

tionship to its forecourt dependencies (figures 110–111). The axis Bland established for Duke of Gloucester Street, for topographical reasons already noted, ran several degrees northeast of the College's axis. The designer of the Brafferton thus needed to determine whether to align the building with the College or with the street; he chose the latter. When Cary was faced with siting the President's house, the problem arose again and he also appears to have faced the added problem of Richmond (then New Kent) Road encroaching or creating a College Yard somewhat narrower on the north than on the south. As a consequence, the President's house was both shifted closer to the College and aligned with it. Whiffen was right to think that the solution created a relationship between the three buildings more dynamic than would be the case if the two dependencies ignored either College or town. If they had been aligned with the College, its misalignment with the street would probably be noticed. Conversely, if they had been aligned with the street, their misalignment with the College would have been quite obvious. There remains, however, the question as to whether both were envisioned at the same time. But whether by coincidence or design, the College, as complete by 1732 and as shown in the Bodleian Plate, represents a new departure in collegiate design. Owing a debt to domestic models in the Netherlands and England, the three major buildings that comprised the cam-



pus of the College by 1732 marked the beginning of a uniquely American campus tradition.⁵⁴

The classical, Baroque style that the College first introduced, reiterated in the 1705–1715 rebuilding and completed with the building of the Brafferton and the President's house, was soon built upon by Harvard College and, subsequently, by virtually every other college founded and constructed in the colonies before the American Revolution. Harvard's Stoughton Hall, built in 1697–1699, as shown in the center of the Burgis print of 1723, contrasts greatly with the second Harvard Hall, to its left, a building built in 1672–1682 in the late Tudor manner

Fig. 111 Arthur Shurcliff, *Aerial Perspective of College Yard, The College of William and Mary*, drawing, 1930, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

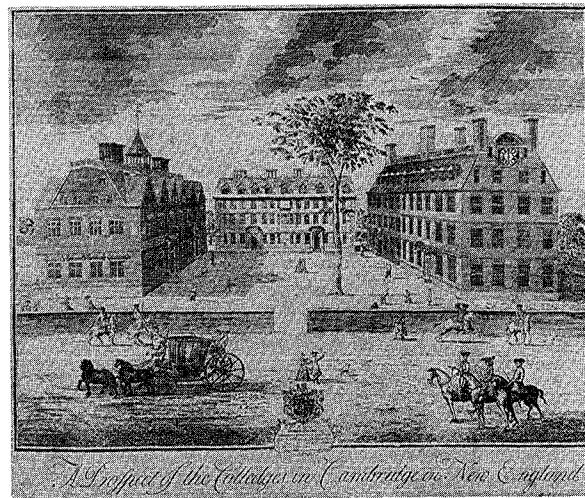
(figure 112). News of the new Virginia college must have reached Cambridge by 1698 and may have been a factor in Harvard's turn away from Tudor. Stoughton Hall was the model for Massachusetts Hall, built at a right angle and to the right of it in 1718–1720. Because Harvard Hall II was torn down in 1765 after a fire, and because Stoughton Hall, damaged during the Revolution, was demolished in 1781, Massachusetts Hall stands today as Harvard's oldest building, and as the second oldest college building in the country. Three additional large-scale buildings were completed before the Revolution, all of which survive—Holden Chapel (1742–1744), Hollis Hall (1762–1763), and Harvard Hall III (1764–1766). Hollis Hall, designed by Thomas Dawes, and Harvard Hall III, designed by Massachusetts governor, Francis Bernard, both followed the lead of William and Mary in that they each have a hipped roof and a pedimented pavilion in the center of the main façade.⁵⁵

Harvard and William and Mary were joined by as many as fourteen additional institutions before 1776. The first of these was Yale College, founded in 1701 at Old Saybrook. It relocated to New Haven in 1716 and by 1718 had completed

its first major structure, the building depicted in a contemporary engraving (figure 113). Given its three-story height, triple entrances, and gabled roof, Yale College was probably modeled on Stoughton Hall, but like William and Mary had a prominent cupola. This entirely frame structure was razed between 1775 and 1782. In 1750–1752 Connecticut Hall was built in brick at Yale and suggests influence from Harvard's Massachusetts Hall. It is the oldest and only colonial building to survive on the Yale campus.⁵⁶ The architectural tradition established by the College of William and Mary, by Stoughton and Massachusetts halls at Harvard, and by Yale's first New Haven building, all complete by 1718, very much guided at least six additional colonial colleges. Yale was followed by the University of Pennsylvania, first incorporated as the College of Philadelphia (figure 114). It was first housed in the building built in 1740 and shown in the left of the print. The building to the right, a design of Robert Smith (who would soon design the Public Hospital in Williamsburg), was built as a dormitory in 1762. Located in the vicinity of 4th and Arch streets, both buildings appear to have survived into the 1840s.⁵⁷

In 1746, six years after the College of Philadelphia had been founded, the College of New Jersey was established at Princeton. Its first building, Nassau Hall (shown in the engraving with its President's house to the right), was in this combination possibly influenced by the College of William and Mary. Assigned Robert Smith and built in 1754–1756, its five-bay pedimented center pavilion reflects the Palladianism entering the mainstream of American colonial architecture by that time (figure 115). Nassau Hall still stands at the heart of the Princeton campus, although in a Victorian state not unlike what Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn encountered at the College of William and Mary in 1928.⁵⁸ Princeton was followed by King's College in New

Fig. 112. William Burgis, *View of Harvard Hall, Second Building (left), Stoughton Hall, 1699 (center), Massachusetts Hall, 1718–1720 (right)*, engraving, 1726, Massachusetts Historical Society.



York City in 1764 (figure 116). Renamed Columbia College after the Revolution, by 1760 a monumental three-story brick structure two blocks east of City Hall had been constructed. Demolished in the last century, the building is to be remembered for its four, repetitive three-bay pedimented pavilions. Brown University had its origins as Rhode Island College, founded at Warren in 1764. By 1770 it had relocated to Providence and construction had begun of a four-story brick range with a center pedimented pavilion modeled on Nassau Hall by Joseph Brown, for whose family the College was re-named in 1804. The c.1790 engraving (figure 117) shows a house to the left of the college building. The College of William and Mary's restoration by Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn probably prompted the restoration (by the same architects) of Brown's first building after World War II.

In 1766, Rutgers University was founded at New Brunswick as Queen's College, but absence of funds prohibited the construction of a major building until after the Revolution when the college was renamed in honor of its major donor. Dartmouth College, among the last of the colonial colleges, was founded in 1769 at Hanover, New Hampshire (figure 118). Funding problems followed by the Revolutionary War, followed by still more funding problems, prevented its first major structure from being built before 1784–1791. The frame building constructed in that period burned in 1904, but was rebuilt in brick following the 1784 design in the treatment of the façades. It burned a second time in 1935, which occasioned a second rebuilding of its interior. Unlike the College of William and Mary, Dartmouth's building is both a reconstruction and a restoration. Of seventeen major college buildings at nine colleges established before the Revolution, ten survive today in one form or another, four at Harvard, three at

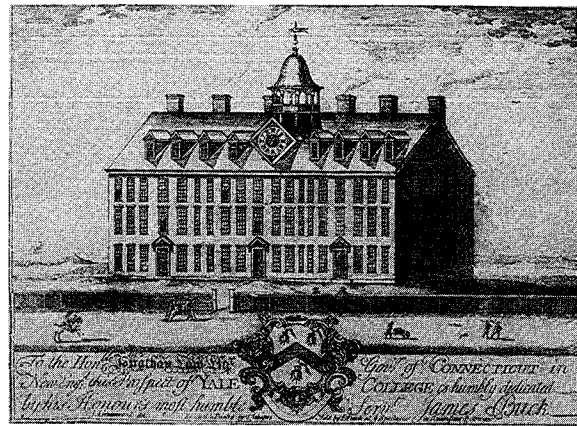


Fig 113. Thomas Johnston (after John Greenwood), *Yale College (c. 1716–1717)*, New Haven, engraving, I. N. Phelps Stokes Collection, Miriam & Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints & Photographs, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

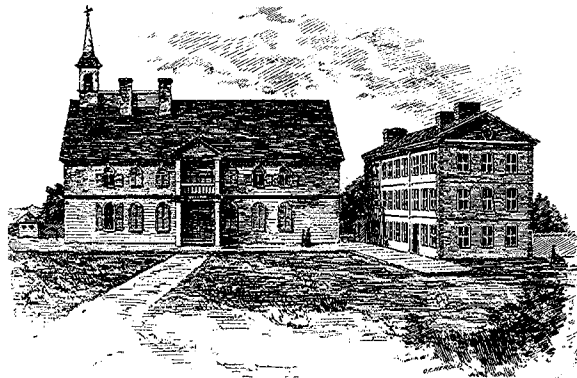


Fig. 114. *View of First Buildings of the College of Philadelphia, later the University of Pennsylvania, Academy, c. 1740 (left), Dormitory, c. 1750 (right)*, from George B. Wood, *Early History of the University of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1896), 11, Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

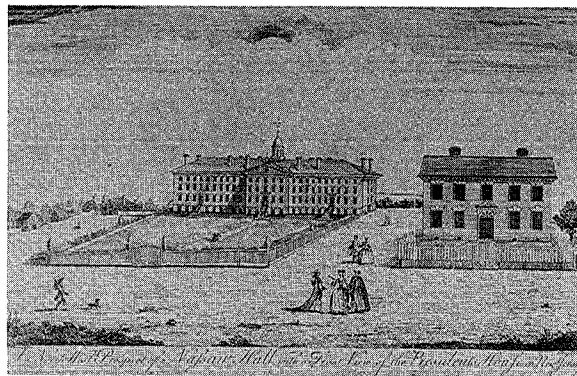


Fig. 115. Henry Dawkins, *College of New Jersey, Princeton, Nassau Hall, c. 1760*, design by Robert Smith, *President's house (right)*, engraving, 1764, Princeton University Library.

Fig. 116. *King's College (Columbia University), New York City, 1760, from the Tiebout engraving, New York Magazine, May 1790, The New-York Historical Society, New York City.*

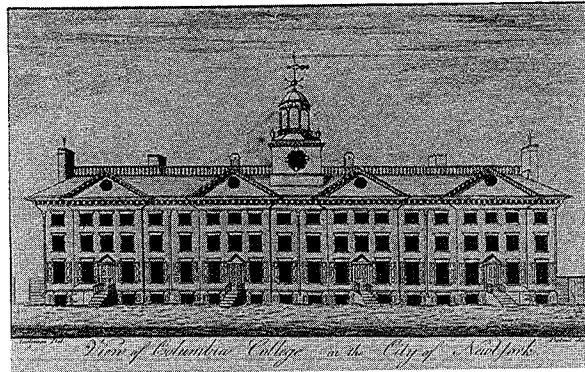
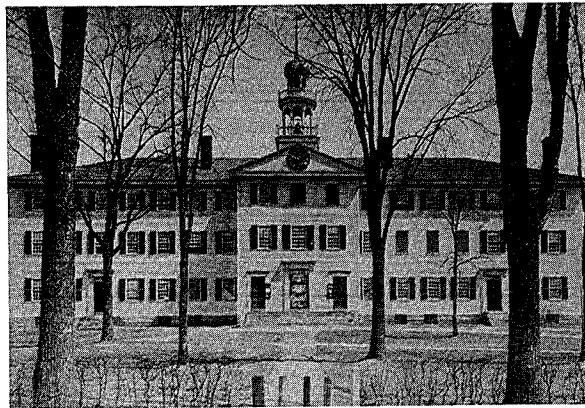


Fig. 117. *College of Rhode Island (later Brown University), design of Joseph Brown, in Providence, engraving, c 1790, Brown University Archives and News and Information Services.*



Fig. 118. *Dartmouth Hall (1782–1786), Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, photograph (before the fire of 1904): Dartmouth College Library.*



William and Mary, and one each at Yale, Princeton, and Brown. It surely would have come as some comfort to James Blair if he had known that from among nine of the country's colonial colleges, none began with so good and so grand a design as his, that most faced similar initial problems with funding, and that none survives today with an older and more cohesive colonial campus than William and Mary.⁵⁹

The eighteenth-century style established in American collegiate design is harmonious and uniformly compatible. All colleges reflect the traditions first seen in Inigo Jones's Arundel houses (figure 53), in Stalpaert's Ancillary Building (figures 64a–b), in Pratt's Kingston Lacy (figure 68), and in the Williamson Building at Oxford, now assigned Wren (figure 81). However, only William and Mary warrants an allusion to a specific building—the Royal Hospital at Chelsea (figures 89a–c). Harvard continued to the end of the Colonial period the pattern of forming open squares or quadrangles as new buildings were built. Other northern colleges followed Harvard's example and, though Princeton and Brown appear to have come closest, all are unlike the domestic model of design characterizing the College of William and Mary. It remained for Jefferson, after his travels and experience in Europe, to build, as did Joseph-Jacques Ramée, a college around a Pantheon. His design of the University of Virginia, beginning about 1817, was inspired by the College of William and

Mary and his memories of the Palace Green (figure 119). The link between William and Mary and the University is the plan Jefferson had devised by 1772 for Monticello. The University of Virginia's similarity to Ramée's contemporary design for Union College at Schenectady also suggests Jefferson's debt to French architecture (figure 120). Both college designs recall that in Williamsburg insofar as a single dominant pile is set at the head of mall-like spaces. These, in turn, are flanked by buildings of lesser scale and importance that are symmetrical or identical, or nearly so.

The Frenchman's Map confirms that by 1782 an additional six small buildings had been built at the College, two set symmetrically between the College, President's house, and the Brafferton, and four set in a similar manner to either side of the Chapel and Hall fronting the college garden to the west (figure 98). This map also shows a formal arrangement of plantings, if not colonnades or arcades, linking forecourt dependencies with the College. If the College Yard in and of itself does not suggest Jefferson's mall, "the Lawn," Palace Green certainly does. And there were further domestic models in Virginia that Jefferson undoubtedly knew. The relatively elaborate, carefully proportioned and arranged flanking and forecourt buildings at Shirley plantation (c.1738) and the Palladian arrangement of Mount Airy (c.1748) are good examples.⁶⁰ The esteem in which Jefferson was held

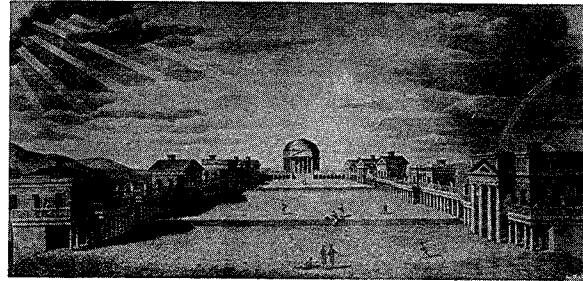


Fig. 119. B. Tanner, *University of Virginia*, Thomas Jefferson, architect, begun 1817, engraving, detail of the Böye map of Virginia, 1827, Manuscripts, University of Virginia Library.

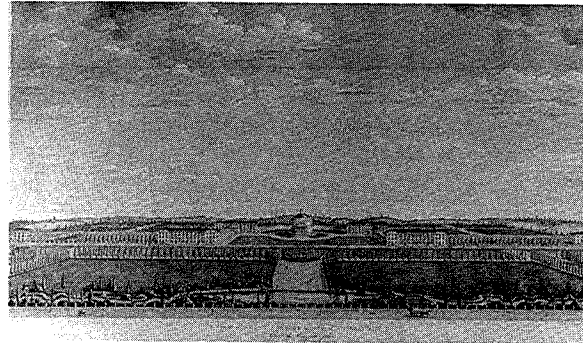


Fig. 120. J. Klein, *View of Union College in the City of Schenectady (after the Original Plan)*, Joseph-Jacques Ramée, architect, begun 1813, engraving, Schaffer Library, Union College.



Fig. 121. Henry Howe, *Ohio University, Athens, Ohio*, c.1804, engraving, 1846, from Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of Ohio* (Cincinnati, 1846), Department of Archives and Special Collections, Ohio University Libraries, Athens, Ohio.

Fig. 122. Thomas Charles Millington, *View of Bruton Parish Church, Williamsburg 1711–1715*, watercolor, mid-nineteenth century, Manuscripts and Rare Books Department, Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

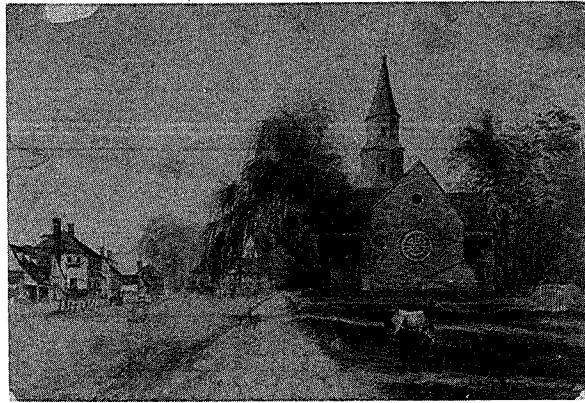
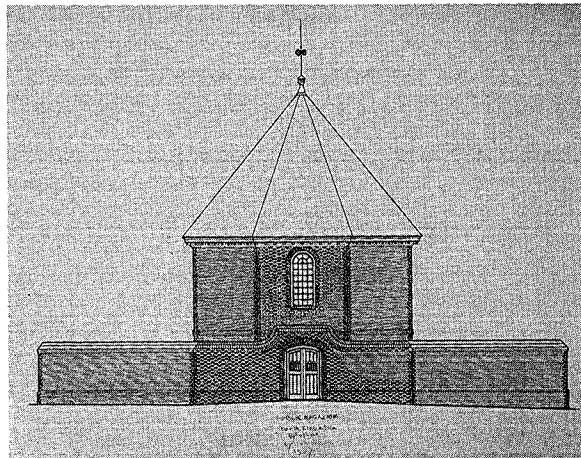


Fig. 123a. *North Elevation*, *The Magazine*, Williamsburg, Alexander Spotswood (attribution), architect, 1714–1715, drawing, 1957, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.



by liberal-minded Americans in the period 1790–1850 explains why so many colleges begun in this period followed the William and Mary–University of Virginia model. Many began with designs similar to them—the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (1793–1798), Ohio University at Athens, founded in 1804 (figure 121), and even much later colleges like the University of Wisconsin, founded at Madison in 1848, all of which point back to one or the other of the two Virginia colleges. The nineteenth-century print of Ohio University shows that its original campus (c.1804) was an “Old Main,” which came to be so typical of American colleges. The main building of Ohio University, like that at Dartmouth, is flanked by two identical buildings that form a forecourt to either side without a mall, in the manner of William and Mary. The Capitol and University of Wisconsin are arranged identically to the Capitol and College in Williamsburg. Madison’s symbolically most important street, State Street, links the two buildings. This street is terminated by the Capitol to the east and the University to the west. Like Ohio University, the University of Wisconsin’s original main building, Bascom Hall, is flanked by matching forecourt dependencies on either side, *à la* William and Mary and Williamsburg.⁶¹

The Palace and the College, both embellished by dependencies by 1732, provided the first examples of a domestic architecture that would characterize Virginia and other colonies for the

balance of the Colonial period and even later. While Rosewell's three-story height may have been a response to that of the college and while it and Westover are contemporary (c. 1725–1730), Westover is the better surviving example of the new Williamsburg style. It was built in 1726 by William Byrd II immediately upon his return to Virginia from London after a decade-long sojourn. In addition to being educated in England, Byrd had lived there between 1695 and 1705. Consequently, he knew English models from which he could draw directly in the design of Westover. Some of its features recall designs in James Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* (1727), and its entrance surrounds are based on drawings in William Salmon's *Palladio Londinensis* (1734). Even the Palladian mode, which supplanted that represented by the Williamsburg buildings and Westover before midcentury, had its earliest American precedent in the center pavilion of the first College design. This is nowhere better seen in Virginia than at Mount Airy, now thought to have been begun about 1747 by John Tayloe. As has been seen, precedents for such houses, illustrated by Gibbs in 1727, can be traced back beyond Roger Pratt to Inigo Jones.⁶²

The building of the College, Capitol, and Palace was followed in 1711 by a fourth public building, a new Bruton Parish Church (1711–1715) (figure 122). Its design and construction owe much to Alexander Spotswood who arrived in 1710 as Virginia's lieutenant governor. Its size

and style were unprecedented in Virginia and were not really surpassed in the Colonial period. The church made provision for the anticipated growth of the town, was grand enough to suit the governor of Virginia and the bishop of London's commissary, and was also harmonious in size and scale with earlier public buildings. Spotswood is credited with its initial design that featured a cruciform plan with a typically square English east end. The measurements of the original design appear to derive from various geometrical combinations of equilateral triangles. Spotswood, who was a mathematician, thus ignored the Golden Section of the classical language of architecture and reverted to the "sacred" geometry of the Middle Ages. The equilateral triangle is the superlative symbol of the Holy Trinity, and in applying a medieval system to a building otherwise classical, Spotswood achieved a thoroughly Baroque building.⁶³ The design was, however, modified during construction in 1711–1715. The chancel end was later extended some twenty-four feet, and the 100-foot steeple, the tallest in colonial Virginia, was not added until 1768–1769.⁶⁴

Spotswood is also credited with the design of the Magazine in Market Square, built in 1714–1715, as a result of an act and a gift of arms and ammunition from Queen Anne (figures 123a–b). It was the first Williamsburg building to be restored, in 1889.⁶⁵ Designed in the form of an octagon, thirty-two feet in diameter, the Maga-

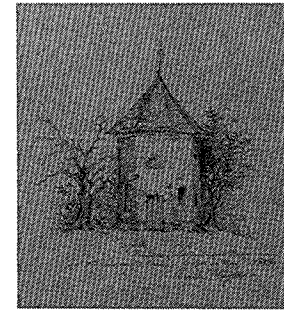


Fig. 123b. Brantz Mayer, *Remains of Lord Dunmore's Powder House at Williamsburg, Va.*, pencil drawing, 1868, Joseph and Margaret Muscarelle Museum of Art, College of William and Mary.

zine adheres to the proportions of the Golden Section. The thirty-two foot height of its brick walls equals their width and also equals the height and width of the roof, achieving a 1:1 and 1:2 set of proportions. The ten-foot high octagonal brick wall built around the Magazine in 1755 has an eighty-foot diameter that creates a twenty-four-foot wide courtyard within. Thus sixty-odd years later, the proportions of the Golden Section, first staked out with the foundations of the College, remained in effect. The Magazine has been aptly compared to a *praetorium* (guardhouse) in a Roman *castrum*, for Spotswood was among those who carried Nicholson's torch of Roman ideals forward toward Jefferson. It was sited on axis with England Street, the *cardo*, running north-south through the square, the town's *forum*. If Reps is correct and Market Square was originally contained within a W & M cipher with the Magazine on its center axis, the octagonal form of the Magazine would have been further articulated by its location at the juncture of the two arms of this cipher. The location of the Courthouse, begun in 1770, off axis and to the west of the Magazine, further suggested to him that the diagonal streets expressing the cipher had disappeared by that date and that the center of the square had shifted to the west with the building of Market Square Tavern. If this theory is correct and the center of the square had not been shifted, then the Courthouse would likely have been built on the same axis as the Magazine. An even more Roman arrangement would have resulted, for the Magazine and its Guardhouse (the *praetorium*) would have been balanced by the Courthouse (the *curia*), the key buildings in the *forum* of a Roman *castrum*.⁶⁶

The first theatre built in the English colonies (1716–1718) stood complete on the north side of Palace Green and was the last of Williamsburg's early public buildings to be built. Archeology undertaken in 1947 revealed foundations for

what was probably a frame structure, which measuring thirty by eighty-six feet was nearly as large as adjacent Bruton Parish Church. A creation of William Levingston, the Playhouse did not enjoy a continuous history throughout the Colonial period. A second playhouse was built of frame construction to replace it east of the Capitol in 1751. Absence of sufficient documentation for either building helps to explain why a theatre remains one of only two public buildings not to have been restored or reconstructed in Williamsburg.⁶⁷ By 1718, then, within two decades of its founding, Williamsburg had taken definitive and unique urban form, largely due to the efforts of two highly motivated governors who were interested in architecture, landscape design, and town planning. Hugh Jones observed this in 1724 when, after describing Williamsburg and its buildings, he concluded that they were "justly reputed the best in all English America, and are exceeded by few of their kind in England."⁶⁸

Three additional and important public buildings were built toward the end of the Colonial period—the Public Records Office (1747–1748), the Courthouse, authorized in 1764 and built in 1770–1772, and the Public Hospital, authorized in 1769 and built in 1770–1773, following a design sent by the Philadelphia architect, Robert Smith. These structures require mention because they show how the style and spirit of the initial plan and buildings, established by 1706, were consistently sustained and embellished until 1776. The finely proportioned and arranged Public Records Office and Courthouse required minimum restoration, although the onset of the Revolution prevented completion of the Courthouse. The Public Hospital was reconstructed in 1985, the most conspicuous of its architectural features being its center pedimented pavilion crowned by a bold cupola, the sixth and last such cupola or spire to embellish

the town's colonial skyline. While the College marked the enlightened beginnings of the town as a seat of learning for future leaders, the Hospital, coming at the end of the Colonial period, and heralding a changed attitude toward the treatment of the mentally ill, epitomized its equally enlightened close.⁶⁹



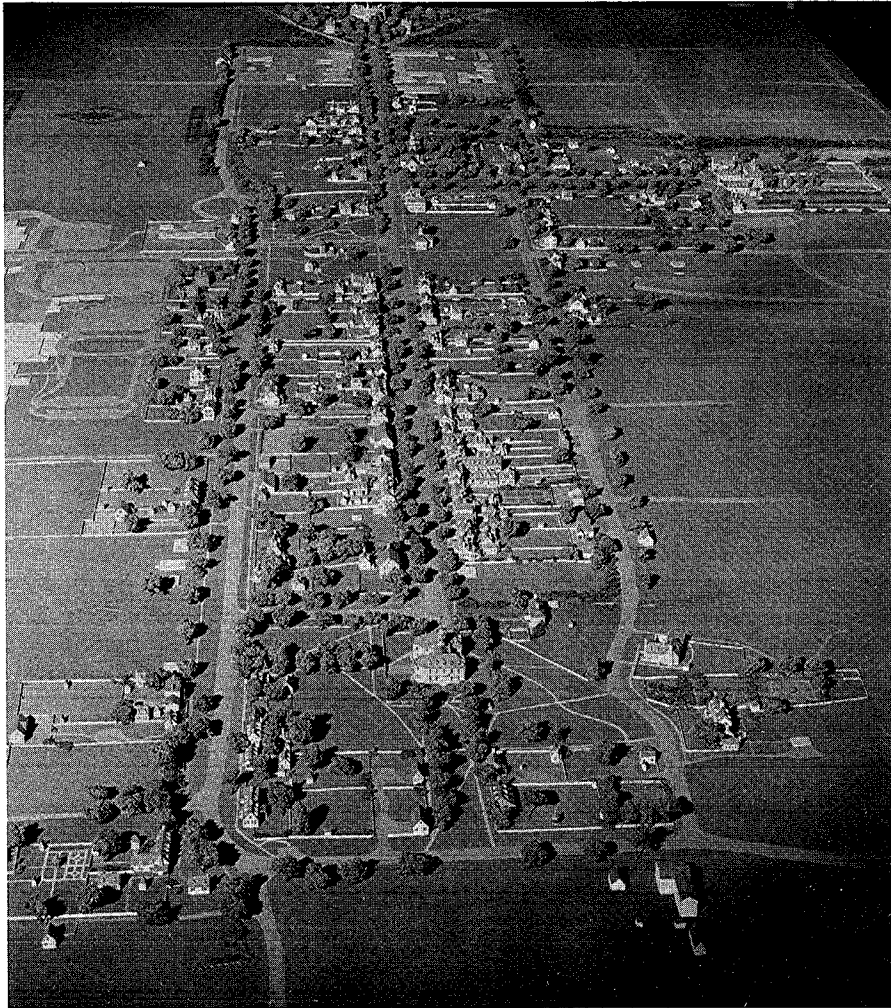
According to Thomas Jefferson, writing in 1787 in *NOTES ON THE STATE OF VIRGINIA*:
*The only publick buildings [in Virginia] worth mentioning are the Capitol, the Palace, the College, and the Hospital for Lunatics. . . . The Palace is not handsome . . . the College and Hospital are rude, mis-shapen piles, which, but that they have roofs, would be taken for brick kilns. . . . There are no other publick buildings but churches and court-houses in which no attempts are made at elegance. Indeed it would not be easy to execute such an attempt as a workman could scarcely be found here capable of drawing an order. The genius of architecture seems to have shed its maledictions over this land.*⁷⁰

Avant-garde in matters of art as well as in politics, Jefferson's Romantic criticisms of the architecture of Williamsburg and of Virginia in the mid-1780s are understandable. He had just returned from what can readily be shown as an eye-opening sojourn in Europe. Had Jefferson commented on his Williamsburg experiences later in life when, for example, his *jardin anglais* was complete at Monticello and from which he supervised the ongoing construction of his latest creation, the University, he might have shown the hindsight of age. He might have admitted that it was in Williamsburg that he had first seen architecture, landscape design, and town planning, just as it had been there that he first came to appreciate governmental ideals advanced by John Locke and others. He might have also

admitted that the nature of Monticello, of the Roman temple he used as the model of Virginia's Capitol at Richmond, his support for L'Enfant as the designer of the new Federal city, and even the "academical village" he designed at Charlottesville all had their roots in his Williamsburg experiences as student, as legislator, and as governor. After all, in 1788 he had written of the College of William and Mary, "I know of no place in the world, while the present professors remain, where I would so soon place a son."⁷¹

Glenn Patton's idea that Williamsburg and the College were the first clear urban and architectural expression in the English colonies of budding Enlightenment ideals might also have made sense to Jefferson as he looked back over the years. It is fitting to conclude with a demonstration of how these ideals are in fact manifest and how they probably influenced young Jefferson. For Patton, the College and the Capitol represent America and Virginia symbolically, in education and in government, respectively.⁷² If so, these social and political entities, as expressed by buildings housing them, are the definite terminations of the town's major visual axis, as the plan and model affirm (figures 99 and 124). The equal and unequivocal emphasis and balance between College and Capitol is unprecedented in town planning. Market Square, the town's principal urban space, is located midway between them. It is here that people gather, whether for marketing or fairs, as in an *agora*, or for public oratory, as in a *forum*. These functions, selling and speaking, are provided urban expression by the square itself, and architectural expression by the Courthouse. The latter is a further symbol of local rather than state or Federal government. Similarly, the basic public right to safety and protection of property and civil rights, so central to Locke's political theory, is given architectural expression with the Magazine.

Fig. 124. *Scale Model of Colonial Williamsburg, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.*



Clearly placed away from the principal axis, but in positions that make sense, even as symbols, are the Gaol and Hospital. Set inconspicuously against a ravine, but appropriately close to the Capitol that houses the General Court, the Gaol set apart criminals and debtors, whose ethics or finances were deemed unacceptable to society. The Hospital was given no vista either. It set apart the mentally ill, whose behavior patterns were similarly deemed unbalanced by society. While it may be coincidental that a line drawn from Gaol to Hospital crosses over the center of Market Square and is visually imperceptible, this invisible askewed axis is reflective of the symbolism implicit in Williamsburg's plan. Neither Gaol nor Hospital needed axes, but both buildings are expressive of human realities that were recognized accordingly and, thereby, acquire symbolic dimensions as places within the town.

The governor's house was placed distant and aloof from all other buildings. Symbolic of the expanding British Empire, it was built under royal command on isolated, but expansive, formal grounds with vistas that lead in both directions to natural infinities visually and symbolically. The vista from the Palace does not even project through Market Square, but has its own martial parade, which, though achieving an open vista southward through the entire town, ends nonetheless in a ravine or swamp. Bruton Parish Church stands where Palace Green and

Duke of Gloucester Street meet, and is thereby linked both physically and visually to the Palace as surely as church and crown were in England. The Church, unlike College, Capitol, Palace, and Courthouse, was not given a vista, even in the 1711–1715 rebuilding. Nor did the town have a vista of it, as, for example, Wren had designed for St. Paul's in his 1667 plan.

Williamsburg's plan is quite unlike earlier European town planning. Ancient, Medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque town planners placed supreme emphasis on the two symbols of order and power—religion and the state as expressed architecturally in church and palace. No wonder Nikolaus Pevsner could write that the history of European architecture is basically one of churches and palaces with an occasional town hall thrown in.⁷³ In Europe vistas were crucial to the design of St. Paul's and Buckingham Palace, to Nôtre Dame and to the Louvre, to St. Peter's and the Farnese palaces. Not so in Williamsburg. There, important new architectural and urban relationships, emphasizing democratic government and education, had fed Jefferson's imagination enough to cause architecture and landscape to become his most personal avocation. Before his time in Williamsburg, he had seen only rolling farmland, woodland, mountains, and muddy trails, occasionally punctuated by buildings, many of which he described as "being of scantling and boards, plastered with lime. It is impossible to devise things more ugly, uncom-

fortable, and happily more perishable."⁷⁴

Much later, Jefferson would write that the success of the new American republic hung on "two hooks," strong education and strong local government. For him, the larger hook appears to have been education, for he wrote: "No other sure foundation can be devised for the preservation of freedom and happiness." On another occasion he suggested that one would find education "ameliorating the condition, promoting the virtue, and advancing the happiness of man. . . . Enlighten the people . . . and tyranny and oppressions of body and mind will vanish like spirits at dawn of day." Strength in local government, the second hook, meant, according to Frederick C. Prescott, a system in which "each of the governments in the ascending series should retain such rights as it could protect unaided, and send on to the next higher in the series those of wider concern that were found beyond its competence. That system would be most safe and free in which government should be kept nearest the people—that is, toward the lower unit."⁷⁵ In Williamsburg, buildings housing education and local and state government alone dominated the principal axis of the town.

Given Jefferson's love of vistas, he must have often stood in Market Square and pondered the political meaning of its buildings, especially its two "hooks," Capitol and College. No church or palace blocked his view there. Jefferson would

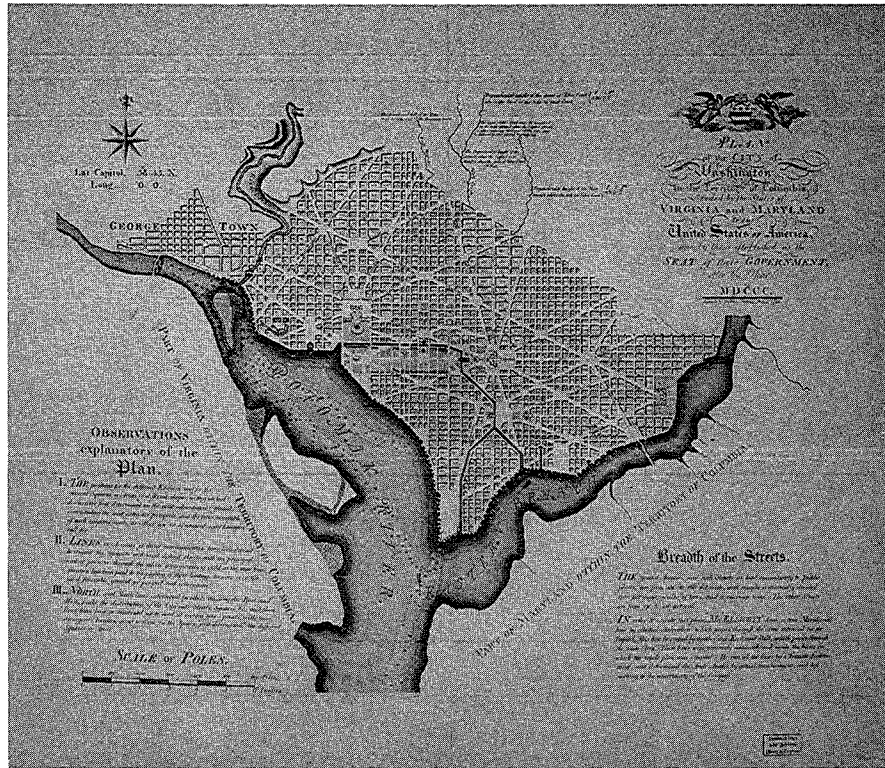


Fig. 125. Andrew Ellicott, after Pierre-Charles L'Enfant, *Plan of Washington, D.C., 1791–1792*, engraving, Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division.

also ensure that neither priest nor prince would “block views” in the state and federal legislation he helped to enact. He saw a Virginia free from state religion and primogeniture. The curricular reforms he helped to establish at the College in 1779 severed the link with the Church of England. As a result of his opposition to primogeniture, Virginia was assured that no single family would ever predominate. Jeffersonian ideals provided citizens with the right to worship as they saw fit and with equal opportunity under the law to govern, whether through the franchise or elected office. Both ideas were “firsts” in the history of government.⁷⁶

Jefferson’s belief in local government helps to explain why the plan he made for Washington, D.C.’s design was so modest in comparison to the

monumental scheme Pierre-Charles L’Enfant created in 1791, further articulated by Andrew Ellicott (figure 125).⁷⁷ Although on a scale much vaster than even Versailles, but more with the spirit of Williamsburg, the L’Enfant plan is characterized by grid-iron streets bisected by dominating grand radiating avenues, periodically punctuated by *rond-points*. It draws both from Nicholson’s Annapolis to the north as from Williamsburg to the south.⁷⁸ What is new, however, but for the precedent of Williamsburg, is the triangular arrangement of major buildings, an arrangement symbolizing the three branches of government—legislative, judicial, and executive. Clearly, the angles of the triangle occupied by the Capitol, on its hill, and by the Washington Monument, at the end of the colossal Mall, dominate that angle occupied by the President’s house.

At the time the Capitol was built, it was to house, like Williamsburg’s Capitol, both the legislative and judicial branches of government. The third branch, the executive, was symbolized by the placement of the President’s house. The symbolic base of this Federal triangle, and occupying its right angle, is the Washington Monument. While given less emphasis than Capitol and Monument, the White House was nonetheless denied the isolated position Williamsburg’s Governor’s Palace, with its own mall and infinite vistas, was afforded. Even the north garden of the White House was taken from it and made

into a public square, Lafayette Square, possibly when Jefferson was president.⁷⁹ The garden façade of the White House confronts the Washington Monument, a masterful reminder to the president that the Constitution and the Congress must be heeded. The White House was further connected to the Capitol by monumental Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington's equivalent of the Duke of Gloucester Street.



The Glorious Revolution of 1688 brought to the surface social, political, and artistic ideals that moved from the Netherlands, to England, then on to Virginia and the creation of the College and Williamsburg. Williamsburg, in turn, sustained and developed these ideals that became manifest in the successful move for American independence that alone made Washington, D.C. a reality. That these ideals remain vital today can, perhaps, be attested to by the millions of people who make pilgrimages to both places with each passing year. According to Allan Greenberg, when people stand under the dome of the United States Capitol, they *alone*, not the altars and thrones of the past, are made the focus of the entire architectural and urban scheme. The Senate and House of Representatives flank them on either side.⁸⁰ Even today, the Supreme Court stands behind them. The Capitol that represents, indeed *is*, the people is given the

two most powerful vistas—Pennsylvania Avenue and The Mall. If the people look down Pennsylvania Avenue they look toward their executive who, like the governor in Williamsburg, was given a less prominent vista. The dominant view given the White House is toward the Washington Monument. The only place one can see clearly both the White House and the Capitol is from the Washington Monument, one of the most symbolic and romantically sublime structures ever conceived. Just as the revolution of 1688 brought Williamsburg into being and the revolution of 1776 made Washington possible, so did the planners and designers of Williamsburg forecast by a century what was planned and designed for Washington. Both cities stand today as reminders of the nation's beginnings, achievements, and aspirations, in both politics and art.

Notes to Chapter IV

1. John W. Reps, *Tidewater Towns: City Planning in Colonial Virginia and Maryland* (Charlottesville, 1972), 141. On town planning in Virginia and elsewhere, see *ibid.*, especially, 65–171; John W. Reps, *The Making of Urban America* (Princeton, 1965); and Sylvia Doughty Fried, *The Urban Idea in Colonial America* (Philadelphia, 1977).

2. Reps, *Making of Urban America*, 167. Key democratic features of Penn's Charter are quoted in Oscar I. Barck, Jr. and Hugh T. Lefler, *Colonial America*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1968), 189–190.

3. Penn's notion of surrounding houses with green space appears original, for houses in European towns were built tight against one another well past Penn's time. The idea of building cities with free-standing buildings in "mixed" styles originated with the Picturesque movement in England, first clearly seen in those designed in several styles by William Kent at Stowe and elsewhere by 1740. Also see, George B. Tatum, *Penn's Great Town* (Philadelphia, 1961). The traditional view that Philadelphia, with 40,000 people by the time of the Revolution, was the

largest city in the colonies as well as the second largest English-speaking city has recently been challenged: see George B. Tatum, *Philadelphia Georgian: The City House of Samuel Powel* (Middletown, Conn., 1976), 158n.

4. For Wren's and Evelyn's plans for the rebuilding of London, and for Annapolis, see Reps, *Tidewater Towns*, 141 and *passim*. Reps thought Nicholson probably consulted Wren about Annapolis' plan when in London in 1693–1694: *ibid.*, 125.

5. The origin of broad radiating avenues allied with *rond-points* is French, and was first employed on a large scale at Versailles in the 1660s by André Le Nôtre, when Wren and Evelyn would have seen such schemes. However, the origin of radiating avenues punctuated by squares in town planning has its origin in Rome in the period 1585–1590 where Pope Sixtus V laid out such squares and streets in order to link the city's early Christian basilicas. His successful effort to revivify Rome also required (as became the case for Williamsburg) that persons who acquired property along the roads begin construction within a

specified period, no doubt in order to effect the sense of successful growth. For a brief account of Sixtus's Rome, see Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time, and Architecture*, rev. ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), 75–106.

6. St. John's College considers its founding date as 1696 because it grew out of Prince William's School. This occurred, however, after the American Revolution. The core of its campus remains McDowell Hall, a building begun in the 1740s to house Maryland's governor. Its large scale and high cost caused it to remain incomplete and to be called derisively "Bladen's Folly." For Thomas Bray in Annapolis, see chapter I, note 9, and chapter III, note 59.

7. Willemstad, as a fortified town designed by Adriaen Anthonisz in 1565–1583, was intended to guard the mouth of Holland's Diep River. Its octagonal church, built in 1597–1607, is believed to have been the earliest in the country expressly designed for the Dutch Reformed Church. Its octagonal form was meant to symbolize this new function, a form that was carried to Dutch Reformed churches in New York and New Jersey in the

eighteenth century.

8. Reps, *Tidewater Towns*, 141.

9. Michael G. Kammen, ed., "Virginia at the Close of the Seventeenth Century: An Appraisal by James Blair and John Locke," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXIV (1966), 157–158.

10. The conjectural plan of Middle Plantation was first published by Ruth-erfoord Goodwin, *A Brief and True Report Concerning Williamsburg in Virginia* (Williamsburg, 1940). The absence of any plans of Williamsburg between 1699 and c.1781 makes any effort to clarify details conjectural. The map that proved most useful to the restoration of the town, the so-called Frenchman's Map, is thought to have been prepared for the purpose of billeting French troops. It is, however, both incomplete and inaccurate. For an illuminating discussion of this and related maps, see Alan Simpson, *The Mysteries of the "Frenchman's Map" of Williamsburg, Virginia* (Williamsburg, 1984).

11. This is again a play of Pythagorean proportional relationships of 1:2, 2:3, and 3:4. The larger western part of the town

consists of eight units forty poles square on either side of Duke of Gloucester Street, whose unprecedented ninety-nine-foot width does not appear to have actually been included in the town's boundaries. The smaller eastern part of the plan comprises three units forty poles square on either side of the street. A pole is equal to sixteen and a half feet.

12. See "Speeches of Students of the College of William and Mary Delivered May 1, 1699," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2nd Ser., X (1930), 323–327.

13. Marcus Whiffen, *The Public Buildings of Williamsburg* (Williamsburg, 1958), 34. Whiffen's account of the Capitol (34–50), as well as the building built from its ruins after it burned in 1747, remains the most detailed and scholarly published account of both.

14. Reps, *Tidewater Towns*, 171 and *passim*; Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, 34–37.

15. Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, 35.

16. *Ibid.*, 34–39. For the brick bond used at the Capitol, see Appendix I.

17. No use of the term "Capitol" in the modern sense of naming a major

legislative building has been found before its use in Williamsburg in 1699. A. Matthews found only six uses of the term in pre-1776 documents. All referred to Williamsburg's building: see Matthews, *The Nation*, LX (1895), 361. The term remains peculiarly American. That Nicholson may be given credit for its use was suggested in chapter I, note 39.

18. The matter of Henry Cary, Sr., and Henry Cary, Jr., as designers of Williamsburg's major public buildings remains elusive. Henry Cary, Sr., (c. 1650–1720) was the son of Miles Cary who settled in Warwick County, Virginia in the 1640s. Henry's older brother, Miles Cary, Jr., was an original member of the College's Board of Visitors and was named so in the charter. Miles Cary chaired the building committee of the first College building. Blair was also charged in his London instructions to account to one "John Cary." Henry Cary, Jr., (c. 1675–1749) followed in his father's footsteps. Among the buildings he was contracted for in Williamsburg are the Chapel, President's house, and probably the Brafferton. He is also credited with designing his own house,

Amphill, near Richmond, in 1732. The author suspects that if evidence were available it would confirm that the Carys began the architectural profession in Virginia in the period 1700–1730. See Mary Folke Webb and Patrick Mann Estes, *Cary-Estes Genealogy* (Rutland, Vt., 1939); and R. K. Brock, *Archibald Cary of Amphill, Wheelhorse of the Revolution* (Richmond, 1937).

19. 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), 289.

20. For a comparison of the Capitol and the Capitulum, see Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, 34–50.

21. On the other hand, England had precedents for apses in buildings other than churches more obvious than the relatively obscure Doctor's Common in London, a remodeling of 1672, which Whiffen cited as a precedent for the Capitol. It appears that all were works by Inigo Jones—his Star Chamber (1617), never built at Westminster, the apse in the Banqueting House at Whitehall, removed as early as 1625, and the remodeled stage in

Whitehall's Cockpit Theatre.

22. For Maryland's Statehouse and other public buildings at Annapolis, see Morris L. Radoff, *Buildings of the State of Maryland at Annapolis* (Annapolis, 1954). Massachusetts was second to follow the Maryland example with the domed statehouse Charles Bulfinch designed in 1789. The first monolithic (stone) dome in the United States was the one that Benjamin Latrobe used in the Roman Catholic Cathedral built at Baltimore (1805–1818). Work did not begin on the first dome for the United States Capitol until after the War of 1812. William Thornton's design for the Capitol featured a dome; Latrobe modified it during construction, and it was completed by Bulfinch with more modifications. This dome was removed in 1857–1861 when the present cast-iron dome, a design of Thomas U. Walter, and with a much higher profile, was constructed.

23. According to Hugh Morrison, City Hall "owed allegiance to English manor houses of the Stuart period rather than to the high-gabled structures of old Amsterdam" and contained, besides the Assem-

bly and Council, the court, a jury room, debtor's prison, and "a dungeon for criminals." Hugh Morrison, *Early American Architecture: From the First Colonial Settlements to the National Period* (Oxford, 1952), 551. New York City's first Anglican parish was given a charter by William III in 1697. In 1699 a stone structure, the first Trinity Church, was built with an apsidal east end and, if the view of it in an 1859 print is trusted, with Gothic tracery in its slightly pointed windows: *ibid.*, 552.

24. On the Maastricht and Enkhuizen town halls, see W. Kuyper, *Dutch Classicist Architecture: A Survey of Dutch Architecture, Gardens, and Anglo-Dutch Relations from 1625 to 1700* (Delft, 1981), 85–87, 148, 173, 185 and *passim*.

25. Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, 48.

26. When the Capitol burned in 1747 to little more than its brick walls, these were recycled in the rebuilding. However, the apsidal ends were obliterated and a Palladian two-story portico was added to the west façade, making it the principal one, facing Duke of Gloucester Street. This building burned in 1832 and few bricks were

left in place above the foundations. Reconstruction of the first Capitol in 1931 was based on archeology, the image in the Michel drawing, the Bodleian Plate, and other descriptions that survive. Little survives of the foundations for the gallery and apses. The Bodleian Plate proved definitive in the reconstruction, for Michel had shown the gallery as consisting of an arched door flanked by smaller arched, unglazed windows. This conflicted with the plate's three arcades in the gallery, and drawings were altered accordingly. Similarly, a guide was now had for the configuration of the cupola, which was redesigned to conform to the Bodleian Plate.

27. On the Gaol, see Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, 50–52, 70–74 and *passim*. See also Appendix I.

28. Beverley, *History and Present State of Virginia*, ed. Wright, 105; Hugh Jones, *The Present State of Virginia*, ed. Richard Lee Morton (Chapel Hill, N.C. 1956), 25–28.

29. Reys, *Tidewater Towns*, 157–170. According to Kennett, the Capitol, or Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, stood on a high ridge

taking in four acres of ground. Whiffen estimated the 475-foot square site specified for the Capitol also amounted to about five acres, comparable to that in Rome.

30. Reps, *Tidewater Towns*, 157–170.

31. Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, 53–66.

32. The area meant to be occupied by ill-fated King Street was used by the Department of the Interior as the roadbed for the Colonial National Parkway, which begins its underground tunnel section near the ravinous intersection of Ireland and King streets and exits to the north in the ravine between England and Queen streets north of Scotland Street.

33. Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, 51. On the Governor's Palace, also see Nancy Halverson Schless, "Dutch Influence on the Governor's Palace, Williamsburg," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XXVIII (1969); and John Cornforth, "Williamsburg Reconsidered: The Governor's Palace," *Country Life*, CLXXI (1982), 802–805. For the brick bond used for the Governor's Palace, see Appendix I.

34. It is quite possible the specifications for the

house came after a design had actually been drawn, after preliminary suggestions had been made with regard to scale, style, and materials. Possibly this design was made by Cary or even by Nicholson, since the governor's house had been in the planning stage for years. The Carys' role in supervising or bidding on the construction of nearly all of Williamsburg's early public buildings certainly raises the question of their role as designers as well.

35. Nott died in August 1706; his appointed successor, Robert Hunter, was never able to fill the post. Virginia remained without a governor until Alexander Spotswood arrived as lieutenant governor in June 1710. For Spotswood, see Walter Havighurst, *Alexander Spotswood* (Williamsburg, 1967); and Robert Alonzo Brock, *The Official Letters of Alexander Spotswood*, 2 vols (Richmond, 1882–1885). On the interregnum, see Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, 54–56.

36. Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, 88.

37. Stratford Hall in Virginia is now redated c.1738 on the basis of dendrochronology. Its ha-ha has been cited as the earliest use of this Picturesque

device, thought to have Chinese origins, in the colonies.

38. Cary was criticized by the Governor's Council in April 1711 for methods deemed "extravagantly chargeable and expensive;" see Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, 89.

39. Perhaps the key to the availability of prints and books in Williamsburg (1693–1705) was Nicholson himself. McCully has tabulated that Nicholson donated to the College "some £550 sterling in subscriptions or cash, as well as sundry books, [and] maps," Bruce T. McCully, "Governor Francis Nicholson, Patron par Excellence . . .," *WMQ*, 3d Ser., XXXIX (1982), 318. As for Dutch publications, Amsterdam was a leading publishing center; William Byrd II employed a Dutch joiner c.1710, and John Custis's grandfather had lived in Rotterdam.

40. See Schless, "Dutch Influence on the Governor's Palace," 267, 254.

41. See John Summer-son, *Inigo Jones*, (Harmondsworth, 1966), 60.

42. On the great hall, see Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, 63–65.

43. Although nearly £6000 had been expended

on building the Palace by 1720, and some £3,294 on upkeep and repair between 1723 and 1747, Governor William Gooch was able to complain in the latter year that it was still "so old and decayed" Gooch's successor as governor, Robert Dinwiddie, apparently agreed and employed Taliaferro, whom he called "our most Skilful Architect," to add the ballroom wing and make other repairs. Taliaferro, who "succeeded" the Carys as Williamsburg's "local" architect, also designed the Wythe house. His daughter married George Wythe, mentor of Thomas Jefferson. Arthur Shurcliff, landscape architect for the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, was responsible for the reconstruction of the gardens of the Governor's Palace. Given the scarcity of archeological and documentary data, restoration of the gardens must have relied in part on images such as those found in Kip's *Britannia illustrata*

44. On Spotswood's "Falling Gardens," see Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, 92, 94.

45. *Ibid.*, 214–215n.

46. On the Governor's Palace gardens, see Audrey Noël Hume, *Archeology and*

the Colonial Gardener (Williamsburg, 1974); and Peter Martin, "The Governor's Palace Gardens: 'lavishing away' of the Colony's Money," (unpublished typescript, Research Department, the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, n.d.). On eighteenth-century gardening in Virginia see Peter Martin, "'Promised Fruits of Well-Ordered Towns'—Gardens in Early 18th-Century Williamsburg," *Journal of Garden History*, II (1982), 309–324; and Martin, "Williamsburg: the Role of the Garden in 'Making a Town'," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture*, XII, ed., Harry C. Payne (Madison, Wis., 1983). Custis, quoted from "'Long and Assiduous Endeavors': Gardening in Early 18th-Century Virginia," *Eighteenth Century Life*, VIII (1983), 107–116.

47. Martin, "'Promised Fruits of Well-Ordered Towns,'" 309–324. On Custis and Spotswood, see Reps, *Tidewater Towns*, 175, 313n. Custis's letterbook is in the Library of Congress. A complete typescript of this (by Maude Woodfin) is at the Virginia Historical Society in Richmond. Correspondence between Custis and Peter Collinson is found in Earl G. Swem, ed.,

Brothers of the Spade: Correspondence of Peter Collinson of London and of John Custis of Williamsburg (Barre, Vt., 1957). Other information is contained in "Custis-Maupin House, Block 13, Lot 355," (Research Report, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1950).

48. For the Governor's Palace gardens as a prologue to Picturesque landscape design in the United States, see James D. Kornwolf, "The Picturesque in the American Garden and Landscape," *Eighteenth Century Life*, VIII (1983), 93–106.

49. See Martin, "Long and Assiduous Endeavors," 111 and *passim*.

50. A book on Versailles known to have been in Spotswood's library was Pignaniol de la Force, *Description des Châteaux et Parc de Versailles, de Trianon, et de Marly*, I (Amsterdam, 1715). Spotswood bequeathed his books to the College of William and Mary. According to Whiffen, this was the only one to survive the 1859 fire. This volume, therefore, may have been just the tip of an iceberg: Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, 94. With regard to terraces at Virginia and other southern plantations, they numbered into the

dozens. For example, Surry County alone boasted at least three such monumental terraces along the James River—Claremont Manor, Four-Mile-Tree, and Pleasant Point plantations: see James D. Kornwolf, *Guide to the Buildings of Surry and The American Revolution* (Richmond, 1976). Mount Airy and Gunston Hall are others in Virginia; Middleton Place stands out in South Carolina. Moreover, Custis himself was not above a taste for things European, whether cultured or cultivated. As for culture, his gardens contained lead statues of Venus, Apollo, and Bacchus, and in 1717 he ordered prints for the passage of his house, which depicted Mars, Venus, Neptune, and Amphitrite. As for cultivation, the portrait of Custis assigned Charles Bridges shows him with a tulip and a book inscribed "Of the Tulip." His great-grandfather, who was a refugee in the Netherlands from Cromwell's Commonwealth, ran an inn in Rotterdam.

51. William Keith, *The History of the British Plantation in America* (London, 1738), 172. The Palace served as the residence for all of Virginia's royal governors, and it was home to the

Commonwealth of Virginia's first two governors, Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson. Not surprisingly, Jefferson had ambitious plans for its remodeling. It accidentally burned in 1781 and was not rebuilt. A watercolor exists that attests to the survival into the next century of one dependency. In 1929 when its reconstruction was under consideration, the site and the remaining foundations were covered by the Matthew Whaley School. No views whatever of it were known until the Bodleian Plate was discovered in December 1929. It was then determined to remove the school and excavate the Palace and gardens as these could be determined from archeology, descriptions, Jefferson's plan of the first floor, and the plate. Between 1931 and 1934, the Palace was rebuilt. There are those today who consider that what is now seen at the Palace is more reflective of architectural and landscape theories of the 1930s than of the Colonial period itself.

52. On the Brafferton and the President's house, see Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, 106–112, 123–126, and Appendix I. It will be recalled that Spotswood was

largely responsible for rebuilding the College (1710–1716) and for effecting changes in its design. Though he had left as governor by 1723 when the Brafferton was begun, it is possible its location and that of the President's house were suggested by him.

53. The Palace was reconstructed with a transom that is not as clearly shown on its south façade in the Bodleian Plate as are those above the entrances to the Brafferton and the President's house. Transoms were not widely used before the eighteenth century, as a glance at the architecture illustrated here indicates. The distribution of panes, or lights, in the College's flanking buildings also provides a clue to its original fenestration.

54. On Cary's likely decision-making in siting the Brafferton and President's house, see Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, 125–126. On the uniqueness of William and Mary's campus, see Paul Venable Turner, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), 31–37.

55. On Harvard's colonial buildings, see Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Founding of Harvard College*; and Hamilton V. Bail, *Views of*

Harvard: A Pictorial Record to 1860 (Cambridge, Mass., 1949). Also see Turner, *Campus*, especially, 9–15. Harvard College was voted into existence by the General Court of Massachusetts Bay Colony in October 1636. According to Turner, a year later they decided to locate it at Newtowne, soon renamed Cambridge in order to reflect the large number of colonists who were Cambridge alumni.

The Cambridge college was named after John Harvard who left half of his estate and his books to the college upon death in 1638. Turner saw Harvard first bringing Cambridge University design traditions to the colonies, William and Mary, those of Oxford. More puritanical Cambridge rejected the medieval quadrangle for what Turner called "the open-courtyard pattern" followed by Harvard. More Anglican Oxford clung to the traditional quadrangle: Turner, *Campus*, 9–15.

56. For Yale's early buildings, see Anthony H. B. Garvan, *Architecture and Town Planning in Colonial Connecticut* (New Haven, 1951); and Reuben A. Holden, *Yale: A Pictorial History* (New Haven, 1967). Also see Turner, *Campus*,

especially, 38–47.

57. For the University of Pennsylvania's early buildings, see George B. Wood, *Early History of the University of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1896).

58. On Princeton's early buildings, see Thomas J. Wertebaker, *Princeton, 1746–1896* (Princeton, 1946); Wheaton J. Lane, *Pictorial History of Princeton* (Princeton, 1947); and Henry L. Savage, ed., *Nassau Hall, 1756–1956* (Princeton, 1957). If William and Mary helped beget the American tradition of capitols, Princeton appears to have done the same for the uniquely American tradition of campuses.

According to Turner, "the area in front of Nassau Hall came to be called 'the Campus' in the 1770s—apparently the first use of this term to designate college grounds." Turner, *Campus*, 49. As late as 1925, the German city planner, Werner Hegemann, had to define "campus" for his European audiences as "a piece of land that is covered with the buildings of an American university." Turner, *Campus*, 4.

59. On the architecture of other colonial colleges, see Turner, *Campus*, especially chap. 1; and Hugh

Morrison, *Early American Architecture* (Oxford, 1952).

60. On Shirley, where Golden Section proportions governed the spaces between the main house and its numerous outbuildings, see Theodore Reinhart and Judith Habicht, "Shirley Plantation in the Eighteenth Century," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XCII (1984), 20–49. The author pointed out this system to Habicht. The proportions appear to be more involved than this article shows.

61. Nearly all of the aforementioned post-colonial colleges are also discussed by Turner in *Campus*.

62. Thomas Tileston Waterman's *The Mansions of Virginia* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1946) remains the most detailed study of Virginia's eighteenth-century domestic architecture. The English botanist, Mark Catesby, visited Westover in the period 1710–1712 and advised Byrd how to improve his gardens; only a few years before, however, Robert Beverley singled out Byrd's gardens as "the finest in the Country." Beverley, *History and Present State of Virginia*, ed. Wright, 316, 298, 299. Byrd mentioned a "Dutch joiner" doing work

for him in this period: see Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling, eds., *The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1709–1712* (Richmond, 1941). John Millar pointed out to the author a portrait at Westover painted by 1712 that shows a two-story house, now gone, similar to the Brafferton and President's house. Rosewell, begun in Gloucester County by Mann Page I in 1726, and Corotoman, begun in Lancaster County in the same decade by Robert "King" Carter, may also have been responses to the College and Palace. Rosewell was built a full three stories with one or two cupolas and had symmetrical flanking dependencies, and Corotoman appears to have boasted an arcaded loggia nearly 100 feet in length.

63. For Bruton Parish Church, see Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, 77–85; Dell Upton, *Holy Things and Profane* (Cambridge, 1986), and Appendix I.

64. It does not appear Virginia built a church steeple higher or more sophisticated until 1818 when the tower and steeple were added to Christ Church, Alexandria. Some Virginians thought the steeple at Bruton Parish Church

unnecessary: see Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, 152.

65. On the Magazine, see *ibid.*, 112–117, 197–198, and Appendix I. For the restoration of Colonial Williamsburg see Charles Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, 2 vols. (Charlottesville, 1981). Preservationism as a movement in English-speaking countries was marked by the formation in 1877 of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (Anti-Scrape) in Britain by William Morris and others. Saving Wren's deteriorating city churches was high on their agenda. The earliest American organizations of similar character had their origins in Virginia and Massachusetts. The Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities was founded in Williamsburg in 1889. In the same year they acquired the Magazine in an effort to prevent further deterioration. The A.P.V.A. was followed by the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities (S.P.N.E.A.), founded in Salem in 1901. Preservationism owes much to the Aesthetic and Arts and Crafts movements in Britain from about 1860 and in the United States from about 1875.

66. For Market Square, see Reps, *Tidewater Towns*, 157–160.

67. For theatres in Williamsburg, see Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, 112–117; and Robert Hunt Land, "The First Williamsburg Theatre," *WMQ*, 3d Ser., 111 (1948), 359–374.

68. Jones, *Present State of Virginia*, ed. Morton, 70.

69. On the Public Records Office, see Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, 130–134. On the Courthouse, see *ibid.*, 152–161; and Whiffen, "The Early County Courthouses of Virginia," *JSAH*, XVIII (1959), 2–10. See also Carl R. Lounsbury, "'An Elegant and Commodious Building': William Buckland and the Design of the Prince William County Courthouse," *JSAH*, XLVI (1987), 228–240. On the Public Hospital, see Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, 161–166. For all three buildings, see Appendix I.

70. Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, ed. W. E. Peden (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1955), 150–154.

71. Jefferson is usually considered a neoclassical architect, but the author follows the view that sees neoclassicism as an aspect of the larger Romantic movement, e.g., most neoclassical architects also

worked in other styles, especially the Gothic. Romanticism was a movement: the various revival styles are "stylisms" within it. See James D. Kornwolf, "High Victorian Gothic; Or, The Dilemma of Style in Modern Architecture," *JSAH*, XXXIV (1975), 37-47. For Jefferson's statement about the College, see his letter to Ralph Izard, Paris, July 17, 1788, in Thomas Jefferson, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Julian P. Boyd, 22 vols. (Princeton, N. J., 1956), XIII, 372.

72. Patton saw Williamsburg, before the building of Church and Palace, as "strongly linear," apparently not embodying principles of the *castrum*. By building the Palace and Church, Patton continued, Spotswood "modified the primary emphasis on education and law and set up more of a balance between these forces and those of administration and religion." Glenn Patton, "The College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, and the Enlightenment," *JSAH*, XXIX (1970), 28. The only problem with this theory is that both the Church and the Palace were given when Spotswood arrived. He could have pushed to give the Church a more

prominent location. Edmund N. Bacon wrote of "the greatness of the design composition" of Williamsburg's plan that "reminds us that the principles it embodies are at the root of the American tradition," that in "this simple, unself-conscious composition, the architecture and the space-planning are one, although by many different people at different periods . . . Not to be forgotten is the lesson of the design of the city as a whole." Edmund N. Bacon, *Design of Cities*, rev. ed. (New York, 1974), 225. Clifford Currie kindly pointed out this reference. I would only modify what Bacon wrote by saying that Williamsburg's plan and major public buildings may not have been "unselfconscious" and were created by far fewer people than is usual in the design of an important city; Nicholson and Spotswood surely stand out, as do the Carys, as the real creators of the town.

73. See Nikolaus Pevsner, "The Picturesque in Architecture," *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, (1947), 55-61.

74. Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, ed. Peden, 150-154.

75. Frederick C. Pres-

cott, *Alexander Hamilton and Thomas Jefferson* (New York, 1934), lxviii-lxix, lxi.

76. Jefferson stated his views on primogeniture and freedom of religion in a number of documents including a letter to John Adams, Oct. 28, 1813, in Prescott, *Hamilton and Jefferson*, 118-125.

77. On Washington, see Reps, *Making of Urban America*, especially chap. 9, 240-262; and Reps, *Monumental Washington. The Planning and Development of the Capital Center* (Princeton, 1976).

78. Both Patton and Turner acknowledged the importance of Williamsburg and the College for L'Enfant's Washington plan and for the University of Virginia. Turner further considered that L'Enfant's Mall might have inspired the William and Mary-like grouping of buildings shown in the 1795 plan of the campus of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill that are aligned on a "grand avenue" some 275 feet wide. But again, with Palace Green, the Williamsburg precedent would seem sufficient: see Patton, "The College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, and the Enlightenment," 32; and Turner,

Campus, 80, 56. Dorothy Louise Noble wrote that President Washington was well acquainted with both Williamsburg and Annapolis, and sent L'Enfant to study Annapolis's plan before doing the Federal city: Dorothy Louise Noble, "Life of Francis Nicholson" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1958), 186n. It is not clear whether L'Enfant also visited Williamsburg or knew its plan. This is likely, however, for Washington or Jefferson would have certainly mentioned the former Virginia capital to L'Enfant. Moreover, Reps considered the relationship between Williamsburg's Capitol and Palace "almost identical" to what L'Enfant created: see Reps, *Monumental Washington*, 22. In addition, Jefferson's plan of Washington of March 1791 appears to predate L'Enfant's and placed the Capitol and President's house in locations similar to what L'Enfant would do. Jefferson spoke of the building to house the Congress as "the Capitol" even before his letter of April 10, 1791, in which he expressed the hope its design would be based on "one of the models of antiquity." L'Enfant's report of June 22, 1791, and his final plan, probably

submitted that August, still referred to the building as "Congress House." Not until Ellicott's revision of L'Enfant's plan in 1792 was "Congress House" redesignated the "Capitol;" see *ibid.*, 19, 23; and Elizabeth S. Kite, *L'Enfant and Washington* (Baltimore, 1929), 49, 57.

79. I am indebted to Nicholas Pappas for pointing out that Lafayette Square was originally part of the White House grounds and that it may have been Jefferson who had this land made a public square.

80. Allan Greenberg made these comments during the symposium, "Modernism in America, 1935-1985," Muscarelle Museum of Art, College of William and Mary, September 7, 1985. He kindly sent the author a typescript of his forthcoming article, "Peter Charles L'Enfant's Plan for Washington, D. C." The article addresses the ideas of George Washington, Jefferson, L'Enfant, and others who wanted a capital that "symbolized the unity and plurality of the nation," which "would embody the ideals of democracy," and that would "embody the separation of Power as defined by Articles 1-3 of the Constitution."

Appendix I

A Chronology of the Public Buildings of Williamsburg with a Note on their Designers, 1693–1776

Of the fourteen public buildings and building groups designed for and constructed in Williamsburg between 1693 and 1776, twelve stand today restored or reconstructed. At the time restoration began in 1928, the College, Bruton Parish Church, Magazine, Brafferton, President's house, Public Records Office, and Courthouse stood either much altered (College) or little changed (Public Records Office) from their original designs. The Capitol, most of the Gaol, Governor's Palace, Public Hospital, and Guardhouse required reconstruction. Sufficient sections of the foundations of these buildings remained in place and guided the reconstructions as did original specifications and some visual evidence, most notably the Bodleian Plate (figure 21). Only the Playhouse (First Theatre) and the Markethouse have not yet been reconstructed.

Fire and other mishaps began almost from the start (1705 at the College), ending with the fire that destroyed the Public Hospital in 1885. Restoration of Williamsburg's buildings began only four years later when, in 1889, substantial repairs were made to the Magazine by Walter R. Higham for the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities. Restoration and reconstruction began in earnest in 1928 when John D. Rockefeller, Jr., formed the Williamsburg Restoration, Inc., now the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. Both have been ongoing since then, the last being the current restoration of the Courthouse. Thus, the buildings of colonial

Williamsburg (1693–1776), the destruction or alteration of its buildings (1705–1885), and the ensuing restoration or reconstruction of them (1889–1988) has been a continuous, even overlapping, process of nearly three centuries.

At least eight architects or designers shaped Williamsburg and its public buildings beginning with Christopher Wren in 1693 and ending with Thomas Jefferson in 1779 when it was determined to stop construction of the addition to the College. If Wren did not design the College, he influenced it as surely as he had Williamsburg's plan. Governors Nicholson and Spotswood did most to shape the College and the town; Nicholson may also have had a hand in the design of the Capitol and Palace in the period 1699–1705 just as had Spotswood in 1710–22 in completing the Palace and its gardens, in redesigning the rebuilt College in 1710–15, and in designing Bruton Parish Church and the Magazine (1711–14). Together, Henry Cary, Sr., and his son, Henry Cary, Jr., can be given credit for building the Capitol, Gaol, Palace, College Chapel, Brafferton, and President's house (1701–32). In the 1750s, Richard Taliaferro built the ballroom wing of the Palace, and designed the Wythe house. Robert Smith, architect and designer of many of Philadelphia's finest buildings, as well as Princeton College's Nassau Hall, supplied the design for the Public Hospital in 1769. Finally, Jefferson's scheme for an extensive quadrangular addition to the College was under