

construction in 1773–76 when the Revolution intervened. His measured plans for remodeling the Palace c. 1779 were doomed by the relocation of the capital to Richmond in 1780. For Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn's background as restoring architects in 1927–34, see note 50, chapter II.

1693. THE COLLEGE chartered. Designer, attributed to Christopher Wren; surveyor of the works, Thomas Hadley. East range and Hall, English bond, 1695–1699; burned 1705; east range and Hall rebuilt 1705–1715 with advice from Alexander Spotswood; Chapel and west façade of Hall built in English/Flemish bonds, built 1729–1732, Henry Cary, Jr., undertaker; burned 1859; rebuilt to a new design 1859, Henry Exall and Eben Faxon, architects; burned 1862; rebuilt to a different design 1867–1869, Alfred L. Rives, architect; restored 1928–1931 by Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn, architects (however, this study illustrates only drawings dating 1929–1931).

1699. THE CAPITOL authorized. Designer, possibly Francis Nicholson or Henry Cary, Sr., and committee; undertaker, Henry Cary, Sr. Built, probably in English/Flemish bonds, 1701–1705; burned 1747; rebuilding authorized 1749; rebuilt in altered form, 1751–1753; burned and demolished between 1793 and 1832; reconstructed 1931–1934 by Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn, architects.

1700. GAOL authorized. Probable designer, Henry Cary Sr., and committee; undertaker, Henry Cary, Sr. Gaol appears to have been built in English/Flemish bonds 1702–1703; debtor's prison added, possibly in Flemish bond 1712; gaoler's house added probably in Flemish bond 1722; partially demolished mid-nineteenth century; restored and reconstructed 1935–1936 by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

1705. GOVERNOR'S PALACE authorized. Possible designers, Francis Nicholson or Henry Cary, Sr.; undertaker, Henry Cary, Sr. Built probably in English/Flemish bonds, 1706–1716; gardens 1714–1718; completed c. 1722; ballroom wing added 1752–1754 designed or undertaken by Richard Taliaferro; burned 1781 and demolished thereafter; last dependencies demolished during the Civil War; reconstructed 1931–1934 by Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn, architects.

1711. BRUTON PARISH CHURCH authorized. Designer, Alexander Spotswood and others; undertakers, James Morris, John Tyler, and others. Built in English/Flemish bonds, 1711–1715; chancel extended 1752; churchyard wall 1754; steeple 1769, undertaker and possible designer, Benjamin Powell; interior restored 1903–1907 by J. Stewart Barney for the Reverend W. A. R. Goodwin; further restored 1939 by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

1714. **MAGAZINE** authorized. Designer, Alexander Spotswood; undertaker, John Tyler. Built in Flemish bond 1715; first restored 1889 by Walter R. Higham; secondly restored in 1934–1935 by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation; octagonal courtyard added in Flemish bond, 1755; reconstructed in 1934–1935 by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

1716. **PLAYHOUSE (FIRST THEATRE)**. Probable designer, William Levingston; Built frame 1716–1718; demolished c.1770; **SECOND THEATRE** built 1751 east of the Capitol. Frame construction, demolition unknown.

1723. **THE BRAFFERTON** authorized. Probable designer and undertaker, Henry Cary, Jr. Built English/Flemish bonds, 1723; restored 1931–1932 by Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn, architects.

1731. **PRESIDENT'S HOUSE** authorized. Designer and undertaker, Henry Cary, Jr. Built English/Flemish bonds, 1732; burned 1781; rebuilt c.1782; restored 1931–1932 by Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn, architects.

1747. **PUBLIC RECORDS (SECRETARY'S) OFFICE** authorized. Building Committee, John Blair, William Nelson, John Robinson, Thomas Nelson. Built English/Flemish bonds, 1747–1748; minimum restoration.

1755. **GUARDHOUSE** built. Reconstructed in 1949 by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

1757. **MARKETHOUSE** built. Undertaker unknown; demolition unknown.

1764. **COURTHOUSE** authorized. Designer and undertaker sought, 1769; both remain unknown. Built Flemish bond 1770–1772; burned 1911; rebuilt c.1912; restored 1932 by Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn, architects.

1769. **PUBLIC HOSPITAL** authorized. Designer, Robert Smith; undertaker, Benjamin Powell. Built English/Flemish bonds, 1770–1773; enlarged by 1821; further enlarged with third story added 1842–1846; burned 1885; reconstructed 1983–1985 by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation in collaboration with Kevin Roche and John Dinkeloo, architects.

Appendix II

Reactions from 1928 to 1988 to Christopher Wren as the Designer of the College of William and Mary, 1693–1695.

For over half a century, Christopher Wren's alleged role as the designer of the first College building has provoked both discussion and controversy among historians, architects, archeologists, and biographers. Catherine Savedge Schlesinger, who revised the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's "Architectural Report" in 1979, has succinctly summarized over forty reactions based on Hugh Jones's attribution. The College, she wrote:

was allegedly "modelled" by Sir Christopher Wren. . . . When the term "modelled" was used in 18th-century architecture, it signified the actual construction, to scale, of a wood model for the proposed structure. . . . Presumably plans were drawn in England, for it seems unlikely that the Virginia colony had a designer of requisite ability. Whether Wren can be credited as architect is disputable. . . . Assiduous research has failed to locate any proof of Jones' assertion, but disproof is equally elusive. Scholars are divided in their inclination to believe that Wren was the architect of the initial plan, but most seem skeptical. Schlesinger, The Wren Building—Block 16, Building 3: Summary Architectural Report, (Research Report, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1968, rev. ed., 1979), 14, 78–85.

Below is a chronological arrangement of some thirty excerpts of reactions over the past sixty years:

1928–31. The restoration of the second College building resulted in it being redesignated the Wren Building, a name approved by the BOARD OF VISITORS, who, through this gesture, obviously accepted Jones's attribution. The building was rededicated on September 16, 1931.

NOTE: While the author is of the persuasion that the design of the first College building had an English origin, and that it came from the Office of Works and Wren himself, he does not consider that naming the building after Wren is helpful in clarifying the matter of Wren's putative involvement, nor is it a proper name for the building itself. There are few instances in which a building is named after its designer. The University of Virginia did not name the Rotunda and Pavilions flanking the Lawn the Jefferson Campus, even though no one disputes his authorship. If Wren's involvement in the design of the first College building could be proven to everyone's satisfaction, there would be no need to call it the Wren Building. More suitable names, with or without new proof of Wren's authorship, might be the "College Building," or the "College Hall."

1937. PRENTICE DUELL, archeologist of the restoration, wrote the Reverend W. A. R. Goodwin in August: "I lived in London for some months, with Chelsea Hospital just around the corner. I went through the building thoroughly and it is

so reminiscent of the Wren Building in feeling and design . . . that I believe it is most probable that the same architect did both buildings." Duell, in A. Lawrence Kocher and Howard Best Dearstyne, "The Wren Building," (Research Report, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1950, rev. ed., 1951), 13.

1942. Duell's positive opinion was bolstered when ARTHUR BOLTON and H. D. HENDRY produced the nineteenth volume of *The Wren Society* edition of Wren drawings. They considered it "possible that some key drawings may have been made" by Wren because of the interest in the project by Queen Mary and Tillotson and because of the close working relationship between Wren and the Queen: Bolton and Hendry, eds., *The Wren Society*, 20 vols. (Oxford, 1942), XIX, xiv.

1946. In the June 30, 1946 issue of the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, THOMAS TILESTON WATERMAN, who had just published *The Mansions of Virginia*, rejected the Wren attribution. His argument was based on the statement Wren made about 1662 that the proposed quadrangle for Trinity College, Oxford should instead, be "a lame one, somewhat like a three-legged table." Waterman and others believed Wren would, therefore, never design quadrangular colleges unless he was "compelled to execute" them. Waterman obviously assumed that if Wren did design the

College, he was given a free hand and, therefore the quadrangular building could not possibly be by him because he would never design such a building: *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, July 14, 1946, as reported by Kocher and Dearstyne in "The Wren Building," 106–108.

1946. Waterman's article elicited an immediate rebuttal from OLIVER LODGE, an English architect, then Carnegie Visiting Professor at the College, who pointed out that Wren had designed quadrangular buildings: *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, July 14, 1946.

1950–51. A. LAWRENCE KOCHER and HOWARD BEST DEARSTYNE, who had undertaken more research on the College building than anyone until this time, wrote in one report that "the authorship . . . has been questioned from time to time" but that the first building "must have borne still greater resemblance" to Chelsea Hospital than that restored: Kocher and Dearstyne, "The Wren Building," 13. In another report, they wrote that there was "no valid reason for rejecting [Jones's] statement about Wren." Kocher and Dearstyne, "The Four Forms of the Wren Building," (Research Report, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation), 2.

1952. HUGH MORRISON discussed the restored building as though it was every bit a work by

Wren: "Blair returned . . . it is said, with plans drawn by the Surveyor-General, Sir Christopher Wren. . . . A pavilion juts forward in the center of the [east] façade to accent the middle, but Christopher Wren's scorn of academicism is shown in the gable over it: where the Palladians would have placed a low-pitched classic pediment, Wren used a sharp-pitched gable to give it greater emphasis and continuity to his vertical axis. Other features reveal Wren's signature: the round windows on front and back, reminiscent of his Royal Hospital at Kilmainham, Dublin; the lofty cupola; but most of all a bold and large simplicity combining classical breadth and repose with a suspicion of the nervous angularity, the sharp and brittle aspiration of his church steeples:" Morrison, *Early American Architecture: From the First Colonial Settlements to the National Period* (New York, 1952), 322–323.

1953. In his book on Wren S. MARTIN BRIGGS found Jones's likening the College to Chelsea Hospital "apt enough," and concluded by advancing the same reasons put forth by Bolton and Hendry that "it seems possible that Wren did send designs or sketches:" Briggs, *Wren The Incomparable* (London, 1953), 231 and *passim*.

1954. JOHN SUMMERSON wrote that Jones's attribution "cannot be lightly dismissed" and that one would not "expect the plan to be very strictly adhered to at such a distance from Scotland

Yard:" Summerson, *Architecture in Britain, 1530–1830* (Harmondsworth, 1954), 336.

1954. HOWARD M. COLVIN, after presenting the Jones attribution, wrote: "The accounts show that workmen and materials were brought from England, and that Thomas Hadley was the Surveyor in charge. There was a fire in 1705, after which the College was rebuilt:" Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of English Architects, 1660–1840* (London, 1954), 707. This statement was reprinted in the revised edition, published as *A Biographical Dictionary on British Architects, 1660–1840* (London, 1978), 924–925.

1956. EDUARD SEKLER noted that Jones's remarks on the building made it "quite clear that even if the Office of Works sent designs to Williamsburg, they were altered before being executed:" Sekler, *Wren and His Place in European Architecture* (New York, 1956), 152.

1956. VIKTOR FUERST wrote that "there is no evidence, however, to support this 'probability' [of Wren having made a design], as the assertion that the college 'closely resembles Wren's work in Europe' must be treated with reservation due to the lack of specification [as to] which of Wren's works the college is supposed to resemble." It appears that Fuerst had not read either Jones's statement or other pertinent literature on the College: Fuerst, *The Architecture of Sir Christopher*

Wren (London, 1956), 227.

1958. MARCUS WHIFFEN presented the arguments for and against the Wren attribution in "The Wren Problem." Citing the many misattributions of buildings to Wren as a reason, Whiffen felt he "Must take the risk of seeming to impugn a clergyman's honor" by setting down the reasons that he saw for doubting Jones's statement. "Yet," he continued, "when all has been said against Hugh Jones' attribution, there remains much to be said for it." He concluded: "So those who like to call the main building of the College of William and Mary 'the Wren Building' perhaps need not deny themselves that pleasure, although they would do well to remember that it is only the first form of the building for which Wren may have supplied a design. The more historically-minded will recognize that the question whether Wren did supply a design for it is as open as any such question can be, and will be content to rest in uncertainty until some new evidence turns up to settle the question one way or the other:" Whiffen, *The Public Buildings of Williamsburg* (Williamsburg, 1958), 32 and *passim*.

1960. Historians, especially those who write on Virginia, have tended to accept Jones's attribution. RICHARD LEE MORTON thought Wren would have been "the most suitable person to consult:"

Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, 2 vols. (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1960), II, 185n.

1969. GLENN PATTON chose to avoid the matter of Wren in Williamsburg entirely. He wrote that the Wren connection "must remain [a legend] until some more convincing proof is forthcoming:" Patton, "The College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, and the Enlightenment," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XXVIII (1969), 218.

1970. WILLIAM H. PIERSON, JR., wrote both of the Wren Building and the "Wren-Baroque" in the colonies: "The name of Christopher Wren is part of the American legend—so much so, in fact, that it would be difficult to enumerate those buildings of early eighteenth-century America (and some even later) which local tradition has ascribed in some way to Wren. This is nonsense, of course, for no architect so deeply committed to the high patronage of court and state would have either the time or inclination to design unimportant buildings on the fringes of the empire . . . the first coherent example of the Wren style itself was begun in the Virginia Colony in 1695. It is the Wren Building . . . the earliest example of the style in the colonies, but according to one revealing though not conclusive document [Hugh Jones's statement], the building was designed by Christopher Wren. . . . We cannot be certain whether the design was actu-

ally prepared by Wren himself or by someone in his office, but Hugh Jones was certainly in a position to know the facts and there can be little doubt that the connection is real enough. In this respect, Jones' reference to Chelsea Hospital is particularly revealing. Comparison of the Wren Building with either of the side wings of Chelsea Hospital . . . shows them both to be long horizontal blocks with central pedimented pavilions and with a similar type of fenestration and dormer windows; the cupola over the center of the Wren Building also appears over the main portico of Chelsea Hospital. Beyond these obvious relationships, however, the similarity between the two buildings begins to break down. Where the window openings of the wings of Chelsea Hospital are amply proportioned in relation to wall, those in the Wren Building are meagre and altogether domestic in scale; where the central pavilion at Chelsea Hospital is broad and sweeping and embellished with giant Doric pilasters, that of the Wren Building is tall and narrow and topped by a steeply pitched pediment which is more medieval than classical in its proportions. . . . It is perfectly apparent, therefore, that whatever design for the college was submitted by Wren's office, whether prepared by Wren himself or not, it was drastically modified. . . . Even Hugh Jones was aware of this. . . . The important thing . . . is not that it was designed by Wren but rather that it introduced into the Virginia Colony the major aspects of his style. . . . Because

the name of Wren was associated by a document with the building of the college, efforts have been made to ascribe to him the Capitol and the Governor's Palace. . . . The fact that the new capital at Williamsburg was a government project approved by the Crown suggests the high probability that the two later buildings were, indeed, designed in London." Pierson, *American Buildings and Their Architects: The Colonial and Neo-Classical Styles* (New York, 1970), 69-73.

NOTE: The College pavilion Pierson compared to Chelsea Hospital was different from that of the original design. The smaller windows might have been due to limited funds and, therefore, have been one of the adaptations Jones mentioned. The circumstantial and documentary evidence that points to Wren or his Office as the source for the original design of the College stands on its own, as shown in the concluding discussion of Wren in Chapter III. The source of the College's design is, for purposes of the Wren attribution, no more related to the Capitol or Palace than it is to the source of the 1698 design for Harvard's Stoughton Hall.

1971. PARKE ROUSE, JR. considered that "Wren, as surveyor of their Majesties' Public Works, would have had supervision of a college erected by royal grant and charter:" Rouse, *James Blair of Virginia* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1971), 91.

1971. MARGARET WHINNEY based her judgment on the alleged Wren connection by relying mainly on the Michel drawing, which, however, she did not cite: "The original College was burned in 1705, and the only known representation of it suggests that, if Wren did indeed send a design, the adaptations of the Gentlemen in America were such that it bore little resemblance to his architecture. Although it was of brick and stone (sic) with dormer windows in the roof, and therefore had some general affinity with English work in the materials, the proportions appear to have been clumsy, and it cannot have been exactly based on a Wren design." Whinney, *Christopher Wren* (New York, 1971), 195–196.

1972. JOHN W. REPS went so far as to suggest that Nicholson may have paid a visit to Wren's Office of Works for assistance with the design of the College and in laying out Annapolis: "It is almost inconceivable that Nicholson, in London from the end of 1692 until the spring of 1694, would not have spent a considerable amount of time on college affairs. In such endeavors he almost certainly would have visited the office of the surveyor-general of the King's Works, headed by the illustrious Christopher Wren, where the College's first building may have been designed." Reps, *Tidewater Towns: City Planning in Colonial Virginia and Maryland* (Charlottesville, 1972), 125.

1972. ELIZABETH HAMILTON wrote briefly that the College "was founded by royal charter and built to a design provided by Wren:" Hamilton, *William's Mary—A Biography of Mary II* (New York, 1972), 317.

1975. BRYAN LITTLE wrote that a design for the College "could have been prepared in the new office over which Wren presided" but that this design may "have been so changed as to bear little relationship" to one by Wren or the Office of Works: Little, *Sir Christopher Wren* (London, 1975), 181.

1976. HAROLD HUTCHINSON dismissed the attribution of the first College building to Wren without giving a reason: "There is an intriguing tradition that the William and Mary College at Williamsburg, Va., U.S.A. was built to an exported design of Wren's, and it is certain English craftsmen and materials were used. The tradition cannot be substantiated and the original building was destroyed by fire in 1705 and redesigned by local architects:" Hutchinson, *Sir Christopher Wren* (New York, 1976), 156.

1976. J. E. MORPURGO in his history of the College before 1800 considered Wren may have provided "no more than a preliminary sketch," writing further: "A building for a college in Virginia? A rough outline, a hasty drawing and then the project could be handed over to the

'Gentlemen of the Country' and to the man on the spot, Thomas Hadley. Perhaps that's how it was." Morpurgo concluded that the case was "non-proved:" Morpurgo, *Their Majesties' Royall Colledge* (Washington, D.C., 1972), 36, 38.

1981–82. CLIFFORD CURRIE, librarian at the College of William and Mary from 1978 until 1985, researched Fulham Palace Archives now housed in the Lambeth Palace Library in London in the hope some new documentary evidence would be found "which would have enabled the Prince of Wales, in his speech of acceptance of the College's Honorary Fellowship, to assert positively that Sir Christopher Wren, even by delegation, had designed the first building for William and Mary. Also, the [Lambeth Palace] Library is the most likely one in which to do such research because it contains what records survive of the Diocese of London under whose jurisdiction both Virginia and the College lay at the time:" *Letter* to the author, Mar. 15, 1988. As this book goes to press, Dr. Currie, as a consultant for this project, is undertaking research on Wren in various British libraries.

1982. KERRY DOWNES wrote that "improbable claims have also been made for Wren as the designer of such buildings as William and Mary College in Williamsburg. While Wren may have given advice or at least cast an eye over a project in more cases than we know, the criterion for his

authorship must lie in the consistency of his mind rather than in the persistence of his name:" Downes, *The Architecture of Wren* (London, 1982), 51.

1984. PAUL VENABLE TURNER offered an entirely new twist in 1984. He considered that the College as rebuilt after the 1705 fire and restored in 1928–1931 probably looked more Wren-like than what had first been built. He appears to have felt compelled to refute a Wren connection with the second building before it was ever advanced: "There is evidence that while in England Blair also engaged in some kind of architectural planning for the college, but its nature is unknown. . . . Possibly [Wren], or his office, would have produced plans for a royally endowed college. However, Wren disliked enclosed quadrangles for colleges . . . the building as it was reconstructed after the fire of 1705 is closer in spirit to Wren's work, but Wren was not likely to have produced a design at this time, for he was in his seventies and doing almost no work:" Turner, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass., 1984), 46–47.

1985. THE COLONIAL WILLIAMSBURG FOUNDATION'S official position steadily shifts away from an endorsement of Jones's statement. Kocher and Dearstyne were basically positive in 1950–51; Whiffen was neutral in 1958. In the seventh edition of the *Colonial Williamsburg Official Guide-*

book, a simple statement was made that Wren "may have shaped its original design:" (Williamsburg, 1972), 55. The current guide states equally simply, but with decidedly different emphasis that seems to have as its main intent the motive of weakening the Wren attribution, that Wren "was reputed to have inspired its design:" *Official Guide to Colonial Williamsburg* (Williamsburg, 1985), 13.

1986. The most elaborate book yet to appear on Williamsburg and its buildings tells us that the College building, presumably that standing today, "resembles some work of English master builder Sir Christopher Wren though no proof survives that he designed it:" PHILIP KOPPER, *Colonial Williamsburg* (New York, 1986), 58.

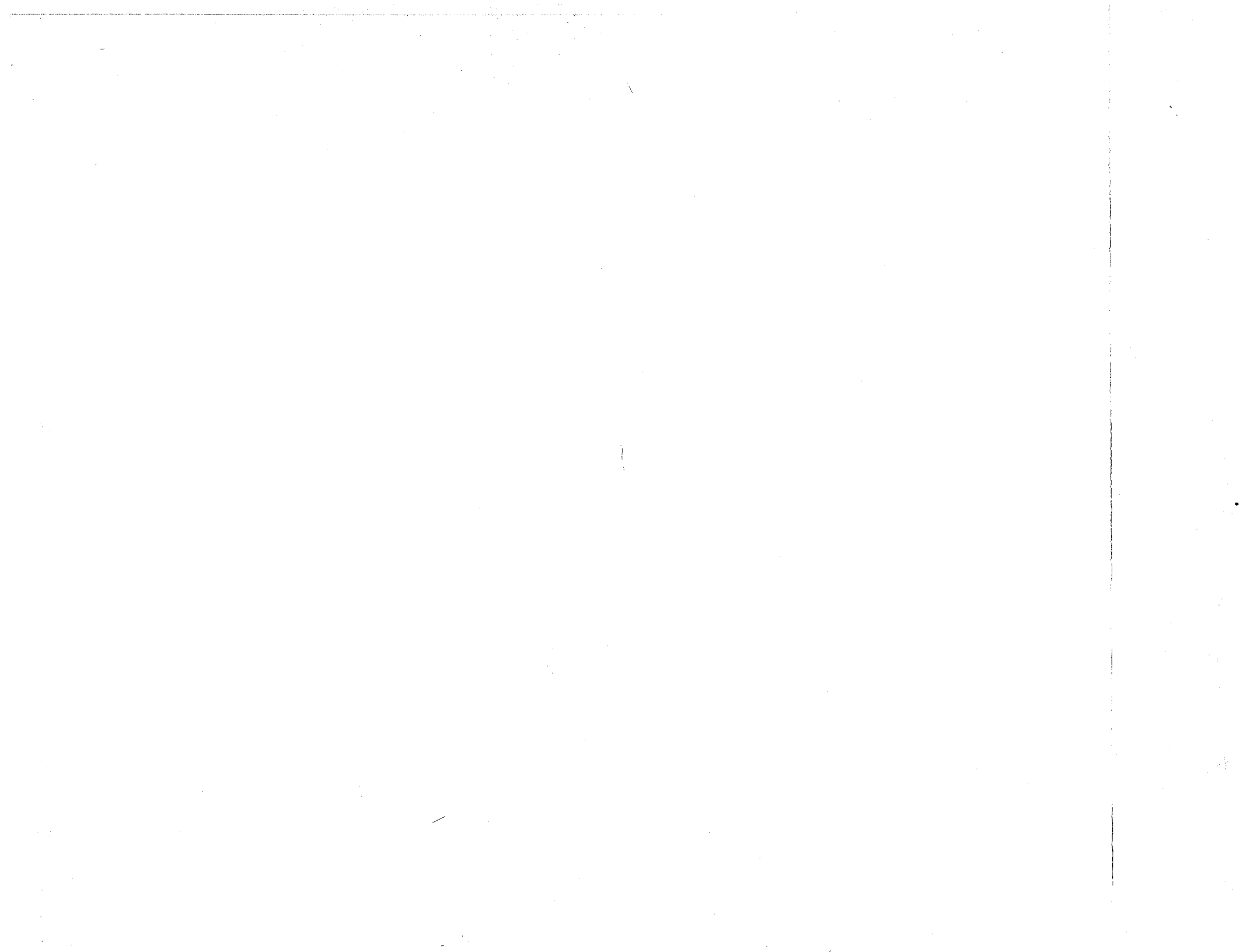
1987. MARCUS WHIFFEN revised his views as follows: "Having reread [*The Public Buildings*], I find that the only thing I would change is that I would give more weight to Hugh Jones' statement; I was really rather nasty to Mr. Jones. I think now that it is more likely than not that Wren did supply a design, in view of Jones' statement and because the college was a royal foundation. . . . That the Office of Works sent James Road to Virginia to make and plant the college garden certainly increases the likelihood of Wren or at least the Office of Works having supplied a design for the building:" *Letter* to the author, Nov. 21, 1987.

1987. KERRY DOWNES wrote, before reading the draft of this catalog, that "only some fresh and decisive information can settle the possibility of Wren's share in the design of William and Mary College, and in the meantime the evidence is insufficient. Wren's own son prepared a draft catalogue of his father's work which tends to inclusion rather than the reverse, and he did not mention the design. As the King's Surveyor and a prominent public figure Wren was constantly in demand, both officially and otherwise, for advice of all kinds. I think there may be a parallel here with Michelangelo in the 1550s, when a number of Roman buildings we know to have been the work of other architects were stated at the time to be his design. The answer there is that comments, and sometimes the initial suggestions, of the great man were so highly valued as to approach the virtue of St. Peter's thaumaturgic shadow:" *Letter* to the author, Dec. 12, 1987. After reading the draft of this catalog, Downes remained as unconvinced that Wren himself had anything to do with the first design, acknowledging that what we see today is very different from what was originally designed. He wrote: "I think I ought to ask myself why the more expert English scholars (myself included) are so reluctant to deny categorically that Wren had any responsibility for the design. It cannot be merely for fear of being proved wrong if the documents turn up, since that has not stopped categorical denials in other cases. . . . Even the argument

that we know nobody else it could be by is a faulty one, which amounts only to saying that we know nobody it could be by . . . this matter is ultimately one of belief rather than of knowledge." *Comments to the author, 1988.*

1987. JOHN HARRIS wrote that he has "always been highly skeptical that Wren had much to do with the College of William and Mary; but then you may have new evidence beyond the comment in 1722(?) that he did. It simply does not match up to a Wren design; but I am sure there were links, and that a design out of his office may have been sent." *Letter to the author, Dec. 18, 1987.*

1988. The present Colonial Williamsburg Foundation architect, NICHOLAS PAPPAS, considers that "the design could very well have come from the Public Works Office, but nothing other than Hugh Jones (3,000 miles away and twenty years later) actually connects Wren with it. Even then, we don't know if he meant Wren personally or Wren's office. . . . Even though I don't agree with you that Wren designed the building, you have amply proved that he certainly could have. . . . You have convinced me that Blair must have come back with a plan from somebody, probably the Office of Public Works." *Letter to the author, May 5, 1988.*



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