

PAVILION VII

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AUTHORIZATION AND NEGOTIATION FOR CONSTRUCTING PAVILION VII

The germ of the plan of Pavilion VII can be detected in a letter Jefferson wrote to Virginia Legislator Littleton Waller Tazewell on January 5, 1805, from the President's House in Washington ¹. In his letter, which was in response to an inquiry concerning a proposal for a university that Tazewell wished to submit to the General Assembly, Jefferson wrote:

Large houses are always ugly, inconvenient, exposed to the accident of fire, and bad in case of infection. A plain small house for the school & lodging of each professor is best, these connected by covered ways out of which the rooms of the students should open. These may then be built only as they shall be wanting. In fact a university should not be a house but a village. ²

Nothing came of Tazewell's proposal, but five years later Jefferson had the occasion to refine his ideas when he responded to another inquiry, this time from Hugh White, a trustee of the East Tennessee College:

I consider the common plan followed in this country of making one large and expensive building, as unfortunately erroneous. It is infinitely better to erect a small and separate lodge for each separate professorship, with only a hall below for his class, and two chambers above for himself; joining these lodges by barracks for a certain portion of the students, opening into a covered way to give a dry communication between all the schools. The whole of these arranged around an open square of grass and trees, would make it, what it should be in fact, an academical village. ³

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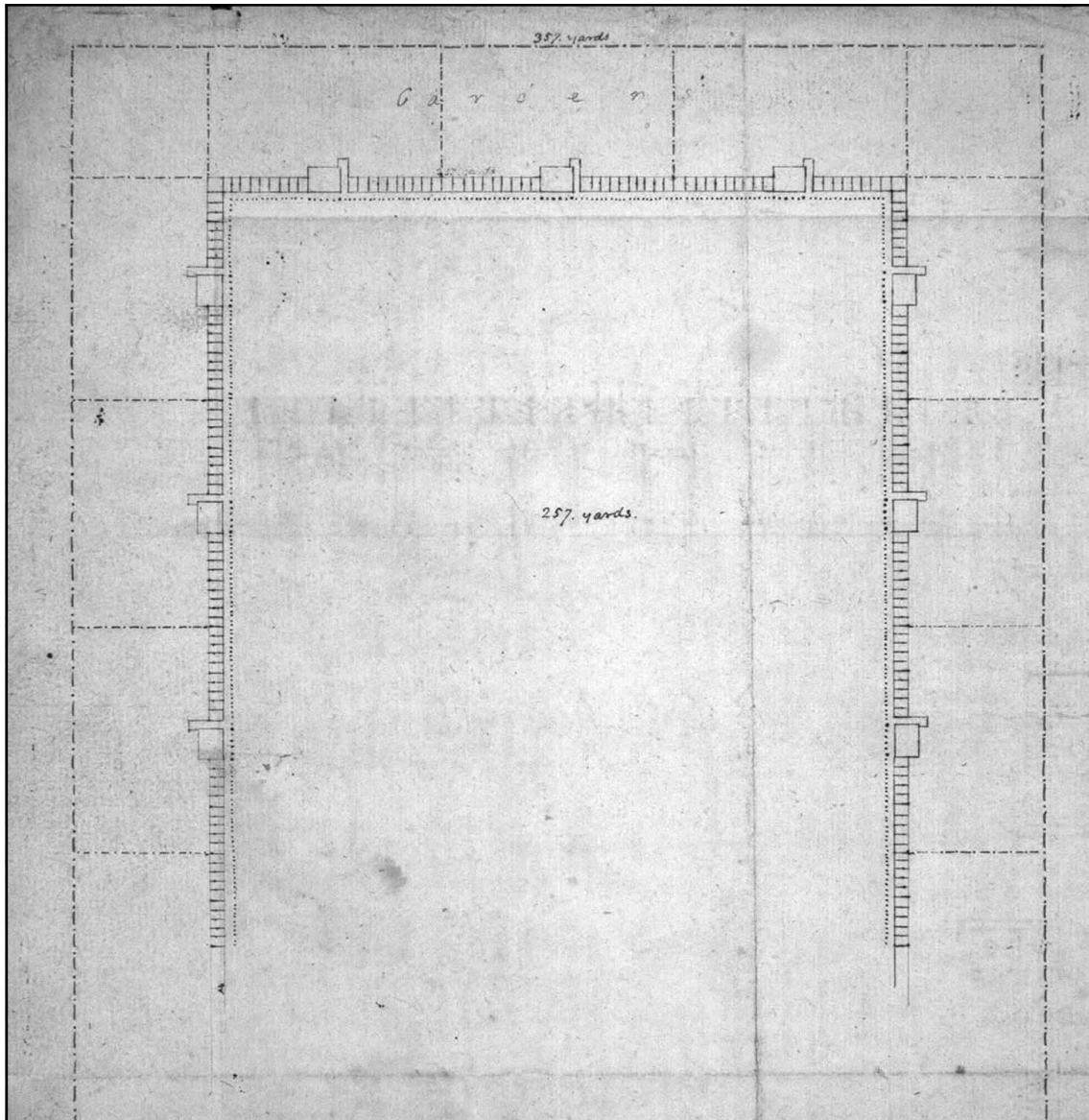


Fig. 1. Thomas Jefferson. Albemarle Academy, Preliminary Ground Plan, August 1814. Drawn before the actual site of what became the University of Virginia was surveyed, this elementary scheme outlines Jefferson's arrangement of an "Academical Village," with faculty pavilions separated by dormitory rooms, all connected with a continuous colonnade. This drawing is on the verso of Fig. 2. Verso, N-309, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library University of Virginia.

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Regarding Pavilion VII, the key phrase in Jefferson's letter to White is the one dealing with the actual accommodations for the professor and his classes: "a small and separate lodge for each separate professorship, with only a hall below for his class, and two chambers above for himself." That exact plan would become manifest seven years later when construction began at the site of the University of Virginia. For the Lawn as a whole, the important phrase is Jefferson's concept of an academical village.

In 1814, Jefferson was appointed to the board of Albemarle Academy, an institution that had originally been chartered by the Commonwealth of Virginia in 1803. Though the academy was destined never to function as an institution, it occupies a prominent niche in the history of the development of Jefferson's architectural concepts for Pavilion VII. In August 1814, he presented the other board members of the academy with two drawings, one on the recto of a single sheet, one on the verso. One shows the outline of a ground plan for an "academical village," the other, far more detailed, shows a typical pavilion with flanking rows of dormitory rooms (figs. 1 and 2). The small-scaled ground plan does not show the arrangement of rooms within the nine pavilions, but that they were meant to be the same may be presumed by their identical outlines, or "footprints." (Actually, the portions of the pavilions housing the stairways are on opposite sides of the central block in some instances. As Jefferson explained: "the Pavilions fronting South should have their stair-case on the East; those fronting East or West should have the stairs at the North end of the building, that the windows may open to the pleasanter views.")

The more detailed drawing shows the elevation of a typical pavilion, its first and second-floor plans, and the plans of the adjacent dormitories. Essentially, the plans of the pavilion are but graphic representations of Jefferson's suggestions to Hugh White, given four years earlier. The first floor contains the "hall below for his [a professor's] class, while the second story shows the "two chambers above for himself." Joining the two floors was the necessary staircase, while another staircase behind the first led down to the basement kitchen and cellar. In the rear of the stairhall a small projection extending beyond the pavilion's rear wall housed a privy, or necessary. Centered on the rear wall of the main block was a chimney, serving a large fireplace in the classroom, and corner fireplaces in the two chambers above. These second-floor fireplaces were to be equipped with stoves. To either side of the pavilion were dormitory rooms, or "barracks for a

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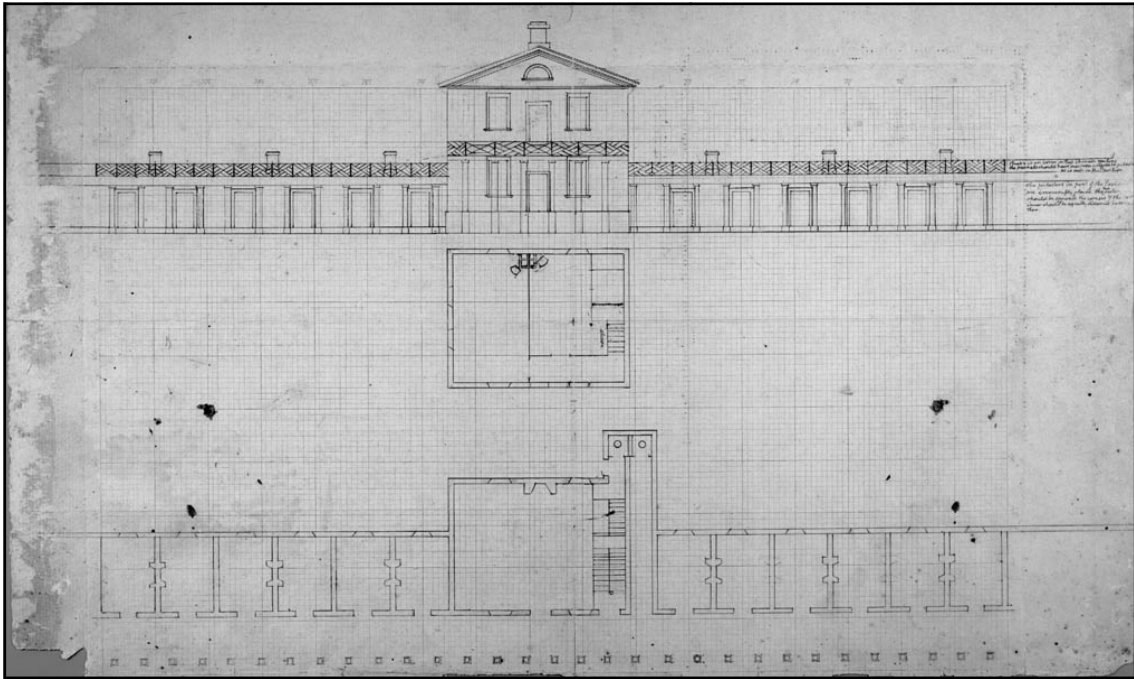


Fig. 2. Thomas Jefferson. Albemarle Academy, Typical Pavilion and Dormitories. August 1814. On the recto of Fig. 1, this drawing shows an elevation as well as first and second floor plans of a typical pavilion. As described by him, each pavilion would house a classroom on the first floor, two rooms above for the professor. The plan, and much of the elevation, of Pavilion VII derives directly from this scheme. Recto, N-309, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.

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certain portion of the students, opening into a covered way to give a dry communication between all the schools."

Ever the stickler for details, Jefferson also calculated the probable costs of the pavilions and dormitory rooms (\$4,831.45 for a pavilion and 20 dormitories, ten on each side), and provided additional information on their size:

The estimate above is made on the supposition that each Professor, with his pupils (suppose 20) shall have a separate Pavilion of 26. by 34. f. outside, & 24. by 32. f. inside measure: in which the ground-floor (of 12. f. pitch clear) is to be the schoolroom, and 2. rooms above (10. 13. f. pitch clear) and a kitchen & cellar below (7. f. pitch clear) for the use of the Professor. on each side of the Pavilion are to be 10. chambers, 10. by 12. f. in the clear & 8. f. pitch clear a fireplace in each, for the students. the whole to communicate by a colonnade of 8. f. width in the clear. the pilasters, of brick to be generally 5 f. apart from center to center. ⁴

In a few years, those exact dimensions would take tangible form in Pavilion VII. The facade of the pavilion Jefferson drew for Albemarle Academy is nicely proportioned, with a pedimented gable end embellished with a semicircular window, or lunette. Above the one-story portico is a balcony with Jefferson's favorite Chinese railing, the same pattern seen over the dormitory colonnade. There is nothing to indicate that its architect had yet intended any of the design to be an exemplar of any particular architectural order, but that stage in the development of Jefferson's designs and plans for his academical village would come in very short order.

In April 1816 Jefferson wrote to Virginia's Governor Wilson Cary Nicholas in response to a request for advice concerning the state's proposed educational system, for which the legislature had appropriated funds. In discussing his plans for a university, again Jefferson recommended "instead of one immense building, to have a small one for every professorship," but he now added the suggestion that "these small buildings" would afford the opportunity to exhibit "models in architecture of the purest forms of antiquity, furnishing to the student examples of the precepts he will be taught in that art." ⁵

It is interesting to notice how often the word "small" occurs in Jefferson's verbal descriptions of his plan for the individual buildings to house the professors. If not exactly a word that would come back to haunt him, it represented an idea that would certainly

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come to have a pronounced effect on Pavilion VII, not to mention the reverse effect it would have on the other pavilions that would follow it.

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THE BEST-LAID PLANS

In 1817, Jefferson would at last be able to begin to give concrete (or in this case brick-and-mortar) expression to his long-developed paper plans. In April of that year the Board of Visitors of Central College, which the Virginia General Assembly had created that February as successor to the moribund Albemarle Academy, held their first meeting. Jefferson wrote to the other members of the Board of Visitors, whom Governor Nicholas had appointed, that he had "presumed as being nearest the place of meeting, to request the other visitors . . . to meet at Charlottesville on Tuesday the 8th of April." As he also noted: "a first meeting of the visitors is extremely urgent, to receive from our predecessors what belongs to the institution, and to set it in motion." ⁶ Part of what belonged to the institution were the drawings Jefferson had made for Albemarle Academy (Figs. 1 and 2).

On the appointed day Jefferson and two other members of the six person board, John Hartwell Cocke and Joseph Carrington Cabell, met in Charlottesville. Though they fell short of a quorum, they proceeded to visit the site Jefferson had chosen for the new college, which his overseer, Edmund Bacon, later described as "a poor old turned out field." Eagerly anticipating that the full board would grant approval for the purchase of the property when it met again on May 6, Jefferson wrote James Dinsmore, with whom he had enjoyed a long and fruitful connection in the building art, on April 13. In his letter he asked if Dinsmore and his partner, John Neilson, both of whom were then working in Petersburg, would be interested in undertaking the construction of the new college. In a letter brimming with enthusiasm, Jefferson once again described his plans for individual pavilions, which would be "about 24 x 36 ft.," and which would "be of various forms, models of chaste architecture, as examples for the school of architecture to be formed on." Jefferson also explained that "we shall build one only in the latter end of this year, and go on with others year after year, as our funds increase." He confided to Dinsmore his ultimate hopes for the college: "Indeed we believe that our establishment will draw to it the great state university which is to be located at the next meeting of the legislature." ⁷

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Although Dinsmore and Neilson would "with pleasure accept of" their mentor's proposal to build Central College, neither would be directly involved in the construction of its first building, Pavilion VII.

Jefferson also wrote fellow member of the board James Madison the same day he wrote Dinsmore, urging him to save the date of May 6, since "the people of this section of our country look to a full meeting of all with unusual anxiety, all believing it will decide the location of the State University for this place in opposition to the pretentions [sic] of Stanton." ⁸ The week prior to the meeting, which was ultimately held on May 5 rather than May 6, Jefferson wrote his son-in-law Francis Wales Eppes, providing him with a glimpse of his plans for Pavilion VII:

We are endeavoring to establish a college near Charlottesville called the central college . . . [and] are to meet on Monday next to set it agoing . . . we have purchased the land, and shall immediately build the pavilion for one professorship, that of languages, to be ready to recieve [sic] pupils early in the spring. ⁹

Thanks to Jefferson's incessant letter writing urging all the board members to attend, a quorum was achieved when four of the six Visitors were present on May 5. After appointing Alexander Garrett as Proctor, the Visitors visited the site, approved of it, and authorized Garret to purchase it from John Perry. They then proceeded to the next order of business:

On view of a plan presented to the trustees of the Albemarle Academy for erecting a distinct pavilion or building for each separate professorship, and for arranging these around a square, each pavilion containing a school room and two apartments for the accommodation of the professor, with other reasonable conveniences, the board determined that one of those pavilions shall now be erected; and they request the Proctor, so soon as the funds are at his command, to agree with proper workmen for the building of one, of stone or brick below ground, and of brick above, of substantial work of regular architecture, well executed, and to be completed, if possible, during the ensuing summer and winter; that the lots of the said pavilions be determined on the ground of the breadth of feet with two parallel sides of indefinite length. That the pavilion first to be erected be placed on one of the lines so delineated, with its floor in such degree of elevation from the ground as may correspond with the regular indorsed plan to which it may admit of being reduced hereafter." ¹⁰

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The Visitors also resolved that "so far as the funds may admit, the Proctor be requested to proceed to the erection of dormitories for the students, adjacent to the said pavilion, not exceeding ten on each side, of brick and of regular architecture and according to the plan proposed." ¹¹

Needless to say, the fine hand of Thomas Jefferson, architect, is readily evident in these accounts of this first full meeting of the Board. That he left the number of feet blank in his report reflects the fact that he had not yet surveyed the site to determine the exact width the Lawn would take.

The press took notice of this May 1817 meeting and of the fact that two former Presidents of the United States (Jefferson and Madison), as well as the then sitting President (James Monroe), were members of the Board of Visitors and were present. John Adams was among those who read about it, and the observations he made to Jefferson on May 26, still thrill:

I congratulate you and Madison and Monroe on your noble employment in founding a University. From such a noble triumvirate, the World will expect something very great and very new. ¹²

The day after the meeting, Jefferson began his attempts to secure faculty members by writing John Wood, offering him the position of "Professor for the Classics." To entice Wood, Jefferson promised that the board would "instantly begin a pavilion . . . containing a schoolroom below, & 2 chambers for the Professor above, which we count on finishing by Spring." As it turned out, Wood declined the position, citing his rheumatism, though he wrote later that he might consider a position as professor of mathematics, not classics. ¹³ As it turned out, the pavilion would hardly be ready by the next Spring.

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REFINING THE CONCEPT

(WITH A LITTLE HELP FROM HIS FRIENDS)

On May 9, 1817, three days after writing Wood, Jefferson wrote what has become one of the best-known letters relating to the initial design of the University, especially as regards Pavilion VII. His recipient was William Thornton, the amateur architect who had won the competition for the design of the United States Capitol, and with whom Jefferson often discussed architectural concerns.

Beginning his letter by announcing the establishment of Central College, Jefferson went on to inform Thornton that "each pavilion will have a schoolroom below and 2 rooms for the professor above and between pavilion and pavilion a range of dormitories for the boys." As he had done in earlier writings, he once again provided overall dimensions of the pavilions: "36f wide in front and 24f. in depth." He added that the colonnade in front of the pavilions and dormitory rooms "will be of square brick pilasters (at first) with a Tuscan entablature," and expressed his wish that "these pavilions as they will shew themselves above the dormitories, should be models of taste & good architecture, & of a variety of appearance, no two alike, so as to serve as specimens for the architectural teachers." Jefferson also drew on the letter a sketch plan, basically a more elementary version of the drawing he had provided in his 1814 plan for the Albemarle Academy. Then, having prepared the basic architectural scenario, he got to the heart of the letter:

Will you set your imagination to work & Sketch some designs for us. No matter how loosely with the pen, without the trouble of referring to scale or rule; for we want nothing but the outline of the architecture, as the internal must be arranged according to local convenience. A few sketches, such as need not take you a moment, will greatly oblige us. ¹⁴

At least one phrase in Jefferson's description of the design to Thornton needs to be emphasized in connection with Pavilion VII. From his letter it is clear that at this stage in his thinking Jefferson intended only the portion of the pavilions above the dormitories

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(hence above the entablature of the colonnade, which would run in front of pavilions and dormitories alike), to be "models of taste & good architecture." The first floor elevation would not count, at least not in serving as one of the "specimens for the architectural teachers."

Thornton took Jefferson's instructions and restrictions literally, as is evident in the drawings he sent, along with an extremely verbose letter on May 27 (Fig. 3). Although the drawing shows a pedimented Corinthian pavilion at the top and a flat-topped Doric pavilion at the bottom, they are essentially variations on the same theme: a second-story portico above an arcaded first story. Thornton also advised Jefferson that he could easily transform the enclosed sketches into the Ionic order, which he recommended for the corner pavilions.¹⁵ Attached to one side of each pavilion Thornton showed suggested elevations for the dormitory colonnade, one with columns, the other with square pillars.

Thornton also gave Jefferson two suggestions that, as events turned out, he might well have heeded. He recommended covering the dormitories "with Shed roofs, that should commence at the top of the parapet. This would carry all the water to the outside, which would take away all appearance of a roof, & thereby add greatly to the beauty of the Buildg [sic]." As is well known, the roofs that Jefferson designed to cover the dormitories at the University tended to carry the water to the inside.

Thornton prefaced his other suggestion with a rather saccharine apology:

I will . . . freely communicate my Ideas because the most learned & ingenious may sometimes obtain hints from those of very inferior capacity that may be deemed worthy of attention. I shall not confine myself merely to the Buildings but will take the Liberty of suggesting whatever may strike my mind as I proceed."

Eventually he got to his point. Since he figured that the professors would most likely be "great & learned men" who "would necessarily be considered as Gentlemen of high Character & Consideration, & would expect to be provided for accordingly," he felt that "two rooms for each [were] inadequate, especially if men of Family." In fact, Thornton was so surprised at the paucity of space Jefferson planned to provide for the professors' living quarters that he pondered whether they were "perhaps only intended as the College-rooms, & that each will have a Family-house, distinct from the College."

Jefferson did not appreciate Thornton's suggestions or his drawings. At least, that

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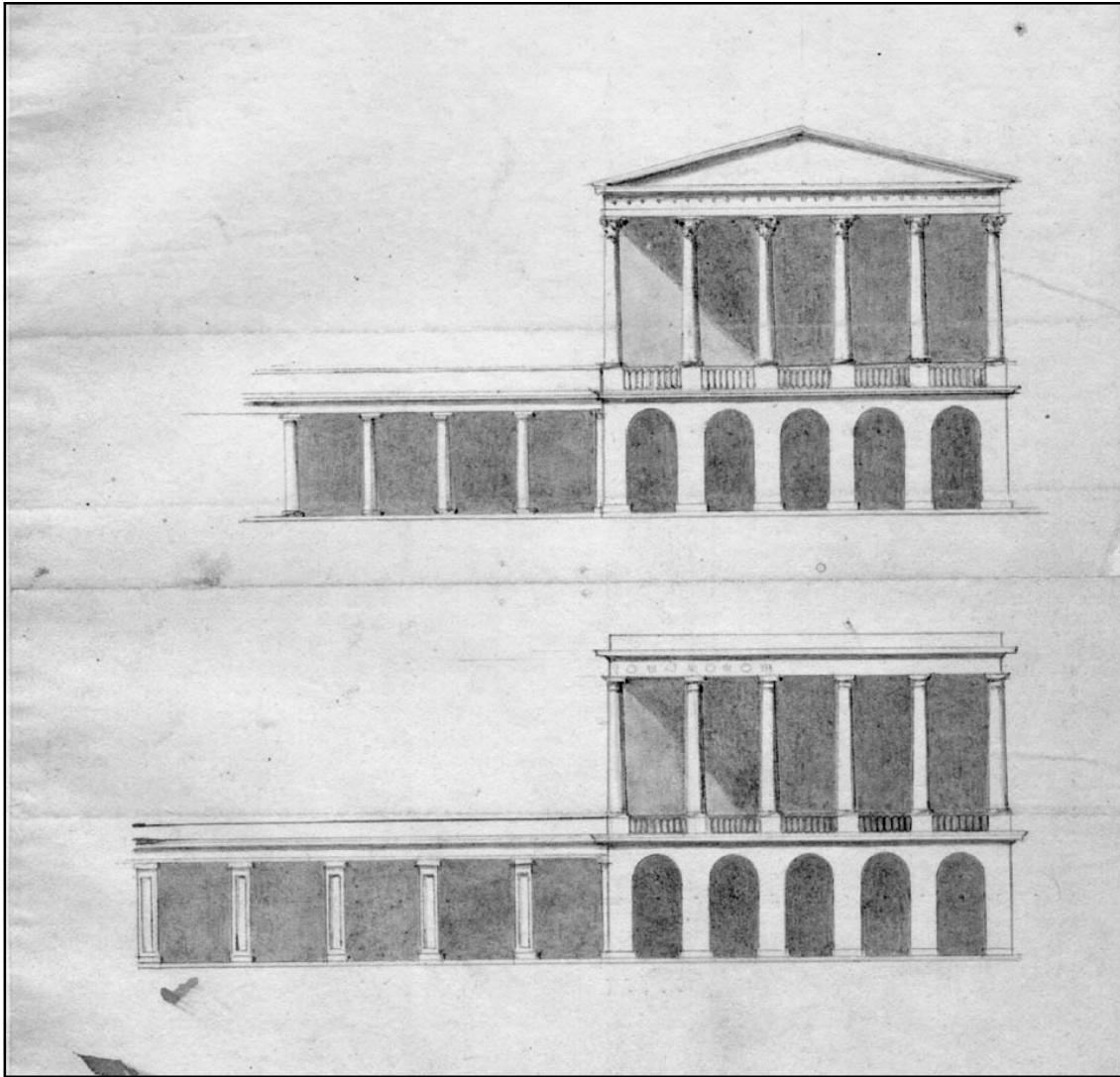


Fig. 3. William Thornton. Studies for a Corinthian (top) and Doric (bottom) Pavilion. May or June 1817. In response to Jefferson's request that he send "a few sketches, such as need not take you a moment" for the design of the pavilions, Thornton sent this sheet. N-303/352, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.

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conclusion almost must be reached from what followed. First, he received Thornton's letter on July 11 and, as was his custom, he noted the date in his clear, legible hand on the actual manuscript. On July 12, the day after he received Thornton's letter and drawings, he wrote Benjamin Henry Latrobe. Latrobe, another architectural great of the early American republic, was something of Thornton's arch-rival, and was at the time in charge of construction at the United States Capitol, which Thornton had designed. Jefferson's letter to Latrobe was practically identical to his request to Thornton, soliciting essentially the same advice and asking for drawings. Second, in an uncharacteristically rude lapse of manners, Jefferson never thanked Thornton for his letter or drawings. Not until almost four years later, on January 9, 1821, did Thornton attempt to resume their correspondence, stating at the outset that he had "never been honoured with a line from you since your favor of the 9th of May 1817 which I answered on the 27th relative to the College about to be established in your vicinity." ¹⁶

Thornton's supposed influence on the design of Pavilion VII has often been noted.¹⁷ Admittedly, its facade can be seen as something of a composite of the two drawings: a Doric portico (from the lower elevation) with a pediment (from the upper) above an arcade (from both). But, given the fact that Jefferson not only did not acknowledge Thornton's designs, but that he sought advice from another architect with alarming alacrity after receiving those designs, one wonders just how much Pavilion VII was really indebted to them.

The basic scheme is not unique. In fact, Jefferson had employed something very similar very recently at Poplar Forest, a building whose construction (if not design) would have a tremendous influence on the University, as so many of its builders would also work on the University (Fig. 4). Jefferson's then recently completed south portico at Poplar Forest is tetrastylar (rather than hexastylar), and is of the Tuscan Order, not the Doric, but numbers of columns and architectural orders have never been claimed as the main influence Thornton may have had on the design of Pavilion VII. What has been claimed is the idea of a second-story portico resting on an arcade, which is just what the south portico at Poplar Forest is.

Thornton's sketches showed generic Corinthian and Doric orders. Jefferson had in mind something more specific, something to which the architectural teachers could refer in instructing their students. Hence all the pavilions were modeled on specific exam-

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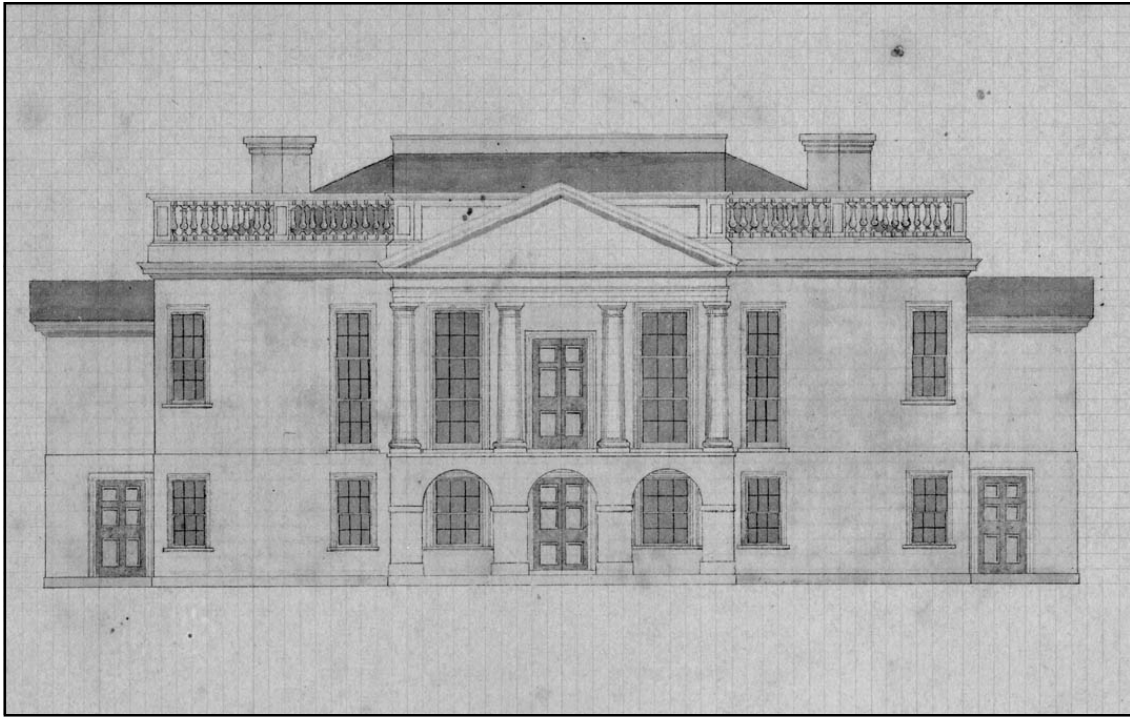


Fig. 4. John Neilson. Poplar Forest, South Elevation. By the time he designed the façade of Pavilion VII, Jefferson had already designed and built the south portico at Poplar Forest, his villa near Lynchburg. Although of a different architectural order (Tuscan rather than Doric) and not as expansive (four rather than six columns) the portico and arcade that center the south elevation have much the same basic design features as the façade of Pavilion VII. N- 351, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia..

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ples of the orders. As has been mentioned, the specific Doric Order Jefferson used for the portico and exterior proportions of Pavilion VII is the Palladian Doric shown in Fréart de Chambray's *Parallel de l'architecture Antique avec la Moderne* (1766) (fig. 5)

It is quite evident that Jefferson was definitely not swayed by Thornton's apologetic advice regarding the amount of space intended for each professor. In writing Latrobe, he reiterated the same arrangements (classroom below, only two rooms above) and the same dimensions (36 by 24 ft.) that he had always proposed. Regarding the suggestion of shed roofs for the dormitories, he became even more adamant. Nowhere in his letter to Thornton had he particularly mentioned that the dormitory roofs were to be flat. Now, in writing Latrobe after receiving Thornton's thoughts on the subject, he firmly stated: "the top of the dormitories to be flat as was that of the offices of the President's house at Washington."¹⁸ Latrobe would certainly know what he had in mind. Jefferson had designed those offices in Washington, and Latrobe had supervised their construction.

Latrobe fared far better than Thornton in having his recommendations followed, but these would have no effect on Pavilion VII. He answered Jefferson's letter on June 17, "flattered and gratified by the request," and promised he would soon "transmit to you all that my professional knowledge enables me to suggest & design towards the execution of your plan." On June 28, Latrobe wrote again, still not having transmitted the plans, which had "grown," but promising that he would do so soon.

During the interim between Latrobe's two letters, the Proctor purchased the property from John Perry on behalf of Central College. Perry was a master builder as well as landowner, and, like Dinsmore and Neilson, had worked for Jefferson. At first he sought to make it a condition of the property's sale that he be given the contract to do all the woodwork for the soon-to-be erected buildings at Central College. Jefferson rightly told him this would be impossible, but inasmuch as he knew Perry's qualifications, suggested that he would certainly allow him "a preference in work against equal competition."¹⁹ As it turned out, Perry was insistent that he be given the contract "to do all the Carpenter's and House joiner's work" for the first pavilion, and the memo of agreement that he signed on June 23, 1817 amounts to the first contract entered into between a builder and the University. This contract is herein reproduced as *Appendix A*.

As a legal document, the contract is most precise, and needless to say, the fine hand of Thomas Jefferson, lawyer as well as architect, is easily detected in it. Jefferson

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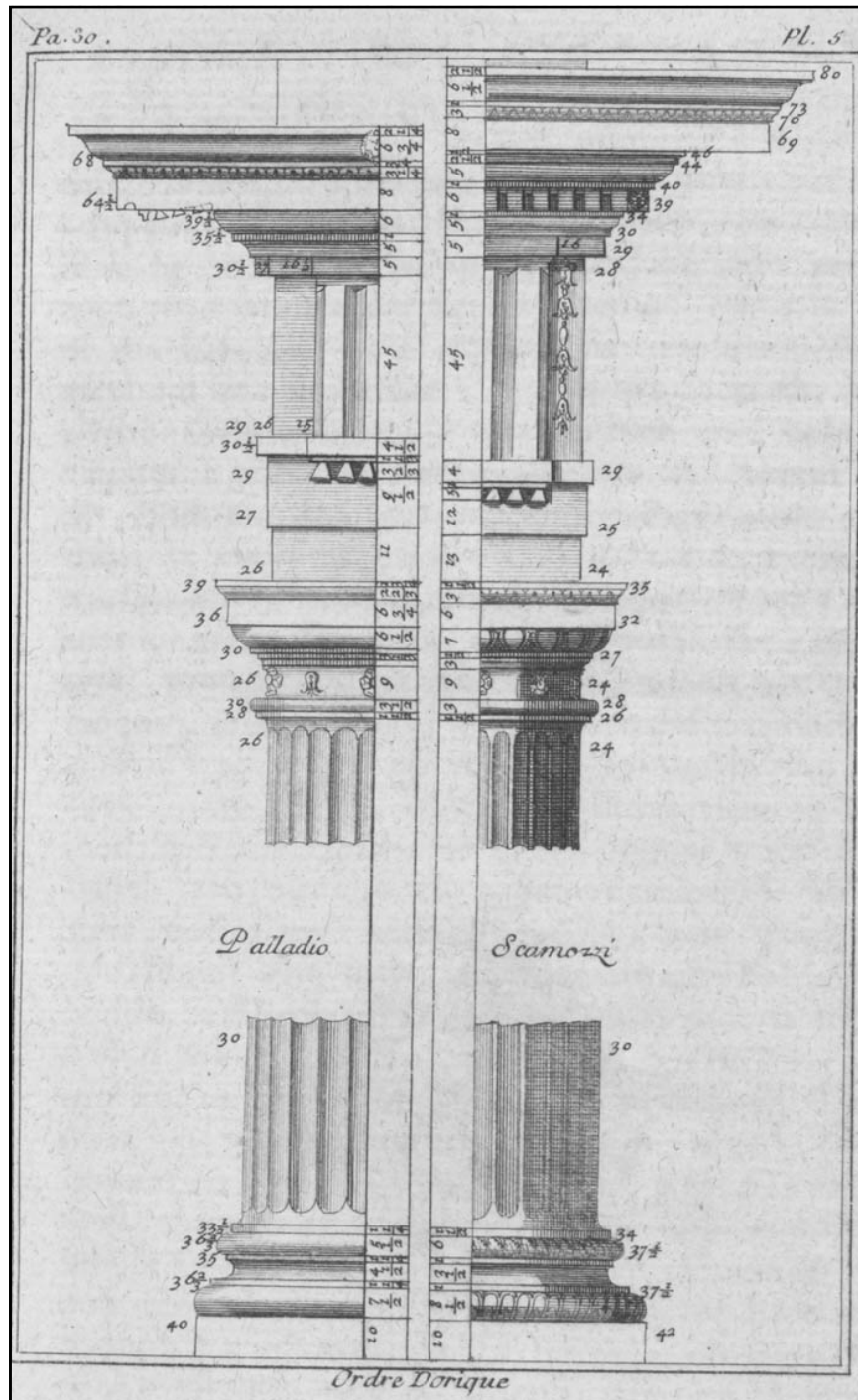


Fig. 5. Plate 5 of Fréart de Chambray's *Parallel de l'architecture Antique avec la Moderne* (1766) shows the Palladian Doric Order that Jefferson used for Pavilion VII.

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explained the agreement in layman's terms in a letter to Dinsmore, written on June 25:

as Perry persisted positively in refusing a deed but on condition of doing the wooden work of the building now proposed, it was concluded we ought not to lose the permanent advantages to the institution, on a question about the execution of this single building, and especially as he has agreed that if any part of the work is done insufficiently, or not exactly in the forms or order of architecture we shall prescribe, it may be taken down & put up by any other person at his expense. as this leaves us perfectly free as to all the other buildings we concluded with him. he has accordingly conveyed the land. ²⁰

In addition to those provisions, the contract also specified that "the body of [the] pavilion is to be built of brick and to contain one room below and two above stairs with cellars & offices below." Obviously Jefferson had not been swayed by suggestions that he was not providing enough room for the professors.

Part of the reason Jefferson wrote Dinsmore about Perry's contract was to let him know that while later construction projects would be available for him and Neilson, he planned to commence the first pavilion as soon as possible, before they could come to Charlottesville. Towards that end, Jefferson mentioned to him that "Chisolm meets me in Lynchburg a few days hence to engage a bricklayer, master of the business there."

That note serves to introduce several other characters associated with Pavilion VII. Chisolm was Hugh Chisolm, master brickmaker and mason, who had recently completed the building of Poplar Forest. He would soon begin making bricks for Pavilion VII and would lay bricks for all the walls except the front one. Jefferson had other plans for the front wall, for which he intended to engage the "master of the business" in Lynchburg. For that engagement, Jefferson made a hurried trip to Poplar Forest and Lynchburg, leaving Monticello on June 29 and returning less than two weeks later. Upon his return, he wrote Latrobe on July 16, thanking him for his letter of June 28, which had arrived, and raving enthusiastically about the brickwork in the Lynchburg area:

They have there the new method of molding the stock brick in oil, and execute with it the most beautiful brick work I have ever seen. I went there to try to get a workman skilled in it to come and build our first Academical pavilion, for which they are now making the bricks. ²¹

Jefferson also expressed his fear to Latrobe that he had given himself "too much

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trouble about the designs for us," and urged him to send the plans, especially as "we must immediately lay the first stone, as the 1st pavilion must be finished this fall and we have few workmen." Whether he still thought that he might use one of Latrobe's suggestions for Pavilion VII is unknown, but it seems unlikely, especially in light of another request in the same letter: "Could we get a stone cutter with you, capable of forming a Doric base & capital, the drawing being furnished him, should we apply for one, and what would be the daily wages, or monthly, of such an one, boarding himself?" This passage would indicate that Jefferson knew by this time that his first pavilion would be of the Doric order.²² Of course, he knew much else about its design besides that.

On July 18, 1817, two days after writing Latrobe, Jefferson surveyed the site, and found that the central Lawn would be narrower than he had originally anticipated in his generic plans of an academical village. Instead of complaining of any changes this would necessitate in his plans, he made a virtue of necessity and indicated on his sketch that the center of the shorter side of the rectangle could now become the focal point, "destined for some principal building." On that same sketch he drew the plan of three terraces dictated by the natural slope of the land from north to south. At a spot marked "g," in the center of the west side of the central terrace, he pinpointed the site of his first pavilion (fig. 6).

Jefferson informed John Hartwell Cocke a day later that "our squares are laid off, the brickyard begun, and the levelling [sic] will be begun in the course of the week."²³ He also requested a special meeting of the Board of Visitors, which was held on July 28 at Montpelier, home of James Madison. At that meeting the Visitors approved "the plan of the first pavilion to be erected" (frontispiece).²⁴ In this regard, it should be emphasized that the Visitors gave approval prior to Jefferson's receipt of Latrobe's plans and suggestions. Although Latrobe's rough sketches were then actually on their way to him (having been sent on July 24) they would not arrive until August 2.

More than anything else, even more than they resemble Thornton's plans, the plan and elevation that Jefferson had the board approve at Montpelier resemble his plans for Albemarle Academy, which he had prepared three years earlier. (compare frontispiece & fig. 2). Of course, the elevation is far more developed, with a pedimented portico above an arcaded ground level instead of a plain one-story portico. Still, Jefferson's favorite lunette, with which more of his pavilion pediments were embellished than not, is present in

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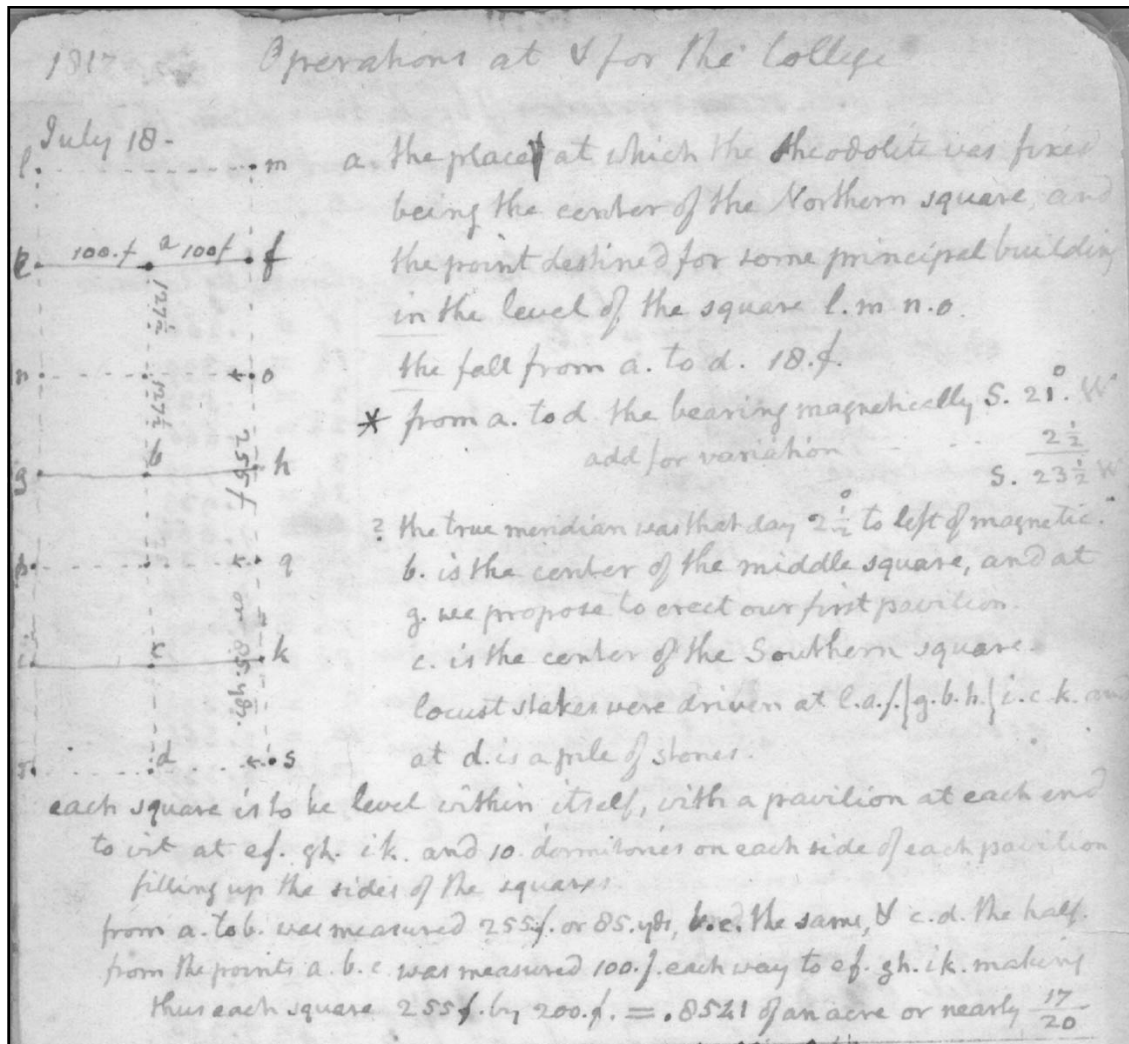


Fig. 6. Thomas Jefferson. Operations at & for the College, July 1817. Jefferson's survey of the site resulted in narrowing the original plan of the Lawn, and in dividing it into three terraces. In his notes accompanying the sketch of the site, he wrote: "b is the center of the middle square, and at g we propose to erect our first pavilion." N-318, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.

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both, and a single chimney, centering the rear wall in both, rises above the pediment in both elevation drawings. Behind the portico on the second-floor level, the three-bay facade of Pavilion VII is identical to the earlier design for Albemarle Academy. If anything, the plan of Pavilion VII as seen in the frontispiece is a simplification of that shown in the earlier, generic plan. A single-flight stairway is now indicated in place of the more convoluted earlier arrangement, and the private privy at the rear of the hallway has been eliminated. The basement kitchen plan is also developed and shown in the drawings for Pavilion VII, which was not the case in the first drawing.

On August 2, 1817, Latrobe's long-awaited letter and accompanying sketch, which he had written and drawn on July 24, arrived, though he still did not enclose his promised drawings. As has been noted, nothing in Latrobe's correspondence, neither suggestions nor drawings, would affect Pavilion VII. They would, of course, affect all the other buildings, and not only in their most obvious manifestations, that of the exterior architecture. In his letter, Latrobe made the same observation that had troubled Thornton, though in a far more straight-forward manner: "The pavilions to be, as proposed, habitations of Professors and lecture rooms. But, if Professors are married, will they not require more than 2 rooms each, and a kitchen?"²⁵

As prompt in responding to Latrobe as he had not been in answering Thornton, Jefferson wrote on August 3, noting that "the pavilion now begun is to be a regular Doric above with a portico . . . supported by the arches below and a pediment of the whole breath of the front. The columns 16. 1. [inch] Diam."²⁶ No longer taking exception to the suggestion that the pavilions might be too small, he added: "on the probability that such of the professors as are married will want more than 2. rooms, we leave the back side of our pavilions without windows so that we can add 2. or 3. rooms at will."

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TO HAVE THE WORK DONE IN THE BEST MANNER

Obviously, construction had started on Pavilion VII by August 3, if Jefferson's statement to Latrobe that it was "now begun" is accurate. Though it is apparently not known just when Jefferson staked out the lines on the ground, nor when actual digging of the foundation commenced, a colorful description of the event was afforded years later in the reminiscences of Edmund Bacon, the former overseer at Monticello:

My next instruction was to get ten able-bodied hands to commence the work. I soon got them, and Mr. Jefferson started from Monticello to lay off the foundation and see the work commenced. An Irishman named Dinsmore and I went along with him. As we passed through Charlottesville, I went to old Davy Isaacs store and got a ball of twine, and Dinsmore found some shingles and made some pegs, and we all went on to the old field together. Mr. Jefferson looked over the ground some time and then stuck down a peg. He struck the very first peg in that building, and then directed me where to carry the line, and I stuck the second. He carried one end of the line, and I the other, in laying off the foundation of the University. He had a little rule in his pocket that he always carried with him, and with this he measured off the ground and laid off the entire foundation, and then set the men at work. ²⁷

On August 7, 1817, about to set out again for Poplar Forest, Jefferson wrote once more to Latrobe, telling him that "we shall finish our Doric pavilion by the 1st. April, and shall then begin the Ionic one, & after that the Corinthian." He also advised him that he had been "able to get a bricklayer who makes & lays the oil stock brick, a capital hand," and once again reiterated the hope that "we shall receive in time some sketches of fronts from you." ²⁸

The "capital hand" to whom Jefferson referred was David Knight of Lynchburg, in all likelihood the "master of the business" to whom he had referred in earlier correspondence. Soon after his arrival at Poplar Forest, Jefferson wrote Knight:

I shall be glad to have your aid in the brickwork, as well of the building we are now preparing to erect as in those to be erected the ensuing summer. They are

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going on well in making the brick, and will have them all ready by the middle of next month, & perhaps the cellar done. About that time I shall return there myself, and then also you will be wanting. I shall probably be at Lynchburg while in this neighborhood and will then see you, and explain to you more particularly the work we have to do, and whatever else relating to it which you may wish to know. ²⁹

During his visit to Poplar Forest, Jefferson received a progress report from Hugh Chisolm: "I have the satisfaction to inform you, that in spite of the wet weather, we have completed about eighty thousand bricks; which shall be prepared for burning the last of next week." ³⁰

On the last day of August, still at Poplar Forest, Jefferson answered Chisolm, thanking him for forwarding the good news concerning the brickmaking, and asking him to be sure to let him know:

when the cellars are dug and their walls commenced laying. But be careful to inform me in time and exactly by what day you will have got the walls up to the surface of the earth; because there Mr. Knight must begin, and by that day I will make it a point to be in Albemarle, and have him there. ³¹

In addition to telling Jefferson of his progress, Chisolm had asked in his letter of July 23 that no engagements with other workmen be made until he wrote again. Although he gave no specific reason for this request, it likely had to do with prices. In what may have been an effort on Jefferson's part to ward off any interference or delay that might occur on this score, he took this occasion to assure Chisolm that "to have the work done in the best manner is the first object, and the second to have it done at a fair price for both parties." He then went on to give a paean for the work he had seen in and around Lynchburg:

I have offers from some of the best workmen in Lynchburg. The finest plasterer [sic] I have ever seen in this state is anxious to undertake with us. I consider it as the interest of the College the town and neighborhood to introduce a reform of the barbarous workmanship hitherto practised there, and to raise us to a level with the rest of the country. On a trip to the Natural Bridge, I found such brick-work and stone-work as *cannot be* seen in Albemarle. I hope we shall take a higher stand, and do justice to the high advantages that particular portion of our state possesses. ³²

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By late September, Jefferson was back at Monticello, and one of the first things he did upon his return was to ride over to check the progress of work on the college. On September 23, he wrote to the leaders of the Masonic fraternity in Charlottesville, providing them, and us, an exact accounting of the stage of construction:

I arrived at home on Sunday afternoon & went to the College on Monday forenoon in order to know the state of the work. The bricklayer was absent; but Mr. Perry informed me that the digging of the cellar would be compleated [sic] in three days, that is to say, on Thursday, and it seeming that other things might be in readiness I left an injunction for Mr. Chisolm to begin laying the bricks on Friday. In this case he might be at the surface of the grade on the Friday or Saturday following. The ensuing Monday is the day of the meeting of the county court, the Superior court, and of the semiannual meeting of the Visitors, at which, I trust, all will be present: and I thought that that or perhaps the next day might be a suitable one for the societies to perform the office of their calling by laying the plinth of the corner arch. . . we should all be happy to see the inauguration of our institution commence under the regular auspices of this ancient fraternity. ³³

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A PRECIOUS CORNERSTONE A SURE FOUNDATION

For once, Jefferson's usually overly-optimistic scheduling was on target. On October 5, 1817, he sent similar letters to Samuel J. Harrison, a Lynchburg entrepreneur and friend then building the Franklin Hotel there, and David Knight, Harrison's brickmason for that project. He advised both that "the walls of our building are now up to the ground" and that the cornerstone ceremony would take place the next day. To Harrison he wrote: "we are then ready for Mr. Knight and hope he will come off the morning after he receives this, as the front wall will be kept back for him. I ask your friendly influence if necessary to urge his immediate departure." To Knight he added: "the stock bricks made for your work by Mr. Chisolm appear quite as well made as those of the young man from Lynchburg who began the making them and there being a double number of them made, I hope you will find enough of them to your satisfaction." ³⁴

The cornerstone was laid October 6, 1817, by the Widow's Son Masonic Lodge No. 60 and Charlottesville Lodge No. 90. Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe were all present. A full account of the ceremony (from which the title heading of this chapter is taken) exists, but as with his recollections regarding the laying of the foundation, Edmund Bacon provides the most appealing account of this essential milestone:

After the foundation was nearly completed, they had a great time laying the cornerstone. The old field was covered with carriages and people. There was an immense crowd there. Mr. Monroe laid the cornerstone. He was President at that time. He held the instruments and pronounced it square. He only made a few remarks, and Chapman Johnson and several others made speeches. Mr. Jefferson--poor old man!--I can see his white head just as he stood there and looked on. ³⁵

Part of the elaborate Masonic ritual of laying a cornerstone involves individuals such as Bearers of corn, wine, and oil, and the Principal Architect. For the laying of Pavilion VII's cornerstone, John Perry took the part of Principal Architect while Jefferson, as Bacon remarked, only "stood there and looked on."

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MORE EMPLOYMENT THAN I AM EQUAL TO

As Jefferson had planned, the Board of Visitors passed several important resolutions at their meeting on October 7, 1817, the day after the cornerstone ceremony. Prompted by successful fundraising efforts, they felt secure in resolving "that the pavilion now erecting be completed as heretofore directed, with the 20 dormitories attached to it, and that two other pavilions be contracted for and executed the next year with the same number of dormitories to each." ³⁶ In addition, Jefferson's idea that the pavilions be executed according to proper architectural canons, heretofore expressed only in correspondence, was made official policy. And, also for the first time, he came around to the idea urged by his architectural friends, that additional space might be provided in the pavilions that would follow Pavilion VII:

The board is of opinion that . . . the pavilions be correct in there [sic] architecture and execution, and that where the family of a professor requires it 2 additional rooms shall be added for there [sic] accommodation. ³⁷

David Knight, still busy working on Mr. Harrison's Franklin Hotel, which would open in November, had not arrived the day Jefferson had hoped, but would in good time. On October 11, 1817, obviously still in Lynchburg, he signed his contract, with Samuel J. Harrison as witness:

The Subscriber agrees with Mr. Jefferson to go Immediately to Charlottesville, & there to Work faithfully, upon the Central College at the rate of five Dollars a Day & his Diet found. Knight finds his own Lodging. Mr. Jefferson to pay Knight five Dollars a Day, for Two days going, & Two days returning, & Two Dollars a Day, for the four Days-for Travelling expences. ³⁸

October 6, 1817, the day the cornerstone was laid for Pavilion VII happened also to be the day that Benjamin Henry Latrobe at last sent his "sketches," as he called them. Upon their arrival, Jefferson thanked him for "the beautiful set of drawings," and informed him that since the Board had elected to begin two additional pavilions the ensuing

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season," they would "certainly select their fronts" from his elevations. He also mentioned that "the Doric now erecting would resemble one of yours but that the lower order is of arches & the upper only of columns, instead of the columns being of the height of both stories." Latrobe's drawings have been lost, but that last-quoted sentence from Jefferson serves to prove that his elevations exhibited giant order porticos, in which the columns extend the full two-story height of the pavilions. In designing most of the "additional pavilions," Jefferson would indeed use such porticos.

All seemed to be going well, but late in October, Jefferson confided to his friend and fellow member of the Board of Visitors, Joseph Carrington Cabell:

Our Central College gives me more employment than I am equal to. The dilatoriness of the workmen gives me constant trouble. It has already brought into doubt the completion this year of the building begun which obliges me to be with them every other day . . . The walls should be done by our next court, but they will not by a great deal. ³⁹

Although he confided his private doubts to his intimates, Jefferson continued to assure others that "the building for the Professorship of languages will be completed & opened in April." ⁴⁰ And, although he complained about "the dilatoriness of the workmen," university records reveal that David Knight and Hugh Chisolm received regular payments for their brickwork throughout the fall of 1817, as did John Perry for his woodwork and for digging out the cellar. Knight received two payments, \$30.00 on October 25 "in part brick work," and \$140.50 on November 12 "in full brick work [per?] order of Mr. Jefferson." ⁴¹

Among other things, Jefferson's attempts to oversee the construction delayed Jefferson from returning to Poplar Forest for his habitual late-fall visit in 1817. His letter informing his plantation manager, Joel Yancey, of the delay gives the most detailed account of his concerns at the time. Jefferson wrote it on November 2:

When I left you I counted with certainty on being at Poplar Forest during the last week at the latest; but the decision on my road here which comes on in our court today or tomorrow has detained me. To that is now added the difficulty of keeping our workmen at the College together so as to ensure the finishing it. This depends on their diligence for one fortnight more within which time the walls may be finished, and during which time it is probable I shall be obliged to see them every day or two, or risk the entire failure in what we have given the public

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a right to expect. About this time fortnight therefore, I expect to be with you. ⁴²

Finally, on the 15th of the month, he wrote James Madison in a state of virtual exasperation:

We fail in finishing our 1st. pavilion this season by the sloth and discord of our workmen, who have given me much trouble. They have finished the 1st story and covered it against the winter. I set out to Bedford tomorrow, on a short visit, and at Lynchburg shall engage undertakers for the whole of next summer's brickwork.

While at Poplar Forest, Jefferson went to Lynchburg to secure an estimate from Matthew Brown for "next summer's brickwork," and drafted a newspaper advertisement seeking additional help. In the advertisement, he stated the requirement that work at the college was "to be equal to the best brickwork in Lynchburg." In addition, he secured an estimate from plasterer Joseph Antrim, who had just finished a small remodelling job for him at Poplar Forest, for work at the college. Antrim was the individual whom Jefferson had described in earlier correspondence with Hugh Chisolm as "the finest plaisterer [sic] I have ever seen in this state," and though he would not begin his work at the University at this time, ultimately he would be responsible for almost all its plasterwork, including Pavilion VII. ⁴³

If the Lynchburg brickmasons were among the best, they were also among the most expensive. At least Jefferson thought so, and it was during this visit to Poplar Forest that he sought to secure less expensive contracts elsewhere. Writing Cabell in Richmond, and telling him that he had "agreed provisionally with Brown," he asked "are there in Richmond bricklayers of the 1st. degree of skill? At what prices do they do the very best work?" As Cabell was not familiar with the subject of bricklaying, Jefferson provided specifics:

Our walls are generally 1 1/2 brick thick. The whole to be grouted; not a single sammel brick & but 2. bats to be used for every 9 whole bricks. The front wall to be oil-stock brick the other outer walls sand stock, mortar 1/3 lime, 2/3 pure sand without any mixture of mould. ⁴⁴

Unfortunately, Jefferson would soon learn that Richmond prices were no lower than those in Lynchburg. Consequently, early in January 1818, Jefferson concluded his

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agreement with Matthew Brown, who would supply the bricks for Pavilion III, the second of the ten pavilions to be started. What Jefferson would come to realize, and would seek to explain within a few years when he felt called upon to justify the cost of Pavilion VII, was that during the years 1817 and 1818, the United States was enjoying a period of great prosperity. It was also going through a period of greatly inflated prices, which would become all too evident after the financial panic of 1819.

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A BABLING OF 40 YEARS BIRTH

Just prior to his letter to Cabell seeking lower prices for brickwork in the Richmond area, Jefferson had written a letter to him on a different subject. Cabell was a state senator and ardent supporter of Jefferson's educational aims as well as a fellow member of the Board of Visitors, and the December 18, 1817, letter sought information from him regarding the progress of a proposal then making its way through the General Assembly. The proposal was to establish a state university, and in his letter Jefferson poignantly revealed just what the success of his plan for Virginia's educational system and its capstone meant to him:

"I have only this single anxiety in this world. It is a babling of 40. years birth & nursing, & if I can once see it on its legs, I will sing with sincerity & Pleasure my nunc demittas. ⁴⁵

Progress towards his being able to sing was confirmed on February 19, 1818, when the legislature voted to establish the university, and to appoint a 24-member commission (one from each of the state's senatorial districts) to determine its location. To nobody's surprise, Jefferson was appointed to the commission, which met from August 1-4, 1818, at Rockfish Gap in the Blue Ridge, between Charlottesville and Staunton, two of several rivals contending for the university. In writing to his daughter Martha about the meeting (in which Staunton obtained 2 votes, Lexington 3, and Charlottesville, or Central College 16), Jefferson declared that "I have never seen business done with so much order, and harmony, nor in abler nor pleasanter society. We have been well served too. Excellent rooms, every one his bed, a table altho' not elegant, yet plentiful and satisfactory." ⁴⁶

That Jefferson had a major part in assuring that the "business" was conducted satisfactorily is beyond question. In fact, he had helped orchestrate it. It still remained, however, for the legislature to act, favorably or unfavorably, on the commission's report, which Jefferson volunteered to write.

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Now that his babbling of forty years birth was well on its way to becoming at least a toddler, Jefferson could return once again to the immediate problems of building Pavilion VII. On August 7, 1818, he informed Dr. Thomas Cooper, whom he now hoped to lure as the first professor:

Our first pavilion has been much retarded by the disappointments of workmen. I think it may be ready to receive you within 3. months from this time, and that within that time one wing of 9 dormitories may be ready, and in the course of the season another pavilion & 2. more wings of dormitories." ⁴⁷

Towards the end of that same August, John Hartwell Cocke, then passing through Charlottesville on his annual trek to the Virginia springs, provided a capsule observation of the state of construction in his diary: "The first pavilion of the Doric order just cover'd in-and one range of Dormitories ready for roofing." ⁴⁸

Cocke's report was followed late in the year by another item in the records that gives further evidence that Pavilion VII was almost completed. Unfortunately, it also gives evidence that the initial construction might not have been as well executed as it should have been. On December 20, 1818, Proctor Nelson Barksdale, who had replaced Garrett, recorded a payment of \$75.00 for "taking down & rebuilding chimney to the Pavilion Built b. Chisolm." Matthew Brown, the Lynchburg brickmason, now in Charlottesville, and John Perry, who had joined in a partnership that September, did the rebuilding, while James Dinsmore certified their work as being accurate.

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THE FIRST SHALL BE LAST

Jefferson was a bit hasty, if not a bit naughty, in writing to John Adams on January 19, 1819, regarding the Virginia General Assembly, then in session deciding whether to approve the report of the Rockfish Gap commission:

We are all here in the hourly expectation of hearing what our Legislation decides on the Report. Being a good piece of a century behind the age they live in, we are not without fear as to their conclusions.⁴⁹

He needn't have been so worried. The day he wrote was the same day the House of Delegates passed the bill. On January 25, a charter was granted, and the University of Virginia was officially established on the site of the former Central College. Wilson Cary Nicholas's letter of congratulation gave credit where credit was due, but added a slightly ominous note:

You have heard, I know, that your college is made the University of Virginia. I call it yours, as you are its real founder, its commencement can only be ascribed to you. To your exertions & influence its being adopted can only be attributed. The object was always dear to me, it is doubly so, as it is now so completely identified with your name. The sum given is too small, but it will be increased I have no doubt.⁵⁰

Funding for the college, now the University, was indeed a continuing problem. Although the Board of Visitors had authorized the construction of two more pavilions in 1818, only one, Pavilion III, was started. Bids would not be taken on the second, Pavilion V, until March 1819. Just prior to that time, at a specially called meeting in February 1819, the Board of Visitors made a crucial decision:

That it is expedient that all the funds of the University applicable to the services of the present year, which shall remain after meeting all the other current and necessary purposes, shall be applicable to the providing additional buildings for the accommodation of 51 the Professors, & for dieting and lodging the students.⁵¹

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Jefferson not only approved this measure, he realized it was the only direction to take, given the seemingly poor prospects of securing sufficient funding. In fact, he had helped insure that the decision he wanted made would be approved. Prior to the meeting of the Board of Visitors he had written Cabell:

I think with you that we must apply all our funds to building for the present year, and not open the institution until we can do it with that degree of splendor necessary to give it a prominent character; consequently we must defer the mission for professors to another year.⁵²

Towards the end "of building for the present year," the Visitors also approved "the proposition for covering with tin sheets the pavilions and hotels hereafter to be covered and for bringing water to them by wooden pipes from the neighboring highlands."

That seemingly innocuous statement brings up an interesting and as yet unresolved question concerning Pavilion VII. Was it originally covered with tin, as were all the other pavilions? It should be recalled that in August, 1818, John Hartwell Cocke noted that the pavilion had been "just cover'd in." Whether he meant that it had actually been roofed is uncertain. Two-and-a-half months later, in November 1818, James Dinsmore crossed the Blue Ridge to "report on the Eligibility of Tin as a Covering for Houses as Introduced in Staunton."⁵³ Perhaps most intriguing, why did the Visitors couch their resolution in the terminology they did, that "the pavilions . . . hereafter to be covered" were to be covered with tin sheets? Although bills for roofing the other pavilions, most of which were covered in tin by A. H. Brooks of Staunton, are preserved in the University archives, no specific item identifying the original roof cover for Pavilion VII, nor payment for that cover, has yet been uncovered.

For Pavilion VII, this two-edged decision -- to complete all the buildings and to "defer the mission for professors to another year", i.e. not to open the institution -- meant that there was now no immediate urgency to finish the building first started. Recalling the familiar Biblical adage that "the first shall be last, and the last shall be first," is not an inappropriate way to regard the situation. All finishing touches, including hardware, window sash, painting and plastering (especially the ornamental composition moldings that Jefferson would specify for certain interiors), could be put on hold until all the pavilions reached the same stage of completion. This way plasterer Joseph Antrim and other specialized craftsmen could work more or less simultaneously on several pavilions.

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That Pavilion VII was almost completed by this time can be inferred from an inspection made by David Watson, member of the Board of Visitors from Louisa County. He wrote fellow board member John Hartwell Cocke in March, 1819, having just visited the University, which he admitted "to [his] shame [he] had not seen, since the foundation stone was laid." He regretted "this the more, as the buildings are not upon a plan to meet my notions of convenience & utility." Specifically, Watson complained:

The pavilion which was first raised, is altogether unfit for the residence of a professor who has a family. It has only two rooms; & where will a family store away the articles of household furniture &c. which are not in daily use? The cellar is barely sufficient for a kitchen; & where will meal, meat, & all the necessary articles of ordinary subsistence, which you can readily imagine, be kept? The second pavilion is larger, & of course less objectionable; but even that will be deficient in convenience. ⁵⁴

Going on in his criticism, he declared:

the interior of the pavilions are built too expensively. The floors, for instance, are too costly both as to materials and the manner of laying them. Not being private property, they will soon be defaced, & require carpets or oil cloths; & plain substantial floors would have been just as good.

What would he have thought had the finishing touches, including the composition frieze ornaments yet to be ordered and installed, been in place?

Although he professed to be "quite an ignoramus in architecture," Watson concluded with a suggestion that ultimately came to be utilized in a number of the pavilions, Pavilion VII among them: "perhaps, some of my objections about convenience might be obviated by appropriating some of the contiguous dormitories to the use of the pavilions."

In the Spring of 1819, Arthur Brockenbrough, arriving from Richmond highly recommended by all who had been associated with him there, replaced Nelson Barksdale as Proctor of the University. Jefferson gratefully wrote to Cocke on May 3 that "Mr. Brockenbrough is arrived and relieves my shoulders from a burthen too much for them." Although Jefferson would continue his overall superintendence, to be sure, day-to-day operations were now under Brockenbrough's direction, as they had been with his apparently less-competent predecessors.

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One of the new Proctor's first tasks was to prepare an inventory of the buildings, builders, and the costs -- basically a "taking stock" operation. As would be expected, he sought the master's help, and on September 1, 1819, writing from Poplar Forest, Jefferson sent a memorandum on "the engagements for work, as well as I can state them from imperfect memorandums which I have with me aided by recollection." Of Pavilion VII (then referred to as Pavilion 4, as it was the fourth in line of the western group of five pavilions), Jefferson succinctly wrote: "No. 4. done with." He revealed that this was actually not quite the case later in the same letter:

As I shall be at home so soon, we will defer deciding about the Corinthian capitals till then, but in the mean time the Corinthian bases should be pushed that we may get those columns up, then they should do of preference the Doric bases & capitals for No. 4. to get them up. ⁵⁵

The "they" to whom he referred were the Raggis, Giacomo and Michele, uncle and nephew, and two of the grandest rascalions ever associated with any university, much less The University. Their connection with Pavilion VII is tangential, as it was with most every other stone they touched, and their story has been told elsewhere. ⁵⁶ Suffice it to record here that they had been hired by Thomas Appleton, then serving as U. S. Consul in Livorno, or Leghorn, Italy. Jefferson had requested his friend Appleton, whose post was near Carrara, to secure the services of first one, then two, stonecarvers, both of whom were to be "competent to the cutting an Ionic or Corinthian capital. ⁵⁷

Jefferson assumed that Virginia stonemasons or stonecutters could handle the simpler work of carving Doric bases and capitals (such as Pavilion VII would require) as well as the Tuscan bases and capitals for the colonnades. Toward that end, he had just secured the services of John Gorman, yet another Lynchburg-area craftsman, and as had been the case with other workers at the University, Jefferson had first observed his skills in work at Poplar Forest. In August, 1819, he advised Arthur Brockenbrough:

Gorman will be with you within not many days. He has worked here under my eye about 3. weeks, dressing and laying some hearthstones and marble slabs. I find him well informed, industrious, very skilful, sober & good humored, and think he will be a valuable acquisition. He understands the business from the quarrying to conducting the work to the outlines for the Sculptor. ⁵⁸

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As it turned out, both the Raggis and John Gorman carved the same Doric bases and capitals for Pavilion VII. Although exactly what happened is unclear, it seems that the Raggis were first given this seemingly simple task, probably before Gorman arrived.

On January 1, 1820, the brothers Raggi were paid \$80 00 for "6 Doric Bases Pav. No. 7 \$8 [and] 4 Doric Caps Pav. 7 \$8." ⁵⁹ On April 22, 1821, more than a year later, the Proctor noted a further payment to the Raggis in his journal: "Pavilion #7 West - due to M. & G. Raggi for 6 bases and caps - \$110.00." By this time, the Raggis were back in Italy, and the exact nature of this charge is not clear, though it at least seems to indicate that somewhere between January 1, 1820 and April 22, 1821, they had managed to carve two more Doric capitals.

Writing to Appleton just prior to the time the Proctor noted that they were due \$110.00, Jefferson could find little good to say about at least one of the Raggis:

I shall add little as to Michael Raggi. From his discontented and querulous temper, I imagine he is full of complaints. I assure you they are entirely without foundation. He was treated here with liberality and indulgence, and every dollar we paid him was so much sunk, as we do not profit of a single thing he did. ⁶⁰

"We" certainly did not profit from their Doric bases and capitals for Pavilion VII. A year and several months later, the Proctor entered this item in his journal:

July 3, 1822 - Draft to John Gorman

Pavilion #7 for 2 stove stones	5.40
sill to back step 1.94, newel block .78	2.72
6 Doric Caps & Bases & setting	94.34 ⁶¹

The proctor's note that he also paid John Gorman for 2 stove stones is likely related to a request Jefferson had made to Thomas Cooper earlier, in a postscript to a letter written March 3, 1819:

P.S. in the Pavilions for the Professors of our University we require open stoves. I believe they are called Rittenhouse stoves in Philadelphia. the largest for their larger rooms should be about 26. I. wide in the back, and a smaller size for the bedrooms. will you be so good as to select two of the handsomest forms, and desire the holder of them to mark them for us? we shall apply for 5. as immediately wanting, for half a dozen more towards the end of the year, & others subse-

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quently as we advance in our buildings. I know there is a good deal of choice in forms, and wish to avail of your presence there to select. ⁶²

Cooper responded on April 22, 1819, that he had made a selection and had bought the stoves. While it is not known if two of the five that Cooper obtained were installed in Pavilion VII, it will be recalled that the second floor plan (frontispiece) shows stoves in the fireplaces. And, in addition to the payment to Gorman, on November 25, 1822, the Proctor recorded that \$4.00 was due to Abiah Thorn for "setting 2 stoves" at Pavilion VII. ⁶³

At their fall meeting in early October 1819, the Board of Visitors took note of the stage of completion of the several buildings then under construction:

one of the Pavilions and 15 of the dormitories . . . have been as nearly finished as is deemed expedient until wanted for occupation: and the other pavilion therein also mentioned will be completed this winter. 5 others are more or less advanced each sufficient to accommodate one Professor, & about 20 other dormitories in progress. ⁶⁴

While no numbers are assigned the pavilions in that account, it can be safely assumed that Pavilion VII was the one listed as being "nearly finished."

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SETTLING THE ACCOUNTS

In December 1819, Jefferson wrote Virginia's Governor Preston that "the inner and outer finishings [of the pavilions] will be the work of the ensuing year.⁶⁵ By March, much of that inner and outer finishing was being addressed, at least in one of the pavilions. This time it was not Pavilion VII, but the larger Pavilion III, the second begun, which was now intended for the first professor. Jefferson continued to hope that Thomas Cooper would become a faculty member, and when he wrote the professor in March 1820, he included a progress report on Pavilion III, which can be taken as giving a general idea of the state of completion at Pavilion VII as well.

Your pavilion is finished except plaistering and painting. The former will require all this month, from the variableness of the season. The housejoiner asks a fortnight after removal of the rubbish of the plaisterer to hang his doors and windows, which are ready, & the glazing also done the painting will then take a fortnight, so that we believe of a certainty all will be ready by the 1st. day of May.⁶⁶

To help insure that this schedule would be met, Joseph Antrim's contract "to do all the plaistering, rough casting &c at the University Va." was signed later that same month. As he had planned earlier, Jefferson now had the services of "the finest plaisterer I have ever seen in this state."

Later in 1820, John Perry received payment for window weights at Pavilion VII, another sure sign that construction was nearing its end. Even so, at their October 1820 meeting, the Board of Visitors gave "a summary view" of the way things stood, and estimated that it would still require \$18,000 "to complete the 7 Pavilions and 31 Dormitories on hand," not to mention constructing the other 3 pavilions, the ranges, nor the great library, or Rotunda.

Construction of that great library, or Rotunda, and its stage of completion by the time the University would finally open would have a great effect on Pavilion VII. In April 1821, Jefferson wrote John Hartwell Cocke concerning it:

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With respect to the Library we were all anxious to begin it this year, but equally agreed not to begin it until we have so clear a view of our funds as to be sure they will suffice to finish so as to be in no danger of asking more money for the buildings. ⁶⁷

To obtain that clearer view, Mr. Brockenbrough was "now engaged in settling the accounts . . . [to] . . . let us see exactly the ground on which we stand." As Jefferson advised Cocke, "he does not know whether this will take him a fortnight, or a month, or 6. months, but as soon as it is accomplished I will write to you." Part of the Proctor's settling of the accounts was to ascertain what had been spent on the other pavilions as well. As part of this exercise, and in an effort to diffuse any criticism that might be laid at what many already regarded as a costly expenditure of public funds, Jefferson noted that:

The two Pavilions and their adjacent Dormitories, begun & considerably advanced by the authorities of the Central College, were contracted for by them, when all things were at their most inflated paper-prices, and therefore have been of extraordinary cost. But all the buildings since done on the more enlarged scale of the University have been at prices of from 25 to 50 per cent reduction; and it is confidently believed that, with that exception, no considerable system of building, within the U.S. has been done on cheaper terms, nor more correctly, faithfully, or solidly executed, according to the nature of the materials used. ⁶⁸

As has been mentioned, when construction began on Pavilion VII in 1817 and on Pavilion III in 1818, there was a great deal of inflation in the United States, nowhere more so than in Lynchburg, from where so many of the first builders had been found. The financial panic of 1819 caused an economic collapse, and in writing about it to his son-in-law, Thomas Mann Randolph, Jr., Jefferson had observed "nothing can exceed the desolation which the Lynchburg banks have produced." ⁶⁹

By 1821, things were back to normal, but Jefferson would continue to seek to justify his actions of providing the best (and often the most costly) architectural accommodations for his university: "had we built a barn for a College, and log-huts for accommodations, should we ever have had the assurance to propose to an European Professor of that character to come to it?," he wrote Joseph Cabell later in 1822. ⁷⁰

Although Brockenbrough had not finished his calculations by the end of September, 1821, Jefferson was able to tell his fellow Visitors, based on "what the Proctor has determined so far," that "the building the hull, at least, of the Library, . . . is put in our

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power to undertake . . . with perfect safety." According to figures Brockenbrough had obtained by this time, the costs of the first two pavilions, VII and III, totaled \$19,149.81. Dividing that figure by two, Jefferson estimated that each had cost \$9,574.90. He then gave the total of Pavilions no. IV, V, and IX as \$33,563.15, with their averages as \$8,390.78. As he had done earlier, Jefferson reiterated the statement that the first two, with their attendant dormitories, had been contracted for "at the inflated prices prevailing then." ⁷¹

Even now, work was not complete on Pavilion VII. On October 8, 1821, John M. Perry was paid \$6.00 for altering a door and putting tin at base of columns. ⁷² And, it was not until early in the next year, 1822, that finishing touches to the interior were planned and executed.

On February 8, 1822, Jefferson wrote Brockenbrough that he was "anxiously waiting for weather & roads to go with Mr. Coffee to the University that he may see for what he can do the ornaments of the friezes on some of the best rooms. ⁷³ Mr. Coffee was William J. Coffee, an Englishman who first settled in New York when he came to America, but soon came to "dislike [that] Stinking Pestilential City" so much that he "thought it Proper to leave The City for [the] little Town" of Newark, New Jersey. ⁷⁴ In March 1822, Coffee contracted with the Proctor to supply the University with a number of lead and composition architectural ornaments, the former for embellishments to the exterior friezes, the latter for interior work. For Pavilions I and VII, Jefferson ordered what Coffee referred to as "Boy and Swag" ornamentation for the major second floor rooms. Derived from the Ionic temple of Fortuna Virilis (as depicted in Fréart de Chambray's *Parallèle de l'architecture Antique avec la Moderne*, the same source from which Jefferson had obtained the exterior Doric Order of both pavilions, the ornamentation consists of alternating putti (boys) and ox skulls, the two connected with garlands (swags) of foliage (fig. 7). In his contract, Coffee agreed to furnish "Pav: No. 7 74 ft. same ornament as Pav. 1, same price 26.64." ⁷⁵ Although there was a mixup in the orders for the University and Poplar Forest, and although Coffee later declared that his initial contract price was too low, everything was eventually made right, and the ornaments were applied according to instructions provided by their maker. On September 26, 1822, the Proctor recorded a payment of \$39.00 to Coffee for the ornaments for Pavilion VII, considerably more than the original contract called for. The fact that the same ornaments were specified and used at both

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Pavilions I and VII would eventually have dire consequences for the latter.

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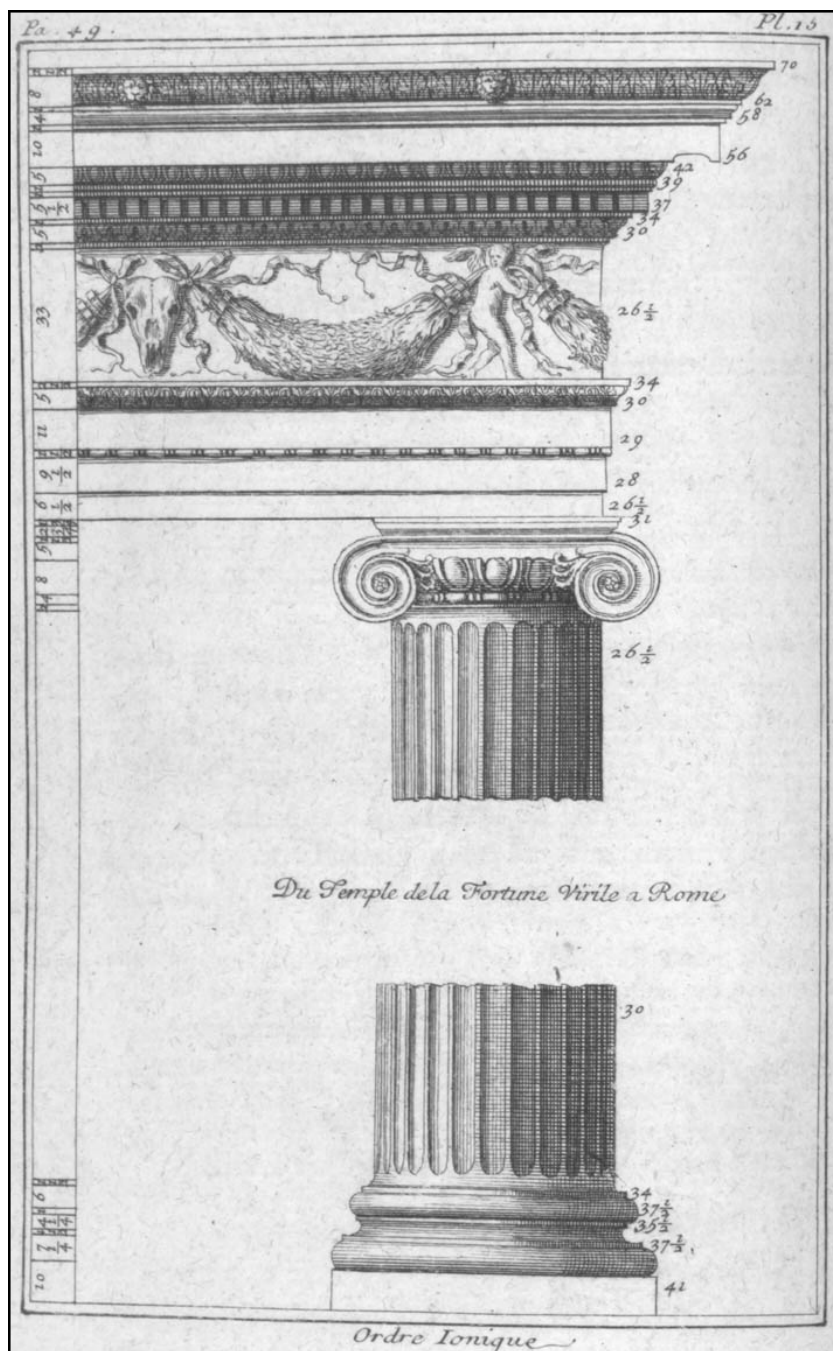


Fig. 7. The Ionic Order of the temple of Fortuna Virilis, as drawn and published in Fréart de Chambray's *Parallele de l'architecture Antique avec la Moderne*, 1766. For the larger second-floor room in Pavilion VII, Jefferson had William J. Coffee fabricate reduced versions of the entablature ornamentation seen here: casts of putti and ox skulls, connected with garlands of foliage..

HISTORY

THE JOY OF A FATHER

Early in October 1822, the Board of Visitors proudly announced that they had:

completed all the buildings . . . except one; that is to say, ten distinct houses or Pavilions containing each a lecturing room, with generally four other apartments for the accommodation of a Professor and his family, and with a garden and the requisite family offices; Six Hotels for dieting the Students, . . . and an hundred and nine dormitories. . . which buildings are all in readiness for occupation except there is still some plaistering to be done, now on hand, which will be finished early in the present season. ⁷⁶

The one building left was, of course, the Rotunda, and according to the report of the Visitors, "the present state of the funds renders the prospect of finishing this last building indefinitely distant." Since that was the case, since the Rotunda would still take "three or four years to complete," and since "interest of the sums advanced to the institution now absorbs nearly half its income," the Visitors requested the Virginia General Assembly to suspend interest payments.

While waiting answer on this request, work continued on the pavilions. On October 8, Daniel Piper, whose name befitted his trade, was paid \$14.80 "for making & putting [sic] up 138 feet of Tin Gutters & Pipes" at Pavilion VII. For "making two heads for ditto," Piper received an additional dollar. ⁷⁷ On October 17, 1822, William B. Phillips, another of the brickmasons engaged in the construction of the University buildings, received \$215.98 for his work on "Pavilion No. 7 for brickwork in area and yard walls." Later in the month, John Perry also received payment for a number of odd jobs done on Pavilion VII:

Oct. 29, 1822 - Sundries due to John M. Perry	
Pavilion #7 for alterations to door, etc.	6.00
Pavilion #7 for amount glazing account	10.56
Pavilion #7 for amount paving bill	<u>62.57</u>
	73.13 ⁷⁸

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Doric Pavilion No 7th		An. Acct with The Univ. of Virginia		
1821	Jan'y 21	To Mr. M. Perry for 6 Columns & 1 Box white Lead 600 lbs Plastering 85 1/2 feet of In plank 183 1/2 " of flooring plank.	96 40 5 " 202 58 12 81 32 62	234 28 45 13 110 "
April 23	"	Mr. G. Kaggie for 6 Posts & 4 caps.		75 "
July 10	"	J. M. Perry for taking down & rebuilding chimney		70 "
August 20	"	for digging cellar for hauling 8' of 4' crot.	72 04	163 04
"	31	A. S. Brockelbrough for setting 25 tons.		4 "
Aug 3	"	John German for 2 stone blocks 5 lbs to back steps 194 Murell blocks 78	5 40 2 72	8 12
Sept 21	"	A. S. Brockelbrough for work by 5 am		25 "
"	"	Smith Shop for 1 large block.		2 "
"	26	Mr. J. Coffey for composition & leaden ornaments.		39 "
October 8	"	A. S. Brockelbrough for 2 1/2" to 2 3/4" pipes for tin gutters & conductors		14 80
"	"	Sam. C. Campbell for stone foundation of Garden Wall.		12 55
"	17	Mr. J. Phillips for garden walls & 215 98 & further 79 cts		216 68
"	31	J. M. Perry for altering a door & putting tin at base columns for Glazing bills.	10 56	6 "
1822	"	for Glazing bills.	62 57	73 13
Nov 10	"	Wm. Chisholme for plastering walls with cement		2 "
"	26	Rich. & Crawford for Chinese fenders in windows.		6 50
"	"	J. M. Perry for bills of work waggons & lumber for Sunday lots.	3 67 48 370 54 406 02 212 04	3 67 93
"	"	off sundries twice at your credit.		13 "
"	"	Account of Tax for 1 Box.		17 53
"	"	Mr. J. Phillips for bricks steps to yard & caping walls		2 "
"	"	Smith Shop for 1 large block.		10 "
"	"	Stone Work for Caps & Piasas by Kaggie		1 320
"	"	Wm. Chisholme for laying 88 2 1/2 bricks @ 15 "		572 02
"	"	" " " " 20 4 3/4 " " "		51 26
"	"	for laying 65 ft of Rubric & Urchin @ 7 1/2 "		1 988 27
"	"	Hardware for hardware brass of 1st Lot		41 58
"	"	J. M. Perry for 14 7/8 bricks in Ser. Wall @ 1 1/4 "		162 23
"	"	18 1/8 " " in straight wall 10 "		161 90
"	"	your post Stationary Postage Travelling Exp ^{ts} &c		41 15
"	"	Proctor, Burrows Postpaid & other services		570 88
"	"	" " " " Locks, Nails, Screws, Nails, Castings &c		285 02
"	"	" " " " Stones Work.		2 48 10
"	"	" " " " Labour including dirt &c to the		463 06
"	"	" " " " Waggons, Carriage & Postage		84 81
"	"	" " " " Checks this date & entries omitted.		\$ 5 667 10
				150252

Fig. 8. List of Expenses, Pavilion VII. November 1822. Box 17, Proctor's Papers, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.

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On November 25, 1822, Proctor Brockenbrough finally provided his completed report on all the building accounts. This phenomenally detailed account (fig. 8), now gave the total expenditures for "Doric Pavilion No. 7 W. R." as \$8,653.10, less than Jefferson had estimated earlier. By far the largest payments had been made to John M. Perry, and on the same date (November 25, 1822) that he made his report, Brockenbrough noted in his journal the following:

sundries that had been paid (or were due) Perry:	
Pavilion No. 7 for bill of waggonage and lumber	\$3,627.48
For making alterations per bill	214.48
Glazing	10.56
Painting account	62.53
paving under arcade & cellar	79.45
alterations to a door & putting tin about the columns, etc.	<u>6.00</u>
	\$4, 000. 02 ⁷⁹

Among other items in the account, Peck and Crawford were listed as receiving \$6.80 "for Chinese railing to 3 windows" at Pavilion VII. These were the wooden railings, or screens, protecting the three first-floor windows opening directly onto the arcade from the classroom. ⁸⁰ A number of other payments and the recipients were also listed in the Proctor's Journal (fig. 9).

Good news arrived in February 1823, when the Virginia General Assembly authorized the granting of a \$60,000 loan that would insure the building of the Rotunda. Alexander Garrett wrote of the effect this had on "Mr. J.":

his manner, conversation, and countenance, all depict the joy of a father on the birth of a first and long-wished for son; the day after receiving the news he rode to the University (for the first time he had been on horse back since breaking his wrist). ⁸¹

Jefferson's babbling of forty years nursing, his first and long-wished-for son, was beginning to start walking. The month after the Assembly authorized the loan, Jefferson authorized Mr. Brockenbrough "to engage the work of the Rotunda," and told the other Visitors that contracts had been made "on terms which I think will make our money go the farthest possible." As he had planned several years earlier, he intended that the engagements made between the Proctor and the workmen were still "only for the hull com-

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162
 University of Virginia 25th NOV^r 1822

192	Pavilion No. 7 Dr to Sundries		
192	Smith Shop for 1 large bell		2 "
268	Stone Work for Caps & Vases by G. Bagge		10 "
192	Hugh Christolme for laying		
	88.202 Com brick @ \$15	\$1323. "	
	20.436 occ. Stock brick @ \$28	572.02	
	65 ft of milled & squared arches @ 7/16	81.25	
		<u>1976.27</u>	
	off at the Cr. of yourself & Knight		
	page 154 of this book. 3	1948.50	
			<u>2777</u>
			<u>3977</u>

Fig. 9. Proctor's Journal #2, page 162. A number of items on this page, dated November 25, 1822, record payments made in connection with the construction of Pavilion VII. Proctor's Papers, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.

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pleat." Once the exterior was completed, Jefferson explained that any remaining money could then be used to "engage a portion of the inside work so as to stop where our funds may fail, should they fail before its entire completion. Thus it may rest ever so long, be used, and not delay the opening of the institution. The work will occupy three years."⁸²

In September 1824, the Proctor noted "sundries due" to two individuals whose work heralded "the interior and outer finishings." On the 13th of the month, under the heading "Sundries due to Joseph Antrim," he recorded "Pavilion No. 7 for Bill of Plastering \$362.73." On September 24, he noted the amounts due Edward Lowber of Philadelphia, who had contracted to do the painting and glazing at the University." For glass, glazing, & 2 coats paint on sashes" at Pavilion VII, Lowber received the sum of \$35.05.⁸³ Later, on February 8, 1825, Antrim would receive a further sum of \$195.57 for stuccoing the columns at Pavilion VII.⁸⁴ Soon after that finishing flourish, school was about to start.

When the University finally opened for its first classes a month later, on March 7, 1825, the Professors of Ancient and Modern Languages, of Mathematics, of Natural Philosophy, and of Anatomy and Medicine, were present, and the Professors of the Schools of Moral Philosophy and Natural History came shortly afterwards. Each was ensconced, more or less happily, in as many pavilions. None occupied Pavilion VII, doubtless, as has been suggested time and again during this discourse, because it was the smallest of all, and consequently the least equipped to accommodate a professor and his family, let along a single professor. The relative size of Pavilion VII in comparison to the other nine pavilions is clearly indicated by a ground plan of the University, made ca. 1821, from which the well-known Maverick Plan was devised (fig. 10).

Although Pavilion VII was not initially used for its intended purpose as a faculty residence, and would not be so used until several decades later, it nevertheless began its service to the University's cause in an equally important capacity, if not more so.

HISTORY

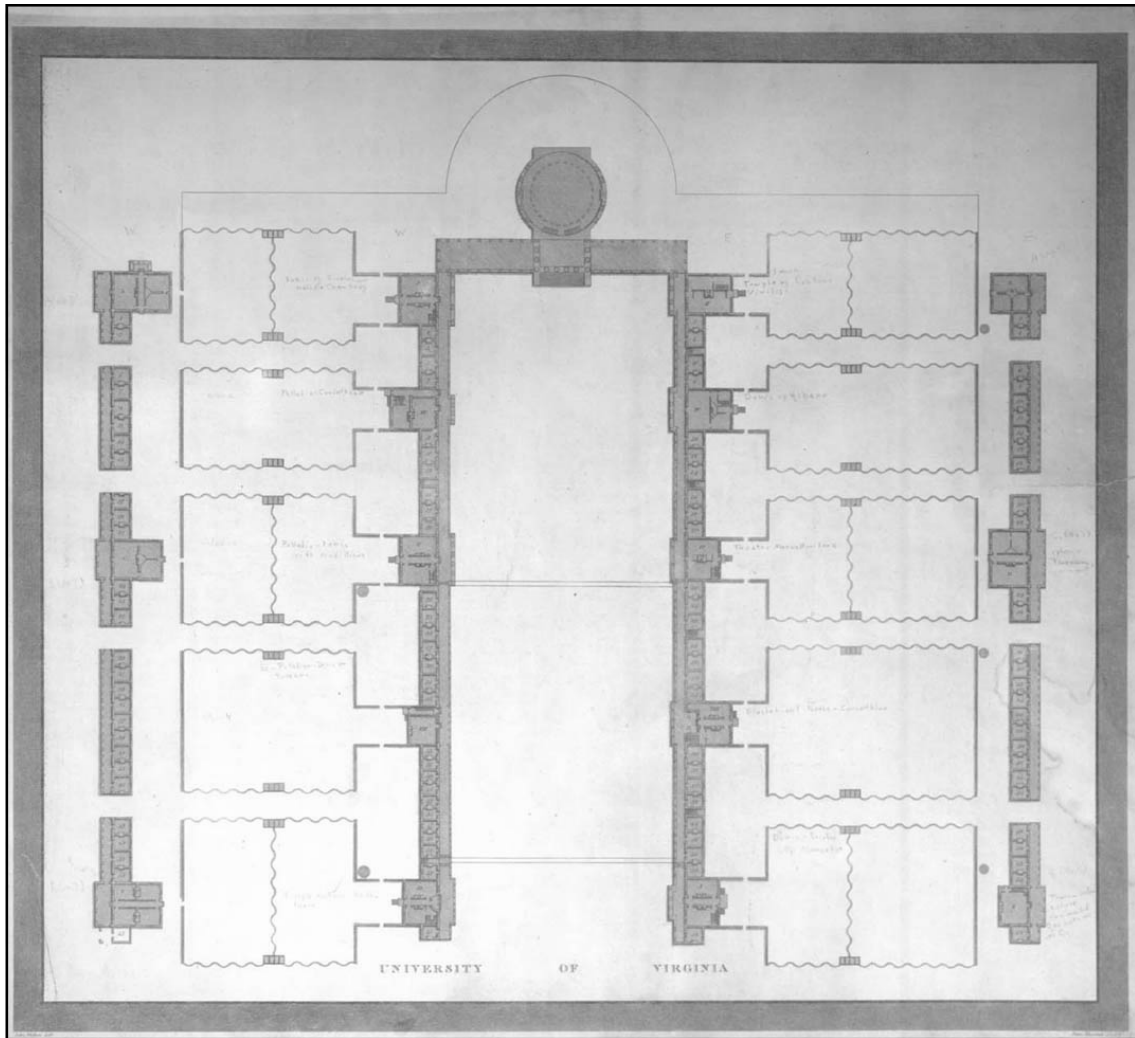


Fig. 10. Ground Plan, University of Virginia, John Neilson, draughtsman, c. March 1821. This phenomenally detailed plan shows the first-floor plans of all the pavilions and the Rotunda. Pavilion VII, the second from the bottom of the left-hand row, is seen as the smallest of all. Also note that it is the only pavilion whose portico is in line with the colonnade in front of the dormitory rooms, i. e. there is no projection in front of it beyond the line of the colonnade, as there is for all the other pavilions. Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.

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I CANNOT LIVE WITHOUT BOOKS

As expected, the Rotunda was not finished when the University of Virginia opened its doors in March 1825, nor would it be until well over a year later. Since its main circular room was to be the library, another facility had to be pressed into service for the time being. Pavilion VII was fitted up to serve the purpose.

Little is known of the actual way in which the building was fitted up to serve in this initial capacity, though some of the legends that have arisen should definitely be put to rest once and for all. There is little truth to too-often repeated tales such as "as there were no shelves in the pavilion, students in the first year and a half at the University were forced to remove books from boxes upstairs and study in the pavilions's basement." ⁸⁵ In fact, one of the few known descriptions of Pavilion VII during the time it served as the University's library indicates that it was quite handsomely fitted up.

Judging from the Board of Visitors' directives regarding its use, it would also seem that functioning as the library could not have occasioned much wear and tear, at least not from the librarian and the students. At their March 4, 1825, meeting the Visitors set the librarian's salary as \$150.00. For that sum, John Vaughan Kean (who was appointed librarian later that month) was required to "attend in the Library" only one hour each day to lend & receive books from the students. Further, no student could be in the library except during the time the librarian was present, nor could students remove books from the shelves. That task was solely Mr. Kean's prerogative. As if counteracting those strict provisions, a table was provided where "strangers whom the librarian may be willing to attend" could read and study. ⁸⁶

How many books, or where they and the strangers table were placed, is unknown. Suffice it say that no matter how many books were available on opening day, March 7, they soon began to multiply with an amazing rapidity, a rapidity that only Thomas Jefferson could have expected -- or planned for. On April 12, 1825, Jefferson thanked his grandson-in-law, Joseph Coolidge, for "the books you have been so kind as to present to the University," which had been received "and were opened yesterday." He also told Coo-

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lidge that he had engaged his fellow Bostonian "Mr. Hilliard as agent for the University in the purchase of its library, and the sum to be put into his hands [is] considerable."⁸⁷ Several days later, Jefferson sent a request to Brockenbrough "to have the annexed paragraph inserted in the Central gazette and the Enquirer":

The University of Virginia has, at different times, recieved [sic] from public-spirited citizens, as well her own as of other states, donations of books, more or fewer in number, but all acceptable, all contributing to the instruction of the youths confided to her care, and whom she hopes to restore to their country with increased science and virtue, & qualified to succeed worthily to the future charge of it's government, it's liberty, it's fame and prosperity.

Mr. Hansford, of the county of King George had made an early present of some good books to the University. Mr Bernard Moore Carter, a native of Virginia, now resident in London, has lately sent a valuable collection of between 3. and 400. volumes, well chosen, and well bound; and more recently, Mr Coolidge, a gentleman of Boston, has given nearly an hundred volumes, of peculiar choice and value, and notice of other intended donations have been recieved from others who may be assured that their talent shall not be hidden in the earth. ⁸⁸

Added to that, Jefferson had earlier commissioned Frances Walker Gilmer to purchase books while he was in Europe recruiting the faculty, and these were beginning to arrive. Obviously, the volume of so many volumes coming in would soon prove to be too much for housing in the limited space of Pavilion VII. Construction continued on the Rotunda, and in early June 1825 had progressed sufficiently for Brockenbrough to ask how Jefferson intended "securing [the library room] at the head of the stairs?" ⁸⁹

Meanwhile, books continued to arrive, in every sort of condition. On June 14, 1825, Jefferson's Richmond agent, Bernard Peyton, wrote Brockenbrough:

By Mr. John Brady's waggon you will receive Eight boxes for Professor J. P. Emmet, & Three cases books for the University-the cases of books appear to be a little wet as is nearly the whole cargo of the vessel, she having been nearly lost at Sea in the late gale. ⁹⁰

Early in January 1826, Pavilion VII was pressed into another temporary service in addition to serving as the library. Jefferson now advised the Proctor that:

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The temporary bell should be placed on the ridge of the roof of the Pavilion in which the books now are, on a small gallows exactly as the tavern bells are. you will contrive how the cord may be protected from the trickish ringings of the students. When the clock comes from Richmond, it should be placed before a window of the book room of the same house, the face so near the window as that it's time may be read thro the window from the outside. ⁹¹

In the same letter, Jefferson urged Brockenbrough to hurry the work on the bookcases for the Rotunda: "it is high time to have our bookcases in hand, and to be pressed as the books cannot be opened until the shelves are ready to recieve them. The boxes from France, lately shipped from N. York must be now arrived at Richmond." A month later, having learned that funding from the legislature would again be in short supply, Jefferson wrote Joseph Cabell that he had gone to the University to alert the Proctor "to engage in no new matter which could be done without, to stop every thing unessential in hand, and to reserve all his funds for the book room of the Rotunda and the Anatomical theatre." ⁹² So pressing was the need to complete the book room (and by assumption Pavilion VII was now so full) that Jefferson declared:

[not] until the bookroom and cases be completely done can we open another box of books. We have now 5 boxes on hand from Paris unopened, 5 more from the same place are supposed to be arrived in Richmond, 7. from London are arrived at Boston, and a part of those from Germany are now in Boston. All these, and others still to arrive must remain unopened until the room is ready, which unfortunately cannot be till the season will admit of plaistering, and the joiner's work goes on so slow that it is doubtful if that will be ready as soon. ⁹³

Maybe, then, there is a tiny grain of truth in the contention that some of the first students did, on occasion, have to obtain their books from boxes. Or, if Jefferson's directive, that books "still to arrive must remain unopened," maybe they weren't allowed to.

Mr. Kean's tenure as Librarian was extremely short. Those strict-seeming regulations quoted above for the use of the library were apparently dictated by Jefferson after realizing that Kean was far too lax in observing his duties. ⁹⁴ In April 1826, the Visitors "approved and confirmed the appointment of William Wertenbaker as Librarian." According to a later account, Mr. Wertenbaker or "Old Wert" as he was called, had received his commission from Mr. Jefferson. ⁹⁵

Unfortunately, it soon appeared that the roof of the dome room leaked, "so that

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not a book can be trusted in it until remedied." That was late in May 1826, and to remedy it Jefferson instructed Brockenbrough to have another covering of tin put on. As it turned out, this was one of the last acts Jefferson was able to undertake for his cherished University.

A more poignant account of another of his last acts was recorded by a student, who heard it from the librarian: "Mr. Jefferson's last visit to the University was by appointment with Mr. Wertenbaker at the old library building - to classify and catalog a new installment of books." The student noted that "in conversation with 'Old Wert,' this pleasant circumstance usually found mention." ⁹⁶

At least one "outside" account of Pavilion VII when it housed the library was written down. In mid-July 1826, Robert Carter Berkeley of Hanover County passed through Charlottesville on the way to the Virginia springs, and on the 18th took the occasion to visit the new University. At the Rotunda, he observed, "they are now raising the capitals to the pillars of the porch which are of beautiful Italian marble elegantly carved." Three days later, on Friday the 21st., he again visited, this time seeing "a part of the Library. Besides a number of Books on various subjects we saw some very handsome paintings of birds, plants, flowers, etc." That he was describing Pavilion VII, where the books and paintings were, is evident from his next sentence: "There is a large circular room in the upper story of the Rotunda intended for the library." ⁹⁷

After Jefferson's death, Brockenbrough reported to Cocke in August 1826 that "there are a sufficiency of Book cases made to begin with," though "it will take some four or five weeks to get them in place." Finally, the books were moved from Pavilion VII into the Rotunda, an event that was observed and chronicled by a student who would come to have a number of his own works in the University's library. On September 21, 1826, Edgar Allan Poe wrote to his adoptive father John Allan:

They have nearly finished the Rotunda -- the pillars of the Portico are completed and it greatly improves the appearance of the whole. The books are removed into the library - and we have a very fine collection. ⁹⁸

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STRANGE INTERLUDE

With the removal of the books to the Rotunda in September 1825, Pavilion VII was freed for other uses. But, judging from the scanty records of the several years following, for the moment, it was simply left vacant. Unfortunately, judging from one painfully graphic account, it was not left alone:

On September 20, 1827, Dr. John Patton Emmet, Professor of the School of Natural History, occupant of Pavilion I (along with a menagerie that included "snakes, a white owl, and a bear" and later his wife), and chronic complainer, griped to Proctor Brockenbrough about his still-incomplete living quarters:

Mr. Antrim informs me that he has never once thought of finishing my cornice since you and he were together about it. You must be aware that I have no room in my house, except the dining, to receive friends; and I assure you the delay has occasioned the greatest disappointment to the family.⁹⁹

Getting ever more irate as he vented his fury, Emmet concluded: "I have written to beg for the last time, that steps may be taken to finish my House and the Cornice in particular-If the figures Cannot be made, let all the others be taken, down & the plain Cornice painted &c by doing so you will much oblige J. P. Emmet."

Brockenbrough obliged two days later, or at least tried to, and informed Emmet of his attempts to pacify him on the 23rd of the month:

I yesterday attempted to take down some of the ornaments in the cornice of Pav. No. 7 to finish out your cornice. I discovered it could not be done without breaking them all to pieces as they are not only nailed but stuck on with putty or white lead. I have concluded I would rather cast as many in lead as will finish out your cornice or have what is already up painted, and let them remain as they are as they can't be taken down without breaking to pieces and disfiguring the cornice - tomorrow I shall procure lead if to be had in Charlottesville, to try & get them cast.¹⁰⁰

Had Brockenbrough bothered to check Coffee's explicit instructions on installing

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his composition ornaments, he would have known not to try to remove them. And, had anyone then been occupying Pavilion VII, it is extremely doubtful they would have allowed Proctor Brockenbrough, or anyone else, to summarily remove their frieze ornaments to satisfy Dr. Emmet.

In early summer, 1828, James Madison and the Proctor exchanged correspondence concerning "accommodation of the Visitors at their meeting next month." Madison noted:

As there will be two vacant Pavilions, it may be as well that both be used on the occasion, as more convenient, especially for a full board as may be expected. But I willingly leave the whole arrangement to your own discretion with such suggestions as may be received from Genl. Cocke. ¹⁰¹

Without doubt, Pavilion VII was one of those two, and it soon became used for the purpose Madison suggested.

A month after Emmet's complaints and Brockenbrough's aborted attempt to remedy them, John Tayloe Lomax, Professor of Law and then chairman of the Faculty, wrote to the Proctor urging that he make a thorough inspection of the University's buildings. He and the other professors were particularly concerned about a problem that a number of people, Cabell and Cocke among them, had earlier predicted would likely become a problem. Now the situation was urgent:

There is at present hardly a room or a house in the University which does not leak. And if the leaks are not timely discovered & prevented the dilapidations & the expenses of repairs will in a very short time be incalculable. The Faculty have deemed it therefore highly important that your attention should be called particularly to the discharge of this duty of Inspection at this time--.¹⁰²

Even though the situation was dire, no immediate action was taken on the problem of the roofs. Instead, at their July 1830 meeting, the Visitors passed a resolution that "as soon as the state of the funds will permit," to renew annually "one tenth part of the exterior covering of the dormitories on the lawn and the two pavilions with flat roofs." ¹⁰³ Ultimately, it took the complaints of the inhabitants of the several pavilions with roofs that were not flat (J. P. Emmet chief among them), to prod the Visitors to replace all of Jefferson's experimental tin roofs with slate. Since no one had a vested interest in Pavilion VII to plead its cause, it would be one of the last to have its roof replaced.

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A HOME AT LAST

In Box 8 of the Proctor's Papers in the University's archives, in a folder labeled "Estimates of Various Expenses," are two estimates for work proposed for Pavilion VII. Each is written in a different hand, and on different sheets of paper. Neither is identified as to the contractor, or undertaker. One estimate never identifies the work proposed as for Pavilion VII, but the second does, and both are obviously for the same job. Neither is dated, although the reverse of the second estimate carries this note: "Repairs for Pavilion No. 7 1831-32."

The importance of these documents can hardly be overestimated, and they are herein reproduced as Appendix B. For the first time, only some five years after the founder's death, major renovations were undertaken for the University's very first pavilion, renovations that would not enlarge it, but would alter its configuration and change its use.

As stated in the two estimates, the "repairs and alterations" were being undertaken to fit the pavilion for occupancy "by Lieutt. Carr Proctor of the University."¹⁰⁴ As Carr, who had replaced Brockenbrough as Proctor in 1831, was not a faculty member, there was no need for his house to have a single large classroom. Consequently, the alterations were primarily for that first-floor space, the room Jefferson had intended as the "hall" for the professor's class.

As the two estimates vary little, quotations that follow will be taken from only the first, whose author had a penchant for ending his words with vowels. His first calculations were for:

partitioning off too small roomes in large roome on first floor requiring two doores, chair & washboard, if the cornice is not required to be carried on partition,"

For this work contractor #1 estimated a figure of \$67.20.

As can be seen in the floor plan of the pavilion as drawn by Jefferson

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(frontispiece), there had been no interior access on the first floor between the classroom and the stair hall, or passage. That would now be changed. For "one doore" to be cut through the partition, allowing access "from passage to front roome," the charge would be \$18.00.

As can also be seen in the floor plan, there were originally no windows on the rear wall of the first floor classroom. Now that this single space was to be divided into two rooms, additional fenestration was deemed necessary, and was included in the proposal:

2 windows to be put in back wall of same roome with 12 lights of 12 x 18 glass each, shutters etc. compleat	56.00
---	-------

Another part of the work was "Plaining [sic] off the floores of large roome below & two roomes above stairs," for which the contractor estimated \$15.00. A new floor was also contemplated for the "large cellar room," for which the charge would be \$57.80. That the cellar room was no longer to be used as the kitchen (if it, in fact ever had been, since the pavilion had heretofore not been used as a residence) is shown by estimates the two contractors gave for:

Carpenters worke & materials for a Kitchen with two rooms, say 24 x 16 out to out with 2 doors & two windows. Rough floor in loft and two small windows in gables. The stile of worke to be similar to the servants houses attached to Pavilion 5 occupied by Doct. Patterson.

Both contractors estimated \$100 for the kitchen, but to that basic figure the second undertaker added the figure of \$78.00 for "brick work for Kitchen, estimated at whole cost." That the kitchen was built, and by whom, is given by another item in the University's records, dating from 1832, and labelled "Memo of contract between J. A. Carr, Proctor, & A. S. Brockenbro [sic]." In a letter dated August 21, 1831, Brockenbrough, had poignantly expressed the hope that, since he was no longer Proctor, Carr could give him some work "as you can throw in my way; either carpenters, stone cutters, or smiths work," as he had a family to support.¹⁰⁵ While the kitchen behind Pavilion VII has disappeared, and its site is now occupied by the twentieth-century Annex to the Colonnade Club, the kitchen behind Dr. Patterson's Pavilion IX remains. Now known as the

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McGuffey Cottage, after a later occupant of that pavilion, it is an engaging little brick lodge, one of the few nineteenth-century outbuildings still remaining on the Grounds.

While no actual contract has been found for the work estimated for the Pavilion itself, another record gives ample proof that it was undertaken. In November 1832, one Thomas Fadley was paid for "painting the house repaired for the residence of the Proctor." While little is currently known regarding the exact locations of the partitions and openings that were created as a result of the 1831-1832 work, it should be noted that a first-floor plan of Pavilion VII made just prior to the extensive renovations undertaken more than a century later shows a configuration of the space that may, at least in part, reflect some of the work done then (fig. 11).

As it turned out, not only did the Proctor move into Pavilion VII, so did the Patron. In their July 1831, meeting, the Board of Visitors resolved that the University's Patron (an office that had been established to provide an assistant to the Proctor) "shall reside within the precincts & shall be allowed to occupy the buildings & grounds now occupied by the Proctor on the same terms on which he has been heretofore allowed to occupy them." At that same July 1831 meeting, the Visitors also authorized the Patron "to keep a book store within the precincts of the University," though it is not known if this was housed in Pavilion VII. The Board also considered another possible use for Pavilion VII at this same meeting, but referred "the application of the Jefferson Society to be allowed the use of the Pavilion No. 7, for their meetings . . . to the Executive Committee, who are required to extend to the Society such accommodations as may be found practicable." Whether that usage came to pass is unknown. One hopes that it didn't. Pavilion VII was already crowded enough.

By July 1832, the Proctor may have wished that he wasn't housed in Pavilion VII. The minutes of a faculty meeting held on July 17 of that year record a most unfortunate event, one that need not be commented on further here:

The chairman informed the Faculty that there had been committed, last night, a most disgraceful & offensive outrage on the pavilion[s] occupied by Mr. Davis & Dr. Emmet & Dr. Patterson, and on the dwelling of the Proctor -- that filth & odure were daubed on these buildings, and the same material spread before them, as well as before a dormitory supposed to be occupied by the Visitors; that an attempt was also made to smoke the room in which 106 it was imagined that the Visitors were sleeping. ¹⁰⁶

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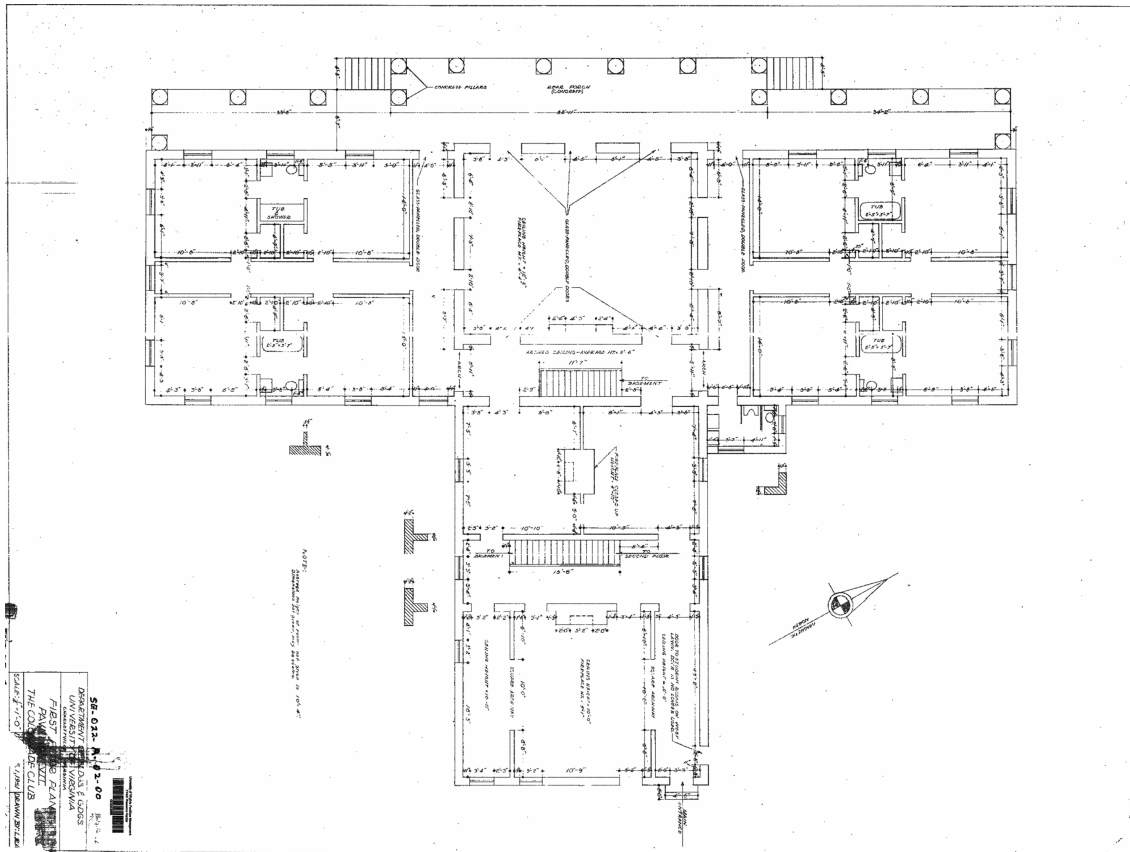


Fig. 11. Frederick Nichols. Blueprint, first-floor plan, Pavilion VII. 1951. Prior to the extensive restoration undertaken on Pavilion VII in the 1950s, the original classroom on the first floor had been divided into three spaces. The central portion of the former classroom, with its fireplace, was flanked on one side by the hallway, and on the other by a narrow room of similar proportion to the hall. Each of the two spaces was connected to the reduced classroom through a "square archway." AC1A, Facilities Management, Facilities Planning and Construction Resource Center, University of Virginia.

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A day later, the Board of Visitors made no mention of the outrage in their recorded minutes, but did make a further decree regarding the use of Pavilion VII, both for the moment and the immediate future:

Resolved, that until the end of the present year the Proctor and Patron shall have authority to occupy Pavilion No. 7 and thereafter said Pavilion shall be reserved for the accommodation of the Visitors at their annual meetings, and appropriated in the intervals of the meetings as an office for the Proctor and as an additional place of lectures for the further accommodation of the Professors of the University.¹⁰⁷

Later that year, and into the next, additional repairs and finishing touches were made to Pavilion VII. On November 17, 1832, Charles M. Brand received the grand sum of \$7.23 for "lathing and plastering dun [sic - down is probably what is meant] in sellow [sic] in Pavilion Number 7 viz:

17 1/3 yds. Lathing & plaistering	6.07
4 2/3 yds. plaistering on bricks	<u>1.16</u>
	7.23

He also received \$.50 for "work on chimney No. 7."¹⁰⁸

Mention has been made of the painting by Thomas Fadley. His contract for the work was dated November 1832 and sheds light on the colors used. It also indicates that Fadley and his assistant, Mr. Kelley, took an unconscionably long time to accomplish their work:

To 74 days work Painting the house repaired for the residence of the Proctor,
viz.
by self 16 Mr. Kelley 16, J. Watson 34 & W. Watson

8 = 74 days @ \$1.25	89.50
6 [?] Spanish Whiting	0.38
7 papers lamp black	0.88
2 [?] umber	0.75
1 Bottle Japan Varnish	1.00
1 paint brush	<u>0.75</u>
	\$93.26

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On May 11, 1833, Fadley received of the new Proctor, Wm. G. Pendleton, "a warrant on the Bursar for the above sum of ninety three Dollars and twenty-six cents." ¹⁰⁹

As is evident, none of the work undertaken in 1831-32 involved the facade of Pavilion VII as seen from the Lawn. The only external changes were to the rear facade (the addition of two windows on the first floor). Beyond the rear facade was the new kitchen. Both of these changes are easily seen in the well-known Bohn print of the University, dating from 1856 (fig. 12).

As was noted, Pavilion VII was now serving both as a residence and as a meeting space for the Board of Visitors. Soon it would become somewhat less crowded. Though the pavilion would still be home to both the Proctor and the Patron, at their July 1833 board meeting the Visitors resolved that "in future the office of Patron & Proctor shall be united in the same person."

That "same person" soon had to move out, though. At the next meeting, held on September 3, the Board of Visitors made two decisions regarding Pavilion VII:

Resolved, that the proctor under the direction of the Executive Committee provide suitable furniture in pavilion No. 7. for the accommodation of the Visitors at their meetings, that he preserve it in good order, and that the rooms in the upper story of that pavilion be applied in the intervals to no other use: - that prior to each meeting the proctor make arrangements with some Hotel Keeper for the board of such of the Visitors as may require it; and that he provide accommodation for their horses in the stables of the University -- Such board and accommodations to be paid for by the Visitors respectively. ¹¹⁰

The second decree resolved "that Dr. Duglison be permitted during his temporary stay at the University to occupy with his family Pavilion No. 7 together with the grounds and building appurtenant, rent free."

HISTORY

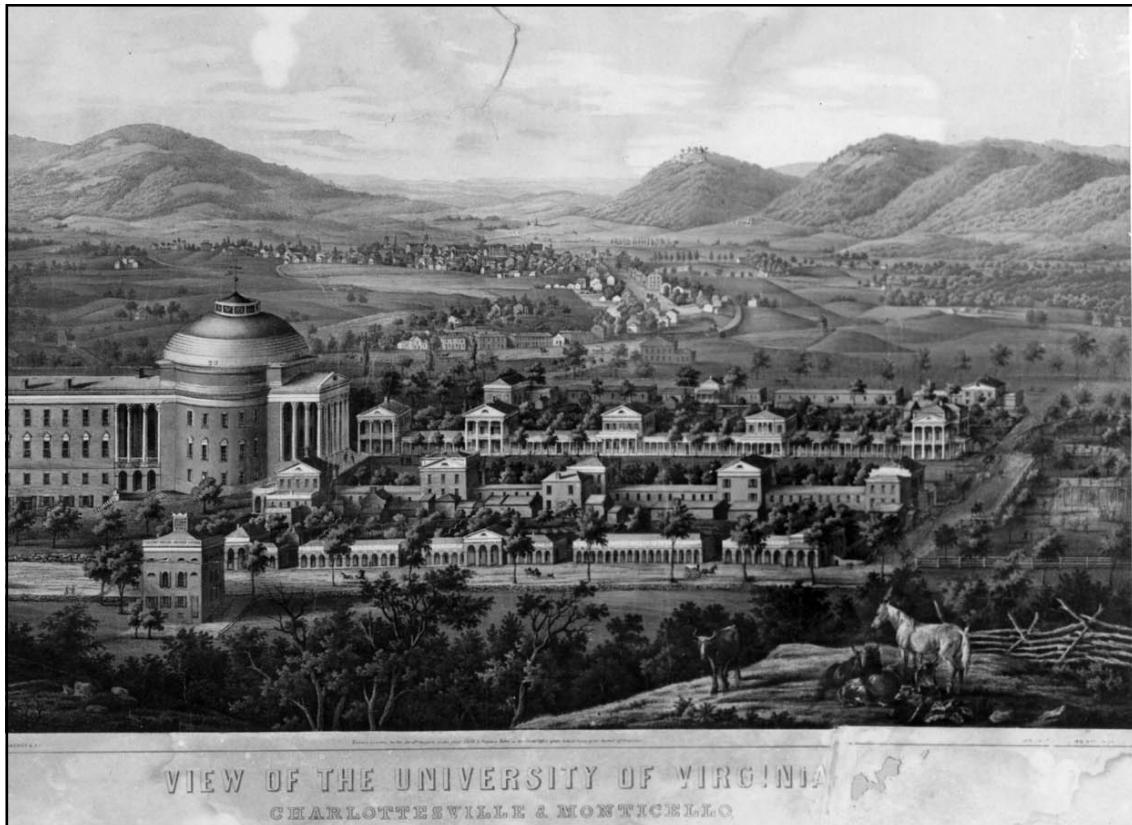


Fig. 12. Edward Sachse, draughtsman. "View of the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, and Monticello Taken from Lewis Mountain." 1856. Published by Casimir Bohn.. Note that the rear addition to Pavilion VII, which was then under construction, is not shown. The two first-floor windows that dated from renovations undertaken in 1831-32 are seen. In addition, the kitchen that was also built during 1831-32 is shown. Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.

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RAINDROPS KEEP FALLING ON MY HEAD

As was mentioned, the problems with Jefferson's innovative roofs had surfaced earlier, but in the 1830s leaks really came to a head, literally, at least to Dr. Emmet's. The Proctor's papers contain a number of letters from inhabitants of various Pavilions complaining of the intolerable conditions. One of the most urgent came from R. M. Patterson, who wrote in 1831: "Last night, we had to place tubs, buckets, pots & pans in every direction and it was even doubtful whether our Children . . . could go to bed without umbrellas." Dr. Emmet wrote a year later. Thanks to the leaky roof of Pavilion I, "every member of my family with the exception of the infant, is at present seriously indisposed by violent cold or fever, taken immediately after the last rain." For his part, Emmet had "felt the drops falling steadily upon my pillow" next to his head.¹¹¹

Records kept by the Proctors reveal that by the first of January 1836, repairs were being completed on the roofs of Pavilions I (Dr. Emmet's, although he had moved by this time), II, III, IV, and X.¹¹² Proctor William Pendleton, who had by now replaced Carr, made the eminently practical suggestion that fenders for the fireplaces in the dormitories could be made of sheet iron taken from the roofs as they were repaired, and this suggestion was approved. Slate for the new roofs was provided from the well known quarries in Buckingham County by Ed. W. Sims of Virginia Mills. According to the records, Sims also provided the services of several roofers.¹¹³ Again, work on Pavilion VII lagged behind the others, and it was not until their August 18, 1837, meeting that the Board "resolved that said Committee [the Committee of Inspection] cause the roof of Pavilion No. 7. to be covered with slate."¹¹⁴

The roofs weren't the only problems with the pavilions. Even though Jefferson had sought to provide additional accommodations in those constructed after Pavilion VII, space was still at a premium, especially for adequate office space for the professors. The usual solution was to connect an adjacent dormitory room to the pavilion by cutting a doorway through the brick wall between them. Among the first suggestions of this option is in a letter R. M. Patterson wrote to Brockenbrough before he arrived in Charlottes-

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ville. Requesting Brockenbrough to furnish room dimensions, locations of doors and windows, etc., so he would "know what furniture it would be proper to take with me," he further inquired "is the floor of the large room on a level with that of the adjoining dormitory, and would it be practicable to open a communication between them?" ¹¹⁵

In their July 1830 meeting, the Visitors authorized Dr. Bonnycastle, who was living in Pavilion VI, "to cause a door of communication to be cut from his pavilion to the dormitory contiguous to it on the south side thereof." The next year the board considered a similar request from Dr. Davis, who had "applied to the Board of Visitors to be permitted, at his own expense, to make a door of communication between his Pavilion and an adjacent Dormitory." Of course Dr. Emmet wanted more space. A later reference to "Pavilion No. 1 & the appurtenant offices" formerly occupied by him indicates that the Visitors had accommodated him along with the rest. ¹¹⁶

Pavilion VII was also accommodated. It, too, was given office space by the simple expedient of cutting through a wall and providing a door leading to an adjacent dormitory room, though it is not known just when it was done, nor for whom. The bookcase now in the front hall is clearly encased within a former door opening to the adjacent dormitory to the north, and, as will be shown, it is known from a later account that at least one of the professors who occupied Pavilion VII kept his office in this room. A resolution in the University's Board of Visitors Minutes, dated June 29, 1849, indicates that the connection had been made by that time:

Resolved, that the Proctor shall erect or provide rooms in lieu of rooms now attached as offices to the pavilion No. 7 under the advisement of the Executive Committee. ¹¹⁷

The previously mentioned floor plan drawn prior to the restoration undertaken in the 1950s shows the connection to the adjacent dormitory room, but notes "door is no longer used" (fig. 11).

Doubtless the Proctor cheered when Dr. Emmet and his family moved from Pavilion I to their own house, Morea, which he constructed on property adjacent to the University. No longer would he be the recipient of Dr. Emmet's numerous complaints. In fact, the Proctor and the Visitors may have had the last word, in that they charged Dr. Emmet for repairs after he moved. As the Visitors recorded in the minutes of their Au-

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gust 1836 meeting, Pavilion I and "the appurtenant offices lately occupied by Doct. Emmet are exposed to dilapidation and decay in their present unoccupied state subjecting the late occupant to burdensome charges for repairs for which he is held responsible." ¹¹⁸ It was also obvious that the Pavilion should not be left vacant, and subject to further "dilapidation and decay." Consequently, the Visitors resolved "that Pavilion No. 1 be in future appropriated in lieu of Pavilion No. 7 to the accommodation of the Visitors, & that Pavilion No. 7 remain for the general uses of the University."

Once again, Pavilion VII was without a use, or at least without any specific use. To what "general uses" it was put during the next several years is unknown, nor is it known just how long it remained in this nebulous position. According to tradition, it was used at least partially as something of a religious center during these years, especially after the Visitors prohibited divine services from continuing in the Rotunda with their 1832 decree: "in future no public assemblages shall be held in the Library except those connected with the public exercises of the University. . ." ¹¹⁹ At least some spaces were still unused as late as 1841, when two students, "Messrs. Lay & Jackson" applied "to be permitted to occupy the vacant rooms in pavilion No. 7 (the old Library)." The Board of Visitors denied their application, declaring that "it is inexpedient to permit the occupancy of said rooms by the students." ¹²⁰ Whether this action prompted the board to reconsider the pavilion and its future use once again is unknown, but in October of that same year, 1841, John Day received \$12.50 for painting the sash and door "in old library" perhaps indicating that they were at least thinking about it. ¹²¹

The next year, the Visitors made a decision regarding the uses of both Pavilions I and VII. Meeting on July 5, 1842, they directed that "Pavilion No. 1 be assigned to the professor of Mathematics & that it be put in order for his reception by the Proctor; and that Pavilion No. 7 or the Old Library be appropriated to the use of the Visitors & prepared for them by the Proctor. ¹²²

As part of that preparation, George W. Spooner was paid \$48.90 for "plank Partitions, Doors, Shelving, etc. in Visitors Pavilion" on July 29, 1842. ¹²³ The Visitors would remain in sole occupancy of their newly refurbished Pavilion for exactly seven years. It was likely during this period of use by the Visitors that John S. Patton remembered "the Board of Visitors convened there for many years. One whose memory goes back much more than a half century recalls the preparations for the visitation, among them bein' 'a

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large decanter with nine glasses and a place for loaf sugar." ¹²⁴

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A PLACE OF RESIDENCE UNTIL FURTHER ACTION

John Staige Davis began his association with the University of Virginia in 1845 when, at age 21, he became Demonstrator of Anatomy. In 1847, the University faculty received a number of letters from Philadelphia, recommending that he be promoted to the University's Chair of Anatomy & Surgery.¹²⁵ His promotion came through in 1849, when he was appointed "Professor of Comparative Anatomy, Physiology & Surgery," a position established by the Board of Visitors at their meeting on June 28 of that year.¹²⁶ At that same meeting the board also decreed that:

The building known as the old Library shall be assigned to him as a place of residence until further action be taken by the Board, with this reservation however that he be required to vacate it a few days before any regular or extraordinary meeting of the Visitors who shall continue to hold the building subject to their orders for their own accommodation.

The next day, the board passed the previously cited resolution regarding additional space to the Pavilion:

Resolved, that the Proctor shall erect or provide rooms in lieu of rooms now attached as offices to the pavilion No. 7 under the advisement of the Executive Committee.¹²⁷

However, it was not until six years later that any action on this resolution was taken. That it was taken at this time was at least in part thanks to an appropriation of \$25,000 that the Virginia General Assembly had approved in March 1854, specifically for "improving" the University's buildings.¹²⁸ At their June 28, 1855, meeting the Visitors:

...Resolved that in consequence of the limited accommodations which the house now occupied by Dr. Davis affords and the discomfort and consequent inconvenience to which his family is subjected: the Proctor is directed to enter into a contract for the construction of 3 rooms in the rear of the House, the cost of which is not to exceed the sum of \$2,000; the contract and Plan for which addi-

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tion shall be approved by the Executive Committee. ¹²⁹

The contract for this work, which turned out to exceed the figure of \$2, 000, was awarded to one P. Martin, who received his first payment of \$913.34 in September 1855. Following that, he received a like amount on October 26, and the final third in April 1856.¹³⁰ In all, Martin received \$2,740.00. A year after his final payment, which would seem to indicate he had completed his job, he apparently hadn't. On June 30, 1857, the Board of Visitors:

Resolved that the Proctor be instructed to take steps at once to enforce a Compliance in all respects with the Contract for the building of the addition to the pavilion, occupied by Professor Davis. ¹³¹

Exactly what the nature of the problem was is not known. In fact, other than the brief reference to him in the 1856 Report of the Rector and the Board of Visitors, nothing seems to be known of P. Martin at all. Whoever he was, and whatever the problem of his compliance with the contract was, he knew his business well. The addition he constructed (and presumably designed, inasmuch as no records indicate that anyone else received payment for any portion of the work) is one of the most accomplished, well built, and architecturally correct of all the numerous additions and alterations made over the years to the pavilions. ¹³² On the exterior, Martin's addition simply imitated the original architecture. Jefferson's full Doric entablature was carried around the sides and rear, and the lunette in the original rear pediment (fig. 12) was reworked or copied on the new, expanded rear facade.

Inside, the addition virtually doubled the amount of space. It provided a larger stair hall in a new location, between the old and new rooms. At the same time, Jefferson's narrow original stair was removed from the entrance hall. Behind the new stair hall were two rooms on each floor, a sitting and dining room on the first, and two bedrooms above. Gas lighting was also installed in the pavilion at this time.

Apparently the Visitors were pleased with the addition, in spite of any differences they may have had with the contractor. That such was the case is inferred from the fact that, at that same June 1857 meeting in which they questioned Martin's compliance with the contract, they "resolved that the Executive Committee be authorized to cause a light-

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ning rod & a Venetian door to be put to the pavilion occupied by Professor Davis."

Dr. Davis and his ever-increasing family occupied Pavilion VII from 1849 until 1872, when Pavilion VIII, across the lawn, became available after the death of its occupant, Dr. Socrates Maupin. Pavilion VIII, one of the largest from the beginning, had also been expanded in the 1850s. It was apparently one of the most desirable of all ten pavilions, and there were a number of candidates who wanted to live in it. The Committee on Grounds and Buildings reported to the Board of Visitors at their June 1872 meeting:

Your committee have inquired into the claim of the applicants for the Pavilion formerly occupied by Dr. Maupin and after careful consideration have become convinced that the large family of Dr. Davis requires increased accommodations, and therefore recommend his application to the favor of the Board. ¹³³

In what can almost be seen as a game of "musical pavilions," the committee then decreed:

We further endorse that the present residence of Dr. Davis be put at the refusal of Prof. Venable and that Prof. Boeck be assigned the house now occupied by Prof. Venable in the event that the latter shall take that of Dr. Davis. If Prof. Venable should prefer to remain where he is we recommend that Prof. Boeck be allowed the house now in occupancy of Dr. Davis.

With only slightly different verbiage, the Board concurred in the committee's recommendations. Dr. Davis moved across the lawn, Dr. Venable elected to "remain where he (was)," and Dr. Boeck, last in the pecking order, moved into Pavilion VII.

Leopold Jules Boeck (1823-1896), a native of Culm, Poland, had been elected professor of "Applied Mathematics and Civil Engineering" at the University of Virginia in 1867. Something of a difficult character, he was given high marks by at least one student who never took a class with him, but who observed that "with his own students he stood in less favor, as they failed to appreciate his ultra frank and familiar manner, his volatile and impetuous disposition." Even so, it is hard not to appreciate his response to John Staige Davis, former occupant of Pavilion VII, who once reprimanded him for not keeping the Sabbath holy, or at least for not regarding it as a day of rest. Boeck retorted:

You know Doctor, the Good Book sanctions helping out of the mud and mire

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on Sunday the ox and the ass, and my classes contain so many of the latter that I am kept busy rendering assistance from morning until night, [and] never can have rest.¹³⁴

Whether his "ultra frank manner" had anything to do with his resignation in 1875 or not, the same student who appreciated him recalled that he departed "under what was believed generally a request from the Board of Visitors."¹³⁵

Although his tenure in Pavilion was a short one, lasting only from 1872 to 1875, Dr. Boeck did request repairs and a small alteration, which was approved at the September 1872 meeting of the Board of Visitors:

Resolved that the sum of one hundred dollars be and is hereby appropriated to the repair of Pavilion No. VII also the sum of seventy five dollars for the purpose of removing the partitions in the rear passages changing the present rear door into a window and the window in the rear of the dining room into an outer door, with steps into the yard.¹³⁶

In 1873, the Visitors selected Dr. Noah Knowles Davis, of Kentucky, to fill the Chair of Moral Philosophy, which had been made vacant by the death of Dr. W. H. McGuffey. Two years later, when Dr. Boeck resigned, the Board resolved "that the Pavilion vacated by the resignation of Prof. Boeck be assigned to Prof. Noah K. Davis."¹³⁷ The tenure of the second professor with the same surname to reside in the pavilion would prove to be the longest of any of its occupants. Dr. Davis and his family lived in Pavilion VII from 1875 until 1906, a period of thirty-one years.

Like his predecessor Dr. Boeck, Dr. Davis was something of a character. He has been described as "not given to laughter, even seldom smiling; dress somewhat indifferent but becoming a scholarly man -- usually in black -- frock coats, derby and silk hats." A tire-some worker, he seldom dropped in on the visitor, and then only for a few moments, usually excusing himself for a return to his office -- room north of his home, fourth pavilion from the Rotunda, West Lawn, the original nucleus and library of the University -- where abundant work always awaited him.¹³⁸ If nothing else, that recollection indicates that the dormitory room to the immediate north was still attached to Pavilion VII and used as an office by the resident professor, in spite of the fact that the 1855-56 addition was supposedly made in part to replace "rooms [then] attached as offices to the pavilion No. 7."

The only significant addition to Pavilion VII made during Noah K. Davis's long

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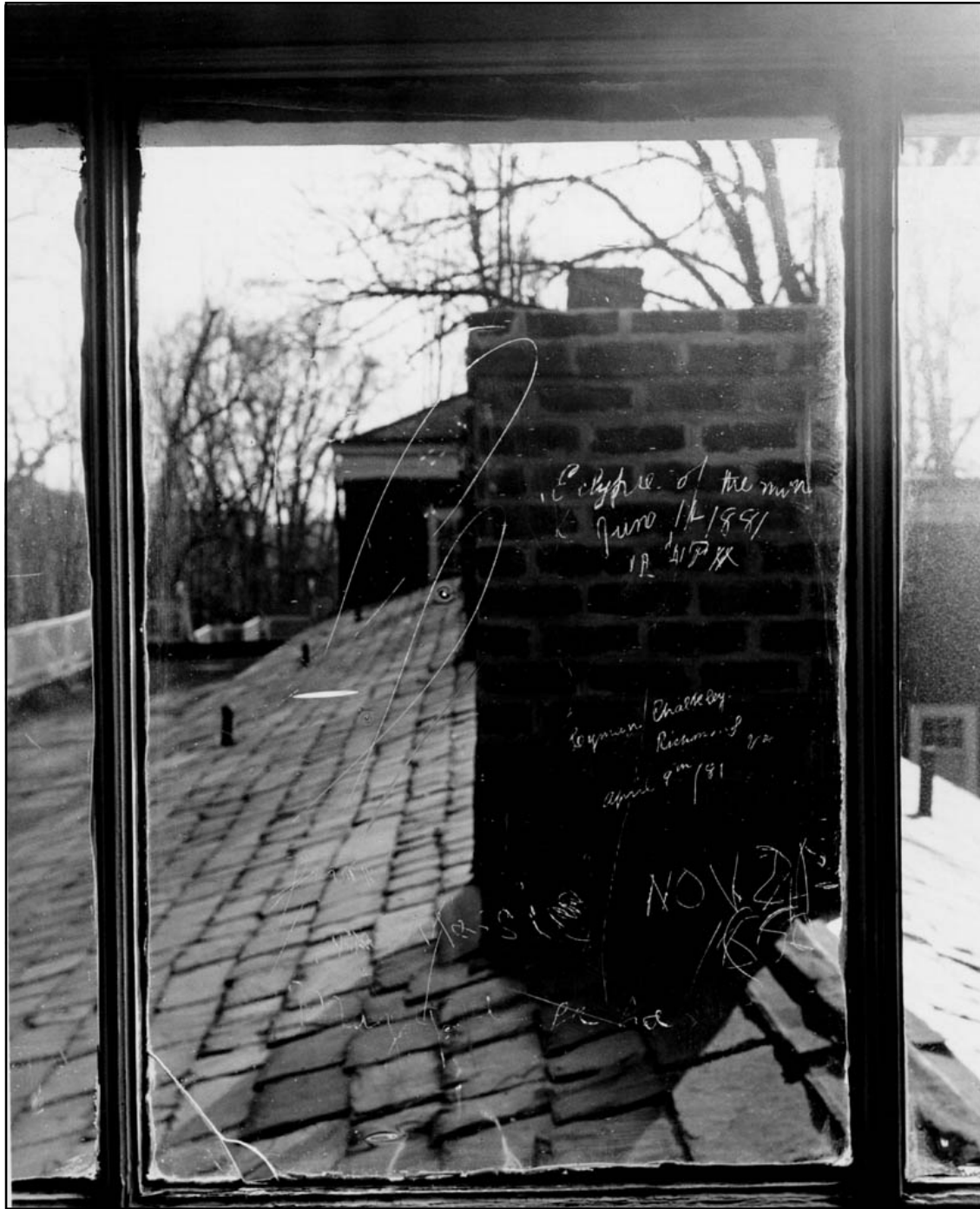


Fig. 13. Still remaining on the glass of a second-floor window at Pavilion VII are these names and dates, inscribed in 1881. Print file, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.

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occupancy was a rear porch, overlooking the garden and kitchen. In June 1881, the committee on finances of the Board of Visitors recommended the expenditure of \$250 for the purpose and in September the Visitors authorized the expenditure of an additional \$30.00 for the porch.¹³⁹ A topographic map of the University made in 1909 seems to show the porch, which was likely a shallow affair extending across the full width of the rear facade, and covered with a shed roof.¹⁴⁰

Other far less significant, but far more charming, "alterations" than the rear porch were made in 1881 while the pavilion was occupied by Dr. Davis. In one of the windows of the larger second floor room of the original portion of the pavilion several names and dates are scratched. One of the notations dates from April 1881, another from June of the same year (fig. 13).

In 1886, the Proctor reported to the Faculty on the condition of the University buildings and recommended work deemed necessary to repair or replace them. Among his observations was that "Prof. N. K. Davis' servant's house needs immediate attention. The old and leaky shingled roof should be removed and replaced with tin, and this cannot be done too soon."¹⁴¹ The servant's house was in all likelihood the former outside kitchen, dating from 1831-32. In spite of the gravity of the problems implied in the Proctor's report, however, the building was apparently not repaired. In the margin of the same page on which the Proctor's remark is inscribed, the simple note "not urgent" is written in a different hand.

During the tenure of Dr. Davis, in 1888, *Century Magazine* published an article on the University, and illustrated it with a drawing titled "In the Colonnade of the University. West Lawn" (fig. 14). Clearly taken just to the south of Pavilion VII, it shows its first floor arcade and indicates that virtually no changes had been made to it over the years.

When Noah K. Davis retired in 1906, Pavilion VII, and presumably the servant's house, were left vacant. Soon the Pavilion would be converted to the use it has served ever since, while the servant's house, if it indeed still remained by that time, would be replaced by an extension that would transform what had been the University's smallest pavilion into its largest.

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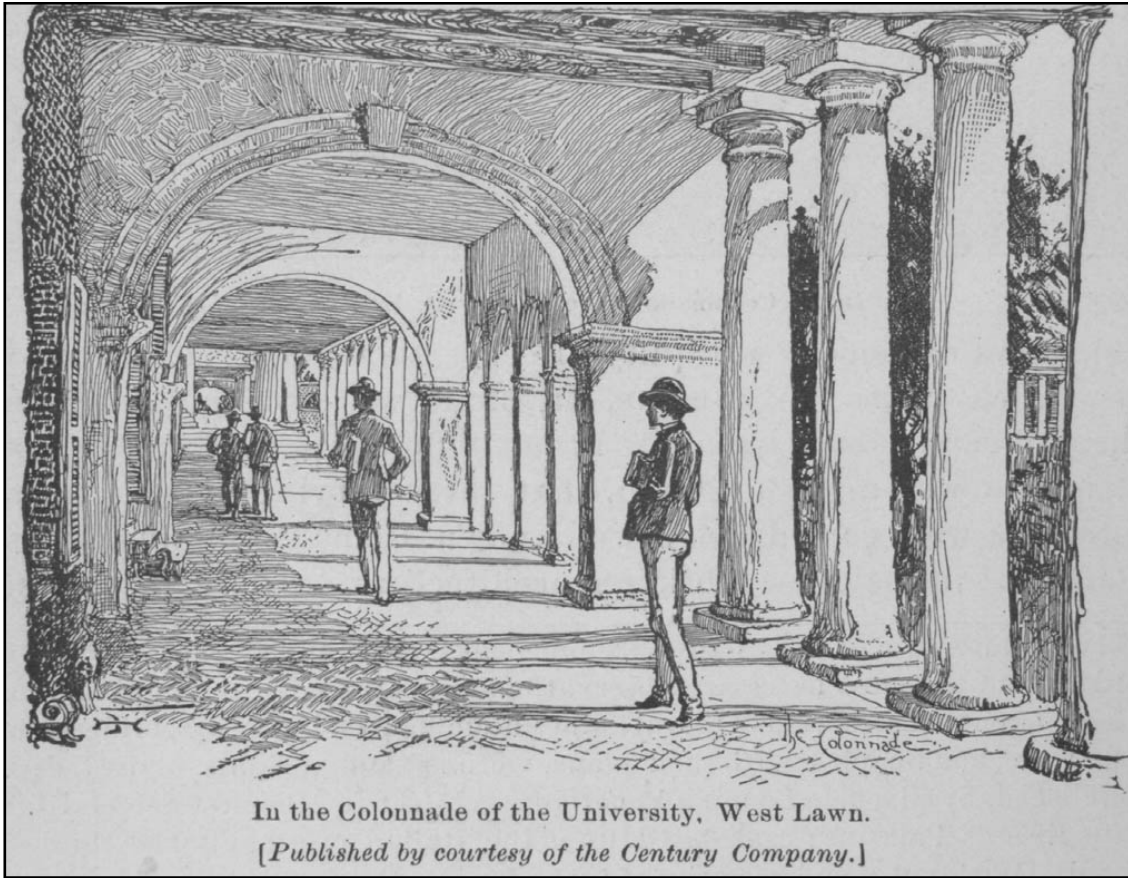


Fig. 14. This drawing of the first floor arcade of pavilion VII appeared in Century Magazine in 1888, and was later published in Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia, by Herbert Adams.

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THE COLONNADE CLUB

Dr. Noah K. Davis's career at the University was long and distinguished. Evidence of the regard in which he was held was attested to by the Carnegie Foundation, which gave him a retirement stipend. For their part the University's Board of Visitors, meeting in July 1906, resolved that:

the sum of four hundred dollars \$400.00 annually be appropriated for the commutation of rent to Professor Noah K. Davis in recognition of his able and faithful service to the University of Virginia, or that he may occupy the house he now resides in; Further, that Professor Davis shall have until Oct. 1st., 1906 to elect. ¹⁴²

Davis chose the former option, that of receiving \$400.00 annually. In March 1907, the Board of Visitors made another resolution, one that would have long-lasting effects on Pavilion VII:

Resolved: that Pavilion No. VII West Lawn, be rented to the Faculty Club of the University, at an annual rental of \$150.00, and that the University put the building in such repair as to make it available for the purposes of the club. ¹⁴³

Actually, the proposal to rent Pavilion VII was almost an instance of putting the cart before the horse, i.e. offering the club a clubhouse before the club was organized. It was not until the next month, on April 23, 1907, that the Faculty Club held its first meeting. Organized "to encourage social intercourse among the members of the faculty and alumni of the University; especially among the members of the faculty," the group decided at its first meeting to incorporate "under the name of the Colonnade Club of the University of Virginia." ¹⁴⁴ While the University assumed the responsibility of making any necessary repairs to Pavilion VII, the faculty authorized its Board of Governors "to spend not more than \$2,000.00 in furnishing the Club rooms." The faculty also authorized the Governors to borrow for that purpose "not more than \$1800" in the name of the club.

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At their second meeting, held in May 1907, the Governors of the Colonnade Club, shame to say, adopted a resolution "begging [the University] for a reduction in rent from \$150 to \$50 a year."¹⁴⁵ Perhaps surprisingly, the University's Board of Visitors went along with the proposal, but they then determined that the club would have to pay "for steam heat & electric lights at a figure not exceeding \$50.00."¹⁴⁶ The net result was an annual saving of \$50.00 by the club.

Over the next several years, a number of repairs were made to Pavilion VII. As recorded in the University's Ledger of Renovation Costs (1906-1910), they deal almost exclusively with things such as electrical work, wiring, installation of lights, sockets, drop lights, chandeliers, etc.¹⁴⁷ Actual payments are recorded in a companion volume titled "Renovation Costs Ledger (1906-1910) Time Book," which also notes items such as deliveries of coal. The only actual construction of any note took place in 1909, when J. Franks was paid \$115.00 "for constructing room on back porch."

During the early years of the twentieth century, the club experienced a healthy growth, both in resident and non-resident membership categories. Early in 1910, the club president announced:

resident membership has increased about 20 per cent, and of Non-Resident members about 300 per cent, the total strength of the Club being now 98 Resident and 597 Non-Resident Members, making 695 in all.

To accommodate some of the non-resident members, he noted that:

Three sleeping rooms have been fitted up during the past few months for the accommodation of visiting Members and Alumni, and are now being used, the indications being that they will be extensively used for this important purpose as soon as the fact becomes generally known among the Alumni.¹⁴⁸

As the president mentioned, the strongest growth was occurring with the non-resident members, or the alumni. In fact, the alumni had been active long before the faculty joined forces with them to organize the Colonnade Club. In 1899 an alumni subscription had raised \$2,230.28 in cash (with pledges the total approximated \$4,000.00) towards building an "Alumni Memorial Hall." Realizing that it was "not probable" at that time that a sufficiently large sum could be obtained to erect a building and that interest in the proposal "has subsided in a great measure," the Proctor recommended that the money

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could be used to add "a handsome second story to the present Alumni Hall. ¹⁴⁹ That proposal had also languished, probably in large part because of the facilities soon to be offered by Pavilion VII. But with a 300 percent growth in the alumni membership only three years after the club was organized, Pavilion VII would soon prove to be too small for its new use, just as it had earlier proved to be too small for its intended purpose as a faculty residence.

Sometime between 1910 to 1913, a new subscription was begun, and in October of the latter year, Rosewell Page, "treasurer of the finance committee of the Alumni Building," reported:

the sum of \$7,005.18 had been subscribed by the alumni for the Alumni Building. The Colonnade Club subscribed the sum of \$4,000, making \$11,005.18 in all, which had been rendered available for this purpose. ¹⁵⁰

Russell Bradford described the purposes a new building, or addition, would serve in an article published in the October 1913 Alumni Bulletin:

Here will be a commodious, attractive and comfortable building, with chambers sufficient ordinarily to accommodate all returning alumni. With the University dining hall nearby, an alumnus can be sure of satisfactory quarters as well as a hearty welcome. ¹⁵¹

Work on the building was commenced in 1913 and soon completed. At first called the "Annex," or the "Alumni Annex," it was designed by the Norfolk, Virginia, firm of Ferguson, Calrow and Taylor, and built for approximately \$12,000. Upon its completion, what had been the smallest of the ten faculty residences designed by Thomas Jefferson, became by far the largest. ¹⁵²

As with the earlier 1850s addition, the annex was a sensitive, skillful design, respecting the original elements, and in many instances imitating them, especially on the exterior. Extending toward the rear, and wider than the side walls of Pavilion VII, the annex was only one story above grade, and completely invisible from the Lawn. Doors opened from the rear to a broad terrace, covered with a pergola supported by sturdy Doric columns, the same order as the Pavilion's facade, facing the Lawn. French doors lead from the drawing room to the terrace, and although they perhaps gave a slight indication that the interior is more Adamesque, or Federal in feeling than the Jeffersonian fea-

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Fig. 15. Colonnade Club. This view shows the pergola-covered terrace behind the Colonnade Club. French doors lead from the drawing room, or reading room. Behind, the 1850s addition to Pavilion VII can be seen. Print file, Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.

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tures of earlier portions of the pavilion, they were topped with fanlights quite sympathetic to the lunette in the pediment above and behind (fig. 15).

Inside, the annex had a partial basement, housing many of the service facilities, while the main first-floor space was a large drawing room, variously called the lounge and/or reading room (fig. 16). As was noted, interior architectural decorations were decidedly more delicate and Adamesque than in the Jefferson structure. In addition to the lounge, the annex contained eight guest bedrooms on the first floor.

The only problem with the new addition was the skylight in the drawing room, which proved unsatisfactory from the start. In 1921 the club secretary reported:

the skylight in the Lounge Room, which was unsatisfactory when the Annex was added to the Club House, six years ago, and has since given much trouble, has been reconstructed with satisfactory results."¹⁵³

Shades of Thomas Jefferson and his own problems with leaky roofs and skylights! The secretary also reported in 1921 that the interior had been painted "during the year," a procedure that was repeated in 1928. Throughout the 1930s, minutes of club meetings record basic repairs, along with a few changes, that were made to the Pavilion and the annex. Items such as a new floor in the game room and the acquisition of a ping-pong table (1934), new furniture in the bedrooms (1936), and "replastering of the downstairs hall and the repainting of several rooms" (1937) are typical entries. In 1938, the front parlor was refurbished and two doors were installed. That same year "a piano, good enough to be inconspicuous in a jazz band, and bad enough to discourage solo performances" was acquired.¹⁵⁴ In 1939, at the end of the decade, it was realized that the 1921 reconstruction of the skylight had not been so satisfactory after all:

the ceiling of the Annex was insulated with 'Rock Wool; the skylight in the reading room was removed; a new roof, including gutters, was put over the Annex; paint and plaster were applied at various points where needed, especially in the reading room and in the guest bath; and new screens were provided for the bed-room windows in the Annex.¹⁵⁵

In 1942, more repair work was undertaken, and rock wool insulation was placed under the roof of the Jeffersonian pavilion.

As early as 1936, club minutes began to reflect a concern over the consistent and

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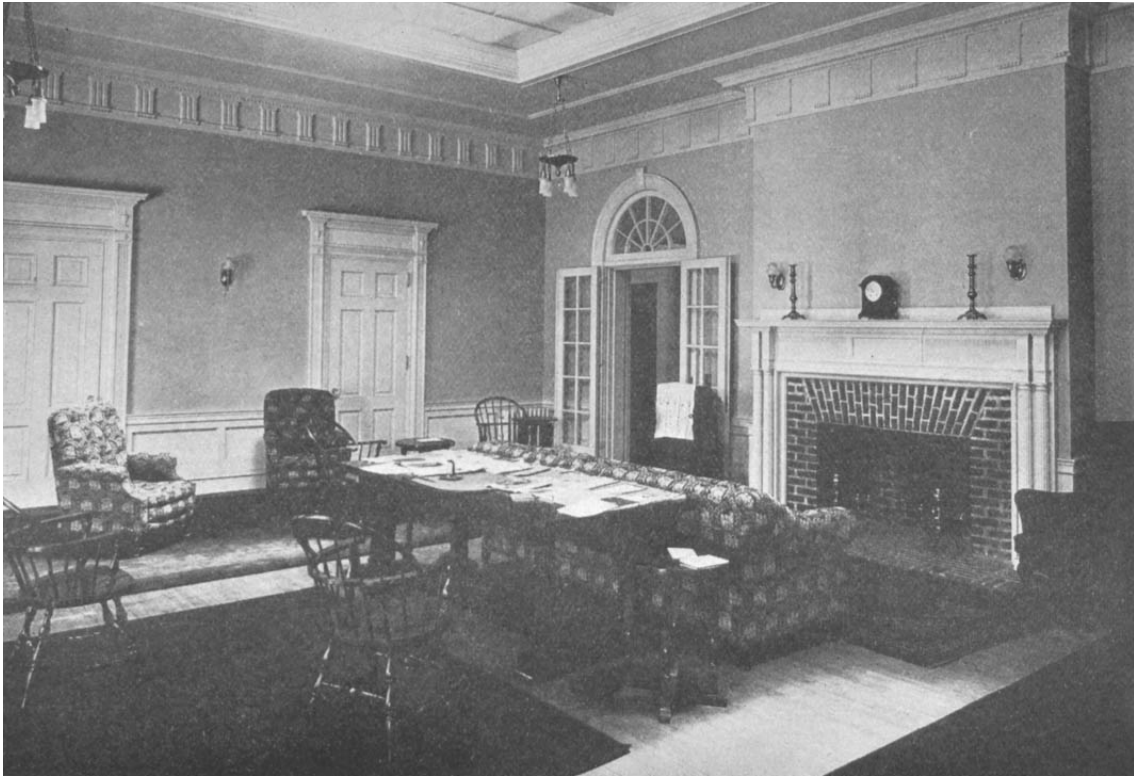


Fig. 16. "Alumni Annex of Colonnade Club, Reading Room." This photograph of the then-new reading room appeared as the frontispiece to the July 1914 issue of the Alumni Bulletin.

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growing loss of non-resident members, along with the realization "that this loss will continue, particularly in view of the excellent Alumni House now available for alumni. This house will also have the effect of decreasing the use of transient rooms in the Club." ¹⁵⁶ In effect, the Colonnade Club now became almost exclusively a faculty club, and membership no longer grew at the rate it had earlier.

Many of the quotations relating to the Colonnade Club in the above narrative have been taken from a bound volume in the University Archives entitled: "Colonnade Club Minutes: 1907-1943." A second volume, titled "Minutes of the Board of Governors of the Colonnade Club: 1924-1958," has not yet been researched. Formerly in the University Archives, this book is said to have been returned to the club. Undoubtedly it will reveal information on work undertaken on Pavilion VII and/or the annex during those years, some of which will likely be repeated from the minutes book dated 1907-1943.

A major restoration of the Jefferson portion of the club was undertaken under the direction of Frederick Doveton Nichols in the late 1950s, and was foretold in the article he and William B. O'Neal authored on Pavilion VII in the 1955-56 issue of *The Magazine of Albemarle County History*, which has been cited previously:

It is possible that the superfluous wall, which divides the original front room, was added at this time [when the Annex was built]. Since it decreases the size of the room, and the detail is very ungrammatical, plans have been made to restore the room to its original appearance. ¹⁵⁷

At the moment, Professor Nichols' papers are unavailable, nor is it known just what records were produced and/or kept relating to this project. Until they become available, knowledge of that history of construction and restoration of Pavilion VII must, unfortunately, remain incomplete. S.A.C

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APPENDIX A

Articles of Agreement made and concluded this twenty third day of June one thousand eight hundred and seventeen between Alexander Garrett as Proctor of the Central College in Albemarle on the one part and John M. Perry on the other part Witness, First, that of a Pavilion or Schoolhouse wing to be built for the said College on one of the lots of land purchased for the sd. College of the said John M Perry, the body of which pavilion is to be built of brick and to contain one room below and two above stairs with cellars & offices below. The said John undertakes and hereby covenants to and with the said Proctor and his successors in office, to do all the Carpenter's and House joiner's work of the said pavilion as shall be prescribed to him, that he will provide all the materials of wood and ironmongery which shall be required, that the materials shall be of sound and durable quality, the Carpenter's work shall be done solidly, neatly and well fitted, and the house joinery in the best manner, and strictly according to such forms and orders of Architecture as the said Proctor or his successors shall prescribe; that all the work necessary to be put up or in as the brick layer proceeds, shall always be ready by the time the brick layer is ready for it, and all the residue to be done by him shall be completed and put up within five months after the brick layer shall have so far and the walls as that they shall be capable of receiving it; and the said John M Perry doth further agree and covenant, that if any part of the Carpenters work or house joinery shall not be done in the most perfect good manner or not strictly according to the forms and orders of Architecture which shall be prescribed to him as aforesaid, the said Proctor or his successors shall have a right to have the same altered or taken down and rebuilt according to the forms prescribed, by any person he shall employ at the expence of the said John, and the parties to these presents further agree, that if any part of the work shall be objected to as insufficient or inconformable to what is herein before stipulated that its sufficiency or non conformity shall be finally decided on by three competent persons one chosen by each party and the two persons chosen are hereby empowered to choose a third equally competent And the said John doth further agree that if the work shall not be done at the respective times stipulated that the said Proctor or his successors shall be free to have it done by such per-

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son as he shall employ at the expence of the said John and be entitled to damages for all wrongful delay to be paid by the said John.

And the said Alexander, covenants in the name of the said College and on its behalf, that for all materials furnished by the said John the reasonable price they shall have cost him, or which they shall be worth if furnished by himself, shall be paid him, and for all Carpenter's work or house-joinery done, he shall be paid the prices which were paid by James Madison late President of the United States to James Dinsmore for similar work done at Montpelier, which payments shall be made to him as follows to wit Five hundred dollars in hand, five hundred dollars more when the roof shall be raised, and the balance when it shall be completed,

In Witness whereof the parties hereto subscribe their names the day & year first within written

In presence of
Wm Wertenbaker

Alex Garrett Proctor to Central College (seal)
John M. Perry (seal)
Approved: TH. Jefferson

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APPENDIX B

“Estimates of Various Expenses” 1831. Box 8. ViU:PP

In this folder are two separate estimates for work to be done on Pavilion 7, each in a separate hand, and on different sheets of paper. Neither is identified as to the contractor, or undertaker. Both are transcribed "as is," with spelling as given. The first one doesn't actually say Pavilion 7, but as the second one proves they are obviously both for the same pavilion.

(FIRST ESTIMATE)

Estimate of cost of repairs and alterations on Pavilion to be occupied by Lieutt. Carr Proctor of the University

Partitioning off too small roomes in large roome on first floor requiring two doores, chair & washboard if the cornice is not required to be carried on partition	\$67.20
one doore cut through partition communicating from passage to front roome	18.00
Plaining off the floores of large roome below & two roomes above stairs	15.00
2 windows to be put in back wall of same roome with 12 lights of 12 x 18 glass each, shutters etc. compleat	56.00
Floore to large cellar room of hart flooring & locust twist	57.80

	\$214.00

Carpenters worke & materials for a Kitchen with two rooms, say 24 x 16 out to out with 2 doors & two windows. Rough floor in loft and two small windows in gables. The stile of worke to be similar to the servants houses attached to Pavilion 5 occupied by Doct. Paterson.

\$100

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(NOTE - The estimate for the Patterson work is also in this same folder, written in the same hand as this, with the same penchant for spelling words such as rooms as roomes).

(SECOND ESTIMATE)

Estimate of the cost of repairs and alterations on Pavilion No. 7 to be occupied by the Proctor of the University.

Partitioning off 2 small rooms in the large room on 1st floor. Requiring 2 doors, chair & wash board	\$67.20
One door cut thro the partition coming from passage to front room	18.00
Plaining off the floors of large room below & large room above stairs	11.00
To windows to be put in large room below with 12 lights of 12 x 18 glass. Shutters compleat	<u>56.00</u>
	\$152.20
Carpenters work & materials for a kitchen with 2 rooms, say 24 x 16, out to out, with 2 doors, & 2 windows. Rough floor in loft, & 2 small windows in ga- bles, finished in the same manner as the servants house attached to Pavilion No. 5, occupied by Dr. Patterson.	100.00
Brick work for Kitchen, estimated at whole cost	<u>78.00</u>
	330.20

(Note - on the reverse of the second estimate is the notation:
Repairs for Pavilion No. 7 1831-32)

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NOTES

The original spelling, capitalization and punctuation of these documents have been retained in quoted excerpts, except that a period has been inserted if one did not appear at the end of a sentence, and the first word of each sentence has been capitalized.

List of Abbreviations

TJ = Thomas Jefferson

ViU = University of Virginia Special Collections

ViU:TJ = University of Virginia Special Collections, Jefferson Papers

ViU:PP = University of Virginia Special Collections, Proctor's Papers

ViU:JHC = University of Virginia Special Collections, John Hartwell Cocke

DLC:TJ = Library of Congress, D.C., Jefferson Papers

Mhi = Massachusetts Historical Society (a microfilmed version of the Jefferson Papers in this collection is available at Special Collections, University of Virginia Library)

Board of Visitor Minutes = pagination refers to bound copies of typescripts of the minutes located in Special Collections at the University of Virginia

- 1 Early references to Pavilion VII often speak of it as Pavilion IV, West, as it is the fourth pavilion from the "head" or "top" of the west side of the two parallel rows that form the Lawn. Jefferson himself labeled it as Pavilion No. IV W. in his drawing (frontispiece). In an attempt to avoid confusion, Pavilion VII will be identified solely as Pavilion VII throughout

- this report.
- 2 TJ to Littleton Waller Tazewell, Jan. 5, 1805, ViU:TJ.
 - 3 TJ to Hugh White, May 6, 1810. DLC:TJ.
 - 4 The specifications for Pavilion VII, ca. August 1814, are in ViU:TJ; see also Sherwood and Lasala, "Education and Architecture: The Evolution of the University of Virginia's Academical Village," in Wilson, Thomas Jefferson's Academical Village, 11-14.
 - 5 TJ to Wilson Cary Nicholas, April 2, 1816. DLC:TJ.
 - 6 TJ to Augustus Watson and Gen. J. H. Cocke, March 10, 1817. DLC:TJ. As it turned out, Mr. Watson was named David, not Augustus. At this time the two men had obviously never met.
 - 7 TJ to Dinsmore, April 13, 1817. ViU:TJ.
 - 8 TJ to Madison, April 13, 1817. DLC:TJ.
 - 9 TJ to John Wayles Eppes, May 1, 1817. DLC:TJ.
 - 10 May 5, 1817 - Meeting of Board of Visitors of Central College. Vol. 1, p. 2. Bound transcripts of the minutes are located in ViU. All pagination hereafter will refer to the bound transcripts rather than the original manuscripts.
 - 11 Ibid.
 - 12 John Adams to TJ, May 26, 1817. DLC:TJ.
 - 13 TJ to John Wood, May 6, 1817. DLC:TJ.
 - 14 TJ to William Thornton, May 9, 1817. ViU:TJ.
 - 15 William Thornton to TJ, May 27, 1817. DLC:TJ.
 - 16 William Thornton to TJ, Jan. 9, 1821. DLC.

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- Thornton's main thrust in this letter was to seek a recommendation from Jefferson for a post he hoped to gain in the Republic of Columbia, in South America. As far as is known Jefferson did not respond to this request.
- 17 See Brownell, Charles E., [et. al.], *The Making of Virginia Architecture*. (Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Charlottesville: Dist. by University Press of Virginia, 1992), p. 248; and Wilson, Richard Guy, ed., *Thomas Jefferson's Academical Village: The Creation of an Architectural Masterpiece* (Charlottesville, 1994), pp. 17, 18.
 - 18 TJ to Latrobe, June 12, 1817. DLC:TJ.
 - 19 TJ to John Perry, June 3, 1817. DLC:TJ.
 - 20 TJ to Dinsmore, June 25, 1817 ViU:TJ.
 - 21 TJ to Latrobe, July 16, 1817 DLC:TJ. A recipe for making oil-stock brick is found in a letter written by John C. Howard of Lynchburg to John Hartwell Cocke, July 27, 1816. ViU:JHC.
 - 22 See Sherwood, Patricia C. and Joseph Michael Lasala, "Education and Architecture," in Richard Guy Wilson, ed., *Thomas Jefferson's Academical Village* (Charlottesville, 1994), p. 18.
 - 23 TJ to Gen. Cocke, July 19, 1817. DLC:TJ.
 - 24 July 28, 1817, Minutes of the Board of Visitors, ViU.
 - 25 Latrobe to TJ, July 24, 1817, DLC:TJ.
 - 26 TJ to Latrobe, Aug. 3, 1817. DLC:TJ.
 - 27 Pierson, Rev. Hamilton Wilcox, *Jefferson at Monticello: The Private Life of Thomas Jefferson* (NY: C. Scribner, 1862), pp. 19-22. At least, one assumes this description is of the actual laying out of the site for Pavilion VII, not the surveying of the site of the entire Lawn, which has been described earlier.
 - 28 TJ to Latrobe, Aug. 7, 1817. DLC:TJ.
 - 29 TJ to Mr. Knight, August 11, 1817. DLC:TJ.
 - 30 Hugh Chisolm to TJ, August 23, 1817. Mhi.
 - 31 TJ to Hugh Chisolm, Aug. 31, 1817. ViU:TJ.
 - 32 Ibid.
 - 33 TJ to Messrs. Garrett & Southall, Sept. 23, 1817. MHi. Jefferson's specific mention of "Laying the plinth of the corner arch" identifies the cornerstone of the University, or at least narrows the identification to one of two stones, depending on which corner plinth was meant.
 - 34 TJ to Samuel Harrison, Oct. 5, 1817. ViU: TJ. Similarly, TJ to David Knight, Oct. 5, 1817. DLC.
 - 35 Pierson, Rev. Hamilton Wilcox. *Jefferson at Monticello: The Private Life of Thomas Jefferson* (NY: C. Scribner, 1862), pp. 19-22. An account of the cornerstone ceremony was published in the *Richmond Enquirer*, Oct. 10, 1817. A brutally full account of the ceremony is in *The Virginia Masonic Herald*, Feb. 1977, pp. 8-14.
 - 36 Oct. 7, 1817, Board of Visitors. ViU.
 - 37 Ibid.
 - 38 David Knight, Agreement for bricklaying, Oct. 11, 1817. Viu: PP.
 - 39 TJ to Cabell, Oct. 24, 1817. DLC.
 - 40 TJ to Dr. Wallace, Oct. 30, 1817. DLC:TJ.
 - 41 Items for October and November. 1817. Proctor's Journal, p. 2. ViU:PP.
 - 42 TJ to Mr. Yancey, Nov. 2, 1817. Mhi.
 - 43 Dec. 13, 1817 (draft advertisement), ViU:TJ.

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- Joseph Antrim, Dec. 17, 1817. ViU:TJ.
- 44 TJ to Joseph C. Cabell, Dec. 19, 1817. ViU:TJ.
- 45 TJ to Cabell, Dec. 18, 1817. DLC:TJ.
- 46 TJ to Martha J. Randolph, Aug. 4, 1818. Published in Bear, James A., Jr., and Edwin Morris Betts, *The Family Letters of Thomas Jefferson* (Columbia. Mo., 1966), p. 423.
- 47 TJ to Dr. Cooper, August 7, 1818. DLC:TJ.
- 48 John Hartwell Cocke, August 26, 1818. Diary. ViU:JHC.
- 49 TJ to John Adams, Jan. 19, 1819. DLC.
- 50 W. C. Nicholas to TJ, Jan. 25, 1819. DLC.
- 51 Feb. 26, 1819, Board of Visitors Minutes. ViU.
- 52 TJ to Cabell, Feb. 19, 1819. DLC.
- 53 James Dinsmore to Thomas Jefferson, Nov. 10, 1818. ViU: TJ.
- 54 David Watson to John Hartwell Cocke, March 8, 1819. ViU:JHC.
- 55 TJ to Brockenbrough, Sept. 1, 1819. DLC:TJ.
- 56 O'Neal, William B., "Michele and Giacomo Raggi at the University of Virginia," *Magazine of Albemarle County History*. 18:18-19.
- 57 TJ to Thomas Appleton, Apr. 4, 1818. DLC:TJ.
- 58 TJ to Arthur Brockenbrough, Aug. 17, 1819. ViU:PP.
- 59 Proctor's Papers, Jan. 1, 1820. Box 1, ViU:PP.
- 60 TJ to Appleton, April 16, 1821. DLC.
- 61 Proctor's Journal # 2, p. 135. ViU:PP.
- 62 TJ to Thomas Cooper, March 3, 1819. ViU:TJ.
- 63 Proctor's Journal #2 (1819-1828), p. 162. ViU:PP.
- 64 Oct. 4, 1819, Board of Visitors. ViU.
- 65 TJ to Gov. Preston, Dec. 1, 1819. DLC:TJ.
- 66 TJ to Cooper, March 8, 1820. ViU:TJ.
- 67 TJ to Gen. Cocke, April 9, 1821. DLC:TJ.
- 68 April 2, 1821, Board of Visitors. ViU.
- 69 TJ to Thomas Mann Randolph, Jr., April 9, 1819. DLC:TJ.
- 70 TJ to Joseph C. Cabell, Dec. 28, 1822. DLC.
- 71 TJ to Visitors, circular letter, Sept. 30, 1821. DLC.
- 72 Building Accounts for the Original University Buildings, Oct. 8, 1821, Box 17. ViU:PP.
- 73 TJ to Brockenbrough, Feb. 8, 1822. DLC.
- 74 W.J. Coffee to TJ, Sept. 8, 1820. DLC:TJ.
- 75 "Contract, Proctor with W. J. Coffee," March 18, 1822, Box 3. ViU:PP.
- 76 Board of Visitors Minutes, Oct. 7, 1822. ViU:TJ.
- 77 Daniel Piper, Account for laying pipes, Oct. 8, 1822. ViU:PP.
- 78 Proctor's Journal #2, p. 151. ViU:PP.
- 79 Proctor's Journal #2, p. 160. The figures given for individual items do not total the figure of \$4,000.02 as shown here. ViU:PP.
- 80 Proctor's Journal #2, p. 159. ViU:PP.
- 81 Alexander Garrett to J. H. Cocke, Feb. 18, 1823. ViU:JHC.

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- 82 TJ to Visitors, March 12, 1823. Circular. LS. 1 p. Endorsed. Printed Cabell 278-279.
- 83 Proctor's Journal #2, p. 257 and 327. ViU:PP.
- 84 Ibid, 352.
- 85 "Pavilion VII," from *Cavalier Daily*.
- 86 Board of Visitors Minutes, Bound Volume I, pp. 85-87, March 4, 1825. ViU.
- 87 TJ to Joseph Coolidge, April 12, 1825. MhiColl I, 343-345.
- 88 TJ to A.S. Brockenbrough, Apr. 28, 1825. ViU:PP.
- 89 A. S. Brockenbrough to TJ, June 6, 1825. ViU:PP.
- 90 Bernard Peyton to A. S. Brockenbrough, June 14, 1825. ViU:PP.
- 91 TJ to A. S. Brockenbrough, Jan. 3, 1826. ViU:PP.
- 92 TJ to J. C. Cabell, Feb. 4, 1826. ViU:Cabell Papers.
- 93 Ibid.
- 94 See Cometti, Elizabeth, ed., *Jefferson's Ideas on a University Library* (Charlottesville, 1950), p. 6, 12.
- 95 Culbreth, David, *The University of Virginia* (New York), p. 452.
- 96 Culbreth, op. cit., p. 452.
- 97 Robert Carter Berkeley, *Diary*, 1826. Virginia Historical Society.
- 98 Edgar Allan Poe to John Allan. Sept. 21, 1826. ViU.
- 99 J. P. Emmet to A. S. B., Sept. 20, 1827, Box 7, Proctor's Papers, ViU:PP. Information on Dr. Emmet's "companions" is from Mendel, Mesick, Cohen, Waite, Hall, Pavilion I, University of Virginia, Historic Structure Report (1988), p. 53.
- 100 A. J. Brockenbrough to Emmet, Sept. 23, 1827. (On the reverse of the letter cited in previous footnote).
- 101 J. Madison to A. S. Brockenbrough, June 21, 1828. [In answer to a letter no longer extant]. ViU: MSS 2737, 3730.
- 102 Lomax (Chairman) to A. S. B., Oct. 23, 1827, Box 6, ViU:PP.
- 103 Board of Visitors Minutes, July 1830. P. 244. ViU.
- 104 "Estimates of Various Expenses" Box 8, ViU:PP The two estimates are herein transcribed as *Appendix B*.
- 105 "1832 - Jan.-Sept., Bills and Accounts," Box 20, ViU:PP. Memo of contract between J. A. Carr, Proctor, & A. S. Brockenbro(sic). Also, Brockenbrough to Carr, August 21, 1831, Box 8, ViU:PP.
- 106 Faculty Minutes, July 17, 1832. ViU.
- 107 Board of Visitors Minutes, July 18, 1832. pp. 295, 296.
- 108 Nov. 17, 1832. Bill and Receipt of Charles M. Brand. Box 8, ViU:PP.
- 109 March, April, May, 1833. University of Virginia, in account with Thomas Fadley.
- 110 Board of Visitors Minutes, Sept. 3, 1833. P. 313.
- 111 R. M. Patterson to Brockenbrough, Feb. 1, 1831, Box 8, ViU:PP. Emmet to Carr, May 5, 1832, Box 8, ViU:PP.

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- 112 Jan. 1, 1836, Box 11, ViU:PP.
- 113 "1836-1838," Box 11 ViU:PP.
- 114 Board of Visitors Minutes, August 18, 1837, p 388.
- 115 R. M. Patterson to A. S. B. August 6, 1828, Box 6, ViU:PP.
- 116 Board of Visitors Minutes, August 12, 1836, p. 374
- 117 Board of Visitors Minutes, June 29, 1849, p. 547.
- 118 Board of Visitors Minutes, August 12, 1836, p. 374
- 119 Board of Visitors Minutes, July 17, 1832. pp. 86-7.
- 120 Board of Visitors Minutes, July 1841, p. 438.
- 121 October 1841, Box 14. ViU:PP.
- 122 Board of Visitors Minutes, July 5, 1842, p. 451
- 123 July 29, 1842, Box 15, ViU:PP.
- 124 Patton, John S. *Jefferson, Cabell and the University of Virginia*. (New York, 1906): 291.
- 125 "1847," Box 15, ViU:PP.
- 126 "Annual Report of the Board of Visitors: 1884-85" p. 9. Box 20, ViU:PP. This account recorded the death of Dr. Davis in 1885, at the age of 61. In 1856, he had been promoted to the Chair of Anatomy, Materia Medica and Botany, the position he held until his death. See also: Board of Visitors Minutes, June 28, 1849. pp. 538, 539.
- 127 Board of Visitors Minutes, June 29, 1849. p. 547.
- 128 Cited in O'Neal, William Bainter and Frederick Doveton Nichols, "An Architectural History of the First University Pavilion," in *Magazine of Albemarle County History* (Vol. XV, 1955-56), n. 24. As of 1996, the report cited (July 1, 1856, p. 46) is no longer in the University archives.
- 129 Board of Visitors Minutes, June 28, 1855. p. 660.
- 130 O'Neal, William Bainter and Frederick Doveton Nichols, "An Architectural History...". O'Neal and Nichols cite the published Report of the Rector and the Board of Visitors for the year 1856 in crediting P. Martin for the work, and for the sums paid him. This volume, alone of an otherwise complete run of these annually published reports for this period, is (as of 1996) missing from the University archives.
- 131 Board of Visitors Minutes, June 30, 1857. p. 737.
- 132 Perhaps the following should be categorized as idle speculation, but the timing of this addition is suspiciously close to the time that Robert Mills, then living in Richmond, designed the Rotunda Annex, which was built in 1851-52. Could someone of his caliber also have been responsible for the accomplished addition to Pavilion VII? Mills died in 1855, so if he had anything at all to do with the work, it may well have been his last commission.
- 133 Board of Visitors Minutes, June 1872. p. 966.
- 134 Culbreth, David, *The University of Virginia: Memories of Her Student Life and Professors* (New York, 1908), pp. 442-444.
- 135 Ibid.
- 136 Board of Visitors Minutes, Sept. 1872. pp. 988, 989.
- 137 Board of Visitors Minutes, Sept. 15, 1875. p. 1086.

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- 138 Culbreth, p. 437.
- 139 Board of Visitors Minutes, June 30, 1881. p. 1259. Also Board of Visitors Minutes, Sept. 1881. p. 1278.
- 140 The map is reproduced in "Pavilion V Historic Structures Report," Mesick, Cohen, Waite (1994): 39.
- 141 "1851-n.d." "Proctor's Report to Faculty, May 31, 1886." Box 16. ViU:PP.
- 142 Board of Visitors Minutes, July 1906. p. 104.
- 143 Board of Visitors Minutes, March 1907. p. 211.
- 144 Bradford, Russell, "The Colonnade Club," in *Alumni Bulletin*, (October 1913): 671-675.
- 145 Board of Visitors Minutes, May 20, 1907, p. 238.
- 146 Board of Visitors Minutes, June 1908, p. 361.
- 147 Buildings and Grounds - Ledger of Renovation Costs (1906-1910), p. 312 - Colonnade Club. This is item #73 in the 1906 Report of Archivist.
- 148 Colonnade Club Minutes, 1907-1943, Jan. 15, 1910, pp. 15, 16. University Archives, Ivy Stacks, University of Virginia.
- 149 "Proctor's Report to the Rector and Board of Visitors, October 10, 1899," Box 21, ViU:PP.
- 150 *Alumni Bulletin*, (October 1913): 623.
- 151 Bradford, R. "The Colonnade Club," *Alumni Bulletin*, (October 1913):671-675.
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