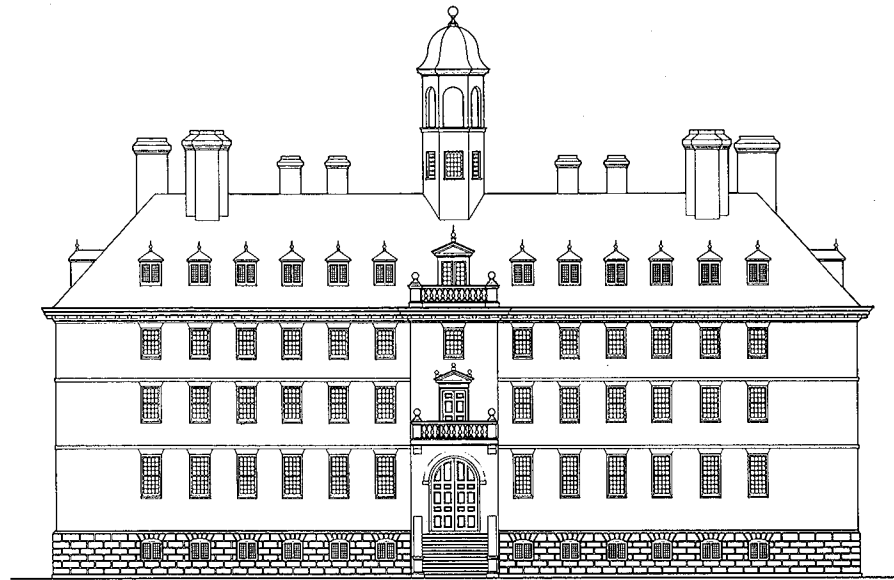
entrances in the unexecuted west range may have differed from those in the east range, they are shown the same in the conjectural plan and elevations. It might seem natural to assume that the plan of the west range reflected its counterpart, but the asymmetric positioning of Hall and Chapel suggests a programmatic difference. It may have been the intent for faculty and students to be segregated, respectively, into the east and west ranges with the two sharing the functions of Hall and Chapel but entering from opposite (i.e., “upper” and “lower”) ends. If this were the case, the west range would have been given over almost entirely to students’ lodgings, with most classrooms and all faculty quarters occupying the whole of the east range. While the plan of the west range may have functioned somewhat differently from the east range, it would have had a similar loggia, center passage, and arrangement of major fireplaces which, in turn, imply a similar plan.

Originally, the loggia (or piazza to use the contemporary misnomer) at the rear of the east range was open to the weather along the entire length of the building. The present enclosed stairs at either end are modern concessions made by the Restoration to convenience and fire safety. Judging from the plan drawn by Jefferson, the second building contained only two stairs—the main staircase most likely located immediately south of the center passage (where it was restored), and a small winding stair between the Hall and the loggia, just south of the Hall chimney (figure 23). The “great” stair probably did not descend to the basement. Access to the basement was had from the smaller stair, which gave access to it from the loggia just as this stair also gave access from the Hall to the gallery or dormitory above it. As for the original building, written accounts of the 1705 fire mention three stairs: the main staircase that stood “in the Middle of the Pile,”³⁶ a “back pair of stairs” that descended into the Hall (referred to in 1701 as “private stairs”), and a stair at the south end of the building, probably located outside.³⁷ A 1704 reference to the “Kitchen-Stair” may have referred to the stair between the loggia and Hall or to the stair revealed in the vestibule west of the Hall, as excavated (figures 15–16). The small winding stair of Jefferson’s day almost certainly occupied the same position as its predecessor, the so-called “back pair of stairs” used by students to escape from the upper floors during the fire of 1705. If so, this stair lends additional weight to the argument that a full story as well as an attic story had been built above the Hall. The conjectural outside stair at the south end of the building probably had a doorway leading to it from the loggia. After the 1705 fire, Col. Edward Hill testified that he could not remember “what part of the stairs” he descended in exiting the building. If he was referring to this outside stair, it appears

to have been a double stair with opposing flights parallel to the south façade.³⁸

The essential veracity of Michel's drawing of the three-story east elevation was accepted (figures 20 and 24b). The full three-story height is corroborated by the Bodleian Plate that shows two full stories above the arcade on the west façade of the main range. Presumably this façade survived the 1705 fire intact enough to warrant retention of the third story that was elsewhere demolished. The number of bays shown by Michel (ten) was discounted as an error. The existing original walls and images of the second building affirm that the present thirteen bays were original to the first building (figures 26–29). Window heights, diminishing on each successive story, follow those of the 1928–1931 restoration, which in turn were based on evidence provided by the images just cited. The window jambs of the first and second stories, built of rubbed brick with flat arches and beveled sills, were derived from the same sources. A brick stringcourse between the second and third stories on the west façade of the main range, not included in the restoration, was added to the conjectural elevation of the first building, and was suggested by the banding shown in Michel's drawing.

The first period brickwork forming the center pavilions of both east and west façades of the main range survives at foundation level. The west elevation showing brickwork dates (figure 18) indicates that brick above the foundations on the west façade dates to the 1859 rebuilding. The foundations of both pavilions, as well as brickwork between the entrance and ends of the pavilion on the east façade, provided conclusive evidence that both pavilions were in fact part of the first structure. The foundation plan, clearly differentiating 1695–1699 and 1705–1715 brickwork, shows both pavilions projecting out about a foot from the façades; the width of



both the west pavilion and the piers supporting that on the east façade measure about fifteen and a half feet. While the reconstructed west pavilion retains its original width, that restored on the east façade included the nine-inch additions made at either end of this pavilion during the rebuilding, probably at Spotswood's instigation, between 1710 and 1715. That this pavilion survived the rebuildings of 1859 and 1867–1869 is confirmed in the east elevation made by Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn at the outset of the restoration (figure 34). Because the 1710–1715 brickwork at either present end of this pavilion was bonded into that of the existing pavilion but not into the main wall, anyone looking at the surviving fabric today without reference to the foundation plan would be forced to conclude, as Whiffen had, that the entire pavilion was a later addition. Michel's failure to record this feature may be discounted because his drawing makes clear that he had trouble rendering elements in depth, and a relatively minor façade projection was probably ignored by him.

Fig. 24b. William S. Pavlovsky, *East Elevation, The College of William and Mary (first building, 1695–1699)*, drawing, 1988.

The archeological survey revealed that the original grade east of the building was about three feet lower than it is today. Michel's drawing shows the wall below the basement window sills treated with what appear to be faceted blocks of stone. While no evidence of stone facing was ever found, it seems likely that the original design called for a rusticated basement or plinth and that this was executed, at least in part, in plaster or stucco because of the shortage of funds and lack of stone in Tidewater Virginia. The curiously Mannerist "diamond-pointing" need not be taken literally—it may simply have been Michel's way of rendering blocks with deep beveled joints. In spite of the fact that Michel shows only two courses below the window sills, it is likely the entire basement wall below the watertable was meant to be rusticated. Strong evidence for this is provided by the basement windows themselves and by the brickwork of the foundations. The arches above these windows are composed of ordinary bricks, not the rubbed and gauged bricks used in the upper stories. Moreover, the foundation walls lack the random glazed headers used in the upper stories and, quite remarkably, the walls today still retain patches of stucco below the watertable. Because the building was not stuccoed in nineteenth-century remodelings and a patch of stucco appears in the daguerreotype of the second building (figure 28), it seems that it never entirely disappeared.

Thus, in visualizing the original east elevation, it was assumed the basement story was entirely rusticated in the manner of Coleshill in Berkshire, a design of Roger Pratt (c.1657), and as Christian Lilly would do in his c.1713 design for Codrington College in Barbados (figures 61a–c and 90a–b). It is also possible that the original design called for quoins at the corners of the building, as at Coleshill and Codrington College, and also at Wren's Royal Hospital, Chelsea (figures 89a–c). Michel's detailing below the

eaves of the east elevation suggests a frieze composed of diamond-pointed panels, but this was taken to represent a heavy modillion cornice, as restored in 1928–1931, properly scaled to the height of the façade. With the cornice and additional three feet of basement wall, the total height of the original walls would have been forty-six feet, equal to the depth of the main range and exactly one-third its length. As already noted, this made the east and projected west ranges exact triple cubes in the tradition of Inigo Jones. Similarly, the original fifteen-foot, six-inch pavilions (except for a two-inch error) are one-third the width of the range, and the pavilion's height is nearly exactly 1:3.

The threshold of the main entrance on the east façade was depicted by Michel with the crown of its arch below the sills of the first story windows. Although such an arrangement is possible, the physical evidence contradicts it. The basement wall in this area, which is almost entirely original, reveals only a narrow rectangular opening with its threshold at basement level, evidently a service entry. The location of this basement entrance leads to the conclusion that the original main entrance was where it was located in all subsequent rebuildings—at first floor level. Michel was also unclear concerning the form and location of the entrance stair. Lacking evidence to the contrary, the conjectural stair is shown as a straight run with a top landing, much as it stands today. It is quite possible the stone steps shown in images of the second building were salvaged. Michel showed this stair with a heavy balustrade, and counted it among his "three balconies." While the turned balusters may have been of imported stone, it is more likely they were turned in wood. The balconies Michel drew at the level of the second and attic floors are shown with ornamental spheres at the corners. The balcony at the level of the second floor in the conjectural elevation projects out

about four feet and is supported by brackets or consoles. Writers have noted the unclassical appearance of the pediment Michel drew above the second-story doorway, but it is unlikely Michel was capable of drawing a proper pediment. It was, therefore, assumed the original design called for a proper pediment. Michel also drew the attic balcony in an impossible position; it provides still further proof for the pavilion as being original—the balustrade enclosed its top, a common alternative to a pediment in contemporary English and Dutch architecture.

The dormers shown in Michel's drawing are surmounted by hipped roofs capped with finials, a detail accepted in the conjectural elevations. Derived from Flemish Mannerist sources of the sixteenth century, the use of finials on dormers was fairly common on Dutch and English buildings of the period, but only the hipped variety appears to have been equipped with them. The central dormer behind the balustrade is shown by Michel to have been considerably larger than the others and it is neither gabled nor hipped. However, its large size and important position elicited the more emphatic pediment shown in the conjectural elevation. A dominant central dormer, often placed behind a balustrade or parapet capping a pavilion, is found fairly frequently in Dutch designs of the period.³⁹ Not surprisingly, English examples are also found in the work of Wren and his school, albeit in projects usually, but not always, dated to the 1660s and 1670s.⁴⁰ The wing of Bridewell, London, built after the Great Fire and sometimes ascribed to Wren, was, perhaps, the closest parallel to the College. Another design, attributed to Wren, has a narrow pavilion like the first College building. A pre-1669 elevation for a house for Edward Alston, president of the Royal College of Surgeons, it features an enlarged central dormer with a small balustraded balcony (figure 25). Similarly, Wren's elevation for Trinity College,

Oxford (1662) contains a great pedimented dormer in the position of a cupola raised above the ridge of the roof (figure 80a).⁴¹ The section Wren drew of this range reveals that the sides of this dormer were pierced by oval lights much like those shown by Michel in the central dormer of the College. Governor Andros's substantial contribution toward "sashing the College" in October 1700 was taken as ample evidence that the first building was fitted from the start with this relatively new sliding sash window. However, the conjectural drawings confine them to the three principal stories, with sixteen panes above sixteen, twelve above twelve, and eight above twelve on each successive story. As clearly implied by Michel's drawing, casements were installed in the basement windows—not surprisingly given the high cost of the largest panes used in sash windows. Following common practice in England until about 1725, casements were also used in the attic windows.

The conjectural drawings made of the north elevation (probably intended to match the south façade) and of the west elevation of the main range with sections through Hall and Chapel (figures 24c–d) were based on the same physical, pictorial, and documentary sources used for the reconstructed plan and east elevation. Jefferson showed only three bays of windows in the north and south walls of the main range, a number in agreement with those shown in all known views of the third and fourth buildings (figures 23 and 30–32). Curiously, the plan of the fourth building shows five bays of windows, as the views do not (figures 33 and 31). The brickwork there suggests one or two bays had been filled in. Both the north and south façades were restored with five bays, one of which was a door on each façade (figures 19a–b). Compounding this problem, the Bodleian Plate shows four bays, an unusual number, on the same façade (figure 21). This fourth bay, west of the others, is attested to by

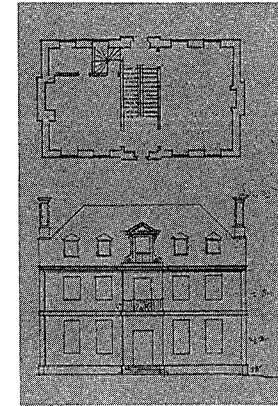
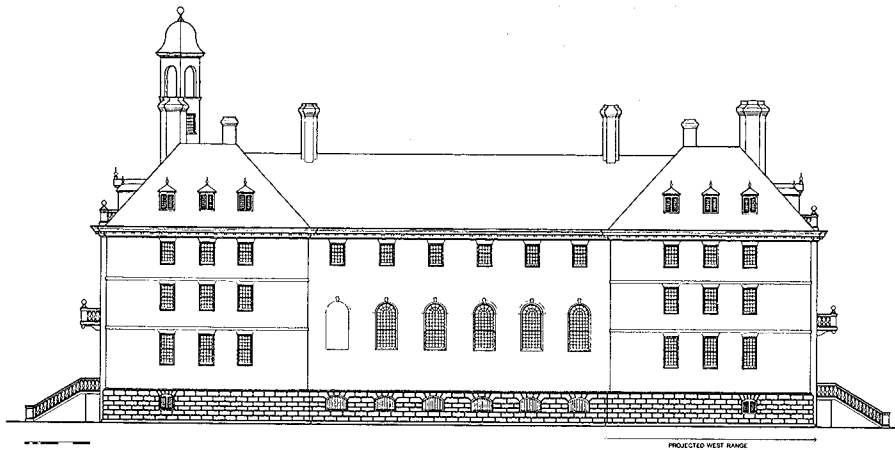


Fig. 25. Christopher Wren (attribution by The Wren Society), *Elevation and Plan, Design of a House for Edward Alston*, drawing, before 1669, The Warden and Fellows of All Souls College, Oxford.



Figs. 24c–d. William S. Pavlovsky, *North Elevation and West Elevation with Sections, The College of William and Mary (first building, 1695–1699)*, drawings, 1988.

the brickwork visible in the fourth building (figure 31). But whether it was part of the original design or added later is impossible to tell. It is more likely that the engraver of this plate was fallible than that this number reflected either the first or second buildings. Given the

original seventy-two-foot length of the Hall, the central portion of the north elevation would have been six bays wide. The westernmost bay, at the extreme right in the Hall elevation, was removed when the Hall was reduced to its present sixty-four feet in 1729. The easternmost bay of arched windows was blind, as shown in Jefferson's plan.

The most important question regarding the north elevation is the matter of the additional story shown above the Hall. This story might have obviated the need for dormers in the roof and, thus, none has been shown there. As has already been explained, descriptions of the original service stair, the "private stair" next to the Hall chimney, strongly suggest the existence of a full story, at third-story level, above the Hall. Following the fire of 1705, Col. Edward Hill reported that he had seen flames near the cupola but that he was not sure whether they were first seen "about the joining on of the roofs, I mean the North end." If by "the joining on of the roofs" Hill meant to point to the intersection of roofs covering the main range and the Hall—and no other interpretation seems possible—then the roofs had to be nearly the same height. Without an additional story above the Hall, its roof and cornice would have butted into the west façade of the main range with only a fragmentary "joining on" of roofs. This latter arrangement would have been so unsatisfactory that it may help to account for the five hipped roofs chosen after the 1705 fire to cover the central portion of the west façade of the main range. The additional story above the Hall enabled a continuous cornice around the entire building as well as a consistent roofline that such a scheme demands.

The exposed section of the west elevation of the main range retains little original brickwork (figures 18 and 24d). Apart from the foundations and brickwork at the basement level, only

the outer two arches and outer portions of brickwork surrounding the windows above them survived the 1859 and 1862 fires. It has already been noted that archeology established the existence of the central pavilion. The foundation plan dated it 1695–1699, given the exact width as that on the east façade, but shown unbonded to the wall it adjoins. It is likely masons overlooked this design feature when laying the foundations of the west wall of the main range and remedied this oversight shortly thereafter. There is, however, no actual evidence for the second story doorway and balcony; their existence was inferred from those on the east elevation. The same is true for the balustrade and dormer in the attic. The stringcourse above the arcade is clearly visible in the surviving sections of original brickwork. As on the east elevation, another stringcourse was shown between the second- and third-story windows, although this feature was not reconstructed. It appears that the courtyard was higher than the grade established outside the building, at the level of the window sills in the kitchen below the Hall.

The present roofs are entirely reconstructions of the period 1929–1931. From the available evidence, it seems certain that the roof of the main range and those above the Hall and Chapel wings in the second building had slopes of about forty-two degrees, what the period called “true pitch.” This, in fact, is the degree of pitch selected for those reconstructed. Seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century building practice makes it extremely likely that the same roof pitch was used in the first building.⁴² Given the thirty-two-foot breadth of the Hall, the length of the rafters built in “true pitch” would have been twenty-four feet, with the overall height to the ridge about eighteen feet. The original roof over the main range would have been a few feet higher, as in the second and restored buildings. Because of the greater span,

however, the roof would have been “contracted,” i.e. given a trapezoidal section, probably with a flat deck. The main chimneys, as well as the cupola, were located at deck level, as in the second and fifth buildings. The two pairs of small chimneys, shown in all surviving images of the first and second buildings, were also confirmed by a report and an account of the 1705 fire. They apparently served as fireplaces in the third story and attic. Their foundations had to have been the bearing walls.

A final element of the conjectural elevations of the first building is its crowning feature, a striking and imposing cupola, undoubtedly the first classical cupola in Virginia and possibly the earliest in the colonies. Its use over the principal entrance recalls the great towers of medieval English colleges. Two key features of the original cupola are clearly set forth in Michel’s drawing and in his accompanying narrative. Unlike the cupola built after the fire, this one was very tall (Michel called it a “tower”) and contained two stories. There are no references to its hexagonal form, but this is the form given the cupolas installed on the Capitol, the Governor’s Palace, and the second College building. Given the great length of the building and the important east-west axis established by the entrances and soon to be extended with the laying out of Williamsburg in 1699, the directionality of a hexagon would have been the logical choice. Michel showed an unarticulated structure pierced only by two stories of arched openings. However, cupolas designed in the classical tradition were often treated like small buildings, showing a horizontal tripartite composition of base, shaft, and crown. This tradition guided that shown on the elevations of the first building where the “base” is illuminated by rectangular windows, similar to those in the cupola of the Capitol, while the “shaft,” what Michel referred to as the “topmost part,” was interpreted as an open,

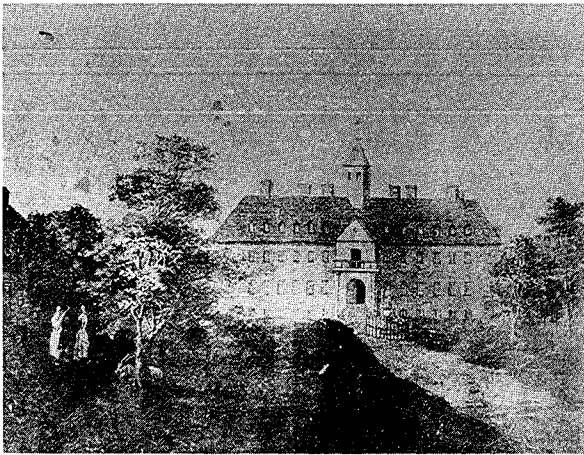
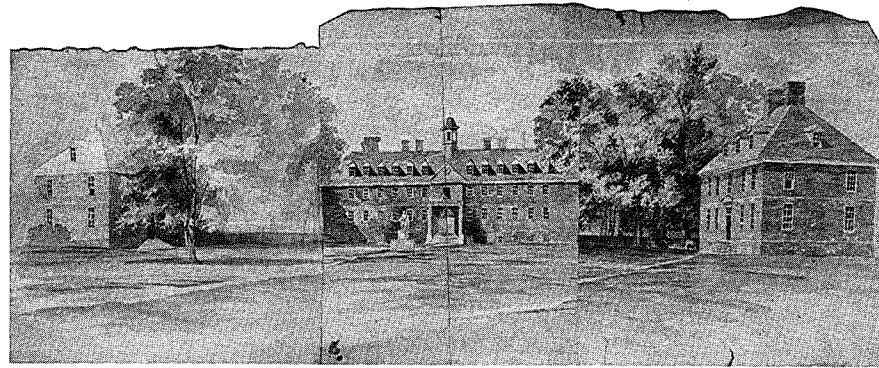


Fig. 26. Artist unknown, *View of The College of William and Mary (second building, 1705–1859)*, painting, c. 1820, photograph courtesy of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

Fig. 27 Thomas Charles Millington, *View of the Campus of The College of William and Mary (second building, 1705–1859)*, watercolor, c. 1840, University Archives, Swem Library, College of William and Mary.



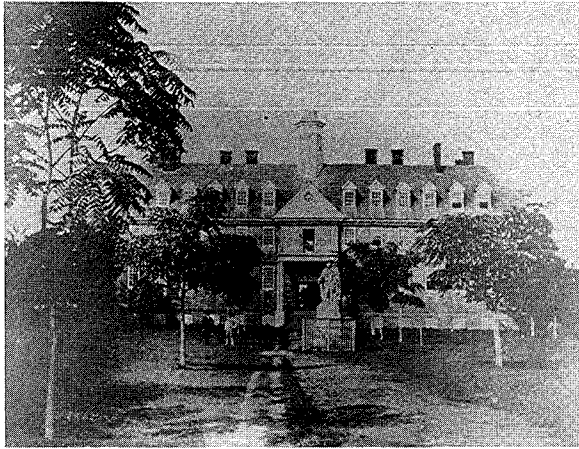
arcaded belfry from which, again in Michel's words, "the best outlook was to be had by day and night." These elements were crowned by a roof with a bellcast profile also similar to those on the Capitol and second College building. This roof, in turn, supported not a weathervane, but what Michel showed as a great metal sphere.⁴³

The lack of funds as well as any need for more space probably explain why no construction was ever begun on the original west range, and that the changes made in 1729–1732 when the Chapel was built affirm abandonment of any plans to complete the quadrangle. Jefferson's quadrangular design thus comes as somewhat of a surprise, although it can hardly be coincidental. Had the original west range been built as conjectured, each of the five floors in the ranges would have contained about 6,300 square feet; the four floors comprising the Hall and Chapel wings would have each contained about 2,300 square feet. Thus, if the entire design had been executed, a building with between 80,000 and 90,000 square feet would have resulted, by far the largest structure known or attempted in the English colonies up to that time. It would have been illuminated by nearly 300 windows. Such statistics certainly imply an English, rather than

colonial, source for the design. So does its large scale. Even as a fragment, few buildings in the colonies before the Revolution approached it in size. Henry Wotton translated Vitruvius's definition of architecture as "well-building" having three conditions—"commodity, firmness, and delight."⁴⁴ This may be translated into pre-Post-Modernist language as "architecture ought to be a balance of function, structure, and form." Certainly the first College building set new American standards for "commodity" as for "delight," but it is unfortunate that it was not built with more "firmness."

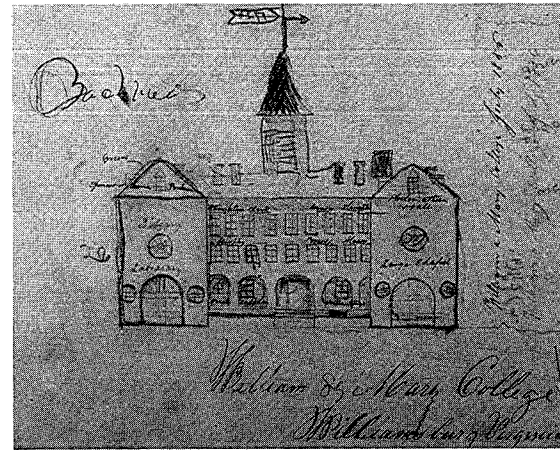


Clearly, there is more visual and documentary evidence for the College as rebuilt after 1705 than for the original structure. This was surely the determining factor in the decision to restore this, rather than the first College. Another reason was that the first building was used only five years, the second for nearly 150. Michel's elevation was considered too crude and his comments too vague to have become the basis for a workable program. No plan of the first building survived except the mere symbol of one in



Bland's survey, although Jefferson's drawing (with the possible exception of the placement of the main staircase) approximated it. As noted, the Bodleian Plate and the Charles Bridges image of the building in the portrait of Blair are roughly contemporary, and, dating from about 1740, are the earliest to show the building. The one-point perspective used in depicting the College Yard in the plate is not wholly accurate. There are several vanishing points on axis with the entrance, and the engraver suggests the Brafferton and President's house were perfectly aligned when, in fact, they were not. The engraver also shows the College Yard and garden to the side and rear of the College enclosed by low fences and divided into quite original parterres that look as if they had been newly planted. The proportions of the College are too horizontal, which may account for similarly low proportions in one of the conjectural elevations done early in the restoration (figure 36a).

At least four additional images of the second building survive and probably all date from c. 1840–1860 (figures 26–29). Three of the four (figures 27–29) are in almost complete agreement with the appearance of the building. In a painting dated c. 1820 the cupola lacks the bell-

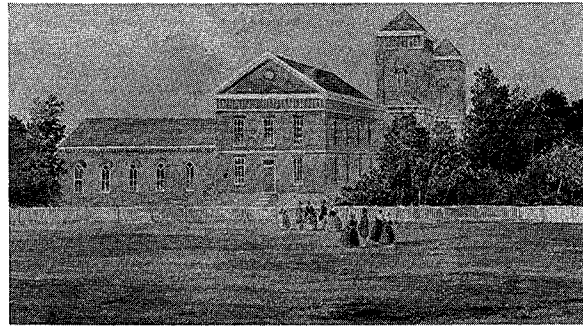


cast silhouette shown in most other images, which is proven by the daguerreotype (figure 28). The main change from the image shown in the Bodleian Plate is that all images agree that two columns had been installed on piers, perhaps projecting as much as ten feet in front of the east pavilion and in line with it, to support a much enlarged balcony on the second floor. The effect produced two-dimensionally echoes what the first College probably looked like with its original pavilion and balconies. A watercolor by Thomas Millington and a lithograph made after it showing all three buildings affirm that the Brafferton and President's house remained unchanged at least until about 1804 (figure 27). Although the latter had been burned accidentally in the Revolution, it was rebuilt to its former appearance. Not until midcentury does it appear to have had the wing added to its west side, which is visible in a view of the College Yard made about 1880 (figure 32). These views further affirm that the formal gardens shown in the College Yard in the plate had been obliterated, that the marble statue of Lord Botetourt, governor in the late 1760s, had been removed from the loggia of the Capitol and placed in the center of the College Yard, and that a bucolic Pictur-

Fig. 28. Artist unknown, *View of The College of William and Mary (second building, 1705–1859)*, daguerreotype, c. 1850, photograph courtesy of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

Fig. 29. Mary F Southall or Travis Southall, *West Elevation of The College of William and Mary (second building, 1705–1859)*, drawing, 1856, Manuscripts and Rare Books Department, Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

Fig. 30. J. Cranstone, *View of The College of William and Mary (third building, 1859–1862, Henry Exall and Eben Faxon, architects)*, watercolor, c. 1860, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.



esque effect was prevalent in ante-bellum Williamsburg.⁴⁵

The daguerreotype provided the solitary hard evidence for some of the sizes of windows and numbers of panes or lights (figure 28). The height of the windows on the first floor is greater than that of those on the second; those on the third floor in the original building, like those in the attic of the second and fifth buildings, were even smaller. This diminution of window sizes may be seen in many English buildings of the period and appears to have been another first in the colonies. The daguerreotype affirms that around 1850 the windows on the first floor were six panes high, those on the second, five, and those in the attic, four. The more elegant Governor's Palace, begun in 1705, only six years after the College was completed, was reconstructed with vertical diminutions of eight, seven, and five panes. Since no images of its windows survived, the daguerreotype of the College's windows

perhaps served as a guide. The windows of the Brafferton and President's house are further evidence for windows used in the first and second College buildings. Curiously, the windows of the Brafferton and President's house are four panes wide, while only those on the second floor of the College are so shown in the daguerreotype. Restoration architects were probably right to suggest that the third and first floor windows shown in the daguerreotype reflect later changes and that a four-pane width ought to have been used in the restoration. It is likely that after all the uncertainties of the restoration, the concrete evidence provided by the daguerreotype was so appreciated that both sizes were permitted to remain.⁴⁶

One of two elevations made of the second building by Travis or Mary F. Southall in July 1856, that of the west façade, is revealing because, as the only other image of the west façade of the second building besides the Bodleian Plate, it deviates from it in major ways (figure 29). All the important visual elements are more in place in this drawing than in that by Michel—an arcaded loggia, bull's-eye windows, cupola, and chimneys. But the five diminutive hipped roofs (one of which is pedimented) are not shown. Nor is the pavilion now enframing the center bay of the nine bays on this façade, as it is in the Southall elevation of the east façade. The walls of Chapel and Hall, however, are shown to be the same height as those of the main range.

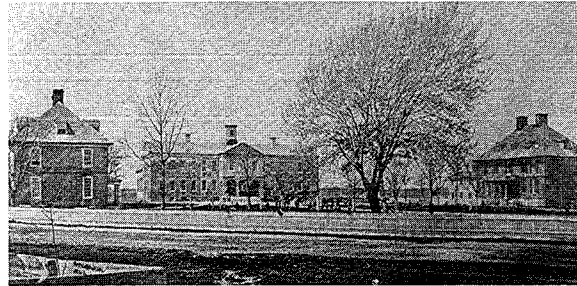
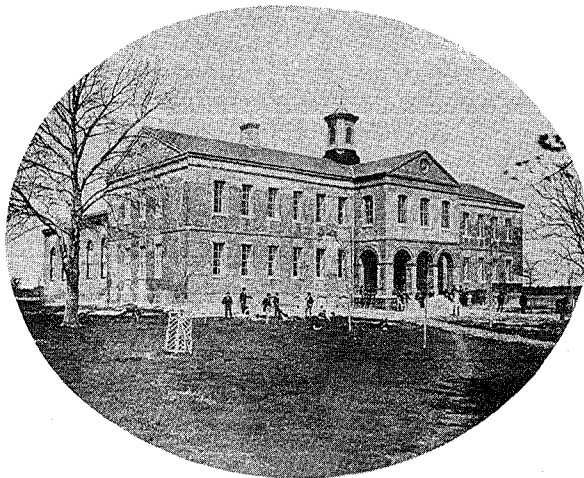


Fig. 32. *View of the Campus of The College of William and Mary, c. 1880, photograph courtesy of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.*

While the Southall drawing is probably incorrect about the height of the walls, it is not likely the pavilion and series of roofs would have been missed if they were there.⁴⁷ On February 8, 1859, three years after the drawing was made, the building burned a second time.

Reconstruction and remodeling proceeded swiftly, again using the walls of 1695–1699 and 1729–1732. The College was in use by November of the same year even though the architect originally chosen, Henry Exall, was replaced by the Baltimore architect Eben Faxon before rebuilding was completed. The Italianate design selected, as shown in a watercolor by J. Cranstone, dating from about 1860 (figure 30), elimi-



nated the steeply pitched hipped roofs that characterized the previous building; these were replaced by low gable roofs with pedimented ends. The wall height of Hall and Chapel appear to have been noticeably lowered, together with their windows, and twin towers, connected by a three-bay loggia, articulated the central section of the east façade. Seven of the original thirteen bays were encased in this composition, and a single bay of windows was inserted in the broad, previously unfenestrated end sections of this façade. These fourteenth and fifteenth bays lasted until the restoration. The south façade of the main range is, interestingly, shown with only three bays of windows. This third building, images of which survive in several additional prints, was not in use three years before Federal troops allegedly set it on fire on September 8, 1862.⁴⁸

Once again the remaining 1695–1699 and 1729–1732 period brick walls were recycled in the rebuilding undertaken in 1867–1869, together with those laid in 1859. The College building lay in ruins for five years, until 1867 when reconstruction was undertaken. The architect in charge, Alfred L. Rives, though abandoning the Italianate design by tearing down what remained of the twin-towered frontispiece, nonetheless reportedly needed some 400,000 new bricks (figures 31–32). He preserved the low silhouette of the pedimented end gables, the vertically scored entablature, kept the two addi-

Fig. 31. *The College of William and Mary (fourth building, 1867–1929, Alfred L. Rives, architect), c. 1880, photograph courtesy of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.*

Fig. 34. Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn, *East Elevation, The College of William and Mary (fourth building, 1867–1929, Alfred L. Rives, architect), drawing, 1929, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.*

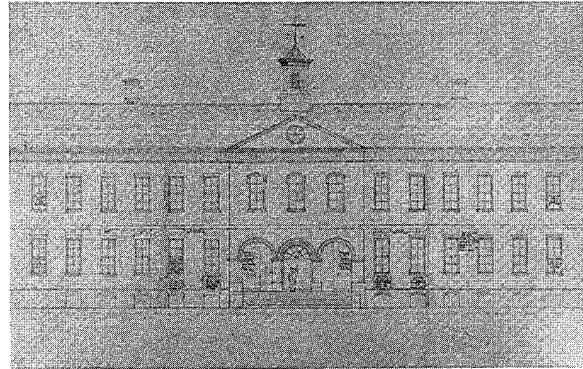


Fig. 35. Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn, *Conjectural Elevation of East Façade, The College of William and Mary, print, 1928–1929, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.*

tional bays of windows added at the ends of the east façade, and may have first added fourth and fifth bays of windows to the north and south façades.⁴⁹ Rives razed the Italianate frontispiece and inserted a three-bay pedimented pavilion with arcaded loggia on the center bays of this façade. The two bays on either side of this pavilion, covered by the towers, were returned to view. A modestly scaled cupola was also rebuilt. Cranstone barely showed chimney stacks in the watercolor of the third building and only two small stacks are visible in the photographs of the fourth building or in the drawing of its east elevation by Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn. Obviously the mammoth hearths revealed by archeology had succumbed to the 1859, if not the 1862, fire.

Rives made major changes in the plan, unless these had also been a feature of the third building for which no plan is known to survive (figure

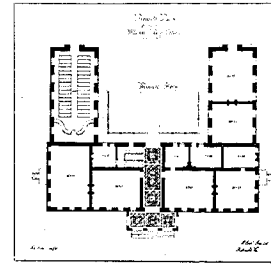
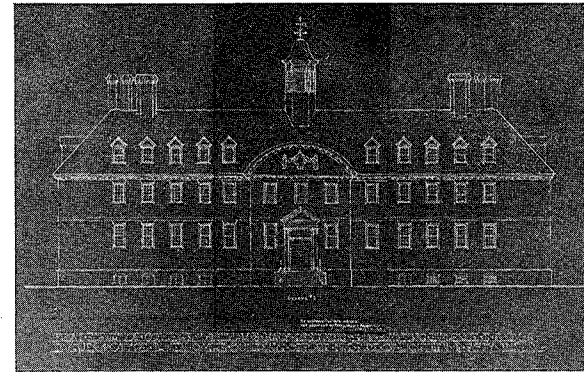


Fig. 33. *Plan of the First Floor, The College of William and Mary (fourth building, 1867–1929), from William and Mary Quarterly, VIII (1928), opposite p. 248.*



33). The loggia was enclosed, a large room was created running the entire length of the south façade, while four smallish rooms, the staircase, and the center passage occupied the remaining space of the loggia. These changes were not ideal from a circulation standpoint. Access to one room was to be had only from the outside; other rooms were only accessible from yet other rooms. The entrances to the Chapel and Hall from the loggia were bricked in and no evidence is shown for the original hearth in the Hall. The Hall was then divided into two rooms, each accessible from outside but not to each other. Only the Chapel retained its original use and received new pews. A railed walkway enabled access to six of these rooms in the court. It was this building, or one much like it, that Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn encountered in 1928 when they began their study of the proposed restoration. It is likely that their first task was to prepare