

The College of William and Mary - Moral Philosophy

and "Ministers, or any other learned Men" who pleased could attend the examinations.¹⁶¹

The Rev. William Dawson, who obtained his M.A. from Queen's College, Oxford, in 1728, and succeeded the Rev. James Blair as President of the College in 1743, was the first Professor of Moral Philosophy after the transfer of the College from the surviving Trustees to the President, Masters and Professors. There were no changes in the Statutes of the College concerning the Philosophy School between 1728 and 1779, except in regard to salaries. Dawson's successors¹⁶² were left free to teach "what Systems" of "Rhetoric, Logic, and Ethics" they thought fit. In 1779, after Thomas Jefferson became Governor of Virginia and a member of the Board of Visitors and Governors of the College, he changed the College into a University, abolishing the Grammar School and the Divinity School, and reorganizing the six Professorships. At that time the Rev. Robert Andrews became "Professor of Moral Philosophy, the Laws of Nature & of Nations, & of Fine Arts."¹⁶³

There were probably seldom more than twenty or thirty students in the Philosophy School prior to 1779. The Rev. Samuel Henley, who was Professor of Moral Philosophy from 1770-1775, left Virginia for England in 1775, at the outbreak of the Revolution; and he later outlined his losses in Virginia. These included his annual salary "for reading public lectures as Professor of Moral Philosophy" at £125, plus fees from some eighteen students. He also claimed the loss of a "very good whisky and harness, together with furniture and saddle-horses," which he valued at £15; and of the furniture of "apartments, consisting of mahogany tables, chairs, bureaus, bookcases, desk, library table, bed, &c.," which he valued at £80. His greatest loss was his collection of books, "consisting of scarce and valuable editions ... of the Greek and Roman classics, and the principal writers in the Italian, French, and English languages," together with a collection of "engravings, etchings, and mezzotints, by the greatest masters; many of which were proofs, and the rest choice impressions ... and a most beautiful original drawing of Sir Philip Sidney." He valued his books and prints at £350.¹⁶⁴

We do not know whether any of Henley's prints and pictures were hung in his Philosophical Lecture Room; most of them were probably in his college apartment or stored. Some

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of his books were purchased by Thomas Jefferson, after the Act of the Virginia Assembly of 1777, confiscated British property in Virginia. The rest were held for him by the Rev. James Madison, President of the College, and were destroyed when the President's House was burned in December, 1781, while serving as a hospital for the French officers. In writing Henley of this in 1783, Madison mentioned that a few of Henley's volumes were saved from the flames - "Tacitus complete, and some of the volumes of Locke."¹⁶⁵

In 1785, Thomas Jefferson wrote the Rev. Samuel Henley, listing the books he had purchased, and offering to return the books or send Henley the money for them.¹⁶⁶ Many of these books, for which Jefferson had paid £30, were apparently titles in which Jefferson was interested rather than titles relating exclusively to Moral Philosophy. Most of Henley's philosophical library was destroyed in the fire at the President's House.

Among the titles in a Catalogue of Jefferson's Library,¹⁶⁷ made in 1815 when his books were sold to the Library of Congress, there are some which were probably used by professors and students of Moral Philosophy: volumes on ethics, logic, and rhetoric or oratory. The publication dates noted below are of Jefferson's editions - many were published in earlier and later editions:

- Aldrich, Henry - Artis Logicae Compendium (Oxford: 1723).
Bacon - The Essays, or Counsels, Civil, and Moral, of Sir Francis Bacon (London: 1663).
Baxter, Andrew - An Enquiry into the Nature of the Human Soul... (London: editions in 1745 and 1750).
Bellers, F. - A Delineation of Universal Law... (London: 1754).
Cato - Catonis Disticha Moralia... (ed. by John Sterling - in many editions. London: 1738).
Cicero - The Morals of Cicero (London: 1744).
Cicero - Thoughts of Cicero (Glasgow: 1754).
Cicero - M. T. Cicero's Cato Major, or Discourse on Old Age... (London: 1778).
Cicero - The Orations of Marcus Tullius Cicero... [trans. by Guthrie] (London, 2nd ed., 1745).
Cooper, Anthony Ashley (Earl of Shaftesbury) - Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times - 3 vols. (London: 2nd ed. 1714).
Demosthenes - Demosthenis Selectae Orationes... (Eton: 3rd ed., 1755).

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- Demosthenes - Demosthenis Orationes Philippicae duodecim;...
(London: 1744).
- Dodd, William - Synopsis Compendiaria librorum ... Grotii ...
et ... Lockii ... (London, Oxford, Glasgow, and
Edinburgh: 1751).
- The Economy of Human Life (trans. from Indian MS.)
- Epictetus - Epicteti Stoici Philosophi ... (London: 1768).
- Fénélon, Dialogues concerning Eloquence ... (Glasgow: 1760).
- Harris, James - Three Treatises the first concerning Art the
second concerning Music Painting and Poetry the third
concerning Happiness (London: 1765). Note: This
volume bought from library of Samuel Henley, Professor
of Moral Philosophy at William and Mary, 1770-1775.
- Home, Henry (Lord Kames) - Essays on the Principles of Morality
and Natural Religion (Edinburgh: 1751).
- Home, Henry (Lord Kames) - Introduction to the Art of Thinking
(Edinburgh: 2nd ed. 1764).
- Hutcheson, Francis - A Short Introduction to Moral Philosophy
... (Glasgow: 1764).
- Hutcheson, Francis - An Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas
of Beauty and Virtue (London: 1753).
- Isocrates - The Orations and Epistles of Isocrates. Trans.
from Greek by Joshua Dinsdale ... (London: 1752).
- Locke, John - An Essay concerning Human Understanding (London:
13th ed. 1748).
- Locke, John - ... on Toleration [Complete title not given -
London, 1790 ed., but doubtless earlier editions.]
- Mandeville, Bernard - The Fable of the Bees ... 2 vols. (London:
1729).
- Montaigne - Les Essais de Michel de Montaigne ... (Paris:
1669).
- Mason, John - Essays on Poetical and Prosaic Numbers, and
Elocution (London: 2nd ed. 1761).
- Plato - The Works of Plato abridg'd ... 2 vols. (London: 1759).
- Sheridan, Thomas - A Course of Lectures on Elocution ...
[London: 1st ed. 1763 - Jefferson's copy 1787.]
- Spinoza, Benedict de - A Treatise partly Theological, and
partly Political ... (London: 1689 - doubtless later
editions).
- Voltaire - The Philosophical Dictionary for the Pocket ...
Trans. (London: 1765).
- Voltaire - La Philosophie de l'Histoire (Geneva: 1765).
- Von Puffendorf - The Law of Nature and Nations ... (London: 5th
ed. 1749).

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Watts, Isaac - Logick: or, The Right Use of Reason... (London: 1745).

Ward, John - A System of Oratory... 2 vols. (London: 1759).

Xenophon - Xenophon's Memoirs of Socrates [Trans. from Greek by Sarah Fielding. (London and Glasgow, 2nd ed., 1761)].

From surviving day-books of 1751-1766 kept at the Printing Office in Williamsburg,¹⁶⁸ where books were imported for the College, we know that many of the above authors were sold there although the titles given were abbreviated. For example, in that period the Printing Office sold copies of: Cato's Letters - 4 vols. at 17/6; Cicero's Orat. at from 5/6 to 9/6; and Cicero's Orations, 3 vols. at £1:16:0; Locke's Essays at 5/-; Locke on Christianity at 3/-; Locke on Understanding, 2 vols. at £1:4:0; Plato's Works 2 vols. at 8/-; Sheridan on Elocution at £1:5:0; Shaw's Bacon, 2 vols.; Oeconomy of Human Life at 3/9; Voltaire's Select Pieces at 6/9; Watt's Logick at 9/-. The Printing Office also sold titles not listed in Jefferson's catalogue, which obviously concerned Ethics, Rhetoric, and Logic, i.e.: Aristotle's Art of Poetry, at 2/6; Duty of Man at 9/-; Essay on Man, at 2/6; Farnaby's Rhetorick at 1/-; Sterling's Phaedrus at 7/6; Pope's Essays at 5/-; Rousseau on Education 4 vols. at £1:6:9; Smith's Moral Sentiments at 13/-; Religious Philosopher at £1:7:0; Wallis's Logick at 7/-.¹⁶⁸

In 1784, the Rev. Robert Andrews took over the teaching of Mathematics, and the Rev. James Madison, President of the College, taught both Moral and Natural Philosophy. His courses in the Philosophy School were described as follows:

"In the Moral School . . . 1. Logic and Philosophy of the Human Mind. On these subjects, the works of Duncan, Reid, and Professor Stewart are studied. 2. Rhetoric and Belles Lettres. Here Dr. Blair's Lectures are chiefly used. 3. Moral Philosophy. In this department the author studied is Paley. 4. Natural Law. Rutherford and Burlamaqui, &c. 5. Law of Nations. Vattel and Martens. 6. Politics. Locke, Montesquieu, Rosseau, &c. 7. Political Economy. Smith's Wealth of Nations. In Natural Philosophy there is a regular course of Lectures, attended with every necessary experiment. In this course, the

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works generally referred to, and recommended, are those of Rowning, Helsham, Martin, Desaguliers, Muschenbroeck, Cavallo, Adams, Lavoisier, Chaptal, &c."169

Samuel Miller, the author above quoted, who made an investigation of American colleges in preparing his book, A Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century (New York: 1803), also stated that in no College in the United States was "political science," which was studied under the Professor of Moral Philosophy, pursued "with so much ardour" as at the College of William and Mary.¹⁷⁰

The Philosophical lecture rooms, apparently both moral and natural, and Chemical Laboratory were moved circa 1836 to the northwest wing of the College - to the space which had once been the "great Hall," but was then occupied by the Grammar School. The laboratory and lecture rooms occupied this space when the building was burned in February, 1859. Everything in the northwest wing was destroyed in the fire.¹⁷¹

As has been noted, the interior of the College had been greatly changed in 1856 - partitions on the first floor, where all the lecture rooms were to be, were taken down and rebuilt. A girl's sketch of the east front of the College, made after this work had been largely completed, in July, 1856, noted that the "Hist. room" was then where the old lecture room for Moral Philosophy had been in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.¹⁷²

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THE GREAT HALL

The Hall of the College was in the same location in the northwest wing in the building of 1695-1705 and in the building erected on the original walls after the fire of 1705. The room measured approximately 25 feet 6 inches wide and 59 feet long, inside measurements. There was a gallery in the first Hall, which has not been replaced in the present building. The room, as designed by Sir Christopher Wren, was doubtless panelled or wainscoted, as was the Chapel, which was of similar measurements, but which had not been erected when the first building burned in October, 1705. There was one entrance to the Hall from the stairhall at the north end of the piazza; and it had large double doors at its west end, as well as three circular windows. There were five high windows on each side of the room, and there was a fireplace at its east end. The Hall had a basement under it, and one story above it, although the exterior of the wing was as high as the east front of the building.¹⁷³

The Hall was used for meals, or commons, for the President, Masters, College officials, and students who boarded in the College, until December 1779, when the College was reorganized, and "commons" in the Hall were discontinued. It also served a number of other uses: until the Chapel wing, which corresponded to the Hall at the southwest side of the building, was added in 1729-1732, Chapel services were held in the Hall; and public examinations were held in the Hall up until 1780 at least, and probably for some years thereafter.¹⁷⁴

The Hall was doubtless furnished, as were such rooms in English schools and colleges, with long benches and tables of some hard wood (probably oak or walnut).¹⁷⁵ The walls of halls in English schools and colleges were usually hung with portraits of officials, benefactors, and occasionally with royal portraits.¹⁷⁶ As far as the surviving records go, the College owned only a few portraits in the eighteenth century. There is no record that any were burned in the fire of 1705. The College owned a large portrait of its first President, the Rev. James Blair, with the College building in the background (see page 10 of this report), also smaller portraits of Blair and his wife, Sarah Harrison Blair (died 1713), and a portrait of the Hon. Robert Boyle - from whose estate the Indian school at the College was endowed - the gift of the Earl of Burlington.

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These may have hung in the Hall when the Hall was used for "commons" prior to 1780. The Boyle portrait was intended for the Indian school, but as the Indian children and their Master had their meals in the Hall, it is quite possible that the portrait hung there originally. At the time of the fire of February, 1859, the portraits all hung in the "Blue Room"¹⁷⁷ or Convocation Room; they may have been moved to that room after the Hall was no longer used as the dining room of the College. An English school or college hall would have usually contained more than three portraits. In keeping with English precedent, the College of William and Mary could have had portraits of such benefactors as King William and Queen Mary, Queen Anne, Sir Christopher Wren, and possibly of early Chancellors (either Bishops of London or Archbishops of Canterbury), of Virginia Governors - especially Nicholson and Spotswood, and of Presidents who succeed Blair. But there is no record that the College had any such portraits in the eighteenth century.

The Hall was probably furnished to accommodate about one hundred persons, most of them boys.

The Rev. Hugh Jones, Professor of Mathematics at the College circa 1716-1721, made suggestions as to the seating in the Hall, which were very possibly followed: He recommended four higher and four lower tables: the upper table for the president and masters, the second for the masters of arts, and the third for the bachelors of arts [these may have been combined in the College], and a fourth for the scholars and commoners or day-students. The four lower tables were: one for the house-keeper and upper school-boys, a second for the usher, writing-master and lower school-boys, a third for the "servitors and college officers," and the last for "the Indian master and his scholars."¹⁷⁸

The Kitchen was beneath the Hall, with "all Conveniences of Cooking, Brewing, Baking, &c.," in the building of 1695-1705, although the oven was moved to an outside building before the fire of 1705.¹⁷⁹ It was in the same location, with an outside Bake-house, and Brew-house, as rebuilt after the fire. The rebuilding had progressed far enough by June, 1716, for the Visitors and Governors to send to Micajah and Richard Perry, merchants in London, for "Standing furniture for the Colledge Kitchen, Brewhouse, and Laundry," and to order an "Invoice of such Kitchen furniture as is needed" to be prepared.¹⁸⁰

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In October, 1716, the Visitors and Governors ordered that "Sash Glass be provided from England for the Colledge Hall and that the same be fitted up in frames and that some spare Glass be also writ for to repair the windows of the Colledge."¹⁸¹

Later on, supplies for the College Kitchen and table were ordered from Capel and Osgood Hanbury, merchants in London, as well as some haberdashery, sheeting, linen, books, etc. In the 1760's invoices of shipments from the Hanburys included pewter ware, tin ware, iron ware, earthen ware, cutlery, cheeses, "Grocery," "Oyl," etc.¹⁸²

Meals in the Hall, and instructions to the House-keeper concerning them, have been mentioned earlier under the Grammar School. Breakfast, Dinner, and Supper were to be served "in the cleanest, and neatest Manner possible"; there must always be "both fresh, and salt Meat for Dinner"; suppers were to include "cold fresh Meat," and it was to "be often hash'd." There must be puddings or pies twice a week and on Sundays.¹⁸³ Beer, cider, "toddy, or spirits and water" were served in the Hall; later laws noting that no other liquors were "furnished or used at the table."¹⁸⁴

The Hall was lighted by candles. We have found no reference to lighting fixtures in the surviving records, but a number of charges to "The Table" for candles appear in the Bursar's Books.¹⁸⁵ Each student, except scholarship students, paid £13 per annum for table "Board, Wood Candles Washing & Tuition," in the 1760's, which actually cost the College £20 per annum. The College funds supplied the surplus, according to President Yates.¹⁸⁶

As has been noted, "commons" or meals in the Hall ceased when the College was reorganized at the end of December, 1779. For a time students boarded in town, but long before the end of the century the College steward was renting rooms and serving meals to the students in the Brafferton.¹⁸⁷

For a time the Hall was used to house the Grammar School; and in 1833 it was "divided into two for the better accommodation of the Classical Schools." During this period it was damaged by a tornado, and required extensive repairs.¹⁸⁸ The old Hall was further changed to accommodate the Chemical Laboratory and Philosophical rooms in 1836-1837; and in February 1859, when the College burned for a second time, the Library was in

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the room above the Chemical and Philosophical rooms, and dormitories were in a third floor of the wing, which had been added. Everything in the northwest wing was destroyed in the fire.¹⁸⁹

In the few surviving itemized accounts of repairs to the Hall and northwest wing, prior to complete interior alterations in 1836 and 1856,¹⁹⁰ there were a few details noted:

[July 10, 1766] "To puting on 3 locks- 3/- Hanging one of Hall doors making a Barr for D[itt]o" 2/6.

...
[Novr. 26, 1766] "To a large Chopping Block for Kitchen" 4/-.

...
[Feb. 7, 1767] "To mending one of the Round Windws In Hall" 1/3.

...
[Apr. __, 1767] "To hanging a door in Hall" 4/-.

...
[May 1786] "To 45 bushels of lime @ 1/. & building up North steps 28/- ..."

"To 6 days labour @ 2/6 & Repairing well 12/6 & repairing Hall steps 3/9 & 2 days labr 5/."

...
[July, 1786] "To 200 Bricks @ 3/. to rub for the Hall door (in College)" 6/-.

"To rubing & setting arch over the Great Door to the Hall 40/."

"To 6 bushels of lime 6/. & 1½ days labour 3/9."

...
"To repairing Larthing & plaistering up the Kitchen Stairs 36/."

"To 6 days labour @ 2/6 & 2 bushels of Hair 4/."

...
[1790, March] "To 60 bush: of lime @ 9d - 2100 Bricks @ 27/6" £5: 2: 9

"To mending the foundation of the Hall Chimney - turning the Arch & Trimmer - laying the Hearth &c" £3:--:--. ¹⁹¹

We have already mentioned the injury done by the storm or tornado of June 21, 1834, while the old Hall was being used for the Grammar or Classical School. The Faculty minutes noted among damages: "Large folding door to school room down, with some brick work - also the partition therein - a part of which may answer to put up again." Many windows in the building were broken and

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some sashes blown in. The Faculty reported to the Visitors in July, 1835, that repairs of damage had already amounted to about \$600.00 and the "heavy item of damage" still remained to be repaired, "viz. the large folding door at the west end of the north end of the College, which together with the brick frame and arch by which it was surrounded was swept away in the storm." This repair had waited "suitable workmen," and arrangements had finally been made "to repair the injury, soon after the grammar school has been dismissed."¹⁹²

Changes made to the old Hall, after the December, 1836 decision to alter two Grammar School rooms (or "the Classical School rooms") then occupying the Hall "for the Chemical Laboratory and Philosophical rooms" were many. A committee of the Faculty reported on the work to be done, and it was carried out within the following year.¹⁹³ Whether the third story was added to this wing at that time, or when other major changes were made to the College building in 1856 is not certain.¹⁹⁴ In any event, a third floor was added to the northwest wing prior to the fire of February, 1859,¹⁹⁵ in which were rooms or dormitories for students.

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NATURAL PHILOSOPHY

We have already noted the fact that the room used by the Professors of Natural Philosophy in the circa 1760-1772 period, and probably earlier, was on the first floor at the southeast corner of the College building. [See page 19 - Jefferson's floor-plan - and pages 20-21, 49-50 of this report.] This room is not at present available for exhibition purposes; but it may be of interest to give additional details as to the room, and its probable furnishings, and list some books that may have been used in the courses in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at the College, prior to the American Revolution. A list of the Professors who taught "Physicks, Metaphysicks, and Mathematics" prior to 1780 has also been provided [see note 162 pages 360-361 for list].

The room at the southeast corner of the first floor of the College, marked "Mathematics" on Jefferson's floor-plan of 1772, measures approximately 21-feet wide by 24-feet long, has three windows on its south side and two on its east side. It has a closet, and a fireplace on its north side. It was doubtless large enough to contain the mathematical instruments, and the small amount of philosophical "apparatus" owned by the College prior to Dr. William Small's purchases for the College, in London, in 1767 [see page 21 for partial list of apparatus purchased]. The room was furnished with seats for the students (seldom more than 20 in a class, if that many), a desk for the professor, and probably with one or two tables for "apparatus" when in use, and a cabinet for storing it when not in use, if the closet was not large enough for the storage of books and apparatus.

Besides "Mathematical Instruments" (which were sold at the Printing Office in Williamsburg, and were probably owned by most of the students), the College may have owned a few surveyor's instruments, and navigation instruments, for use in the mathematics courses; terrestrial and celestial globes were available (whether kept in the lecture room or in the Library when not in use); there may have been a telescope - although, if so, a new one was purchased in 1767 [see page 21]; and there were probably a few pieces of "apparatus" available for the study of "fluxions" and "optics," prior to 1767.

At one period the Printing Office in Williamsburg imported and supplied books for the College [see page 42].

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Surviving day-books kept at the Printing Office during the 1750-1766 period, and advertisements of books for sale there, which appeared in The Virginia Gazettes, indicate some of the books that must have been used in the courses in Mathematics and Natural Philosophy prior to the American Revolution. From a Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Jefferson, compiled by E. Millicent Sowerby (Washington: Library of Congress, 1952, Vol. IV), we are able to supplement and complete some of the titles.

Jefferson, who attended the College of William and Mary, 1760-1762, and studied Mathematics and Natural Philosophy under Dr. William Small, wrote Peter Carr on September 7, 1814, concerning his interpretation of mathematics, geometry, physio-mathematics and physics - an interpretation which was doubtless influenced by Dr. Small, whom Jefferson later referred to as the man who "fixed the Destinies of my Life":

"II. I consider pure mathematics as the science of, 1, Numbers, and 2, Measure in the abstract; that of numbers comprehending Arithmetic, Algebra and Fluxions; that of Measure (under the appellation of Geometry), comprehending Trigonometry, plane and spherical, conic sections, and transcendental curves.

II. 2. Physico-Mathematics treat of physical subjects by the aid of mathematical calculation. These are Mechanics, Statics, Hydrostatics, Hydrodynamics, Navigation, Astronomy, Geography, Optics, Pneumatics, Acoustics.

II. 3. Physics, or Natural Philosophy (not entering the limits of Chemistry) treat of natural substances, their properties, mutual relations and action. They particularly examine the subjects of motion, action, magnetism, electricity, galvanism, light, meteorology, with an etc. not easily enumerated. ..."

[See Albert E. Bergh, The Writings of Thomas Jefferson (Washington: 1903) Vol. XIX, pages 211-221 for copy of Jefferson's letter to Peter Carr, from Monticello, September 7, 1814.]

The books on mathematics and natural philosophy in Jefferson's library were catalogued in accordance with this division of the subjects.

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Among books cataloged by Jefferson under "Mathematics-Pure-Arithmetic," some of them also listed in manuscript day-books of the Printing Office in Williamsburg, were:

- "Cocker's Arithmetick" sold at the Printing Office in 1751 at 2/6; still advertised for sale in 1777 (as a "duodecimo" volume). In Jefferson's library: Edward Cocker, Cockers Arithmetick, being a Plain and Familiar Method suitable to the Meanest Capacity for the Full Understanding of that Incomparable Art,... (London: 1677 - 12 mo - Sowerby, IV, p. 2.) Jefferson's copy was an early edition, there were obviously later ones.
- "Fisher's Arithmetick," sold at the Printing Office in 1764, at 6/3. (Not in Sowerby.)
- "Hill's Arithmetick" sold at the Printing Office in 1752 at 9/- . Listed in Sowerby (IV, pp. 1-2) as Thomas Hill, The Arte of Vulgar Arithmetick, both in Integers and Fractions, divided into Two Bookes... (Jefferson's copy, London: 1st edition, 1600. Quarto. Obviously later editions, as it was sold in Williamsburg in 1752.)
- "Newton's Arithmetick" sold at the Printing Office in 1764 at 10/- . Probably the same as "Sir Isaac Newton, Universal Arithmetick" edited by Samuel Cunn, (1st translated edition 1720; Jefferson's copy, London: 1728), Octavo. (Sowerby, IV, p. 6.) Obviously later editions, as still advertised in The Virginia Gazette in 1777.
- "Webster's Arithmetick" sold at the Printing Office in 1751 at 9/-; also advertised in The Virginia Gazette, May 24, 1751. (Not in Sowerby.)
- "Simpson's Algebra," sold at the Printing Office in 1752, at 10/- . Listed in Sowerby (IV, p. 6) as Thomas Simpson, A Treatise on Algebra... (London: 3rd ed., 1767). Octavo.
- "McLaurin's Algebra" sold at the Printing Office in 1764 at 15/- . Listed in Sowerby (IV, pp. 5-6) as Colin McLaurin, A Treatise on Algebra, in three Parts (London: 2nd ed., 1756) - 1st ed. 1748. Octavo.
- "Leadbeatter's Mathematicks" sold at Printing Office in 1752 at 5/- . (Not listed in Sowerby.)
- "Emmerson's Fluctions" sold at Printing Office in 1764 at 15/- . Listed in Sowerby (IV, p. 7) as William Emerson, The Doctrine of Fluxions (London: 2nd ed., 1757). Octavo.

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- "Saunderson's Fluxions," listed in Sowerby (IV, pp. 6-7), as Nicholas Saunderson, The Method of Fluxions applied to a select Number of useful Problems... (London: 1st ed., 1756). Octavo. (Not noted in day-books, but may well have been used at the College.)
- "Malcolm's Bookkeeping" sold at Printing Office in 1751 at 7/6. Possibly the book listed in Sowerby (IV, p. 4) as Alexander Malcolm, A New System of Arithmetick, Theoretical and Practical ... The Practice and Application to the Affairs of Life and Commerce being also fully explained... (London: 1st ed., 1730). Octavo. Jefferson had this title catalogued under "Mathematics - Pure - Arithmetic," and it is probable that students of mathematics were taught some book-keeping. [The Printing-Office also sold "Maire's Bookkeeping" in 1764 at 12/6 (John Mair's "Bookkeeping Methodiz'd" was published in Edinburgh - 5th ed. 1757), and advertised "Squire's Modern book-keeping made perfectly easy" for sale in 1777; but whether these were used in the College or by merchants is not known.]

Catalogued by Jefferson under "Mathematics - Geometry," and some titles sold at the Printing Office in Williamsburg (see MS day-books) were the following:

- "Gregory's Geometry" sold at the Printing Office in 1751 at 4/- . Listed in Sowerby (IV, p. 22) as David Gregory, A Treatise on Practical Geometry. In Three Parts (Edinburgh: 1756. First edition, translated from Latin in 1745.) Octavo.
- "Simpson's Geometry" advertised in The Virginia Gazette, Jan. 3, 1777. Probably the book listed in Sowerby (IV, p. 20) as The Elements of Euclid edited by Robert Simpson (Glasgow: 1st ed., 1756). Quarto.
- "Hill's Euclid" sold at the Printing Office in 1751 at 5/- . (Not listed in Sowerby.)
- "Cunn's Euclid" sold at the Printing Office in 1752 at 10/6. (Probably edited by Samuel Cunn, who edited Newton's Universal Arithmetick [see Sowerby IV, p. 6] but "Cunn's Euclid" not listed in Sowerby.)
- "Tacquet's Euclid" or Andre' Tacquet, "... Elementa Geometriae Planae ac Solidae...," (Cantabrigiae: 1710) in Jefferson's library (Sowerby, IV, p. 20).

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"Simpson's Euclid" (quarto), or The Elements of Euclid ... The First Six Books, together with the Eleventh and Twelfth," edited by Robert Simson, Professor of Mathematics at the University of Glasgow (Glasgow: 1st ed., 1756). (Sowerby, IV, p. 20.) Probably the same as "Simpson's Geometry" sold at the Printing Office. See above.

"Love's Surveying" sold at the Printing Office in 1752 at 8/-. Mentioned in Jefferson's library, although full title not given (Sowerby, IV, p. 22). Octavo.

"Wilson's Surveying" sold at the Printing Office in 1752 at 12/-. (Not mentioned in Sowerby).

"Wyld's Surveying" sold at the Printing Office in 1764 at 7/-. (Not mentioned in Sowerby.) Advertised in The Virginia Gazette, January 3, 1777, as "Wyld's Practical surveyor."

Catalogued in Jefferson's library under "Physico-Mathematics," or sold at the Printing Office (see MS day-books) were:

"Shottleworth's Opticks" advertised in The Virginia Gazette for May 24, 1751. (Not listed in Sowerby).
A View of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy (Henry Pemberton, ed., London: 1728) (Sowerby, IV, p. 29.) Quarto. Not listed in surviving day-books.

Maclaurin, Colin, An Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophical Discoveries, in Four Books (London: 3rd ed., 1775). (Sowerby, IV, p. 29.) Not listed in surviving day-books of Printing Office.

Martin, Benjamin - The Philosophical Grammar; being a view of the Present State of Experimented Physiology, or Natural Philosophy, in Four Parts (London: 6th ed., 1762). Octavo. (Sowerby, IV, p. 30.) Not listed in surviving day-books.

"Ferguson's lectures in Mechanics," or James Ferguson, Lectures on Select Subjects in Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Pneumatics, and Optics (London: 1st ed., 1760). Octavo. (Sowerby, IV, p. 34.) Not listed in day-books, but could have been used at the College.

"Helsham's lectures in Mechanics," or Richard Helsham, A Course of Lectures in Natural Philosophy (London: 3rd ed., 1755). (Sowerby IV, p. 35.) Not listed in day-books, but may have been used, and was used later by Professors at the College. See pages 54-55 of this report.

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Desaguliers, John Theophilus, A Course of Experimental Philosophy, 2 volumes, quarto (London: 2nd ed., 1744 and 1745). Not listed in day-books that have survived; but noted as being used in the College courses later in the century (see pages 54-55 of this report). May well have been used earlier.

Sir Isaac Newton, Opticks: or, a treatise of the Reflections, Refractions, Inflections and Colours of Light (London: 4th ed., 1730). (Sowerby IV, p. 40.) Not listed in the day-books, but was probably used at the College.

Under "Astronomy", which Jefferson classed as "Physico-Mathematics," works were listed in Jefferson's library that may have been used in courses at the College: one of them was sold at the Printing Office in 1752:

"Leadbetter's Astronomy" was sold at the Printing Office in 1752, in two volumes, at 17/6. (Not mentioned in Sowerby.)

"Morden's Astronomy" was sold at the Printing Office in 1752 at 5/-. This work was listed in Sowerby (IV, p. 67) as Robert Morden, An Introduction to Astronomy, Geography, Navigation, and other mathematical Sciences, made easie by the Description and Uses of the Coelestial and Terrestrial Globes. In Seven Parts (London: 1st ed., 1702.) Octavo. Obviously in later editions.

Brent, Charles, The Compendious Astronomer: containing New and Correct Tables, for Computing in a concise Manner, the Places of the Luminaries;... (London: 1st ed., 1741). Octavo. (Sowerby, IV, p. 69.) In Jefferson's library, but not listed in surviving day-books.

Gregory, David, The Elements of Physical and Geometrical Astronomy By David Gregory, M.D. late Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford... (London: 2nd ed., 1726.) In two volumes, octavo. Price of the two volumes 12/- bound. (Sowerby, IV, p. 70.) Not listed in surviving day-books, but very possibly used at the College.

The College library may have had copies of some of the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London. Jefferson's library included 11 quarto volumes, of "Philosophical

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transactions abridged" (Vol. I from 1665 to 1672 and Vol. XI from 1763 to 1775 - see Sowerby, IV, p. 42.) The College library probably also had some edition of the Works of the Hon. Robert Boyle. In 1732, the Rev. William Dawson, Professor of Moral Philosophy at the College, wrote the Bishop of London that the Earl of Burlington was presenting a portrait of Boyle to the College, and added that Boyle's "Philosophical and Theological Works, together with those which were written by his encouragement, may perhaps be thought no improper part of the collection" - this in regard to a library for the Indian school, founded at the College with funds from Boyle's estate. (See William and Mary College Quarterly... 1st series, Vol. IX, page 220, for copy of William Dawson's letter of August 11, 1732.) Among books on "Physico-Mathematics" in Jefferson's library was a five-volume folio edition of The Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle... To which is prefixed the Life of the Author (London: 1744) the life by Thomas Birch.

As we have already noted (see pages 54-55 of this report), in 1801, while the course of Natural Philosophy was taught by the Rev. James Madison, President of the College, the lectures (which were attended "with every necessary experiment") generally referred to "were those of Rowning, Helsham, Martin, Desaguliers, Muschenbroeck, Cavallo, Adams, Lavoisier, Chaptal, &c." Helsham, Martin, and Desaguliers have been mentioned above. George Adams's Lectures on Natural and Experimental Philosophy were published in five volumes octavo (London: 1799) price £1:12:6 (see Sowerby, IV, p. 34). Most of the lectures "referred to" ca. 1801 were probably published after 1780.

Colonial Williamsburg owns a leather-bound manuscript notebook with a printed title page - The Complete Mariner: Or a Treatise of Navigation Trigonometrically, by Logarithmetical Numbers, and the Geometrical Construction by Scale and Compass. Also the Orthographic Projection of the Sphere Astronomically. Williamsburg: Printed, February the 18th, 1731." Under this the initials and name are printed: "E. L. JAMES HUBARD." The first page of this notebook contains two printed paragraphs concerning "Trigonometry," stating that "upon a thorough Knowledge of the following Figure, depends the whole Art of Navigation." The rest of the blank pages in the notebook are filled with penned drawings of spheres, triangles, and definitions, examples, and with figures and theorems concerning the subject, written in ink, probably in Mr. Hubbard's hand. A James Hubbard was a student

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at the College in 1753-1755, and was Usher of the Grammar School at the College in 1755-1756. If the date on the title page indicates the time that the student used the notebook, the James Hubard (possibly the father of the student of 1753-1755) evidently attended College in 1731. As the list of alumni of the College is far from complete, we cannot settle this point.

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THE CHAPEL

The Chapel, which was to be the southwest wing of the College of William and Mary, as designed by Sir Christopher Wren, had not been erected, because of insufficient funds, when the College building burned in October, 1705. Only two sides of the proposed quadrangle, the east front and the northwest wing, had been completed at that time.

Between ca. 1710 and 1718 the College was rebuilt on its original walls; but it was not until 1729 that the Chapel wing was begun at the south side of the building, corresponding to the great Hall at the north side. A brick in the western end of the Chapel has the initials and date "R.K. 1729" on it - the "R.K." possibly for Richard Kennon, believed to be rector of the Visitors and Governors at that time.¹⁹⁶ On June 28, 1729, the Rev. James Blair, President of the College, wrote the Bishop of London that they were "going about the building our College-Chappel, having the bricks burnt. Our Undertaker puts us in hope that he will have it inclosed before winter."¹⁹⁷ The undertaker or contractor for the work was Henry Cary; and the work was well under way when President Blair wrote the Bishop of London on September 8, 1729: "I acquainted your Lo[rdship] in my last that we had laid the foundation of the chappel. That work has been since carried on with that expedition that the walls are now finished and we are going to set on the roof, so that I make no doubt it will be all inclosed before winter."¹⁹⁸

The Chapel was completed and "opened" on June 28, 1732,¹⁹⁹ when President Blair preached a sermon "on Pro. 22. 6": "Train up a child in the way he should go: And when he is old, he will not depart from it." In a letter to the Bishop of London on August 11, 1732, the Rev. William Dawson, Professor of Moral Philosophy at the College, wrote of this service: "... on June 28th. 1732, our new chapel was opened with great solemnity. The Governor [William Gooch] and his family were pleased to honour us with their Presence, and it being the assembly time, the members of both Houses [the House of Burgesses and the Council] came in great numbers." He added that daily services were held in the Chapel at six o'clock in the morning in the summer, and seven in the winter, and always at five o'clock in the evening.²⁰⁰ All students in the College were, of course, required to attend Chapel twice a day.

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After President Blair's death in 1743, the Rev. William Dawson succeeded as President; and on August 18, 1747, he wrote Mr. Fothergill at Oxford of the service in the Chapel celebrating the transfer of the College from the Trustees to the President and Masters - held annually on August 15th:

"I wore the Hood [doubtless of Queen's College, Oxford where Dawson received his B.A. & M.A. degrees] A[ug.] 15. for the first Time, being the Day of our Transfer, wch happened in 1729, the Year of my Arrivall,... To the usual Service, in the Chapel, ... was added Your Thanksgiving; a Sermon, preached by Mr Preston [Professor of Moral Philosophy, also from Queen's College, Oxford]; and the Sacrament, administered to several of the Young Gentlemen, as well as to Others. After a very handsome Entertainment in the Hall, a Latin Oration was pronounced by Mr Preston's Pupil..."²⁰¹

In May, 1766, the President and Masters ordered "the Ushers ... to attend the Church and Chapel regularly"; and in 1769 it was ordered that "a particular Roll for the Chapel be kept by one of the Scholars upon the Foundation who shall at the Beginning of Morning & Evening Service mark the Names of those present. & then carry the Roll after it is carefully so mark'd to the Reader before the first Lesson." The President, Professors and Masters took turns in reading the services in Chapel, the Professors receiving a fee for "reading in Chapel."²⁰² The scholars, especially the Divinity students, doubtless took part in the services, reading the lessons from time to time.

The regular morning and evening services of course followed the Anglican Prayer Book, which gave detailed orders "for Morning Prayer, Daily throughout the Year," and "for Evening Prayer, Daily throughout the Year."²⁰³ The Sacrament was administered four times a year at Bruton Parish Church (at Christmas, Easter, Whitsunday, and the Sunday nearest Michaelmas);²⁰⁴ and although the College was usually closed for vacations at these times, Holy Communion was probably administered in the Chapel of the College once or twice a year, at least.

The Chapel had an altar, communion rail, pulpit,

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reading desk, and forms or pews in the body of the Chapel and in a gallery at the east end. It must have been able to seat at least one hundred persons.

The "ornaments" required in the Church of England for "the decent and orderly performance of Divine Service" were:

1. The Holy Bible, for reading the Lessons.
2. Two copies of a large sized Prayer Book, for the minister and for the clerk, in leading responses and in chanting or singing the psalter.
3. Vessels for use in the celebration of the Holy Communion - usually a flagon, a chalice and a paten.
4. A "Carpet" of heavy silk, velvet, or damask to place on the Communion Table underneath the Communion Linen and vessels.
5. The Communion Linen - a "fair white linen cloth" upon which the vessels were placed, and another to cover the vessels.
6. The Surplice, worn by the minister while conducting morning and evening prayer and the Holy Communion. (Before preaching a sermon the minister took off his surplice and put on his black scholastic gown, as he was then performing not a liturgical but a scholastic function.)
7. A Pulpit Cloth, covering the reading desk of the pulpit, and hanging downward from it.
8. The Cushion, to be placed upon the pulpit, upon which the sermon was laid as the minister preached. The Cushion was usually covered with silk or velvet.
9. A Font in parish churches and chapels, but a font would not have been needed in the College Chapel.²⁰⁵

As the first President of the College, and several of his successors, were also rectors of Bruton Parish Church, and Commissaries of the Bishop of London, and as some of the scholars were being trained for the Clergy, it is certain that the College Chapel was well equipped with whatever was required "for the decent and orderly performance of Divine Service." No reference has survived concerning the early Communion silver, but the College must have had what was necessary for the service. In 1775, Lady Rebecca Stanton Gooch, widow of Lieutenant-Governor William Gooch, whose son attended the College and subsequently died at the Palace in Williamsburg in 1742, left a "gilt Sacrament Cup & Patten" and a Bible to the College of William and Mary.²⁰⁶

In The Virginia Gazette for November 3, 1752, John Tompkins gave notice that anyone "inclined to learn a true Method of singing Psalms, at the College of William & Mary, or at the Church in Williamsburg," on giving their names to Mr. Emmanuel Jones of the College, would be "instructed for a Dollar Entrance, and a Pistole when attendance is given Twenty-four Days in the Year."

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The Governors and Lieutenant-Governors of the Virginia Colony often attended services in the Chapel. It has been said that Lord Botetourt usually "attended Morning and Evening Prayers in the College Chapel."²⁰⁷

In March, 1770, Lord Botetourt offered two gold medals to the College "for the Honour and Encouragement of literary Merit," and it was ordered by the President and Professors that:

". . . the Students in the Philosophy School shall speak Latin Declarations of their own Compositions, and that by two of them this Exercise shall be performed in the Chapel, immediately after Evening Service, on the second Thursday in the Term, and so continue in Rotation every other Thursday during Term Time; that Copies of these shall be lodged in the Hands of the President... the President and Professors some Time before the 15th of August... [to review the Compositions and consider "the Merits of the Declaimers," and adjudge] to whom one Medal shall be given."

The other medal was to be given for "Philosophical Learning," for "Disputations on physical and metaphysical" subjects, to be awarded in the same manner. The medals were to be "publicly presented to the successful Candidates, who must deliver each of them a Speech upon the Occasion," on Transfer Day, or "Commemoration Day," August 15th, in the Chapel. The above plan was "a temporary one"; when there were enough students receiving degrees of A.B., the medals would then be awarded "to those who take the best Degrees in the Arts and the learned Languages."²⁰⁸ On Saturday, August 15, 1772, these gold medals were presented to Mr. Nathaniel Burwell of "Martin's Hundred," and Mr. James Madison "from Augusta" (later President of the College), who also "had the Degree of Bachelor of Arts conferred on them." A "Number of Gentlemen in the City and Neighbourhood attended, by Invitation, at the academical Exhibitions of the Students," and after the ceremonies in the Chapel "the whole Company sat down to an Entertainment [doubtless in the Hall] provided for the Occasion, and spent the Day in decent Festivity."²⁰⁹

In the eighteenth century the college exercises and conferring of degrees took place in the Chapel, as noted above, usually on Transfer or "Commemoration" Day, August 15th. In the

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nineteenth century they also took place in the Chapel, but the ceremonies were held on the 4th of July.²¹⁰

Lord Botetourt, who arrived as Governor of Virginia in October, 1768, died at the Governor's Palace in Williamsburg on Monday, October 15, 1770. His funeral service was held at Bruton Parish Church the following Friday, October 19th, the procession forming at the Palace, and proceeding to the Church at three o'clock, "where the usual Service" was performed; after this "the Corps" was "conducted to the College Chapel, and there interred."²¹¹ His funeral was as nearly a "State funeral" as could be provided in Virginia; he was buried in an "inside Coffin" of lead, lined with "Persian fully ornamented," with a "Lutestring Shroud, Mattrass, Pillow and Cap." The "outside Coffin," of black walnut, was covered "with Crimson Velvet" and neatly ornamented in "the best manner." It had 8 silver handles and 16 escutcheons on it, and a "Large Silver plate Engrav'd." The "Weeps" in the procession carried blackened staffs, the mourners wore black hat bands, scarfs, etc.; there were 32 "Escutcheons to ornament the Hearse, Church &c.," and "28 Streamers for the Horses." There were charges for "hanging his Seat, Pulpit, and Covering the Communion Table, Altar, Reading Desk &c with Superfine [black] cloth," in Bruton Parish Church.²¹² The charges at the College Chapel, for "Taking up the Pew in Colledge & Floor and making good D[itt]o with a Cover of Planks & Centers for Arch to Vault for D[itt]o," amounting to £3:10:0, and for "1450 Bricks at 2/9 & 25 Bushels of lime at 9d," - £3:3:1½, and for "building a Vault 30/- & 7 days labor at 2/" £2:4:0, were also recorded.²¹³ Under a "Williamsburgh, Virginia, October 19" date line, The London Chronicle for December 18-20, 1770, noted that on October 19th "the remains of his Excellency Lord Botetourt, our late Governor, were carried in grand funeral procession, attended by many of his Majesty's Council, and of the House of Burgesses &c. to the Chapel of the College for interment...."²¹⁴ The Duke of Beaufort, Lord Botetourt's nephew and heir, was notified of his death and interment in the Chapel, and wrote that as his uncle had expressed a desire sometime before he died "to be bury'd in Virginia," he did not intend removing the body to England, but would like to "erect a Monument near the place where he was buried." Lord Botetourt's executors wrote sending the following information concerning the Chapel, so that the Duke of Beaufort would not be "at a loss as to the size & Dimension of a monument which" would best "suit the Chapel":

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"The Monument cannot be conveniently erected over the Grave, as it would spoil two principal Pews & incommode the Chapel considerably in other Respects.

If it is proposed to have it in the Form of a Pyramid it can be placed conveniently in no part, except at the Bottom of the Isle fronting the Pulpit, where it would appear to Advantage, if the Dimensions should not be thought too much confin'd; the Isle itself is about ten feet wide; there must be a Passage left on each Side of the Monument at least two feet & an half, so that the Width of the Monument, which will form the Fronts, can be no more than five feet.

A flat monument may be fixt still more commodiously in the side of the wall nearly opposite to the Grave. Between two large windows, there is a strong brick Pier six feet & an half wide; the Length of this Pier from the Ceiling down to the Wainscot is twelve feet & an half, & from the Top of the Wainscot to the Floor eleven feet & an half more; if the Height from the Wainscot to the Ceiling should not be thought sufficient, we suppose there would be no Inconvenience in letting the Monument down into the Wainscot as low as the Floor, but then the bottom Part if it would be hid by the Front of the Pew."²¹⁵

This memorandum is here copied in full, because it gives more detail than any other written source we have come across on the Chapel: mentioning the width of the aisle, the location of "two principal Pews," and of the Pulpit, the height of the wainscot, and of the wall from the ceiling to the wainscot, etc. The monument was apparently never erected; but a statue of Lord Botetourt, ordered from London by the General Assembly of Virginia, was erected in the Capitol in Williamsburg, where it remained until 1801. It had been somewhat damaged when it was purchased by the President and Professors of the College for \$100, and placed in front of the Main building in the College yard.²¹⁶

There were other burials under the College Chapel, both before and after Lord Botetourt was interred there. Sir

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John Randolph (who represented the College of William and Mary in the House of Burgesses, and was Speaker of the House) died in Williamsburg on March 6, 1737. He was buried in the Chapel of the College, "carried from his House [probably the house now known as the "Peyton Randolph House" on Nicholson Street] to the Place of Interment, by Six honest, industrious, poor Housekeepers of Bruton Parish" who were given "Twenty Pounds divided among them." The "Rev. Mr. Dawson, one of the Professors of that College, pronounced a Funeral Oration, in Latin. His Corps was attended by a very numerous Assembly of Gentlemen and others, who paid the last Honours to him, with great Solemnity, Decency, and Respect." In 1739, his wife and family erected a "beautiful Monument, of curious Workmanship in Marble, ... in the Chapel of the College of William and Mary to the Memory of Sir John Randolph, Knight, who was interred there," The Virginia Gazette of April 13-20, 1739, printing its long Latin inscription.²¹⁷ His widow, Lady Susanna Beverley Randolph, may have been buried in his vault, but we have found no record of this. Peyton Randolph, son of Sir John Randolph, Speaker of the House of Burgesses, and first President of the Continental Congress, died in Philadelphia on October 22, 1775, and was buried temporarily in the vault of Mr. Francis at Christ Church, until his remains could "be conveyed to Virginia." In November, 1776, the remains of Peyton Randolph "were conveyed in a hearse to the College chapel attended by the worshipful brotherhood of Freemasons, both Houses of the Assembly, a number of other gentlemen, and the inhabitants of this city. The body was received from the hearse by six gentlemen of the House of Delegates, who conveyed it to the family vault in the chapel, after which an excellent oration was pronounced from the pulpit [of the Chapel] by the reverend Thomas Davis ... The oration being ended, the body was deposited in the vault, when every spectator payed their last tribute of tears to the Memory of their departed and much honoured friend." The remains were brought from Philadelphia "by Edmund Randolph, esq; at the earnest request of his uncle's afflicted and inconsolable widow."²¹⁸ In her will, written in 1780, probated in 1783, Peyton Randolph's widow, Mrs. Betty Harrison Randolph, requested that her "Body ... be put in the Vault in the College Chapel in which the remains of my blessed Husband are deposited, with as little ceremony & expense as possible." She left £130 to her husband's nephew, Edmund Randolph, for a "monument to the memory" of her husband to be erected in "the Chapel ... opposite to that of his [Edmund Randolph's] grandfather Sr John Randolph."²¹⁹ It

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is probable that she was buried with her husband; but we have found no record of this, nor of a monument erected to Peyton Randolph.²²⁰ John Randolph (younger son of Sir John Randolph), Attorney-General of the Virginia Colony, went to England at the outbreak of the Revolution, and died there in 1784. His dying request to be buried in Virginia, was carried out by his daughter, Ariana Randolph Wormeley, who had his body sent to Virginia. His son, Edmund Randolph, Attorney General for the State of Virginia, had it interred in the College Chapel.²²¹ The Rev. James Madison, President of the College, 1777 until his death, and elected First Bishop of Virginia in 1790, died on March 6, 1812, and was buried under the Chapel of the College.²²² In 1813 the College erected a marble tablet to his memory.²²³ In 1813, Judge William Nelson, Professor of Law at the College, and Judge of the General Court of Virginia, was buried in a vault under the Chapel, the students at the College attending in procession "his remains from his late residence to the chapel the place of interment." In 1818, the Hon. Robert Nelson, Chancellor of the Williamsburg District of Virginia, and Professor of Law at the College, was also buried under the College Chapel.²²⁴

Until the reorganization of the College in 1779-1780, Chapel services were held twice daily as noted before;²²⁵ and in 1774 Mr. Edward Digges was appointed "keeper of the Chapel."²²⁶ In May, 1777, when Ebenezer Hazard visited Williamsburg, he wrote of the "small Chapel for the Use of the Students" at the "South End of the Parade [piazza]," noting that "Sir John Randolph, Lord Bottetourt, & Peyton Randolph Esqr late President of the Congress are buried here." He added, "at the North End is a Room allotted for a Divinity School, but there have been no Students in it for several Years."²²⁷ Apparently, after the reorganization, when the College was made a University, services in Chapel were discontinued. After a visit to Williamsburg, Jedediah Morse wrote Ezra Stiles of Yale in 1786: "There are about 30 Students belonging to William and Mary College, most of them Law Students. They have six Professorships. The Professors, successively lecture once a day - the Students attend or not as they please. When this Lecture is delivered the business of the day is done both for Professor and Student. They have no public Prayers Morning nor Evening no recitations, no public speaking... Such, however incredible, is the State of William & Mary College."²²⁸

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The Chapel was doubtless repaired when necessary before the Revolution, although there are few details as to any work done there. In December, 1740, a Mr. Bowler was paid "for new covering the Chappel Forms" £5: 0: 0.²²⁹ We have already noted the references to work on the "pew in Colledge & Floor" and to bricks and lime and "building a Vault" in the Chapel in connection with Lord Botetourt's burial there in 1770; and to the Pulpit, the width of the aisle, the brick Pier 6½ feet wide, between two large windows, and the distance from the ceiling to the wainscot and the wainscot to the floor, in connection with a proposed monument to Lord Botetourt.²³⁰

It would seem that the Chapel was in such a bad state of repair that Commencement exercises were being held at Bruton Parish Church by or before 1812.²³¹ President J. Augustine Smith noted that the Chapel was badly in need of repairs in his annual reports to the Visitors and Governors in 1817, 1818, and 1819.²³² It had evidently not been repaired by 1824, when a visitor from New England described its seats as "broken down, and the panels of the doors broken through."²³³ It probably remained in this state until circa 1830, when services were again ordered to be held - the Visitors and Governors passing a resolution that "the Chapel be opened for religious exercises at such hour each day of the week as the Faculty may designate"; and the Faculty ordering that "Morning prayers will take place in the Chapel every day, immediately before the first Lecture in the Morning."²³⁴ In the July, 1831, report of the Faculty, it was noted that the College carpenter had been "faithfully engaged at his duty," and that the Chapel had "been repaired painted & furnished with Benches." In this same report it was noted - "The opening of the Chapel ... has been attended with as much effect as might reasonably have been anticipated."²³⁵

In a tornado in June, 1834, damage to the "south end" of the College building was noted as "1 sash broke & 47 panes of glass," and to "ends of wings - 4 small sashes and one and a half large ones broken - also 43 panes of glass besides."²³⁶ The damages, except to the north wing, had been for the most part repaired by July, 1835; although the commencement exercises of July 4th were held in Bruton Parish Church in 1835.²³⁷ Additional

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minor repairs were doubtless required at times. Repairs made by a local carpenter at the College in 1848-1849 noted a "40 ft strip in chapel" 75¢, and in August, 1849, "to plastering in Chappell 50 Yds @ 25¢."²³⁸

The printed Laws and Regulations of the College for 1851, contained the order that "There shall be daily prayers in the Chapel... when the presence of Academic students shall be required."²³⁹ In the Daily Republican (Richmond, Virginia) for February 27, 1852, it was stated that the College was not in "any degree sectarian. The students are required to attend prayers at College, morning and night, and to attend church on Sunday, but the choice of churches, (of which there are three in Williamsburg - Episcopal, Methodist and Baptist,) is left to themselves."²⁴⁰

In 1852 a new Debating Society at the College was allowed to "choose a room from those over the Chapel."²⁴¹ It is not clear to what use the other rooms over the Chapel had been put. At one time the Library may have been over the Chapel. In 1854, when it was decided to raise funds by subscription for "the entire renovation of the whole interior of the building," the Chapel was evidently in fair condition, as The Virginia Gazette described the "commencement of Old William and Mary ... in the College Chapel on the morning of the 4th of July."²⁴² In May, 1855, the Faculty resolved that part of a \$250 subscription for repairing the College, which had just been received, "be expended in painting the Chapel."²⁴³ The commencement in the Chapel on July 4, 1855, was described as having the most "immense concourse of people" ever seen "assembled in the College building. The seats, aisles and gallery, even the windows of the chapel, were crowded with eager and attentive faces while many went away, and many more amused themselves lounging about the lecture rooms and piazza, ... At 10 o'clock, the exercises of the day were opened... In the afternoon the visitors, citizens and students assembled in the piazza to partake of a repast furnished by the Faculty."²⁴⁴ The painting of the Chapel noted above must have been done by May 30, 1856, when The Southern Argus described the extensive changes being made in the interior of the College building, stating that the lecture rooms, then all on the first floor, were "to be painted and refitted after the style of the chapel."²⁴⁵ It is evident from information which follows that the Chapel had been altered considerably from its original appearance.

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In 1858, a description of the vaults in the College Chapel was supplied to The Southern Argus, which published an article entitled "The Dead of the Chapel of William and Mary" in the issue for Saturday Morning, July 31, 1858. The information concerning the vaults was gathered, according to the writer, when "Some weeks ago ... the old floor, which had become rotten, was removed, a new one some feet higher than the old" replacing it. The article, which contains some information on the Chapel at that time, continued:

"... two doors open into it [the Chapel] from the College building. That on the right enables the visitor to pass into the body of the Chapel, while the left door is at present only used for admission to the stage on which the Board of Visitors and the Faculty are seated on public occasions, and from which the students address the assembly. As you enter the right door, almost immediately beneath your feet, is the vault of Sir John Randolph.- It is five feet broad inside, just large enough to hold two coffins; it is eight feet long, and the height from the bottom to the crown of the arch four and a half feet. The bottom of the vault is alone three feet below the surface of the ground on the outside of the building. This in common with the other vaults of which we shall speak presently, is made of common bricks and mortar put together roughly, as it could not be seen only when the floor was taken up. This vault was first opened; ... From its position in respect to the elegant mural tablet just above it in the Chapel, it was evident that it contained the remains of Sir John Randolph. Nothing could be seen but the base of the scull, and a heap of dust. Of the coffin there were three iron handles left; ... it may be that the remaining handles had been removed at some previous time, probably when the remains of Lady Randolph were laid by the side of those of her husband. Close to Sir John's remains were found the relics of a coffin, several large pieces of plank, especially of the lid, around the edge of which were strips of cloth with double rows of brass tacks. The body was not as entirely decomposed as that of Sir John. Many of the bones are entire. - This second body was apparently shorter than

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the first. ... Was it Lady Randolph's? Is it known among her relatives that she was buried in the Chapel? ... If she was buried in the Chapel these remains, of course, are hers; and it should not be overlooked that she survived her husband, and had the vault constructed, not for a single body, but ample enough for two. If she was not buried here, and we sincerely trust some of her relatives may be able to settle the fact, then it hardly admits of a question that this was the body of Lord Botetourt. ...

Adjoining the vault of Sir John, and immediately under the platform or stage extending between the right hand and left hand doors, was another vault of the same dimensions, in which there was a leaden coffin of large size, elegantly fashioned. It contained a wooden coffin apparently in tolerable preservation. The top of the leaden coffin was flat, the sides convex; and it was uninjured except at one point... The elegance of the coffin and the completeness of its fixtures, proclaimed it at once the coffin of John Randolph, the Attorney General ... even if the tin [?] plate upon it had not contained these words: 'John Randolph, Attorney General of Virginia; died January thirty first, 1784, aged fifty six years.' There were several smaller plates used, perhaps for ornament. On one of them were the words: 'Gloria Deum.' ...

Immediately on entering the left hand door described above, there appeared another vault in a line with the two just mentioned and about the same size. On opening it two bodies were discovered. The first, on the north side of the vault, was contained in a leaden coffin which enclosed a wooden one not much decayed. - The leaden coffin was not as neatly finished as the one which held the remains of John Randolph, the surface of the lead being without polish, and the edges of the lid tacked instead of being soldered together. ... On the breast of the coffin was a plate silver-gilt on the upper surface, the lower surface filled with lead, leaving the simple but eloquent inscription 'Peyton Randolph, Esq.' ... By the side of the Speaker, in the same vault, was another body, the skeleton of

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which is of large size. It is doubtless the body of Mrs. Peyton Randolph, which we might expect to find in the tomb which she had constructed for her husband. There is, however, no mark upon the fragments which would enable us to affirm the fact. ...

We may as well say here, what we ought to have said before, that the vaults of the three Randolphs, the father and the two sons, ... embrace the entire width of the Chapel. We should also say that, after the inspection of the vaults was made, and their inmates were identified, the opening was securely bricked up; and it is probable that a century may pass when they may again be opened for examination...

About ten feet from the western end of the Chapel, on the north side, are two single vaults in close juxtaposition; the one next to the wall being the vault of Bishop Madison, and the other that of Mrs. Madison, his wife, who is believed to have been buried there, or of Chancellor Nelson, who is believed to have been buried in the Chapel. It is not improbable that Mrs. Madison was buried in the same vault with her husband, though it is single, as is frequently done in England, the coffin being placed on a platform above the other. If this be the case, then the second vault is Chancellor Nelson's; but as the vaults were not opened, we can only surmise who are their occupants: ...

About five or six feet from the two single vaults just described was a grave without a mark of any kind. It was either Chancellor Nelson's grave, if he was not interred in either of the single vaults, or of a student who was drowned in the college mill-pond... [Gregory Page, 1812] ... It was opened, and bones were found with small pieces of a coffin in which were cut nails... After a minute examination of the ground no other grave or vault was found. In a few days the wooden floor was re-laid; but we had the pleasure of seeing that a trap door of ample dimensions has been made, which is secured firmly by screws, and which, when raised, will admit the curious who may move about in a stooping posture and see the

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outside of the vaults for themselves. We ought to say that the examination was conducted with all possible delicacy, and that nothing was disturbed or moved from its place."²⁴⁶

Only about a year later, after the fire of 1859, some of the graves under the Chapel were examined again. The body buried in Sir John Randolph's vault was, after examination by "a physician of undoubted skill in his profession," pronounced to be that of a man, and therefore could not be Lady Randolph's; and it was concluded that "Lord Botetourt's remains repose[d] in the North East vault in the college chapel, to the right of those of Sir John Randolph. The remains of the three Randolphs repose[d] in the northern side of their respective vaults."²⁴⁷

This conclusion was incorrect: if the bones were male and not female, and Lady Randolph was not buried in her husband's vault, we cannot suggest who was buried there. The vaults at the northwest side of the Chapel were not opened on either occasion, but information not in hand at the time of the examinations, as to the vault built for Lord Botetourt in 1770, and the silver coffin-plate which would have indicated the place of his burial (and was later taken from his vault by Federal soldiers after the fire of 1862), proves that he was not buried in Sir John Randolph's vault, and that his vault was not opened in 1858 or 1859.²⁴⁸ The three Randolphs were buried, as stated, at the east end of the Chapel, their vaults taking up the "entire width of the Chapel"; it is reasonable to assume that Mrs. Betty Harrison Randolph was buried, as she requested in her will, beside her husband, Peyton Randolph;²⁴⁹ and it is possible that the physician who examined the bones of the second body buried in Sir John Randolph's vault was mistaken in his decision that they were of a man rather than a woman. Bishop James Madison was undoubtedly buried in "a Vault in the Northwest corner of the Chapel," as described by St. George Tucker at the time. Judge Nelson, who died in 1813, was also buried under the Chapel.²⁵⁰ It is now believed, after an examination of the vaults during the 1928-1931 restoration of the College building, when some of the bodies were moved, that Lord Botetourt's vault was under the west end of the Chapel.²⁵¹

The College building was destroyed by fire on February 8, 1859, the fire starting in the northwest wing of the building, where everything was lost. A few articles were saved

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from the "Blue Room"; but, as one witness of the ruins wrote, the Chapel was "a perfect wreck. There was little of value that could be moved, but its walls were adorned with beautiful marble tablets in memory of the old worthies. All were broken & destroyed, except the handsomest of all to Sir John Randolph, which is partly standing..."²⁵²

The College was rebuilt on its old walls within the year, which "though warped & cracked by the intense heat, all Chimnies and a portion of the interior walls" having fallen in the fire, were strong enough to be used. The new building differed considerably from the old, both as to its exterior and its interior. One report stated that the "ground plans" of the Chapel were not altered, although interior changes were made: the "cieling was formerly vaulted. The window-sills were much higher from the floor and there was a gallery opposite the present rostrum." The report continued: "...Near the North-west corner of the Chapel is the vault...of James Madison the first Bishop of Virginia and his wife and on the same side, a few feet farther east is the grave of Chancellor Nelson. Near the vault of Sir Jno Randolph on the north side was a magnificent mural monument erected to his memory... Near the vault of Bishop Madison there was a mural tablet erected to his memory by the College. A heap of calcined marble is all that remains of these monuments."²⁵³

While the Chapel was being rebuilt, the Baptist Church of Williamsburg offered its building for the Commencement exercises, and the offer was accepted. On July 4, 1860, "the commencement exercises, for the first time since the burning of the College, were held in the Chapel, which, restored and improved, now rests upon the same consecrated walls, and still perpetuates unbroken the associations so inspiring to young men..."²⁵⁴ In October, 1860, it was noted that the College exercises had been "recently resumed under the most auspicious circumstances. Seventy-odd matriculated students now grace the College Chapel every morning..."²⁵⁵ In November, 1860, the question of removing the remains of John Randolph "of Roanoke" from "the yard of one of the estates on Staunton River" to the College Chapel, to "repose near those of his ancestors" was brought up, but it was never done.²⁵⁶ The War Between the States probably put a stop to this plan.

The College building again burned while Williamsburg was in the hands of Federal troops, set on fire by soldiers of

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the Fifth Pennsylvania Cavalry on September 9, 1862. More was saved from the building at this time;²⁵⁷ but the "vaults in the College chapel were broken open and robbed of the silver plates attached to the coffins, and of whatever else of value they were found to contain."²⁵⁸ At this time Lord Botetourt's vault was evidently located. In 1888 a jeweller of Albany, New York, sent back to Virginia the "silver coffin-plate stolen from the coffin of Lord Botetourt when the vaults were broken into by the Federal soldiers," stating that he had purchased it from "the widow of 'a Private Brown,' a Federal soldier."²⁵⁹ This plate, which was engraved by the Williamsburg silversmith and engraver, William Waddill, as noted in Lord Botetourt's funeral expenses,²⁶⁰ is now in possession of the College.

In 1868-1869 the College was again rebuilt on its original walls, and again it differed both inside and outside, from the building of ca. 1716-1859.²⁶¹

When the College building was restored by the Williamsburg Restoration in 1928-1931, the Chapel was returned to its eighteenth-century appearance as far as could be done at the time. Much depended on the location of Lord Botetourt's vault, in connection with the eighteenth-century references to the aisle, the pulpit, and the principal pew. The use of the word "Forms" at one time (the "new covering" of the "Chapel Forms" in 1740) and the word "Pew" at a later time (concerning Lord Botetourt's monument in 1770-71) was, in all probability, merely the choice of a word by the writer and did not indicate different types of seating in the Chapel.²⁶²

The pulpit, which was not placed in the Chapel in the 1928-1931 restoration of the building, will be erected where it stood in the eighteenth century, in front of the communion table; and the "ornaments" required for worship in an Anglican church of the eighteenth century,²⁶³ will be replaced in the Chapel.

The only memorial tablets in the Chapel prior to the fire of 1859, of which we have found record, were those to Sir John Randolph, erected by his wife and family in 1739, and to the Rev. James Madison, erected by the College in 1813.²⁶⁴ Today there are six memorial tablets on the walls of the Chapel, all copies of tablets presented as follows: to the Hon. George Wythe, presented in 1893 by the Virginia State Bar Association; to the Rev. James Blair, first President of the College, presented by

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the Colonial Dames in 1901; to Sir John Randolph (probably a replica, at least as far as the Latin inscription is concerned, of the 1739 tablet) presented by his descendants in 1902; to the Rev. William Dawson, President of the College, 1743-1752; to the Rev. James Madison, presented by a descendant in 1927; and to Benjamin S. Ewell, President of the College, 1854-1888, presented by the Alumni.

The College of William and Mary

THE CONVOCATION ROOM OR "BLUE ROOM."

The Charter for the College of 1693 ordered that, after the College was erected, the President, Masters, and Professors, "appoint some convenient Place or Council Chamber within the said College; and that the Rector and other Visitors and Governors of the said College ... as often as they shall think good and see Cause, may convocate and hold a certain Court or Convocation within the said Chamber, ... [to] treat, confer, consult, advise and decree concerning Statutes, Orders and Injunctions of the said College." The Visitors and Governors elected a new Rector for their body each year, on the first Monday after the Feast of the Annunciation [March 25th], and a new Chancellor for the College once every seven years, on the same Monday. They also elected the President, and appointed new Masters and Professors, as the need arose. Eighteen Visitors and Governors were appointed in the Charter, to be a self-perpetuating body, of no more than twenty.²⁶⁵ The President, Masters and Professors met also in this room to attend to the ordinary business of the College; and to elect lesser College employees, such as the bursar, the usher of the Grammar School, the "Library-keeper," the janitor, the cook, the butler, the gardener, the writing-master, and workmen for building and repairs.²⁶⁶ They also considered the changes necessary in the Statutes from time to time, and brought these to the attention of the Visitors and Governors. Students were sometimes brought before their meetings for disciplinary measures. The President of the College called the meetings of the Masters and Professors when he felt it was necessary, and presided over them, usually reading the minutes of the previous meeting before proceeding to business. A manuscript journal of these meetings, with some of its pages missing, has survived for the years 1729-1784. During this period the meetings were sometimes held once a month for some months; sometimes there would not be a meeting for an extended period, if the surviving eighteenth-century journals entered all the meetings held. In the nineteenth century the "Faculty" held "a regular weekly meeting in the Blue Room on every Monday at 12 o'clock."²⁶⁷

Minutes of a "Generall meeting of the Visitors & Governors of the Colledge of William & Mary held in the Convocation Roome of the said Colledge the 26th day of March, 1716" - probably their first meeting in the new building, which was not then completed - have survived, together with minutes of

The College of William and Mary - The "Blue Room"

their meetings on June 13th, June 20th and October 24th of that year. At the meeting of March 26th, Philip Ludwell was elected Rector, to succeed the Lieutenant Governor of the Colony, Alexander Spotswood. At the meeting of June 20, 1716, it was ordered that furniture be sent for to Messrs. Micajah and Richard Perry, merchants in London, for the Convocation Room, Kitchen, etc. There must have been a long table or tables in the room at the time, for no table was ordered. The Clerk of the College was ordered to prepare "an Invoice of such Kitchen furniture as is needed ... & send the same to Mr. Micajah and Richard Perry"; and the following furniture, to be ordered from the Perrys, was listed by the Visitors and Governors:

- "2 Doz: handsome leather chairs for the Convocation Roome.
- 1 pr of and Irons, Fire shovel and Tongs and Fender.
- 1 p. of Green broad cloath.
- 1 Engine for Quenching Fire.
- 2 Doz: leather Bucketts with the Colledge Cypher thereon."²⁶⁸

This room, according to nineteenth century records, was always where it now is, on the second floor at the front of the College, to the north of the stairway and lobby. It was variously referred to in the earlier records as the "Convocation Room" or the "Council Chamber"; the first record we have found to its being called the "Blue Room" was in 1797,²⁶⁹ but of course the term may have been in use many years earlier. Obviously the name referred to the color of its wainscot or panelling.

This room had a fireplace at its northern end, for which furniture was ordered, and was evidently furnished with two dozen "handsome leather chairs," almost enough for the eighteen or twenty Visitors and Governors and the President and six Masters or Professors to hold joint meetings around a table or tables of adequate size. It is very unlikely that all the Visitors and Governors often attended the meetings; there were eleven or twelve present at the meetings mentioned above for which we have the minutes.²⁷⁰ There was probably a chest or press in the room to hold the charter, statutes, the College seal, and the volumes of journals of the meetings of the Visitors and Governors and of the President, Masters and Professors.²⁷¹

The portraits belonging to the College were in the "Blue Room," in the mid-nineteenth century, and may have been there earlier.²⁷² However, it is more probable that the few

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portraits owned by the College in the eighteenth century (a portrait of the Hon. Robert Boyle [d. 1691 - whose estate endowed the Indian school at the College], the gift of his nephew, the Earl of Burlington, two portraits of the first President of the College, the Rev. James Blair, and one of his wife, Sarah Harrison Blair) were originally in the great Hall, when that room was used as a refectory or dining hall; and were moved from the Hall circa 1780, when "commons" were discontinued in the College, and the Hall was used for class-room purposes. Refectories or dining-halls in English schools and colleges were almost invariably hung with portraits of College officials and benefactors. There is, however, no record that this was the situation at the College of William and Mary. If it was, the "Blue Room" would probably have contained the usual pictures, prints, and maps of the period.

One student, called before the President, Masters and Professors for being one of a party of "about 15" who had been drinking "rather freely," wrote a friend on December 20, 1797, that he had "seen, by way of a change, the tremendous redoubtable terrifying insides of the Blue Room." President Madison had called them "into the Blue Room before the professors, who after sundry interrogations to which they received no answer, condemned us to further trial." Another student wrote of the same "Terrible Doings," stating that "after supping on a plenty of egg-nog in Minor's Room, what must we do but turn out, march up and down Town with the Fiddle, and at length by the drunkenness of ----- be induced to brick-bat old Hornsby's House. The Council of the Town met twice, and the Blue Room Council met six times on the occasion."²⁷³

The Faculty minutes of Monday, April 6, 1829, noted that on "Saturday evening while the Society [meeting of the President, Masters, and Professors] was in Session by Candle light - it was discovered that a quantity of water had been poured against the door of the Blue room," and soon after this "a brick was thrown in the passage and fell nearly opposite the door ... Before many minutes had elapsed several bricks were discharged through the windows of the Blue room which fell near the table at which the Society was seated. The Society having completed their business then adjourned." The disorders continued on Sunday, and during the night "the Blue room and the Lecture rooms of Profs Semple and Pena had been forcibly entered, the doors of two of these apartments had been dragged from their

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hinges, and much of the Furniture which they contained had been broken injured or defaced..."²⁷⁴ On March 9, 1830, the Faculty minutes recorded that "rioters" had been engaged in "breaking the windows and furniture of one of the lecture rooms on the second floor ... the door of the Blue room and one of the presses therein, in which the records of the Society are kept broken open; the records mutilated and nearly destroyed thrown in a heap in the fire place; ... the tables and two of the books of the Society defiled ... and the whole of the furniture in the said room more or less polluted. They found the passage lamp broken; the door of Prof^r Pena's Lecture room forced open;" etc.²⁷⁵ On January 31, 1831, the Faculty minutes noted that "several of the chairs expressly intended for the Blue room, had been removed to the College Chapel," and that "other chairs of the same set had been transferred to the rooms of certain students," and ordered that the "Chairs belonging to the Blue room ... be restored to that Apartment."²⁷⁶ On January 9, 1837, further damage was done by students, in which the "Blue room door was injured," and one "Pannel knocked out of" the door to the room opposite the Library, and each of "the doors on the cross passage" and "the former law Lecture room" door was broken open and injured.²⁷⁷

The "Blue room" was painted and repaired from time to time; the above damages must have been promptly repaired by the College carpenter. However, only a few detailed references to "Blue Room" repairs have survived: In August, 1848, James T. James charged 75¢ for "repairing blue room door"; later in the same account James charged 50¢ for "Blue room 1 lock 1/6 piecing jam 1/6."²⁷⁸

A student who graduated at the College in 1855, mentioned the meeting at which he was initiated into the Phi Beta Kappa Society being "held in the celebrated old 'Blue Room,'" lasting "but a few minutes." He added, "This room was panelled in blue, in the same style and color as was the 'Apollo Hall' in the old Raleigh Tavern, where I have attended many meetings of a somewhat different character. ..."²⁷⁹

In 1856, when very considerable changes were being made to the interior of the College building, it was noted in a newspaper account of the changes that "The venerable 'Blue Room' will remain as it is, still decorated with its historical portraits, etc."²⁸⁰

The College of William and Mary - The "Blue Room"

After the College building was burned, on February 8, 1859, a newspaper account of the fire stated that "The Blue room, so called from its walls being of that ethereal hue, was an apartment associated with matters of much interest." Its contents "with the rest of all the contents of the building, fell a prey to the flames."²⁸¹ This was an error, as some things in the room were saved. An account of the fire by Professor Totten, entered in the Faculty minutes the day of the fire, February 8, 1859, stated that the fire began in the northwest wing of the building, where everything was destroyed. There was time to save some of the "contents of the Blue Room consisting of College records & papers - six portraits - a number of volumes of congressional reports & about a thousand copies of the new catalogue," which were "carried out of the building and saved." A report of the fire by Professor Robert J. Morrison, dated February 12, 1859 noted that "The records of the college were saved, and the old portraits that hung in the Blue room. The President saved the College seal. The most valuable furniture of the Lecture rooms and the Library of the Philomathean Society were also saved. Everything in the Chapel was burnt."²⁸² Another account of the fire, and of the rebuilding of the College, by Professor Morrison, was entered in the Faculty minutes for November 22, 1859. He wrote:

"... The 'Blue Room' was on the second floor and was a part of the present Lecture-room on the north of the Central Hall. The wainscot extended from floor to ceiling and was of a blue color. The Faculty met in this room from seventeen hundred and twenty three [sic. - The College was probably far enough completed to be in use by 1718] (the year of the completion of the College after the fire of 1705) - until eighteen hundred & fifty nine - and here were hung the Paintings belonging to the College. These were saved from the fire and are as follows. A large Portrait of the Rev. John [sic. James] Blair. A smaller Portrait of the same & one of his wife corresponding in size: A large Portrait of the Hon Robert Boyle the gift of the Earl of Burlington; a large Portrait of Professor Dew [painted 1847] and one of Bishop Johns [painted 1856]. From this room the College Seal & Charter were saved."²⁸³

The College of William and Mary - The "Blue Room"

As noted in Professor Morrison's account above, changes were made to what had been the "Blue Room," when the building was rebuilt on its original walls, after the fire of February 8, 1859.

As now restored, the "Blue Room," which is above the original Grammar School Room and of about the same size, measures 24' 3" in width, 32' 4" in length. It has four windows on its east side, a fireplace at its north end, and two doors entering from the lobby of the second floor. It may have had a closet - closets on either side of the chimney at its north end now open into the corner room to the north of the "Blue Room."²⁸⁴

From the above, it is apparent that the furniture of the "Blue Room" consisted in the eighteenth century of a long table and at least 24 "handsome leather chairs," a chest or press for the College papers, journals, seal, charter, etc., andirons, shovel, tongs and fender, and there were doubtless pictures of some kind on the walls, whether portraits or not. Tables, chairs, and presses are mentioned in the nineteenth century references cited - and the room was of course lighted by candles - whether there were any fixtures in the room for the candles, or simply candlesticks, is not noted in the surviving records.²⁸⁵ There would have been inkstands, pens, and wax for the seal, and other such stationery supplies available in the room.

The College of William and Mary

THE NORTHEAST CORNER ROOM, SECOND FLOOR

The eighteenth-century use of the room, in the northeast corner of the second floor, to the north of the "Blue Room," is not indicated in the surviving records of the College. This room, over the "Philosophical Lecture Room" on the first floor, and of about the same size, would hardly have been given over to students, most of whom roomed in dormitories in the upper floor; nor was it apt to have been a master's or professor's room, as they were allowed two rooms which were adjoining, and were usually furnished as a bedroom, and sitting room or study.²⁸⁶ The "Blue Room" is believed to have adjoined this corner room throughout the eighteenth century.

There were lecture rooms on the second floor of the building in the eighteenth century, and until circa 1856. In that year many changes were made in the interior of the building and all lecture rooms were moved to the first floor.²⁸⁷ Prior to these changes in the nineteenth century, the Law lecture room was in this northeast corner room on the second floor.²⁸⁸ This room may have been used by the Professor of "Law and Police" ever since 1780, when the professorship was first established at the College. However, this is too late for the period of our present interest.

We do not know the location of several of the lecture rooms prior to circa 1772 - Jefferson's floor plan of the first floor shows the room used for mathematics and natural philosophy circa 1760-1772 (but not the location of the natural philosophy laboratory after the arrival of the quantity of apparatus purchased in London in 1767); it also shows the location of the "Writing" room, the Grammar School room, and the Moral Philosophy lecture room. There is, unfortunately, no floor-plan of the period for the second floor. The Library was obviously not on the first floor when Jefferson drew his floor-plan of 1772; nor was the "Common-room," a gathering place for the masters and professors, then on that floor. It is possible that at some time prior to 1773, when surviving records indicate that the Library was flanked by a room on either side, it might have been in this corner room on the second floor. In the early nineteenth century it only contained about 3,000 volumes.²⁸⁹

It is even more probable that the "Common-room" might have occupied this northeast corner room on the second floor.

The College of William and Mary - Northeast Room - Second Floor

It would seem a suitable location for the College officials to gather, adjoining as it does the room where they met.

A "Common-room" is defined as follows in the Oxford English Dictionary (Volume II, page 694), with examples of Oxford usage cited - 1683, 1708, 1711, 1750, etc.:

"1. In a college, school, or similar institution, a room to which all the members of the staff have common access, and where they meet each other. Especially, at Oxford, where this use of the name originated, the college-parlour to which the fellows and others associated with them retire after dinner. ... In some colleges, etc., the undergraduates or students support a similar institution, called a Junior Common-room."

Our first reference to the "Common-room" at the College of William and Mary is in a letter of the Rev. William Dawson, M.A. of Queen's College, Oxford, who came to William and Mary as Professor of Moral Philosophy in 1729, and succeeded the Rev. James Blair as President, when the latter died in 1743. On August 18, 1747, President Dawson wrote Mr. Fothergill of Oxford, thanking him for sending the habit [doubtless the cap, gown, and hood of a Queen's College master of arts], and some of Fothergill's publications, and describing the annual celebration of "Transfer Day" at the College on August 15th:

"... I wore the Hood A[ug] 15. for the first Time, being the Day of our Transfer, wch happened in 1729, the Year of my Arrivall, ... To the usual Service, in the Chapel...was added Your Thanksgiving; a Sermon, preached by Mr Preston [then Professor of Moral Philosophy, and also a graduate of Queen's College, Oxford]; and the Sacrament, administered to several of the Young Gentlemen, as well as to Others. After a very handsome Entertainment in the Hall, a Latin Oration was pronounced by Mr Preston's Pupil. In the Common Room, we chearfully drank Prosperity to Col. ----- [illegible], and Your Health, in particular. The rest of the Habit is too warm for this Season of the Year. That without Sleeves I have almost entirely forgot, and you must needs laugh in your Sleeve to find me requesting

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your full Instructions about the wearing them.
You have sent me such honourable Garments, of wch I
know not how to put on. ... "290

In directions to the Housekeeper passed at a meeting of the President, Masters and Professors, in February, 1763, it was ordered that if any "Master should chance to miss attending the Hall, or Common-Room, he may send for what Victuals he pleases that is left..."²⁹¹ So the Common-room evidently had a dining table and chairs, and some of the masters and professors, not required to attend "commons" in the Hall, were able to have their meals in this room at times; as well as retire to this room for refreshments such as tea, wine, punch and other liquors, when they so elected.

In March, 1766, the Faculty ordered that the "Scholars boarding in the College ... attend in the Common-Room every Evening, at 9 oClock, & that the Roll be regularly call'd over before the President, one of the Masters, or an Usher; and if any Boy should be absent without Leave he will incur a severe Animadversion & Punishment."²⁹² On July 26, 1766, it was recorded that "Mann Page Senr being convinced of his indecent Behaviour the 22^d Instant, this Day return'd & publickly in the Common-Room asked Pardon for the same before the President & Masters."²⁹³

Whatever the uses to which this room was put in the eighteenth century, it measured approximately 19-feet 10-inches wide and 24-feet 4-inches long. It had one window on the east side, and three on the north side; and there was a fireplace at its south end. As now restored, the room is wainscoted and plastered, and there are two closets at the south end on either side of the fireplace. These now open into the room; it is possible that one of these may have opened into the "Blue Room" in the eighteenth century - surviving records do not mention these closets.²⁹⁴

The Common-room at the College of William and Mary must have been furnished with a table and chairs to seat six or seven persons, or two smaller tables to serve the same purpose. Some comfortable parlor furniture, fire irons, pictures and prints, a chest for wines and liquor, wine glasses, and such things, would have been part of the "Common-room" furniture. There are several pictures of Junior and Senior Common-rooms in English colleges appended to this report.²⁹⁵

ENGLISH SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

A number of illustrations of English schools and colleges have been gathered, many of which follow in this report:

(1) Miss Sylvia L. England of London has, at our request, visited schools and colleges in England, and several in Scotland; and has had interior photographs made of surviving buildings of the late seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth centuries, with details of their architecture and furnishings.

(2) Mrs. Goodwin has made a search for eighteenth- and nineteenth-century pictures and prints of interiors of such schools and colleges, some of which are no longer standing, or no longer serve their original uses.

Both Miss England and Mrs. Goodwin have concentrated on buildings associated with Sir Christopher Wren, to whom the original design of the 1695-1705 building at the College of William and Mary is attributed. This building burned in 1705, but it was rebuilt on its original walls (most of which remained standing); and the College as rebuilt would have again reflected the influence of Wren, and of other English architects of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It is obvious, from the pictures that follow, that interior school architecture did not change drastically within a period of a few hundred years.

The academic structure of the College of William and Mary (both of the Grammar School and of the Schools of Moral and Natural Philosophy and Divinity) was based on that of the larger English schools and the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge (from whence a number of the masters and professors came). Brief notes concerning the schools and colleges on which we have drawn for illustrative material are also included with the illustrations which follow.

Only the Grammar School Room, the Hall, the Chapel, the Convocation Room or the "Blue Room," and either two Lecture Rooms (or one Lecture Room and the Common Room) at the College of William and Mary are now to be furnished as they would have been in the circa 1729-1772 period. But as we have interesting illustrations of other rooms, such as Dormitories, Kitchens, and Libraries, some of these will be included, as well as pictures

English Schools and Colleges

of two rather typical quadrangles. These illustrations are grouped as follows: (1) School Rooms and Furnishings; (2) Halls or refectories and Furnishings; (3) Chapels and Furnishings; (4) Convocation Rooms and Furnishings; (5) Common Rooms and Furnishings; (6) Dormitories and Furnishings; (7) Libraries and Furnishings; (8) Kitchens and Furnishings; (9) Quadrangles.

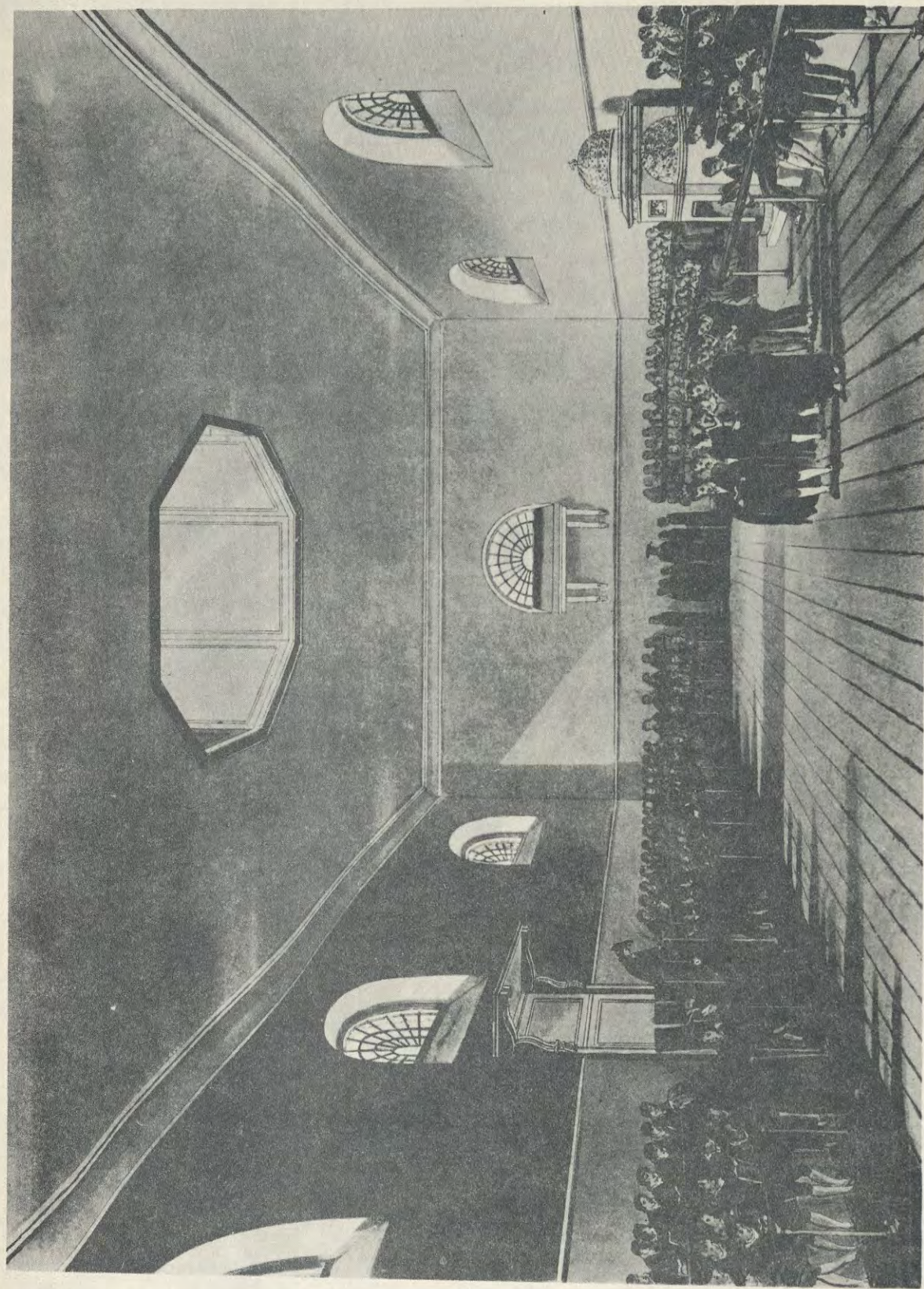
THE SCHOOL-ROOM AT CHARTER-HOUSE

The "Charter House" was founded in London circa 1611-1613, by will of Thomas Sutton which established a "hospital" or almshouse for "80 male pensioners," and a school for 40 boys, to be admitted between the ages of 10 to 14. Shortly before his death in December, 1611, Sutton purchased property in London, formerly a Carthusian monastery founded in 1371, and after its dissolution in 1535, occupied at times by Queen Elizabeth and by James I. This became the site of Sutton's almshouse and school. The name "Charter-House," a corruption of the French maison chartreuse - a religious house of the Carthusian monks - was carried over to Sutton's institution.

The 40 boys to attend the school were carefully selected by its governors; they were instructed in classical learning, fed, and clothed from Sutton's endowment; and were given the opportunity, if they qualified, to go on to Oxford or Cambridge. They were instructed by a School-master, an Usher (or second Master), and two Assistants. The School-master was required to have a M.A. and be at least 27 years of age, and the Usher to be at least 24 years old and have a B.A. R. Ackermann* described the buildings of Charter-House in general, but of the School he merely noted that it was on "the western side of the green," and was a "plain building, suitably prepared for the important purposes to which it is destined."

The Charter-House School eventually outgrew Sutton's plans for it, and became one of England's ranking public schools. It was removed in 1872 to new buildings near Godalming in Surrey. The elderly "pensioners" remained in London in the "picturesque buildings of mellowed red brick" which had been originally a Carthusian monastery.

*R. Ackermann, History of the Colleges of Winchester, Eton, and Westminster; with the Charter-House... (London: 1816). "History of the Charter-House," pages 1-5, 8-9, 13-15, 18-32. Also Encyclopaedia Britannica (1932 ed.), Vol. V, page 308.



THE SCHOOL-ROOM AT CHARTER-HOUSE, LONDON

In this room, some forty boys studied under a School-Master, a Second Master, and two Assistants. [See page 97 for brief account of School.] From aquatint by A. Pugin in R. Ackermann's history (London: 1816).

THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL-ROOM & WRITING SCHOOL-ROOM

AT CHRIST'S HOSPITAL, LONDON

Christ's Hospital was established in 1552/3 by King Edward VI, to care for 1156 needy children, including 80 girls. The younger children started out in buildings at Hertford, and were transferred to the buildings in London when about 10 or 12 years of age. Until the Great London Fire of 1666, the buildings occupied by Christ's Hospital had been formerly a Grey Friars Monastery in Newgate Street. Christ's Hospital was rebuilt on this same site after the London fire, under the supervision of Sir Christopher Wren.

The Hospital was amply endowed, the children being lodged, fed, clothed and educated entirely at the charge of the foundation. The institution was governed by the Lord Mayor of London, the Aldermen, and twelve Common Councilmen, and by a few additional benefactors who were elected from time to time. The Hospital staff included a Physician, a Surgeon, an Apothecary, and a Matron, with a number of Nurses under her for the younger children. The instructors included an Upper Master, a Second Master, a Third Master, two Ushers, a Catechiser, an English Reading Master, two Writing Masters, a Music Master, and a Drawing Master. The children were taught reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic and higher mathematics, and "all classical learning including Hebrew." For many years their dress consisted of a blue coat or tunic reaching to the feet, yellow breeches and stockings, neckbands, and a round blue cap, which earned for the Hospital the name "the Blue Coat School." Many scholars from Christ's Hospital entered the universities, the clergy, and the navy.

R. Ackermann* described the Grammar School-Room as "admirably adapted, both in space and arrangement, for its important purposes." He described the Writing School as "a handsome structure, supported by columns, which form a spacious covered walk ... built in the year 1694"; the Writing School-Room as "of great extent, containing long writing-boards sufficient for the use of five hundred boys."

On the two following pages [page 101 and 102] are pictures of the Grammar School-Room and the Writing School-Room, drawn by A. Pugin and published in 1816 in R. Ackermann's history of the school.

Christ's Hospital, London

In 1902 the buildings on Newgate Street were vacated, and the School moved to extensive new buildings in Horsham.

*R. Ackermann, The History of the Colleges of Winchester, Eton, and Westminster; With the Charter-House... And the Free-School of Christ's Hospital (London: 1816) "The History of Christ's Hospital," pages 1, 4-25. Also Encyclopaedia Britannica (1932 ed.) Vol. V, page 643.