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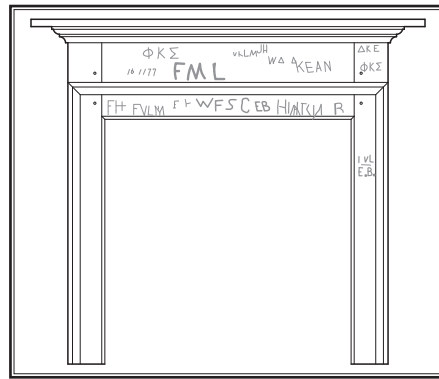
DORMITORIES



HISTORIC STRUCTURE REPORT

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UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA



HISTORIC STRUCTURE REPORT

MCWB ARCHITECTS

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INTRODUCTION

The history of the earliest architecture at the University of Virginia is very well known, in large part because Thomas Jefferson wrote extensively about how he intended to develop a new system of American education, beginning when he was governor of Virginia during the Revolution. He developed a curriculum that emphasized empirical disciplines, including the sciences, law, and modern languages, to better equip citizens of the new United States with the knowledge and habits of mind necessary for self-governance.¹ He sought especially to develop a strong secular alternative to the ecclesiastical foundations of the first American colleges.

By 1805, he had conceived clearly of his ideal university in terms of its physical characteristics: a campus arranged in a quadrangle of alternating faculty pavilions and dormitories, all connected by covered walkways.² Whenever he explained the thinking behind the planning of Grounds he would recite his rationale for it: that it was economical, indefinitely expandable, and conducive to community. As he adjusted this scheme over the next twelve years, changing the arrangement of principal buildings and the size of the main quadrangle, one essential quality remained: the relationship of rows of student rooms to faculty housing in a beguiling form he came to describe as an “Academical Village.”

Previous accounts of the university’s early architecture have focused on its principal buildings: the Rotunda and the pavilions. These histories have mostly considered the student rooms tangentially, acknowledging them as an important part of the Jeffersonian scheme but focusing on the more stylish and impressive structures, with their clearly articulated classical pedigree.³

1. Herbert Baxter Adams, *Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia* (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1888); Paul Brandon Barringer and James Mercer Garnett, eds., *University of Virginia: Its History, Influence, Equipment and Characteristics, with Biographical Sketches and Portraits of Founders, Benefactors, Officers and Alumni* (New York: Lewis Publishing Co., 1904); Philip Alexander Bruce, *History of the University of Virginia, 1819-1919: The Lengthened Shadow of One Man* (New York: Macmillan, 1920); John A. Ragosta, Peter S. Onuf, and Andrew J. O’Shaughnessy, eds., *The Founding of Thomas Jefferson’s University* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2019); Alan Taylor, *Thomas Jefferson’s Education* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2019); Maurie D. McInnis and Louis P. Nelson, eds., *Educated in Tyranny: Slavery at Thomas Jefferson’s University* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2019).

2. Thomas Jefferson to Littleton W. Tazewell, January 5, 1805, Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-45-02-0316>.

3. William B. O’Neal, *Jefferson’s Buildings at the University of Virginia: The Rotunda* (Charlottesville: University

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The story of the pavilions' original conception, their design, and their construction has been thoroughly documented in monographs, museum exhibitions, and, most exhaustively, a series of technical reports commissioned by the Office of the Architect for the University. Though the first detailed history of the Rotunda appeared in 1960, the university's systematic research program on its historic buildings began in 1988, with the completion of a Historic Structure Report on Pavilion I.⁴ These have been joined by landscape and archaeology reports to comprise a significant library of scholarship on the University of Virginia's original building program.⁵ With its focus on the dormitories, this volume enlarges that library substantially, adding 109 new rooms to the story of the university's historic core.

Because of its subject, this is a different kind of document from previous architectural studies. Although Thomas Jefferson is still a central character, he recedes in importance behind the large construction crew of masons, carpenters, plasterers, and their many laborers, both enslaved and free. At the same time, this study reorients questions of design from classical orders to more prosaic considerations like the size of rooms and the nature of roofs. It is distinctive, too, because of its timing. Since 1988, nine of the ten pavilions and three of the six hotels have received detailed directed study. Coming near the end of this effort, this account has the advantage of drawing upon this previous work, which has worn a clear path through relevant archives. It follows, too, the outpouring of scholarship in recent years on the occasion of the university's bicentennial, which has re-invigorated the study of its origins, including its design, construction, and uncertain first years.

It is helped further by the recent development of robust on-line research databases. The National Archives' "Founders Online" site, for example, includes the bulk of Thomas Jefferson's correspondence about the development and construction of the University of Virginia.⁶ At the university itself, several important and innovative digital projects have made this research substantially less burdensome. Frank Grizzard's 1998 digital dissertation on the construction of

of Virginia Press, 1960); William B. O'Neal, *Jefferson's Fine Arts Library: His Selections for the University of Virginia, Together With His Own Architectural Books* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1976); Richard Guy Wilson, *Thomas Jefferson's Academical Village: The Creation of an Architectural Masterpiece*, Revised Edition (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009); Richard Guy Wilson and Sara A. Butler, *University of Virginia Campus Guide*, 2nd Edition (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2012).

4. O'Neal, *Jefferson's Buildings at the University of Virginia: The Rotunda*; John G. Waite, John I. Mesick, and Diana S. Waite, "University of Virginia Pavilion I," *Historic Structures Report* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia, 1988).

5. See, for example, Patricia O'Donnell et al., "University of Virginia Academical Village Cultural Landscape Report," *Cultural Landscapes Report* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia, December 2013); there are very many archaeological reports but a recent one, useful for the present study, is Benjamin P. Ford, "Archaeological Investigations Associated with the East Range Stormwater Project, University of Virginia," *Archaeological Report* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia, October 2020).

6. "Founders Online: Home" (University of Virginia Press), accessed March 27, 2023, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents//lib/home/home.xml>.

INTRODUCTION

university buildings is an essential resource.⁷ More recently, “Jefferson’s University...the Early Life,” known as the JUEL project, supported by the university’s Institute for Advanced Technology in the Humanities, has digitized an enormous quantity of documents pertaining to the construction and use of the original dormitories, including Board of Visitors records, faculty minutes, and student diaries.⁸ Though there is still much work that must be done in-person with original paper documents, this report is enriched by the worldwide access that digital resources like these provide.

Finally, this report on student rooms comes, appropriately, in the wake of a student movement to urge the University of Virginia to tell a more inclusive version of its early history, to include the laborers, largely enslaved, who put up the buildings, maintained them, and provided for students’ comfort in the years before emancipation. JUEL itself is an artifact of this interest, but the official response was the formation of the President’s Commission on Slavery and the University in April of 2013.⁹ The Commission’s charge was wide-ranging and intended to consider all aspects of the university’s investment in chattel slavery and its legacy. Notably, its first task was to “Investigate the interpretation of historically significant buildings/sites related to slavery at UVA.”¹⁰ Among these are the cellars beneath dormitory rooms, some of which were used as housing for laborers during construction, and some of which became quarters for enslaved domestic workers in faculty households.¹¹ The present report outlines what can be known about these functions and which spaces were used in this way. Additionally, through its description of dormitory construction, it also adds to the story of the workforce, much of it in bondage, that created the university’s first buildings.

In short, this report comes at a time when it helps to fulfill a new purpose, making a fuller account of the early history of the university. Much has changed since the first HSR on UVA appeared in 1988. What has not is the role of documents like this one in ensuring that the careful stewardship of the university’s cultural resources is informed by thorough research.

7. Frank E. Grizzard, “Documentary History of the Construction of the Buildings at the University of Virginia, 1817-1828” (PhD dissertation, Charlottesville, VA, University of Virginia, 1996), [http://xtf.lib.virginia.edu/xtf/view?docId=grizzard/uvaGenText/tei/grizzard.xml;brand=default](http://xtf.lib.virginia.edu/xtf/view?docId=grizzard/uvaGenText/tei/grizzard.xml;brand=default;);

8. “Jefferson’s University ... the Early Life,” accessed March 27, 2023, <http://juel.iath.virginia.edu/home>.

9. “President’s Commission on Slavery and the University,” President’s Commission on Slavery and the University, accessed March 27, 2023, <https://slavery.virginia.edu/>; Marcus Martin, Kirt Von Daacke, and Meghan S. Faulkner, “President’s Commission on Slavery and the University” (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia, 2018).

10. “President’s Commission on Slavery and the University.”

11. Benjamin P. Ford, Mark R. Wenger, and M. Jeffrey Baker, “University of Virginia East Lawn 22 Basement Room Study,” Historic Structures Report (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia, 2021). This was the first sustained examination of one of the cellar rooms, undertaken specifically to address its use as a slave quarter.

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HISTORY

Design (1814-1819)

Planning

In 1805, long before he drew his first plan of an ideal university, Thomas Jefferson described it to Littleton Tazewell in terms that will sound familiar to any visitor to Charlottesville: “[A] plain small house for the school & lodging of each professor is best. these connected by covered ways...in fact an University should not be an house but a village. this will much lessen their first expences.”¹² Later memorably expressed as an “Academical Village,” this arrangement of two-story houses connected by rows of one-story rooms opening onto a colonnade was his most durable and distinctive idea for a college campus.

He prepared his first drawing of this idea in 1814 for Albemarle Academy, precursor to the University of Virginia. It arranged nine identical pavilions around a quadrangle nearly 800 feet across, connected by 100 student rooms in blocks of ten each (figure 1). A contemporary elevation of a typical pavilion shows it as a gable-fronted mass with a lunette in the tympanum (figure 2). Flanked by student rooms behind a colonnade, it is a similar design to what he eventually developed for UVA. Three years later, the Virginia legislature chartered a replacement for the Albemarle Academy, to be called Central College, with a board of trustees (called Visitors) including Jefferson, John Hartwell Cocke, James Monroe, and James Madison. By this time, Jefferson’s ambitions for the pavilions had grown to give them greater prominence as exemplars of the architectural orders, “to serve as specimens for the Architectural lectures.”¹³ But despite their grand classical fronts and full entablatures, they remained relatively small, to the consternation of future faculty members and their families.¹⁴

In May and June of 1817, Jefferson sought input on his designs from two trusted advisors: William Thornton, first architect of the United States Capitol; and Benjamin Henry Latrobe, his successor. Both responded quickly and enthusiastically. Thornton sent handsome drawings of two prospective pavilions with an order above a low arcade, the latter matching the height

12. Jefferson to Tazewell, January 5, 1805.

13. Thomas Jefferson to William Thornton, May 9, 1817, Founders Online, National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-11-02-0284>; Wilson, *Thomas Jefferson’s Academical Village*, 14.

14. They were small only by comparison to the more spacious accommodations enjoyed by the faculty Jefferson sought to recruit to Charlottesville. Relative to the one- and two-room houses of most Virginians of the period, they were quite large. See, among others, Dell Upton, “Vernacular Domestic Architecture in Eighteenth-Century Virginia,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 17, no. 2/3 (Summer - Autumn 1982): 95–119.

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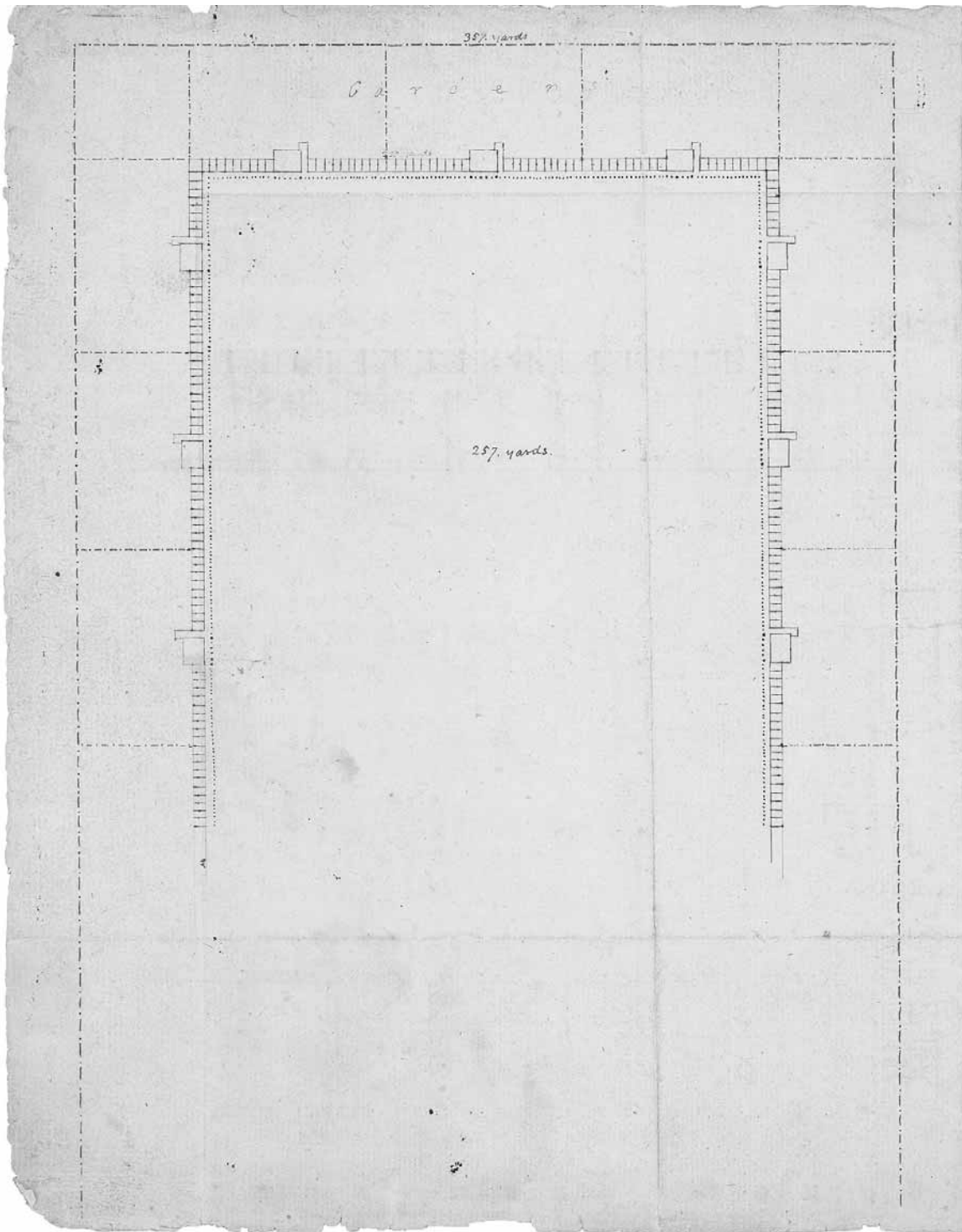


Figure 1. Thomas Jefferson. Site plan of Central College, August, 1814, N-309 verso, Thomas Jefferson Papers, University of Virginia.

HISTORY: DESIGN (1814-1819)

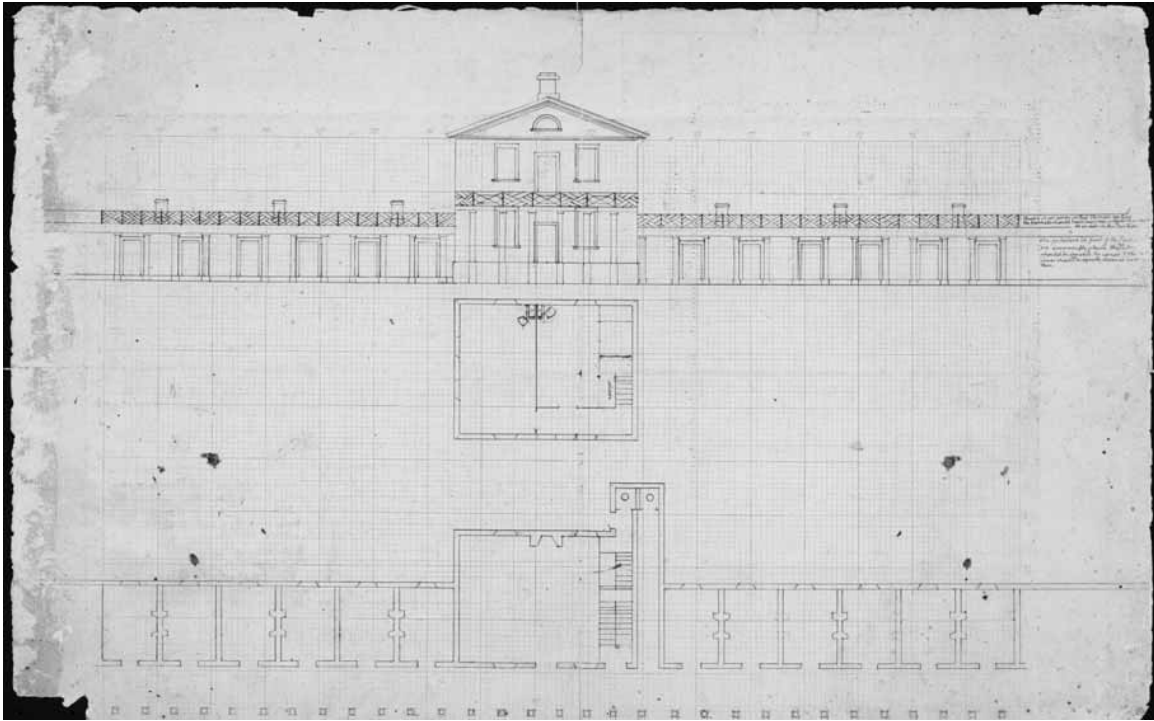


Figure 2. Thomas Jefferson. *Elevation and Plan of Pavilion and Dormitories*, August, 1814, N-309, *Thomas Jefferson Papers*, University of Virginia..

of the dormitory rows. He suggested some alterations to Jefferson's site plan, including locating pavilions at the corners and giving the composition a prominent focus at the head of the quad—in his mind, this would be a more elaborated pavilion.¹⁵ Latrobe was so captivated by the idea that he prepared several sheets of drawings, too many to be sent through the mail. Jefferson did not have time to wait for them, however, as the bricks for the first pavilion were already being burned and the site being staked out.¹⁶

That site demanded adjustments to the plan he had sent to Thornton and Latrobe. The hilly parcel above Charlottesville did not have a plateau as large as the one that Jefferson had laid out on paper. It required the central quad to be much narrower, just 200 feet across, and divided into three roughly square terraces flanked by five pavilions on each side. A plan from July of 1817 shows this arrangement and reveals that Jefferson agreed with Thornton's advice of placing a single, prominent building at the head of the composition, though this was not to be a pavilion. What would become the location of the Rotunda was, for now, simply noted as "some principal building."¹⁷ Thornton's influence is also apparent in the design of the first

15. William Thornton to Thomas Jefferson, May 27, 1817, Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Library of Congress.

16. Benjamin Henry Latrobe to Thomas Jefferson (University of Virginia Press, July 24, 1817).

17. Thomas Jefferson, "University of Virginia Notebook" (Charlottesville, VA, June 18, 1819), Special Collections, University of Virginia Library; Wilson, *Thomas Jefferson's Academical Village*, 18.

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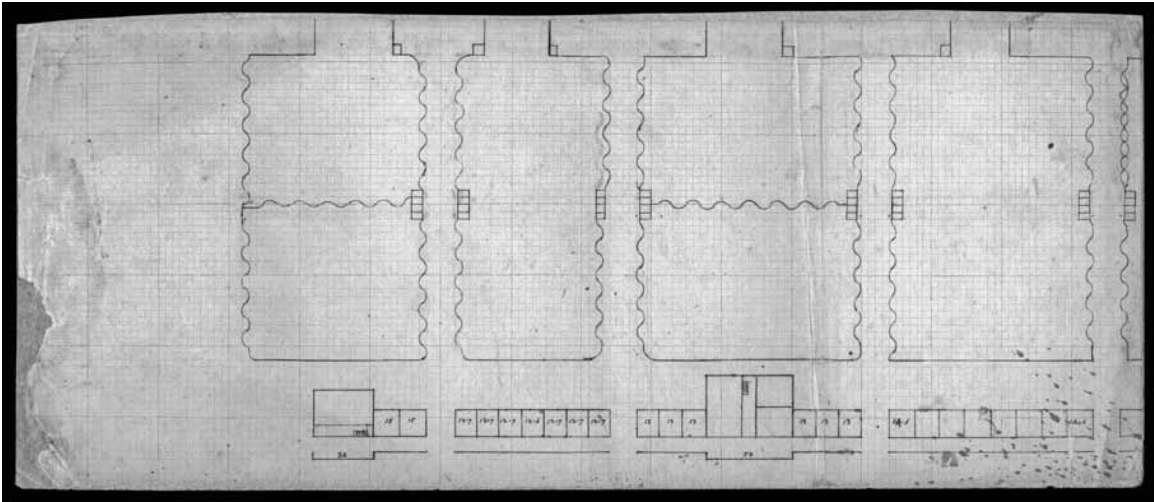


Figure 3. N-369, Thomas Jefferson study for West Range of University of Virginia, executed July 8, 1819, as final of three options studied for ranges. See Wilson, ed., 32.

building to be constructed, Pavilion VII, whose arcaded lower story below a Doric temple front is based closely on one of the drawings he sent to Jefferson. But in the end, Latrobe's designs were more consequential for the appearance of the Lawn. It was he who suggested a large, domed academic building for the head of the quadrangle and who recommended abandoning Thornton's arcades for colossal order porticoes for most of the pavilions.¹⁸ After completing Pavilion VII on the Thornton model, Jefferson and the visitors did both.

While he was refining the designs and beginning construction on Central College, Jefferson was also lobbying the Virginia legislature to make it the new site of a state-sponsored university. In this, he was at last successful in January of 1819, when Central College officially became the University of Virginia.¹⁹ Around this time, he turned his attention to how to enlarge the plan to accommodate a larger student body. Rather than extend the lawn longitudinally, as originally intended, he chose to develop two new parallel ranks of dormitories behind the Lawn rooms—the rows that would soon be referred to as the East and West Ranges.²⁰ Instead of pavilions, these dormitories would connect large dining halls, referred to as hotels. The hotels were to be decently finished but would lack the impressive architecture of the pavilions. The Range dorm rooms were to be identical, however, to their Lawn counterparts, except that their covered ways would be fronted by arcades, rather than colonnades.

Initially, he sited the Ranges close to the pavilions, on the other side of a street behind their rear service yards. In this arrangement, the arcades faced inward, toward the Lawn. But at the

18. Wilson, *Thomas Jefferson's Academical Village*, 17–22.

19. Joseph C. Cabell, *Early History of the University of Virginia: As Contained in the Letters of Thomas Jefferson and Joseph C. Cabell, Hitherto Unpublished*, ed. Nathaniel Francis Cabell (Richmond, VA: J.W. Randolph, 1856), 432.

20. Wilson, *Thomas Jefferson's Academical Village*, 26–27.

HISTORY: DESIGN (1814-1819)

suggestion of Visitor Joseph Cabell, he relocated the Ranges further from the Lawn, permitting much larger service yards behind both the pavilions and the hotels and introducing cross streets to link the Ranges with the Lawn. With the Rotunda now included and the serpentine walls dividing the gardens, all the elements of the original core of the University of Virginia were conceived of by July of 1819 (figure 3).²¹

This arrangement of dormitories as long rows of single rooms between larger buildings was, while not invented out of whole cloth, an innovative way to unite the housing for faculty and students into a coherent whole. Upon learning of Jefferson's plans, Benjamin Henry Latrobe pronounced this arrangement "entirely novel," a vast improvement, to his mind, on the barracks-style housing that other North American colleges employed.²² The principal building at the College of William & Mary in Williamsburg, where all the functions of a college came under a single roof, embodied all the ills that Jefferson sought to avoid (figure 4). A student at the college from 1760 to 1762, he knew this structure intimately.²³ There, as at some of its predecessors at Oxford and Cambridge, classrooms, chapel, dining hall, kitchen, reception rooms, dormitories, and even faculty housing were all accommodated in one large building.²⁴ Other early universities segregated rooms for students in large purpose-built structures that



Figure 4. Wren Building, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia, 1695-1697; burned 1705, rebuilt 1709-1716.

21. The position of some elements, such as the serpentine walls, were not yet finalized. Wilson, 27–33.

22. Benjamin Henry Latrobe to Thomas Jefferson, June 17, 1817.

23. Mark R. Wenger, "Thomas Jefferson, the College of William and Mary, and the University of Virginia," *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 103, no. 3 (1995): 339–74.

24. Marcus Whiffen, *The Public Buildings of Williamsburg, Colonial Capital of Virginia: An Architectural History*

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Figure 5. Connecticut Hall, 1750-1753, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut.

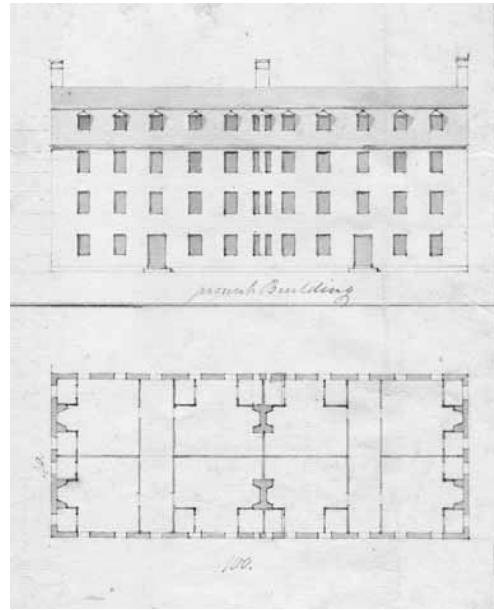


Figure 6. John Trumbull, detail of designs for new buildings at Yale College and existing plan of Connecticut Hall, New Haven, Connecticut, 1793. Courtesy of Architectural Drawings and Maps of Yale University Buildings and Grounds (RU 1). Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

split housing from other collegiate functions. Yale's Connecticut Hall (following a plan based closely on that at Harvard's Massachusetts Hall), adopted this arrangement in 1750 (figures 5 and 6). At 40 by 100 feet, it placed eight rooms on each of four floors around a pair of lateral passages, providing accommodations for 64 students under a single roof. This simple layout was an economical solution to student housing that was repeated with minor variations at Yale, Hampden-Sydney, and elsewhere, for decades (figure 7).²⁵

In the early nineteenth century, several planners developed more formally ambitious schemes for American universities. These ranged from simple quadrangles at the University of South Carolina and the University of North Carolina; to ornamental malls at Harvard; to the more regimented layouts for Union College and a proposed national university in Washington,

(Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg, 1958), 97–103.

25. The barracks form could be free-standing, as it was initially at Connecticut Hall, or arranged in rows. Some adopters of this common type of housing used it to create grand courts, or malls, as at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. There, planners created a broad yard by building Old West, in 1823, opposite the Old East, built thirty years earlier. Both large multi-story masonry buildings were dormitories, laid out on a similar plan to Connecticut Hall, with lateral corridors providing access to student rooms arranged in pairs. Paul Venable Turner, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1987), 38–52.

HISTORY: DESIGN (1814-1819)



Figure 7. *Cushing Hall, 366 East Crawley Drive, Hampden-Sydney College, Farmville, Virginia, 1822, built by Reuben Perry, brother of John Perry.*



Figure 8. *Salisbury Cathedral cloister, Salisbury, Wiltshire, England, completed 1270.*

D.C..²⁶ Jefferson's arrangement was, like these, carefully conceptualized but differed from them in the one-story arrangement of dormitories, joined by sheltered walkways. This feature, while rarely adopted at colleges, had been used by cenobitic European monasteries since the Middle Ages, in which ranks of buildings and rooms are arranged around a cloister—the covered way of Jefferson's imagination—which protects the movement of people in poor weather (figure 8). Jefferson, who used "Monkish" as a term of op-

probrium, would have disavowed any relationship of the colonnade to a cloister as redolent of the clerical collegiate culture that he rejected. In her essay on Jefferson's plans for UVA, Mary Woods notes the covered way's monastic lineage but also observes a more direct precedent

26. Turner, 53–75.

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in plans for European hospitals and schools, themselves based upon classical models.²⁷ Paul Turner notes the Lawn's resemblance to Palace Green in Williamsburg.²⁸ Whatever its ultimate source, it was the arrangement of dormitories that distinguished the Jeffersonian plan from contemporary colleges and that Latrobe celebrated as "entirely novel."

Classical Order

Jefferson was consistently dismissive of the architecture of the new United States. He thought the young country's store of cultural capital was insufficient for it to be a forceful negotiating partner with the powers of Europe so he argued that its infant public institutions should invest in architectural projects that would earn it esteem. He hoped that the fine buildings at the Virginia capitol and the University of Virginia would further this effort by improving the national taste, a taste that was degraded, in his mind, by his Piedmont neighbors' preference for inexpensive, impermanent houses.²⁹ As he grumbled in his *Notes on the State of Virginia*, "It is impossible to devise things more ugly, uncomfortable, and happily more perishable."³⁰ Although he initially saw the pavilions of the university as literate but relatively modest performances, he eventually came to see fine architecture as a way to recruit students and faculty of the highest order. "Have we been laboring merely to get up another Hampden Sydney?" "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?"³¹ Still further, by 1817, Jefferson saw the college buildings not only as the shells in which education took place; they were to be part of that education: "specimens for the Architectural lectures."³²

The ways in which Jefferson wanted the campus to teach about architecture in a narrow sense have been well delineated.³³ The pavilions were all to be exemplary, with ancient pedigrees: the Doric of the Baths of Diocletian was the model for Pavilion I; Palladio's Corinthian order for Pavilion III; the Pantheon for the Rotunda. No detail, as those workmen who had participated in the construction of Monticello and Poplar Forest knew, was too small to be anguished over. His collaborators recognized how important the school was to him and reported any flaw that

27. Mary N. Woods, "Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia: Planning the Academic Village," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 44, no. 3 (1985): 266–83; Louis S. Greenbaum, "Thomas Jefferson, the Paris Hospitals, and the University of Virginia," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 26, no. 4 (1993): 607–26.

28. Turner, *Campus*, 80–81.

29. Thomas Jefferson to Edmund Randolph, September 20, 1785.

30. Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (London: Printed for John Stockdale, 1787), 253.

31. Thomas Jefferson to Joseph C. Cabell, December 28, 1822.

32. Jefferson to Thornton, May 9, 1817.

33. Thomas Jefferson to Wilson Cary Nicholas, April 2, 1816, Founders Online, National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-09-02-0429>; Woods, "Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia," 268; Wilson, *Thomas Jefferson's Academical Village*.

HISTORY: DESIGN (1814-1819)

they thought he might find objectionable. Knowing his tendencies, his tradespeople likewise called attention to trouble spots with respect to proportions, details, and fidelity to published models. James Oldham had been one of Jefferson's finish carpenters at Monticello and when he came to the University of Virginia, knew how fully his patron relied on books. He quickly identified a problem in the entablature of Pavilion I: "this kinde of finish it appears to me will have an aucword affect, but if the ceiling is recest and the architrave of the cornice is returnd on the inside of the Portico it will make a meteriall change in the appearance of the columns, and will come something neare the rule lade down by Palladio for finishing of Porticoes."³⁴

But if his workmen deferred to his exacting standards, his fellow members of the Board of Visitors doubted whether they were compatible with sound fiscal management or even good sense. David Watson confided to John Hartwell Cocke that he thought Jefferson's insistence on elaborate architecture put the entire enterprise at risk. "Mr. J is sacrafcing every thing to Attic & Corinthian order & chastity; about which I know nothing, & care almost as little."³⁵ Visitor Joseph Cabell, a key ally in the Virginia General Assembly, worried especially about the political consequences of both the cost and the perception that the new school was too lavish, both of which "give grounds of reproach to our enemies & draw our friends into difficulties with their constituents...It is now the fashion to electioneer by crying down the University."³⁶ Some resisted, especially, his preference for flat roofs on the dormitories, worrying that their stylish appearance came at too high a price. His doubters on the Board of Visitors thought that the one-story arrangement of rooms exposed students to the risk of theft, especially in warm seasons when windows would be open, while the flat roofs were likely to overheat their interiors.³⁷

Cocke himself, builder of the remarkable house called Bremo, in Fluvanna County, thought he should be dissuaded from flat roofs on the grounds of durability.³⁸ Jefferson's friend and architect, William Thornton, observed that simpler shed roofs could give the dormitories the horizontal profile Jefferson sought without the maintenance challenges.³⁹ An agitated exchange among the other visitors in the spring of 1819 contemplated changing the plans for the buildings off of the Lawn even as construction was underway. Cocke, Watson, and Joseph Cabell conspired to persuade Jefferson to abandon his planned arrangement of hotels and one-story dormitories for more conventional multi-story buildings on the rear ranges. "General Breckenridge & myself will both write to Mr. Jefferson, & shall suggest...the objections to dormitories

34. James Oldham to Thomas Jefferson, June 21, 1819, Founders Online, National Archives.

35. David Watson to John Hartwell Cocke, March 8, 1819, Cocke Family Papers, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library.

36. Joseph C. Cabell to Thomas Jefferson (University of Virginia Press, February 25, 1821), <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-16-02-0541>; Taylor, *Thomas Jefferson's Education*, 210.

37. Joseph C. Cabell to John Hartwell Cocke, April 15, 1819.

38. John Hartwell Cocke to Thomas Jefferson, May 3, 1819, Founders Online, National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-14-02-0250>.

39. Thornton to Jefferson, May 27, 1817.

DORMITORIES

to the Hotels & flat roofs. We should move in concert or we shall perplex & disgust the old Sachem.”⁴⁰ They established their case for the alternate plan using his terms of convenience and economy, taking the trouble to draw up plans of three-story dormitories (these have not been located) and to estimate the costs of building them:

This plan gives sixteen rooms for Students besides those design'd for the keeper of the Hotel & the large public room. The Students rooms will be about 12 f' by 14. f' 6 in—a fire place in each.... It is presumed that these rooms will be much more private from being in upper stories, than the Dormitories opening as they do into the public walk, & that they will be more cool and comfortable in Summer—The comparative cost of the two plans will be seen by calculating the expence of the Single building at 239700 bricks and the Dormitory plan to afford the same number of Rooms at 389100—⁴¹

Though he was surely irritated, if not perplexed, at his younger colleagues' questioning his judgment, Jefferson changed the construction schedule to consider their proposal, asking the proctor to postpone starting the West Range and to shift workers to the East Lawn.⁴² But he was unmoved. His vision was clear enough and, he argued, already sanctioned by the Visitors with no change in circumstances warranting reconsideration:

the separation of the students in different and unconnected rooms, by two's and two's, seems a fundamental of the plan. it was adopted by the first visitors of the Central college, stated by them in their original report to the Governor as their patron, and by him laid before the legislature; it was approved and reported by the Commissioners of Rockfish gap to the legislature; of their opinion indeed we have no other evidence than their acting on it without directing a change.⁴³

Minutes from subsequent meetings of the Board of Visitors record no further discussion of the alternate dormitory plan. With this letter, Jefferson considered the matter closed and the plans for the Ranges proceeded as originally intended, with one-story hotels with one-story rows of dormitories between them.

40. Cabell to Cocke, April 15, 1819.

41. Cocke to Jefferson, May 3, 1819.

42. Thomas Jefferson to Arthur Spicer Brockenbrough, May 17, 1819, Founders Online, National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-14-02-0294>.

43. Thomas Jefferson to James Breckinridge, Chapman Johnson, and Robert Taylor, July 8, 1819, Founders Online, National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-14-02-0489>.

HISTORY: DESIGN (1814-1819)

1819 Operations at V for the College

July 18 -

a the place at which the theodolite was fixed being the center of the Northern square, and the point destined for some principal building in the level of the square l. m n. o.

the fall from a. to d. 18. f.

* from a. to d. the bearing magnetically S. 21. W. add for variation $\frac{2}{3}$ S. 23. $\frac{2}{3}$

the true meridian was that day $\frac{2}{3}$ to left of magnetic.

b. is the center of the middle square, and at g. we propose to erect our first pavilion.

c. is the center of the Southern square.

locust stakes were driven at l. a. f. / g. b. h. / j. c. k. at d. is a pile of stones.

each square is to be level within itself, with a pavilion at each end to wit at e. f. g. h. i. k. and 10 dormitories on each side of each pavilion filling up the sides of the square.

from a. to b. was measured 255 f. or 85. yds. b. c. the same, & c. d. the half.

from the points a. b. c. was measured 100. f. each way to e. f. g. h. i. k. making thus each square 255 f. by 200. f. = .0521 of an acre or nearly $\frac{17}{20}$

from central line of Library		from central line of Library		from central line of Library	
To Pavilion No. I	68 whole. 68.	To Hotel A.	68 whole 68		
Pavilion	46	Hotel A.	50	118	
Dormitory 1	13-6	Dormitory	15	133	
2	13-6		15	148	
3	13-6		15	163	
4	13-6		15	178	
Pavilion No. II	37		15	193	
Dormitory A 5	13-9		15	208	
6	13-9		15	223	
Passage 7	13-9	Necessaries	12	238	
Dormitory 8	6-10 $\frac{1}{2}$	Dormitory	15	253	
9	13-9		15	268	
10	13-9		15	283	
Pavilion No. III	44		15	298	
Dormitory 11	13-9		15	313	
12	14		15	328	
13	14		15	343	
14	14		15	358	
15	14		15	373	
16	14		15	388	
17	14		15	403	
Pavilion No. IV	34		15	418	
Dormitory B 18	11		15	433	
19	11		15	448	
20	11		15	463	
21	11		15	478	
22	11		15	493	
23	11		15	508	
24	11		15	523	
25	11		15	538	
26	11		15	553	

* Dec. 7. 19. Took the bearing accurately of the range of pavilions, I found it magnetically S. 21. W. the variation of the needle being that day $\frac{2}{3}$ to the true N. or to the right. It is probable that at the operation of 18. by 18. the meridian of 15. minutes was made directly in 2. 17. 18. 19.

Figure 9. Jefferson notebook on UVA construction, 1819.

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Room Size and Colonnades

True to his rationalized approach to design, Jefferson laid out the dormitory rooms carefully. But as the project proceeded, he adjusted his calculations, modifying the design of the rooms and of the colonnades along the Lawn in short order as construction began. His manuscript notebook of specifications for the University of Virginia, begun in July of 1819 as the work on Pavilion VII and the flanking student rooms was nearly complete, reveals how he adjusted his approach to the dormitories consequentially.⁴⁴

In his early descriptions of his prospective academical village, Jefferson proposed placing ten rooms on either side of each pavilion.⁴⁵ With the site finally selected and the ground surveyed, he allowed 255 feet between the centers of each pavilion on the series of three flat roughly square parterres, to include 100 feet of student rooms on either side of the pavilions: “each square is to be level within itself, with a pavilion at each end...and 10 dormitories on each side of each pavilion filling up the sides of the squares.”⁴⁶ (figure 9) In numerous descriptions of the plans for the rooms in 1817, Jefferson repeated that each pavilion would be flanked by 20 rooms.⁴⁷ As laid out in Charlottesville, this would have yielded rooms of just nine feet between the walls, after deducting for the thickness of partitions. Jefferson seems to have forgotten, in these calculations, the arrangement he had originally worked out in 1814, which set room sizes at 10 feet by 14 feet in the clear.⁴⁸

As John Perry and Matthew Brown began to erect the dormitories flanking Pavilion VII and to proportion the Tuscan order colonnade that would front the covered way, Jefferson adjusted the width of each room twice. Although his notebook of specifications is dated July of 1819, these changes must have occurred before the walls were up, months earlier—Nelson Barksdale reported that the masonry was complete on rooms 23 to 51 West Lawn by October of 1818.⁴⁹ Maintaining the roughly 100 feet width of the dormitory block to the south of Pavilion VII, as this structure got underway in the spring of 1818, the number of intended rooms was reduced from ten to nine, placing each partition on eleven-foot centers, following his 1814 figures, and

44. Jefferson, “University of Virginia Notebook.”

45. The Board of Visitors formally endorsed this arrangement at their meeting on May 5, 1817. University of Virginia Board of Visitors, “Minute Book” (Minutes, Charlottesville, VA, 1817 1828), May 5, 1817, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library.

46. Jefferson, “University of Virginia Notebook.”

47. Anonymous [Thomas Jefferson] to *The Richmond Enquirer* (August 29, 1817), Founders Online, National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-11-02-0544>.

48. Thomas Jefferson, “Estimate and Plans for Albemarle Academy/College” (November 18, 1814), Founders Online, National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-08-02-0074>.

49. Nelson Barksdale, “Enclosure: Nelson Barksdale’s Inventory of Central College Property Conveyed to the University of Virginia, 29 March 1819” (Charlottesville, VA, March 29, 1819), Founders Online, National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-15-02-0072-0002>.

HISTORY: DESIGN (1814-1819)

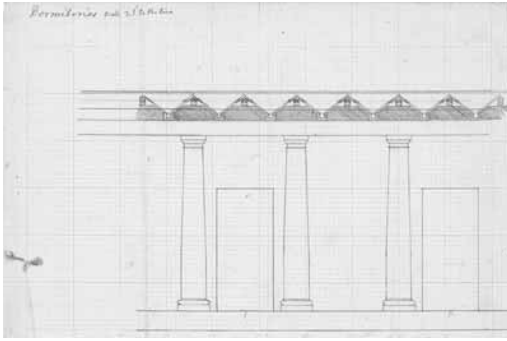


Figure 10. Thomas Jefferson, *University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: Study for Section of Dormitory and Colonnade*, July, 1817, N-367. *Jefferson Papers. Special Collections, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA.*

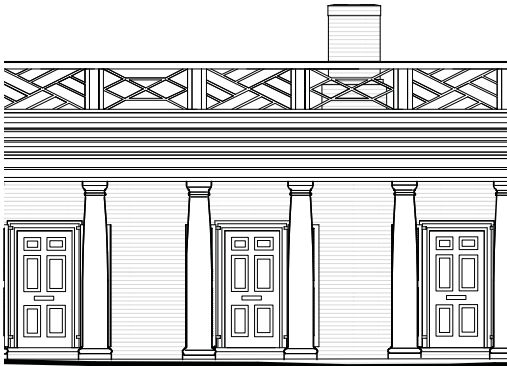


Figure 11. *Front elevation of 39-43 West Lawn.*

making the rooms roughly ten feet, eight inches wide each. Arranging ten rooms in 100 feet, after deducting the party walls, would have made them less than ten feet wide each—still less after deducting about two feet for a fireplace and closets. Shared by two adolescents, this would have tested the tolerance of young southern gentlemen, most of them accustomed to much greater domestic comforts at home. The first set of calculations in Jefferson’s notebook reflect this adjustment, with nine 11-foot rooms.

He planned the relationship of height to column width to room width carefully: “The centers of the intercolns must answer to the centers of the doors + of the partition walls.”⁵⁰ This requirement placed the columns at five feet, six inches on centers, with the center-line between each pair of columns falling on either a door opening or a partition between the rooms (figures 10 and 11). Given a projected column diameter of 16 inches, this spacing was within two inches of Palladio’s recommended 1:3 spacing for the Tuscan order of four feet between the shafts or five feet, four inches on centers.⁵¹

The page of Lawn dormitory calculations reveals another change made after construction was underway. The manuscript page headed “Dormitories to No. VII” notes column materials, spacing, and dimensions but in each case, “column” is written above a crossed-out “pilaster.” The first time it appears, this is written as “square pilaster,” indicating that Jefferson initially intended for the Lawn to be flanked by rows of square, plain brick piers rather than round columns, similar to those used at the service wing at Monticello (figure 12). This is the term he had used on his first drawing of dormitory rooms and covered ways in 1814, where the uprights are called pilasters, not columns, and are square in the plan view. When he first wrote

50. Jefferson, “University of Virginia Notebook.”

51. Andrea Palladio, *Four Books of Architecture*, ed. Giacomo Leoni, trans. Nicholas DuBois (London: John Watts for the Author, 1715). Jefferson owned three editions of this popular English translation of Palladio’s *Four Books of Architecture*. See O’Neal, *Jefferson’s Fine Arts Library*; and Richard Guy Wilson, “Thomas Jefferson’s ‘Bibliomanie’ and Architecture,” in *American Architects and Their Books to 1848*, ed. Kenneth Hafertepe and James F. O’Gorman (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2001), 59–72.

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Figure 12. Monticello, Albemarle County, Virginia, begun 1768, enlarged and improved 1796-1809. View of mansion from service wing, showing square brick piers and Tuscan entablature. This composition of elements is what Jefferson initially envisioned for the colonnade fronting the Lawn dormitories.

to William Thornton in May of 1817, his letter was explicit on this point: “the colonnade will be of square brick pilasters (at first) with a Tuscan entablature.”⁵² The qualification “at first” raises the possibility that he saw this as an expedient or short-term solution to the problem of supporting the covered way. That change must have been made as soon as the dormitories got underway because there are no square piers on the Lawn except for those that support the arcade fronting Pavilion VII.

The second row of dormitories, the rooms to the north of Pavilion VII, occasioned a further change in favor of student comfort over strict regularity. As on the south side, the siting of the next pavilion to the north permitted a 100-foot row of student rooms. Here, however, rather than build another set of nine 11’ rooms, Jefferson had Perry put up six 14’ wide rooms. The seventh in this row, room 21 West Lawn, would only be added later, as part of the contract for 9 to 19 West Lawn. This still-broader dimension fit two students more comfortably and became the new standard for most of the remainder of rooms on the Lawn and Ranges (though sometimes, elsewhere on Grounds, the spacing is as narrow as 13’6” and 53-55 West Lawn are just 12’ wide). The Visitors acknowledged the smaller size of the original nine rooms in 1824,

52. Jefferson to Thornton, May 9, 1817.

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Dormitory 21 to No. 17, VII

The Covered way in front of the whole range of buildings is to be Tuscan, with ~~columns~~ ^{columns} of brick ^{rough cut}. Their diam. 16. I. but in front of the Pavilions to be arches, in order to support the Columns of the Portico above more solidly.

Tuscan. a zocle of 12. I. under the whole colonnade to raise it's floor above the ground, & to project beyond the base 10' = 2.67

shaft. base	8. I.	1' = .266
just	.96.	1 1/2 = .399
capitel	8. = 112 = 9-4	2 = .533
architrave	. . . 9.333	2 1/2 = .666
frieze	. . . 6.933	3 = .799
cornice	. . . 11.599	3 1/2 = .933
		4 = 1.066
		5 = 1.333
		5 1/2 = 1.466
		7 1/2 = 1.999
		8 1/2 = 2.266
		9 = 2.399
		10 = 2.666
		12 1/2 = 3.333
		17 1/2 = 4.666
		22 1/2 = 5.999
		24 = 6.399
		26 = 6.933
		27 = 7.199
		27 1/2 = 7.266
		30 = 8.000
		32 = 8.533
		35 = 9.333
		43 1/2 = 11.599
		45 = 12.
		52 1/2 = 13.933
		54 1/2 = 14.466
		60 = 16.
		66 = 17.599

projection of cornice 4 3/4 = 11.599

each Dormitory being 11. f. from center to center of it's partition walls, there will be 2. inter-colonnations of 4. f. 2. I. each to every Dormitory. To wit. 2. intercolns . . . 8-4

2. pilaster columns. 2-8

11-

the centers of the intercolns must answer to the centers of the doors & of the partition walls.

The cover of the Dormitories & colonnade to be gable rooflets of 2-9 span, the joints being 4 1/2 from center to center, declining from front to back so that the gutter joint shall discharge all the water on the backside of the building.

These rooflets with their joints & horses floor joists occupy the thickness of the entablature, 2-4

The ~~columns~~ ^{columns} being of brick ~~work~~, their bases are 30 = 8.9

the ~~columns~~ ^{columns} high, and project 10' = 2.67 I.

the ~~columns~~ ^{columns} diminishes to 45' = 12 I.

the capitel (of ~~stone~~ brick) 30' = 8.9. high, project 10' = 2.67

~~which should be broken into 2. f. each.~~

The floors of the dormitories to be 1. f. above that of the arcade colonnade

the floor of the lecturing room . . . 2. f. above that of the colonnade.

Figure 13. Jefferson notebook on UVA construction, 1819, with page of dormitory calculations, including "square pilasters" crossed out at top of page.

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when they set rates for their annual rental: the 14' rooms cost \$16 per year but those in the original block, at 11' wide, were rented at just \$12 per year.⁵³ In subsequent years, these rooms have sometimes been dubbed “bachelor’s row,” as their small size recommended them for single occupancy.

This new, wider rhythm of door openings would not allow for Palladian 1:3 column spacing unless the roofs and ceilings were raised. Maintaining the same intercolumniation would have put columns in front of doors awkwardly and disrupted the organic visual relationship between the colonnade and the rooms behind. Evidently, Jefferson was more willing to change the spacing than to land columns in front of doors and raising the roofs was out of the question. The relationship between pairs of columns framing each door was preserved by increasing the distance between them from 5'6" on centers to 7'0" on centers—as before, half of each room width, but now with greater than a 1:4 ratio of column diameter to the space between them. If this further adjustment was a disappointment to Jefferson, he surely took comfort in the knowledge that Palladio sanctioned wider intercolumniations with the Tuscan order alone: “the ancients never allow’d more to these spaces than three times the diameter of the column,

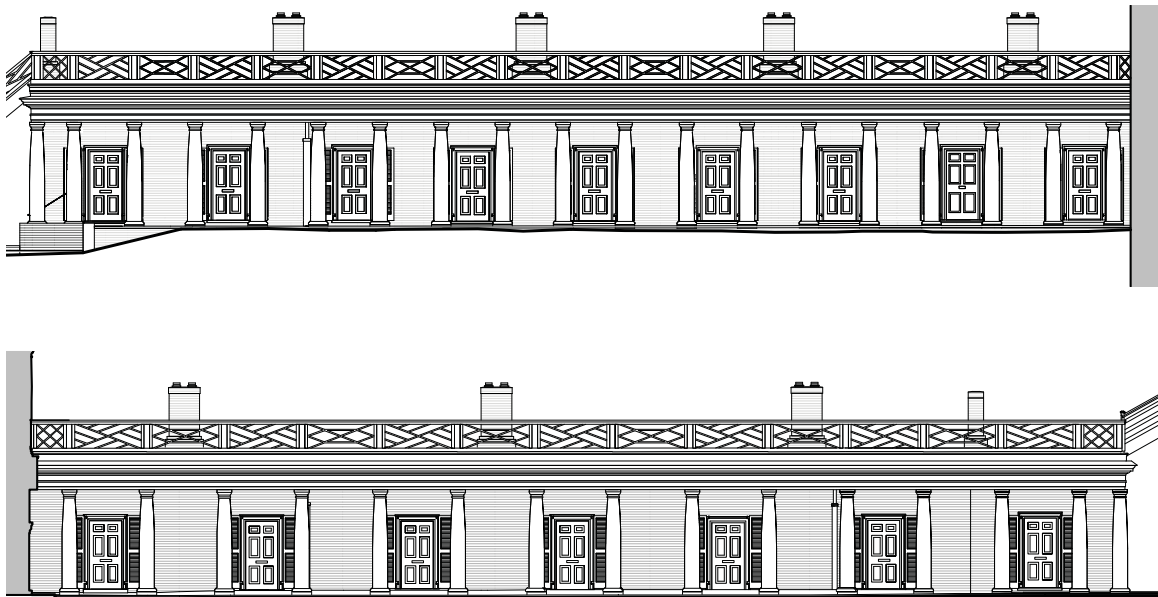


Figure 14. Comparison of 21-33 West Lawn, below, and 35-51 West Lawn, above, at same scale, showing the difference in column spacing, governed by room size.

53. Board of Visitors, “Minute Book,” April 4, 1824.

HISTORY: DESIGN (1814-1819)

except in the Tuscan order, where the architrave was made of timber.”⁵⁴ Vitruvius noted that 1:4 spacing should be used rarely and only in wooden buildings, where timber could span the great distance between supports effectively. But he also dismissed the appearance of such buildings as “top-heavy.”⁵⁵

Jefferson and his builders worked out these key details of student room planning on the first two dormitory buildings. By the third, they came to recognize the value of allowing some flexibility in column spacing and room width while centering each room door between pairs of columns. Room widths could adjust slightly, and column spacing with them, according to the space available between pavilions. For the remainder of the Lawn, most rooms ranged between 13’6” and 14’.

Remarkably, there is no written documentation of Jefferson’s reconsideration of the intercolumniation on the Lawn. This change seems to have been one that was negotiated in person, perhaps on site. Given the importance to Jefferson of obeying Palladian proscriptions on proportion and of a careful economy, reducing the number of student rooms possible on the Lawn while changing the column spacing was not an alteration he undertook lightly.

The variation in support spacing and room width that the use of colonnades permitted on the Lawn (within the proscriptions of ancient and Renaissance authorities) did not extend to the Ranges. There, Jefferson opted to support the covered ways with much more restrictive arcades. They were more restrictive in the sense that any variation in width would be clearly perceptible because it would either change the height of the arch with respect to the regulating line of the entablature or it would distort the arch from a semi-circle to an ellipse. Jefferson’s desire to center doors on the arches and to have a consistent width for the piers added further limitations that linked the size of the rooms to the width of arches and, by extension, the height of the dormitories. This scheme permitted variation only at the corners of each row of rooms, where the width of doubled piers could be adjusted slightly without affecting the other elements.

In his notebook on the UVA designs, Jefferson calculated a width of two arches, including their piers, for each room. This would center one arch at each door and another on each partition wall, terminating each arcade at a doubled pier.⁵⁶ To maintain proper and consistent proportions across both Ranges required a fixed relationship between the width of each room to the height of the order, the width of each pier, and the width of each arch. As a consequence, the widths of the Range rooms are much more consistent than those on the lawn. On the West

54. Andrea Palladio, *The Four Books of Andrea Palladio’s Architecture* ... [Translated by] Isaac Ware, (London: I. Ware, 1738), 12. Note that although Jefferson did not own a copy of Ware’s edition of Palladio, relying instead on the Leoni editions, the meaning of the text is clearer in Ware’s translation.

55. Vitruvius, *Ten Books on Architecture*, ed. Ingrid D. Rowland and Thomas Noble Howe, Revised edition (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 48.

56. Jefferson, “University of Virginia Notebook.”

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Lawn, where variation is greatest, the largest rooms are 41” broader than the smallest. Most rooms fall between 10’-2” and 13’7” across. On the Ranges, taking both together, there is only 10” between the largest and smallest rooms and the majority are between 12’9” and 13’3”. Jefferson’s calculations on the range rooms called for arches 5’4” wide, piers 2’2” wide, and masonry partitions between the rooms of 1’3”. This left rooms of 13’9” in the clear, or about 13’6” after deducting for the thickness of plaster. As built, the rooms average about 13’0” in the clear, with arches averaging 5’3” wide and piers of 1’8”.

Running the arcades along the front of the hotels meant that changes at the hotels would also be perceptible, as Arthur Brockenbrough recognized in a letter in the fall of 1820, while the East Range was underway:

I must beg leave to suggest some few alterations in the arcade in front of Hotel A [i.e., Hotel B] without altering the height of the building, as the Span of the arch is 6 feet and the arches in front of the adjoining dormitories are only 5 F 4 I, it requires 4 inches more height for the arcade in front of the Hotel than those in front of the dormitories, I think it will look better to let the entablature of the dormitories finish against the arcade of Hotel A as it does at Hotel B [i.e., Hotel D].⁵⁷

Although Jefferson evidently intended for the Ranges to be architecturally secondary to the Lawn, with less elaborate finishes, his use of arcades instead of colonnades demanded that the rhythm of openings and the size of rooms be more tightly controlled. Arthur Brockenbrough worried about a four-inch adjustment to the height of the arches in front of Hotel B; but few today perceive the more variable column spacing on the West Lawn.

Description of Original Student Room Interior

Unlike the pavilions, the rules for student room design are not recorded in letters of Thomas Jefferson or any of his collaborators (figure 15). They are inferred, rather, from the surviving fabric of those rooms and this material needs to be examined closely to distinguish original material from one of the many subsequent generations of alterations. Important errors of judgment, for example, allowed original closets to be removed in the 1950s; and even very close examination can draw the wrong conclusion when not considered in light of the full range of evidence. This study depends upon the most sustained examination of the student rooms of the modern era and it has come to different conclusions about the earliest form of the dormitories than some previous historians of the Jefferson-era Grounds. Those differences center on three elements—doors, mantels, and closets—whose early form is summarized here and articulated more fully in Section 4 (Materials and Construction).

57. Arthur Spicer Brockenbrough to Thomas Jefferson, October 19, 1820, Founders Online, National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-16-02-0283>.

HISTORY: DESIGN (1814-1819)

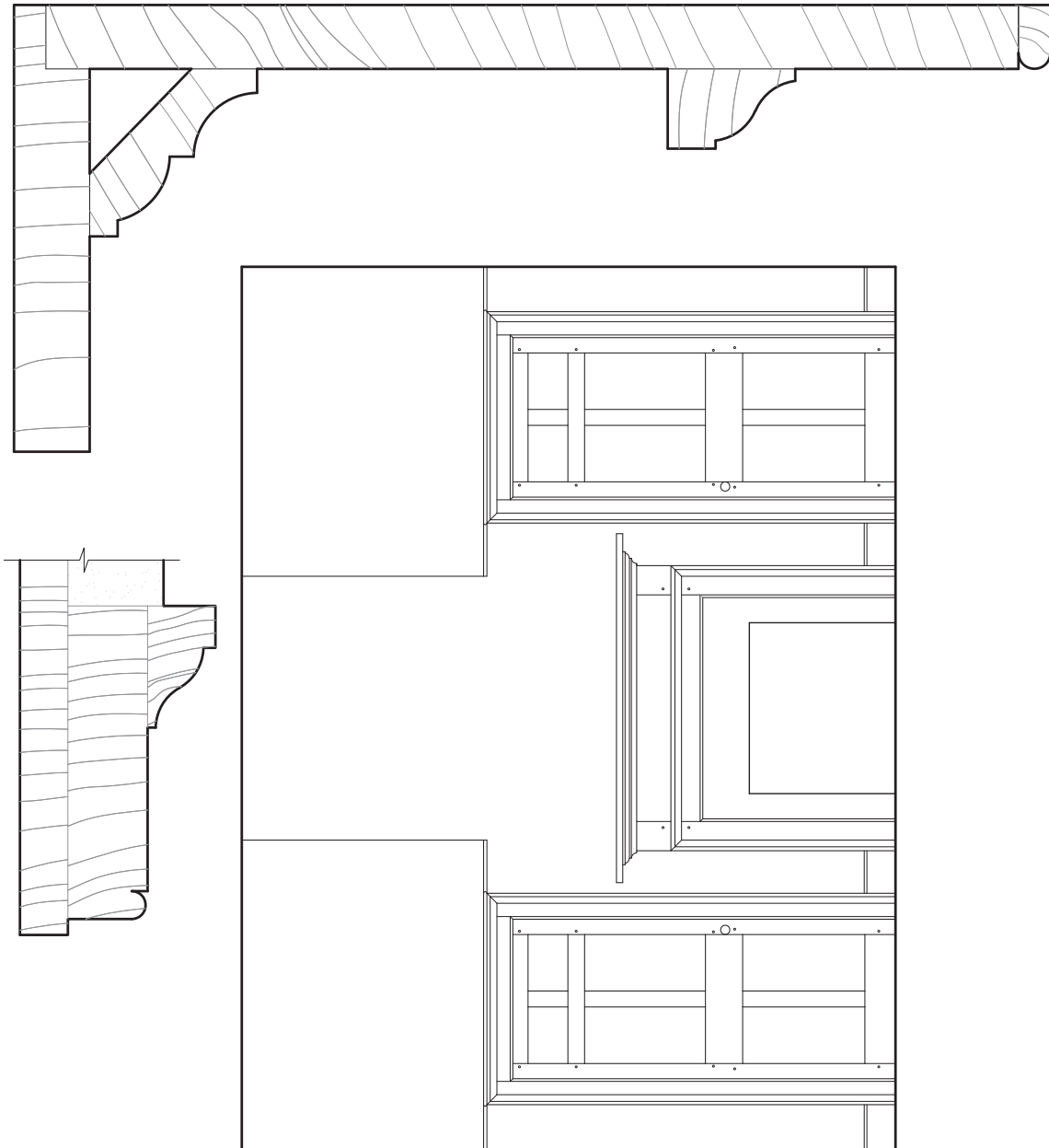


Figure 15. Restored elevation of fireplace wall of typical dormitory room, based upon 53 West Range and mantel in Facilities Management storage. Details show closet door jamb and section through mantel surround and shelf.

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Figure 16. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: 10 East Lawn, detail of door interior.



Figure 17. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: 13 West Range window detail. This is one of only two surviving original window sash on Grounds.

Whatever their size, all student rooms were similarly finished and fitted with a shared set of amenities when they were first completed. They were accessed by a single six-paneled door in a wall that was sheltered by a covered way. Opposite this door was a single 18-light sash window, centered in the far wall. On their interior, both door and window were framed by a single architrave with a cyma backband and a relatively large bead, usually broader than 5/8" (figures 16 and 17). The rooms were neatly, if plainly finished, with plaster walls and ceilings and tongue-in-groove heart pine floors. Their only decorative woodwork was a baseboard and a simple wooden mantel with a single-architrave surround and a mantel shelf, the latter supported by a bed molding. The fireplace was flanked by a pair of closets and these were closed with flat-panel doors, also six-paneled, and cased with another single architrave. The closets had low ceilings to create a deep shelf above them for additional storage.

Conventionally for Jefferson-affiliated work of this period, the mantels, door and window casings used robustly scaled moldings based upon the Roman and Palladian profiles that Jefferson so admired. This was quite different from the preferences of his peers outside Albemarle County, where, from Beaufort to Boston, builders of stylish houses increasingly embraced a more delicate and free-wheeling idiom of neoclassicism that incorporated Greek motifs, including

HISTORY: DESIGN (1814-1819)

quirked moldings and even entire Greek orders. This tendency is what Jefferson meant by the “false architecture, so much the rage at present,” that he warned Isaac Coles against in 1816.⁵⁸

Previous accounts of the student rooms have disagreed about important points of the foregoing description. Frederick Doveton Nichols, professor of architecture at the University from 1950 until his retirement in 1982, was a great admirer of Jefferson and an early advocate for the restoration of the Rotunda but he did not recognize that the shallow closets flanking the fireplaces were original features. Despite the fact that most of them were still in place when he drew plans of the student rooms in 1958 and despite a 1955 newspaper article that described them, correctly, as original, he supposed that they were later additions.⁵⁹

This conclusion continues to hold currency and was recently repeated in a short account of Edmund Campbell’s work on the Poe Room: “Campbell restored 13 West Range...to nearly original condition, but he did not remove the closets and a mantel, so the University removed them in the 1950s.”⁶⁰ Conceivably, many of them had been so altered over the years that little early nineteenth-century material survived (so it has been with doors). Nonetheless, enough survives in 53 West Range, the only room left on Grounds with its mantel, closets, and doors still intact, to make it clear that they are indeed from the early nineteenth century, made of hand-planed boards, secured with cut nails, and decorated with Roman moldings comparable to those casing the doors and windows (figure 18). Skeptics might observe that they may in fact be relatively old but not original—not Jeffersonian, that is—but for two pieces of evidence. First, the mantel shelf on 53 West Range and in the two salvaged mantels currently in Facilities Management storage is too wide for the fireplace wall without the closets. The mantel surround ends at the line of the chimney mass and the shelf projects another 6” beyond this point. Without the closet walls in place, the shelf and its bed molding would need to return, awkwardly, along the sides of the chimney, as it does in the Murray Howard designs for restored mantels. Second is the report of James Oldham, carpenter, from 1822, that he had completed his work on the rooms at 1 to 7 West Lawn except that “the Closet doors are unhung.”⁶¹

58. Isaac A. Coles to John Hartwell Cocke, February 23, 1816, Founders Online, National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-09-02-0336>.

59. Aubrey R. Bowles III, Richard S. Crampton, and Francis E. Moravitz, “Remodeling Experiment Seen ‘Defiling’ U. of Va.,” *Richmond News Leader*, November 30, 1955; Nichols’s account of his alterations of the dormitories is in Frederic D. Nichols, “Restoring Jefferson’s University,” in *Building Early America: Contributions toward the History of a Great Industry*, ed. Charles E. Peterson (Radnor, Pennsylvania: Chilton Book Company for The Carpenters’ Company of the City and County of Philadelphia, 1976), 332–33.

60. K. Edward Lay, *History of the A-School* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia School of Architecture, 2013), 45. Note that this chronology is not strictly correct, as the closets were certainly removed before 1909, a decade before Campbell’s arrival. It is true, however, that most of the remaining closets in the student rooms of the Academical Village were not removed until the 1950s.

61. James Oldham to Thomas Jefferson, January 3, 1822, Founders Online, National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/98-01-02-2551>.

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Figure 18. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, West Range 53, view of surviving original closets and mantel, the only complete set of such elements to remain in place on Grounds.

Similarly, Nichols supposed the mantels to have been replaced, conceivably because he recognized that they were contemporary with the closets, which he believed to be not original. Consequently, his refurbishment of the student rooms included the removal of mantels, many of them original (see History Section). Some of these were surely later replacements—one of them remains in place in 46 East Lawn, intact only because it was the responsibility of the Kappa Sigma fraternity and outside the scope of the late-1950s restorations. It has the proportions of a Greek Revival mantel but lacks the paint or the graffiti associated with woodwork of the nineteenth century and it is trimmed with Victorian casings (figure 19). It is likely a creation of the restoration of the room to its original floor level around 1920 (see Room Descriptions). The 46 East Lawn mantel is similar to one depicted in a 1910 edition of *Corks and Curls*, suggesting that there may have been several on Grounds that had been replaced with Greek-inflected versions by that period (figure 20).

Despite these alterations, there is enough evidence, both pictorial and material, to know the form of the original mantels with confidence. The surviving mantel in 53 West Range, which

HISTORY: DESIGN (1814-1819)



Figure 19. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: 46 East Lawn interior, mantel detail.

shares a backband profile with original door and window casings, is enough on its own but supporting a reading of it as original are several photographs of early mantels of the same form as well as two that are currently housed in Facilities Management storage (figure 21). Covered in graffiti, these have pegged frames made of sash-sawn boards and Jeffersonian moldings applied with cut nails. Paint analysis, if demanded from an extreme skeptic, could settle the question of their chronological relationship to surviving early door and window casings but there should be little doubt that these are some of the earliest decorative woodwork from the student rooms. That they survive at all is thanks to the attentive eye of a Facilities staff member who objected to their being discarded and took the initiative to preserve them.⁶²

Probably no other element of the student rooms has been so altered, repaired, and replaced, as the doors. Though the greatest abuse they take in the present is likely from a thumb-tack or a stray dry-erase marker, in the past doors bore the brunt of student frustrations and inebriation. The Proctor's maintenance records of the nineteenth century are full of accounts of door repairs—fixing panels, replacing panels, repairing hinges,

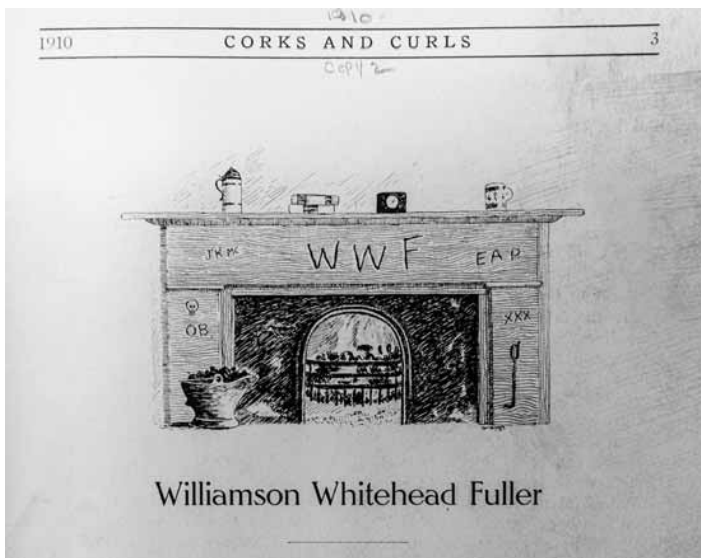


Figure 20. Corks and Curls [yearbook], 1910, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia. Note use of graffiti on mantel as a visual joke. Note also the use of Greek Revival mantel, similar to the surviving one in room 46 East Lawn.

62. Calder Loth, Reminiscences about Student Rooms at University of Virginia, January 19, 2023.

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Figure 21. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: mantel in Facilities Management storage, removed from unknown student room c. 1960.



and replacing entire doors.⁶³ As a consequence, fewer than ten doors remain in place from the early nineteenth century, including two good examples at 3 West Range and 10 East Lawn. These are joined, 6-panel, single-leaf doors with a complex sticking profile on the exterior, formed of an ovolo and a cavetto. Interior profiles are ordinarily plain, with flat, recessed and unmolded panels. There is a sole exception to this pattern for early doors, which is the set of double doors that were on 36 East Lawn until the late 1990s (figure 22). Currently in Facilities Management storage, there are finely made, nicely elaborated double doors with complex sticking profiles on both sides and flat panels. Additionally, on their inside face, they were originally grained. Before the graining was covered by a layer of paint, these doors were fixed together at their top and bottom with a horizontal batten, converting them to a single door leaf.

Their joinery and panel arrangement are consistent with other early doors in the Academical Village but their graining, moldings, and double-door arrangement links them more closely with the pavilions than the student rooms. And indeed, 36 East Lawn was

Figure 22. 36 East Lawn, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: detail of double doors, as converted to single leaf. Photograph by Murray Howard, March, 1997, in situ.

63. W. L. Woodley, "Supplemental Report for the Month of Oct. 1836" (Charlottesville, VA, February 1837), http://juel.iath.virginia.edu/node/114?doc=/db/JUEL/letters/Proctor/LetterSupplementalGroundsReports_edit.xml&key=P34555#m1.

HISTORY: CONSTRUCTION (1817-1823)

brought into Pavilion VIII by Charles Bonnycastle, who cut a door into it in 1830 (see room description, and further discussion in Section 4, Preservation). Murray Howard identified these doors as a model for the entire Lawn but they should be more properly understood as an outlier among the dormitories, their refinement a reflection of their being part of a pavilion. The original student room doors were, like 10 East Lawn, a conventional single leaf.

Construction (1817-1823)

Builders

The Virginia General Assembly granted a charter to Central College in February of 1816, establishing the legal foundation upon which the University of Virginia would eventually stand. The Central College's trustees convened the following spring, on May 5, 1817, to enable the construction of its material foundations. This group of men, formally called its Board of Visitors, included Thomas Jefferson, James Monroe, James Madison, and John Hartwell Cocke. On that day, they approved the purchase of a tract of land outside Charlottesville from John Perry, an Albemarle County undertaker. They also approved the construction of the first pavilion and student rooms, authorizing the proctor, Alexander Garrett, "to agree with proper workmen for the building of one [pavilion]...of regular architecture, well executed...And...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."⁶⁴ The proctor's first task was to find the builders for these structures that would set the standard for what was to follow.

Jefferson worried a great deal about the capabilities of the workmen to whom he would entrust his university. He envied the superior quality of brickwork done elsewhere in Virginia and was awed by the excellent masonry of Philadelphia. For the finish work, he had already begun recruiting James Dinsmore and John Neilson, who had executed much of Monticello's joinery, writing to Dinsmore in April of 1817: "We are about to establish a College near Charlottesville...I should wish to commit it to yourself and Mr. Nelson...it will open a great field of future employment for you. will you undertake it?"⁶⁵ But these men, however talented, did not have the capacity to complete such a massive project on their own. Needing hundreds of thousands of bricks in just the first year, and many millions over the duration of the project, Jefferson traveled in late 1817 to Staunton, Virginia, where he found Matthew Brown, a mason and brickmaker who agreed to begin making bricks that year.⁶⁶

And although Jefferson viewed the quality of most of the work in Albemarle with disdain, deriding "the barbarous workmanship hitherto practised there," he began the project with local

64. Board of Visitors, "Minute Book," May 5, 1817; Cabell, *Early History of the University of Virginia*, 393–95.

65. Thomas Jefferson to James Dinsmore, April 13, 1817, Founders Online, National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-11-02-0222>.

66. Grizzard, "Documentary History of Construction at UVA," Chapter 1.

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builder, John Perry, who had sold the Visitors the land for the college.⁶⁷ As a condition of the sale, Perry had required that he be contracted to execute the carpentry for the first building, Pavilion VII.⁶⁸ Jefferson had hired Perry to do some of the work at Monticello but he was irritated by this stipulation. He wrote to him that although he was willing to engage him for some of the work, he would not prefer him to a superior talent.⁶⁹ Nonetheless, Perry was successful in securing contracts for both masonry and carpentry across the Academical Village, beginning with the first pavilion and student rooms. In fact, of all the builders on the project, Perry received the largest share of contracts, over \$80,000 worth on his own and in partnership with others, over a quarter of the total cost of construction.⁷⁰ By comparison, the talented Dinsmore and Neilson received about \$32,000 and \$24,000 of contracts, respectively, including their work on the Rotunda. By the end of the project, Perry had built three pavilions, two hotels, and 64 student rooms.

With Perry and Brown engaged, along with brick maker Hugh Chisholm, work began on Pavilion VII in October of 1817. But progress disappointed the Board of Visitors, with just the pavilion and 16 student rooms still underway a year later.⁷¹ To accelerate the pace of work, Jefferson began recruiting more widely, placing a notice in March of 1819 in papers in Richmond, Baltimore, Philadelphia, and other cities. Very soon thereafter, offers flowed in, allowing Jefferson to be selective and to foster a sense of competition among his tradesmen.⁷² One of these came from James Oldham, another Monticello veteran who had returned to Richmond after a failed venture in St. Louis and was hopeful for a piece of the Charlottesville pie: "I Suppose there will be a vast quantity of worke to be done the ensuing yeare and if you should have any further management of the Buildings, I should be very thankful for some of the worke to do."⁷³ Jefferson hired him to build Pavilion I.⁷⁴ He was especially interested in a proposal

67. Thomas Jefferson to Hugh Chisholm, August 31, 1817, Founders Online, National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-11-02-0548>; Grizzard, "Documentary History of Construction at UVA," Chapter 1.

68. Grizzard, "Documentary History of Construction at UVA," Chapter 1.

69. Thomas Jefferson to John M. Perry, June 3, 1817, Founders Online, National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-11-02-0335>.

70. The totals for Perry and others are derived from the University of Virginia Proctor's Journal and Proctor's Ledger. "Proctor's Journals" (1817-1851), Special Collections, University of Virginia Library; University of Virginia Proctor, "Proctor's Ledgers" (1817-1832), University Archives, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library. The total estimate for the entire project is given in William B. O'Neal, "Financing the Construction of the University of Virginia: Notes and Documents," *Magazine of Albemarle County History* 23 (1965): 11.

71. John Hartwell Cocke, Diary (August 26, 1818), Cocke Family Papers, University of Virginia.

72. Richard Charles Cote, "The Architectural Workmen of Thomas Jefferson in Virginia" (PhD dissertation, Boston, Massachusetts, Boston University, 1986), 64-65.

73. James Oldham to Thomas Jefferson, December 26, 1818, Founders Online, National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-13-02-0470>.

74. Thomas Jefferson to James Oldham, April 8, 1819, University of Virginia Chronological File, University of Virginia Library.

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from Richard Ware, a carpenter of Philadelphia, inviting him in April to build 23 dormitories, Hotels B and D and Pavilion IX.⁷⁵

As this quantity of work suggests, Jefferson had high hopes for Ware, who was a member of the Carpenter's Company and represented, he thought, the level of construction skill available in the second-largest city in English-speaking North America.⁷⁶ This admiration was of long standing--twenty years earlier, he had recruited both Dinsmore and Neilson from Philadelphia to work on Monticello. As he wrote to Arthur Brockenbrough about Ware and his workers, "I am really anxious to have these people employed from the knolege I have of their superior activity over those we are used to."⁷⁷ He offered him a higher price than what Ware had proposed, though still lower than the price he had agreed to with the Virginia builders, as well as the use of dormitory and cellar rooms to lodge his crew.⁷⁸ Ware, he believed, had both the skill and the capacity to complete a large portion of the project while raising the standards of Perry and the other Virginia tradesmen. He also hoped that his proposals, developed according to more competitive Philadelphia pricing, would drive down costs by forcing the Virginia builders, accustomed to a 15% to 40% premium above the published price guides, to match the rates of the northerners.⁷⁹ As he put it to Brockenbrough, Philadelphia builders "are the cheapest, and generally the most steady & correct workmen in the US."⁸⁰

His hopes for the Philadelphian's salutary influence on the project were moderated when, just two weeks after hiring him, Jefferson received a letter from a Pennsylvania gentleman named Thomas Wallace. Wallace impugned both Ware's character and his capabilities, going so far as to suggest that the letter of recommendation that he carried was a fake. "It is a matter of great surprise in this place that you should select a man of such inferior mechanical talents."⁸¹ He noted that one of his houses was unfinished for so long that it needed to be torn down; another reportedly fell down of its own accord. If Jefferson suspected that his correspondent overstated Ware's incompetence, he could not ignore the news that his would-be builder had been im-

75. Thomas Jefferson to Richard Ware, April 9, 1819, Founders Online, National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-14-02-0208>.

76. Tom Stokes, "Carpenters' Company Digital Archive & Museum: Ware, Richard," [Carpentershall.org](http://carpentershall.org), accessed December 9, 2022, <https://archive.carpentershall.org/items/show/26032>.

77. Thomas Jefferson to Arthur S. Brockenbrough, May 28, 1819, Founders Online, National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-14-02-0331>.

78. Jefferson to Ware, April 9, 1819.

79. Thomas Jefferson to Charles Yancey, July 23, 1821, Founders Online, National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-17-02-0316>.

80. Thomas Jefferson to Arthur Spicer Brockenbrough, June 5, 1819, Founders Online, National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-14-02-0364>.

81. John M. Wallace to Thomas Jefferson, April 24, 1819, Founders Online, National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-14-02-0237>.

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prisoned by his creditors, the consequence of his purportedly “fraudulent knavish conduct.”⁸²

Whether Ware’s financial difficulties were a commonplace consequence of the Panic of 1819 or evidence of singularly poor character mattered little, as it now appeared that he would not be able to work in Charlottesville at all. At the same time, Jefferson was contending with his fellow Visitors’ criticism of his designs for single-story dormitories on the Ranges. Responding to both challenges, he opted to shift construction from the East Range, where Ware was meant to begin, to the Lawn, to allow time for consideration of the dormitory question.⁸³ Jefferson gave some of the new masonry on the East Lawn to Richmond builder Curtis Carter but he was determined to find a Philadelphia carpenter for the wooden work, to push forward his strategy of lowering prices through competition. He had clearly been using Ware’s proposal as leverage with the Virginia builders, confiding to Arthur Brockenbrough, in response to Ware’s disappearance, that “I think it necessary for our own credit we should get some workmen from Philadelphia lest we should seem really to have been jockeying our own workmen.”⁸⁴

After all this worry and maneuvering, it is easy to imagine Jefferson’s astonishment and relief when, just 11 days after writing to Brockenbrough, Mr. Ware appeared in Charlottesville, unannounced and out of jail.⁸⁵ This development required another scramble, as Ware reported that he had recruited a large crew of twenty carpenters and masons who were preparing to come to Virginia. If the work initially intended for them had already been contracted to others, Jefferson would have nothing for them to do. In the event, Carter had only agreed to execute the masonry on Pavilion VI and the dormitories from 10 to 26 East Lawn. Brockenbrough hired Ware, therefore, to do the balance of the work from Pavilion II to 26 East Lawn. This included the carpentry on Pavilion VI and all the student rooms from 2 to 26 as well as all the work on pavilions II and IV.⁸⁶ The full Philadelphia contingent finally arrived in July of 1819 to begin their work on the East Lawn.⁸⁷

With Ware, Carter, Perry, Oldham, Phillips, Dinsmore, and Neilson in Charlottesville at the end of 1819, the principal undertakers were on site and construction fully underway. Historians have recorded appreciatively the achievements of this handful of Jefferson’s favorite stars, whose skill in brick, stone, and woodwork was exceptional.⁸⁸ But the proctor’s ledgers map a

82. Wallace to Jefferson.

83. Thomas Jefferson to Arthur S. Brockenbrough, September 1, 1819, Founders Online, National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-15-02-0001>; Jefferson to Breckinridge, Johnson, and Taylor, July 8, 1819.

84. Jefferson to Brockenbrough, May 17, 1819.

85. Jefferson to Brockenbrough, May 28, 1819.

86. Grizzard, “Documentary History of Construction at UVA,” Chapter 3; “Proctor’s Journals,” *passim*.

87. Jefferson to Breckinridge, Johnson, and Taylor, July 8, 1819.

88. K. Edward Lay, “Charlottesville’s Architectural Legacy,” *Magazine of Albemarle County History* 46 (May 1988): 29–95; K. Edward Lay, *The Architecture of Jefferson Country: Charlottesville and Albemarle County, Virginia*

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much larger constellation of individuals who supported and far outnumbered them.⁸⁹ Recent research by Louis Nelson, James Zehmer, and many others, has begun to account for their contributions.⁹⁰

In this larger group of a hundred or so workers, some were free and White. Most were Black and enslaved, several of them by undertakers: in 1820, for example, John Perry owned 37 people, including 30 tradespeople; Dabney Cosby 14.⁹¹ Many of them are anonymous. We know only three names, for example, of the twenty people that initially accompanied Richard Ware from Philadelphia, one of which is the mason for the Rotunda, Abiah Thorn; similarly, we only know the name of one person who formed part of Jonathan Perry's enslaved crew, a woman called Mariah.⁹² A few workers' names are known not from the records but because they memorialized themselves on their work. William Kelly and James Gibson, of Philadelphia, and Jacob Waltman, of Louisa County, Virginia, all plasterers, wrote their names on the sides of joists in Hotel D during construction.⁹³ But many of the workers were hired out from others, including nearby plantation owners and the proctor himself. The Proctor's Journals record many names of these hired laborers, as well as the work that they did and how it was valued. In their aggregate, these documents clarify the contributions of a much broader range of individ-

(Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2000); Wilson, *Thomas Jefferson's Academical Village*, Patricia C. Sherwood and Joseph Michael Lasala, "Education and Architecture: The Evolution of the University of Virginia's Academical Village," in *Thomas Jefferson's Academical Village: The Creation of an Architectural Masterpiece*, ed. Richard Guy Wilson (Charlottesville: Bayly Art Museum of the University of Virginia, Distributed by University Press of Virginia, 1993), 9–46; Cote, "The Architectural Workmen of Thomas Jefferson in Virginia"; Amy Moses, "William B. Phillips, 'Bricklaying...of the Best Work Done'" (M.A. thesis, Charlottesville, VA, University of Virginia, 2011).

89. In all, Richard Guy Wilson calculated that about 200 people were needed to build the university. Wilson, *Thomas Jefferson's Academical Village*, 35. More recently, Ervin Jordan estimates that the first 50 years of the University of Virginia required the labor of approximately 4,800 slaves. "Slavery and Its Legacies at UVA", 2017.

90. Louis P. Nelson, "The Architecture of Democracy in a Landscape of Slavery," in *Thomas Jefferson, Architect: Palladian Models, Democratic Principles, and the Conflict of Ideals*, ed. Lloyd DeWitt and Corey Piper, Illustrated edition (Norfolk and New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019), 98–117; Louis P. Nelson and James Zehmer, "Slavery and Construction," in *Educated in Tyranny: Slavery at Thomas Jefferson's University*, ed. Maurie D. McNinnis and Louis P. Nelson (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2019), 27–41; McNinnis and Nelson, *Educated in Tyranny*; Kirt Von Daacke, "Rethinking the Academical Village at UVA, Recentring the Lives and Labor of the Enslaved," Kirt von Daacke, PhD, October 12, 2018, <https://www.kirtvondaacke.net/blog/rethinking-the-academical-village-at-uva-recentering-the-lives-and-labor-of-the-enslaved>.

91. Nelson and Zehmer, "Slavery and Construction," 31–32; Martin, Von Daacke, and Faulkner, "President's Commission on Slavery and the University," 17.

92. "Proctor's Journals," 123.

93. Thanks to James Zehmer for recording these names, all written on the side of a joist. The 1816 Philadelphia City Directory lists six William Kellys, all tradespeople but none of them in construction; there is no James Gibson listed as a plasterer in the same directory. The only James Gibsons in 1816 or 1820 are an attorney, a distiller, and a carter. James Robinson, *The Philadelphia Directory* (Philadelphia: Printed for the Publisher, 1816); Edward Whitely, *The Philadelphia Directory and Register* (Philadelphia: McCarty & Davis, Printers, 1820).

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On or before the twenty fifth day of December next We promise
to pay or cause to be paid unto John Nunn as guardian for the
heirs of Jesse Harris dec'd the just value three hundred & ten Dol-
lars Virginia currency for the hire of three Negroes, names Sam
Nelson & Squire, to be returned, clothed with double woven
summer cloth, good yarn stockings, ~~shoes~~ double soled bus shoes
& a pair of summer breeches, each. To which payment will
be made ^{we} bind ourselves, our heirs, executors and ad-
ministrators, jointly & severally in the special sum of six hun-
dred & twenty Dollars like money. In witness whereof we
have here unto set our hands & seals this first day of
January 1819

P.S. The word we intended
before signed
signed & sealed
in presence of

David Lipscomb

Nelson Barksdale
Proctor to C. College

~~John Nunn~~
~~John Nunn~~

Figure 23. Proctor's Papers, Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia; Box 10. Agreement for hire of Sam, Nelson, and Squire by Nelson Barksdale, Proctor.

uals as well as the complex dynamics of such a large undertaking. Notwithstanding their many silences, the records of the University of Virginia provide an unusually intimate glimpse into the organization of a large construction project in the slave-holding south.

Many of the earliest university records identify hired hands only generically: “to P. Barley for hire Negroes” is a typical entry noting payment for enslaved workers in 1820.⁹⁴ But in subsequent years, the names of most are identified, along with the amount of payments to their owners: “to Nathaniel Terry for hire of Harry the last year.”⁹⁵ Most entries are payments to owners for the work of others, ordinarily for an entire year (figure 23): “to John Nunn for the

94. “Proctor's Journals,” 12.

95. “Proctor's Journals,” 118.

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hire of 4 Labourers;” “to Mary Smith for hire Nelson;” “to Edmund Bacon for hire of Isham, Lewis, John + Wilson.”⁹⁶ But a small number of payments were made directly to enslaved people, always in small amounts and often with an annotation explaining the exception: “Brick Account Dft to Reuben for extra work, \$2.5;” “to Sam for tinning roof during X mast [*sic*: i.e., Christmas] Hollidays, \$2.”⁹⁷

Many of these workers did heavy, labor-intensive tasks, including excavating trenches for water lines, leveling terraces, and digging foundations. Zachariah was paid \$44.25 for digging the cellars of hotel A and B, the largest direct payments in the proctor’s records to any enslaved person.⁹⁸ Some were more specialized, like Dick, a brick molder, who was hired from Richmond in 1823 at \$15 per month, more than double the rate paid for other workers, but compensation, as usual, was sent to his owner, John Mosby.⁹⁹ An important member of the workforce was Sam, who was principally a roofer but involved in many aspects of the project, as John Neilson grumbled: “his Old man Sam is an apendage to the university, being a master of all Arts, at one time a carpenter, then tin man, next printer.”¹⁰⁰ The ubiquitous Sam was the property of Arthur Brockenbrough. Over the course of 1822 and 1823, his efforts earned the proctor nearly \$400.¹⁰¹

Some members of this labor force, such as Dick, were skilled and specialized. The critical and labor-intensive work of making bricks required many hands at the yard who knew how to temper Virginia clay with sand, fill molds with the mix, and fire the kiln to maximize the yield of good hard durable brick. Specialized or not, these workers could be moved between contractors according to timing and need, working one week for Richard Ware, for example, and another for Curtis Carter. In a letter to Arthur Brockenbrough, carpenter George Spooner requested a redistribution of forces to maintain the tight construction schedule. “I wish you would send the hands to Oldham as soon as possible, as I am afraid the bricklayers will be delayd on his building for they are really ready for his Joists & he had not commenced to frame them, he has only one hand besides himself.”¹⁰²

This letter reveals the degree to which the project depended both upon the efforts of many unnamed hands as well as the careful coordination of their work with that of the undertakers.

96. “Proctor’s Journals,” 122, 124.

97. “Proctor’s Journals,” 231, 124.

98. “Proctor’s Journals,” 86, 101, 112, 159.

99. “Proctor’s Journals,” 260.

100. John Neilson to John Hartwell Cocke, February 22, 1823, Special Collections: John Hartwell Cocke Papers, University of Virginia.

101. “Proctor’s Journals,” 124, 143, 160, 254.

102. George Spooner to Arthur S. Brockenbrough, August 13, 1819, cited in Waite, Mesick, and Waite, “Pavilion I, University of Virginia,” 39.

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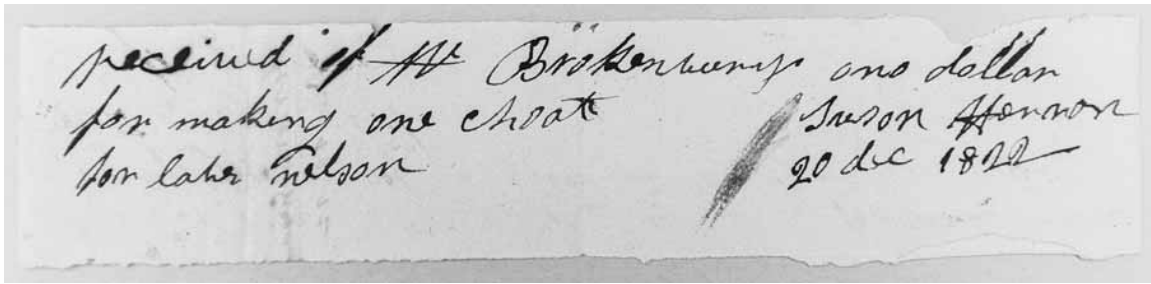


Figure 24. Proctor's Papers, Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: Box 3: "received of Mr. Brockenbrough one dollar for making one choate for labr. Nelson, Susan Herron, 20 dec., 1822".

They needed to be organized and, according to the terms of their hire, fed and clothed. That coordination was managed by the proctor with the help of an overseer, hired in 1820. James Harrison was "not to absent himself unnecessarily from the negroes when at work, to attend to the feeding of the laborers, the horse, or other stock."¹⁰³ He was analogous to a plantation overseer, an intermediary enforcer between the owner and the enslaved hands, who allowed the owner to distance himself from day-to-day management and the administration of discipline.

This workforce needed to be bedded and boarded and the proctor's journals record many payments for food and drink for laborers, such as six months of provisions for 23 hands at the brickyard for \$483, paid in September of 1823.¹⁰⁴ Agreements for the hire of enslaved workers often specified further that clothing would be provided by the university at the end of each year, presumably to replace a suit worn out by daily use. The proctor's records list many payments for laborer's clothes, most of them made by women, including Mrs. Hawkins, Mrs. Susan Herron, Elizabeth Brand, and Sarah Jones (figure 24).¹⁰⁵ Though most of the laborers building the university were men, women expanded and supported this workforce, principally as seamstresses and cooks. An enslaved woman called Rhoda, whose role on the project is unspecified, is only known through a \$4 payment for construction of her coffin, paid to carpenter Richard Ware.¹⁰⁶

Young boys added further to the total, though their numbers are equally unclear. Certainly, several enslaved young boys worked in the brickyard; one, named Hening, attempted to run away.¹⁰⁷ An estimate of costs for brickmaking in the Proctor's Papers further suggests that this work was understood to require, as a matter of course, five people, including one molder and

103. Contract between James Harrison and Arthur Brockenbrough, Proctor of the University of Virginia, Proctor's Papers, 1819-1905, Box 1, Special Collections, University of Virginia.

104. "Proctor's Journals," 260.

105. "Proctor's Journals," passim. See also Proctor's Papers, Box 3, Miscellaneous Receipts for 1822.

106. "Proctor's Journals," 164.

107. "Proctor's Journals," 260, 126.

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For one Table 3 Men & 2 boys -

1 Moulder	—	—	\$7.00 p month
2 Men	—	—	14.00
2 Boys	—	—	8.00
			<u>29.00</u>
Bacon 5 Hands	—	—	7.42
Meal for do	—	—	8.50
Whiskey	—	—	1.50
			<u>46.42</u> Expenses p Month for 1 Table
60,000 Bricks p Month for	—	—	\$46.42
30 cords wood	—	—	60.00
			<u>106.42</u>
180,000 Bricks p month	—	—	319.26
For a Moulder	—	—	35
Hire of hands & Provision	—	—	39.42
30,000 Nails & Stitches	—	—	74.42
15 cords of wood	—	—	30.00
Hire of 3 Hands p m of Provision	—	—	36.00
" 1 Set	—	—	30.00
Super in hand out	—	—	50.00
Cost 180,000 com. brick, 30,000 Nails & Stitches	—	—	539.68
made in a month	—	—	3

Moulder	—	—	11.30
2 Men	—	—	18
2 Boys	—	—	8
			<u>37</u>
50 ⁺ Bacon 4 hands	—	—	5.00
6 ⁺ Bushels Meal	—	—	3.27
3 ⁺ gal. Whiskey	—	—	1.85
			<u>59.82</u>
60,000 Bricks 1 Table	—	—	60.00
30 cords wood	—	—	60
			<u>120.00</u>
Walling at 50	—	—	30
			<u>150.00</u>

Figure 25. Proctor's Papers, Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: Box 3: cost of brickmaking, 1823, using one table staffed by 3 men and 2 boys.

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two boys, and that such a group could be expected to make 60,000 bricks per month.¹⁰⁸ (figure 25) That boys laid bricks as well as made them is indicated in a proposal by Abner Hawkins, who promised the proctor that “I shall not have any Boys about the work Except two of those which have worked at the business for two year. The rest of my hands will be Experienced hands.”¹⁰⁹

Though its scale was unusual, the composition of this workforce, including men, women, and boys, skilled and unskilled, most of them enslaved, had been commonplace in Virginia for more than a century.¹¹⁰ Architectural projects with any aspirations to quality demanded the coordination of a range of people, some of them experienced, many of them learning a trade; some of them White, most Black. Some found such working arrangements, with all their diversity, repugnant. The Irishman, John Neilson, after working three years in Charlottesville, lamented having to work with such people. “When I take a view of the place and the way things has been conducted the more I get disgusted with it. Our workmen are nearly all Africans.”¹¹¹

Biographies of Principal Builders

The individuals listed here and their principal projects are all abstracted from entries in the Proctor’s Journals between 1819 and 1828. The nature of projects is given in the journals but the Proctor’s Ledger entries give the total value of contracts. The builders’ biographies are drawn from various sources, principally the dissertations by Richard Cote and Frank Grizzard, publications by Edward Lay, and manuscript records held at the University of Virginia. An asterisk after a name indicates a builder who was also involved in the construction of Monticello.

For many builders, work on the university launched a career. Dabney Cosby traded on his experience in Charlottesville throughout his life, reminding clients that he had learned about architecture and masonry from Jefferson himself.¹¹² Thomas Blackburn was not a substantial enough undertaker to execute contracts under his own name. He came to Charlottesville in 1821 but would go on to put up many major buildings in western Virginia, including Western State Hospital.¹¹³ And a great many people whose hands performed the work of construction

108. Arthur Brockenbrough, “[Estimate for Brick-Making]” (c 1823), Proctor’s Papers, Box 3, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library.

109. Abner Hawkins Proposal, 1821, Box 2, folder 220 of Proctor’s Papers, Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.

110. Vanessa E Patrick, “‘As Good a Joiner as Any in Virginia’: African- Americans in the Eighteenth-Century Building Trades,” Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Research Report Series (Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1995).

111. Neilson to Cocke, February 22, 1823.

112. Catherine W. Bishir and Marshall Bullock, “Cosby, Dabney (1779-1862),” North Carolina Architects & Builders: A Biographical Dictionary, 2009, <https://ncarchitects.lib.ncsu.edu/people/P000019>.

113. Bryan Clark Green, “In the Shadow of Thomas Jefferson: The Architectural Career of Thomas R. Black-

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remain unknown. The exceptions are those who were enslaved; not because their skills were especially valued but because the payments made to their owners for their work were carefully accounted. The names of those who the proctor recorded as contributing to dormitory construction are listed at the end of this section.

burn, with a Catalog of Architectural Drawings” (Charlottesville, VA, University of Virginia, 2004).

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Matthew Brown

Lynchburg, Virginia
Mason and brickmaker
Contracts: \$6,000

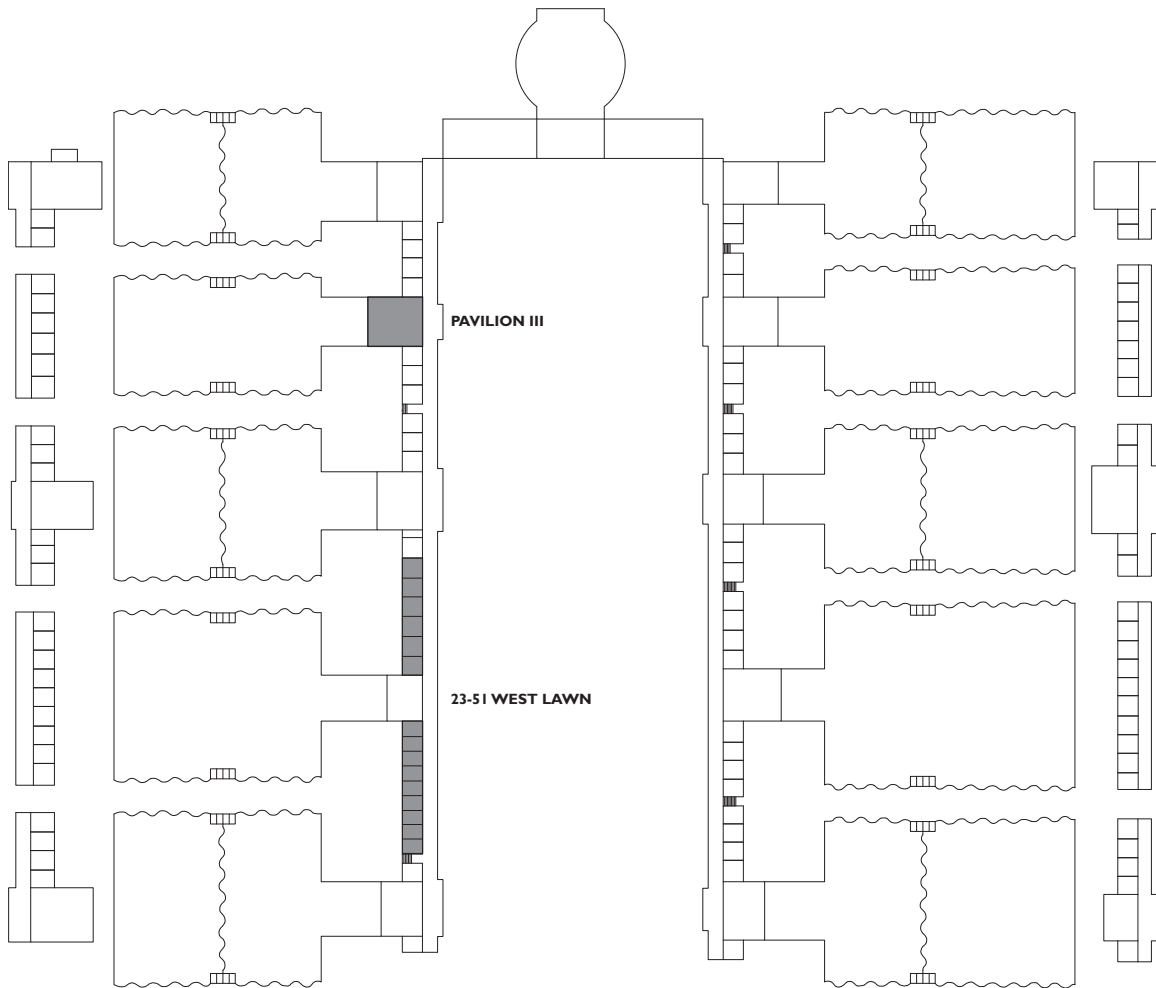


Figure 26. Map of projects executed by Matthew Brown.

Principal Projects:

Pavilion III
23-51 West Lawn

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At the outset of construction in late 1817, Jefferson sought masons who could burn and lay several hundred thousand bricks in the following year. He personally travelled to Lynchburg, near his house, Poplar Forest, in the hopes of recruiting a qualified mason and after some difficulty, found Matthew Brown, who was available and agreed to undertake the work and complete it by November of 1818.¹¹⁴

Though not the most prominent of the tradespeople engaged to work on the university, Matthew Brown has the distinction of building the first set of dormitories, the rows on either side of Pavilion VII, all of which were begun in 1818. His involvement in Pavilion III is qualified by the claim of John Perry who insisted that it was he, not Brown, who actually executed the work, according to the terms of their partnership.¹¹⁵ Brown was only the undertaker, or general contractor; Perry the mason. With this partnership established in late 1818, Brown's name disappears from the Proctor's Journal.¹¹⁶ His involvement in the project, if it continued at all, was subordinated to others.

114. Grizzard, "Documentary History of Construction at UVA," Chapter 1.

115. John M. Perry to University of Virginia Board of Visitors, March 27, 1819, Founders Online, National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-14-02-0162>.

116. Grizzard, "Documentary History of Construction at UVA," Chapter 2.

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Curtis Carter (1778-1850)

Richmond, Virginia

Brick maker and mason

Contracts: \$6,170.12

+ Contracts in partnership with William B. Phillips: \$4,945.95

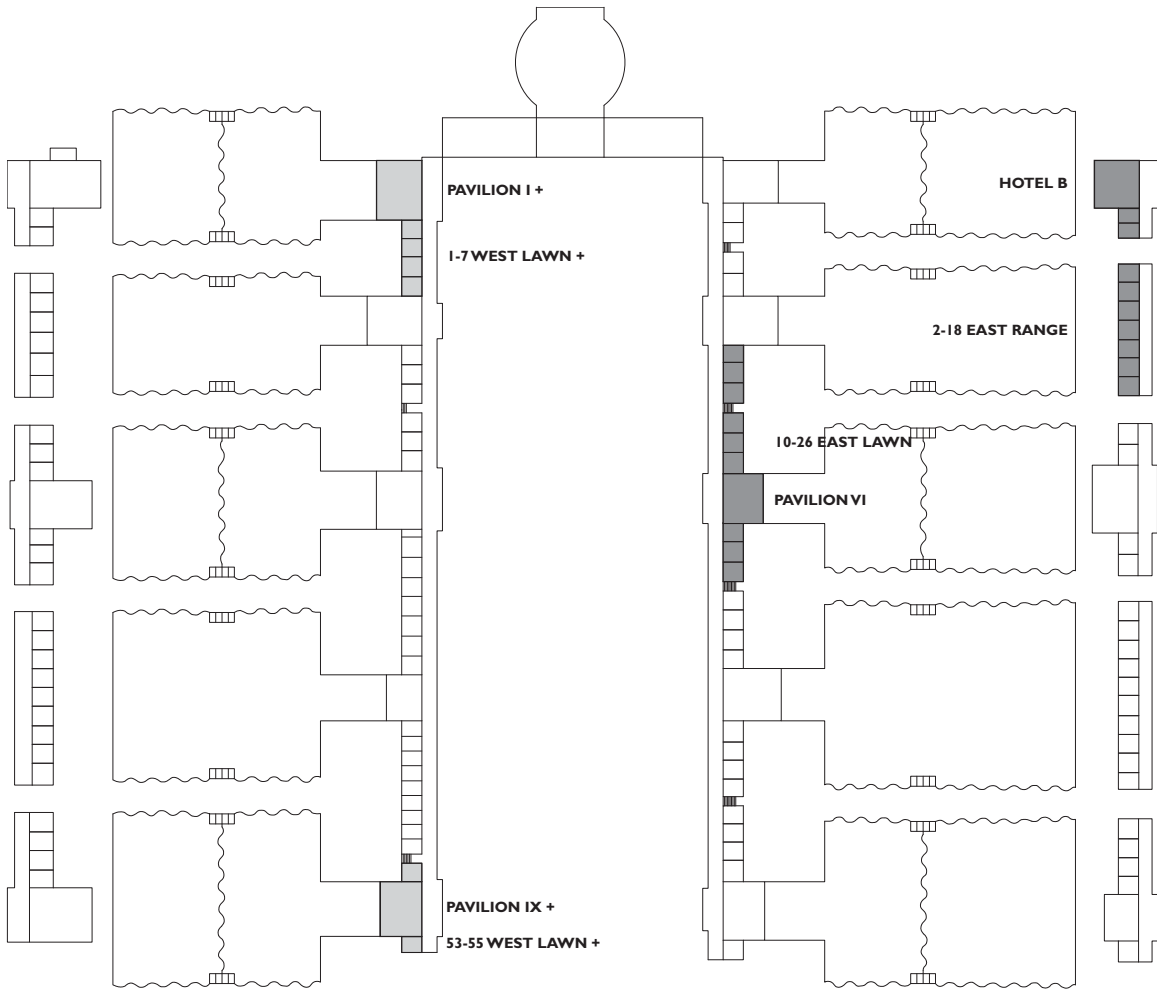


Figure 27. Map of projects executed by Curtis Carter.

Principal Projects:

Hotel B

Pavilion VI

10-26 East Lawn

2-18 East Range

HISTORY: CONSTRUCTION (1817-1823)

Projects with Carter & Phillips:

Pavilion I

Pavilion IX

1-7 West Lawn

53-55 West Lawn

Curtis Carter was a Richmond mason who came to work on the University of Virginia in 1819. He had previously erected the Brockenborough House in that city, along with a substantial house for himself and many banks.¹¹⁷ He initially contracted to make and lay a million bricks.¹¹⁸ In this, and frequently afterward, he worked in partnership with mason William B. Phillips. Together, they completed the masonry for Pavilions I, III, and IX, as well as 1-7 and 53-55 West Lawn. In his own right, he executed the masonry for Hotel B, Pavilion VI, 10-26 East Lawn, and 2-18 East Lawn.

After his work in Charlottesville, Carter returned to Henrico County where he eventually retired from masonry to farming.¹¹⁹

117. Waite, Mesick, and Waite, "Pavilion I, University of Virginia," 38.

118. Grizzard, "Documentary History of Construction at UVA," Chapter 3.

119. Curtis Carter and William B. Phillips, Building Contract (Richmond, Virginia, March 24, 1819), Founders Online, National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-14-02-0151>.

DORMITORIES

Dabney Cosby (1779-1862)

Staunton, Virginia
Brick maker and mason
Contracts: \$4,306.29

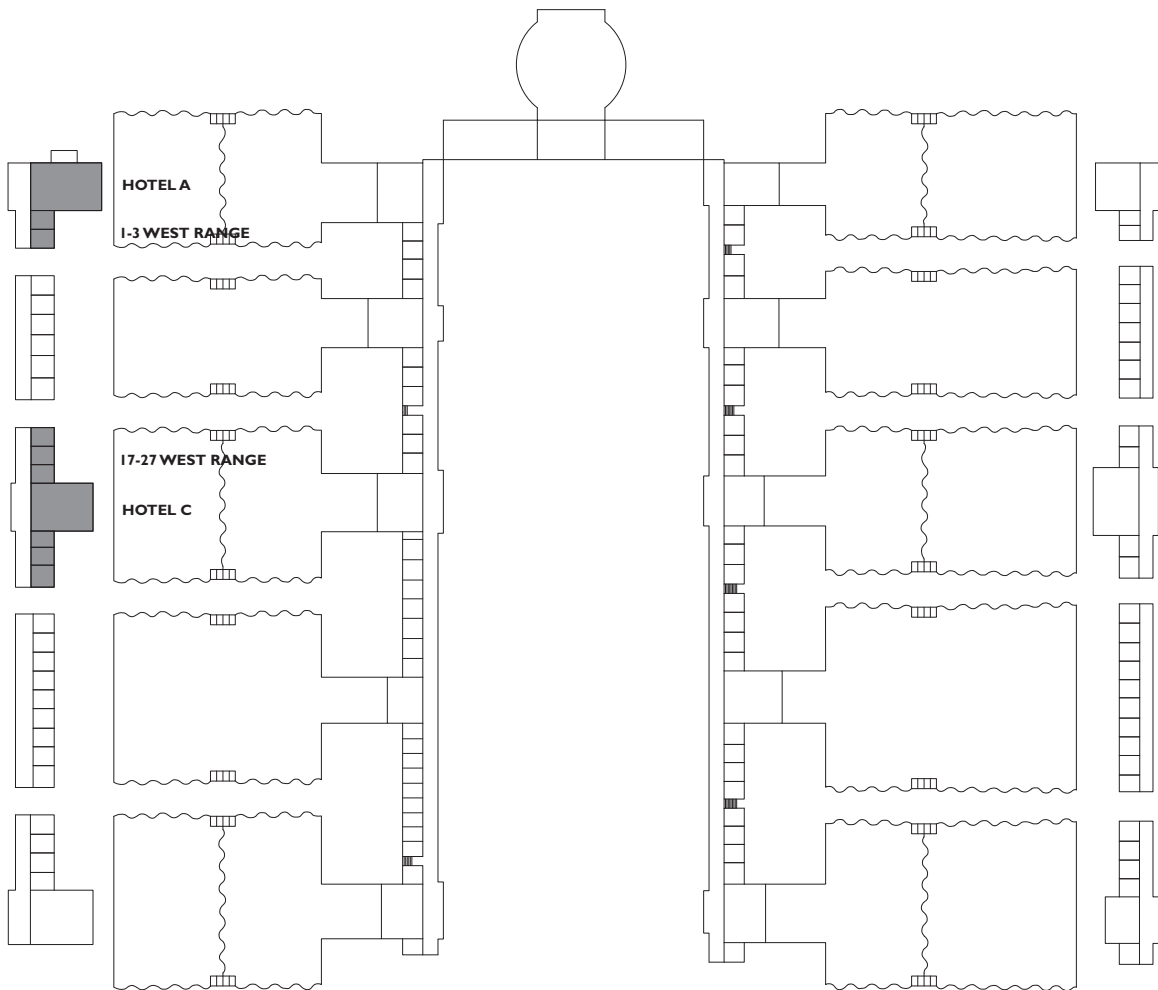


Figure 28. Map of projects executed by Dabney Cosby.

Principal Projects:

- Hotel A masonry
- Hotel C masonry
- 1-3 West Range masonry
- 17-27 West Range masonry

HISTORY: CONSTRUCTION (1817-1823)

Dabney Cosby established himself as a brick mason in Staunton, Virginia by 1799 and practiced his trade there for twenty years before offering his services to Thomas Jefferson in late 1818. His promise of being able to make a million bricks over the next two years must have been appealing to Jefferson, who was anxious about his workforce's capacity and capabilities.¹²⁰

Cosby only executed three structures in the Academical Village: Hotels A and C and eight dormitories on the West Range, likely rooms 1 to 3 and 17 to 27, both of which adjoined hotels that he was contracted to build. Upon completion of this work, he returned to Staunton, from which he continued to work on buildings in Virginia, erecting many public and collegiate buildings, including Venable Hall at Hampden-Sydney College. He concluded his career in Raleigh, North Carolina, where he moved in 1839.¹²¹

Cosby was acquainted with James Oldham, the carpenter who later sued the university for breach of contract. Despite Oldham's ill temper, Cosby sought to work on buildings with him, seemingly because they had collaborated previously.¹²²

120. Dabney Cosby to Thomas Jefferson, December 18, 1818, Founders Online, National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-13-02-0445>.

121. Bishir and Bullock, "Cosby, Dabney (1779-1862)."

122. Grizzard, "Documentary History of Construction at UVA," Appendix J.

DORMITORIES

*James Dinsmore** (c. 1771-1830)

Ireland, via Philadelphia, then Charlottesville, Virginia, by 1798

Carpenter

Contracts: \$17,432.74

+ Contracts in partnership with John Neilson: \$8,089.07

+ Contracts in partnership with John Perry: \$7,316.67

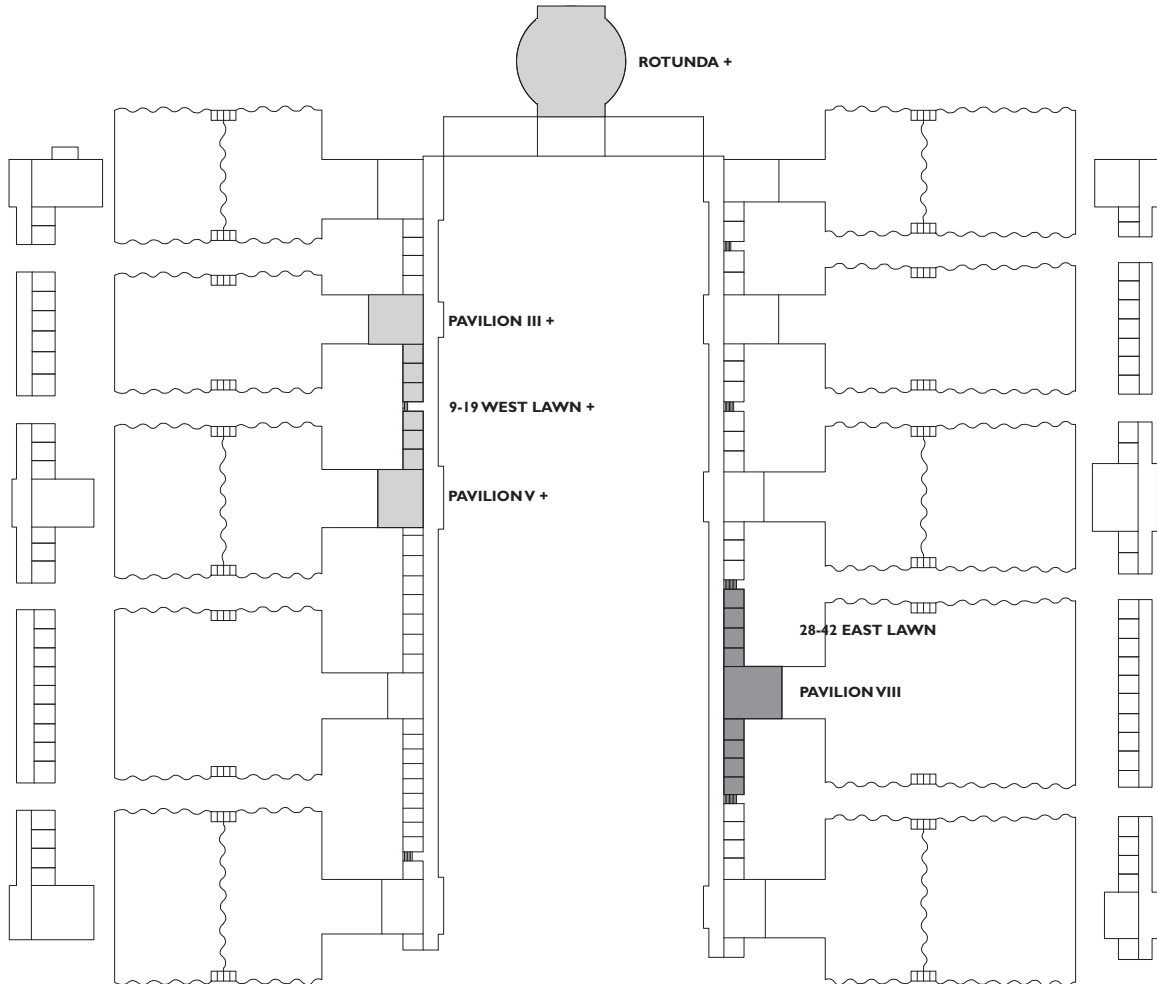


Figure 29. Map of projects executed by James Dinsmore.

Principal Projects:

Pavilion III

Pavilion V

Pavilion VIII

HISTORY: CONSTRUCTION (1817-1823)

28-42 East Lawn
9-19 West Lawn
Rotunda

Like his countryman, John Neilson, James Dinsmore was one of Jefferson's favorite tradespeople. Dinsmore worked at Monticello and Poplar Forest from 1798 until 1808.¹²³ To Jefferson, there were no superior finish joiners anywhere in the country and when the U. S. Capitol burned in 1814, he recommended that Benjamin Henry Latrobe hire both men to help rebuild it.¹²⁴ Monticello overseer, Edmund Bacon, once observed that "Dinsmore, who lived with [Jefferson] a good many years, was the most ingenious hand to work with wood I ever knew."¹²⁵

Dinsmore was in Petersburg in 1817 when he received Jefferson's summons to help build the University of Virginia, with the promise that work on Pavilion VII would be followed by many projects over several years.¹²⁶ Though John Perry's skillful maneuvering eliminated that opportunity, Dinsmore was given contracts for two other Pavilions on the West Lawn, III and V, as well as Pavilion VIII. He only built 14 student rooms: the six to the north of Pavilion V and the eight on either side of Pavilion VIII. With Neilson, he executed the finish carpentry at both the Anatomical Theater and the Rotunda.

Jefferson clearly trusted Dinsmore's judgment and valued his understanding of the former president's aesthetic priorities. He sent him to survey buildings with tin roofs and to advise on that material's suitability for the university.¹²⁷ But with Jefferson's death, Dinsmore's standing on the project diminished, despite his involvement in the centerpiece of the Lawn, the Rotunda. In the short time that major construction projects overlapped with the presence of students, Dinsmore gained a reputation for being insufficiently respectful of the university's educational purpose. After a professor requested that a laborer stop working because the noise was disturbing his class, Dinsmore threatened to toss the students and their benches out of the room.¹²⁸

123. Lay, "Charlottesville's Architectural Legacy."

124. Thomas Jefferson to Benjamin Henry Latrobe, May 11, 1815, Founders Online, National Archives.

125. Edmund Bacon, as quoted in James A. Bear, *Jefferson at Monticello: Recollections of a Monticello Slave and of a Monticello Overseer* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1967), 70.

126. Grizzard, "Documentary History of Construction at UVA," Chapter 1.

127. Grizzard, Chapter 2.

128. Grizzard, Chapter 11.

DORMITORIES

John Gorman (1786-1827)

Ireland, via Lynchburg, Virginia

Stone mason

Contracts: \$9,419.24

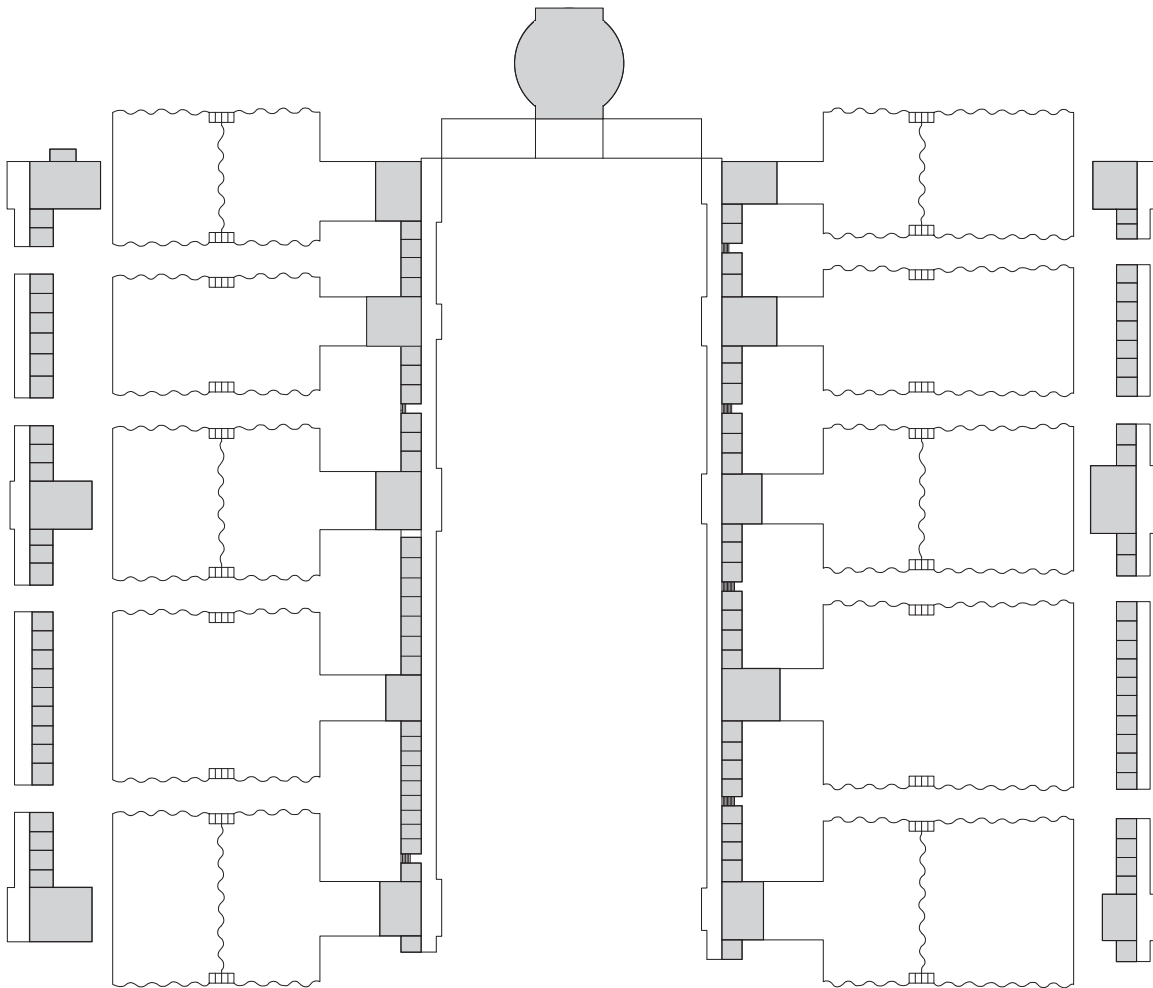


Figure 30. Map of projects executed by John Gorman.

Gorman is the least well-known Irish native to have left his mark on the University of Virginia but he worked on every pavilion, every hotel, and every dormitory, providing stonework for capitals, bases, and wall coping. Jefferson encountered him in Lynchburg and engaged him to work on stone hearths at Poplar Forest. Impressed with his work and indebted to him for his knowledge of stone masonry and carving, he hired him to do all the stonework at the university not intended for the Italian carvers, to preserve their efforts for the more delicate and

HISTORY: CONSTRUCTION (1817-1823)

time-consuming work of making classical capitals.¹²⁹

Gorman is one of a small number of workmen whose name appears in the Proctor's Journal for renting dormitory rooms during construction. Twice he rented three rooms for eight months, both seemingly in the first row to be completed at 23 to 51 West Lawn. Sometime during the construction of the university, he relocated from Lynchburg to Charlottesville, where he died in 1827.¹³⁰

129. Lay, "Charlottesville's Architectural Legacy"; Grizzard, "Documentary History of Construction at UVA," Chapter 3.

130. Lay, "Charlottesville's Architectural Legacy."

DORMITORIES

John Neilson (c. 1770-1827)*

Ireland, via Philadelphia, and Albemarle County, by 1804

Carpenter and draftsman

Contracts: \$16,517.31

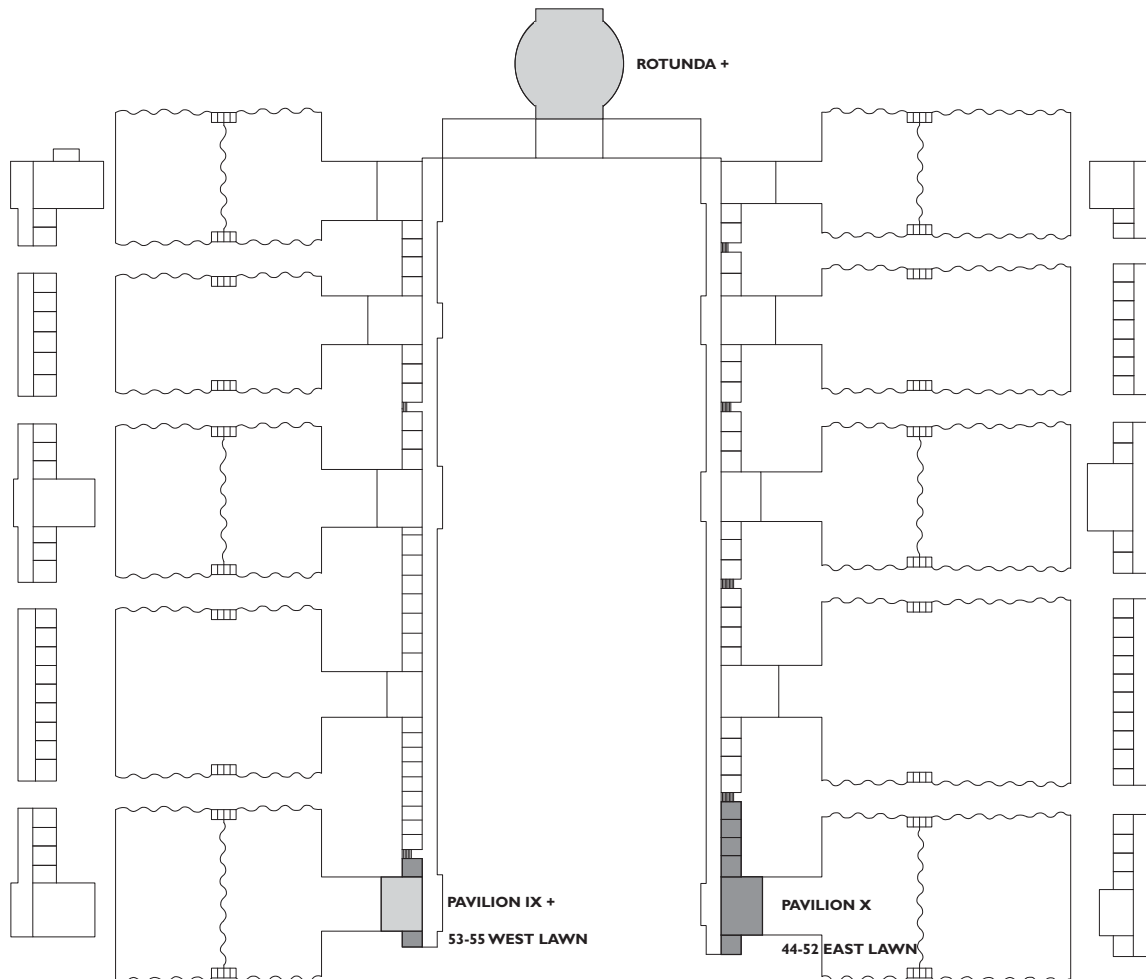


Figure 31. Map of projects executed by John Neilson.

Principal Projects:

- Pavilion IX
- Pavilion X
- 53-55 West Lawn
- 44-52 East Lawn
- Rotunda
- Anatomical Theater

HISTORY: CONSTRUCTION (1817-1823)

Along with James Dinsmore, fellow Irishman, John Neilson was one of Jefferson's most trusted builders, who worked on some of the most prominent houses erected by his circle in the first two decades of the nineteenth century. Apprenticed to a Belfast architect as a young man, he was transported from Ireland to the West Indies for his involvement in the 1798 Irish Rebellion. After making his way to Philadelphia, he was hired by Jefferson to work at Monticello in 1804; from 1808 to 1810, he worked for James Madison on his improvements to Montpelier. And in 1817, John Hartwell Cocke hired him to build his plantation house called Bremo in Fluvanna County.¹³¹

Jefferson thought highly of Neilson, trusting him to execute drawings of several pavilions and it is supposed that he prepared the preliminary plan that was published as the Maverick engraving of the University of Virginia.¹³² Some measure of his esteem is evident in his early approach to Neilson, along with Dinsmore, requesting that the pair build the first structure at the university, Pavilion VII.¹³³ Those plans were scuttled when John Perry made his receiving the contract for carpentry a condition for selling the land.

Despite his connections to key members of the Board of Visitors—he had built houses for three of the six men—Neilson's involvement in the first wave of construction of the university was restricted to two pavilions and seven dormitories. To a degree, this is likely because of his contemporaneous work on Bremo, which was not finished until 1820. With the completion of the student rooms and pavilions, Neilson was engaged to do carpentry at the Rotunda and the Anatomical Theater.

Neilson, the one-time revolutionary, could be irascible. He was deferential to Thomas Jefferson but had little patience for proctor Arthur Brockenbrough, who complained that “he is not disposed to hear any thing I have to say on the subject.”¹³⁴ The subject at issue, in this case, was Brockenbrough engaging George Spooner to do some of the woodwork on one of the pavilions, as a result of which, Neilson “in a very cerly mood, refuses to let him go on with any part of the work.”¹³⁵ Such behavior did nothing to prevent him from being contracted to do the woodwork at the Rotunda, along with James Dinsmore.

131. Lay.

132. Lay, *The Architecture of Jefferson Country*, 99.

133. Jefferson to Dinsmore, April 13, 1817.

134. Arthur S. Brockenbrough to Thomas Jefferson, October 12, 1819, Founders Online, National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-15-02-0091>.

135. Brockenbrough to Jefferson.

DORMITORIES

*James Oldham (?-1843)**

Albemarle County and Richmond, Virginia

Carpenter

Contracts: \$23,807.74

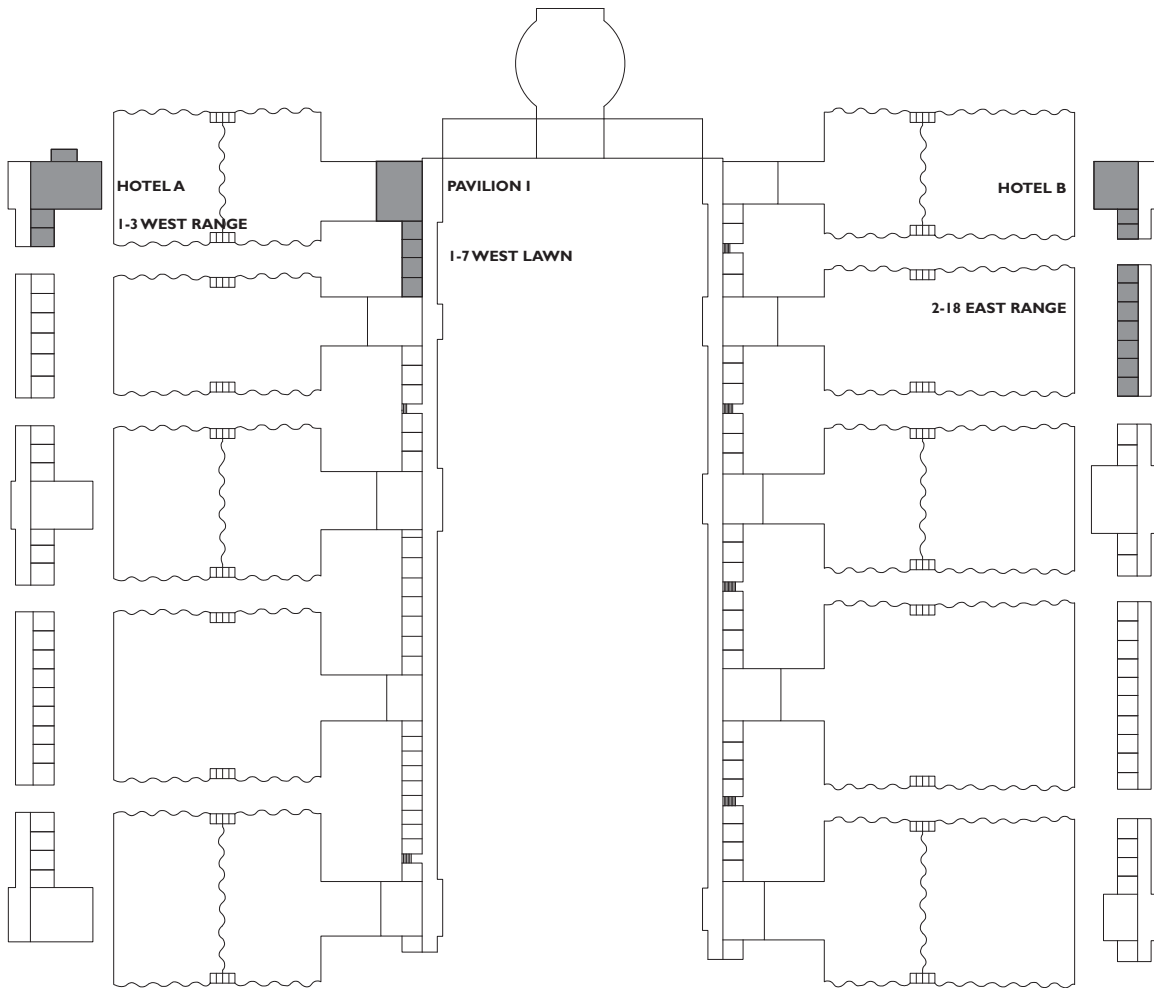


Figure 32. Map of projects executed by James Oldham.

Principal projects:

- Pavilion I
- Hotel A
- Hotel B
- 1-7 West Lawn
- 1-3 West Range
- 2-18 East Range

HISTORY: CONSTRUCTION (1817-1823)

After Richard Ware and John Perry, James Oldham received the third highest value of contracts for construction at the university. Unlike those two men, Thomas Jefferson trusted both his skill and judgement on matters of design. He loaned him a copy of Palladio's *Four Books* in 1804 and assigned him the woodwork of two pavilions and two hotels.¹³⁶ Their relationship and the prospects for his involvement on university projects were both injured when, in frustration at not being paid in a timely manner, Oldham filed a lawsuit against the university in 1823.¹³⁷

James Oldham had already spent several years working on Monticello in 1804, when Jefferson, noting that he had a good eye and a practiced hand, recommended him for work in Richmond.¹³⁸ The ambitious Oldham sought to expand his business and saw the new capital of Virginia as a rich field. There, his most prominent project was the renovation and repair of finish work at the state capitol, which he completed in 1813.¹³⁹ In 1816, Jefferson recommended him to his friend John Hartwell Cocke as a builder of his proposed mansion house, promising that he would “build you a House without any false architecture, so much the rage at present.”¹⁴⁰

The following year, Oldham sought further opportunity in St. Louis, where he relocated with a crew of ten men to work for a Richmond developer, Benjamin James Harris. When Harris sought to terminate their contract, Oldham returned to Virginia in 1818, writing to Jefferson directly of his interest in the construction of the university at Charlottesville.¹⁴¹ In April of 1819, Jefferson agreed to have Oldham execute the carpentry for Pavilion I, offering to house his workers in the dormitories, with the “under workmen” in their cellars.¹⁴² In June, Oldham was drawing select details of decorative woodwork and corresponding with Jefferson about some difficulties that he anticipated concerning the relationship of the portico ceiling and its entablature. His conscientiousness provides an indication of why the former president had such confidence in his capabilities. The same letter, however, gives a premonition of trouble on the horizon in Oldham's frustration with the management of the project—“Our proctor is not here, he gave me no positive instructions as to the maner of finish but referred to those that ware going on.”¹⁴³

In late 1821, Oldham's frustrations came to a breaking point and he begged Jefferson to intervene with the proctor, Arthur Spicer Brockenbrough, to ensure that he was paid for the work

136. Lay, *The Architecture of Jefferson Country*, 103.

137. Frank E. Grizzard, “‘To Exercise a Sound Discretion’: The University of Virginia and Its First Lawsuit,” 1996, <http://jti.lib.virginia.edu/jefferson/grizzard/lawsuit.html>.

138. Thomas Jefferson to John Harvie, September 27, 1804, Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-44-02-0397>.

139. Cote, “The Architectural Workmen of Thomas Jefferson in Virginia,” 104–5.

140. Coles to Cocke, February 23, 1816.

141. Oldham to Jefferson, December 26, 1818.

142. Jefferson to Oldham, April 8, 1819.

143. Oldham to Jefferson, June 21, 1819.

DORMITORIES

he had performed to date. He itemized that work carefully in a subsequent letter and followed this with an anonymous letter to a member of the Virginia House of Delegates charging Brockenbrough with fraud and maladministration.¹⁴⁴ Jefferson thought that the charges against the proctor were baseless and that their source, while “as faithful a workman as I have ever known,” was a man whose “temper is unhappy.”¹⁴⁵

Oldham’s dissatisfaction with the rate of his compensation became acute when the university renegotiated existing contracts with a ten percent reduction following the Panic of 1819. Oldham refused to accept the reduced rates. Following some increasingly irritable exchanges between Oldham and Brockenbrough, Oldham sued the Board of Visitors for payment at his original, higher rate in November of 1823. The suit dragged on for nearly a decade, at the end of which Oldham was paid for work completed at the ten percent discount, plus interest.¹⁴⁶

144. Grizzard, “To Exercise a Sound Discretion.”

145. Thomas Jefferson to Joseph C. Cabell, February 4, 1823, Thomas Jefferson Papers, University of Virginia Library.

146. Grizzard, “To Exercise a Sound Discretion.”

HISTORY: CONSTRUCTION (1817-1823)

Lyman Peck and Malcolm Crawford (1794-1876)

Albemarle County, Virginia

Carpenters

Contracts: \$6,508.91

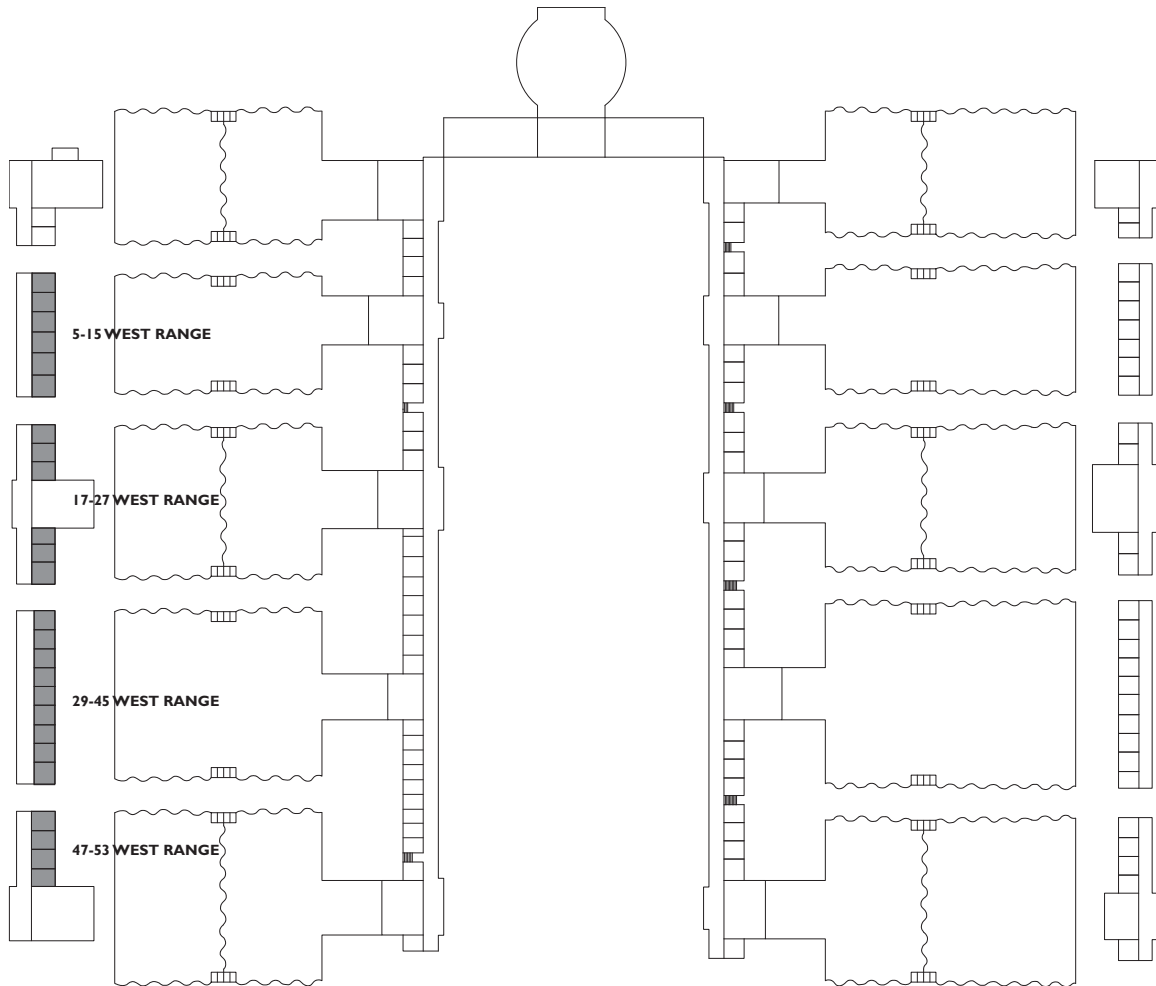


Figure 33. Map of projects executed by Peck and Crawford.

Principal Projects:

5-53 West Range carpentry

Carpenters Lyman Peck and Malcolm F. Crawford worked almost exclusively in partnership. Proctor's payments to them individually are very small. Even as partners, they only appear in a handful of entries in the Proctor's journals, including some work on the Chinese railings on the

DORMITORIES

West Lawn pavilions and substantial carpentry on the West Range. James Oldham is the only other contractor paid for carpentry on the West Range and he received \$300 for two rooms. Not involved in the first years of building at the university, Peck and Crawford executed a contract in August of 1821 to complete the remainder of 25 rooms on the West Range for \$100 apiece.¹⁴⁷ Significantly, they were awarded the project over Richard Ware, the Philadelphian, and John Perry, who were both doing work on the West Range in 1821 and 1822.

Peck and Crawford were both in Virginia by 1820, when they were engaged to build Edgehill, in nearby Nelson County, for Joseph Carrington Cabell.¹⁴⁸ A native of Maine, Crawford married and remained in Albemarle County after the conclusion of construction and seems to have prospered, building several courthouses in the region and likely Berry Hill.¹⁴⁹ The 1850 census lists him at the head of a large household that included 22 enslaved people, twelve of them children under 16. Peck's background is more difficult to discern in the historical record, except that he married a Lucy Gaines in Albemarle County in July of 1827.¹⁵⁰

147. Lyman Peck and Malcom F. Crawford, "Contract for Carpentry Work at the University of Virginia" (Contract, August 10, 1821), Special Collections, University of Virginia Library.

148. Jennifer Hallock, "Edgewood National Register Nomination," National Register Nomination (National Park Service, March 17, 2006).

149. Cote, "The Architectural Workmen of Thomas Jefferson in Virginia," 155–58; 248–66.

150. "Lyman Peck and Lucy Gaines Bond of Marriage," July 18, 1827, Albemarle County, Virginia, Virginia Circuit Court Clerk Offices, <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:66HN-Z45N>.

HISTORY: CONSTRUCTION (1817-1823)

*John M. Perry** (c. 1775-c. 1835)

Albemarle County, Virginia

Undertaker, carpenter

Contracts under his own name: \$67,414.87

+ Contracts in partnership with others: \$14,806.19

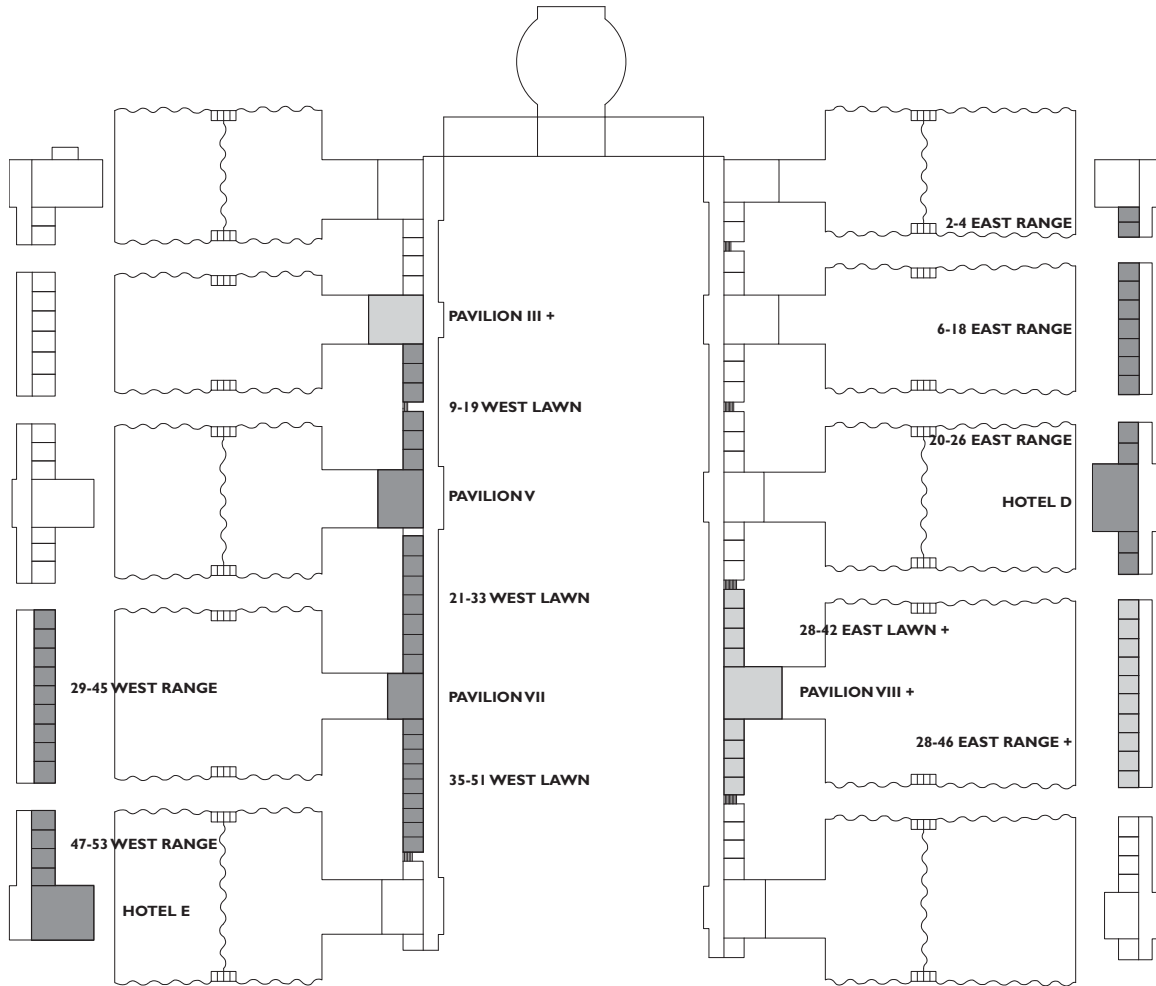


Figure 34. Map of projects executed by John Perry.

Principal projects:

- 9-19 West Lawn
- 21-51 West Lawn
- 28-42 East Lawn
- 2-18 East Range

DORMITORIES

20-26 East Range
28-46 East Range
29-53 West Range
Pavilion III
Pavilion V
Pavilion VII
Pavilion VIII
Hotel D
Hotel E

John M. Perry was a resident of Albemarle County who was a carpenter for both Poplar Forest and Monticello. Though Thomas Jefferson was long acquainted with his work through his own building projects, he did not initially seek him out to work on the University of Virginia. Responding to a request that he be assigned some of the project, Jefferson's reply to Perry was direct to the point of dismissiveness, offering him only that work that suited his limited capabilities: "you acknolege, and we all know that your skill does not go either to the execution of the work yourself properly, or to the knowing when it is properly executed."¹⁵¹ But John Perry was a savvy businessman who superintended a large labor force and the project was on an ambitious timeline. He was there at the beginning and was still on the job at the end, by which time he had worked on ten distinct projects, including pavilions, hotels, and dormitories. He was awarded the highest total value of work undertaken of any contractor.

Critically for the progress of the university, it was Perry who sold the 200-acre site for it in June of 1817. After his price for the land was agreed to, he refused to complete the transaction unless he was awarded a contract for the woodwork on the first pavilion. Jefferson, who had promised this work to Dinsmore, was frustrated by Perry's maneuvering but consented.¹⁵² By the end of the project, Perry would receive over \$80,000 in work; Dinsmore only \$32,000, including the Rotunda.

Following Pavilion VII, he proceeded to execute the woodwork and provide the framing material for the adjoining dormitories at West Lawn 23-51. Though Perry initially sought a contract for carpentry only, he soon expanded his purview to include masonry, starting with the chimneys for Pavilion VII and West Lawn 23-51. Soon, he was both making and laying brick for buildings across the campus. His work included projects large and small: laying hearths, building garden walls, paving cellars and sidewalks, and burning hundreds of thousands of bricks.

Perry relocated to Missouri in 1835.¹⁵³

151. Jefferson to Perry, June 3, 1817.

152. Grizzard, "Documentary History of Construction at UVA," Chapter 1.

153. Grizzard, Chapter 4, n357.

HISTORY: CONSTRUCTION (1817-1823)

William B. Phillips (1790-1861)

Richmond, Virginia

Brick maker and mason

Contracts: \$12,612.48

+ Contracts in partnership with Curtis Carter: \$4,945.95

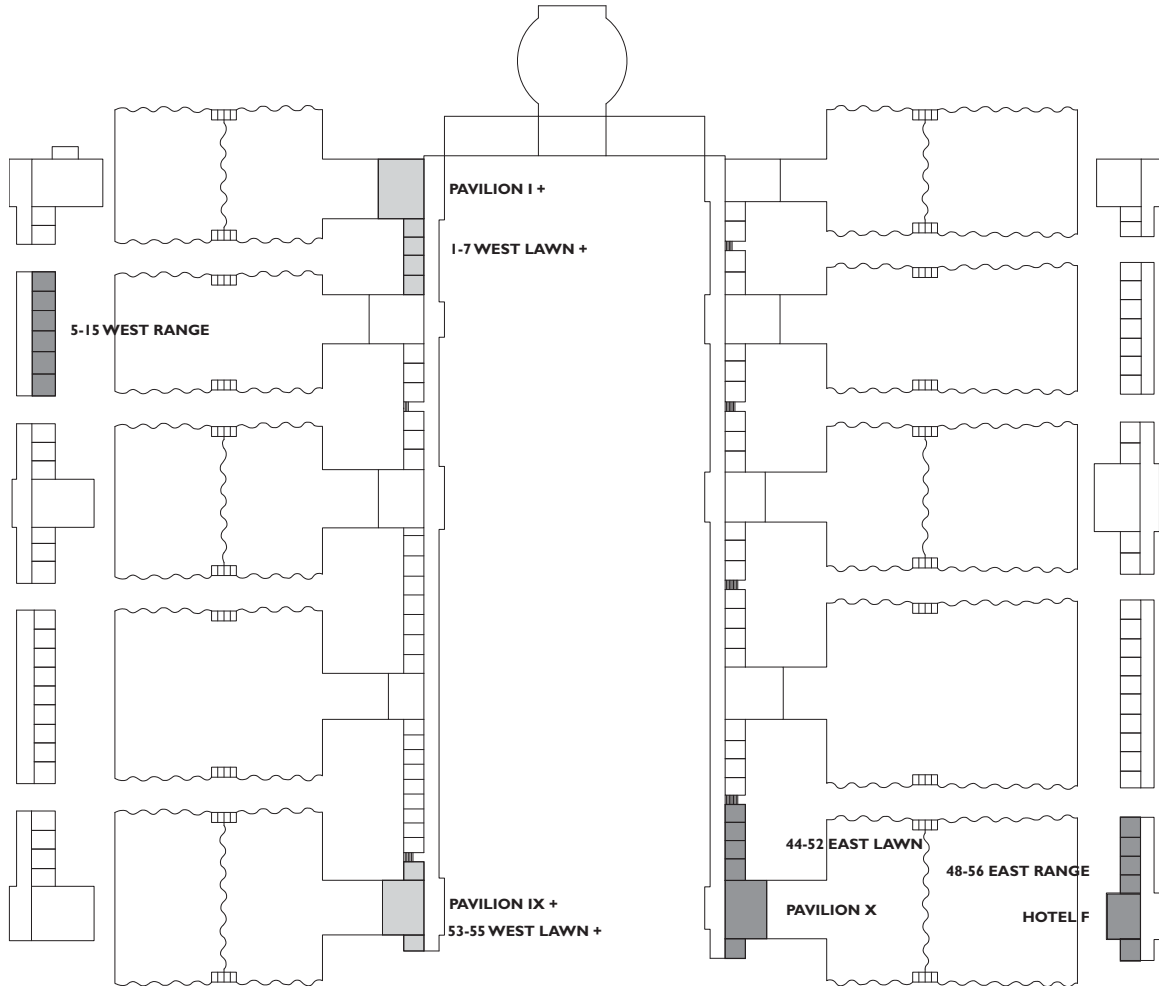


Figure 35. Map of projects executed by William Phillips.

Principal Projects:

Pavilion X masonry

Hotel F masonry

5-15 West Range masonry

44-52 East Lawn bricks and masonry

48-56 East Range masonry

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Projects with Carter & Phillips:

Pavilion I

Pavilion IX

1-7 West Lawn

53-55 West Lawn

Like his early business partner, Curtis Carter, William B. Phillips was a Richmond mason and brick maker who came to Charlottesville in 1819. He brought with him six enslaved people over sixteen years old, likely constituting his labor force.¹⁵⁴ The two men engaged with Jefferson to burn several hundred thousand bricks by the fall of that year. Starting in the spring of 1821, the pair seems to have chosen to pursue contracts independently, with Phillips securing the larger portion of commissions.¹⁵⁵ These included Pavilion X, Hotel F, and 13 dormitory rooms as well as the Anatomical Theater and the house for the proctor. By the end of his time in Charlottesville, Alexander Garrett estimated that Phillips had laid a half million bricks.¹⁵⁶

The attribution of 5-15 West Range to Phillips is based upon an entry in the Proctor's Journal paying him for six rooms somewhere along the West Range. Dabney Cosby also did masonry for a group of six rooms on this row but because Cosby also built Hotel C, we have supposed that he also built the six rooms on either side of it, 17-27 West Range. 5-15 is the only other grouping of six on this row. Casting this conclusion into some doubt, however, is the fact that some of the openings on the West Range are made unusually, with closers at the door and window jambs instead of in the customary position, following the first header. These include doors at 9 and 41 West Range. If the same mason erected both 5-15 and 29-45, then Phillips cannot have built 5-15 because he was only paid for six rooms.

Unlike Carter, Phillips did not return to Richmond but remained in Albemarle County, where he had lived as a child, purchasing property near Monticello after Jefferson's death. He continued to work with veterans of the university construction project, principally John Perry, with whom he built Edgehill; and Thomas R. Blackburn.¹⁵⁷ He built several substantial structures on his own, including Estouteville just outside Charlottesville and the Sweet Springs resort, in modern West Virginia.¹⁵⁸

154. Moses, "William B. Phillips, 'Bricklaying...of the Best Work Done,'" 17.

155. Carter and Phillips, Building Contract.

156. Moses, "William B. Phillips, 'Bricklaying...of the Best Work Done,'" 10.

157. Calder Loth, "National Register Nomination, Sunnyfields," National Register Nomination (Washington (D.C.): National Park Service, March 8, 1993); Bryan Clark Green, "At the Edge of Custom: The Training of Thomas R. Blackburn, Architect in Antebellum Virginia," *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 10 (2005): 202.

158. Moses, "William B. Phillips, 'Bricklaying...of the Best Work Done,'" 11-13.

HISTORY: CONSTRUCTION (1817-1823)

Sam (enslaved)

Albemarle County, Virginia
Tin worker, carpenter, laborer
Payments: \$626.89

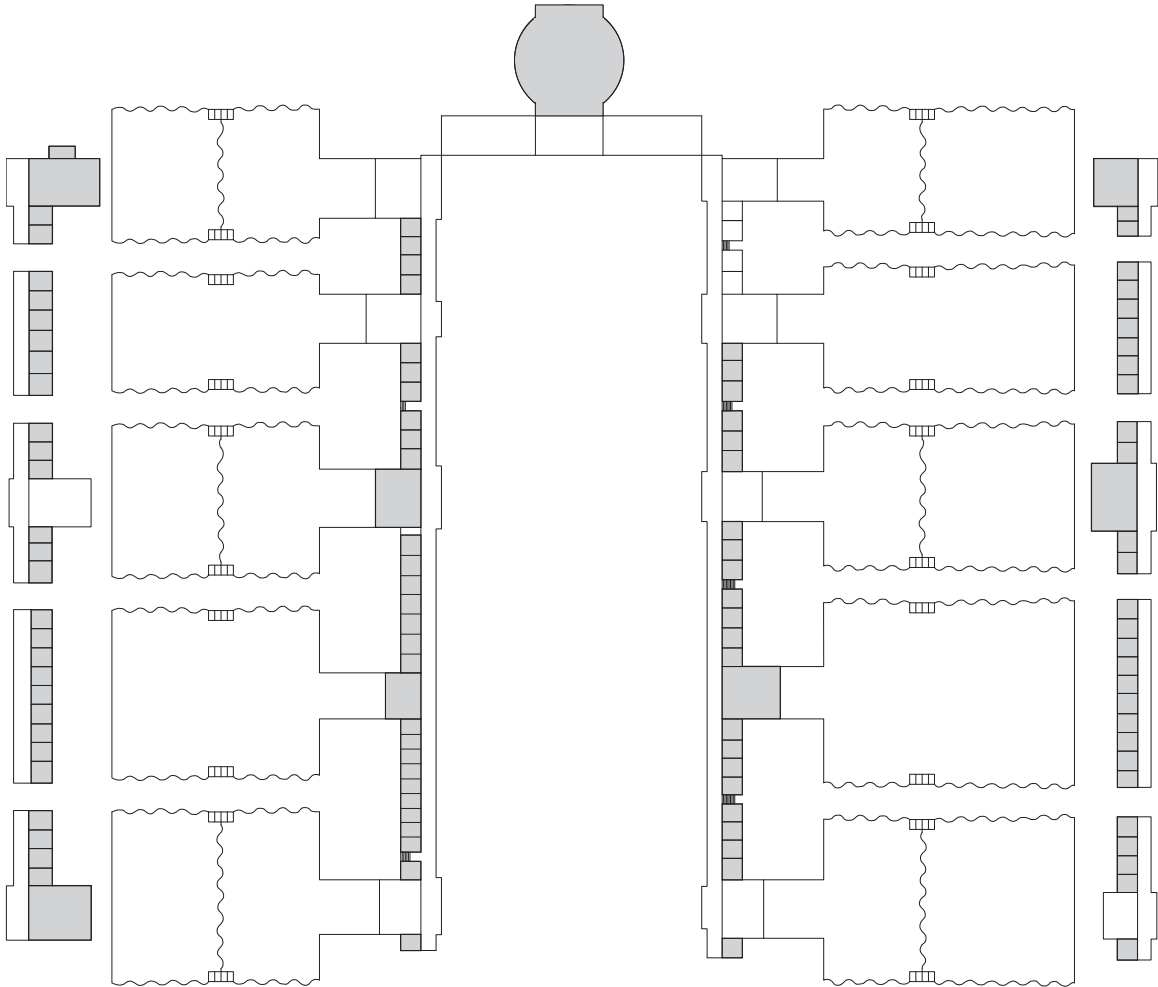


Figure 36. Map of projects executed by Sam.

Projects:

All dormitories except 2-8 East Lawn

Multiple entries in the Proctor's Journal record payments, variously, to or for Sam, Carpenter Sam, and Young Sam. These are at least two and probably three different individuals. The de-meaning manner in which White overseers used only first names for enslaved Black workers

DORMITORIES

obscures any distinctions in the record beyond the occasional qualifiers, such as “young.” That there were at least two Sams is suggested the pair of payments for “Sam” and “young Sam” on the same day, September 16, 1823, at two different pay rates. Further supporting this reading is the fact that a Sam working on campus construction was enslaved by two different people: John Nunn and proctor Arthur Brockenbrough. Nunn was reimbursed by the proctor “for the hire of Sam;” and John Neilson complained that “[Lyman] Peck employs four of the Proctors carpenters[;] his Old man Sam is an apendage to the university[,] being a master of all Arts at one time a carpenter then tin man next printer.”¹⁵⁹

Neilson’s comment further supports the suggestion that there were two Sams on the project: one a young carpenter; the other an older man working on a variety of tasks. Most of the entries in the Proctor’s Journal are for small amounts “for work by Sam” but a few specify that Sam was working on roofs, installing tin. The first entry for Sam, in fact, was for \$2 at Hotel D, “for tinning roof during X mast [ie, Christmas] Hollidays.” This is the only instance in the Proctor’s Journal that records a payment to Sam directly. The remainder specify the building and the value of the work but only note that the payment was “for work by Sam,” indicating that the payments were made to his enslaver. In addition, one of the Sams was hired out by the proctor at \$19 per month, the highest rate for any of the enslaved workers in the Proctor’s Journal.

That the two Sams’ work was specified for multiple buildings and that at least one Sam caught the attention of John Neilson reveals his importance to the project and his visibility. It also highlights, by contrast, the generally invisible role of the scores of enslaved workers brought to the project by Virginia contractors. Though their specific contributions are largely unrecorded, the names of many of those individuals are listed at the end of this section.

159. Neilson to Cocke, February 22, 1823.

HISTORY: CONSTRUCTION (1817-1823)

George W. Spooner (1798-1865)

Fredericksburg, Virginia

Carpenter

Contracts: \$7,704.42

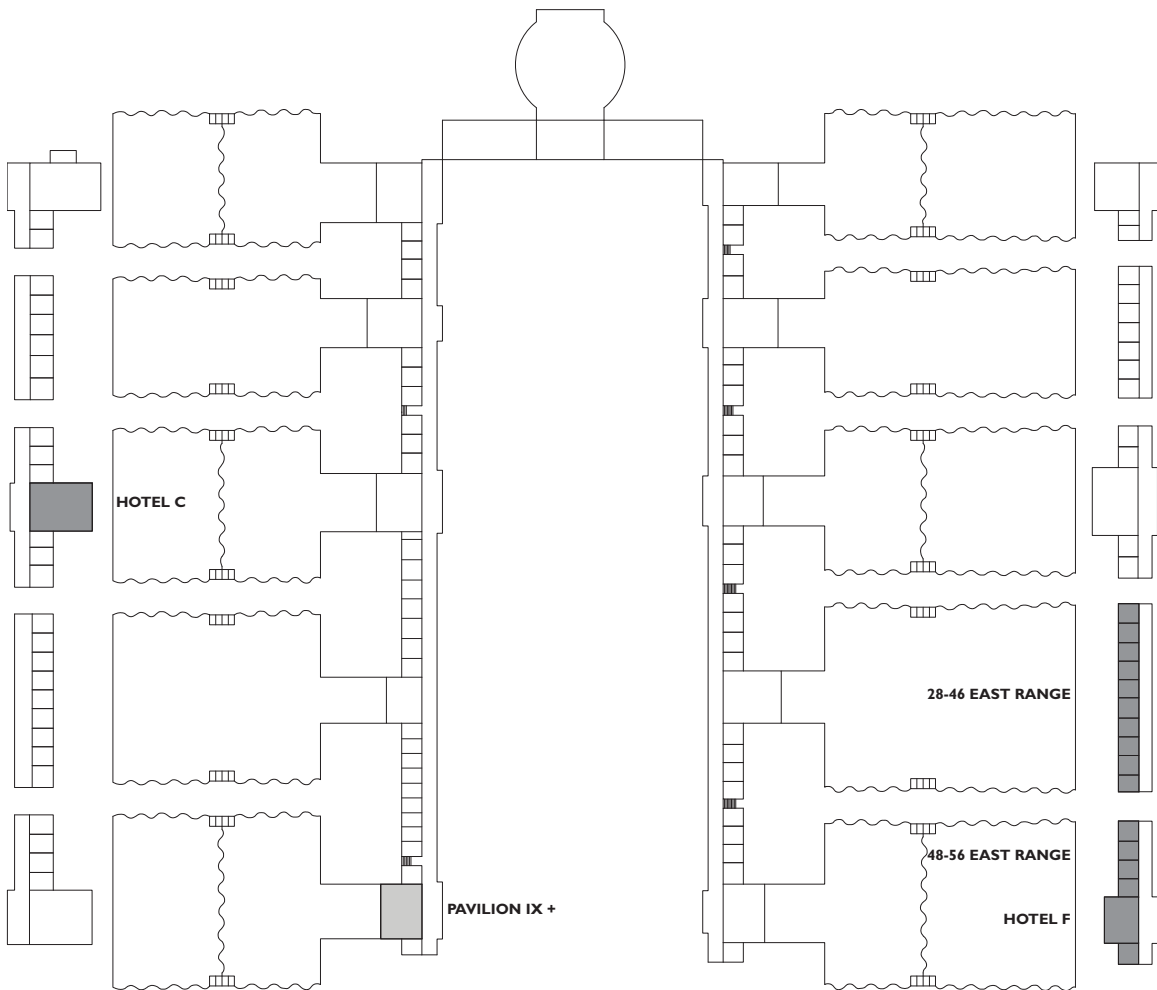


Figure 37. Map of projects executed by George Spooner.

Principal Projects:

Hotel C

Hotel F

Pavilion IX

28-46 East Range

48-56 East Range

DORMITORIES

One of the youngest members of the group doing the principal construction on the early campus, Spooner was a native of Fredericksburg, Virginia. When he first came to Charlottesville, he boarded with John Perry. He was likely brought to the project through John Neilson, with whom he was working on John Hartwell Cocke's house, Bremo, from 1817 to 1819.¹⁶⁰ Unfortunately, he was soon involved in a dispute, because Brockenbrough hired him to do finish work at Pavilion IX before learning that the same work had been promised to Neilson.¹⁶¹

Spooner was connected through professional as well as familial ties to some of his fellow contractors. In 1821, he married the eldest daughter of John Perry and fourteen years later, the couple moved into Perry's nearby house, Montebello.¹⁶² He served as an agent for proctor A.S. Brockenbrough in the latter's absence and became acting proctor himself in 1845 to 1846. In 1853, he supervised the construction of the Annex to the Rotunda.¹⁶³

160. Lay, "Charlottesville's Architectural Legacy."

161. Brockenbrough to Jefferson, October 12, 1819.

162. Grizzard, "Documentary History of Construction at UVA," Chapter 4, n357.

163. Lay, "Charlottesville's Architectural Legacy."

HISTORY: CONSTRUCTION (1817-1823)

Abiah Thorn (1795-1835?)

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Brick mason

Contracts: \$806.37

+ Contracts in partnership with Perry and Chamberlain: \$14,040.71

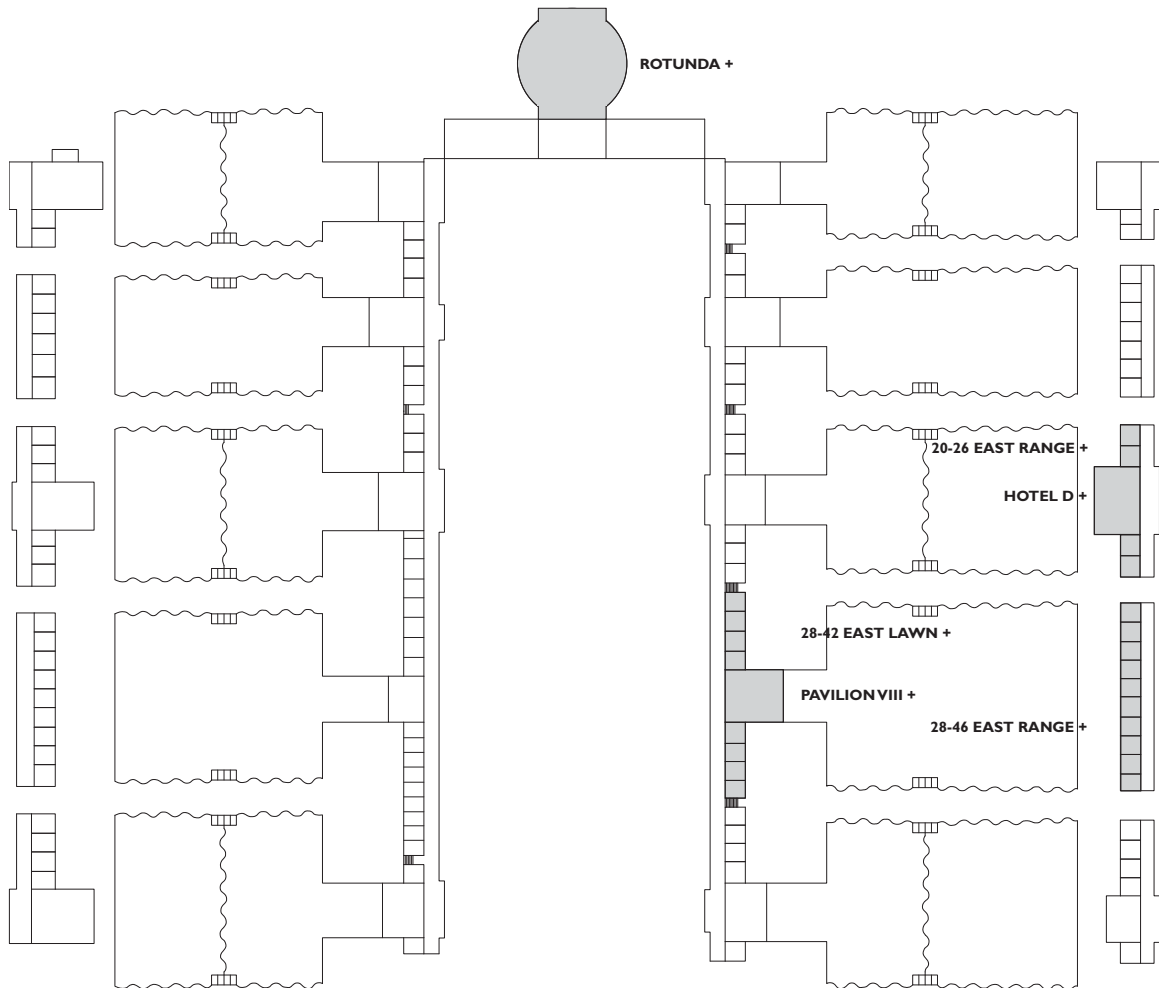


Figure 38. Map of projects executed by Abiah Thorn.

Principal Projects:

Rotunda

Pavilion VIII

Hotel D

28-42 East Lawn

20-26 East Range

28-46 East Range

DORMITORIES

Abiah Thorn was one of the four tradesmen that Jefferson entrusted to build the Rotunda, with Nathaniel Chamberlain, James Dinsmore, and John Neilson. As he related to James Madison, there were “only two bricklayers and two carpenters capable of executing it with solidity and correctness.”¹⁶⁴ Thorn gained Jefferson’s trust quickly—he only came to Charlottesville in 1820, initially in partnership with Richard Ware, his fellow Philadelphian. A young man, he must have been modestly capitalized because, other than small amounts for repairs, the Proctor’s Journal only records payments to him in partnership with others—principally John Perry but later, in his work on the Rotunda, with Chamberlain.¹⁶⁵

Thorn was charged \$100 in 1823 for rent of Hotel D, which he had built, for one year. He and Richard Ware, the other Philadelphian, are the only contractors listed as renting hotels. John Perry and John Gorman rented dormitory rooms but these seem to have been as housing for some of their laborers. Thorn, presumably, occupied the hotel for himself.

Beyond the manuscript entries concerning the UVA construction project, Thorn appears only in the margins of the historical record. Though described as a partner with Richard Ware, he does not appear in the Philadelphia street directories of this period. He may be the Abia Thorn born in 1795 in Burlington, New Jersey and he is likely the Abia B. Thorn, bricklayer, who was listed in the New York City directory of 1829.¹⁶⁶

164. Thomas Jefferson to James Madison, March 12, 1823, Founders Online, National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Madison/04-03-02-0008>.

165. Grizzard, “Documentary History of Construction at UVA,” Chapter 8. Thorn’s work may be evident in an unusual masonry detail that appears on several buildings in the Academical Village, including the Rotunda. This is the placing of closers at the edge of window and door openings instead of in the conventional place, adjoining the first header at the opening. We observe closers at the openings of the cellar windows of the Rotunda as well as on Pavilion VI and 16 and 20 East Lawn. The latter buildings were contracted to Philadelphian Richard Ware, the contractor who brought Thorn from Philadelphia and likely employed him on the first set of buildings he erected. This detail recurs elsewhere on dormitory rooms, on blocks not contracted to Ware, however, including 27 West Range, whose masonry was probably contracted to Dabney Cosby. Further research is needed to develop a clearer sense of whether this detail should be associated with Thorn and whether it appears on later buildings associated with the UVA builders.

166. *Longworth’s American Almanac, New York Register, and City Directory* (New York: Thomas Longworth, 1829).

HISTORY: CONSTRUCTION (1817-1823)

Richard Ware

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Carpenter
Contracts: \$35,131.44

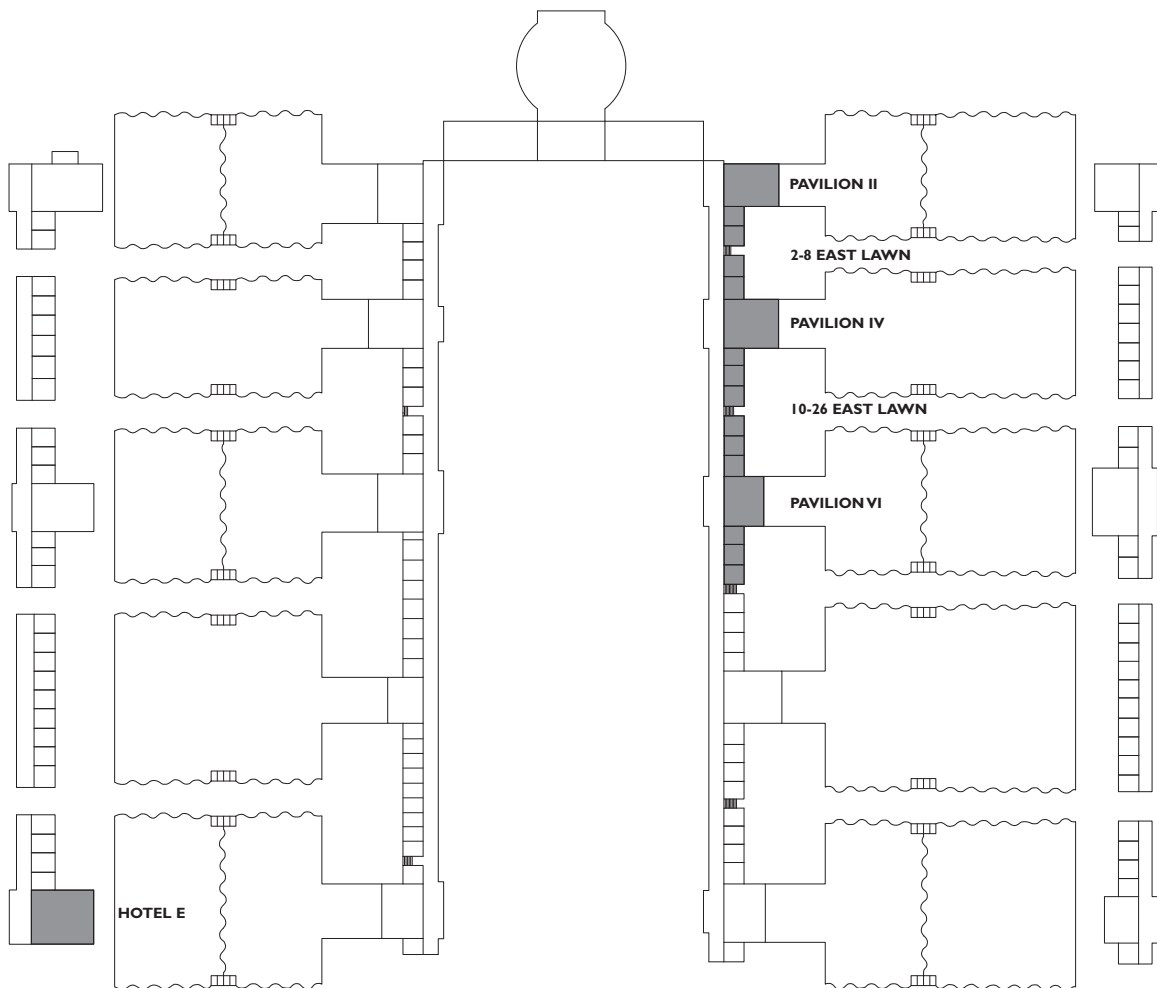


Figure 39. Map of projects executed by Richard Ware.

Principal Projects:

Pavilion II
Pavilion IV
Pavilion VI
2-26 East Lawn
Hotel E

DORMITORIES

After John Perry, Richard Ware was the given the highest value of contracts for the first phase of construction of the University of Virginia. In 1819, Jefferson enlisted his friend Thomas Cooper to identify some suitable tradespeople in Philadelphia to assist with the construction of the university in Charlottesville. Ware was a builder of enough standing to be elected to the Carpenter's Company of Philadelphia in 1810 and brought strong recommendations when he arrived in Charlottesville to inspect the site and meet with Thomas Jefferson.¹⁶⁷ Following this, he drew up a proposal to undertake a substantial portion of the work at a discount below the published rates in Matthew Carey's 1812 *Book of Prices* and, critically, below the rates of his Virginia competitors.

Jefferson accepted the offer but insisted on paying Ware at the published rates, on condition that he execute the work with Philadelphia brick makers and masons. Understanding that Ware would bring a large workforce, he noted that the completed dormitories could be used to house principal workmen, with their cellars for "under-workmen."¹⁶⁸ Just two weeks after sending these terms to Ware, Jefferson received an alarming communication from a John Wallace of Philadelphia, suggesting that Ware's marginal capabilities and "fraudulent knavish conduct" made him unworthy of the former president's confidence. To make matters worse, though Jefferson intended for Ware to begin work later that spring, he was at the time in prison for cheating his creditors out of thousands of dollars.¹⁶⁹ In the following year, he was stricken from the rolls of the Carpenters' Company for "Vice and Immorality."¹⁷⁰

Jefferson hurriedly began developing a contingency plan with proctor, Arthur Brockenbrough, to ensure that the work could proceed without Ware. Brockenbrough was to re-assign the work that had been intended for Ware and Jefferson would continue to seek other contractors from Philadelphia. This correspondence reveals that his purpose in engaging the Philadelphians was not only to enlist a high caliber of construction skill but also to encourage a spirit of competition between the Virginians and the northerners.¹⁷¹ Remarkably, just 11 days after laying out this new approach to the project, Ware arrived in Charlottesville, relating that he had been detained by creditors but was now ready to work, with a large crew of twenty men on their way.¹⁷² With their arrival, Jefferson estimated that there were 100 people engaged in construction on the university.¹⁷³

167. Stokes, "Carpenters' Company Digital Archive & Museum: Ware, Richard"; James Fisher et al. to Thomas Jefferson, "Letter of Recommendation for Richard Ware," March 17, 1819, Founders Online, National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-14-02-0132>.

168. Jefferson to Ware, April 9, 1819.

169. Wallace to Jefferson, April 24, 1819.

170. Stokes, "Carpenters' Company Digital Archive & Museum: Ware, Richard."

171. Jefferson to Brockenbrough, May 17, 1819; Jefferson to Yancey, July 23, 1821.

172. Jefferson to Brockenbrough, May 28, 1819; Thomas Jefferson and John Hartwell Cocke to Thomas Cooper, October 15, 1819, Founders Online, National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-15-02-0098>.

173. Jefferson to Breckinridge, Johnson, and Taylor, July 8, 1819.

HISTORY: CONSTRUCTION (1817-1823)

Jefferson and Brockenbrough again revisited their construction plans, giving Ware and his Philadelphia cohort some of the principal buildings on the East Lawn, including Pavilions II, IV, and VI, and student rooms 2 through 26. Most of Ware's work was restricted to the East Lawn, comprising Pavilions II through VI with the intervening student rooms. His only other project was the carpentry for Hotel E on the West Range.

With the completion of this work, Ware's involvement in the university concluded. He submitted a proposal to do the carpentry on the West Range dormitories but this was not accepted. Instead, it was given to Malcolm Crawford and Lyman Peck.¹⁷⁴ Unlike some other builders, such as Abiah Thorn, Jefferson does not appear to have written a letter of recommendation for Ware. In response to an 1826 request for information about him, the highest praise he could offer was that Ware discharged his contractual obligations: "he completed them, was paid, and did some work in other parts of the State, after which he went to NY, where I believe he is now resident."¹⁷⁵

174. Grizzard, "Documentary History of Construction at UVA," Chapter 6.

175. Thomas Jefferson to Joseph Rodman Paxson, April 22, 1826, Founders Online, National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/98-01-02-6063>.

DORMITORIES

Enslaved workers

Two men named Sam are nearly alone among the enslaved laborers on the construction of the University of Virginia in that their roles are specified in the Proctor's Journal with the buildings on which they worked itemized. Identification of enslaved workers in the Proctor's Journal is generally through one of two types of entry: either reimbursement to one person for the hire of another (ie, "John Nunn for hire of Squire, John + Nelson"); or payment to an individual listed only by a single name (ie, Sam, Jim, Louisa).

The bulk of these payments were of the former kind: reimbursement to an enslaver for the use of another person's coerced labor. A few are small payments for varied, usually unspecified, jobs: "extra work," "hauling bricks," "digging." One is a payment to Louisa, for "going after Willis," evidently a runaway. These are invariably the smallest values in the journal, usually between one and five dollars. Many workers were employed at the brick yard: one journal entry describes the hire of 11 hands there; another lists the expense of provisioning 23 people for six months. Of the rest, a few were carpenters; one was a driver; four, Louisa, Mariah, Rhoda, and Suckey, have women's names; one, Zachariah, was paid for excavating the cellars of Hotels A and B.

The enslaved laborers listed here only includes those for whom payments were made before December, 1823, when the dormitories were complete. It excludes, therefore, most of the Rotunda expense except for brickmaking, which was underway by April of 1823. It also excludes some named individuals who worked in 1824 and later, including the stone mason, Peyton Skipwith, and Moses, a carpenter.¹⁷⁶ It is not, therefore, a comprehensive list of enslaved workers involved in the construction of the university; it only includes those who may have contributed to building dormitories. The University of Virginia is currently working to develop more complete lists of all people who were enslaved on behalf of the university from its founding to emancipation and tracks this research through the JUEL project as well as the public website for the Memorial to Enslaved Laborers.¹⁷⁷

The named individuals, with their trade, if identified, who worked on the construction of the university while the dormitories were in progress is as follows:

Alfred, Brick maker
Barnett
Ben
Billy, Driver
Bob
Bristo, Brick maker
Charles, Brick maker
Davey, Carpenter

176. Nelson and Zehmer, "Slavery and Construction."

177. "Jefferson's University ... the Early Life"; "Memorial to Enslaved Laborers," accessed August 1, 2023, <https://mel.virginia.edu/>.

HISTORY: CONSTRUCTION (1817-1823)

Davy, Brick maker
Dick, Brick maker
Frank
George
Harry
Henry
Isham
Jackson
Jefferson
Jim
John, Brick maker
John Edwards
King Pharo
Lewis
Louisa
Mariah
Ned
Nelson, Brick maker
Paul
Phill
Prince
Reuben, Brick maker
Rhoda
Sam, Brick maker
Sandy
Sharper, Brick maker
Squire
Suckey
Tom, Brick maker
William, Carpenter
William Green
Willis, Brick maker
Wilson
Zachariah

DORMITORIES

Progress of Rooms

The Proctor's Journals provide a wealth of documentation on the construction of the university, with abundant detail about which builders executed which buildings, how they were compensated, and on what day the payments were made. Despite this, establishing a precise chronology for the construction of the dormitories is difficult. Payments were only made after work was completed but this could sometimes take months, or even years, as funds became available. The journals are occasionally explicit on the length of these delays, whose extents were one of the complaints made by James Oldham in his lawsuit. They also meant that the project was best suited to highly capitalized undertakers, men who could pay the wages of their crew for many months while awaiting payment from the university. For the modern researcher, they mean simply that the proctor's records of payments are imprecise indicators of the progress of construction. In the minutes of the Board of Visitors, there are occasional oblique references to blocks of rooms being underway, or complete, but there are very few notations fixing the start or finish of particular building projects.

A rare example is an account of the ceremonial laying of the cornerstone of the first building, Pavilion VII, on Monday, October 6, 1817, complete with a masonic procession, a ritual assessment of the stone, and a pious, hopeful speech:

May almighty God, without invocation to whom no work of importance should be begun, bless this undertakeing and enable us to carry it on with success. Protect this college the object of which institution is to instill into the minds of Y[o]uth principles of sound knowledge, to inspire them with the love of religion & virtue, and prepare them for filling the various situations in society with credit to themselves and benefit to their country.¹⁷⁸

Though October 6th was court day in Charlottesville, the magistrates closed their courtrooms to allow the citizens of the town and the county to witness the ritual laying of the cornerstone by the masonic contingent, accompanied by Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and James Monroe: the sitting President of the United States and two of his predecessors.¹⁷⁹ Despite the pomp and despite the optimism and excitement that the event occasioned, it came at a time when the project's prospects were unsettled. It would be another four months before the Virginia legislature would agree to make Charlottesville the site of the new University of Virginia and it was not until 1819 that it would finally be chartered by the Commonwealth.

Other touchstones are located in the historical record by happenstance, such as the notation in the Proctor's Journal that John Perry was not paid for the masonry on Pavilion V, which

178. John Fagg et al., "Masonic Report on the Central College Cornerstone Laying" (December 1, 1817), Founders Online, National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-12-02-0057-0004>.

179. Fagg et al.

HISTORY: CONSTRUCTION (1817-1823)

he completed in March of 1820, until May 16, 1821.¹⁸⁰ There is, therefore, no single primary source from which it is possible to derive a record of the progress of construction of the University of Virginia. Frank Grizzard's immensely useful dissertation is the best secondary source but lacks detail on the timing of dormitory construction.¹⁸¹

The chronological account that follows is a recitation of progress drawn principally from letters to and from Jefferson and proctor Arthur Brockenborough as well as the periodic reports of the Board of Visitors. Those reports are transcribed in an appendix. Information about which builders executed which buildings are contained in the Proctor's Journals, which record details about the nature of work and when it was paid, organized by date.¹⁸² The Proctor's Ledgers provide a summary view of the accounts for individual buildings and these records provide the simplest way to see which builders executed which buildings.¹⁸³ Our analysis of the same material informs the sequential plans that are included here, showing construction progress on the Academical Village graphically.

180. "Proctor's Journals," 77.

181. Grizzard, "Documentary History of Construction at UVA."

182. "Proctor's Journals." Volume 2, covering 1819 to 1828, records payments made during principal construction.

183. University of Virginia Proctor, "Proctor's Ledgers," 1817; 1832; 1905--1859. As with the Journals, volume 2 includes the bulk of payments made for principal construction, through 1825.

DORMITORIES

1818

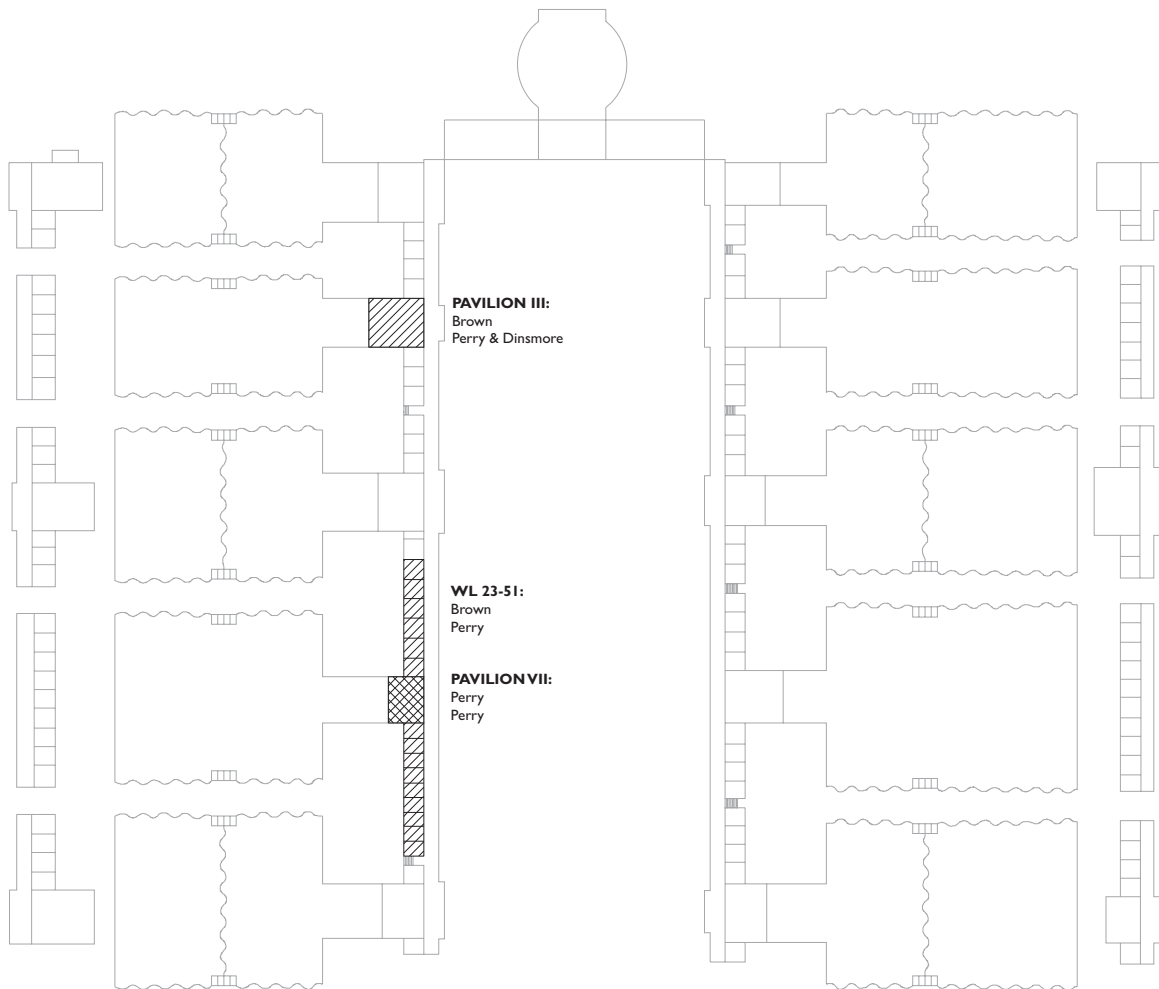


Figure 40. Progress of construction through 1818. Diagonal hatching indicates buildings begun; cross-hatching indicates buildings well underway. Solid fill indicates buildings complete.

Major administrative milestones help to document the early phases of the construction effort with some clarity. It is possible, for example, to be precise about the dates of construction of the first group of dormitories, which followed closely on that of Pavilion VII. These were the row of 15 rooms from 23 to 51 West Lawn, beginning with the group of nine rooms to the south of Pavilion VII and followed soon after by the group of six to the north. Recall that Jefferson adjusted the size of the rooms between these two blocks, from 11 feet to 14 feet. 21 West Lawn was not part of this effort but was added under a later contract, as can be seen in the masonry seam between rooms 21 and 23. The first of these started on June 18, 1818, when undertaker John Perry reported to Jefferson that “the Brick layers got here yesterday and...the dormitories will be laid off to day.”¹⁸⁴

184. John M. Perry to Thomas Jefferson, June 18, 1818, Founders Online, National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-13-02-0095>.

HISTORY: CONSTRUCTION (1817-1823)

In September of that year, Matthew Brown, Perry's mason, had finished the brick walls of the narrow rooms at 35-51. After Jefferson revised their plans, Brown completed the masonry of 23 to 33 the following month. He was not paid for this work for another two years, on April 9, 1821, when he received \$3,993.12. This delay between the execution of the work and its payment is common in the Proctor's Journal, limiting its utility as a source for the construction chronology. We can be confident that work was only paid for after it was completed but how long this took was evidently quite variable.¹⁸⁵ For his role as undertaker and carpenter on these rooms, John Perry was paid \$4447.04, with four further payments totaling \$2091.48—none of them made until 1821 and 1822.¹⁸⁶

185. "Proctor's Journals, Volume 2" (1819-1828), 65, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library.

186. "Proctor's Journal, 1819-1828," 57, 70, 77, 93, 123.

DORMITORIES

1819

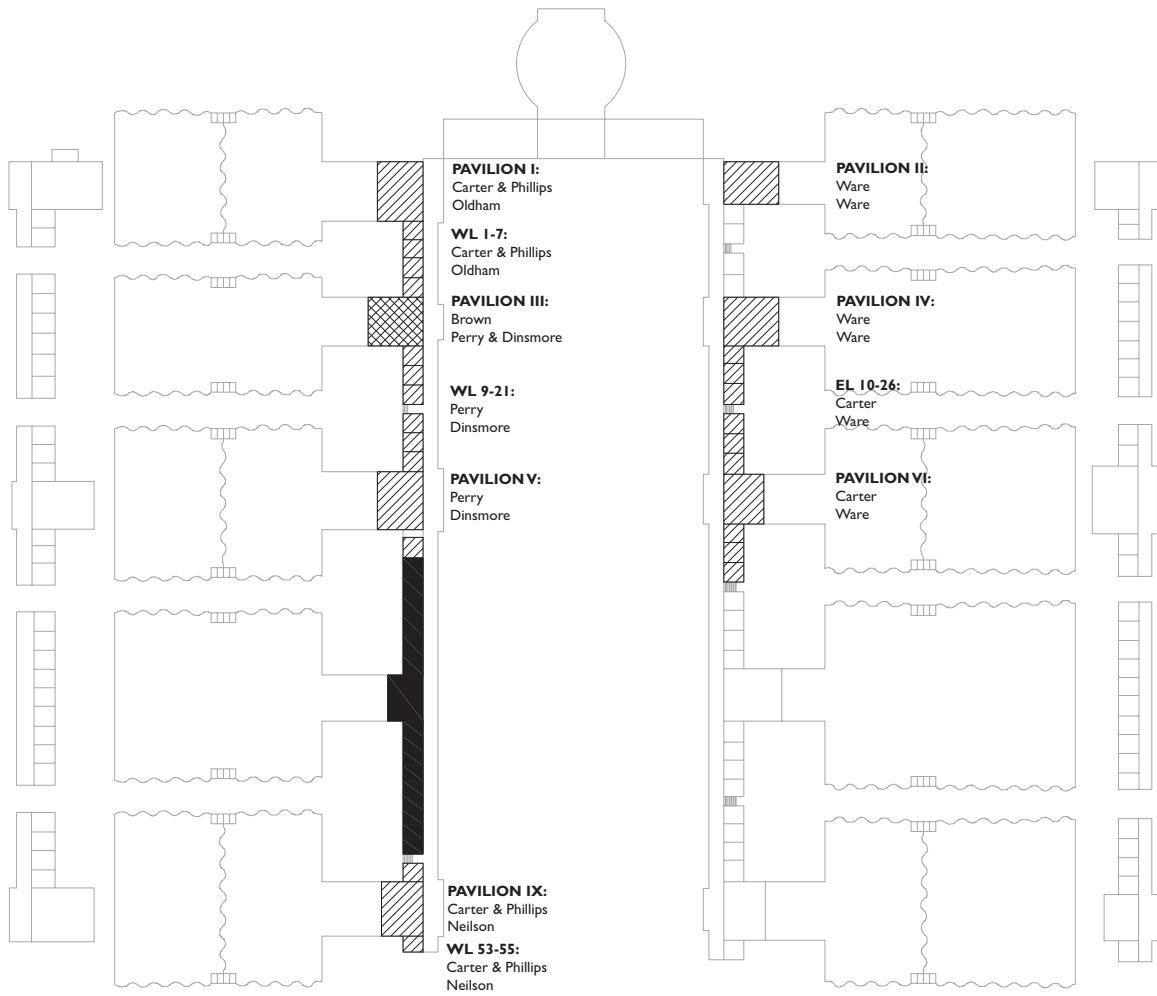


Figure 41. Progress of construction through October, 1819.

In April of 1819, ten months after they were begun, Jefferson reported that 23 to 51 West Lawn were complete enough to serve as workers' quarters but he worried privately that they were still not quite ready at the end of June; in October of that year, he told the Board of Visitors that they were the first dormitories to be entirely finished.¹⁸⁷ They were the only rooms that were complete in the summer of 1819, when Jefferson offered them to Philadelphia undertaker Richard Ware, to be used as housing for his crew of laborers.¹⁸⁸

187. Thomas Jefferson to Arthur Spicer Brockenbrough, June 29, 1819, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-14-02-0450>; University of Virginia Board of Visitors, "Minutes" (Charlottesville, VA, October 4, 1819).

188. Jefferson to Ware, April 9, 1819.

HISTORY: CONSTRUCTION (1817-1823)

Around the time that 23-51 West Lawn were being finished, Richmond mason, William Phillips, began laying the masonry on the rows to the north, from 1 to 7 West Lawn, completing this work in April: “by the time you say that Carter & Phillips will have finished pavilion N^o 1. and dormitories N^o 1. 2. 3. 4. [i.e., 1-7 West Lawn] I shall be at home.”¹⁸⁹ Though Jefferson initially thought that Carter and Phillips would proceed next to 9 to 19 West Lawn, this work was contracted instead to the ubiquitous John Perry. He also put up the addition of room 21 to the just-completed row north of Pavilion VII.¹⁹⁰ Their masonry was complete by October of 1819 (figure 41).¹⁹¹ In the spring of 1819, the Board of Visitors persuaded Jefferson that he should reconsider his designs for the dormitories on the Ranges so he and the proctor, Arthur Brockenbrough, directed their next efforts to the East Lawn.

In July, undertaker Richard Ware arrived from Philadelphia, bringing high expectations and a crew of about twenty men. Ware was assigned much of the East Lawn, including Pavilions II, IV, and VI, as well as the student rooms from 2 to 26. In recognition of his expectations for the quality of his work as well as his capacity, Ware was given both the masonry and the carpentry on Pavilions II and IV, as well as on the student rooms from 2 to 8. Curtis Carter executed the masonry on Pavilion VI and 10-26 East Lawn. Tellingly, after this initial surge of effort following his arrival, the only other work that Richard Ware did in the Academical Village was the carpentry for Hotel F.

189. Jefferson to Brockenbrough, September 1, 1819.

190. The first entry in the Proctor's Journals recording a payment to John Perry for 21 West Lawn includes it with the six rooms to the north as “Dormitories from 5 to 11 inclusive west,” (in other words, 9 to 21 West Lawn), on April 9, 1821. This makes it clear that room 21 was built separately from the row to which it is attached but that it was added very soon afterward. See “Proctor's Journal, 1819-1828,” 67.

191. Arthur S. Brockenbrough, “Cost Estimates for University of Virginia Building Construction” (October 1, 1819), <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-15-02-0072-0008>.

DORMITORIES

1820

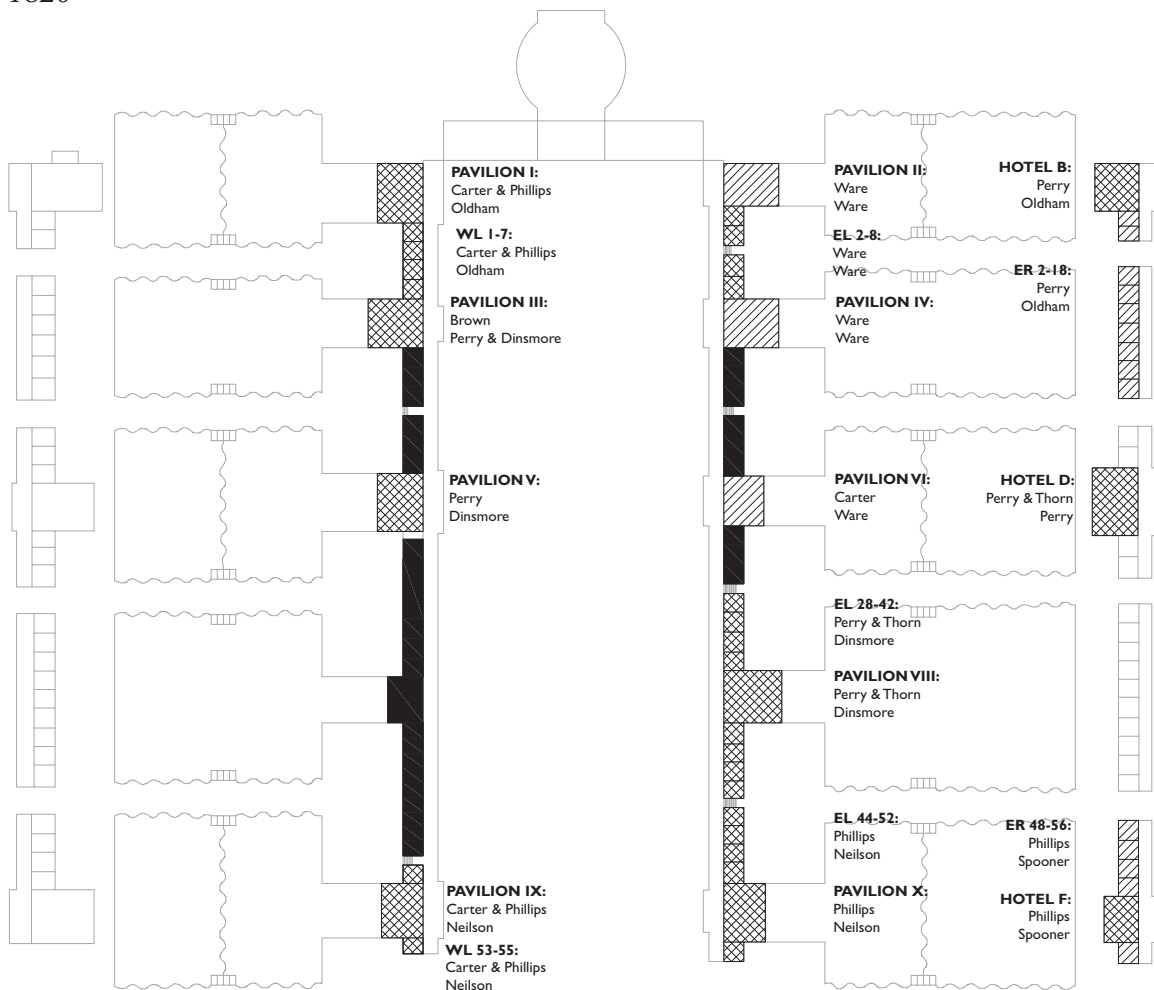


Figure 42. Progress of construction through October, 1820.

After the important initial burst of construction in 1819, in which a flurry of letters and two reports by the Board of Visitors document progress with welcome clarity, the picture of the project becomes less fine-grained. The most useful indicators are the annual fall reports of the board to the Literary Fund of the Virginia General Assembly. These lack precise details about timing but provide a snapshot of progress at the end of the September of each year, starting in 1819. The October, 1820 report, for example, notes that there were 31 rooms “on hand,” which we take to mean substantially complete. This number must include the 16 rooms from West Lawn 21 to 51 as well as the group from 9 to 19, all of which were well underway in the fall of 1819. Removing those 22 rooms from the total of 31 leaves a cluster of nine and the only grouping of nine on the East or West Lawn that was underway and could have been complete is the set from East Lawn 10 to 26, contracted to Curtis Carter and Richard Ware.¹⁹²

192. Thomas Jefferson, “University of Virginia Board of Visitors Report to Literary Fund President and Directors” (Charlottesville, VA, October 2, 1820), <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-16-02-0245-0001>.

HISTORY: CONSTRUCTION (1817-1823)

Accompanying Jefferson's report for this year was a detailed accounting by Arthur Brockenbrough of projects completed to date, broken down by builder.¹⁹³ This revealing document indicates that John Perry had completed the masonry for groups of 7 and 16 dormitories near Pavilions V and VII, and this must be the row of 23 rooms from West Lawn 9 through 51. The productive Perry had also completed the masonry for Pavilion VIII and 8 student rooms as well as another set of 9 dormitories near Hotel D (here referred to as Hotel B). These must refer to 28 to 42 East Lawn and 2 to 18 East Range, respectively. Brockenbrough specified that James Dinsmore had completed the carpentry for 8 dormitories, surely 28 to 42 East Lawn; and another six with John Perry, likely 9 to 21 West Lawn. Richard Ware had completed the masonry for four rooms and the carpentry for 13, comprising the entire run from 2 through 26 East Lawn. Curtis Carter & William Phillips had completed the masonry on eight dormitories in 1819 (listed as "brickwork last year in Pav^s N^o 1 & 5. 3 & 5 dormitories &c."), a figure that is difficult to square with the Proctor's Journal, which reports that this duo built six rooms on the West Lawn and fourteen on the east, the latter in groups of nine and five.

To begin the rooms on the southern half of the East Lawn, Jefferson and Brockenbrough turned again to the Virginians in 1820. Having completed his row at the north end of the West Lawn, William Phillips moved with Curtis Carter to the south end of the East Lawn, laying brick for Pavilion X and the adjoining rooms from 44 to 52. John Perry, having expanded his capacity and his capabilities by the addition of the Philadelphia mason, Abiah Thorn, was awarded the contract for Pavilion VIII as well as the eight student rooms on either side, from 28 to 42. Thorn, who came to Charlottesville in 1820 to work with Richard Ware, would continue working with Perry on East Range rooms but the capstone of his career at UVA was the execution of the Rotunda masonry with Nathaniel Chamberlain. Following Thorn, James Dinsmore moved from Pavilion III to do the carpentry for Pavilion VIII and rooms 28 to 42. Jefferson's other favorite joiner, John Neilson, now free of his work on Bremono, finally came to Charlottesville to finish Pavilion X and rooms 44 to 52.

1820 was an exceptionally busy year, with nine of ten pavilions in progress, three hotels underway, 31 dormitories complete and another 37 at various stages of completion. The site was alive with activity, with at least a hundred people, some free, many enslaved, working on every type of building at every stage of progress, from digging foundations to laying masonry and erecting frames to plastering, painting, and finish carpentry. Nearby, brick makers burned hundreds of thousands of bricks and sawyers turned logs into thousands of board-feet of framing materials, flooring, planks, and finish woodwork. This material needed to be transported to the site daily and some of the most frequent entries in the Proctor's Journal are payments for wagonage. Other materials came from Charlottesville, or further afield: nails and other hardware came from Jason Leitch; window glass was shipped in from Boston, Baltimore, and elsewhere.

193. Arthur Spicer Brockenbrough, "Statement of Expenditures by the University of Virginia" (Statement, Charlottesville, VA, September 30, 1820), Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Library of Congress, <https://founders.archives.gov/?q=Author%3A%22Brockenbrough%2C%20Arthur%20S.%22&cs=1111311111&tr=23>.

DORMITORIES

1821

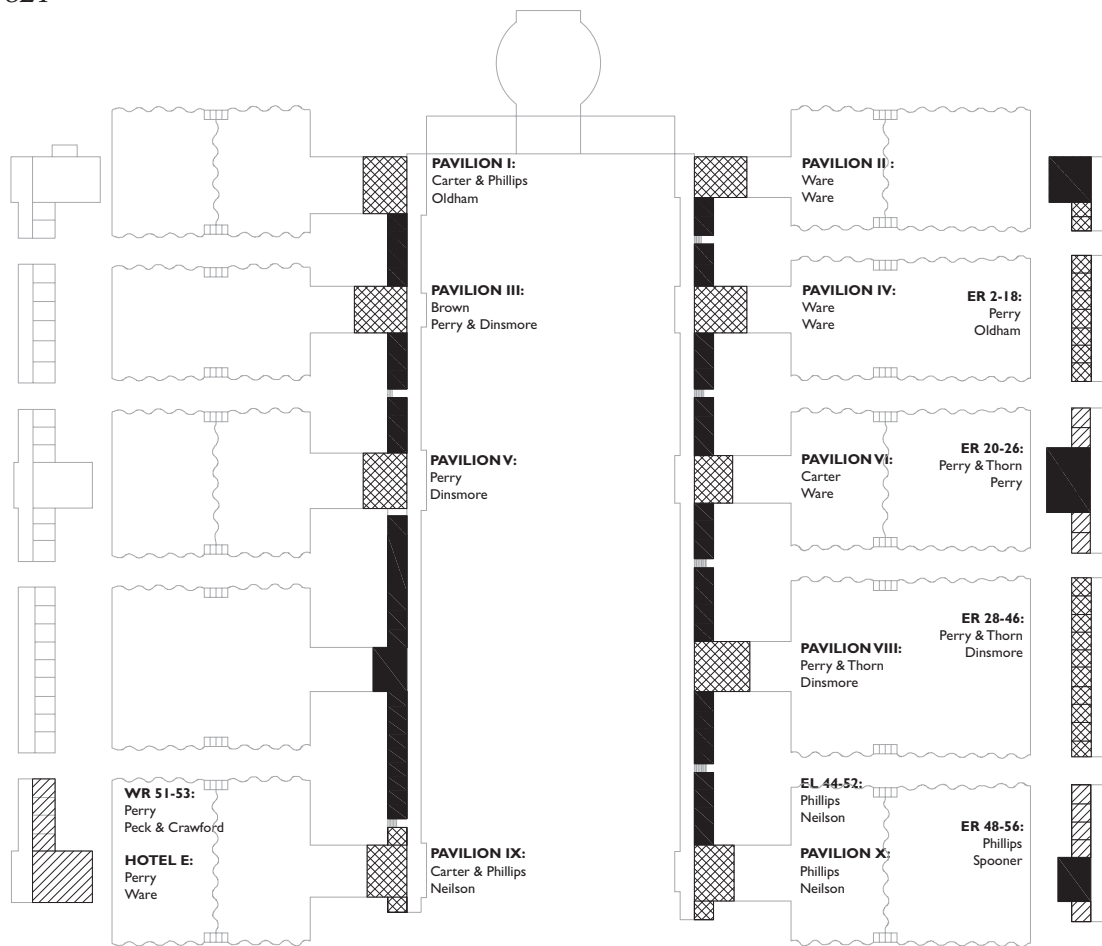


Figure 43. Progress of construction through October, 1821.

From the Lawn, work proceeded next to the East Range, where masonry was begun the previous year. Jefferson reported that the Lawn and East Range dormitories, 82 rooms in all, were complete when the Visitors met in November of 1821, with just 27 rooms remaining to be built—the entire West Range (figure 43).¹⁹⁴ Arthur Brockenbrough's count, from two months later, was more precise and less sanguine. He thought that just 51 rooms could be called complete, with another 22 ready for plastering and 13 more that would be ready for plaster in early 1822. 23 remained unbuilt.¹⁹⁵ Brockenbrough's figures suggest that almost all of the 54 Lawn rooms were finished, with just three awaiting plastering. Another 19 on the East Range were evidently ready for plaster, with 13 more underway. To add up to 28 rooms on the East Range, the 13 underway must have included nine on the East Range and four on the West Range. Be-

194. Thomas Jefferson to University of Virginia Board of Visitors, September 30, 1821, Founders Online, National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-17-02-0465>.

195. Arthur Spicer Brockenbrough to Board of Visitors (University of Virginia Press, November 26, 1821), <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-17-02-0563-0008>.

HISTORY: CONSTRUCTION (1817-1823)

cause the only grouping of four rooms on the West Range is the row from 47 to 53, just north of Hotel E, we believe that those rooms were the first in that section to be started.

Work had only begun on the West Range in August of 1821, after Lyman Peck and Malcolm Crawford contracted to do the carpentry on 25 rooms in the West Range.¹⁹⁶ The remaining two rooms, 1 and 3, were assigned to James Oldham.¹⁹⁷ The masonry for the West Range rooms was divided between Dabney Cosby, John Perry, and William Phillips.

Despite continued progress, 1821 was challenging. With roughly three quarters of the Academical Village finished by November, undertakers clamored to be paid while a parsimonious Virginia legislature disbursed funds reluctantly. Arthur Brockenbrough tried to manage the situation by refusing to pay any bills on a building that was not complete, a requirement that only aggravated small builders like carpenter James Oldham, whose letters toward the end of the year became increasingly desperate. “I am confident sir that if all my worke was estimated farely by the book of Prices that it would amount to the Sum of 5800 dollars exclusive of lumber that I have furneshed at the commencement and advanced the money for... I am Sir in debt and withoute one soletery cent of money and I shall luse two hands this weeke for the want of money to pay theare wages.”¹⁹⁸ In frustration, Oldham took his case directly to the Virginia Legislature, writing anonymously about the project’s mismanagement and the deficiencies of the proctor, in particular.¹⁹⁹ Unsatisfied by the results of these efforts, he would eventually achieve the distinction of being the first person to sue the university.²⁰⁰

At the same time, as bills came to be paid, Brockenbrough and Jefferson confronted the fact that they had underestimated construction costs in earlier reports to the Visitors. The proctor now thought that the cost to complete the buildings of the Academical Village, excluding the Rotunda, would be a little more than \$260,000—\$100,000 more than he had reported the previous year.²⁰¹ John Hartwell Cocke, already skeptical of Jefferson’s preferences, like flat roofs and single-story dormitories, began to despair that the university itself could succeed, established, as he saw it, on such a precarious foundation. “The more I see & reflect upon the plan & its details, the further I find myself from joining you in your admiration of it.—Depend on it, if we live to see it go into operation its pra[c]tical defects will be manifest to all—But...such is the admiration for Mr. Jeffersons character that much will be overlooked upon this score.”²⁰²

196. Peck and Crawford, “Contract for Carpentry Work at the University of Virginia.”

197. Oldham to Jefferson, January 3, 1822.

198. James Oldham to Thomas Jefferson (University of Virginia Press, November 2, 1821), <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-17-02-0520>.

199. Jefferson to Cabell, February 4, 1823.

200. Grizzard, “To Exercise a Sound Discretion.”

201. Grizzard, “Documentary History of Construction at UVA,” Chapter 6.

202. John Hartwell Cocke to Joseph C. Cabell, December 8, 1821, Cabell Family Papers, Special Collections,

DORMITORIES

1822

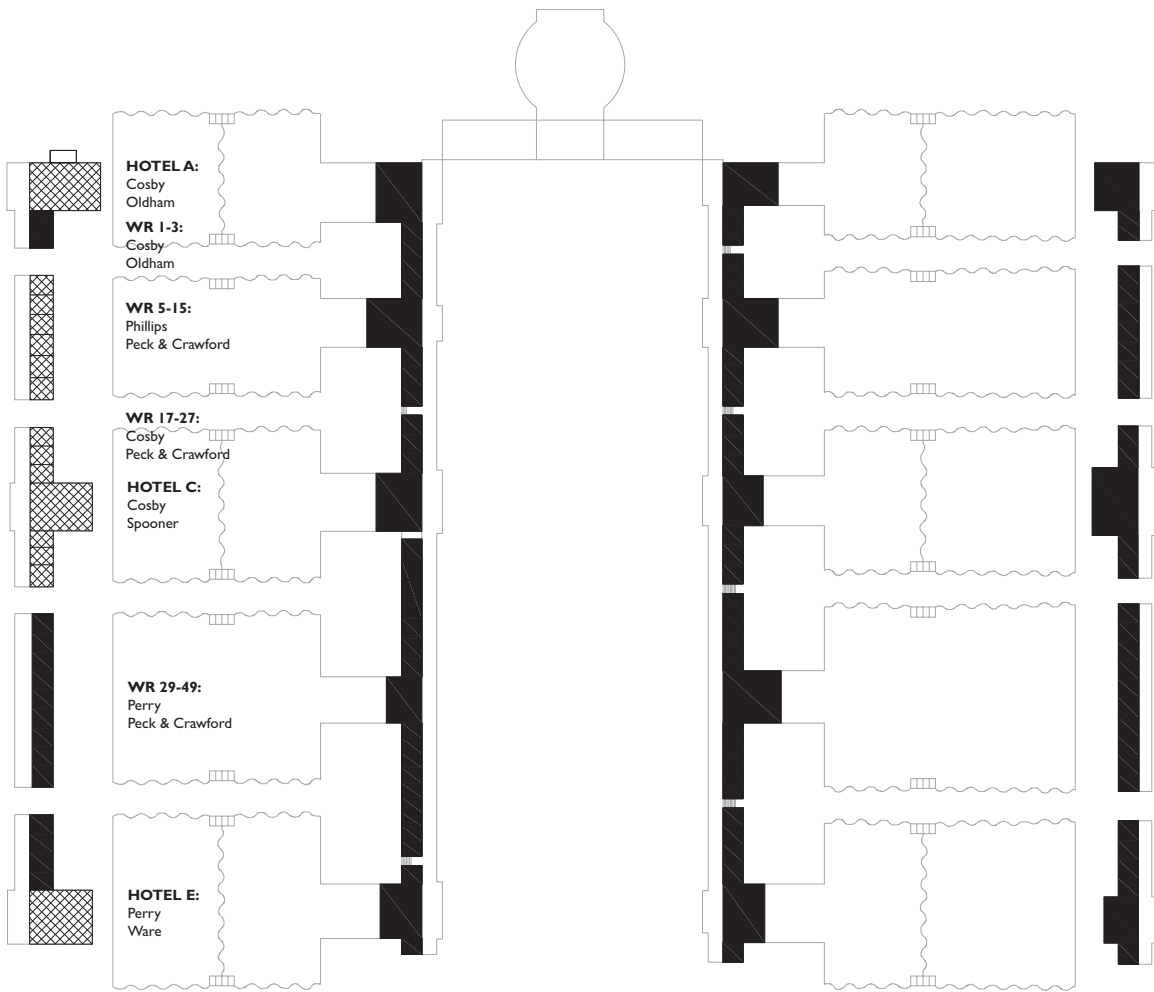


Figure 44. Progress of construction through October, 1822.

Though it would be another two and a half years before progress on the Rotunda was sufficient to allow the university to welcome its first students, by the end of 1822, all the dormitories were substantially complete, with only some finish work yet to be done on the West Range (figure 44). Thomas Jefferson's report on behalf of the Board of Visitors predicted that this would likely be completed later that fall. This included plastering 12 dormitories and the three western hotels, along with some work in three of the pavilions. He hardly needed mention that several pavilions still awaited their marble capitals, a continuing source of frustration for Jefferson.²⁰³

University of Virginia Library. Cited in Grizzard, "Documentary History of Construction at UVA," Chapter 6.

203. John G. Waite et al., "University of Virginia Hotel D," Historic Structures Report (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia, 2016), 26; John S. Patton, *Jefferson, Cabell and the University of Virginia* (New York and Washington: The Neale Publishing Company, 1906), 179–80.

HISTORY: CONSTRUCTION (1817-1823)

The rooms awaiting plastering must have been the two groups of six rooms at 5 through 27 West Range, all being built by Peck and Crawford. Their payment for the completion of their contract in May of 1822 suggests that the carpentry was complete by the spring but the remainder of the accounts on West Range rooms were finally closed on November 25, 1822, suggesting that they were all complete, including their plastering and painting, by that date.²⁰⁴ Work continued into 1823 on landscaping, garden walls, and the Rotunda but by the end of 1822, all the dormitory rooms were prepared to accommodate students. Still, for a time, some of these rooms continued to be occupied by workers—in December of 1823, John Perry paid 18 months' rent on East Range 28 to 46.²⁰⁵

204. "Proctor's Journal, 1819-1828." Note that there was a single payment, to Edward Lowber, for window glazing and painting, after this date. Lowber was paid for similar work on 80 rooms, six hotels and ten pavilions in the fall of 1823. See page 257.

205. "Proctor's Journal, 1819-1828," 309.

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Alterations & Maintenance (1826-present)

Work continued around Grounds long after the arrival of the first cadre of students in March of 1825, as construction proceeded on the Rotunda—Edgar Allan Poe noted with approval the installation of its columns in September of 1826. “They have nearly finished the Rotunda--The pillars of the Portico are completed and it greatly improves the appearance of the whole.”²⁰⁶ At the same time, workers made repairs and alterations to student rooms, including the addition of Venetian blinds. But with the completion of major construction according to Jefferson’s original plan and his death in 1826, the Visitors turned their attention to maintenance.

Although they were united in their admiration for the university’s founder, some continued to doubt his judgment on questions of design. With the university open, faculty and students added their feedback to the ongoing discussion about the buildings. With respect to the dormitories, suggestions for improvements centered on three concerns: the extent of faculty use; student comfort; and durability.



Venetian blinds (1825-1827)

Some of the earliest critics of Jefferson’s scheme thought that the student rooms would be unbearable and unusable in warm weather.²⁰⁷ Even with the shade of the covered way, students would have to keep their doors and windows open, inviting unwanted guests, animals, and other disagreeable distractions. Just five months after the first students arrived, in the hottest part of the year, Arthur Brockenbrough agreed, hiring Malcolm Crawford to install shutters on all windows and doors on Grounds (figure 45).²⁰⁸ He would continue this work until 1827.²⁰⁹

Figure 45. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, 35 West Lawn with blinds closed.

206. Edgar Allan Poe, *Edgar Allan Poe Letters Till Now Unpublished, in the Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia* (Philadelphia and London: J.B. Lippincott, 1925), 43–44.

207. Watson to Cocke, March 8, 1819; Cabell to Cocke, April 15, 1819.

208. Malcom F. Crawford, “Proposal to Install Venetian Shutters” (Charlottesville, VA, August 6, 1825), Proctor’s Papers, Box 5, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library.

209. Grizzard, “Documentary History of Construction at UVA,” Chapter 10.

HISTORY: ALTERATIONS & MAINTENANCE (1826-PRESENT)

Roofs (1835-38)

The addition of blinds was a relatively modest change—of low cost and evidently uncontroversial. Other alterations were neither of these things, as the Visitors sought to balance their respect for Jefferson’s vision with a need to operate the university sustainably. In 1834, John Hartwell Cocke, who had always been wary of Jefferson’s commitment to impressive architecture, put the problem in stark existential terms:

A few more mistakes in the management of our Buildings, and the expenses of wear and tear will become insupportable. From this cause alone, we are now obliged to keep the price of a university education so high as to exclude the sons of one half of the independent farmers of the state. The cause will be seen sooner or later, and if we do not provide against it, our Raree [sic] Show of Architecture will be abandoned, and the public funds bestowed where students can live in more comfort, & obtain equal instruction at less expense.²¹⁰



Figure 46. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, 35-51 West Lawn roof as restored, looking towards Pavilion IX.

210. John Hartwell Cocke to William G. Pendleton, December 12, 1834, Proctor’s Papers, Box 10, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library.

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Cocke had always worried about the durability of the flat roofs that covered Pavilions V and VIII and all the student rooms (figure 46). As his earlier correspondence with his fellow Visitors reveals, he much preferred a more conventional and time-tested solution for the dormitories. By 1828, the Visitors recognized that some of the flat roofs were not holding up well and, worse yet, that they did not understand why some of them kept water out while others didn't: "Resolved That the Executive committee be authorized to take off a part of the exterior covering from the lower range of dormitories, to ascertain experimentally the effect of that covering on the rooflets."²¹¹ By 1830, they committed funds to replacing 10% of the flat roofs each year.²¹² In 1833, Professor Charles Bonnycastle, resident of Pavilion VIII, took matters into his own hands, personally supervising the replacement of his pavilion's roof and even securing patents for a new system of seamed metal roofing.²¹³

In 1833, Cocke similarly involved himself in the re-roofing of dormitories, directing the replacement of one of the sections of roof between two pavilions, "upon such plan as he may prescribe." This included the replacement of the roof over 55 West Lawn ("the roof of the Dormitory on the South Side of Professor Tucker's pavilion," then number IX).²¹⁴ The notation in the minute book that draws attention to Cocke's directions suggests that this was the first dormitory roof replacement not done according to the Jeffersonian plan. For 14 years, Cocke had groused about the expense and the leakiness of Jefferson's serrated roofs and this was his opportunity to cover them with a new, more durable solution. Proctor William Pendleton was more committed to Jefferson's design; in 1834, he was still trying to keep the flat roofs in place. He told Cocke that his roofers believed that installing the tin in warm weather, when the material was more pliable and less prone to cracking, would eliminate leaking. Cocke was reluctant to endorse the continued use of tin but advised Pendleton "to defer the operation until it can be done with entire probability of success."²¹⁵

In making their accounting of the finances of the university at the end of 1835, the Visitors told the Virginia General Assembly that the time had come to replace all the flat roofs.

Owing to a defective construction of the roofs of the dormitories and some of the larger buildings, they have been for some years exposed to injury, and the occupants to serious inconvenience. Anxious as has been the desire of the visitors to remedy this evil, until recently the financial condition of the institution

211. Board of Visitors, "Minute Book," 194, July 10, 1828.

212. Board of Visitors, 244, July 10, 1830.

213. John G. Waite et al., "University of Virginia Pavilion VIII," *Historic Structures Report* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia, 2017), 33.

214. Board of Visitors, "Minute Book," 90, July 10, 1833.

215. William G. Pendleton to John Hartwell Cocke, December 10, 1834, Proctor's Papers, Box 10, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library; Cocke to Pendleton, December 12, 1834.

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would not allow them to commence the thorough repair required.²¹⁶

The report does not specify how this work was to be done, nor do the minutes of the Board of Visitors for 1835, but correspondence between Visitor John Hartwell Cocke and undertaker Edward Sims reveals that the new roofs were to be sloped and covered in slate.

This work was, in fact, already underway (figure 47). In the summer of 1835, Cocke had begun his plan to cover the flat roofs on the dormitories with low-pitched roofs with new slate shingles, preparing an agreement with Sims to do the work for \$12.50 per square.²¹⁷ In August, upon learning that the dormitories were ready for their new roofs, Sims sent a crew of four men—Jones, Florin, and Page, along with Phil, who would haul slate—and requested that the proctor feed and house them while on the job. In an acknowledgement of the indiscriminate abuse that White Virginians sometimes visited upon the enslaved, he also requested that Cocke “see that they are not maltreated. They are strangers and might need protection.”²¹⁸



Sims’s crew began on the Lawn and proceeded in 1836 out to the Ranges. But the work progressed more slowly than expected because of shipping delays. Low water levels on the Rivanna River throughout 1837 prevented the slate from being shipped from Columbia, just 35 miles downriver.²¹⁹ Finally, in

Figure 47. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, 1-3 West Range pitched roof with 5-15 beyond, looking towards Hotel C.

216. “Report of the President and Directors of the Literary Fund, Respecting Colleges and Academies,” January 1, 1836, 6.

217. John Hartwell Cocke to Wm. G. Pendleton, July 9, 1835, Proctor’s Papers, Box 10, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library; John Hartwell Cocke to William G. Pendleton, August 2, 1835, Proctor’s Papers, Box 10, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library.

218. Edward Sims to William G. Pendleton, August 23, 1835, Proctor’s Papers, Box 10, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library; Edward Sims to John Hartwell Cocke, August 24, 1835, Proctor’s Papers, Box 10, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library.

219. John Hartwell Cocke to Willis H. Woodley, August 24, 1837, Proctor’s Papers, Box 11, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library; Edward Sims to Willis H. Woodley, November 25, 1837, Proctor’s Papers, Box 11,

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December of 1837, a long-awaited load of slate made it to Charlottesville. Sims was eager to finish: “I now send Cuddle, with a hand to put it on, in a day or two, at farthest Jan[uar]y, with two others will follow him, and there being two extra hands, in addition to those formerly engaged on putting on the Slate it is hoped that they will put it on in a very short time.”²²⁰ The dormitory re-roofing seems to have been complete by 1838.²²¹

The financial pressures of operating the university were incessant. The total cost of the re-roofing was estimated at nearly \$10,000 and some looked for ways to recoup the losses associated with discarding so much roof material that was less than a decade old.²²² William Cabell Rives approved of the proctor’s suggestion that the tin be given a new purpose: “there should be an additional supply of fenders for the use of the Dormitories, & quite reasonable & proper that they should be furnished at the expense of the university. I approve also of the economical expedient suggested by you of having them made by Mr. Batcheler of the sheet iron removed from the Dormitory roofs.”²²³

Conversion of Rooms to Suites (1829-31)

The replacement of roofs was principally an economic decision. Prone to leaking, the first roofs proved to require constant maintenance and repair. By contrast, the installation of blinds was a concession to student comfort, one that increased the maintenance burden by providing another element that needed regular care. Another change made in the interest of students was the conversion of rooms to paired suites, ordered in 1829. In that year, the visitors asked “to have a door opened in every alternate partition wall of the dormitories, and every alternate outer door closed by fixed Venetian shutters; and when so altered, two connected dormitories shall be assigned to every two students; the inner for a bedroom, and the outer for a study.”²²⁴ Arthur Brockenbrough had suggested this alteration in 1828, following an outbreak of illness.

To the construction of the Dormitories may be ascribed in some measure the numerous cases of the late fatal disease amongst the Students... This defect may be remedied in some cases, in the following manner—where the dormitories have only a thin brick wall between them, open a door in partition of two

Special Collections, University of Virginia Library.

220. Edward Sims to Willis H. Woodley, December 1, 1837, Proctor’s Papers, Box 11, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library.

221. Note that the work was clearly not finished in August of 1837, though the Annual Report of the Board of Visitors for that year says that it was. See University of Virginia Board of Visitors, “Annual Reports” (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia, 1837 1814), 43, 1837, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library.

222. “Report of the President and Directors of the Literary Fund, Respecting Colleges and Academies.”

223. William G. Rives to William G. Pendleton, March 5, 1836, Proctor’s Papers, Box 11, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library.

224. Board of Visitors, “Minute Book,” 3/216, July 10, 1829.

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rooms, to be occupied by two students one as a bed room the other as a study.

²²⁵

Brockenbrough calculated that 88 of the 109 rooms could be joined into 44 suites by cutting doors through the partitions opposite the fireplace walls.

The creation of suites accomplished three things—it segregated a study area from a sleeping area; it allowed, through the use of fixed louvered blinds, for a continuous flow of air through the sleeping rooms; and it honored Jefferson’s preference for pairs of students to live together while expanding their total living area. But it was only possible at a time of very low enrollment, a limitation that Brockenbrough recognized. In the 1828-1829 session, there were just 120 students at the university, several of them likely boarding in Charlottesville.²²⁶ Though it is not clear how many rooms were converted into suites in this way, some of them certainly were. In 1831, as enrollment climbed to 140, the Visitors directed the proctor to close the openings back up, to convert the suites back to individual rooms: “Resolved, That if the number of Students require it, the Executive committee may cause the doors connecting adjoining Dormitories to be closed, and require two Students to occupy each room.”²²⁷ In 1833, there were still just 158 students, and only 27 of 109 rooms occupied as doubles.

Faculty and Administration Alterations

Other early alterations were made for faculty and staff. Professors routinely requested that doors be opened between their pavilions and adjoining rooms and a few cut doors from their cellars to those below student rooms. At an extreme of dormitory annexation, Professor John B. Minor connected his pavilion to the three student rooms to the north, joining two of them into a single large study in 1876.²²⁸ To incorporate his study more effectively into his residence, he also lowered the floors of rooms 46 and 48 (see physical description of 46-50 East Lawn).

Like the conversion to suites, most of the changes made for faculty have been reversed. So has much work done for the Visitors themselves. In 1854, they appropriated a small room that had been built in the passage between 4 and 6 East Lawn to serve as record storage.²²⁹ It is not known when this little interstitial room was built or demolished but in 1874, the Visitors

225. Arthur S. Brockenbrough, “Subjects for Consideration” (1828), Cocke Family Papers, Box 57, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library.

226. “Report of the President and Directors of the Literary Fund, Respecting Colleges and Academies,” 9.

227. Board of Visitors, “Minute Book,” 274/61, July 11, 1831.

228. M. Jeffrey Baker, Eric Gradoia, and Mark R. Wenger, “University of Virginia Pavilion X,” Historic Structures Report (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia, 2014); James Zehmer, “Pavilion X and East Lawn Rooms 46, 48, & 50 Architectural Evolution” (Charlottesville, VA, 2022).

229. Board of Visitors, “Public Minutes” (June 26, 1854), https://xtf.lib.virginia.edu/xtf/view?docId=2006_06/uvaGenText/tei/bov_18540626.xml;chunk.id=d3;toc.depth=100;brand=default;query=dormitories.

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agreed to discontinue the use of 6 East Lawn, removing their records to the library.²³⁰ In 1878, the Visitors found that they needed more space again and sought two connected dormitories for the board secretary.²³¹ This change, too, is no longer apparent. The student rooms have been so fully repaired and refurbished over many campaigns of improvement that the physical evidence for such alterations has been entirely effaced.

Response to Cholera: Raising Floors under Ranges

Arthur Brockenbrough's recommendation that pairs of rooms be converted into suites was motivated in part by a concern for student health. He worried that close air and sudden temperature variation could be a source of illness. Such concerns became acute during the epidemics of cholera and typhus that devastated the eastern United States in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. In August of 1832, two decades before the mechanisms of its contagion were understood, alarming reports circulated about the disease's spread in American cities, including Richmond. George Tucker, Professor of Moral Philosophy and chairman of the faculty, took what precautions he supposed were prudent to make the student rooms as free of disease as possible before the opening of the coming session.

Even if we doubted the efficacy of such measures, or the probability of the approach of the disease, yet the confident belief which others have of both these facts, and the extreme anxiety which they feel when they are disregarded, make it a duty of humanity to adopt them.

I must therefore earnestly request your attention to the following measures:...

To have the dormitories whitewashed, & well scoured, using soap about all the inside woodwork. If the lime ordered cannot be counted upon in a few days, it had better be procured in the country.

To have such cellars as have been occupied whitewashed.²³²

Tucker's precautions amounted to a more thorough cleaning than usual. Student rooms were already routinely whitewashed but not ordinarily scoured with lime soap. Cellars, however, may not have been regularly whitewashed, though a few were already plastered.

A second cholera outbreak, in the spring of 1858, was more consequential for the university. As many students became sick, the faculty chose to suspend classes. The medical faculty sup-

230. Board of Visitors, "Public Minutes" (June 29, 1874).

231. Board of Visitors, "Public Minutes" (June 24, 1878).

232. George Tucker to [unknown], August 1, 1832, Proctor's Papers, Box 8, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library.

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ported the pervasive view that disease generally and cholera specifically spread through the medium of fetid air, or miasma, and so directed the proctor to make changes to dormitories that would improve circulation.²³³ They focused their attention on the low-lying rooms in the East and West Ranges, where shallow crawl spaces placed student rooms close to grade and poorly drained soil. In March, they required all students to vacate these rooms so that they, and their crawl spaces, could be inspected and cleaned. They further directed that “all the rooms on the Ranges shall be examined and arrangements made for thorough and permanent ventilation and such other provisions for health as the Executive Committee may on consultation with the Medical Faculty deem proper.”²³⁴

Later in 1858, the Visitors hired the university’s first Superintendent of Buildings and Grounds, William Abott Pratt, who had designed the infirmary in the previous year. Pratt’s infirmary newly enabled the separation of sick students from healthy ones in a structure that was designed to facilitate the free movement of fresh air.²³⁵ He improved the ventilation of the crawl spaces under the Ranges by raising the floors and installing grates, while also ensuring that standing water could not accumulate in them (figure 48).

I have had every floor taken up, the level raised in many cases from 9 to 18 inches, wherever necessary new joists and floors put in. In all cases the cellars or low places under, have been filled up to a higher level than the outside. Iron gratings placed under each door and side communications cut from room to room under the floor, a course of slate has been underpinned on each rear and side wall and apertures have been left thereon throughout the entire buildings so that a bucket of water thrown down below the floor would flow out of the apertures above referred to.²³⁶

Raising the floors required, as Pratt’s summary indicates, the removal and replacement of the floor, though some joists and much flooring could be re-used. It also required raising the affected room’s door opening and rebuilding the masonry above and below the re-set doors. Determining which rooms had their floors raised is a simple matter of assessing the masonry above and below doorways; in most cases, just one or two rooms in a row have had their floors raised and these are plainly visible because those entries sit higher than the others in the row.

233. Rivanna Archaeological Services, LLC, “Archaeological Investigations Associated with the Hotel E Accessibility and Improvement Project,” Archaeological Report (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia, June 2010), 6.

234. Board of Visitors, “Public Minutes” (March 10, 1858), 746/72.

235. Wilson and Butler, *University of Virginia Campus Guide*, 85; John G. Waite et al., “Varsity Hall, University of Virginia Historic Structures Report,” Historic Structures Report (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia, 2003), 9–13.

236. William A. Pratt, “Report to the Executive Committee” (Charlottesville, VA, September 1, 1858), Proctor’s Papers, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library. Cited in Ford, Benjamin P., “East Range Stormwater Report,” 37.

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Figure 48. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: West Range 5-15, detail of vent holes with slate inserted at rear of rooms in 1858, at 13 West Range, Poe Room.



Figure 49. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, West Range 15. Note seam and closers below door sill and infill masonry on either side of grate, showing where door and floor have been raised.

The cast iron grates that Pratt installed below the doors are in most cases still in place, as are the holes for ventilation on the rear walls, with their slate damp-proofing courses (figure 49). There are signs that grates were installed below some rooms on the West Lawn, including 9 to 19, but subsequently filled in again.

Pratt's work was thorough but it appears not to have been the first time that someone tried to improve ventilation below the student rooms. The 1853 minutes of the Board of Visitors include a report of the Committee of Inspection, who found "in front of many of the dormitories a part of the brick under pinning broken down for the purpose of ventilation; instead of having it done in the rear of the buildings."²³⁷

237. Board of Visitors, "Public Minutes" (June 25, 1853), 606/221, http://juel.iath.virginia.edu/node/343?doc=/juel_display/BOV/1840/bov_18400704.

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Systems

Concerns about student health and comfort guided other improvements to the dormitory rooms, including the provision of central heat and electricity. These have had modest effects on room interiors but have made substantial changes in the cellars and crawls.

Student rooms were heated at first by wood-burning fireplaces, with wood supplied by hotel keepers and fires tended by enslaved workers. By 1854, the decreasing cost of coal prompted the Visitors to consider adopting it as a fuel for heating the student rooms instead.²³⁸ The university did not completely switch to coal heat until after the Civil War, mandating the installation of new grates in all the student rooms in 1866.²³⁹ These coal grates were still in place in some early photographs of student room interiors, including those of the Poe Room around 1910 (figure 50).

At the same time, William Pratt was recommending that the university develop a plan for central heat. Pratt's 1857 infirmary was supplied with a convection furnace for its expected health benefits and he suggested expanding this provision, using surplus steam power from the water works to heat the public buildings.²⁴⁰ But central heat was not brought to the pavilions or dormitories until the turn of the twentieth century. In 1897, proctor Thomas Carter suggested to the Visitors the connection of the student rooms to a proposed central boiler.²⁴¹ This work was accomplished over the next several years. Steam heat was added to the East Lawn by



Figure 50. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, 13 West Range, Poe Room, c. 1910 with coal grate insert, following removal of closets.

238. Board of Visitors, "Public Minutes," June 26, 1854, 629/244.

239. Ford, Wenger, and Baker, "University of Virginia East Lawn 22 Basement Room Study," 10.

240. M. Jeffrey Baker, Eric Gradoia, and Mark R. Wenger, "University of Virginia Historic Preservation Framework Plan," Preservation Plan (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia, 2007), 7; Board of Visitors, "Public Minutes" (June 25, 1859), 120, https://xtf.lib.virginia.edu/xtf/view?docId=2006_06/uvaGenText/tei/bov_18590625.xml;query=Pratt;brand=default#1.

241. Board of Visitors, "Public Minutes" (June 14, 1897), 223, https://xtf.lib.virginia.edu/xtf/view?docId=2006_06/uvaGenText/tei/bov_18970614.xml;chunk.id=d3;toc.depth=100;brand=default;query=dormitories.

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1900 and to the West Lawn dormitories in 1901, when the Visitors approved the expenditure of \$1,300 for the purpose.²⁴² It was not until 1907, however, that it was extended to the East Range, at a cost of \$3,100, the increase likely being a function of the difficulties associated with installing the lines in a shallow crawl space instead of a more convenient cellar.²⁴³ Even with the provision of this new utility, some students continued to burn coal in their fireplaces.²⁴⁴ By 1912, all rooms on Grounds were furnished with either steam or hot water heat except for four on the West Range, which continued to use coal.²⁴⁵

Dormitories had been furnished with wash basins from the beginning; filling and emptying these were part of the responsibilities of the hotel keepers and their enslaved staff.²⁴⁶ Water for the basins and for everyday use was supplied through a combination of wells and fresh water piped from the springs on Observatory Hill.²⁴⁷ These continued in use until after the Civil War but a new public water supply enabled installation of indoor plumbing on the Lawn and Ranges in 1885. This was done under the direction of sanitary engineer Ernest Bowditch, including a reservoir in the Ragged Mountains connected to Grounds by means of a 10-inch main.²⁴⁸ In 1892, the medical staff of the university believed that an improvement in the general health of the student population could be directly attributable to this new supply of clean, fresh water.

Your Committee on Infirmary, Health & Sewerage respectfully report that the health of the students of the University, for the session now closing, has been unusually good. The Medical Faculty reports only a few cases of severe sickness and not a single death. This immunity from sickness is largely due to the abundant supply of pure water furnished by the present system of water works which has been in operation since 1886, but which have been recently greatly improved.²⁴⁹

It is not clear when this running water was conveyed into sinks in the student rooms. In the early 1890s, students seem to have continued to rely on the old free-standing basins for water,

242. John G. Waite et al., "University of Virginia Pavilion VI," *Historic Structures Report* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia, 1991), 38; University of Virginia Board of Visitors, "Public Minutes" (Minutes, Charlottesville, VA, June 10, 1901), 410.

243. University of Virginia Board of Visitors, "Public Minutes" (Charlottesville, VA, June 10, 1907), 233.

244. University of Virginia Board of Visitors, "Public Minutes" (Charlottesville, VA, June 15, 1908), 361.

245. University of Virginia Board of Visitors, "Public Minutes" (December 16, 1912), 262–63.

246. Philip Alexander Bruce, *History of the University of Virginia, 1819-1919*, vol. 2 (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1920), 205.

247. Ford, Benjamin P., "East Range Stormwater Report," 5–7.

248. Ford, Benjamin P., 7.

249. University of Virginia Board of Visitors, "Public Minutes" (Charlottesville, VA, June 27, 1892), 266.

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even as indoor plumbing was installed in the pavilions.²⁵⁰ Alumnus George Christian described a room in 1909 whose amenities, including a wash stand, were much improved from what he remembered in a more spartan era following the Civil War:

But let us now contrast my old room as I saw it in October last, with its carpet, its iron bedstead, its wardrobe, doubtless filled with the choicest clothing; its washstand, with China set; its center-table, with electric lamp; its 'Morris' and other comfortable chairs; its curtains; its pictures on the wall, its steam heat, and everything else that could be desired to make it cosy and comfortable.²⁵¹

The installation of steam heat and water required delivery systems to supply each room and these were placed in the cellars and crawls below the rooms. For East Lawn rooms and some on West Lawn, these could be installed from below, requiring little disturbance to flooring and framing. In general, they have been located on the uphill side of the cellars. In other parts of the Academical Village, however, the new systems were installed from above, requiring the removal and replacement of flooring. The presence of early floorboards in many rooms above crawl spaces indicates that either these were re-laid using the same material or replaced with antique material from another site.

Repairs

Students have not always occupied the Lawn and Range rooms gently. Added to the routine accidents of spills, broken windows, and small fires is the damage done by breaking down doors and carving monograms on decorative woodwork. Much of this has been effaced through repairs and replacements but a sense of the commonplace quality of graffiti can be seen in the pages of *Corks and Curls*, where early yearbooks invariably show mantels as ornamented with student initials, insignia of secret societies, and fraternity letters (figure 52). The turn of the twentieth century seems to have been an era of great enthusiasm for vandalism. Some of this remains in place on door casings and on the removed mantels currently in Facilities storage (figure 51).

Other damage is still visible in the rooms, particularly in repairs to doors. Only five dormitory doors survive from the 1820s and just another handful from before 1900 and most of these have seen panels, stiles, and rails replaced. But most of the evidence of student room repairs is found in the university archives and the maintenance records of the Department of Buildings and Grounds. Some extracts of these accounts from several eras illustrate the typical regimen of annual damage to the dormitories.

250. Anna Barringer, "Pleasant It Is to Remember These Things, 1889--1905" (Charlottesville, VA, 1966), n.p.

251. George L. Christian, "Reminiscences and a Contrast," *Alumni Bulletin*, no. 2 (April 1909): 198–200.

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Figure 51. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, West Lawn 37, detail of interior face of original door leaf with graffiti, including "JB" and "TUCKER [?] IV, 1859-61". Note that casing is also original except for back-band.

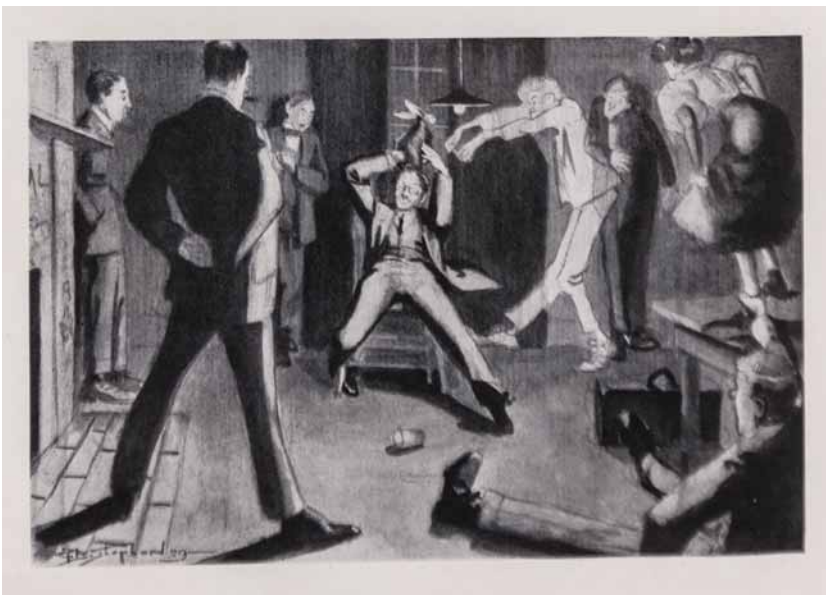


Figure 52. Corks and Curls, 1909, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia. Note graffiti on mantel used to set a scene in a typical student room.

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1836:

“The following assessments have been made for the alterations injuries etc. on the property of the University viz.:

J. W. Lewis & W. T. Early for 1 10x12 window glass @ 1/16 .25

R. W. Payne & J. Morson 3 “ “ “ “ .75

J. Marks 1 “ “ “ “ .25

...

In dormitory 46 E.R. a hole has been lately burned in the floor.”²⁵²

1853:

“In examining the various parts of the University we found great delapidation and injury to many parts of the buildings &c; many of the doors of the dormitories have been cut & injured & some of them actually torn down from their hinges.”²⁵³

1907: (partial list of repairs undertaken)

May 25: Room #40 East Lawn, 1 panel in door

May 25: Room #38 East Lawn, 4 panels in door

May 25: Room #30 East Lawn, 4 panels in door

May 25: Room #28 East Lawn, 3 panels in door

May 22, 1911: Please have new door put in 37 West Range, or patched at once.²⁵⁴

Preservation (1888-present)

Though the modern era of professional stewardship of the Academical Village may be justifiably said to begin with the restoration of the Rotunda in 1976, a preservation ethic has guided work on Grounds since the turn of the twentieth century.²⁵⁵ Nor has it been confined to scholars and professionals. Students, faculty, staff, and alumni and have all expressed strong sentiments concerning the proper care of the university’s earliest buildings. For the purposes of this report, 1888 is chosen as the year in which historic preservation became a priority for the university because it saw the publication of Jefferson’s design drawings by Herbert Baxter Adams, renewing interest in the Academical Village. This was just one year before antiquarians

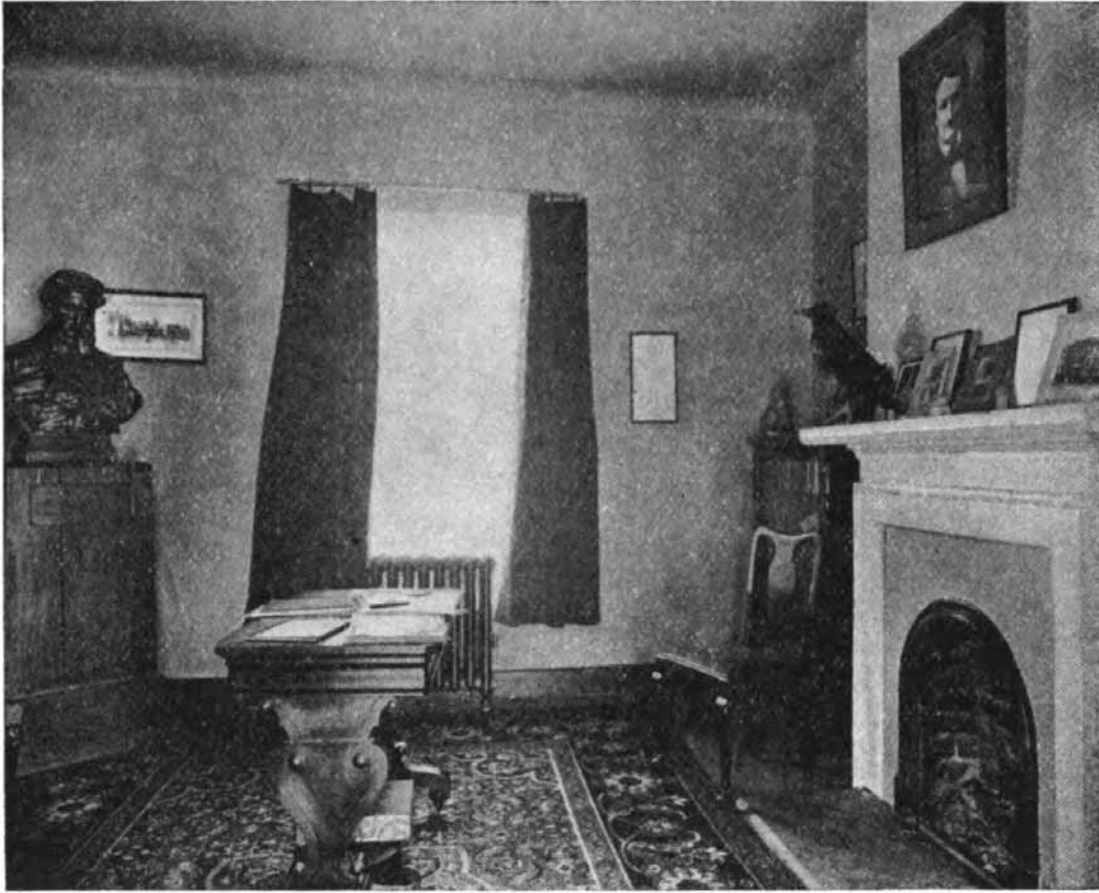
252. Woodley, “Supplemental Report for the Month of Oct. 1836.”

253. Board of Visitors, “Public Minutes” (September 1, 1853), 606/221, https://xtf.lib.virginia.edu/xtf/view?docId=2006_06/uvaGenText/tei/bov_18530901.xml;query=dormitories;brand=default#2).

254. Miscellaneous Records, University of Virginia Department of Buildings and Grounds, 1890–, Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.

255. Note that although the restoration was not complete until 1976, Frederick Doveton Nichols first began pursuing the idea in the 1950s. See Board of Visitors, “Public Minutes” (February 12, 1955).

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INTERIOR POE'S ROOM, NOW OCCUPIED BY THE RAVEN SOCIETY

Figure 53. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: 13 West Range, interior, as published in UVA Alumni Bulletin, 1909, p. 186.

rallied to save Williamsburg's powder magazine, leading to the establishment of the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities.

The first interest in materially preserving any part of the university came a few years later. It was not directed to the Rotunda or a pavilion but to a student room. In 1896, James Albert Harrison, Professor of Romantic Languages and Literature, suggested that the literary-minded members of the university community might install a commemorative plaque at the former room of Edgar Allan Poe, furnishing it in the style of his time as a student in 1826.²⁵⁶ The following year saw the establishment of the Poe Memorial Association at the university but little was done with the room until 1907, when it was put under the charge of the newly established

256. James Hunter Jr., "The Poe Memorial Association. Its Origin and Work," in *Corks and Curbs*, vol. XIII (Charlottesville, VA: The Fraternities of the University of Virginia, 1900), 120.

HISTORY: PRESERVATION (1888-PRESENT)

Raven Society (figure 53).²⁵⁷ The room was restored to its supposed 1826 appearance for the 100th anniversary of the poet's birth, when it was open to the public for a week.

Through the initiative of this body the room has been renovated, without destroying or changing in any essential way the structure or features thereof. For example, it is pretty certain that the old mantel over the fireplace looks now, except perhaps in color, just as it did when the young Poe would sit before it in 1826 to write or read some of the strange tales with which he was wont to entertain his friends. The room has been put in good repair, and has been furnished in excellent style, as might befit the room of a student in good financial circumstances. An effort has been made, with fair success, to procure furniture in some way connected with the life or history of the poet.²⁵⁸



Figure 54. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, Holsinger photograph of Poe Room, 13 West Range, c. 1900. Note that “WHC” grafitto appears on left side of mantel frieze in this and later images. Courtesy of University of Virginia Special Collections.

257. Barringer and Garnett, *University of Virginia*, 239; “The Poe Centenary,” *Alumni Bulletin*, no. 2 (April 1909): 135.

258. “The Poe Centenary,” 135.

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Its appearance following this work is illustrated in several photographs, which show it filled with fine furnishings and stripped of its closets but with its (graffiti-inscribed) mantel still in place. Though this restoration has been rethought several times since, particularly with respect to furnishings, the removal of its closets likely has tended to reinforce the idea that closets were not part of the Jeffersonian scheme. Note that the closets were still in place in the earliest views of the room, along with its mantel (figure 54).

Preservation as Design Directive (1888-1950)

The first preservation effort on Grounds was motivated by an appreciation for a remarkable former student, similar to numerous contemporary efforts to create public sites that honored an ingenious or heroic individual. Most were the homes of generals, governors, and presidents; very few were those of poets.²⁵⁹ In time, the university would come to value the entire Academical Village as a product of the mind of Thomas Jefferson. Though it had always been understood to have been founded through Jefferson's efforts and as an important part of his legacy, the memory of his role in its architecture had dimmed over the nineteenth century. Herbert Baxter Adams's 1888 publication of his original design drawings served as a reminder.²⁶⁰ Six years later, John Kevan Peebles articulated a critical approach to future work on Grounds that would evaluate new building according to its fidelity to Jefferson's vision. He saw, for example, Brooks Hall and the Chapel as aberrations, whose models should not be followed. "And we may well pause here and ask why it is that, while Jefferson's scholastic plan has been watched with such pious solicitude, his architectural scheme has been so desecrated?"²⁶¹ For Peebles and many since, Jefferson's role in the Academical Village made its aesthetic sacrosanct to the point that it should determine the form of future building. This has not generally meant that building interiors were to be unaltered but rather, that the outward form of Jefferson's Lawn should be maintained as a remnant of his architectural skill. When Stanford White restored the Rotunda after its 1895 fire, a logic of flexible interiors behind carefully restored exteriors allowed him to remove the Robert Mills annex while changing Jefferson's interior from three floors to two.

Though the rules governing the architectural development of Grounds have been more elastic than Peebles would have preferred, throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first, there has been greater consensus that the buildings of the Academical Village should be treated with great care to preserve as far as possible their original outward appearance. But if there has been a fragile consensus on this goal, how to achieve it has been more contentious. Following a century of sometimes hard use and regular repair, the original appearance of Grounds has not always been easy to determine.

259. Charles Bridgham Hosmer, *Presence of the Past: A History of the Preservation Movement in the United States before Williamsburg* (New York, N.Y.: Putnam, 1965), 63–101.

260. Adams, *Thomas Jefferson and the University of Virginia*.

261. John Kevan Peebles, "Thos. Jefferson, Architect," *The Alumni Bulletin* 1, no. 3 (November 1894): 73.

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Two of the first three directors of the University of Virginia's school of architecture were also historians: Fiske Kimball and Lawrence Kocher. Both advised Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn on the restoration of Williamsburg and both wrote extensively on early American architecture.²⁶² Kimball designed three buildings on Grounds and these, including Memorial Gym and McIntire Amphitheater, show his sympathy for Peebles's notion that future construction should defer to the Jeffersonian idiom. They are built of red brick with full entablatures and orders drawn from Roman models.²⁶³ But neither he nor Kocher is credited with any effort to restore the buildings on the Lawn to their former appearance.

Edmund Campbell arrived at the university in 1928 and remained in his position as head of the McIntire School of Art and Architecture until 1950. Like his predecessors, he was more involved in the creation of new buildings than in any restoration efforts, although, also like Kimball and Kocher, he served as an advisor to the Williamsburg restoration.²⁶⁴ Campbell is credited with the 1942 restoration of the Poe Room but this was likely confined to re-furnishing and repainting, as the closets had been removed by 1909. To support this work, he made "a careful study of the old doorways...to repeat the method used at Mr. Jefferson's direction for giving an imitation stone finish to the entrances of the students' rooms."²⁶⁵ This intriguing reference demonstrates Campbell's recognition that archival research should be supported by close examination of physical evidence in any effort at restoration, a perspective that similarly drove the contemporary restoration of Williamsburg.²⁶⁶

262. Fiske Kimball, *Thomas Jefferson, Architect: Original Designs in the Collection of Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, Junior* (Boston: Riverside Press, 1916); Fiske Kimball, "Thomas Jefferson and the First Monument of the Classical Revival in America," *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, September 1915; Fiske Kimball, *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1922); A. Lawrence Kocher and Howard Dearstyne, "Brush-Everard House Architectural Report Part I, Block 29 Building 10 Lot 165 & 166," Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Research Report Series (Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1952).

263. Wilson and Butler, *University of Virginia Campus Guide*, 25–26; Lay, *History of the A-School*, 18–23.

264. "E.S. CAMPBELL, 65, EDUCATOR, IS DEAD; Headed Architecture and Art School at the University of Virginia Since 1927," *The New York Times*, May 10, 1950, sec. Archives, <https://www.nytimes.com/1950/05/10/archives/es-campbell-65-educator-is-dead-headed-architecture-and-art-school.html>; Lay, *History of the A-School*, 41–46.

265. Raven Society, *Edgar Poe and Room 13 West Range* (Charlottesville, Va: The Raven Society of the University of Virginia, 1950).

266. Marcus Whiffen, *The Eighteenth-Century Houses of Williamsburg* (Williamsburg, Virginia: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1969); Singleton P. Moorehead, "Sketchbook of Details" (before 1960), Singleton Peabody Moorehead Collection, John D. Rockefeller Library, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation; Edward A. Chappell, "Architectural Recording and the Open-Air Museum: A View from the Field," in *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture 2* (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1986), 24–36; Edward A. Chappell, "John A. Barrows and the Rediscovery of Early Virginia Architecture" (Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library, 1991).

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Preservation as Restoration (1950-present)

Before the arrival of Frederick Nichols, restoration efforts on Grounds were concentrated on the Poe Room. Nichols, hired in 1950 as Professor of Architectural History, took a more comprehensive view, recognizing the importance of Grounds as a cohesive environment and seeking to preserve its essential historic elements to represent the vision of Thomas Jefferson more fully. His goal was not to maintain or improve or refurbish the Academical Village—he sought to restore it. He is better known for advocating and directing the 1973-1976 restoration of the Rotunda but he also made a lasting mark on the original student rooms.

Nichols was persistent and effective in his insistence that the various alterations that had been made to buildings on the Lawn had diminished them. By 1955, he was marshalling support for his view that that portions of Stanford White's renovation of the Rotunda after the 1895 fire should be stripped away in favor of Jefferson's original design.²⁶⁷ But he also recognized that "The Lawn is not a museum. It is a vital part of the University and must continue to serve its occupants."²⁶⁸ His approach to restoration generally was to remove twentieth-century amenities and systems from original buildings, particularly at the pavilions, and re-locate them in post-Jefferson additions, where possible. This allowed him to clarify the original form of pavilion interiors by removing modern partitions, bathrooms, and closets.²⁶⁹ As he summarized it, "The thrust of the restoration has been to recapture all of Jefferson's masterly architectural spaces."²⁷⁰

His reference to "Jefferson's masterly architectural spaces" was not a casual one. Nichols emphasized *space* as the defining characterization of Jeffersonian design, as opposed to his bookishness, his reliance on Palladio and French authors, and his preference for ancient Roman over Greek ornament, characteristics that his predecessor, Fiske Kimball, had delineated in the 1920s.²⁷¹ In this, he was joined by others in the post-war period, including the historian Buford Pickens, who sought to rehabilitate Jefferson's design reputation for the machine age. He argued that the founder of UVA was not the revivalist of Fiske Kimball's scholarship but a proto-modernist and visionary like Claude-Nicolas Ledoux and Étienne-Louis Boullée, concerned above all with abstraction, space, and geometry.²⁷² Closets and neoclassical mantels did not comport with this view of Jefferson's genius.

267. Board of Visitors, "Public Minutes," February 12, 1955.

268. Nichols, "Restoring Jefferson's University," 337.

269. Nichols, 324–28.

270. Nichols, 337.

271. Kimball, *Thomas Jefferson, Architect*.

272. Buford Pickens, "Mr. Jefferson as Revolutionary Architect," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 34, no. 4 (December 1975): 257–79.

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Figure 55. Aubrey Bowles photograph of 8 East Lawn, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, showing room with proposed new closets installed as prototype. Photograph was published in the *Richmond News Leader* on 11/30/1955.

Dormitory closets had been a source of concern for some years. In 1955, the university considered enlarging the closets in their historic locations, making them project out beyond the face of the fireplace by a few inches and fitting them with new shelving. This arrangement was installed in 8 East Lawn for the 1955-1956 school year where it drew the attention of students and concerned faculty, who contributed a blistering critique of the arrangement to the *Richmond News Leader*, accompanied by a pair of photographs (figure 55). The critics contended that “The proposed mediocrity materially changes the ingenious touch of Mr. Jefferson who carefully designed each Lawn

and Range room a little differently from the next...Such a defiling of Mr. Jefferson’s intentions by incompetents is criminal.”²⁷³

Despite such intense feeling about the Jeffersonian interiors, including the closets and mantels, their subsequent removal did not arouse any effective public opposition. Just three years later, Professor Nichols began a project to remove closets from student rooms throughout the Academical Village, contending that they were incursions into Jeffersonian space. Believing that the closets and mantels were both later features, he removed nearly all of them. Some elements of these, certainly, were not original—closet doors had been replaced, and some mantels, too. But many early ones remained,

Figure 56. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: 9 West Range, view of c. 1960 mantel designed by Frederick Doveton Nichols. Mantel shelf is a later addition.



273. Bowles, Crampton, and Moravitz, “Remodeling Experiment Seen ‘Defiling’ U. of Va.”

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Figure 57. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: 3 West Range, detail of mid-20th century wardrobe closet by Clore.

and fortunately an observant Facilities Management staff member set aside two mantels to preserve them. Though Nichols' replacement mantels were themselves replaced in the late 1990s on the Lawn and East Range, they remain on the West Range, including in the Poe Room (figure 56).

Little in the papers of Frederick Nichols at Small Special Collections Library relates directly to the work on the student rooms but a pair of drawings from 1958 illustrate his intentions. The first shows plans of existing rooms on East Lawn, including #8 with its enlarged closets, #50 with its fireplace removed and closets relocated, and the remainder with their originals still in place. A second drawing shows the changes proposed, with all closets removed and replaced with a pair of wardrobe fixtures manufactured by Clore along the wall opposite the fireplace. One was to be for clothing; the other fitted with a small sink. These are still in place (figure 57). The only pre-1958 closets left are at 53 West Range, 24 East Range, and 46 East Lawn, where the room was the responsibility of the Kappa Sigma fraternity and left unaltered by Nichols or his successors.



Nichols's goal of restoring the historic core of the university was shared by Murray Howard, hired as Architect and Curator for the Academical Village in 1982. While not Nichols' successor nor a member of the faculty, he took on his role as principal advocate for returning the historic core of Grounds to its Jefferson-era form. He pursued this work with determination, restoring six pavilions and doing further work on most dormitories. He proceeded systematically but with a limited budget. Between 1998 and his departure in 2002, he completed alterations to the interiors of nearly all the student rooms as well as replacements to roofs and doors on several sections of the Lawn. In accounting for his UVA career in 2002, he estimated that he had completed restorations of 37 rooms but his work was much more extensive than this, touching nearly all of the Lawn rooms in a substantive way.²⁷⁴

274. James Murray Howard, "Comprehensive Restoration Program for the Academical Village: The First Twen-

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Figure 58. 13 West Range, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: detail of window sash, taken by Murray Howard in June, 1998, and noted as prototype for window replacements throughout Grounds.

Whereas Nichols was more concerned with abstractions like massing and space, Howard focused his attention on details, seeking to make the elements of the student rooms as faithful to their original form as possible. His efforts concentrated on roofs, windows, mantels, and doors. Some of this work involved simple repair and replacement in-kind, like his replacement of electrical systems and his renewal of the 1830s slate roofs on Lawn rooms and three pavilions. He also reinforced the framing of some of the roofs above the Range rooms. Similarly, he replaced dormitory windows, many installed in the 1980s, taking care to ensure that new models were based upon documented originals, with joined and pegged frames and the thin 5/8" muntins of the early survivors at 13 West Range and 24 East Range (figure 58).

ly survivors at 13 West Range and 24 East Range (figure 58).



Rufus W. Holsinger. Edgar Allan Poe Room, University of Virginia.
<https://search.lib.virginia.edu/items/uva-lib:1043693>

This approach guided his program of mantel replacements as well. The late 1950s refurbishment campaign removed closets and mantels in nearly all student rooms. The

*Figure 59. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, Holsinger photograph of Poe Room, 13 West Range, c. 1917. Note that "WHC" grafitto appears at left side of mantel frieze in this and earlier images. A contemporary version of this view appeared in the 1917 edition of *Corks and Curls*.*

Nichols-designed models were simple affairs, consisting of a cyma

ty Years," May 31, 2002, Facilities Management Files, University of Virginia.

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Figure 60. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, 13 West Lawn mantel, installed c. 2000 after designs by Murray Howard.

backband around the firebox. Many of these had also acquired a frieze and mantel shelf that floated above the surround. Howard replaced all of these on the Lawn and in the East Range but did not complete the project on the West Range, where the Nichols-era mantels remain in place. Howard's design is close to the two originals in storage and the surviving mantel in 53 West Range. He stated that his model was a pair of mantels in a house in Fluvanna County along with some early photographs of student rooms.²⁷⁵ In fact, the Howard design closely resembles the way in which the original Poe mantel was adapted following the removal of the closets in the early 1900s (figure 59). This, too, had been replaced by Nichols but Howard seems to have trusted that the early twentieth-century view of the mantel, without its closets, showed the genuine article.

Other than the wrapping of the mantel shelf around the sides of chimney, this assessment was correct. The Poe Room mantel visible in photographs immediately following the room's initial restoration is close to the original mantels at 53 West Range and in Facilities storage, except in a key detail. The surround comes to the edges of the chimney, in a manner similar to the originals. But without the closets in place, the mantel shelf and its supporting crown molding

275. James Murray Howard, "Project Description for Minor Renovation & Restoration of Student Rooms in the Academical Village," July 26, 2001, Facilities Management Files, University of Virginia.

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Figure 61. 52 East Lawn double door, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, as replaced by Murray Howard, c. 2000. 2008 photograph.

cannot terminate against a wall; instead, they return along the sides of the chimney. This is an unusual detail and not one ordinarily seen on Virginia fireplaces. But it was a solution to restoring the mantels without including their flanking closets, first used at the Poe Room by 1909 and extended by Howard to the Lawn and West Range (figure 60). It was an expedient solution that brought the rooms closer to their historic form without undertaking a complete restoration.²⁷⁶

More controversially, Howard continued his restoration of key details of woodwork to doors. In the 1990s, he identified an early door at 36 East Lawn. It stood apart from other student room entrances because it was more refined and was built as a double door, features associated with the pavilions. Howard correctly identified most dormitory doors as late-19th and 20th-century replacements, supposing that he had located the only remaining original student room door: “the evidence is very compelling about the lone pair that have survived from the earliest days

when all others did not, their graining technique being the most telling factor.”²⁷⁷ If true, and if his goal was a restoration of the original form of the Academical Village, then his charge was to replace the other 108 doors with copies of the one at 36 East Lawn. He began this work in the summer of 1998, starting at 2-8 East Lawn, which he seems to have intended as prototypes for the restoration of the other rooms in the Academical Village (figure 61).

In subsequent summers, he continued to replace windows, mantels, and 26 doors around the Academical Village until a visitor from the Virginia Department of Historic Resources noted the changes in 2001. He did not express any concerns about the work on the mantels but he raised doubts about whether Howard’s interpretation of the door at 36 East Lawn was correct. Because the changes had not been reviewed by DHR, Director Kathleen Kilpatrick requested that the work be stopped until such a review could be completed.²⁷⁸ Later that summer, How-

276. Note, however, that the molding profile used below the restoration mantel shelf is not an exact match for the originals.

277. James Murray Howard to Calder Loth, “Student Room Renovations,” July 26, 2001, Facilities Management Files, University of Virginia.

278. Kathleen S. Kilpatrick to Colette Sheehy, “University of Virginia Historic District,” July 20, 2001.

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ard examined the dormitory doors closely with architectural historians from DHR and the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. That group identified four early 19th-century doors on Lawn student rooms, at 10 East Lawn and 37, 53, and 55 West Lawn. All have a single leaf and six panels with flat bevels, unlike those at 36 East Lawn.²⁷⁹ Their examination was followed by microscopic paint analysis that confirmed that these four doors were the original model and that 36 East Lawn represented a later, singular, alteration (see description of 36 East Lawn).²⁸⁰

As a consequence, DHR recommended that the university halt the replacement of doors until further study could be done to determine the proper model for any future work. The replacement of the double doors that had already been installed with single leaves was done over several summers and completed in 2021 with 2-8 and 36-48 East Lawn.²⁸¹

Recent work on the student rooms has continued the project of restoration, assisted as needed by consultants. On the Lawn, this has included selective repainting, the removal of the 1830s slate roofs, the restoration of the Jefferson-era flat roofs, and the associated restoration of the Chinese Rail to its original form and configuration. The colonnade and railing had been altered over the nineteenth century following the installation of the slate roof over Jefferson's original serrated roofs on the dormitories. The second generation of Chinese rail was replaced in the mid-nineteenth century by iron railings; these are being replaced in turn by a wood Chinese rail following Jefferson's original design, as part of the ongoing restoration of the flat roofs over Lawn dormitories.²⁸² The early-twenty-first-century approach to stewardship also ensures that routine maintenance like masonry repointing is done according to the highest standards. This work extends the late-20th-century commitment to restoring the Academical Village to its original appearance, supported by extensive technical analysis and the benefit of decades of careful research.

279. Calder Loth to Kathleen S. Kilpatrick, "Lawn Student Door Replacement, University of Virginia," September 15, 2001, Facilities Management Files, University of Virginia.

280. Mark R. Wenger to Calder Loth, "Lawn-Range Doors--Paint Data," October 25, 2001, Facilities Management Files, University of Virginia.

281. James Zehmer, "East Lawn Room Refurbishment – Rooms 2-52 (Even Only) – Updated 06/08/2021" (Charlottesville, VA, June 8, 2021), Facilities Management Files, University of Virginia.

282. M. Jeffrey Baker, John D. Alvarez, and Thomas Burgess, "University of Virginia Chinese Rail Investigation," Preservation Plan (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia, October 2007).

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The dormitories were built for a single, simple purpose: to provide housing for approximately 200 students at the university. But in the last two centuries, they have played many other roles. They have been housing for construction workers; chambers and offices for faculty and affiliated staff; storage space; they have been extensions of hotels and faculty pavilions; and recently, restrooms. To some degree, this variability reflects the dynamic nature of facilities at any modern university. There is never enough space. But it is also a function of Thomas Jefferson's vision of its architecture. The visual and conceptual elegance of the scheme of pavilions and connecting dormitories was an unbending priority for Jefferson. It materialized the paternalistic and communitarian relationships he hoped to foster between students and faculty, with Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian fathers standing impressively above their Tuscan sons. Despite the efforts of many of his collaborators, he insisted upon it until the end, no matter the gains in economy or comfort that might have been achieved through alternatives. As some of his plan's deficiencies were discovered when the school started admitting students, dormitory rooms were pressed into alternative service.

Those deficiencies became apparent the moment the first professor had to decide whether to discard his family's dining room table or his children's beds. They became acute as other faculty found how unhealthy subterranean quarters could be for their servants. There was not enough storage. There were no faculty offices. Nor were there any rooms for support staff, including a librarian, tutors, and demonstrators in anatomy and practical chemistry. Some of these needs would be met, in time, through additions and new buildings. But initially, most of them would consume student rooms, reducing the school's capacity and becoming one of many sources of friction between faculty and their charges.

Under Construction

An important part of Jefferson's strategy to manage costs while establishing a high standard of construction was to recruit undertakers from outside Albemarle County—ideally, builders with large enough crews to complete substantial projects rapidly. With the completion of the rooms from 35 to 51 West Lawn, all of them with low cellars, Jefferson could include housing for out-of-town help as part of his bargain. In April, 1819, he agreed with carpenter James Oldham, then in Richmond, to build Pavilion I, offering him lodging in the dormitories for the “master workmen” and rooms in their cellars for the “under workmen.”²⁸³ A day later, he

283. Jefferson to Oldham, April 8, 1819.

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made the same offer to Richard Ware of Philadelphia.²⁸⁴ Oldham was on site by June of 1819 and soon working both on Pavilion I and the rooms to its south, 1 to 7 West Lawn. With his arrival, and Ware's imminent, Jefferson was concerned that Perry might not have 23 to 51 East Lawn finished in time to provide housing, writing to Arthur Brockenbrough in June that "Perry has promised to have dormitories ready for the master workmen and Cellars ready for the other which was my promise."²⁸⁵

These repeated references to cellars are significant because the only cellars on the West Lawn are those from 35 to 51, the first group to be built and among the rooms underway in the spring of 1819. Most of the dormitory cellars are on the East Lawn and Perry did not start work on any East Lawn rooms until 1820. The low, narrow cellars under 35 to 51 West Lawn, therefore, provided sleeping space for some of the workers from Philadelphia. That summer, Ware himself got underway on 10 to 26 East Lawn, the second set of rooms with cellars, and since these were the first set of dormitories to be completed on the East Lawn, it is likely that they, too, provided for Ware and Oldham's "under workmen."

Neither Oldham nor Ware, who brought twenty people with him, is recorded as paying rent on any dormitories in the proctor's journal or ledger. When workers' housing was provided, it was as part their compensation. Ware did, however, pay rent on Hotel F for 1822 and part of 1823, a relatively spacious residence suited to his role on the project. So, too, did fellow Philadelphian Abiah Thorn, who rented Hotel D in 1823, surely also for his personal use.²⁸⁶ A few of the principal undertakers, intending to remain in Charlottesville, bought property near Grounds. Beginning around 1824, as construction on the university was winding to a close, some, including John Neilson, built houses to the south of Wheeler's Road.²⁸⁷

But most, especially wage and enslaved laborers, needed only temporary housing. The Proctor's Journal records payments from several builders for room rentals. John Gorman, the Lynchburg mason who did most of the stonework at the university, was charged \$4 per room for three rooms for eight months in August of 1821.²⁸⁸ Which rooms he rented are not specified and by the beginning of 1821, there were several blocks on the East and West Lawn that were complete. Gorman paid the same amount in November, 1822 for unspecified rooms in the block from West Lawn 21 to 51. This is the first entry in the Journal for rent paid for specific rooms. Small payments follow from others in 1823 for rooms in this same row, suggesting that they

284. Jefferson to Ware, April 9, 1819.

285. Thomas Jefferson to Arthur S. Brockenbrough, June 29, 1819, Founders Online, National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-14-02-0450>.

286. "Proctor's Journals," 239, 273. Hotel B and C, as listed in the journal, are today called hotels D and F.

287. Rivanna Archaeological Consulting, "The Foster Family - Venable Lane Site Report of Archaeological Investigations," Archaeological Report (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia, November 2003), 13-14.

288. "Proctor's Journals," 194.

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were used as housing throughout the project.²⁸⁹ John Perry was charged for dormitory rent one time, for the use of 28 to 46 East Range for 18 months in 1822 and 1823, as his involvement in construction was winding to a close.²⁹⁰ And although no record of a payment for them appears in the Proctor's Journal, James Oldham noted that the four rooms at West Lawn 1-7 were occupied during the summer of 1821, certainly by workers. "The 4 dormitories *ajoining* [i.e., adjoining Pavilion I, which Oldham was also building] finished and have been occupied during the Summer--the Closet doors are unhung."²⁹¹ Oldham's letter provides another telling detail about the use of the dorms during this period. While they might have appeared finished to a visitor, and although they were occupied, they were in varying stages of completion and not yet ready for students.

The rental records are revealing in another way. They show how compensation could be negotiated off the ledger, in ways that did not involve the exchange of money. Housing could be provided or withheld. The records also raise questions about the capacities of some of the undertakers and the composition of the workforce. John Gorman seems only to be an individual in the ledger, receiving regular payments for stonework, but he rented three rooms for 16 months in 1821 and 1822.²⁹² Did he occupy one, and some of his crew the others? If so, were his workers enslaved or free, and if the former, does this mean that some enslaved people stayed in Lawn rooms (no Range rooms were complete before 1822)?

Similarly, there are no entries in the Proctor's Journal specifying the use of cellars; but Jefferson's repeated statements that these were to be used as housing for lower-status laborers makes it clear that they were intended as such. There are not nearly enough entries for rent in the Proctor's Journal to house the entire workforce, even with two or more people in each room. Some, such as slaves hired from nearby plantations, may have made the long walk to the site every day. Others were probably housed in a miscellany of makeshift shelters, of the kind that James Oldham anticipated needing to build before Jefferson offered him the use of the dorms.²⁹³ But many slept in the unfinished cellars under the East and West Lawn rooms, their use invisible in the material and documentary records.

Student Lodging

As construction shifted to focus on the Rotunda, the need to house large construction crews

289. "Proctor's Journals," 53, 269.

290. "Proctor's Journals," 309.

291. Oldham to Jefferson, January 3, 1822.

292. "Proctor's Journals," 96, 174.

293. James Oldham to Thomas Jefferson (University of Virginia Press, April 3, 1819), <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-14-02-0184>.

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diminished. The last payment from an undertaker for room rent was in December of 1823.²⁹⁴ With the arrival of students in early 1825, dormitories at last reverted to their intended function.

The 109 rooms could accommodate as many as 199 students with two per room as Jefferson intended but only one each in those on “bachelor’s row,” the nine small rooms south of Pavilion VII.²⁹⁵ In the earliest days of the university, there were far fewer than this. In 1826, Edgar Allan Poe initially shared a room with Miles George but after a disagreement, he was relocated to an empty room on the West Range, which he occupied as a single. Such a maneuver was only possible in an era of low enrollment. It was only in 1834 that the student body was as large as 200, and many of these boarded in Charlottesville. Through the 1830s, therefore, many students continued to occupy some rooms as singles.

The 1832 university catalog provides a useful glimpse into the distribution of students across the Lawn and Ranges in this period.²⁹⁶ A list of names and their room assignments for that year is included as an appendix (figure 62). In the 1832-33 academic year, there were 157 students, 127 of whom lived on Grounds, spread across 94 of the 109 dormitory rooms. The remaining 30 students lived nearby, either with their families or at a boardinghouse like Mr. Vowles’s or Mrs. Brockenbrough’s. Only students older than twenty and with express permission from their parents could live in town.²⁹⁷ Of those on Grounds, 54 were in doubles; 64 in singles and, if the directory is accurate, nine were in three rooms occupied as triples. 15 rooms, therefore, were not occupied by students, and available for faculty or as housing for staff. Four of these rooms adjoined hotels and may have enlarged the space available for hotel-keepers. Only two of them, 38 East Range and 7 West Range, did not adjoin a hotel or pavilion.

The double rooms were spread out across the Lawn and Ranges, with a few in each section. There is no observable pattern to how they were distributed in 1832. The means by which they were distributed was according to the wishes of the patron, who sought to balance the demands on the hotel keepers, who were each assigned a fixed set of rooms for which they provided meals and which they kept in good order. The latter work was done by enslaved domestics who were charged with cleaning rooms, filling wash-basins, and tending fires and fireplaces. They also did some routine maintenance, including polishing fenders and whitewashing the fireboxes. The schedule of their day was proscribed by the faculty to begin at six in the morning with the provision of water and lighting the fire. Later in day, the servant would return to sweep

294. “Proctor’s Journals,” 281, 309.

295. As it happens, this figure is close to the 200 students that Jefferson’s early schemes would have housed, with 10 groups of 10 rooms each and two students in each room.

296. *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the University of Virginia. Session of 1832-33* (Charlottesville, VA: Printed by D. Deans and Co., 1832). The catalog for this year and 1849 are the only two early catalogs that include student directories.

297. Bruce, *History of the University of Virginia, 1819-1919*, 1920, 2:205.

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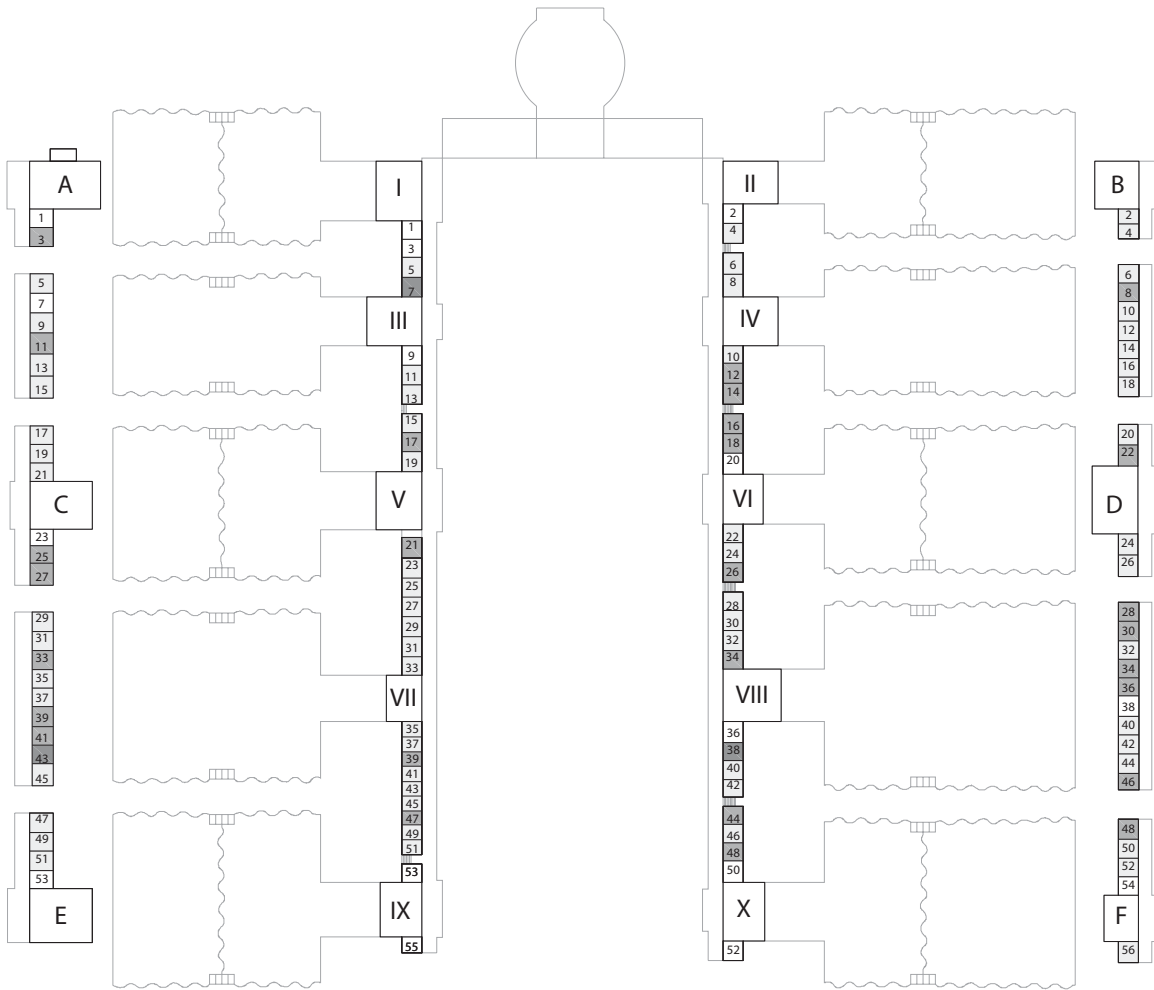


Figure 62. Occupancy of student rooms, 1832, as derived from 1832-33 Catalogue of the University. Unshaded rooms were unoccupied by students; light-shaded rooms were singles; medium-shaded rooms were doubles; and dark-shaded rooms were occupied as triples.

the floors and make up the beds, with freshly laundered linens provided every two weeks. He would return once more, mid-afternoon, to receive instructions from the students concerning any errands or other tasks.²⁹⁸

The patron assigned students their rooms, and consequently their hotels, at the start of the year. This task, as several letters in the proctor's papers from the 1830s reveal, could be affected by special pleading. Rooms were generally assigned according to when students arrived on Grounds but some wrote ahead to lobby for particular favorites. These letters reveal that some rooms were preferable to others as, at times, were some hotel-keepers. It is also clear that individual wishes varied according to personality. Some sought to be close to friends, or relatives;

298. Bruce, 2:207-9.

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others wanted quieter accommodations, or those nearer professors. Only a few, interestingly, sought rooms on the Ranges. “I wish to retain for me the Dormitory (No 5 W.L. I think) occupied by Mssrs Isbell Knight + myself during the last Session...I am not sure that it is No. 5 but you will remember the rooms—the one adjoining that occupied by Frank Gilmer.”²⁹⁹ “If all the Single rooms are not yet taken, I should like one of them. if they are, one of the double rooms in Mrs. Gray’s district, the one next the old Library if I can get it. Should all the Lawn rooms in Mrs. G’s district be taken, one of the rooms above Dr. Griffiths.”³⁰⁰ The single rooms, by 1838, were likely only those from 35 to 51 West Lawn; Mrs. Gray’s district refers to those rooms assigned to Mrs. Sally Carter Gray, keeper of Hotel E.³⁰¹

An 1838 request suggests that rooms were assigned in part by lottery, with preference to students who arrived first:

as I think it probable I shall not be able to arrive before the 1st day of the session + as most of the lawn rooms are spoken for before that time, I have to request you to choose me a decent comfortable room on the lawn. I wd. Greatly prefer a single room + as they are drawn for, you will please put my name in for one of them, but should I fail to draw one, I would prefer one on the Western lawn, not very near to the outside....I had rather have a room just by Dr. Harrison (the chairman) as I shall be a candidate for graduation in medicine + wish to have as little disturbance in study hours as can be.³⁰²

Some parents, with their own priorities, joined in the pleading, often seeking rooms near a pavilion for the moderating influence of a patient professor. They sought to minimize distraction and idleness. William Cabell’s is tinged with a mixture of parental pride and realism.

I have a son whom I wish to send to the University. I think he is disposed to study; but I am not so confident of his capacity to resist temptation, as not to desire to place him in a situation where he will be least liable to be exposed to it. I understand that those Dormitories on the Lawn, near Professor Bonnycastle will probably not be desired by such of the Students as may be disposed to be idle...I wish him to have a Dormitory to himself.³⁰³

299. Wm. P. Whiting to Willis [sic] H. Woodley, August 22, 1837, Proctor’s Papers, Box 11, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library.

300. W. B. Skipwith to W. L. Woodley, August 6, 1838, Proctor’s Papers, Box 11, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library.

301. See Proctor’s Ledger, 1833-34, p. 166, for list of Hotel Keepers in 1833. There is not yet a Historic Structures Report for Hotel E.

302. Robert A. Clark to Col. Woodley, July 22, 1838, Proctor’s Papers, Box 11, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library.

303. Wm. H. Cabell to Wm. G. Pendleton, August 22, 1834, Proctor’s Papers, Box 10, Special Collections,

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Most students paid the same fee for bed and boarding: in 1824, the Board of Visitors set this at \$28 per year, except for those in the small rooms from 35 to 51 West Lawn, who were charged only \$24.³⁰⁴ Students sharing a room split the fee, so those who squeezed two people into a room in bachelor's row in 1832 enjoyed a particular bargain. In 1839, rates increased to \$46 per double room and \$31 for each single.³⁰⁵ The charges per room had increased to \$75 per year in 1912, except for the nine rooms of Bachelor's Row, which went for only \$70.³⁰⁶

In his arrangement of pavilions adjoining dormitories and his recommendation for two students in each room, Jefferson had hoped that his plans for housing would be “equally friendly to study as to morals & order.”³⁰⁷ But the concerns expressed by both parents and students in their letters to the patron indicate that good order could not be relied upon, no matter how fine the architecture.³⁰⁸

Faculty Space

Jefferson's idea that the pavilions should be models of fine architecture was relatively late in development, following his correspondence with Latrobe and Thornton. His early accounts describe the faculty housing as “small” and “plain.” This was in part because he wanted to emphasize the economy of his scheme but it also seems to have been fundamental to his vision of the university. And while he re-considered the degree to which the pavilions should be plain, he never abandoned his wish for them to be small, to the eventual consternation of faculty families. Though he was recruiting established scholars from across the United States and Europe, his faculty housing was better suited to the kind of young, single men who tutored the children of southern plantation owners. He seems to have imagined his professors, like their students, as bachelor scholars sleeping above their classrooms, in a more permanent version of

University of Virginia Library. Professor Bonnycastle was then resident in Pavilion VIII.

304. Board of Visitors, “Minute Book,” 57. April 5, 1824.

305. “Account of Rents of Hotels Dormitories, and Public Rooms for the Year Ending June 30th, 1839” (1839), Proctor's Papers, Box 12, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library.

306. University of Virginia Board of Visitors, “Public Minutes,” December 16, 1912, 262, 12/16/1912.

307. Thomas Jefferson to James Patton Preston, January 6, 1818, Papers of Thomas Jefferson, University of Virginia.

308. Outrageous and occasionally violent student behavior in the earliest days of the university was a source of shame and worry among Jefferson, the visitors, and the faculty. The faculty were right to worry, especially when they put themselves between students' plantation-grown sense of personal privilege and the enslaved staff. Some were verbally assaulted, a few physically. Matters reached a head in November, 1840, when Professor A. G. Davis, in a notorious incident, was shot and killed. See Ervin L. Jordan Jr., “‘Chastising a Servant for His Insolence’: The Case of the Butter Bully,” in *The Founding of Thomas Jefferson's University*, ed. John A. Ragosta, Peter S. Onuf, and Andrew J. O'Shaughnessy (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2019), 70–84; Taylor, *Thomas Jefferson's Education*; Charles Coleman Wall, “Students and Student Life at the University of Virginia, 1825 to 1861” (Charlottesville, VA, University of Virginia, 1978), 171–76 and *passim*.

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the arrangement adopted by elite Virginians such as Robert Carter III at Nomini Hall.³⁰⁹ His design for Pavilion VII, the first, placed just two heated rooms for its tenant above the large classroom on the main floor. Its grand architecture disguised a modest scale.

Although there was some variation in size and a wide range of floor plans, most pavilions built after number VII placed a classroom and one faculty family room on the first floor and three private rooms on the second. Service functions consumed the cellar, including rooms for storage, cooking, laundering, and quarters. A single stair provided access to all three levels. Pavilion IV was a spacious outlier, with two reception rooms on the first floor and four chambers on the second. The other eight houses allocated four rooms, in all, to professor's families, to serve as entertaining, dining, sleeping and study rooms. Jefferson thought the main-level room would be a study and library; the second-floor spaces would serve as a drawing room and two bedchambers.³¹⁰

But even as Jefferson was recruiting his faculty, he became aware of the degree to which his plan had not accounted for the many peripheral tasks supporting their educational efforts. These included spaces for administrative functions, like the storage of official records; offices for a librarian; and offices for tutors and secondary instructors. More consequentially, it lacked faculty housing that was sufficiently large to support a polite family of any size. Urban professionals of the kind Jefferson sought as professors were accustomed to more generous accommodations—two rooms for a family on each of two floors constituted a bare minimum. A few of his faculty would come to Charlottesville with domestic staff who would be too crowded in the pavilions' cellars and attics, even according to the low standards of accommodation that polite householders thought was sufficient for their workers. A perceptive critic, reviewing the 1818 proposal for the university, identified the essential problem.

It appears to us that a provision of from two to four rooms is inadequate for a professor and family. One room must needs be a study, one a parlour, and one a kitchen; leaving but one lodging room for the professor and his family. Moreover, though the college discipline would certainly gain, and that in a high degree, by thus stationing the tents of the professors, at proper intervals, along the camp of the students, yet the comfort of a family would suffer in an equal degree.³¹¹

309. Sherwood and Lasala, "Thomas Jefferson's Academical Village," 11; Philip Vickers Fithian, *Journal & Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian, 1773-1774: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion*, ed. Hunter Farish Dickinson, Williamsburg Restoration Historical Studies (Williamsburg, Virginia: Colonial Williamsburg, Incorporated, 1943).

310. Thomas Jefferson to Thomas Cooper, November 19, 1819, Founders Online, National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-15-02-0190>.

311. "Review of Proceedings and Report of the Commissioners for the University of Virginia, Presented 8th of December 1818," *The North-American Review and Miscellaneous Journal* 10, no. 26 (1820): 115–37.

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Therefore, in the first decade of the university, while enrollments were low and the need to recruit strong faculty high, the Board of Visitors allowed professors to enlarge their pavilions by appropriating adjoining dormitories. They officially endorsed the practice in October of 1826: “Resolved that each professor shall be at liberty to occupy the dormitories adjoining his pavilion, or either of them: he paying the rent and making the repairs required of students occupying dormitories.”³¹² Just two years later, the Visitors allowed faculty to spend up to \$100 to build quarters in the yards behind their pavilions “for the accommodation of servants...not exceeding two apartments to each.”³¹³ These two resolutions acknowledged the inadequacy, by the standards of polite households of the period, of the pavilions as residences.

Domestic comforts were one problem. Adequate room for scholarship was another. Faculty needed libraries and offices and a few needed rooms to store their scientific equipment. Charles Bonnycastle, prospective professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, wrote to Thomas Jefferson in April of 1826, requesting rooms to store his teaching equipment. He already had his eye on a student room:

Should the instruments be placed at any distance from the room where I lecture, the bringing them backward & forward exposes them to a great chance of being damaged: &, on this account, if the room which you assigned us cannot be immediately fitted up, perhaps one of the Dormitories adjoining my pavilion would be the most eligible place for their reception.³¹⁴

Professor Bonnycastle’s needs for additional space continued after he was appointed to the faculty. In 1829, he paid rent on two dormitory rooms.³¹⁵ The following year, he petitioned to cut a door between Pavilion VIII and room 36, to the south.³¹⁶ In 1839, he sought to enlarge this study by taking the adjoining room 38 and opening another door between the two.³¹⁷ His annexation campaign continued in 1840, when the visitors allowed him \$40 to improve the cellar below room 36 “for the accommodation of his Domestic.”³¹⁸

Like four of his fellow faculty, Charles Bonnycastle paid rent on his rooms, at \$16 per year

312. Board of Visitors, “Minute Book,” 126–27. October 10, 1826.

313. Board of Visitors, “Public Minutes” (October 1, 1828).

314. Charles Bonnycastle to Thomas Jefferson, April 16, 1826, Founders Online, National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/98-01-02-6047>.

315. University of Virginia Proctor, “Proctor’s Ledgers” (1832 1826), 149, University Archives, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library.

316. Board of Visitors, “Minute Book,” 244/31, 7/10/1830.

317. Board of Visitors, 29, 7/3/1839.

318. Board of Visitors, 46–47.

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in 1839.³¹⁹ Some were given the use of rooms rent-free. In 1830, seemingly in compensation for being assigned a smaller pavilion, the visitors permitted George Blaetterman to have an unspecified room without payment, to be used as a study.³²⁰ Like Bonnycastle, Blaetterman later extended his acquisition of space into the cellars, also rent-free. In his case, he co-opted a cellar below a room being used by students, cutting a door into it from Pavilion IV. The students in 10 East Lawn found this encroachment bothersome and claimed a right to the cellar themselves: “Messrs. Taliaferro + Jones...complained to me of very great nuisances created by the use of their cellar by Doct. B’s servants, + of the yard, embracing the cellar in which a cow was frequently penned + fed; and inquired whether in paying the rent of the dormitory, they had not a right to the cellar.”³²¹

The balance between providing sufficient space for faculty and their families and sufficient accommodations for the student body was found, in time, through growth, both in the size of individual pavilions and in the size of Grounds itself. The addition of new Jeffersonian housing on Monroe Hill in 1848, styled after the Ranges, began the move away from the Academical Village, followed by new housing on Carr’s Hill and the 1899 completion of Randall Hall, the university’s first modern dormitory with conventional double-loaded corridors (figure 63).³²²



Figure 63. Dormitory on Monroe Hill, 1848, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia.

319. “Account of Rents of Hotels Dormitories, and Public Rooms for the Year Ending June 30th, 1839” (1839), Proctor’s Papers, Box 12, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library.

320. Board of Visitors, 238-239/25-26, 7/10/1830.

321. Willis H. Woodley to Professor [John A. G.] Davis, September 18, 1839, Proctor’s Papers, Box 12, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library.

322. Wilson and Butler, *University of Virginia Campus Guide*, 85–87.

USE: LODGING FOR AFFILIATED STAFF

But rooms in the Academical Village remained desirable for faculty and students alike. Rooms 34 and 36 East Lawn, for example, were still associated with Pavilion VIII in 1853, when it was enlarged substantially to the rear. After nearly 25 years of use, they were understood as appendages to the pavilion, not student rooms. This relationship was materialized in 1836 when Professor Bonnycastle converted the door to room 36 to a double door, similar to those on the front of his pavilion.³²³ Like them, he gave the doors richly molded panels, reinforcing the relationship between the room and the pavilion and setting it apart from the other student rooms. Tellingly, he had the doors grained to reinforce this distinction.

In time, however, as pavilions were added to, the Visitors reclaimed dorm rooms for students. In 1854, the year after Pavilion VIII was enlarged, the Board of Visitors required the return of “all the dormitories for the use of the students which are not now necessarily occupied by the Professors and Officers.”³²⁴ But faculty use continued, presumably necessarily, with rooms in use as offices adjoining pavilions until the end of the 19th century, when the Visitors determined to curtail the practice, making an exception only for the rooms adjoining Pavilion X.³²⁵

Even so, faculty and administrative use of dormitory rooms continued into the twentieth century. Dean Ivey Foreman Lewis, for example, lived in Pavilion II but kept an office at 14 East Lawn beginning in 1934.³²⁶

Lodging for Affiliated Staff

In the early years of the university, some dormitories were also used as housing for staff and tutors. One of the first professional staff to be given the use of a room was the librarian, who “shall have the use of a dormitory, free of rent, [and] may attend any of the lectures in the University without fee.”³²⁷ The use of a single small room, surrounded by lively students, must have taxed the librarian’s patience, because he petitioned, in 1833, for the use of a room in one of the then-vacant hotels.³²⁸ By 1837, he was back in a dorm room.³²⁹ The records do not specify which room the librarian occupied but the likeliest candidates are the two which, in 1832, did not adjoin a hotel or pavilion and were not taken by a student: 7 West Range and 38 East Range. In the 1830s, the Visitors also thought dormitory housing to be appropriate for a

323. Waite et al., “University of Virginia Pavilion VIII,” 36.

324. Board of Visitors, “Public Minutes,” June 26, 1854.

325. Board of Visitors, “Public Minutes,” June 14, 1897.

326. Ed Miller, “It’s Not Easy Being Dean,” *Virginia Magazine*, Winter 2022, https://uvamagazine.org/articles/its_not_easy_being_dean.

327. Board of Visitors, “Minute Book,” 116, 10/2/1826.

328. Board of Visitors, 85, 7/10/1833.

329. Board of Visitors, 16, 7/1/1838.

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minister, so long as he was unmarried and would take meals at a hotel.³³⁰

The Visitors anticipated hiring tutors to supplement the work of the faculty and they were allocated two adjoining rooms, also rent-free, in a plan of 1824.³³¹ It does not appear that any tutors were provided such housing, however. But other teaching staff, including the Assistant Instructor of Chemistry and the Instructor in Latin were given dormitory rooms as part of their compensation, a practice that continued to the end of the nineteenth century.³³² An 1890 resolution required that assignment of rooms for instructors be confined to the East Range.³³³ In 1895, the Visitors felt a need to prohibit instructors and professors who had been assigned a student room from sub-letting them.³³⁴

Cellar Rooms

Of the 109 student rooms, 39 are above cellars. 24 of these are on the East Lawn, nine on the West Lawn, four are on the West Range, and two are at 24-26 East Range.³³⁵ All four Range rooms are associated with hotels and the two to the south of Hotel D were originally only accessible from that hotel's cellar. With paved floors and only minimal provision for natural light through a pair of vent windows, they were evidently planned as a way of enlarging its storage facility. The remainder reflect the fall of natural grade away from the Lawn, requiring deeper foundations than elsewhere in the Academical Village. Jefferson's careful budget stewardship ensured that a strict economy prevailed—no cellars were dug where they weren't necessary.

Where cellars were demanded because of grade, their use was of secondary importance. From the beginning, however, Jefferson saw their potential for low-status housing and storage. He recruited both James Oldham and Richard Ware with a promise that their "under workmen" could be housed in dormitory cellars.³³⁶ And he resisted Arthur Brockenbrough's suggestion that the university build additional storage space for faculty, supposing that even the student rooms themselves could be appropriated: "particular erections for store rooms do not seem necessary, as dormitories may be appropriated when wanting, and especially of the smaller

330. Board of Visitors, 88–89, 7/10/1833.

331. Board of Visitors, 66, 10/4/1824.

332. Board of Visitors, 93, 7/1/1845, 751,77, 3/10/1858, 811/137, 6/30/1860.

333. Board of Visitors, "Public Minutes" (June 27, 1890), 203, https://xtf.lib.virginia.edu/xtf/view?docId=2006_06/uvaGenText/tei/bov_18900627.xml;chunk.id=d3;toc.depth=100;brand=default;query=dormitories.

334. Board of Visitors, "Public Minutes" (March 29, 1895), 410–11, https://xtf.lib.virginia.edu/xtf/view?docId=2006_06/uvaGenText/tei/bov_18950329.xml;chunk.id=d3;toc.depth=100;brand=default;query=dormitories.

335. Note that this count of 109 includes 56 East Range, which is no longer extant but was likely originally on a crawl. There are 108 original student rooms remaining.

336. Jefferson to Oldham, April 8, 1819; Jefferson to Brockenbrough, June 29, 1819.

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ones, less convenient for the Students.”³³⁷ In 1829, Brockenborough thought that some of the cellar rooms might be appropriated for water cisterns, to help with fire suppression on Grounds. He installed one below 24 East Lawn as a trial but this experiment was not followed and cellars were reserved for other purposes.³³⁸

Some of them were adapted for quarters. Charles Bonnycastle’s appropriation of the space below 36 East Lawn is visible in the record because he requested permission and funds for the alterations needed to convert a bare room to a quarter. Those changes included the insertion of a doorway to connect the room to his pavilion and the installation of a plaster ceiling. They may have included a new exterior door but the Bonnycastle-era cellar door does not survive. Other alterations, like those of George Blaetterman below 10 East Lawn, only appear in the records because of a student complaint. Like Bonnycastle, Blaetterman had connected this room to his pavilion in a way that made it more convenient as a quarter while also providing



Figure 64. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: 2 East Lawn cellar.

337. Thomas Jefferson to Arthur S. Brockenbrough, December 13, 1825, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/98-01-02-5756>

338. Ford, Wenger, and Baker, “University of Virginia East Lawn 22 Basement Room Study,” p. 13.

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access to the yard south of Pavilion IV from the cellar kitchen.³³⁹ Many other rooms must have been used in this way without appearing in the official records. Louis Nelson observes that faculty requests for accommodations for enslaved workers are more frequent on the west side of the Lawn, where most student rooms are above crawl spaces, than on the east, where all have cellars.³⁴⁰ Some people must simply have occupied cellar rooms without any improvements.

As the Blaetterman episode suggests, the use of cellar rooms was not explicitly defined and this left them open to appropriation by both students and faculty, leading to conflict and misunderstanding. It also opened them to use by others, in ways that are not often inscribed in the historic record. An old Black man named Ben took advantage of the hidden quality of a cellar room to sell liquor extra-legally. In 1825, he was described by a student as: “Ben, a crippled black man who sells spiritous liquors surreptitiously in the cellar of one of the dormitories.”³⁴¹ This was surely the same Ben who had been reported to the faculty for selling alcohol out of the cellar of Pavilion I earlier in the year.³⁴²

Whether cellars continued to be used as housing after emancipation is not clear. But after modern heating and plumbing systems were installed across grounds, their utility for any regular purpose was minimized. The intrusion of steam and hot water pipes, gas and electrical conduit, and all the associated valves, switching equipment and other utilities makes the use of cellars for any other purpose difficult in the modern era (figure 64). A few are still available for storage; a small number are bathrooms; one is a laundry. But for the most part, the Lawn cellars have been, since the late nineteenth century, the domain of university maintenance staff, not domestic servants.

339. Nelson, “The Architecture of Democracy in a Landscape of Slavery.”

340. Nelson, 113.

341. Jun Swan, “Diary of Jun Swan” (1825). Cited in *Corks and Curls*, 1931, 281-284.

342. Robley Dunglison to A.S. Brockenbrough, May 17, 1825, http://juel.iath.virginia.edu/node/114?doc=/db/JUEL/letters/Proctor/Brockenbrough_1825_05_17.xml&key=P43826#m1.

MATERIALS AND CONSTRUCTION

Structure

Cellars

The structure of the student rooms includes masonry and timber systems: the foundations, interior and exterior walls and chimneys are all built of brick; the floors and roofs are timber-framed.

Cellars exist under several of the student rooms on the Lawn where the difference in grade at the rear of the rooms is great enough to accommodate such spaces (figure 65). 24 of 26 East Lawn rooms are currently on cellars, including that under 4 East Lawn, which was excavated in the modern era; nine West Lawn rooms have them; and just two rooms on the East Range and four on the West Range. Unlike the crawl spaces, the cellars are “rooms” in the sense that they are accessed by their own door openings, are generally tall enough to stand in, and are separated from one another by brick partitions, creating individual spaces below the student room above.

Cellars are all built of brick laid in common bond. They are either 1’4” or 1’8” thick at their base on the front and rear walls to support the floor framing for the rooms above. In their most basic form, a typical cellar room is approximately 13’x13’, with the framing and floor of the student room above serving as the ceiling and exposed earth for the floor. In most cases, a



Figure 65. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: 36-48 East Lawn, rear.

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Figure 66. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: 40 East Lawn cellar.

single door opening in the exterior wall provides the sole means of access and natural light to the cellars. While many of the door openings have been altered, the original masonry openings were typically 46" wide, with heights varying between five and six feet depending on what conditions allowed. All the doors to the cellars are modern; no original cellar doors remain in place.

A number of the cellars have evidence of early improvements and alterations (Figure 66). Although it is difficult to date when these features were introduced precisely, the use of whitewash, cut nails, and riven lath places them in the nineteenth century. Whitewashed surfaces remain in

Figure 67. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: East Lawn 24 cellar, showing ceiling lath.



MATERIALS AND CONSTRUCTION: STRUCTURE

several rooms on the East Lawn as well as on the walls and joists under 24-26 East Range. In many instances this is limited to wall surfaces; however, in a few of the cellars, whitewashing extends onto the exposed framing and undersides of the flooring. Evidence for early plaster ceilings and walls remains in 20 and 24 East Lawn. This consists of riven lath fastened with cut nails on ceilings and patches of clay-lime plaster on the ceilings and walls (Figure 67). In some instances, these are the remains from when professors living in adjacent pavilions were granted use of the spaces, such as the cellar of 36 East Lawn, adjoining Pavilion VIII. Plaster remnants on the upper part of the walls below 46-50 East Lawn show where the floors for the student rooms above were lowered for a time when they were incorporated into Pavilion X but these reflect changing use of the rooms above rather than adaptation of the cellars themselves. The cellar of 22 East Lawn was never plastered but was retrofitted with a fireplace at the base of the chimney, clearly indicating that the room was occupied by a domestic worker beginning in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.³⁴³

Brick Walls

Construction of the foundations varies depending on the location within the Academical Village and the grade adjacent to the student rooms. Where the grade is high, shallow foundations were used. These run between two and three feet below exterior grade and are built directly on clay (Figure 68). Where visible, the first course of brick consists of a rowlock with subsequent courses laid in common bond continuing to the top of the foundation. On the West and East Lawn, where grade behind the student rooms is low, tall foundation walls were necessary to reach a height level with the Lawn side. In either situation, the foundation walls are typically



16" or four wythes thick. The transition from foundation to the upper, exterior walls occurs at approximately finish floor level. This is readily discernable on the exterior of the buildings, especially on the east and west walls, where a water table marks the

Figure 68. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: cellar below East Range student room 54, detail of stepped spread footing at base of west wall.

343. Ford, Wenger, and Baker, "University of Virginia East Lawn 22 Basement Room Study," 23–34.

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Figure 69. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, West Lawn. Comparison of Pavilion IX masonry at left with smooth, oil-struck brick and 53 West Lawn at right, with sand-struck brick.

Figure 70. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: rear of 15 West Range 15, showing sand-struck brick laid in 1:5 common bond.

point of transition. In the crawl spaces and cellar rooms, the change in thickness forms a ledge that carries the floor framing. In a few instances, however, the joists are set in pockets, rather than on a shelf (See “Floor Framing” below for a description of the two methods).

Above the water table, the upper walls are generally 12”, or three wythes, thick. The front and sides are faced with sand-struck brick, usually laid in Flemish bond, and bedded in mortar that is ordinarily v-jointed. At 23 to 51 West Lawn, the first row of rooms to be completed, the front, rear, and side



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walls are all 1:3 common bond. Under the colonnades and arcades, much of the brickwork remains covered with a red wash with white penciling applied to the mortar joints. The rear walls of the student rooms received a lesser treatment than the public face and are constructed of sand struck brick laid in 1:5 common bond. Even the best work on the dormitories is inferior to the masonry on the pavilions, which use oil-struck brick on their fronts, with details picked out with rubbed brick (figures 69 and 70).

Floor Framing

The construction of the floor system used in the student rooms is simple, consisting of timber joists supported on the foundation walls with heart pine floorboards laid across them. Unlike cellars under pavilions and hotels, there is no evidence of counter-sealing on the underside of surviving original floors for the dormitories. Variations in framing suggest different origins of the carpenters assigned to build clusters of rooms across the Academical Village. These differences include the orientation of joists and the hearth framing.

In all cases, the earliest floors are framed with pine joists supported at their outer ends on the brick foundation walls. All surviving original joists are hewn and pit-sawn, typical of Virginia carpentry before the Civil War. While there is some variation in their dimensions, most



Figure 71. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: East Range 24, cellar, showing hewn and pit-sawn joists bedded in joist pockets and raised floor above on metal truss joists.

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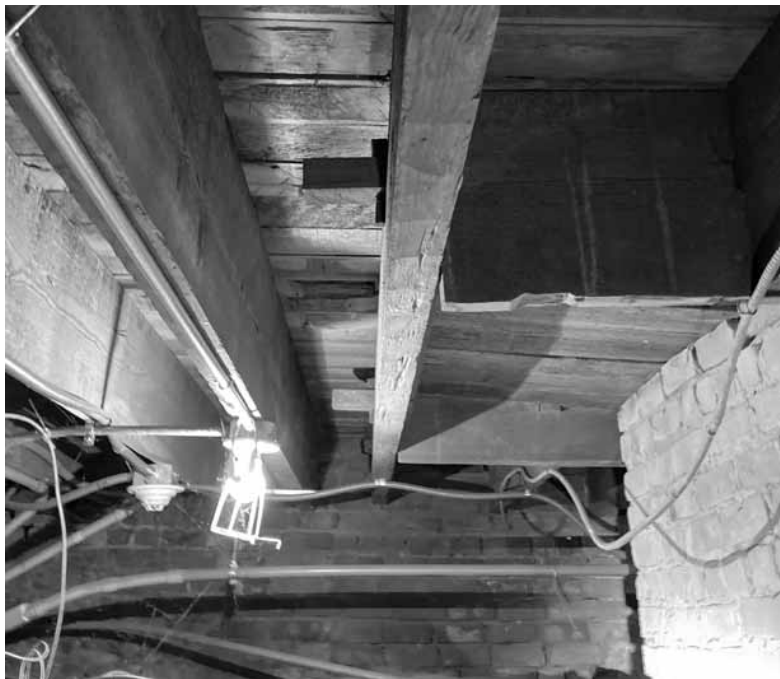
Figure 72. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: crawl space under 17-21 West Range, with detail of original joist pocket and modern replacement framing.

measure 2 ¼" to 2 ¾" x 10" and run the full width of the rooms without any intermediate support (figure 71). Their spacing ranges from 15" to 20" on centers, with most between 18 ½" and 20". Replacement joists are sometimes of similar cross-section to the originals but are circular-sawn. Many floors have been rebuilt with modern dimensional lumber set on 18" centers.

Joists under the student rooms commonly run east-west but are sometimes oriented north-south. In many instances, the ends of the joists were originally set in pockets in the brickwork, requiring coordination between mason and carpenter. This is clearly visible in the crawl spaces below 10 to 14 East Lawn, 17 to 21 West Range, and 23 to 27 West Range (figure 72). The simpler method incorporates a ledge near the top of the foundation wall, which allows joists to be placed anywhere along it and simplifies construction of the hearth trimmer.



Figure 73. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: cellar under 55 West Lawn, showing gauged and undercut flooring, original hewn-and-pit-sawn joists, and joined hearth framing with wedged through-tenons.



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As with the joists, hearth framing follows one of two solutions, with slight variations according to joist orientation. The forehearth project into the wooden floor, interrupting the joist run. Where joists run north/south, the hearth is framed by a header that is tenoned into a pair of joists, one on each side of the chimney mass. Boards fill the opening of the forehearth between the header and the chimney, with one end supported on the chimney base and the other on a cleat nailed to the face of the header. These boards support the brick hearth above.

Where the joists run east/west (perpendicular to the ridge), their spacing is adjusted to allow a joist to fall at the front of the forehearth. This method requires trimmers on each side of the chimney mass. These are tenoned and either pegged or wedged into the joist in front of the chimney. As in the previously described method, the hearth sits on boards supported by the chimney and joist (figure 73).

In the cellar rooms along East Lawn, there are four rooms where double joists frame the hearth, a detail only observed at 34-36 and 40-42 East Lawn, all built by James Dinsmore. Below a fifth room, 38 East Lawn, the masonry walls were built with pockets wide enough for double trimmers but the carpenter only installed a single. Dinsmore was also the carpenter for 9-21 West Lawn but these do not have the doubled joist at the hearth.



Partitions

The student rooms are separated by masonry partition walls that run between the east and west walls of the buildings. Alternating walls are fitted with chimneys to heat adjoining rooms with back-to-back fireplaces. The partition walls run from the cellar to the ceiling. These walls are 8", or two wythes, thick throughout their height. The surfaces of these walls within the student rooms have always been plastered (see *Interior Finishes* below). In the cellars and crawl spaces, the partitions were typically left exposed; however, cellars that were used for storage or human occupation were

Figure 74. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: crawl space under 28-46 East Range, showing partition penetration for systems in north wall of space below room 46.

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whitewashed and occasionally plastered. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, openings and penetrations were cut roughly through the partitions to accommodate mechanical lines and in some cases, to provide access between adjoining cellar and crawl spaces (figure 74).

Chimneys

Student rooms are heated with fireplaces that are vented through chimneys with one or two flues. Where they serve back-to-back fireplaces, the chimneys are broad and square in section; where they only vent a single fireplace, such at the ends of blocks, they are narrower. When first constructed, the chimneys on the student rooms were lower than they are today, as they only needed to clear the serrated roofs and associated deck. With the construction of the pitched roofs over them in the 1830s, the chimneys were raised to clear the higher roofline. This involved adding approximately 12-16 courses of brick (figure 75).



Roofs

The original flat roofs so important to Jefferson were built in a fashion similar to those at Monticello and Poplar Forest but with variations that suggest continual experimentation to find the most durable and water-tight solution. All of them share some key characteristics: a sloping saw-tooth profile in cross-section; two layers of wood shingles; and sheet metal lining the valleys. Within this common formula, there are two principal types of serrated roof, with variations according to how the valleys and ridges are flashed.

Figure 75. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, 35-51 West Lawn, showing serrated roof assembly and chimneys.

MATERIALS AND CONSTRUCTION: STRUCTURE

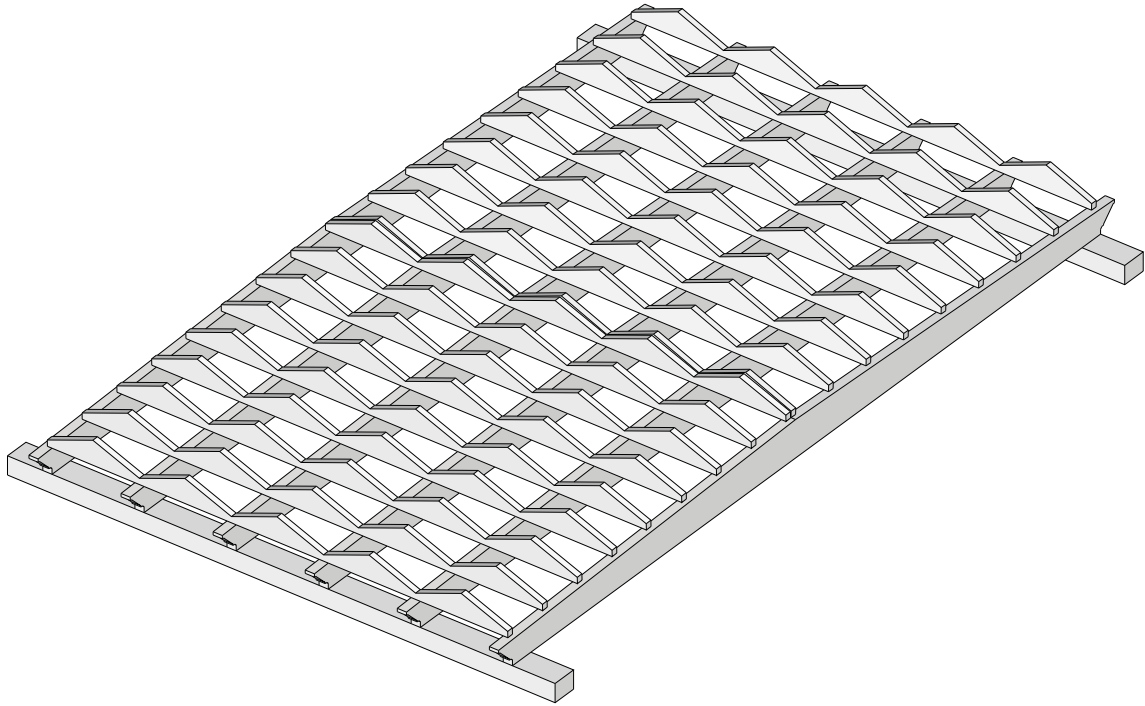


Figure 76. Framing for Jefferson's serrated lath system for a flat roof, as used at Monticello and the University of Virginia.

When it came to covering the dormitories, Jefferson called upon nearly two decades of experience with flat roofs. Helpfully, many of his carpenters at the university also benefited from his experiments with flat roofing on Monticello and Poplar Forest, as well as at the White House in Washington, D. C.

His designs for the second Monticello required flat roofs in multiple locations—adjoining the dome on the mansion house and, more extensively, over the flanking service wings. Dissatisfied with both the appearance and the performance of both, he devised two new ways of covering them, both reliant on sheet metal instead of wooden shingles. In January of 1803, he took time away from presidential responsibilities to describe them to his carpenter, James Dinsmore. For the mansion house roof, which was already in place, he proposed to strip off the existing shingles and to lay on top of the sheathing a series of saw-tooth joists, which he would later refer to as “serrated lath” (figure 76). To these, Dinsmore was to fix new planks to create a series of solid ridges, or “rooflets” and to cover the whole with sheet iron. His “Notebook of Improvements” describes the serrated lath system in more detail, specifying the angle of the serrations, how to nail the metal through the wood planking at the ridges, and showing how the valleys should align with the joists below. (figure 78) It also illustrates how to cut two serrated laths from a single sawn timber to minimize waste.³⁴⁴

344. Thomas Jefferson, “Monticello: Notebook of Improvements, Page 3 of 14, 1804-1807, by Thomas Jefferson. N171; K161 and K162 [Electronic Edition],” Thomas Jefferson Papers: An Electronic Archive, 2003,

DORMITORIES

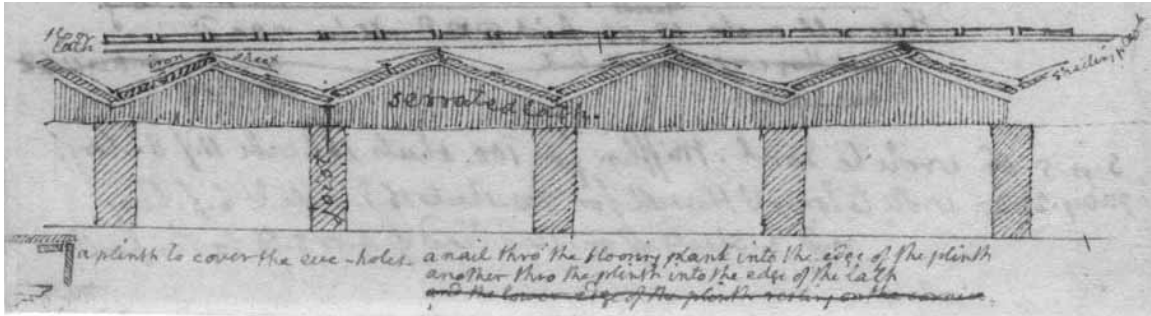


Figure 78. Thomas Jefferson, *Monticello Notebook of Improvements*, 1804-1807. Detail of serrated lath on page 3. Original from *The Coolidge Collection of Thomas Jefferson Manuscripts at the Massachusetts Historical Society*.

For the service wings, which John Perry was then building, he proposed an alternative solution. These would be covered by a series of joists of alternating height, forming a sequence of ridges and valleys, with planking fixed between them to create the rooflets. This, too, would be covered in sheet iron, with the ridge sheets lapping over the valley sheets. This system required the joists to be shaped: the taller ridges were cut to a point and the shorter valleys were trenched to form narrow gutters (figure 77).³⁴⁵

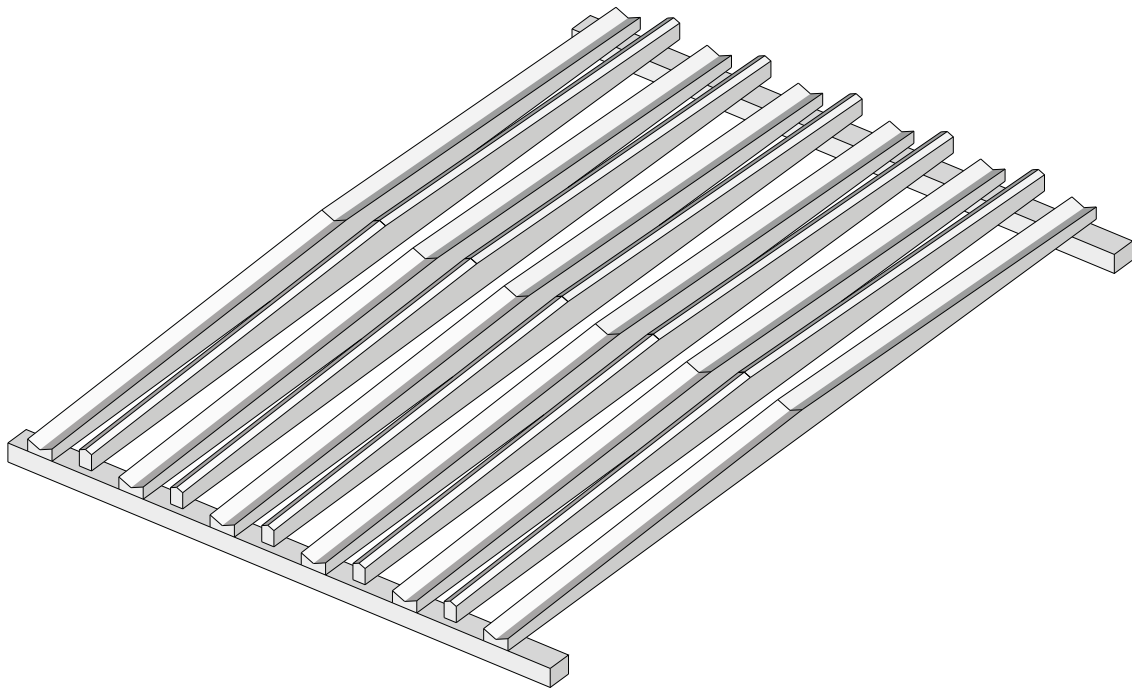


Figure 77. Framing for Jefferson's guttered joist system of creating a flat roof, as used at Monticello, Poplar Forest, and the University of Virginia.

https://www.masshist.org/thomasjeffersonpapers/doc?id=arch_N171.3.

345. Thomas Jefferson to James Dinsmore, January 3, 1803, Founders Online, National Archives, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-39-02-0225>.

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Figure 79. Shingle found in East Privy, Poplar Forest, Bedford County, Virginia, originally used on flat roof. Note grooved rainwater channels. MCWB photograph, 2004.

Though Jefferson clearly thought much about how to make the serrated lath system work, he used the “guttered joist” system of staggered joists on several other projects, including Poplar Forest and the service wings for the White House, which he covered with a “terras” in similar fashion to the dependency wings at Monticello in 1804 and 1805.³⁴⁶

The staggered joists could be covered with plank, as the serrated lath needed to be, or they could be covered with a double layer of shingles, as they were at Poplar Forest and

where they were further refined with shallow grooves to channel water into the guttered joist (figure 79).³⁴⁷

It is not clear which system, if either, Jefferson found preferable. He used both in his own houses but he also knew, first-hand, that they were subject to failure: the gutters in the shallow joists at the White House had rotted by 1812 and the first flat roof at Poplar Forest lasted just a decade.³⁴⁸ It is surely significant that his two section drawings for dormitories at the university show the guttered joist system (figure 80). Consistent with Jefferson’s desire for improvement and his continual habit of experimentation, he used both systems for the flat roofs over the dormitories and continued to make further refinements to each.

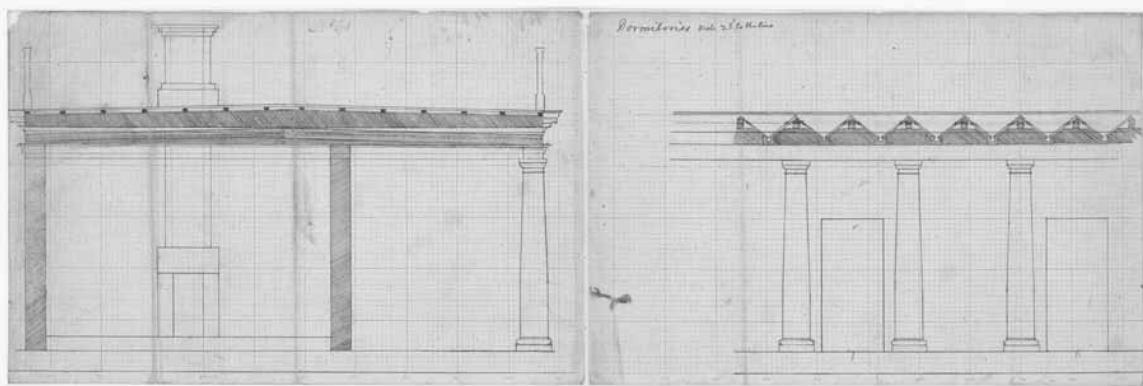


Figure 80. Thomas Jefferson, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: Study for Section of Dormitory and Colonnade, July, 1817, N-367. *A Calendar of the Jefferson papers of the University of Virginia. Jefferson Papers. Special Collections, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA.*

346. Travis C. McDonald, “The East and West Wings of the White House: History in Architecture and Building,” *White House History* 29 (Summer 2011): 44–87.

347. McDonald, 64.

348. McDonald, 65.

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The following is a summary of the systems in place at the university dormitories, based upon field data collected over many years, as roofs on the Lawn and Ranges have been exposed during construction projects. The first sustained examination of the dormitory roofs was during the study of the Chinese rails on the Lawn and this has been augmented since, including new research for this report. For a detailed description of the structure of the flat roofs around the Lawn, see the 2007 report on the Chinese rails.³⁴⁹

The first group of dormitories built, 35-51 West Lawn, used the “guttered joist” system, with ceiling joists set at alternating depths to create the ridges and valleys. This system had the advantage of a thinner overall cross-section than the serrated lath, which effectively required a double-thickness of ceiling joists. At 35-51 West Lawn, builder John Perry used horizontal boards instead of wood shingles, the only time on Grounds that this type of roofing was deployed.³⁵⁰ On the north side of Pavilion VII, at rooms 21-33, the rooflets are covered in shingles. Perry lined the valleys of both roofs with sheet iron, like Monticello and the White House, but after these first rooms, Jefferson opted to use tin in the valleys (figure 81).

The serrated lath system first deployed at Monticello was used across several blocks of student rooms and is the more common on Grounds. This system was installed above ceiling joists that were carefully made to taper from the center outward to the east and west, shedding water along the valleys to both eaves. The laths are cut from 10” to 11” boards, 1 ¼” thick, narrowing to an average of 4 ½” at their valleys. Carpenters doubled the serrated lath at the center (figures 76 and 82). These lath needed to be covered with board sheathing, running perpendicular

to the lath and breaking at the doubled members. This sheathing is typically covered with two layers of wood shingles, which are carefully made with a single thickness and with shallow grooves along their top face to channel water away from the joints. The valleys are lined with small, 7” x 10” tin sheets,



Figure 81. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: attic above 23-27 West Range student rooms, detail of tin-lined gutter in serrated roof.

349. Baker, Alvarez, and Burgess, “University of Virginia Chinese Rail Investigation.”

350. Baker, Alvarez, and Burgess, 5.

MATERIALS AND CONSTRUCTION: STRUCTURE

Figure 82. Framing for serrated lath with gutters, as used at the University of Virginia, including 5-15 West Lawn.

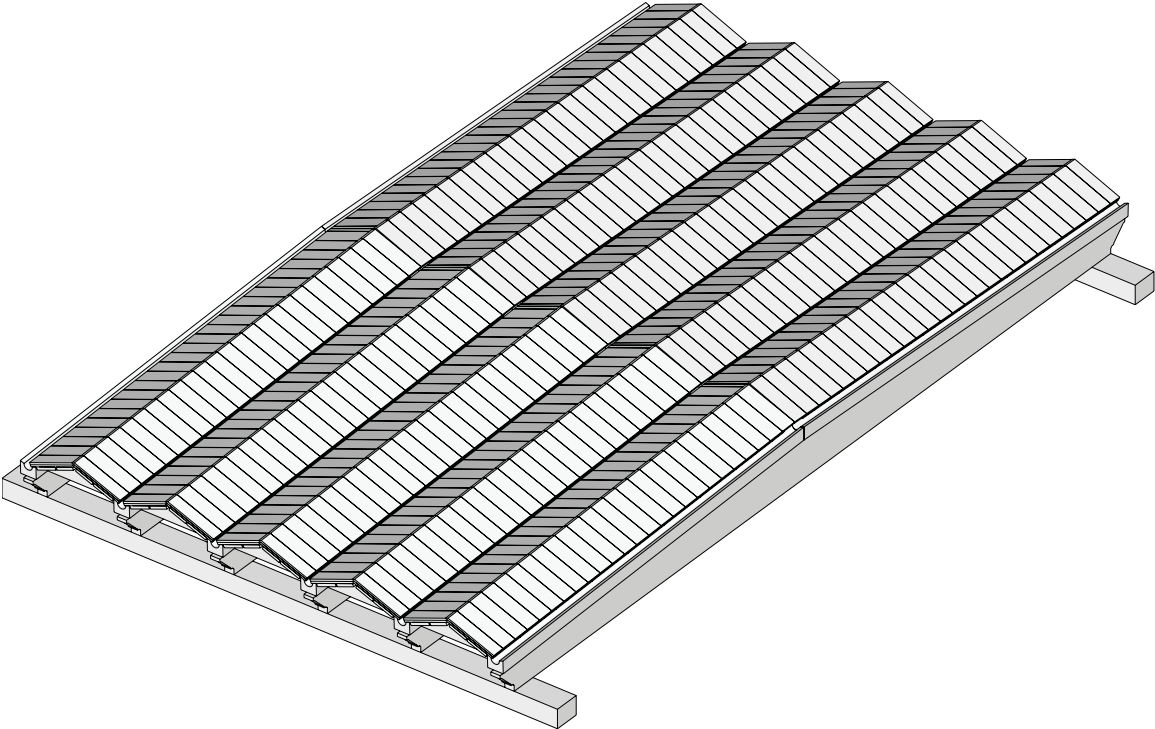
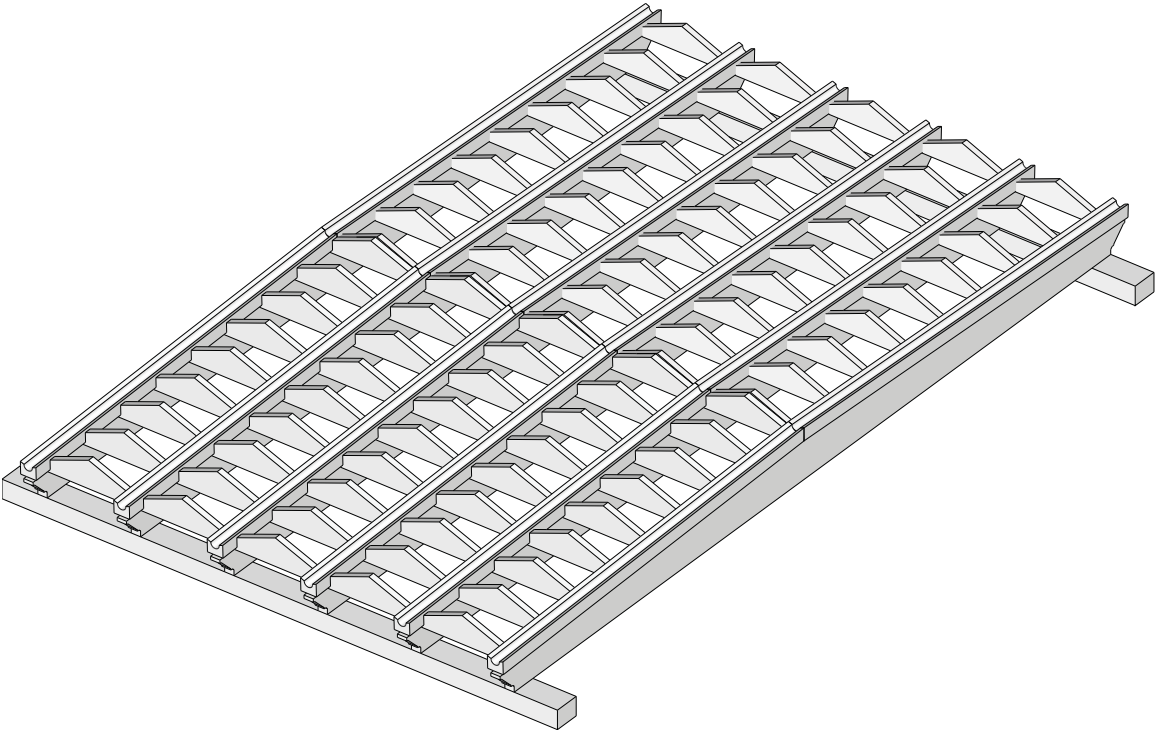


Figure 83. View of serrated lath system with gutters, with shingles laid on top of sheathing.

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soldered together. This system was used for 9-19 West Lawn, built by James Dinsmore, as well as those flanking Pavilion X, on the ranges, such as 48 to 54 East Range, built by George Spooner.³⁵¹

Jefferson and his carpenters continued to experiment with both systems but seem to have devoted greater attention to the serrated lath. At 9-19 East Lawn, Dinsmore adjusted the serrated lath by inserting a separate wooden



Figure 84. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: attic of West Range 5-15 student rooms, showing gutter and doubled serrated lath at center of serrated roof. Note also lath and plaster ceiling below.

gutter in the valleys, the better to channel water toward the eaves. Lyman Peck and Malcolm Crawford also used this system on the later rooms at the northern end of the West Range (figures 83, 84, and 85).³⁵² The West Range gutters, additionally, are lined with tin but only at their seams. Peck and Crawford used a conventional serrated lath system with tin-lined integral gutters on other West Range rooms, including from 17 to 27, flanking Hotel C.

All dormitory flat roofs were covered in the late 1830s by a new hipped roof, covered in slate. Its installation required the removal of the outer section of the original flat roofs but left substantial portions of it intact. The 1830s roofs consist of 2 ½” by 3 ¾” hewn and sawn pine rafters, which are tenoned and pegged at their apex. They are joined by 1 ¼” by 5 ½” sash-sawn pine collar ties that are half-dovetailed and nailed to the rafter couples. The rafters sit on a slender, roughly 2 ½” wide false plate that sits on top of the original ceiling joists. The slates sit on solid sheathing of broad pine boards, between 8” and 17” wide each, and are secured with mature cut nails. The slates themselves were graduated in width, from over 30” wide at the bottom to about 6” wide at their top course. Their hips and ridges were capped with zinc flashing.

351. Baker, Alvarez, and Burgess, 5; M. Jeffrey Baker et al., “University of Virginia Hotel F,” Historic Structures Report (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia, 2013), 152.

352. M. Jeffrey Baker et al., “University of Virginia Hotel A,” Historic Structures Report (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia, 2012), 47.

MATERIALS AND CONSTRUCTION: EXTERIOR FINISH

Exterior Finish

Colonnades and Arcades

Jefferson planned the colonnades and arcades as integral features of the Student Rooms, employing the Tuscan order to govern their design and proportions. Construction of the colonnades and arcades was carefully factored into the overall composition of the University, with Jefferson meticulously figuring on paper the location of the columns and piers in relation to the pavilions and hotels and going as far as calculating the exact number of bricks necessary in their construction.

For the colonnade, he specified that “The covered way in front of the whole range of buildings is to be Tuscan, with columns of brick rough cast. Their diam. 16 I... The centers of the intercolumns must answer to the center of the doors and of the partition walls [of the dormitories].”³⁵³ Jefferson figured the height of the colonnade columns at 9’-4” from bottom of the base to top of the capital. While he initially calculated for a 12” zocle “under the whole colonnade to raise it,” to fix location of the entablature, this was later eliminated to raise the



Figure 85. Detail of Benjamin Tanner engraving of the University of Virginia showing West Lawn, courtesy of UVA Prints and Photographs, Small Special Collections Library.

353. Jefferson, “University of Virginia Notebook.”

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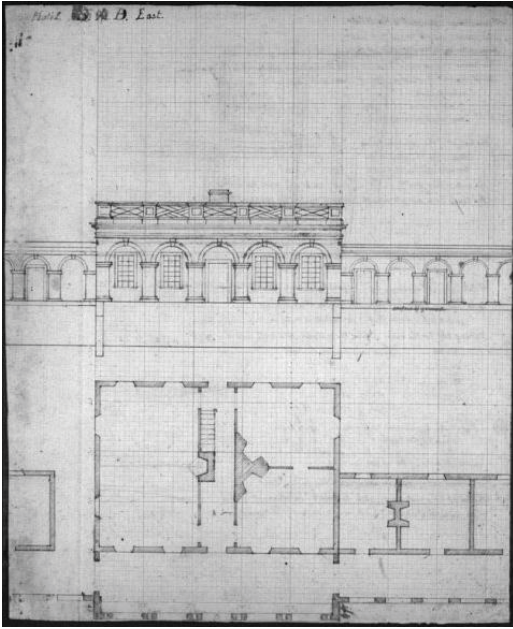


Figure 86. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: Thomas Jefferson study of Hotel D. Note lack of rail above arcade.

student room and portico decks above the top of the Tuscan cornice.³⁵⁴

Between Pavilions VII and IX, the intercolumniation becomes tighter. This group of student rooms are 11' wide. To allow the door openings and partitions to be centered between columns, the intercolumniation was reduced below that in front of the rooms elsewhere.

Addressing the Ranges, Jefferson wrote, “[the] Dormitories adjacent to the Hotels, their covered way to be an Arcade, a plinth without railing above...each of the same Tuscan order and height as those adjacent to the Pavilions.” Setting the bot-

tom of the entablature at the same 9'4" height as the Lawn colonnades meant an arch height of 8'7" after deducting a 9" keystone. With the height fixed, Jefferson figured the width of the arch close to Palladio's proportions for width-to-height of a Tuscan arch of 1:1.685. His desire for the doors to be centered in the arches meant that he compromised at 64" for their width, resulting in a proportion of width to height of 1:1.6.³⁵⁵ To complete the Tuscan order, Jefferson figured an entablature at 2'-3.86" resulting in the total height of the order at 11'-7 7/8".

Chinese Rail

At the Lawn, a Chinese rail originally topped the Tuscan order. The rail was mounted to the roof decks and followed the roofs as they descended the plateaus of the Lawn (figure 85). A Chinese rail was not used on the Ranges; instead, Jefferson noted that it should be, "...a plinth without railing above..." A few early drawings of hotels include portions of the arcade, showing the top of the arcade terminating with a simple unembellished cap (figure 86).

Interior Finish

Flooring

Original floorboards survive in several student rooms, principally over cellars on the Lawn. Others have been pulled up and re-laid and some have been re-fitted with antique material.

354. Baker, Alvarez, and Burgess, "University of Virginia Chinese Rail Investigation," 16.

355. Jefferson, "University of Virginia Notebook."

MATERIALS AND CONSTRUCTION: INTERIOR FINISH



Figure 87. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: 2 East Lawn floor.

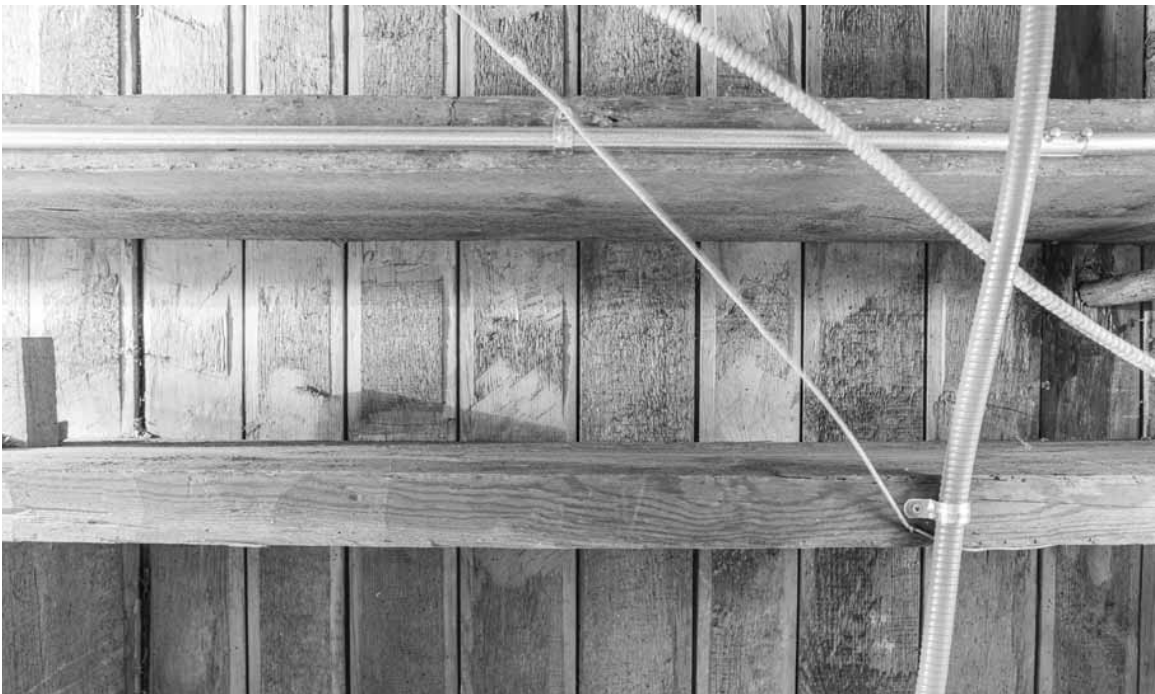


Figure 88. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: 55 West Lawn crawl space, detail of gauged and undercut floorboards on hewn-and-pit-sawn floor joists.

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The early flooring is made of heart pine and is largely free and clear of knots. Eight rooms on the East Lawn and two on the west survive with their early floors intact (figure 87). The boards are of random widths, between 3 3/4" and 9" wide, with most between 5" and 6". They are secured with cut nails and while many are blind-nailed, some early material is face-nailed with cut nails. Whether these represent an original treatment or a later re-nailing is unclear. Just four rooms on the Ranges have floors made of early materials.

The extents of original flooring can be seen most clearly in the Lawn room cellars, where surviving material is clearly pit-sawn and some is gauged and undercut (Figure 88). Other early flooring seems to have been sawn more uniformly and has been jack-planed to an even thickness instead of under-cut.

A very small number of rooms, including 55 West Lawn and 2 East Lawn, have original floors with carpet tacks at their perimeter, reflecting an early installation of wall-to-wall carpeting, likely during a period when these rooms were associated with their adjoining pavilions.

Doors and Blinds

Only five original doors were found in situ. They are located at 37, 53 and 55 West Lawn, 10 East Lawn, and 13 West Range (figure 89). These have a patina acquired through nearly two hundred years of use. Other early, but not original, doors exist; these are located at 31 and 49 West Range, 20 East Lawn, and 22 East Range, all with sticking and panel profiles consistent with their installation around the turn of the twentieth century (figure 90). 1 and 3 West Range have the character of early doors but



Figure 89. Elevation of surviving original door at 37 East Lawn.

MATERIALS AND CONSTRUCTION: INTERIOR FINISH

lack molded panels, stiles, and rails and likely were replaced following the fire in adjoining Hotel A.

All the student rooms are fitted with six-panel doors, some of them carefully made with joined frames in a manner similar to the originals, making the distinction between early doors and later reproductions difficult without close scrutiny. Early doors have features characteristic of early nineteenth century construction that help to differentiate them from modern reproductions, including through tenons visible on the door stiles, small diameter ($3/8$ ") pegs used to fasten the joinery, and with sticking profiles composed of Roman moldings. The panel molds

on the earliest doors are narrow (approximately $3/4$ "), consisting of an astragal and cavetto on both sides of the door. The earliest panels have a slight bevel on the exterior face and are flat on the interior. Other early doors use an ogee with an ovolo for the panel mold and raised panels with no bevels on the exterior and recessed flat panels on the interior.



Figure 90. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: 31 West Range door, with plaque above noting the occupancy of Woodrow Wilson, 1879-81.

Though just a handful of early door leaves remain, jambs and casings survive very well. Exterior casings are robust 6" double architraves with a cyma backband and no bead. The interiors are finished with a 5" single architrave with a cyma backband and a $1/2$ " to $5/8$ " bead (figure 91). A few of these, however, were improved early on, perhaps as a room for faculty or staff. 5 West Range, for example, has a backband with an astragal; as does 5 West Lawn, where it is applied to a double architrave. The only other interior door to be so finely finished is 3 West Range, where a double archi-

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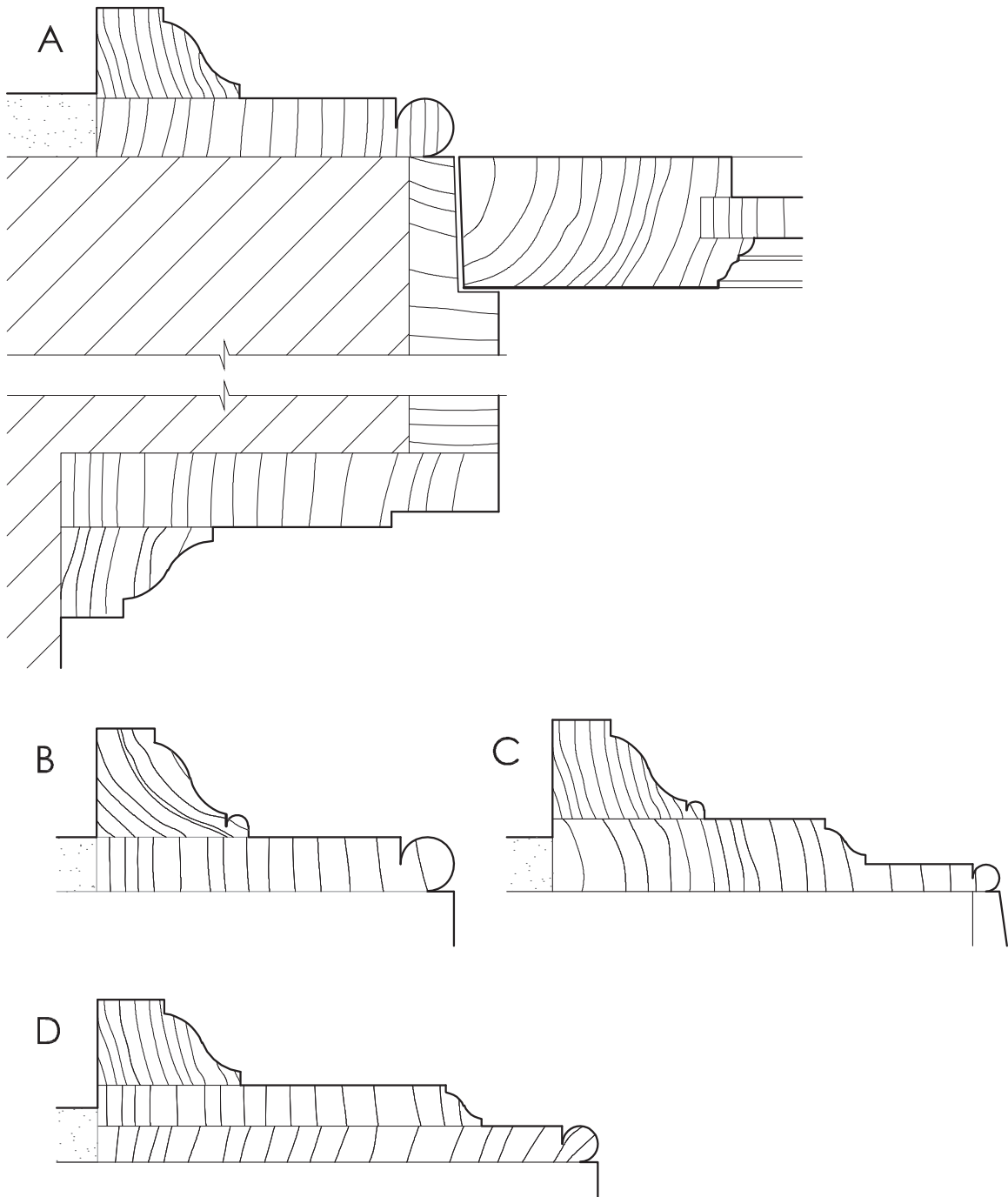


Figure 91. Student room door jamb details. A: Typical door casing profile, with interior at top and exterior at bottom. All student rooms use this exterior profile. B: Interior casing at 5 West Range. C: Interior casing at 5 West Lawn. D: Interior casing at 3 West Range.

MATERIALS AND CONSTRUCTION: INTERIOR FINISH



Figure 92. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, 31 West Range, detail of box lock.

trave is set on plinth blocks.

The student room doors were originally hung on five-knuckle cast-iron butt hinges that are slightly larger ($4 \frac{7}{8}$ " x $1 \frac{1}{4}$ ") than the reproduction hinges used on the restoration doors. Ghost marks on the interior face of the lock rail indicate the doors were secured with rim locks with a corresponding keeper mounted to the architrave. Only one of these survives in place, at 31 West Range, though it is broken (figure 92).



Figure 93. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: 13 West Range door. Note replaced panel at upper left.



Figure 94. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: 4 East Lawn, installed 2012.

DORMITORIES

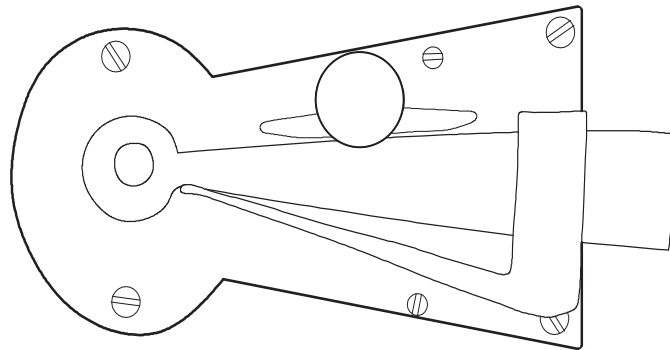
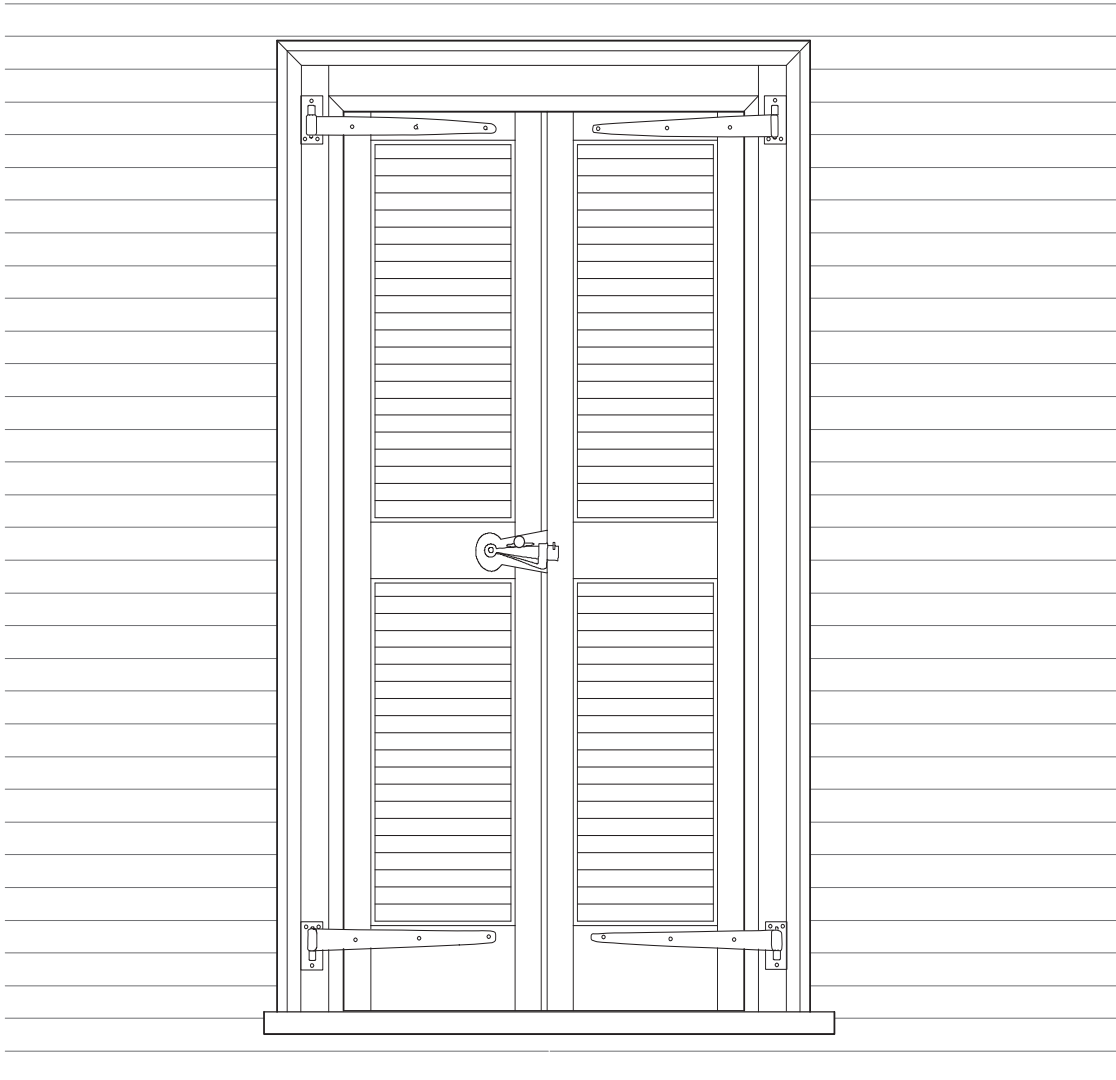


Figure 95. 37 West Lawn, shown with blinds closed and plate latch restored to position. Detail of plate latch, below, from 13 West Range.

MATERIALS AND CONSTRUCTION: INTERIOR FINISH

One characteristic that distinguishes the originals is the amount of weather and wear on them, and the relatively thickly laid paint. In addition, the earliest doors have many repairs where portions of stiles and rails have been mended, replacement panels installed (sometimes not matching the surrounding, as at 13 West Range), evidence of multiple generations of hardware, and sometimes graffiti – usually all in combination with one another (figure 93). Modern doors are carefully made with joined frames and raised panels (figure 94). The most recent, installed in the 2010s to replace the late-twentieth-century double doors, resemble their early models closely.

Unlike most other finish material in the student rooms, many of the 1820s Venetian blinds survive very well (figure 95). Though they were not installed initially, they were added soon after the conclusion of the first session. Proposals to furnish the blinds are dated August 1825. One notes that they, “...will put Venition [sic] Shutters to all the doors & Windows at the University of Virginia, ironed and painted in the best manner...”³⁵⁶ Surviving blinds on both doors and windows are constructed with fixed louvers, typical for the period. They are joined, like the handful of early doors and windows, with stile and rail construction with through tenons, fastened with narrow pins at each joint. When closed, the leaves lap each other; a flush bead running the length of the blind finishes the edge of one stile, so the pair appear equal in width when shut. The blinds retain much of their original hardware, with the exception of latches; however, their keyhole form is evident in a paint ridge on the outside face of many blinds and one survives in situ at 13 West Range. The blinds hang on wrought-iron strap hinges mounted to pintles fastened to the exterior architraves. Some of these have been replaced and a few of these are cast iron. The earliest pintles are identifiable by the use of three screws, rather than four, to fix them to the jambs.

Windows

The student rooms shared the same window design: nine-over-nine light sash, set in splayed openings with paneled jambs and a thick stool just below the interior sill. The openings are finished on the inside with 5” single architraves with a broad cyma backband and a thick bead, usually between 5/8” and 3/4”. The exteriors are treated with double architraves with cyma backbands that terminate at an un-molded wood sill.

Nearly all the window frames and surrounding woodwork are original to the construction of the student rooms. Repairs have taken place, but these are generally limited to backbands and portions of the architraves. Small variations in details, such as the treatment and finishing of the stools and the breadth of the beads, suggest the hand of different mechanics in their construction.

356. University of Virginia Proctor’s Papers, 1817-1905, Accession #RG-5/3/1.111, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library, Charlottesville, Virginia. 1825 Workman’s papers, Box 5, Folder 590. Proposals for Venetian Blinds.

DORMITORIES

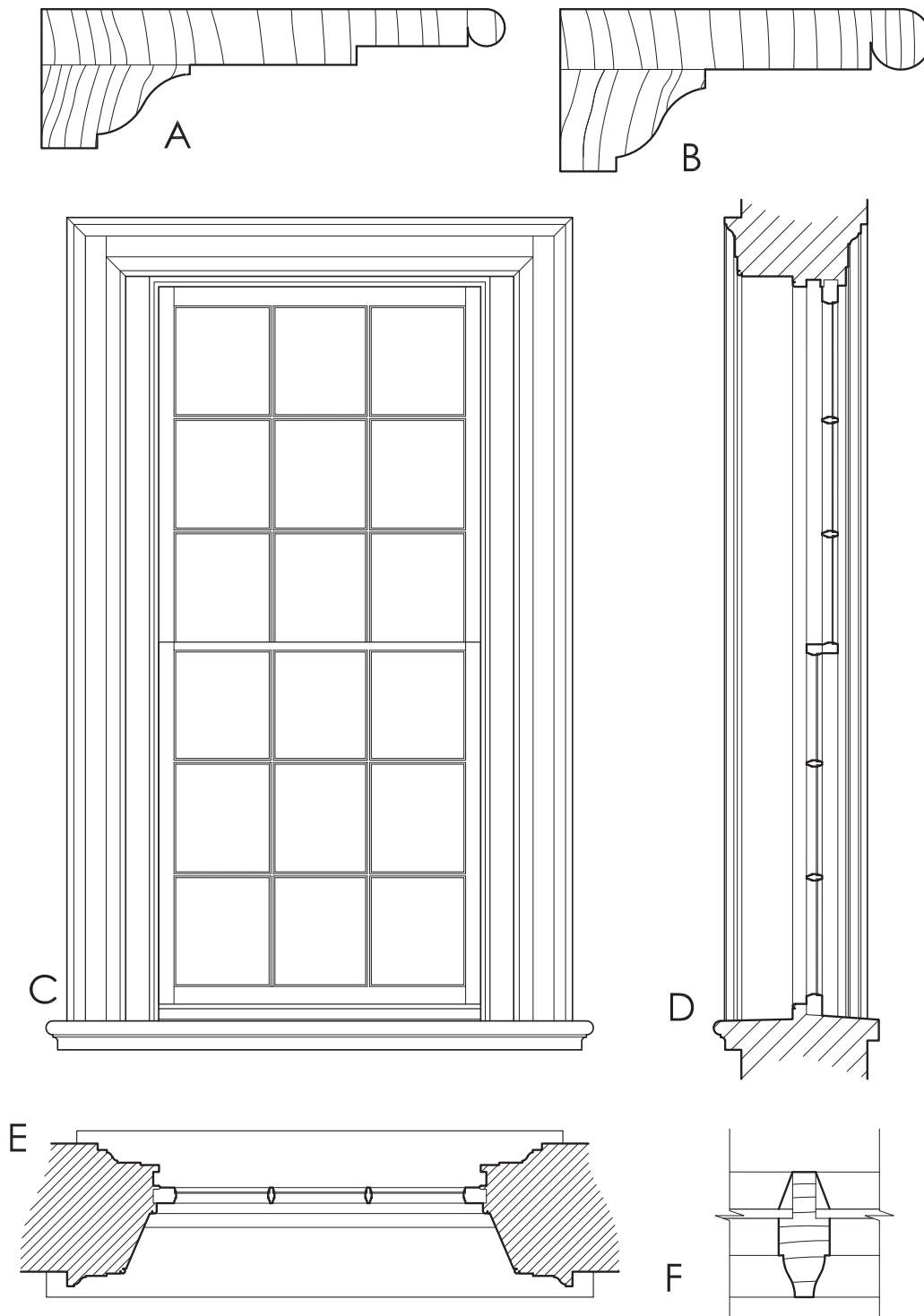


Figure 96. Window details, taken from 24 East Range unless noted otherwise. A. 24 East Range interior casing. B. Typical student room window casing. C, D, E: plan, interior elevation, and cross section of 24 East Range. Note that sill is hidden below flooring at 24 East Range; drawing is restored from comparable examples. F. Typical muntin profile.

MATERIALS AND CONSTRUCTION: INTERIOR FINISH

Unlike the casings, which survive well, only two sets of early window sash remain in place: one at 13 West Range, the Poe Room, and the other at 24 East Range, now part of the Center for Teaching Excellence in Hotel D. They are both joined frames, with ¼” pins used to fasten the joints and ½” muntins with an elongated ovolo separated by a raised fillet framing 10” x 12” panes (figure 96). The modern window replacements that have been installed in the other student rooms are all based upon these early models.

Interior Finishes

The walls and ceilings of the Student Rooms were plastered at the time of construction. The framed ceilings used a traditional lath and plaster system, where riven lath was nailed to the underside of the joists. Where original ceilings can be viewed from above, riven lath can still be seen on the undersides of joists.



Figure 97. Unidentified University of Virginia Lawn room, Charlottesville, Virginia: detail of plaster repair showing layers of modern skim coats over original brown coat on masonry with original finish coat.

No original wall plaster surfaces are readily visible in the student rooms. But some, laid directly on brick, still remains, as repairs and alterations occasionally reveal (figure 97). Some early wall plaster remains in a few cellar spaces. Here, it is applied directly to the surface of the brick, where the mortar joints and texture of the brick provide a key for the plaster to anchor to in place of wood lath. In a report written by the university’s medical faculty following an outbreak of typhoid, their inspection of the students’ quarters noted that “the brick walls are plastered without the intervention of studs and laths.”³⁵⁷

A wood baseboard (6” on average with a ½” bead) is run throughout each room providing a surface to terminate the plaster and a more durable material where the walls meet the floor. Most baseboards seem to be replacements, with the clean edges and few coats of paint characteristic of modern work.

357. “Governor’s Message and Reports of the Public Officers of the State, of the Board of Directors, and the Visitors, Superintendents, and Other Agents of Public Institutions or Interests of Virginia.” William F. Ritchie, public printer, 1959. Document 12, p.56.

DORMITORIES



Figure 98. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, 53 West Range, closet door detail.

Though the present finish for the walls and ceiling is a skim coat with modern paint, whitewash was the first coating on student room walls. Whitewashing plaster was a common surface treatment throughout the nineteenth century, especially for domestic spaces. An entry in the Proctor's Journal dated July 1845, lists "whitewashing dormitories" under a warrant for Repairs and Improvements. Evidence of early whitewash was found in several of the cellar rooms on wood framing members, brick walls, and plaster remnants.

Closets

Each room was designed with a fireplace in either the north or south wall. Unlike what exists today – a projecting chimney breast flanked by flat plaster walls – the fireplace walls were originally fitted with built-in closets, one to each side of the chimney breast, and wooden mantelpieces.



Figure 99. University of Virginia, detail of Holsinger photograph of Poe Room, 13 West Range, c. 1900, before removal of closets. Note area of removed plaster to expose diagonal lath between mantel and closet door.

Only two complete and one partial example of original closets remain. Of the two complete closets remaining, only those at 53 West Range are original to the construction of the room (figure 98). The closets at 46 East Lawn are of a later vintage (c.1920), built when the student room was re-established after having been absorbed into Professor Minor's suite of rooms adjoining Pavilion X. Although these closets are of a later date, they follow

MATERIALS AND CONSTRUCTION: INTERIOR FINISH

the design of the originals. Portions of a closet also remain in a storage room of 24 East Range, now part of the Center for Teaching Excellence.

The closets are lightly framed with board walls, where small scantlings are used for the framework and planed boards nailed to them. The face of the closets are flush with the face of the chimney breast, but are only 6'-5 ½" tall, creating a deep shelf above each. The outside surface of the closet is lathed and plastered so they blend into the chimney breast located between them (figure 99). The door openings are treated much like other openings in the room, with 5" single architraves with a cyma backband, and a ½" bead. Six-panel doors close the openings. As the student rooms were originally intended to accommodate two students each, the pair of closets would imply each student had their own unit, though over time, one of these came to be the location for a wash basin.

Mantels

The fireplaces originally had mantelpieces quite different than those in the student rooms today. The only mantel surviving in situ is at 53 West Range (Figure 100). Two other mantels sharing the same design, but no longer in place, are in Facilities Management storage.



Figure 100. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, 53 West Range, mantel detail.

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Figure 101. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: mantel in Facilities Management storage, removed from unknown student room; detail showing extensive graffiti.

Unlike current conditions, where the chimney breast projects into the room, the original mantels aligned with the surrounding closets, with the face of the closet wall in line with the fireplace. This created a wide, flat surface between the closets for the mantel shelf. Given the space between the doors, the wide shelf on the original mantels engaged the wall across its entire length, rather than extending beyond the width of the chimney breast as occurs today.

The original mantels are conventional Jeffersonian work, with a 6" single architrave, matching the casings on the windows and doors, framing the fireplace opening. Above this is a wide shelf supported by a bed molding. All of the three surviving mantels have an applied molding along the front and sides of the shelf. Its profile is consistent with material installed around the Academical Village between about 1880 and 1920, including the mantel and closets at 46 East Lawn. Like other original mantels captured in early photographs, the three surviving examples have been defaced with student graffiti (figure 101).

An early photograph of the Poe Room with the closets and early mantel still in place shows a fireplace with nearly straight jambs. The patina of the firebox suggests it is old, with no appearance of recent rebuilding. Of equal interest is the brick hearth set in running bond, with bricks at the outside edges of the hearth turned ninety degrees, framing the bricks within it. The hearth also appears to be dry laid, as would be expected for the period.

The fireplaces were originally intended to burn wood; however, by 1865, the University had begun to shift to burning coal, owing to its economy and availability. The change in fuel required the installation of coal grates and in 1866, grates were installed in all the Student Rooms.³⁵⁸

358. Ford, Wenger, and Baker, "University of Virginia East Lawn 22 Basement Room Study," 10.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS

Overview

As Jefferson planned them, dormitories on the Lawn and Ranges are arranged either singly or in continuous one-story rows of two to nine rooms, all opening directly to the outside. Most are attached to a pavilion or a hotel but four blocks on the Ranges are free-standing.



Lawn rooms sit behind a Tuscan-order colonnade facing the Lawn and supporting a full entablature and a Chippendale railing in front of a flat roof. The columns have stone bases and capitals while their shafts are brick, covered in a stucco render whose color matched that of the stone elements but is currently a sandy shade of white (figure 102).³⁵⁹ The railing protects a wood walkway that connects the upper level of the pavilions. Where the flat roofs above the colonnade have been restored, their ceilings are plaster. Elsewhere, they are open to expose the rafters and roof sheathing. The walks in front of the Lawn rooms are paved with modern wood-molded brick, laid in sand in a herringbone pattern (figure 103). Both along the Lawn and leading to the yards behind, changes in grade are accommodated with

Figure 102. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: columns with original buff color restored on Lawn colonnade. 2009 photograph.

359. Susan Buck and Kirsten Travers Moffitt, “University of Virginia Academical Village Exterior Paint Study” (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia, June 2019).

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Figure 103. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, 17-19 West Lawn. View of brick paving in front of rooms.

unmolded cut sandstone steps (figure 104). For most of the Lawn rooms, the surface of this paving is at its historic level.

Instead of a colonnade, Range rooms are fronted by an arcade, facing away from the Lawn (figure 105). On the Lawn, two-story pavilions, many with colossal porticoes, interrupt the low rows of student rooms; but the arcades on the Ranges run continuously, only breaking forward in front of the hotels. The hotels were originally differentiated further by having higher roofs, some of them pitched and with pedimented fronts, but this distinction was diminished with the construction of the hip roofs over the rooms in the 1830s.



The arcade walls are laid in 1:5 common bond. The arcades are built of brick with painted keystones and supported by rectangular piers with stepped bases and corbeled capitals. The arch bricks are not distinguished in any way (through glazing or rubbing, for example) but are simply wall bricks laid in a semi-circle. The

Figure 104. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: East Lawn steps between 48 and 50, with view of colonnade.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: OVERVIEW



Figure 105. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: 6-18 East Range, arcade.

taper required to form the arch is achieved not by molding the brick units but by thickening the mortar joints (figure 106). Piers are doubled at the ends of each section. The front of the arcade, as well as the sides and rear of the room blocks, are all capped by a full entablature of the Tuscan order, matching that on the Lawn.

At times, washes have been applied to portions of the Range arcades. Remnants of a whitewash seen in early twentieth-century photographs remain in place on some pier bases; large sections of a red wash remain in protected areas around the hotels, and fragments of it are visible along the walls of the student rooms themselves. (figure 107) Whitewash was applied at the base of the walls, evidently as a sanitary measure (figure 108), and along the base of the arcades. Ceilings above all arcades were



Figure 106. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: 17-27 West Range. Note seam between arcade and body of dormitories.

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Figure 107. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: Arcade at Hotel E, showing remnants of white wash and red wash on inside of arcade and granolithic paving.



Figure 108. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, 10 East Range, showing vent below door sill and re-set bricks to raise floor, whitewash remnants at base of wall, and granolithic paving.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: OVERVIEW



Figure 109. Detail of Stuart's Patents Granolithic Paving Company plaque, West Range, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia.

originally whitewashed plaster but now coated in latex paint. The arcades in front of the Range rooms are finished with Granolithic paving, a concrete surface installed around 1898 to replace the earlier brick walks (figure 109).³⁶⁰ As on the Lawn, changes in grade are achieved through sandstone steps, many of them original.

The walls of each of the student room blocks are built of brick, set on brick foundations. 69 of these are crawl spaces; the remaining 39 are low cellars, including 35-51 West Lawn, 1-3 and 19-21 West Range, 24-26 East Range, and all East Lawn rooms except 6-8. Cellars were originally accessed by low doors but these have all been replaced in the modern era. Crawl spaces were likely not accessible at first but hatches have been inserted in the rear walls of many to permit selective access. Most crawls have vents inserted to move air below the rooms. These vents were inserted beginning in the 1830s and, more systematically, in 1858 following a cholera epidemic. At the same time, some of the floors on the East and West Ranges were raised.

In all cases but two, the walls above the foundations are laid in 1:5 common bond on the sides and rear and Flemish bond on the front. The sole exceptions are the rows from 23-33 and 35-51 West Lawn, which are laid in 1:3 common bond on the front, rear, and side walls. Following the completion of these first two blocks of rooms, masons laid the remainder of the rooms with Flemish fronts and 1:5 rears (figure 112). Like the secondary walls of pavilions, the bricks were thrown in wood molds and struck with sand, distinguishing them from the more even surface of the oil-struck bricks on the fronts of the pavilions.

Where early mortar survives, it is neatly tooled on the superior faces of the dormitories. The best work, found only on the front face of both Lawn and Range rooms, is red washed with painted joints, emphasizing the regularity of the masonry with applied white lines, ruled to resemble tuck pointing (figure 110). The mortar at the student rooms is treated to mimic this with an applied coating on top of conventional mortar.³⁶¹ Some of these joints are protected and survive well while others have been repointed or have discolored in a way that diminishes their

360. Baker et al., "University of Virginia Hotel F," 65–66.

361. True tuck pointing is costly and involves setting the masonry with a conventional bed of mortar, which is tooled with a scribe joint that is thinner than the bed joint and tinted with a red wash. This tooled joint is then filled with a bright white lime putty. Moses, "William B. Phillips, 'Bricklaying...of the Best Work Done,'" *passim*.

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Figure 112. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: entry to student rooms 21 and 23. West Lawn. Note seam in masonry reflecting construction of 23-33 previous to room 21. Note, too, the use of 3-course common bond at 23-33 and Flemish at 21, at the right.



Figure 110. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, 13 West Range, detail of brickwork and mortar with painted pointing.

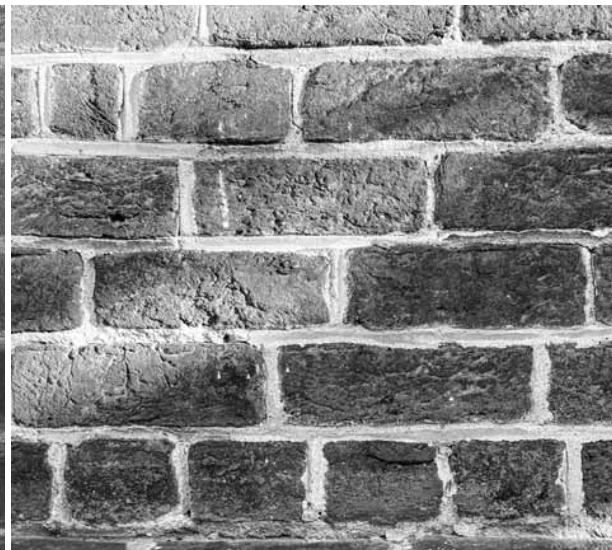


Figure 111. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: rear of 9-19 West Lawn, brickwork above watertable showing coursing, makeup bricks, and colored mortar.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: OVERVIEW



Figure 113. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: 1-3 West Range, showing tall chimney.

effect. This discoloration is likely the result of atmospheric pollution from coal smoke.

This mortar treatment is only used on the principal fronts of student rooms. On secondary elevations, mortar is v-jointed and colored red (figure 111).

Below the water table,

joints were sometimes struck but many were originally simply smoothed to be flush with the face of the brick. Especially on the rear walls and behind the cellars and crawls, the walls have been neatly repointed in the modern era, often with a struck joint and with a very smooth, buff-colored mortar.



Most student rooms were originally heated by fireplaces vented by a single square chimney serving pairs of adjoining rooms; some rooms at the end of rows are served by a single stack. These are all laid in running bond and have a simple cap formed of two projecting courses. They rise a few feet above the raised pitched roofs and rise several feet where they must clear the roofs of adjoining hotels on the Ranges, as at 1-3 West Range (figure 113). Some of these taller stacks have more complex caps, comprised of four courses laid in staggered projections.

Masonry openings are treated simply,

Figure 114. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, 40 East Range door opening with blinds closed. Note re-pointed masonry above door.

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with no jack arches, rubbed brick, or other refinements (figure 114). Windows are centered in the rear wall, opposite the entry. These are all nine-light-over-nine-light sliding sash, set in wood frames. The frames are double architraves with a cyma backband and no bead on the exterior, with a single-architrave casing on in the interior. They are protected by a pair of louvered wood shutters hung on wrought iron strap hinges and iron pintles. Original pintles are wrought and mounted on a plate; later replacements are sometimes cast iron but still fixed to a plate. Only two sash windows survive from the early nineteenth century: one at the Poe Room, 13 West Range; the other at 24 East Range, in a bathroom for the Center for Teaching Excellence in Hotel D. The remainder are well made replacements installed at the end of the 20th century, duplicating the original models. Shutters survive more reliably though many are replacements, copying the originals closely but identifiable through their lack of wear and paint build-up.

Doors are much more variable in form. Just five originals survive, as do a few from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The majority by far are replacements from the last 75 years (figure 115). All are joined six-panel doors and made of painted wood but have varying panel and sticking profiles. Most have raised panels and molded sticking with Roman profiles; several have flat panels and plain sticking. The earliest have very shallow raised panels with sticking composed of an ovolo and a cavetto. All dormitory doors have mail slots in their lock rail, an oval panel in the center stile for attaching a brass nameplate, and pressboard tack panels attached to the two middle panels for attaching flyers, whiteboards and other decorations



Figure 115. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: 8 East Lawn, door installed 2012.



Figure 116. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: 9 West Range with shutters closed.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: OVERVIEW



Figure 117. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, 35 West Lawn with shutters closed, showing paint line from early plate latch at left, behind 3.

without damaging the wood. The mail slots have been added and enlarged over multiple campaigns but the earliest are small and cast iron, seemingly from the early twentieth century. Student rooms are further identified with brass numbers above the name plates (there are also numbers on the rear of the blinds, which are only visible when closed). Doors

to rooms that are not student residences, such as bathrooms and offices, lack identifying numbers, mail slots, name plates, and tack panels.

Like the windows, doors are all protected with pairs of blinds, or “Venetian shutters,” as they are called in the proctor’s records. Like the window shutters, they survive well, far better than the doors themselves (figure 116). All are wood, with two panels of fixed louvers, and hung on wrought iron strap hinges. They are set on plate-mounted iron pintles which have been set with the upper pair pointing down, to deter removal. They were all originally fitted with a plate latch to secure them closed but very few of these have survived in place. Their presence is generally attested to by a ridge of paint tracing their shape on their outside face (figure 117). Like the windows, doors are set in wood frames finished with a double architrave, with a Roman cyma backband and lacking a bead. They are set on a broad unpainted wood threshold, many of



Figure 118. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: attic of 5-15 West Range under 1837 roof. View of original joists and lath-and-plaster ceiling.

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which survive in place.

Except where they have been modified for non-student uses, dormitory interiors are consistent in form and finish. There is some variation in room size and some variation in mantels but otherwise, one student room interior is much like another. Some of this is due to the consistency of their original form; and some of it is the result of an effort to restore them systematically in the late twentieth century. With that said, some of the variation in room form is significant and tells something of their history and use.

All rooms have plaster walls and ceilings and wood floors. The plaster has been renewed repeatedly with multiple skim coats over a brown base coat applied directly to brick. Ceiling plaster was originally applied to wooden lath, which remains in place where it can be seen from the attics above (figure 118). In some rooms, this has been replaced with gypsum plaster on wire lath. Where they have been converted to restrooms, wall surfaces include wall board and ceramic tile.

The floors are wood. Most of these are heart pine and are either surviving historic boards or high-quality reclaimed or salvaged antique material, tight-grained and with very few knots.



These are of variable widths, with most in the 4" to 6" range. Some replacement flooring is made of narrower strip material and set on a diagonal sub-floor. Several floors on the east and west ranges were raised between 6" and 9" as part of the university's response to the cholera epidemic of 1858. This required substantial work, including re-setting or installing new joists and flooring, raising the doors, inserting new ventilation grates at the front of the crawl spaces below the rooms, and dumping new dirt inside the crawls to raise their surface to the level of the new grates. Rooms on crawl spaces in the Ranges were fitted

Figure 119. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, 28 East Range, detail of door raised to accommodate raised floor. Note seams in masonry below sill, repointed masonry above head, and cut brick just below head, all consistent with the door being raised two or three courses.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: OVERVIEW



Figure 120. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: 3 West Range, detail of late 20th century mantel used throughout West Range.



Figure 121. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, 13 West Lawn mantel, installed c. 2000 after designs by Murray Howard.

with cast iron grates, still in place below most doors. A few received new vents at their rear, as well, consisting of brick voids capped with slate. Those which have had floors raised are apparent in the disturbed masonry above and below the doors (figure 119). Other floors over crawl spaces were replaced when new plumbing and mechanical systems were installed under the student rooms around the turn of the twentieth century.

All original dormitory mantels except one, at 53 West Range, have been replaced. Like the doors, they had seen many generations of repairs and those that survived those cycles of damage and renewal were removed in the late 1950s. Their replacements were removed in turn during a subsequent round of restoration between 1998 and 2002 but this work did not extend to the West Range. There, the mid-twentieth-century mantels, designed by Frederick Doveton Nichols, remain in place, including in the Poe Room. These are simple surrounds, consisting of a cyma backband with a shelf above, the latter added later (figure 120).

Lawn and East Range mantels are also modern. Designed by Murray Howard, they are based on original models, including the one in situ at 53 West Range (figure 121). They include a single architrave with a heavy bead surrounding the firebox, with a frieze above. A thick mantel shelf is supported on a crown molding, itself mounted to a secondary frieze attached to the lower one. With no closets against which to terminate the mantel shelf, the shelf wraps the sides of the chimney stack. The Howard-designed mantel is closer to its original models but deviates in the use of a crown molding instead of a bed mold under the mantel shelf, and in the manner in which the shelf returns along the sides of the chimney breast. This adjustment

DORMITORIES

was required because of the removal of the flanking closets in the 1950s.

Early closets remain in place in just three rooms: 53 West Range; 24 East Range, and 46 East Lawn. Those in the latter room were installed in the early twentieth century, when it was restored to student use. Those in room 46 are not, therefore, original, but do follow the original form of closets, with their fronts aligned with the face of the chimney and deep shelves above the doors. Those in 53 West Range survive well, along with their mantel. Only one closet remains at 24 East Range, and it has lost its door leaf. It has been subsumed into a larger storage room, now serving the Center for Teaching Excellence in Hotel D. The remaining rooms all are fitted with

pairs of free-standing but fixed walnut wardrobes, installed as part of the 1950s renewal of the student rooms. These have replaced the mantels as a field for student graffiti (figure 122).

Exceptions to the general pattern are described below, as part of the description of the blocks of rooms.

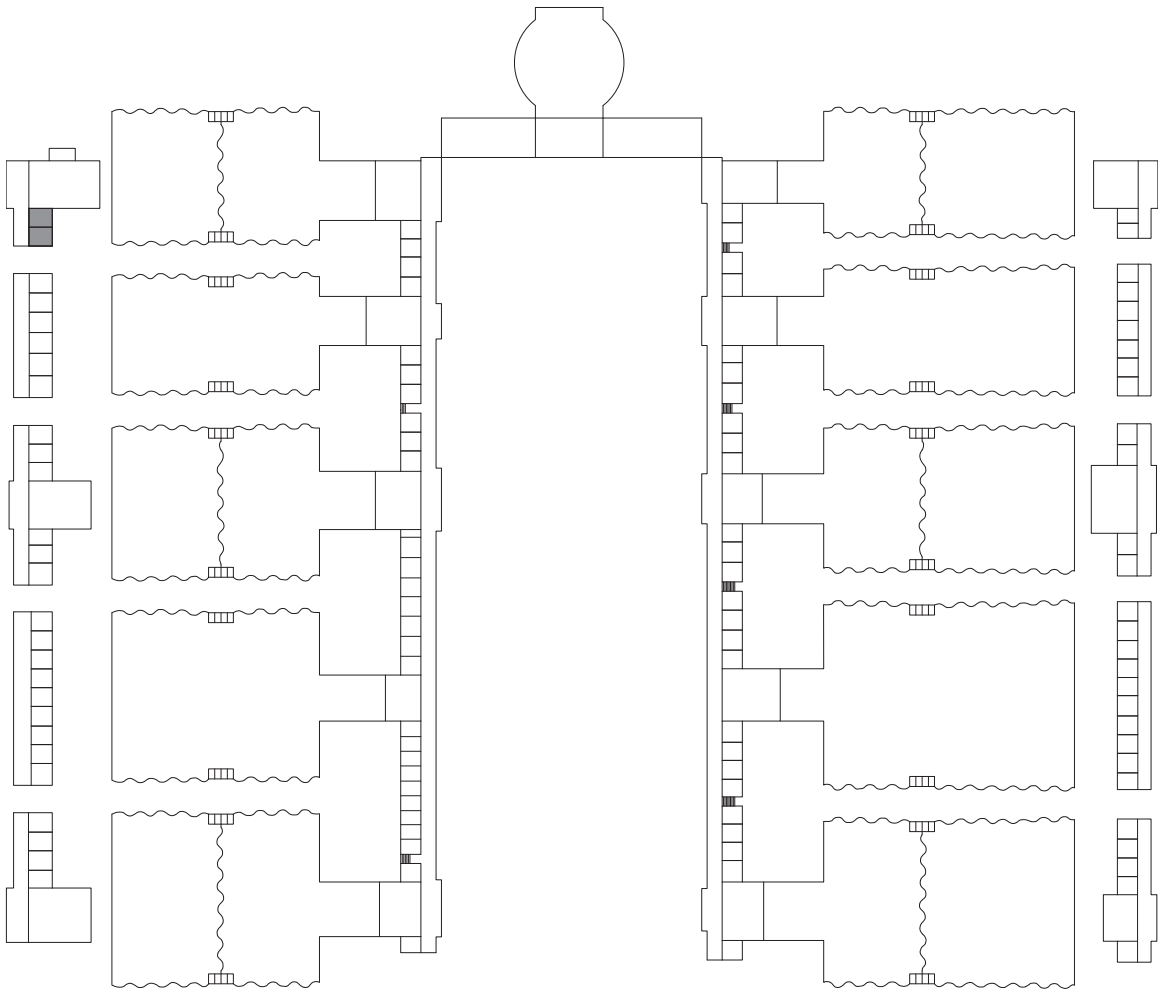


Figure 122. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, 25 West Lawn, detail of graffiti in sink closet.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 1-3 WEST RANGE

1-3 West Range

Proctor's Designation:	Dormitories on West Street
Date Begun:	Fall, 1821
Date Complete:	Fall, 1822
Brick Mason:	Dabney Cosby
Carpenter:	James Oldham



1-3 West Range includes the two rooms adjoining the south side of Hotel A. Like the hotel, the masonry was executed by Dabney Cosby and the carpentry by James Oldham.³⁶² This was the last work done by Oldham before he filed his lawsuit against the university. They were begun soon before October of 1821 and completed by October of the following year.

³⁶². "Proctor's Journal, 1819-1828," 150, 172.

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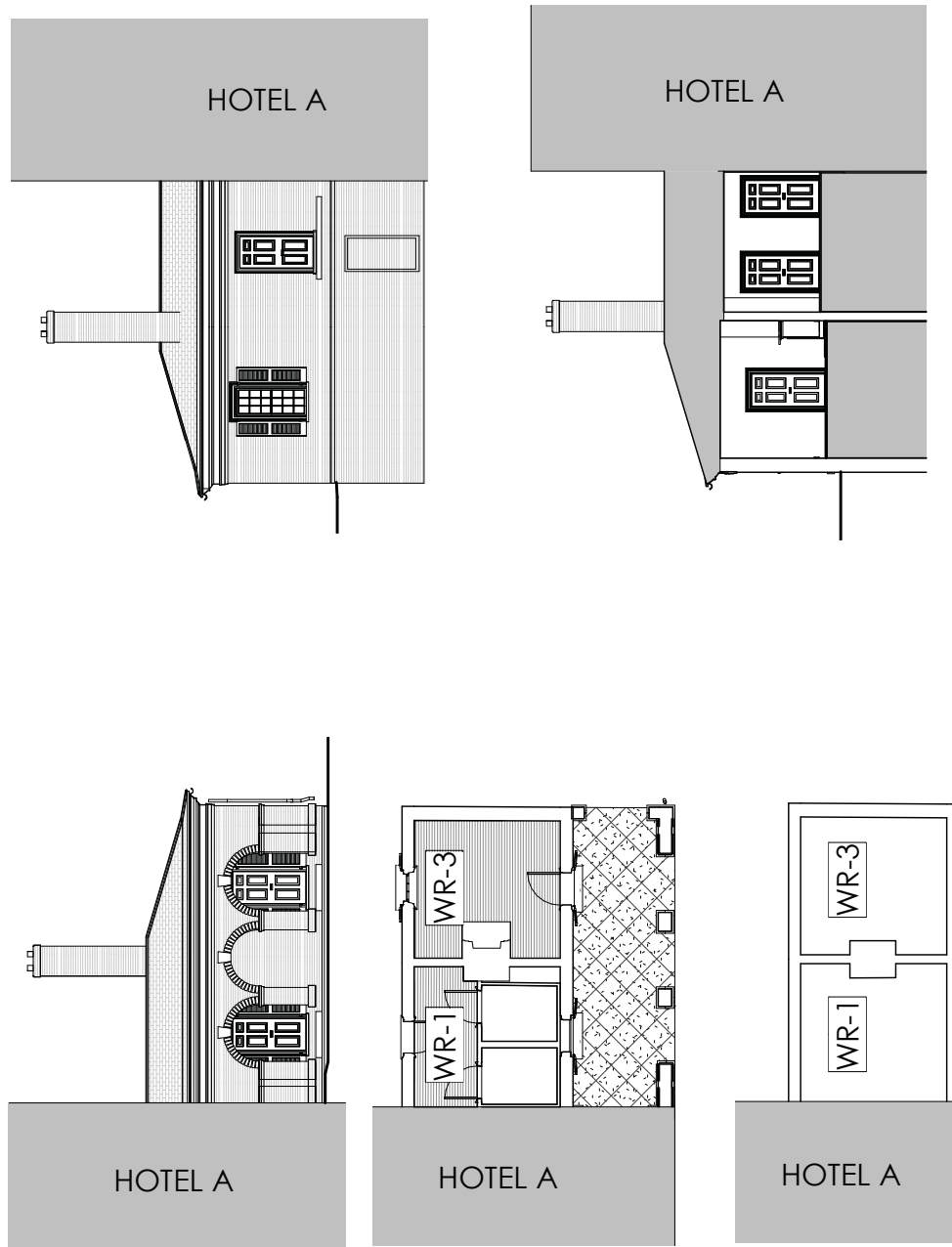


Figure 123. Plans, elevations of 1-3 WR. Bridge to restrooms at rear of room 1 not shown for clarity. Note that here, as in other room drawings, gray shading indicates space that is not illustrated, either because it is outside the scope of the project, as with hotels and pavilions, or because there is insufficient field data, as in very low or inaccessible crawl spaces and attics.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 1-3 WEST RANGE

They are two of four West Range rooms to be built on cellars, and their floors are at their original level. Both burned in the fire in Hotel A on Christmas Eve, 1920.³⁶³ They are currently covered by a slate roof whose pitch matches that of other range rooms but it is framed on 1 ¾" by 5 ½" rafters, joined by a ridge. All roof framing is hewn and pit-sawn pine but appears to have been reused here after the fire, as it is secured with wire nails. This flooring is laid on top of a modern concrete slab. The former serrated roof is no longer extant but visible ceiling joists are also made of hewn and pit-sawn pine, perhaps re-used as there is no sign of any charring from the fire, unlike in the attic of the adjoining hotel. To allow it to draw effectively, the chimney stack for this pair of rooms is higher than the roof of nearby Hotel F, making it taller than most dormitory chimneys.

1 West Range has been refitted as a wheelchair-accessible restroom. Though its early door is still in place, the historic entrance from the arcade is blocked and the modern entry relocated to the rear, where a new door is inserted into the former window opening. This has required its jambs to be cut down to the floor level and the masonry around both door jambs has been altered, as well. The new approach is by means of a wooden deck that also provides access to the rear of Hotel F. The room has been converted to a pair of restrooms, both with modern gypsum plaster walls and ceilings. The vestibule inside the entry retains its heart pine floor but the restroom floors are covered with vinyl. Its mantel and closets have been removed.

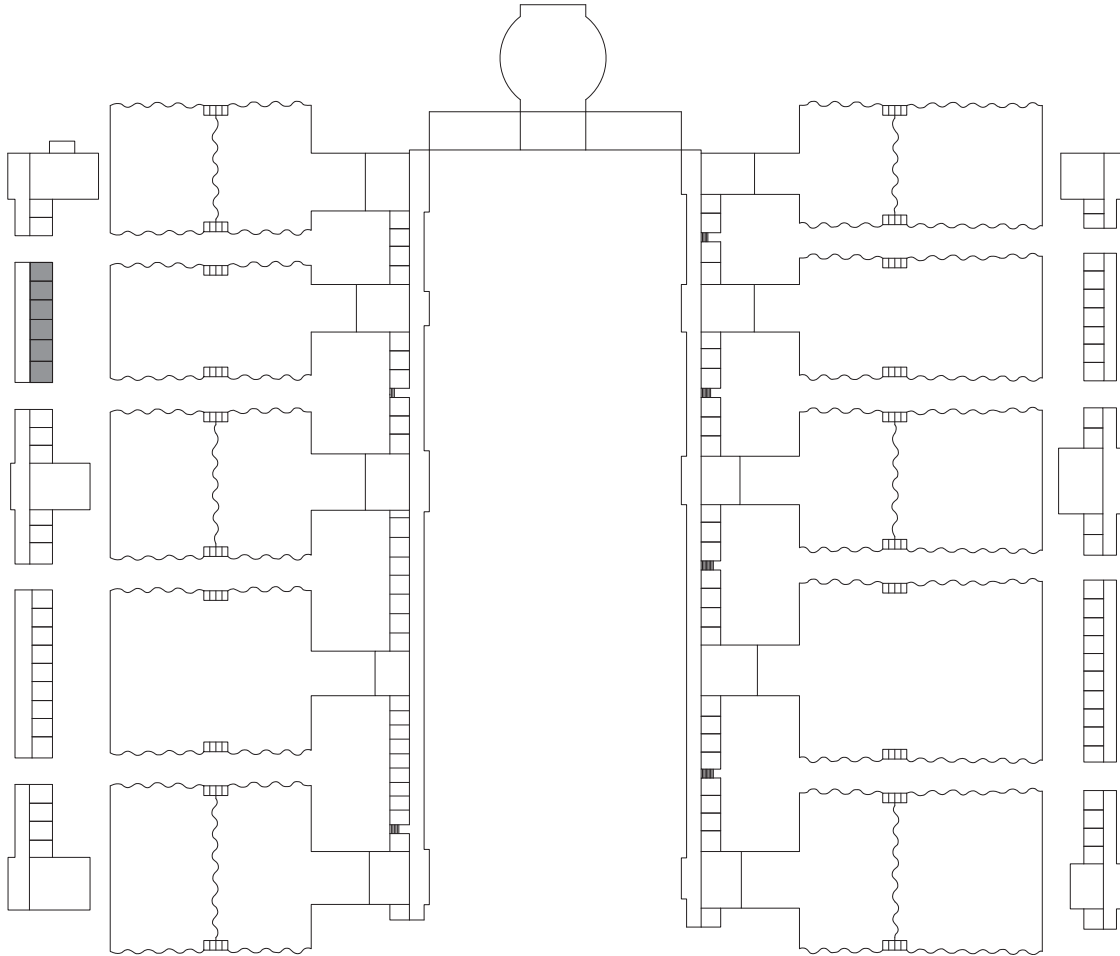
3 West Range has seen the usual student room refurbishments but with an additional layer of change due to the fire that burned Hotel A and these rooms on Christmas Eve, 1920. One sign of this is the presence of relatively fine interior woodwork at the door and window, installed as part of the repairs after the fire. Remarkably, both openings are fitted with elegant double architraves, with the door casing set on plinth blocks, similar to casings installed in Hotel A after the fire. This quality of finish is generally reserved for pavilions and is one of only three uses of such elaborate ornament in a dormitory room. This room no longer has its window shutters.

363. Baker et al., "University of Virginia Hotel A," 36.

DORMITORIES

5-15 West Range

Proctor's Designation:	Dormitories on West Street
Date Begun:	Spring, 1822
Date Complete:	Fall, 1822
Brick Mason:	William B. Phillips
Carpenter:	Lyman Peck and Malcolm Crawford



5-15 West Range is the freestanding row of six rooms between Hotel A and Hotel C. Their masonry was executed by William Phillips, who was paid for six dormitories “on West street” in October of 1822.³⁶⁴ The carpentry was done by Peck and Crawford, who executed all the rooms on the West Range except for 1 and 3.³⁶⁵ They were begun after October of 1821 and completed by October of the following year.

364. “Proctor’s Journal, 1819-1828,” 148.

365. “Proctor’s Journal, 1819-1828,” 128.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 5-15 WEST RANGE

All the rooms are on crawl spaces. 5-13 are at their original level but the floor of 15 has been raised three courses of brick. Ventilation holes have been inserted into the brickwork at the cellar level behind rooms 11 and 13. The crawl is accessible along its length and reached by means of a hatch in the north wall of the block. Floor framing is largely original along this block except under room 5, which is framed with substantial circular-sawn pine joists and under room 15, which was re-framed with dimensional lumber sometime in the twentieth century. Floor framing runs north-south in all rooms except under room 15, where it runs east-west. This block is covered by an 1830s hip roof on top of the original flat roof. This is of the serrated lath type, with a solid gutter.

13 West Range

Though other rooms have been proposed and the earliest references identify it as 17 West Range, 13 West Range is believed to be the room where Edgar Allan Poe spent 1826 as a student at the University of Virginia. Only the second session of the school, this was a trying year in which the Rotunda was still under construction and his fellow students prone to brawling.³⁶⁶ One altercation took place outside his room: “We have had a great many fights up here lately--the faculty expelled Wickliffe last night for general bad conduct--but more especially for biting one of the student’s arms with whom he was fighting--I saw the whole affair--it took place before my door.”³⁶⁷ Some early accounts report that it was because of a fight with his friend and former roommate, Miles George, that Poe moved onto the West Range.³⁶⁸ The identification of it as an important historic and literary site has meant that the room has received much attention since the late 19th century.

It was purported to have been Edgar Allan Poe’s room as early as 1896, when Dr. James A. Harrison, professor of Romantic Languages, suggested that it be fitted out as a museum exhibit and filled with artifacts and autographs associated with the poet.³⁶⁹ By 1909, the newly founded Raven Society had taken responsibility for 13 West Range, which had been furnished with historic artifacts, including a bed once owned by Poe, and opened for public viewing for the centenary of his birth in 1909.³⁷⁰ A photograph from that year shows it with a handsome desk, a splat-back chair, and a woven carpet on the floor.

The earliest known photograph of the room depicts it at the end of the 19th century (figure 126). Like other early views of student rooms, it shows a shallow fireplace with a simple wooden mantel flanked by a pair of low closets, with storage alcoves above them. A coved cornice,

366. Wall, “Students and Student Life at the University of Virginia, 1825 to 1861,” 87–89; Raven Society, *Edgar Poe and Room 13 West Range*.

367. Edgar Allan Poe to Jonathan Allan, September 21, 1826.

368. Poe, *Edgar Allan Poe Letters Till Now Unpublished, in the Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia*, 32.

369. Hunter, “The Poe Memorial Association. Its Origin and Work,” 120.

370. “The Poe Centenary.”

DORMITORIES

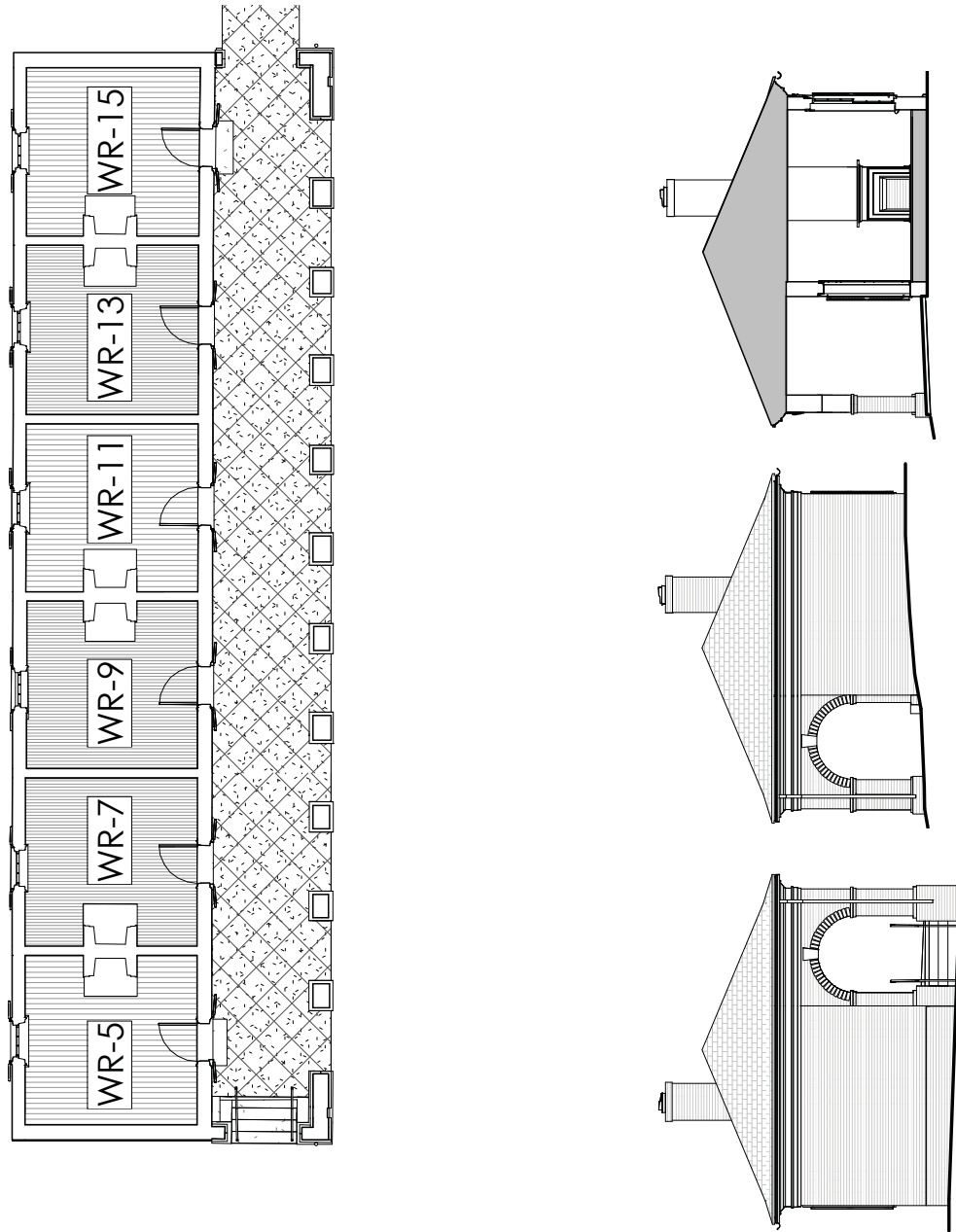


Figure 124. Plans, end elevations, 5-15 West Range.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 5-15 WEST RANGE

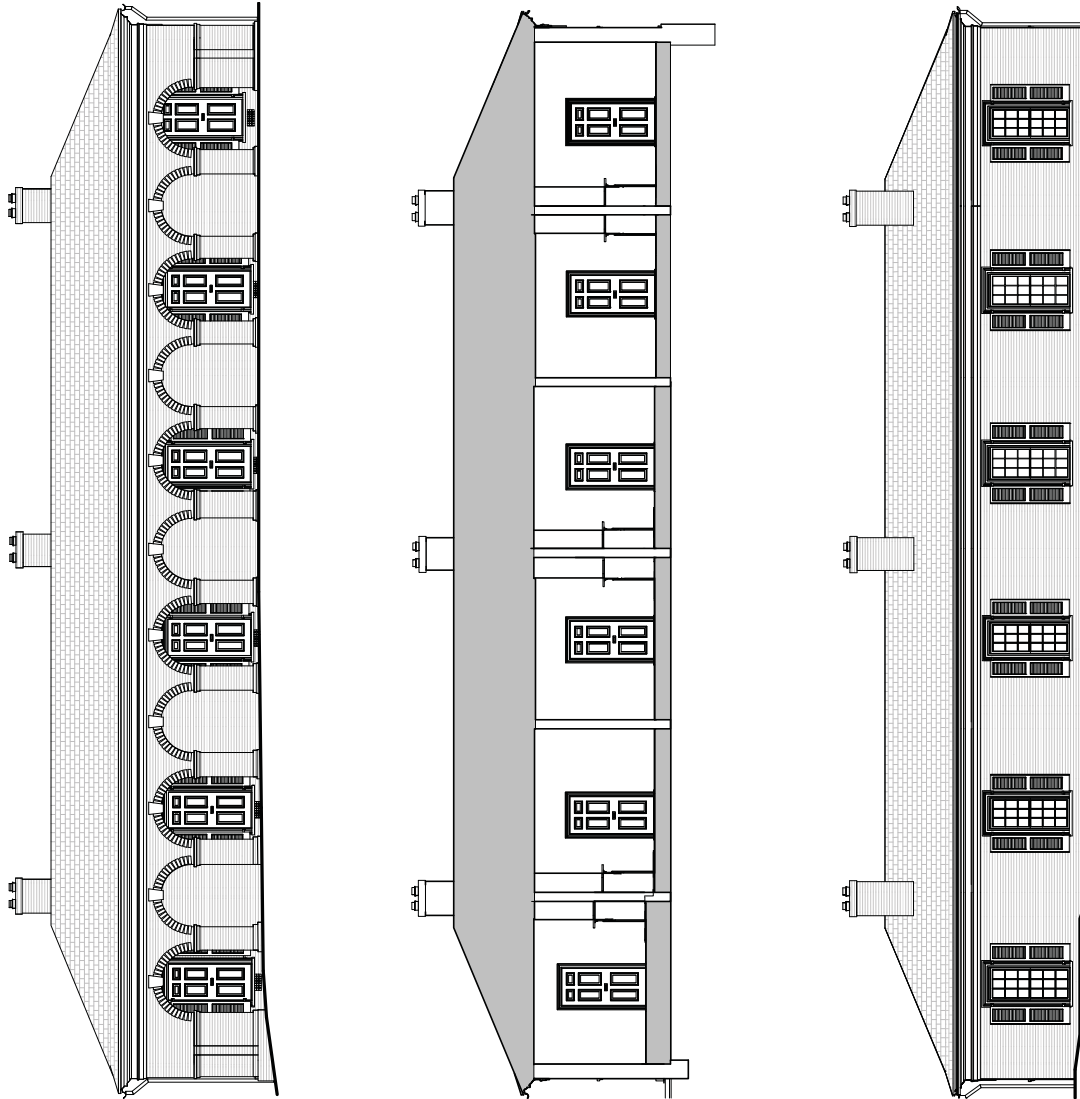


Figure 125. Front and rear elevations and longitudinal section, 5-15 WR.

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Figure 126. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, Holsinger photograph of Poe Room, 13 West Range, c. 1900. Note that “WHC” graffito appears on left side of mantel frieze in this and later images.

seemingly of plaster, decorates the top of the wall. An area of plaster to the right of the fireplace has been removed, revealing a section of riven lath, set diagonally and fixed to a wooden board. Though its text is not legible, a card is fixed to this feature in the manner of a label in a historic house museum.

Despite this item of interest, and despite its evident age, this section of plastered wall and its counterpart on the opposite side of the fireplace were removed by 1909, when the Poe room was next featured in photographs. These depict the room as it stood open to the public during the centennial celebrations of Poe’s birth (figure 127). Both closets have been removed (note the scar from the closet ceiling to the right of the chimney) and the fireplace mantel adjusted so that its mantel shelf now returns along the two sides of the chimney mass. This solution would also be adopted by Murray Howard in his restoration of student room mantels at the end of the century. In the photo, the old mantel has otherwise been retained, as indicated in the faintly visible graffiti along its face, including a “WHC” monogram at the left. There is a new arched coal grate in the firebox and a new radiator sits in front of the window.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 5-15 WEST RANGE



Figure 127. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, 13 West Range, Poe Room interior, c. 1909. Courtesy of University of Virginia Special Collections.

There were few substantial changes to the room from the 1910s to the 1950s. Edmund Campbell, then head of the School of Architecture, is credited with the mid-20th-century restoration of the Poe Room but this work was confined to refurnishing the interior and removing anachronistic decorations from the walls.³⁷¹

A later phase of refurbishment was guided by Frederick Doveton Nichols, who joined the faculty in 1950 as professor of art and architecture. William O’Neal reported that this work was undertaken in 1956 and his *Pictorial History of the University of Virginia* includes the first published view of the room without its original mantel.³⁷² Its replacement was a much simpler surround consisting only of a cyma backband, consistent with what Nichols believed to be the lost original form of dormitory mantels throughout Grounds. “Over the years the students’ rooms had undergone various changes. Closets had been added; and mantels with shelves installed in style ranging from Greek through Eastlake to the Colonial Revival. These additions

371. Lay, *History of the A-School*, 45; Raven Society, *Edgar Poe and Room 13 West Range*.

372. William B. O’Neal, *Pictorial History of the University of Virginia* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1968), 51.

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were removed in 1960.”³⁷³ The Nichols-era mantel is carefully made, obscuring any signs of machine production, and set in place with reproduction cut nails, a reflection of an effort to make it appear genuinely antique. This work also re-established the original firebox, removing the late-19th-century coal grate and re-setting the hearth in sand instead of mortared brick. Other improvements included a new Chippendale-style barrier in the doorway, permitting visitors to look into the room without entering it. Yet another round of restoration superseded the Nichols design in 1979, to commemorate the 75th anniversary of the Raven Society. This phase included repainting and the installation of the present glass door.³⁷⁴ Later improvements added the present frieze and shelf to the mantel. Murray Howard’s c. 2000 refurbishments of Lawn and Range student rooms with new mantel surrounds did not affect the Poe Room.

The original sash window remains in place, one of just two student-room windows to have survived multiple twentieth-century improvement campaigns. A pane of glass with a poem scratched into it was removed to ensure its preservation.



Figure 128. UVA, Charlottesville, Virginia, 13 West Range (Poe Room), showing room as restored in 1956 under direction of Frederick Nichols. Undated photo was used in publication by UVA Press. Similar to view published in O’Neal, 1968, fig. 68. Frederick Doveton Nichols Papers, box 22A, Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.

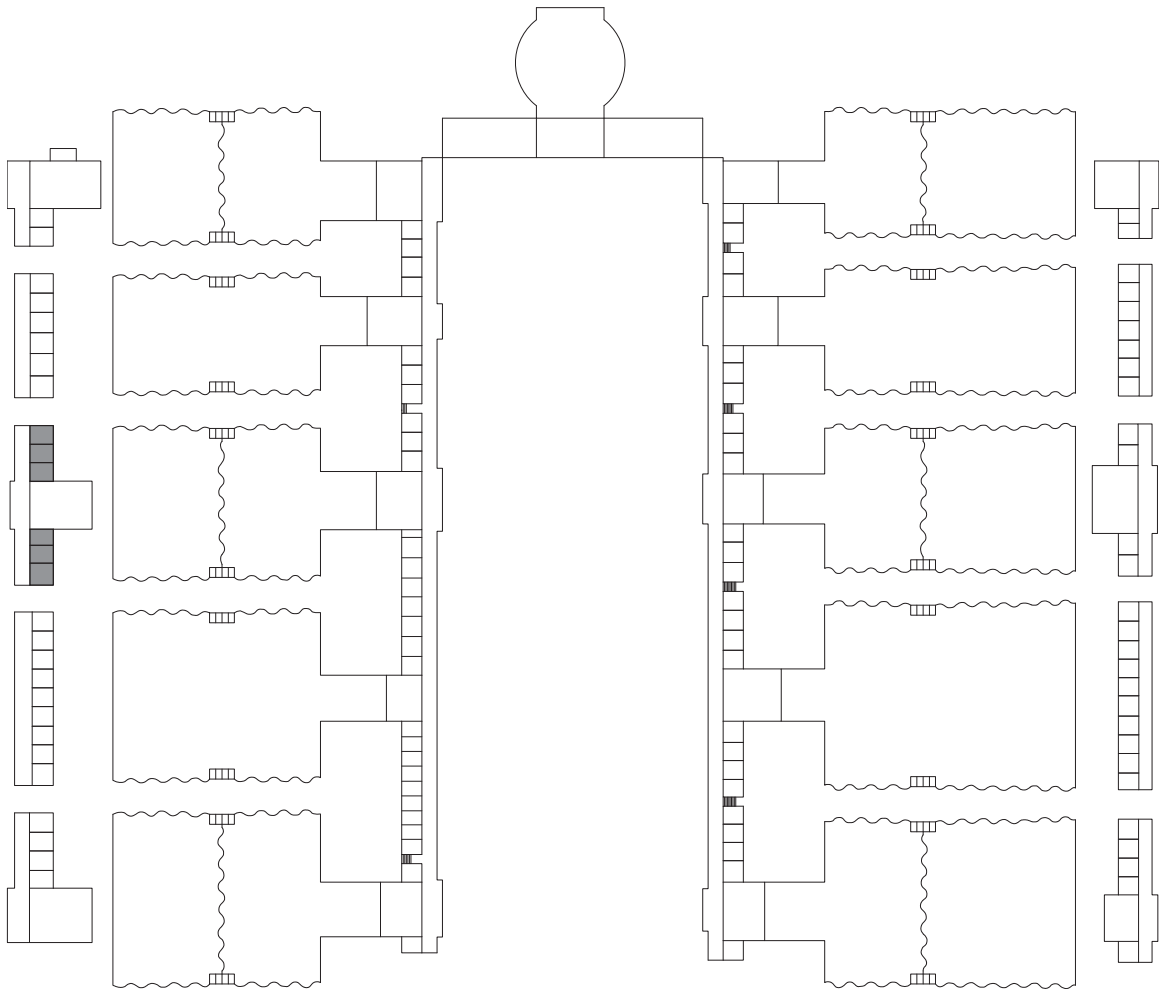
373. Nichols, “Restoring Jefferson’s University,” 332–33.

374. Raven Society, “Papers of the Raven Society Committee for the Restoration of the Poe Room” (1975–1979), Special Collections, University of Virginia Library.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 17-27 WEST RANGE

17-27 West Range

Proctor's Designation:	Dormitories on West Street
Date Begun:	Spring, 1822
Date Complete:	Fall, 1822
Brick Mason:	Dabney Cosby
Carpenter:	Lyman Peck and Malcolm Crawford



17-27 West Range is the row of six rooms attached to the north and south of Hotel C. Their masonry was executed by Dabney Cosby, who was paid for six dormitories “on West street” in October of 1822.³⁷⁵ These six are supposed to be those Cosby completed because he was also the mason for Hotel C. The carpentry was done by Peck and Crawford, who executed all the

375. “Proctor’s Journal, 1819-1828,” 150.

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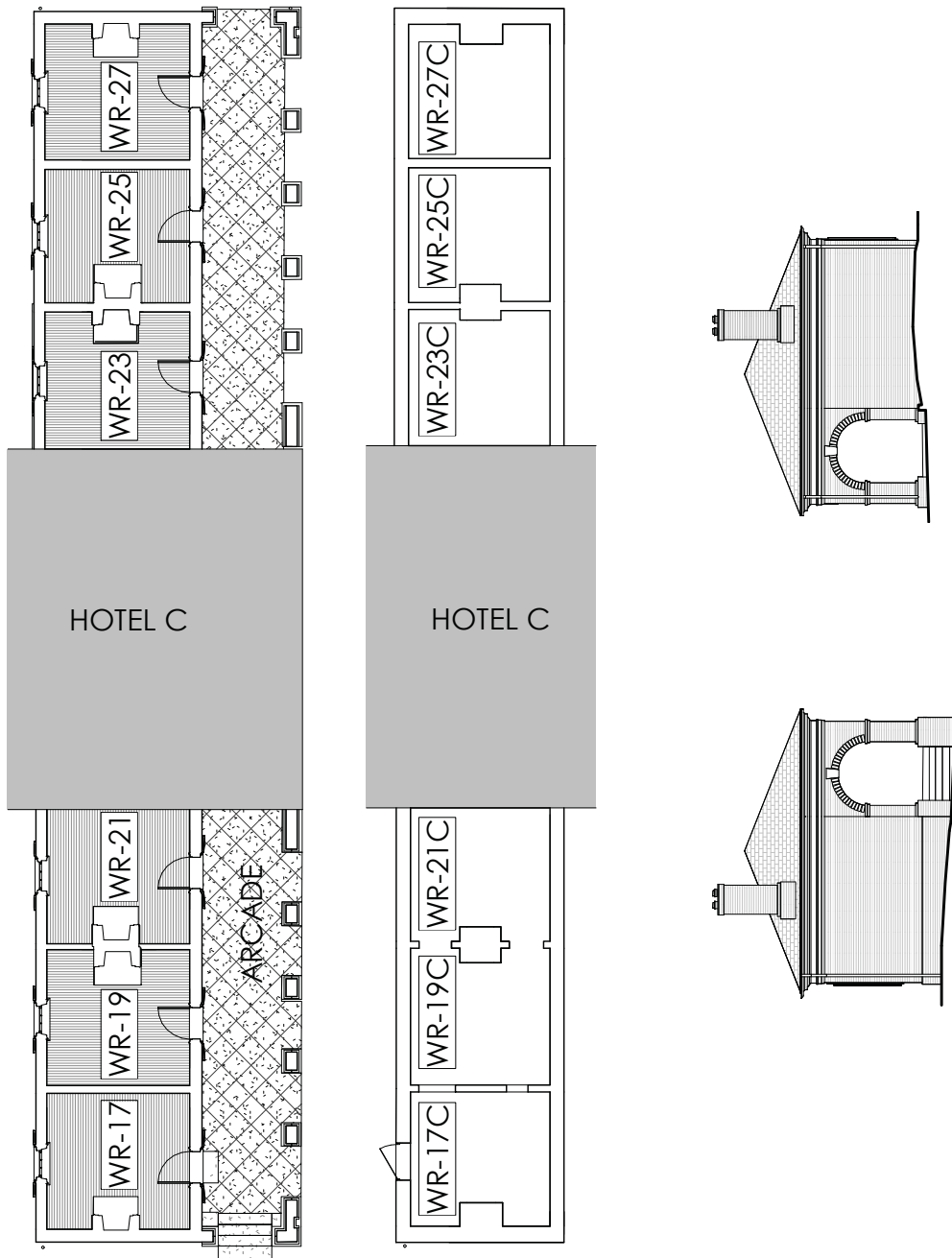


Figure 129. First floor and crawl plans, 17-27 West Range.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 17-27 WEST RANGE

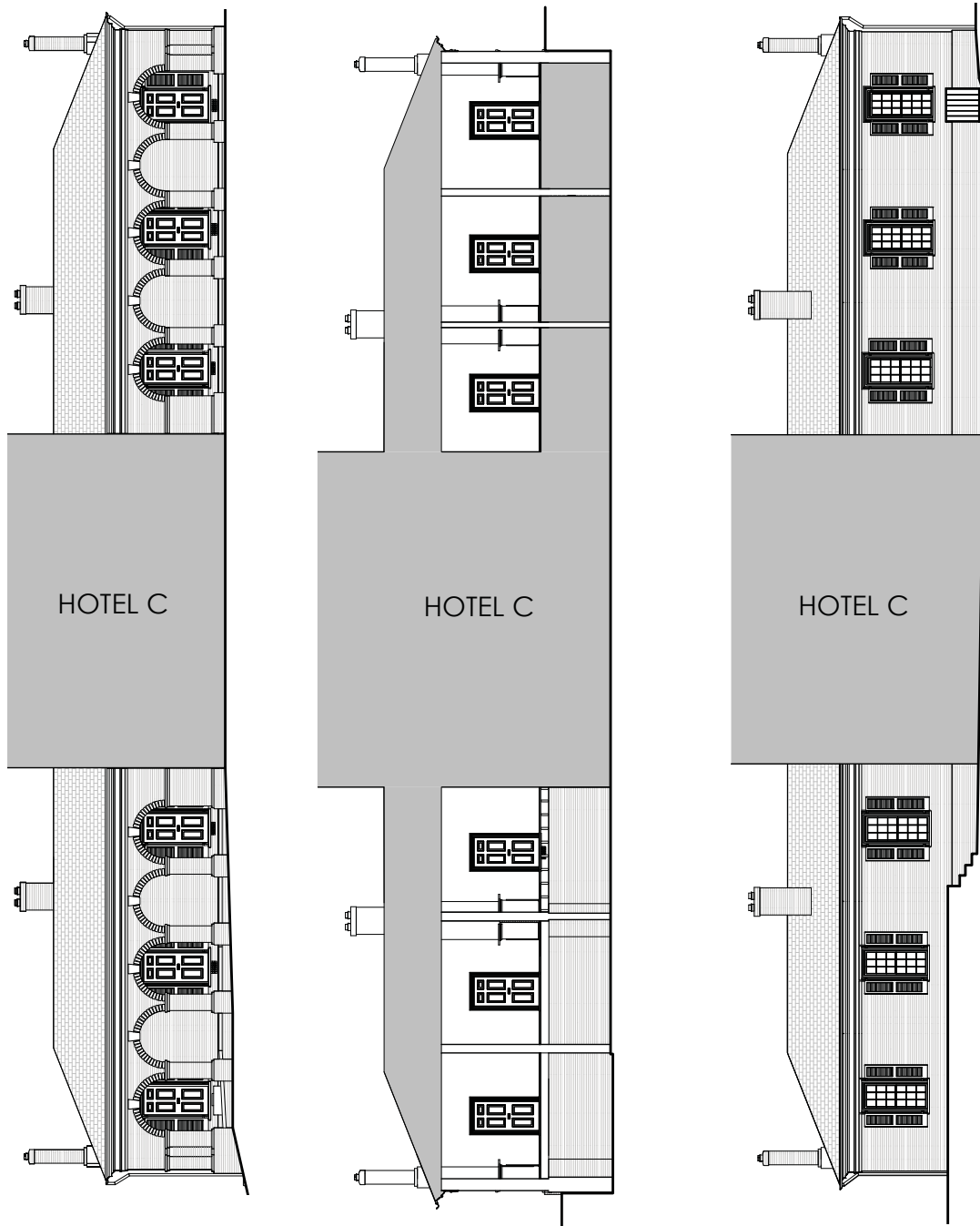


Figure 130. Front and rear elevations and longitudinal section, 17-27 West Range.

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rooms on the West Range except for 1 and 3.³⁷⁶ They were begun after October of 1821 and completed by October of the following year.

Rooms 17, 23, 25, and 27 sit on very shallow crawls, with no access to them. Those under 19 and 21 are on cellars and were likely always accessible from the cellar of Hotel C. 17-25 are at their original level but the floor of the southernmost room, number 27, has been raised by three courses of brick. Though the student rooms have all had ventilation grates inserted below their doors, there are no vents at the rear.

The cellars under 17 to 21 are reached by means of a hatch in the east wall under room 17 and by a door leading to room 21 from the cellar of Hotel C; all three spaces are connected by openings at the east end of the partition walls which have been partially rebuilt but whose size and locations are original. All interior brick walls are whitewashed.

The floor framing under these rooms, visible in the cellars, is largely original and runs north-south under rooms 17 and 19 and east-west under room 21. There is an early opening in the east wall under this room that is 3'10 ³/₄" wide by 1'10 ¹/₄" tall.

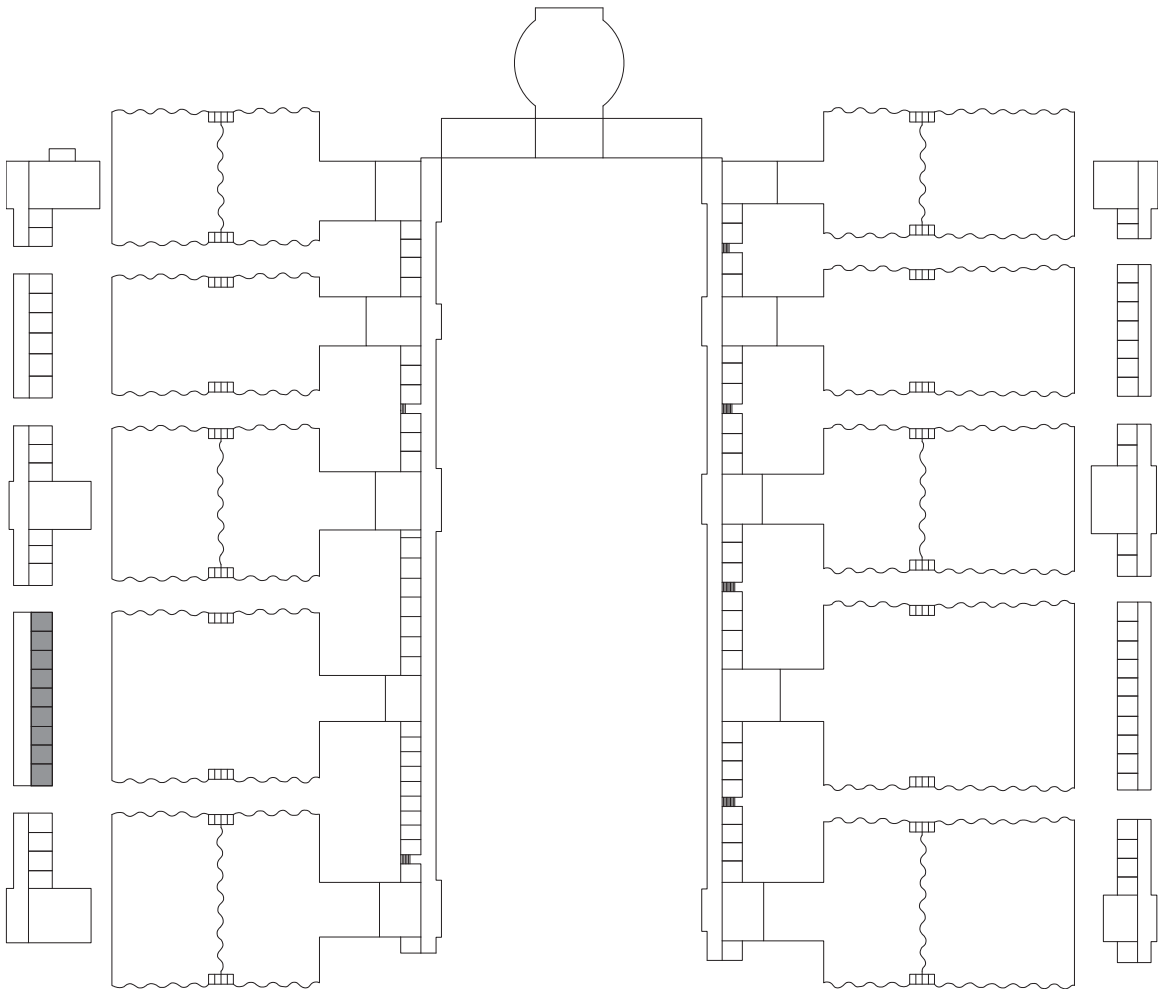
On both sides of Hotel C, this block is covered by an 1830s hip roof on top of the original flat roof. This is of the serrated lath type, with metal gutters.

376. "Proctor's Journal, 1819-1828," 128.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 29-45 WEST RANGE

29-45 West Range

Proctor's Designation:	Dormitories on West Street
Date Begun:	Spring, 1822
Date Complete:	Fall, 1822
Brick Mason:	John Perry
Carpenter:	Lyman Peck and Malcolm Crawford



29-45 West Range is the freestanding row of nine rooms between Hotel C and Hotel E. Their masonry was executed by John Perry, who was paid for thirteen dormitories “on West Street” in November of 1822.³⁷⁷ This must have included this group as well as the four attached to Hotel E. The carpentry was done by Peck and Crawford, who executed all the rooms on the

377. “Proctor’s Journal, 1819-1828,” 172.

DORMITORIES

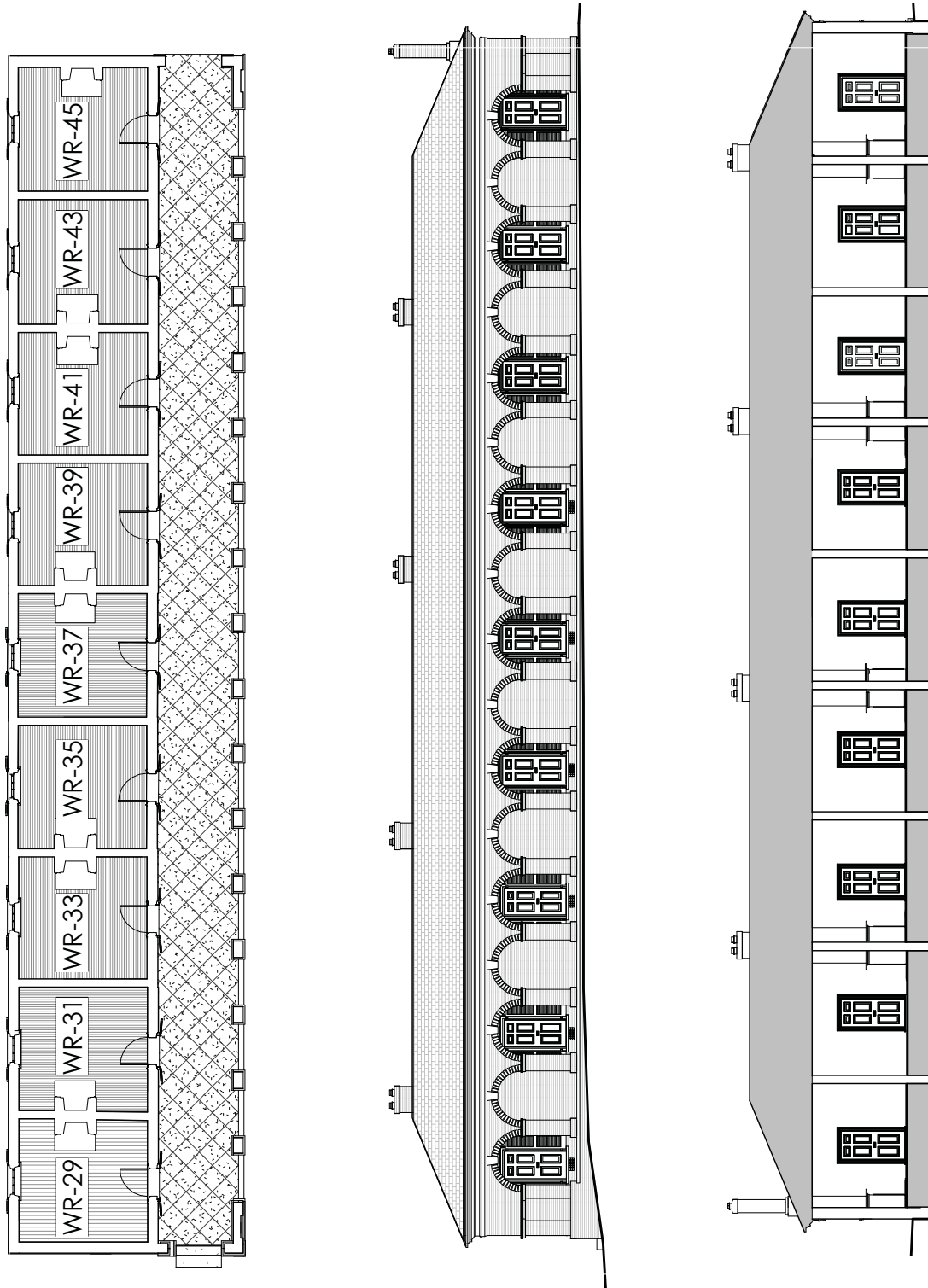


Figure 131. First floor plan, front elevation and longitudinal section, 29-45 West Range.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 29-45 WEST RANGE

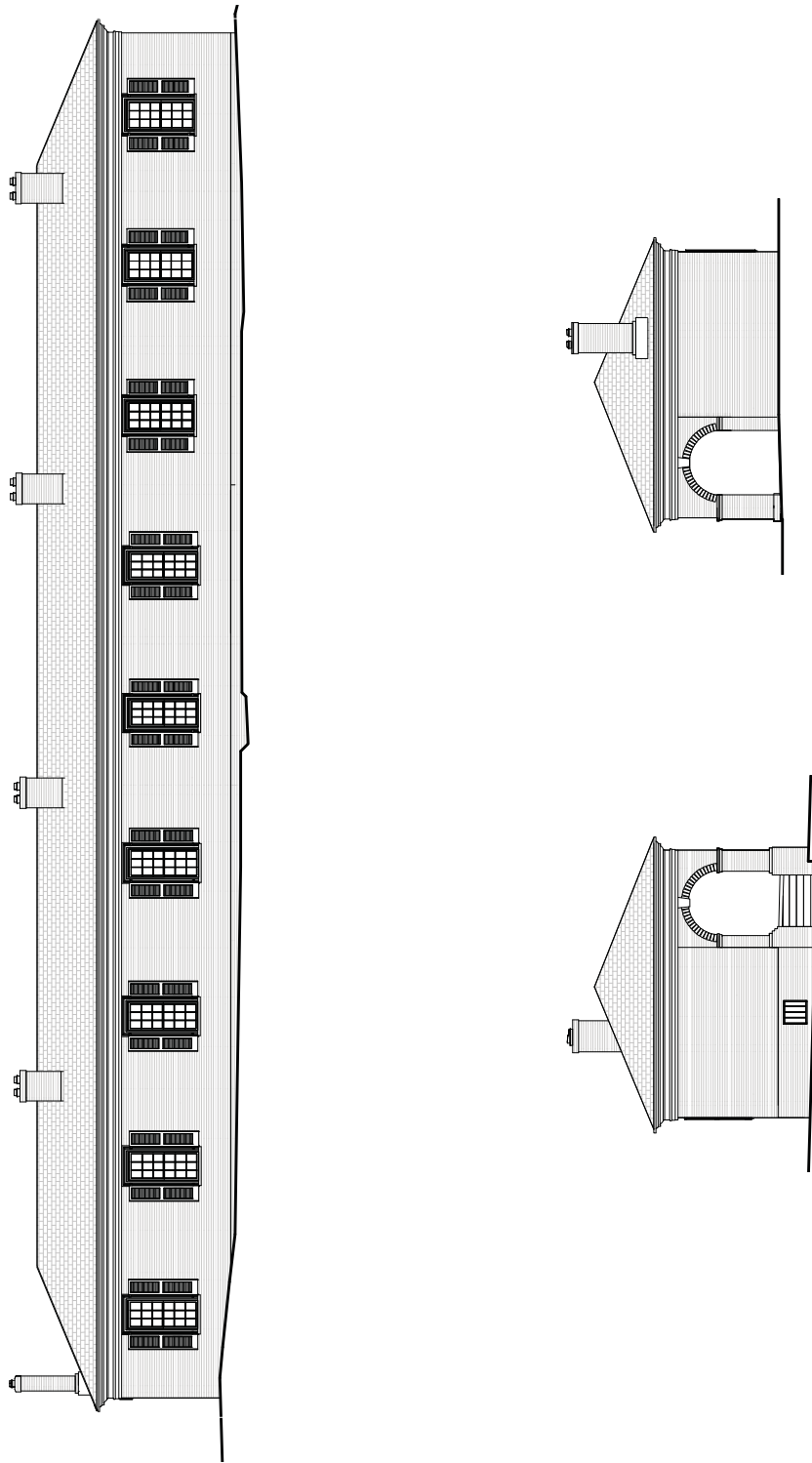


Figure 132. Rear and end elevations, 29-45 West Range.

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West Range except for 1 and 3.³⁷⁸ They were begun after October of 1821 and completed by October of the following year.

All the rooms are on crawl spaces and sit at their original level. There are cast iron grates below each door, and remnants of vents, lined with slate, behind room 41 and 45. The very shallow crawl under these rooms makes access difficult—where the foundations are visible under room 29, there are only seven courses from grade to the underside of the floor joists. Under that room, the original joists, running north-south, are bedded in pockets and supported on a brick ledge. Early framing can be seen under room 37, also oriented north-south. There is no access to the crawls below any other rooms from 31 to 41. Rooms 43 and 45 are framed on modern dimensional lumber, also oriented north-south.

This block is covered by an 1830s hip roof on top of the original flat roof. This is of the serrated lath type, with metal gutters.

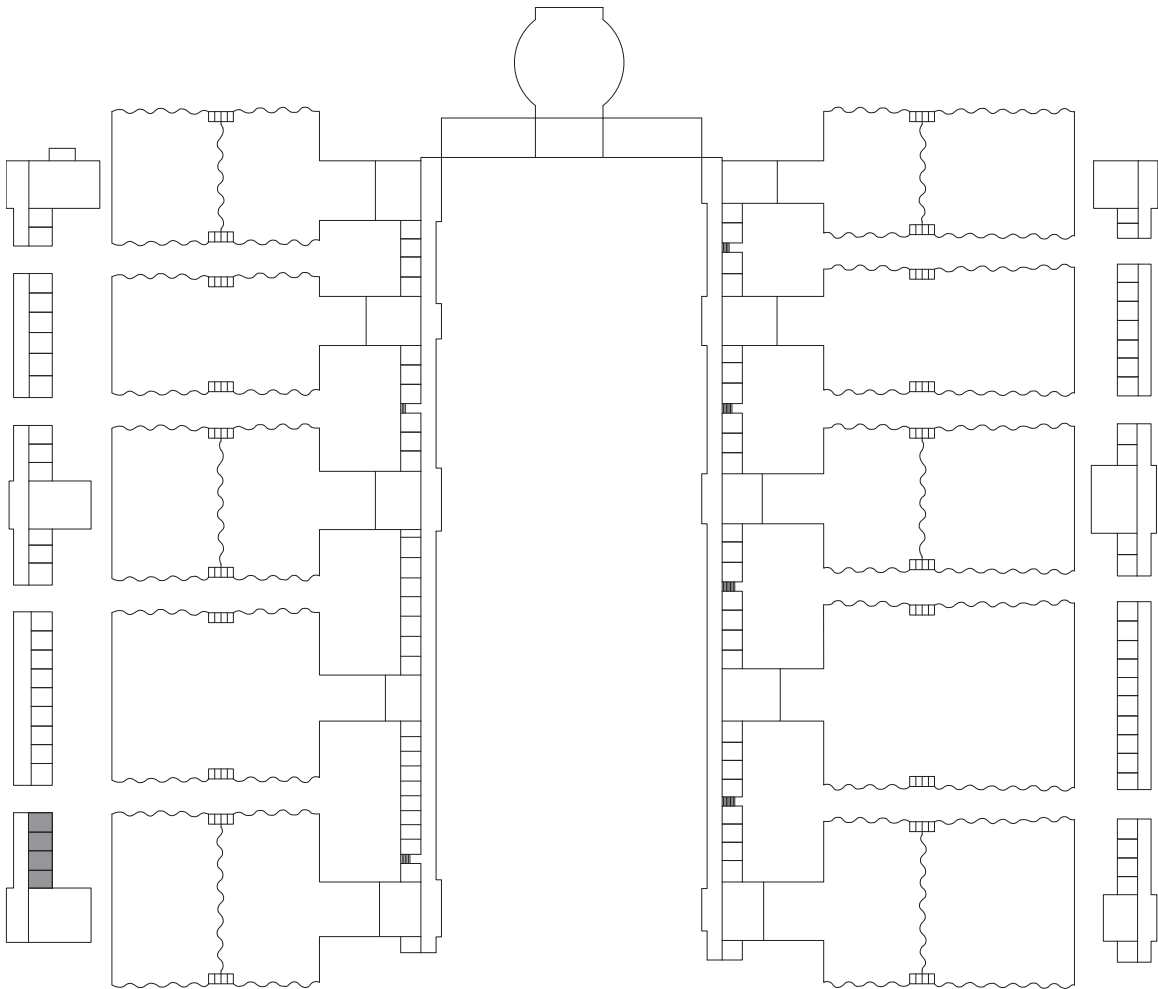
This row includes 31 West Range, which is commemorated as the room of President Woodrow Wilson from 1879 until 1881.

378. "Proctor's Journal, 1819-1828," 128.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 47-53 WEST RANGE

47-53 West Range

Proctor's Designation:	Dormitories on West Street
Date Begun:	Spring, 1821
Date Complete:	Fall, 1822
Brick Mason:	John Perry
Carpenter:	Lyman Peck and Malcolm Crawford



47-53 West Range is the row of four rooms adjoining the north side of Hotel E. Their masonry was executed by John Perry, who was paid for thirteen dormitories “on West Street” in November of 1822.³⁷⁹ This must have included this group as well as the nine to the north. The carpentry was done by Peck and Crawford, who executed all the rooms on the West Range

³⁷⁹. “Proctor’s Journal, 1819-1828,” 172.

DORMITORIES

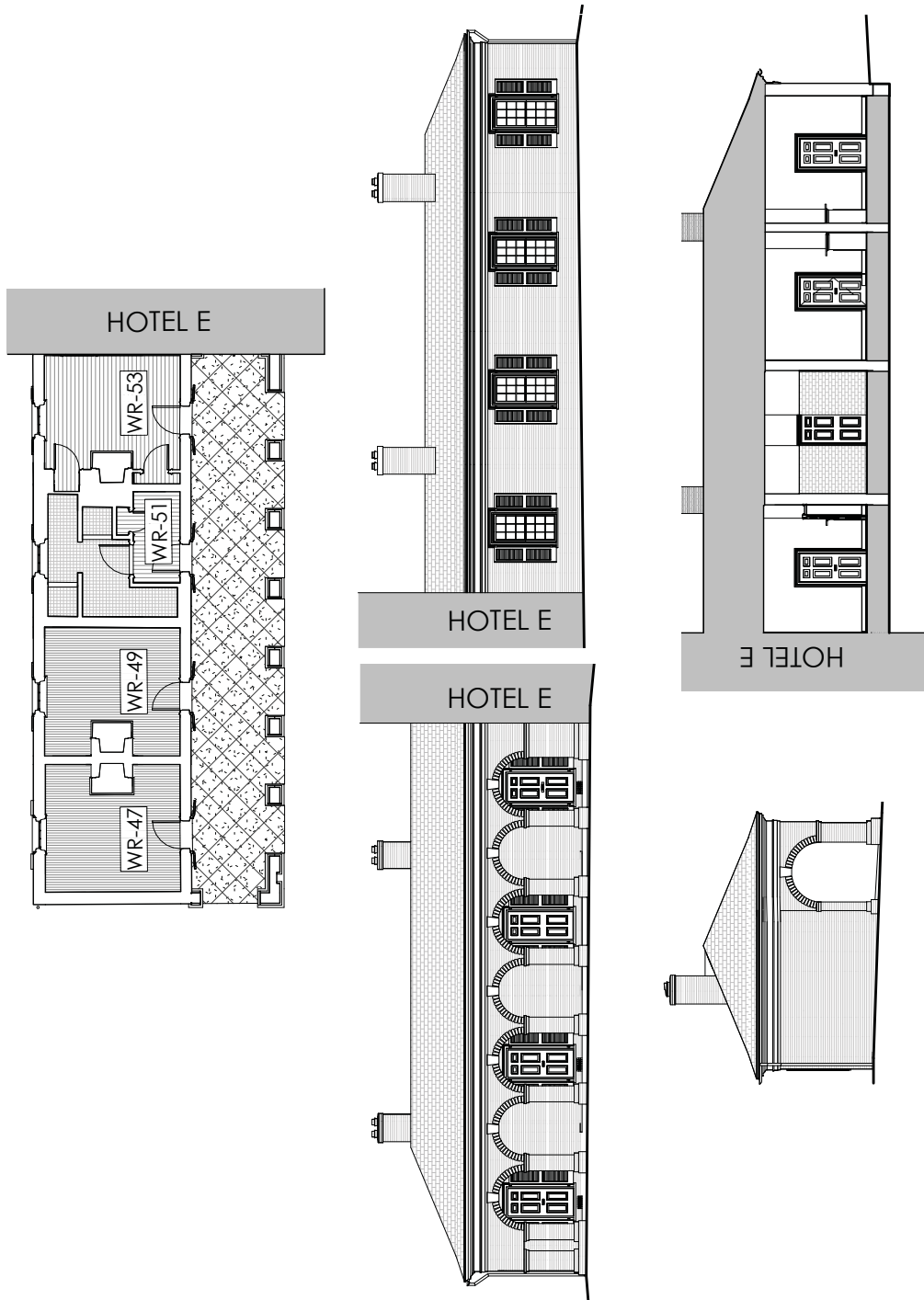


Figure 133. First floor plan, longitudinal section, and elevations for 47-53 West Range.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 47-53 WEST RANGE

except for 1 and 3.³⁸⁰ They were begun after October of 1821 and completed by October of the following year.

Rooms 47 to 51 are on crawl spaces and sit at their original level. Other than the cast iron grates below each door, no ventilation has been inserted into the brickwork at the front or rear. The grate that formerly vented the crawl under room 51, currently a bathroom, has been removed and the masonry replaced. Room 53 has always been a cellar. Its walls and ceilings are all whitewashed. Its floor framing is hewn and pit-sawn pine, running east-west. The unexcavated crawl under room 51 is visible from this cellar. Its floor is framed with modern dimensional lumber, running north-south. The crawls under 47 and 49 are inaccessible.

This block is covered by an 1830s hip roof on top of the original flat roof. This is of the serrated lath type, with metal gutters.

47 West Range is the sole room on the ranges reserved for undergraduates. It is assigned to a member of the Pi Kappa Alpha fraternity, which was founded here in 1868.

51 West Range

51 West Range has not been a dormitory since 1913. It is currently a restroom and was re-furnished in 2012, when its connection to the adjoining room 53 was blocked. It has a ceramic tile floor, seemingly installed over early pine, which remains in place inside the entry. Access is through its original entry under the arcade, though the door is a modern replacement, with a powerful closer and an electric lock.

The room has been subdivided with separate rooms for sinks, toilets, and shower stalls and its walls are finished with tile and modern gypsum plaster. Despite its conversion to restrooms and 2012 refurbishment, its door and window casings all survive in place.

53 West Range

The only intact early closets and mantel on Grounds survive in 53 West Range. This room was untouched by the cycles of renovation pursued by Freddy Nichols and Murray Howard and is the closest to an original student room that there is in the Academical Village. It is a precious relic, worthy of careful handling (figure 134).

This room was rarely occupied by students between 1895 and 2012. Adjoining Hotel E, it was incorporated into that building and connected to it by a door in its southeast corner in the early 20th century. In June of 1919, with the establishment of the School of Architecture in under Fiske Kimball, Hotel E became his residence. Kimball's successors as directors of the

380. "Proctor's Journal, 1819-1828," 128.

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Figure 134. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, 53 West Range, as restored as a student room in 2012. Photo courtesy of UVA Facilities Management.



architecture program resided here as well, through the tenure of Edmund S. Campbell.³⁸¹ From 1919 to 2012, 53 West Range was only occupied by a student twice, in 1938-1939 and 1969-70.

Following the departure of Edmund Campbell in 1950, the Colonnade Club occupied Hotel E as a dining facility.³⁸² Room 53 later was the entrance to the restroom in 51, through the closet in its northeast corner. In 2012, that bathroom was refurbished and room 53 was returned to use as a student room.³⁸³

Figure 135. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: 53 West Range, detail of mantel surround. Note that applied molding at face of mantel shelf is modern; all other woodwork is original.

381. Lay, *History of the A-School*, 20, 45.

382. Nichols, "Restoring Jefferson's University," 333.

383. Mark Kutney, Personal Communication, January 24, 2023

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 47-53 WEST RANGE

Being removed from active student use for over a century surely contributed to its excellent state of preservation. Room 53's mantel is identical to those in Facilities Management storage, whose construction may be inspected more closely and which were certainly made in the early nineteenth century. Like them, the one in room 53 consists of a single architrave surround with a Roman cyma backband and a 5/8" bead (figure 135). It is similar to the interior door and window casings that survive better throughout the student rooms. Above this is a 6" high frieze that is capped by a bed molding and a broad mantel shelf, 1 1/4" thick. Like the mantels in storage, this one has had an Italianate casing applied to its face later, with a profile that matches work done elsewhere on Grounds done as recently as the 1920s. It was presumably added to hide graffiti and other wear on the face of the shelf. The mantel is assembled in a pre-industrial manner, with pegged joinery securing the vertical stiles to the broad horizontal rail. It is covered with many layers of paint, which have obscured the student graffiti on the left stile and in the frieze.

Similarly, the closets are in substantially original condition, including their 5" single-architrave casings and recessed-panel doors. The backband profiles are the familiar Roman cymas observed here on the mantel and throughout the Academical Village on door and window interiors. These are attached to a 1"-thick hand-planed board that forms the closet partition wall. It is exposed on the interior and covered in plaster on its exterior face, in the same plane as the plaster for the chimney breast. The closet ceiling falls just above the top of the door casing, creating a deep shelf above both closets. Like other early doors on Grounds, these have been repaired. The bottom of the left door has been cut slightly down and both have had their hardware replaced. There is some student graffiti faintly visible on stiles, rails and panels of the left-hand door.

55 West Range

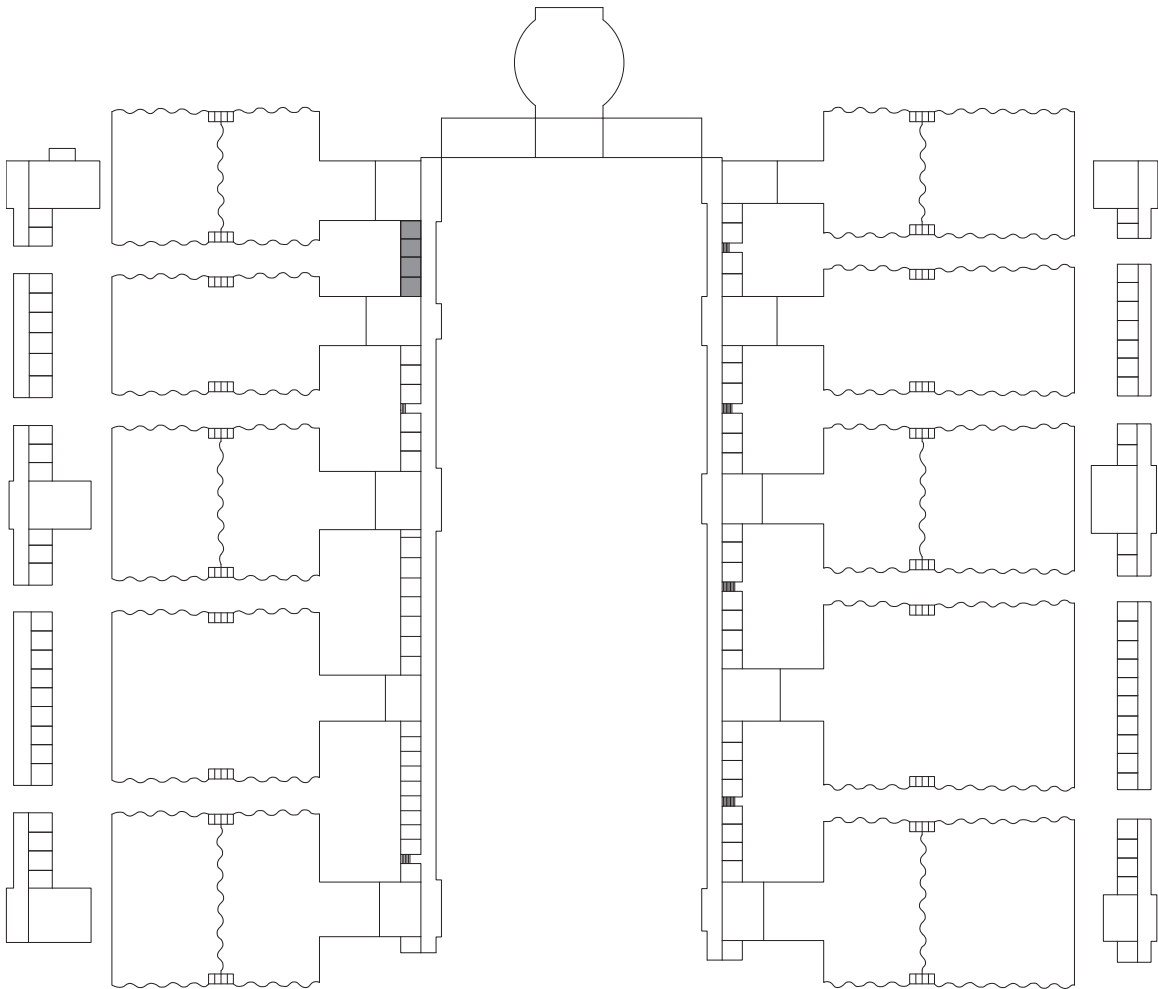
There is no 55 West Range. But the West Range is the only row in the Academical Village that terminates at its southern end with a pavilion or hotel instead of a dormitory room. Additionally, the Maverick Plan shows a faint outline of a student room and arcade, in a mirror image of the arrangement at Hotel F, as though the room was drawn and then erased.

This ghostly outline has sometimes encouraged speculation that a room was planned here and not erected; or possibly even built and later removed. But starting in May of 1822, while construction was underway, the proctor's records consistently refer to the West Range rooms as running from 1 to 27, or 1 to 53 according to the modern system. That this hotel was treated differently is likely a reflection of its intended use not as a refectory for students but as the proctor's residence. The Maverick plan markings represent a draftsman's error, not a trace of a lost room.

DORMITORIES

1-7 West Lawn

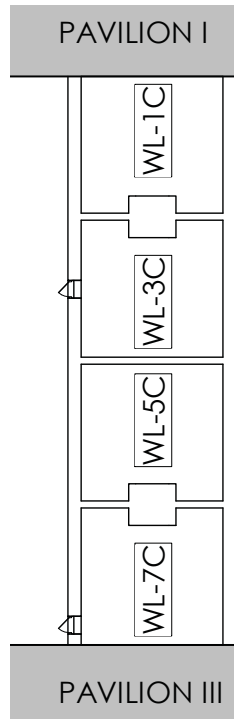
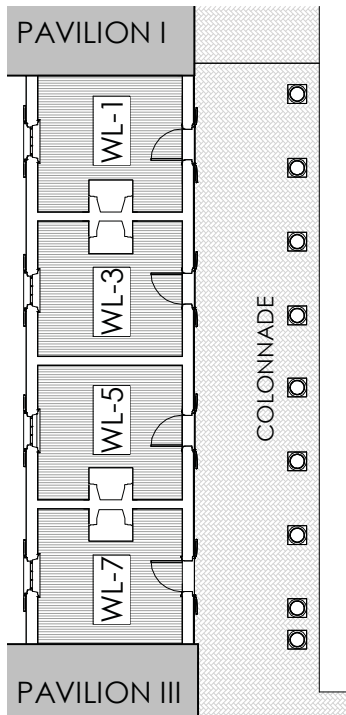
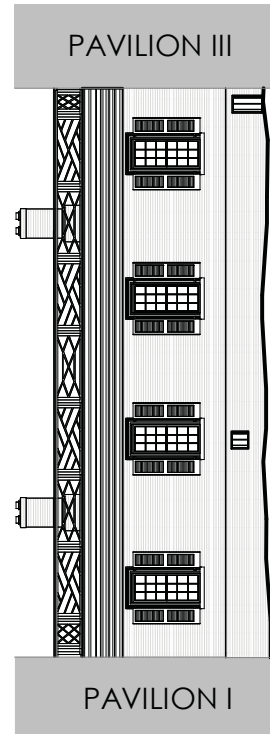
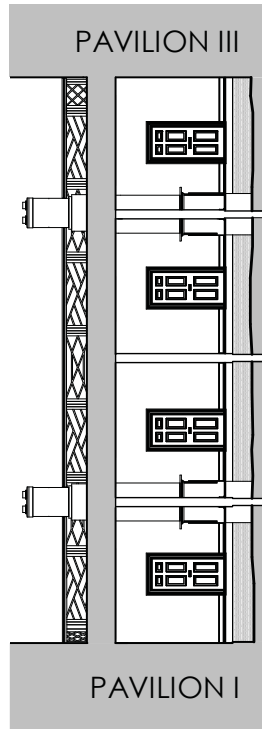
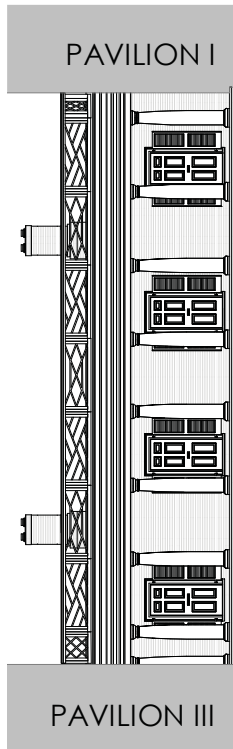
Proctor's Designation:	Dormitories 1 to 4, West
Date Begun:	March, 1819
Date Complete:	Fall, 1821
Brick Mason:	Curtis Carter and William B. Phillips
Carpenter:	James Oldham



1-7 West Lawn is the row of four rooms between Pavilion I and Pavilion III. Their masonry was executed by Curtis Carter and William Phillips, who were said to be finishing their work in September of 1819; they were paid in April of 1821.³⁸⁴ This is the only set of rooms with any embellishment around the door openings: the top of each door is finished with a rowlock

384. Jefferson to Brockenbrough, September 1, 1819; "Proctor's Journal, 1819-1828," 67.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 1-7 WEST LAWN



DORMITORIES



Figure 137. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: 7 West Lawn. Note rowlock course above door.

course (figure 137). The carpentry was done by James Oldham, who included them in his inventory of work he had completed on Grounds, noting that only the closet doors were not yet hung.³⁸⁵ He was paid for this work in November, 1822.³⁸⁶ They were begun soon before April of 1819 and completed, except for their closet doors, before January of 1822.

All the rooms are on crawl spaces but none of their floors have been raised. There is a vent in the cellar at the rear of room 5 but only access panels behind 3 and 7. Rooms 3 and 5 have been

fitted with double architraves on the interiors of their doors, like 3 West Range. Though well made with profiles that match other early work on Grounds, these are clearly replacements for the simpler casing that is fitted to all other student room doors. Their surface has the distinctive “chatter marks” left behind by a machine planer so they were installed in the modern era, likely before the period of restorations begun during the tenure of Frederick Nichols.

Access to the crawl space under these rooms is under room 7, where original joists remain, running east-west. They are set on a brick ledge. The masonry partition walls to the east of the chimney masses have been removed, seemingly for the installation of mechanical, electrical, and plumbing systems, and the party wall above is now supported on steel lintels. Its roof is made of serrated lath with a solid wooden gutter in the valleys. Its later hip roof was removed and the original roof restored in 2020. 1 West Lawn is the John K. Crispell Memorial Room, given to an outstanding pre-health student. 7 West Lawn is generally occupied by a member of the Jefferson Literary and Debating Society.

385. Oldham to Jefferson, January 3, 1822.

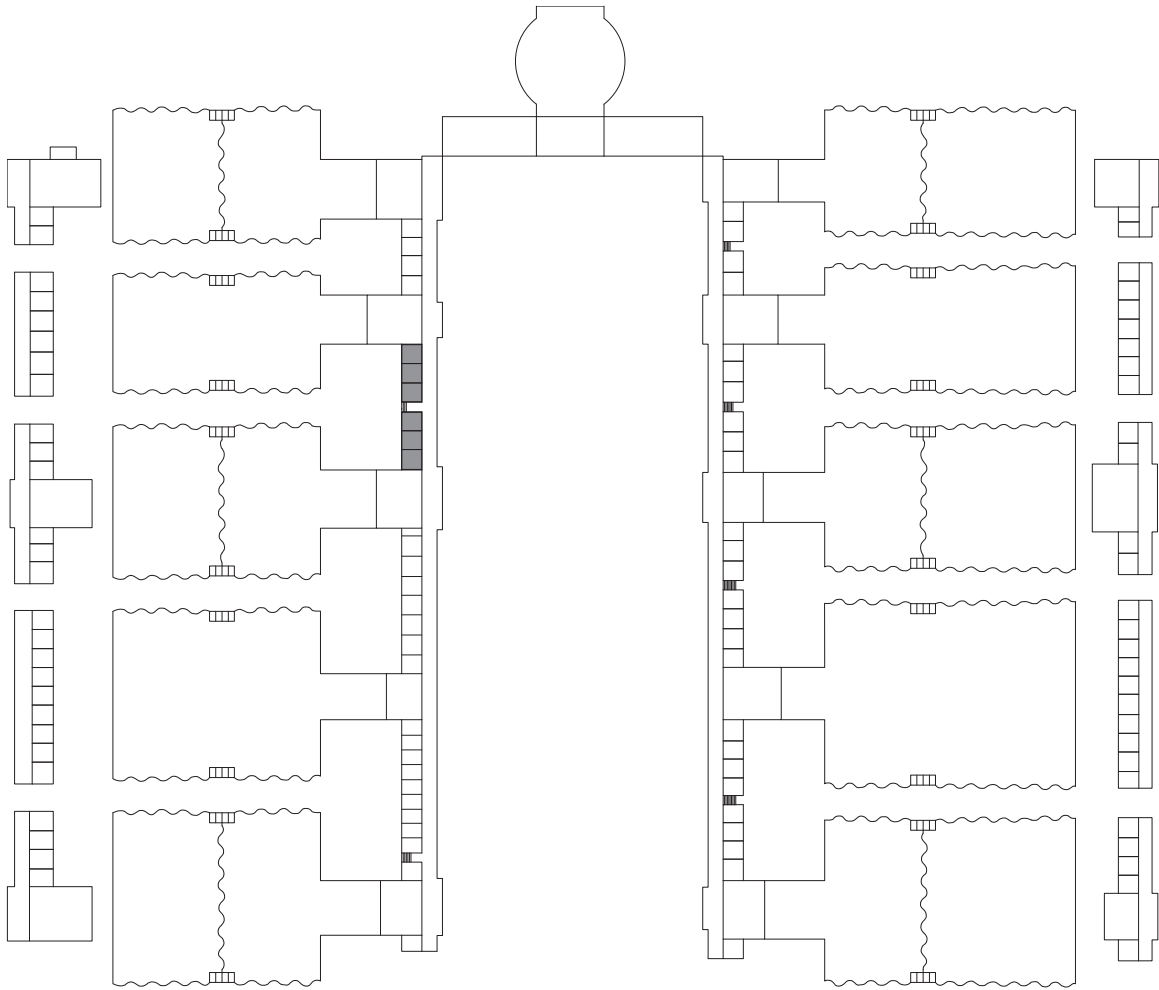
386. “Proctor’s Journal, 1819-1828,” 166.

Figure 136. Plans, section, elevations for 1-7 West Lawn.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 9-19 WEST LAWN

9-19 West Lawn

Proctor's Designation:	Dormitories 5 to 10 West; Dormitories 5 to 11, West
Date Begun:	August, 1818
Date Complete:	October, 1820
Brick Mason:	John Perry
Carpenter:	James Dinsmore



9-19 West Lawn is the row of six rooms between Pavilion III and Pavilion V. Their masonry was executed by John Perry, who was paid for this work and 21 West Lawn in April of 1821.³⁸⁷ Arthur Brockenbrough reported that the brick walls were in place at the end of September,

³⁸⁷. "Proctor's Journal, 1819-1828," 67.

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1819. The carpentry was done by James Dinsmore in partnership with John Perry. They were paid in October of 1822.³⁸⁸ Because they were among the first to get underway, these rooms are believed to be included among the 31 that Brockenbrough reported were “on hand” in his report to the Board of Visitors at the end of September, 1820.³⁸⁹

Like most of the rooms on the West Lawn, these are on crawl spaces. Unlike those on the Ranges, they do not appear to have had their floors raised. Most crawls in this row are inaccessible but there are small hatches below rooms 13 and 19. By this means, we can see that the floor joists under room 19 are in their original position, supported on a brick ledge, and run east-west. The flooring that this framing supports is visibly jack-planed, instead of being gauged and undercut. Additionally, the brickwork at the top of the doors is undisturbed. That said, there are straight joints in the masonry under each side of the door sill, indicating that this brickwork has been infilled, likely as a result of being rebuilt. Because there are positive signs that the floors in this row have not been raised, we read this work as a relic of vents being cut into the masonry below each door and subsequently filled.

There is limited access to the crawl under room 13. Here, we can see that the floor joists have all been replaced in the modern era with 2x12 dimensional lumber, running east-west. The low crawl in this area is likely a function of the presence of bedrock close to the surface. Large fragments of stone remain in place here, including in the south wall of room 13, where there are just four courses of brick masonry between natural stone and the underside of framing. Like the rooms to the north, the east end of the masonry partition walls at this level have been removed for utility lines and replaced with steel lintels. The flat roofs have been restored; they use a serrated lath system with integral tin-lined gutters.

9 West Lawn

In 1832, the University published a directory that noted where each student resided for the coming 1832-1833 session.³⁹⁰ On the Lawn in that year, there were ten student rooms not occupied by students. All of these adjoined pavilions and some were certainly occupied by faculty but others may have been vacant. The 1836 “Report of the Directors of the Literary Fund” notes that seven student rooms were being used by professors and that eleven more might be occupied by faculty in the future.³⁹¹ Because faculty, like students, ordinarily paid rent on the rooms they occupied, the Proctor’s papers and the minutes of the Board of Visitors enumerate which rooms were taken by faculty, whether as appendages to their domestic quarters or as offices. In a few cases, faculty requested alterations to make their use of dormitory rooms more convenient.

388. “Proctor’s Journal, 1819-1828,” 148.

389. Brockenbrough, “Statement of Expenditures by the University of Virginia.”

390. *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the University of Virginia. Session of 1832-33.*

391. “Report of the President and Directors of the Literary Fund, Respecting Colleges and Academies.”

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 9-19 WEST LAWN

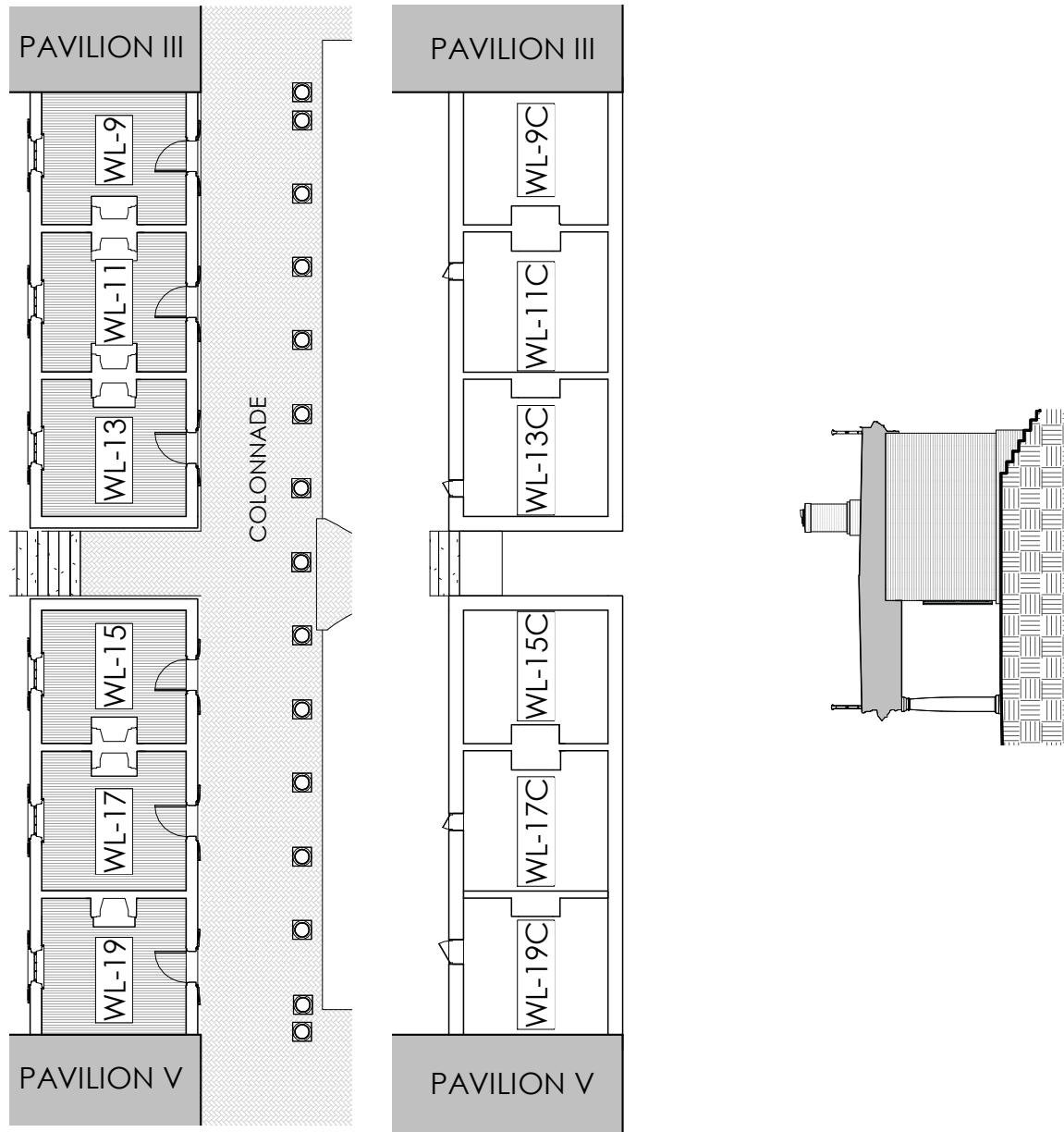


Figure 138. 9-19 West Lawn plans and end elevation.

In 1831, Professor John A. G. Davis successfully petitioned the Board of Visitors to insert an opening between his Pavilion (Pavilion III) and one of the adjoining student rooms.³⁹² In 1833, room 9 was still not used by students and likely part of Davis’s pavilion, as it was in 1849.³⁹³

392. Board of Visitors, “Public Minutes” (July 11, 1831).

393. *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the University of Virginia. Session of 1832-33; Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the University of Virginia. Session of 1848-49* (Richmond: H. K. Ellyson, Printer, 1849).

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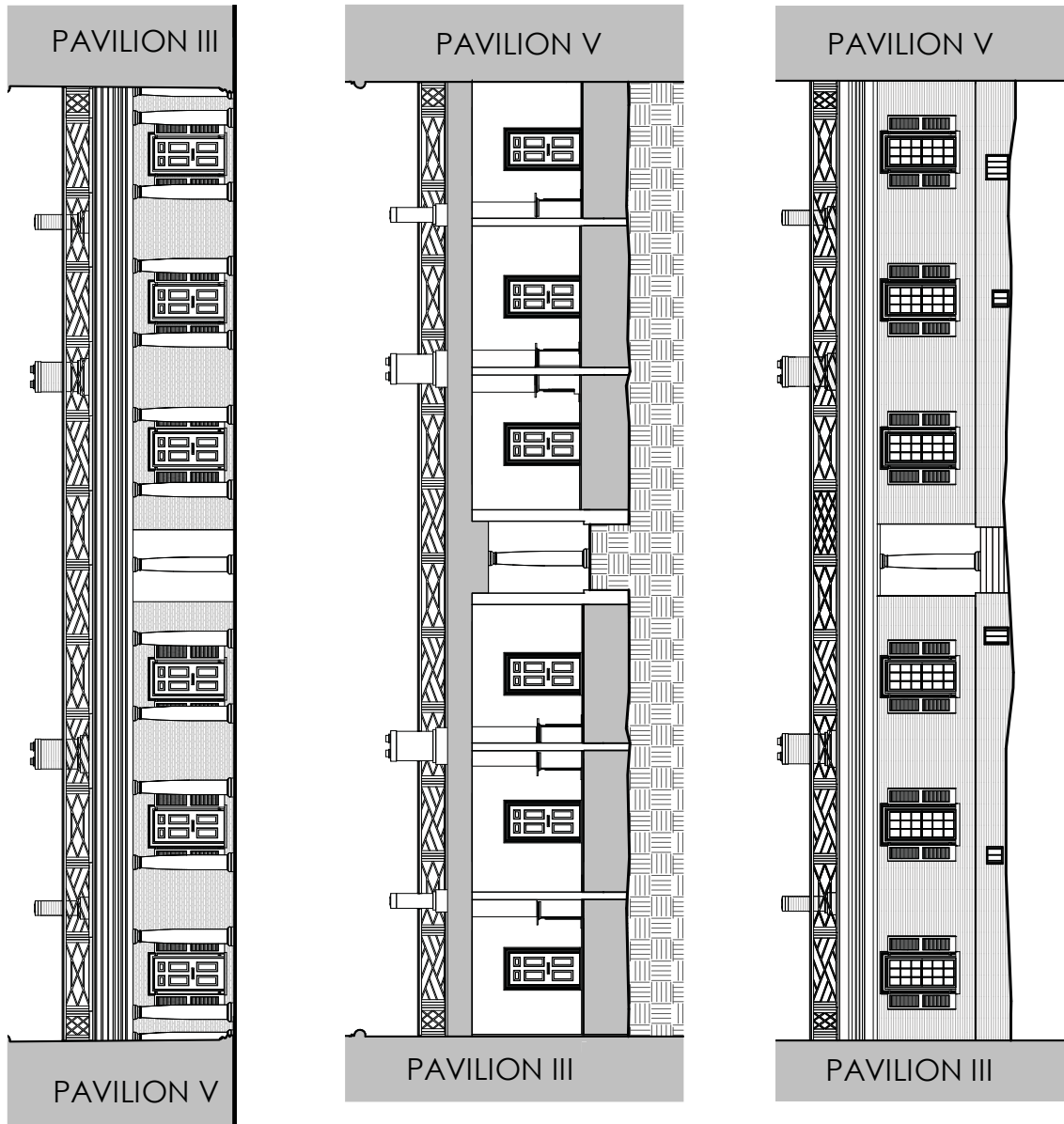
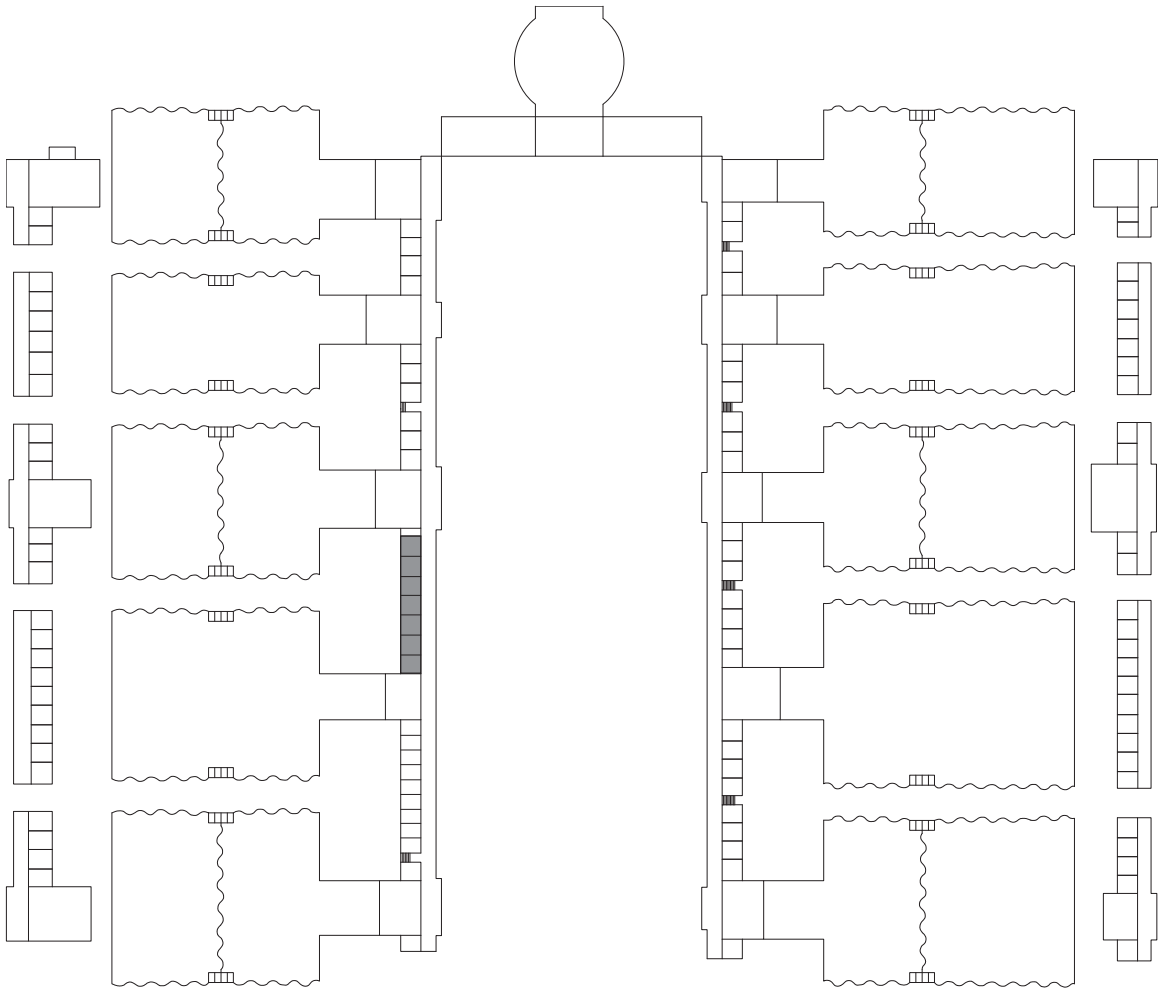


Figure 139. 9-19 West Lawn elevations and section.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 21-33 WEST LAWN

21-33 West Lawn

Proctor's Designation:	Dormitories 11 to 26 West; Dormitories 12 to 26, West
Date Begun:	June, 1818
Date Complete:	October, 1819
Brick Mason:	Matthew Brown
Carpenter:	John Perry



21-33 West Lawn is the row of seven rooms between Pavilion V and Pavilion VII. Room 21 was completed as part of the contract for 9-19 West Lawn and the seam in the masonry between rooms 21 and 23 reflects this sequence. The masonry for 23-33 was executed by Matthew Brown, who completed this work by October of 1818 and was paid for it in April of 1821, though John Perry later claimed credit for it.³⁹⁴ Unlike later rooms, which use Flemish bond

394. "Proctor's Journal, 1819-1828," 65; Perry to University of Virginia Board of Visitors, March 27, 1819.

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on the fronts and 1:5 common bond secondary walls, its brick walls are laid in 1:3 common bond. The carpentry was done by Perry, who was paid in August, 1821 and October, 1822.³⁹⁵ The row from 23 to 33 was the second set of rooms to be begun, after the row on the south side of Pavilion VII. This was the group that set the standard for all rooms to follow, after Jefferson settled on the larger size of 13 feet in the clear instead of the 10 feet of the first rooms. Arthur Brockenbrough described the woodwork as “very nearly finished” on October 1, 1819.³⁹⁶

Like most of the rooms on the West Lawn, these are on crawl spaces. Unlike some of those on the ranges, they have not had their floors raised. Where joists are accessible from hatches cut into the rear foundation walls, they have been replaced with modern dimensional lumber but sit on their original brick ledges. In 2020, the grade of the paving was raised about four inches in front of 23-31 West Lawn to be flush with the floor level, permitting wheelchair access to this sequence of five rooms. The level slopes gradually from these rooms to return to its historic level at rooms 21 and 33 (figure 140). This block, along with the row from 35 to 51 West Lawn to the south, is one of the only places on Grounds to use the guttered joist system to create a flat roof. This was restored in 2016.



Figure 140. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, 21-23 West Lawn, showing break in masonry and rise in level of paving from 23 (at right) to 21 (at left).

395. “Proctor’s Journal, 1819-1828,” 93, 164.

396. Brockenbrough, “Cost Estimates, October, 1819.”

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 35-51 WEST LAWN

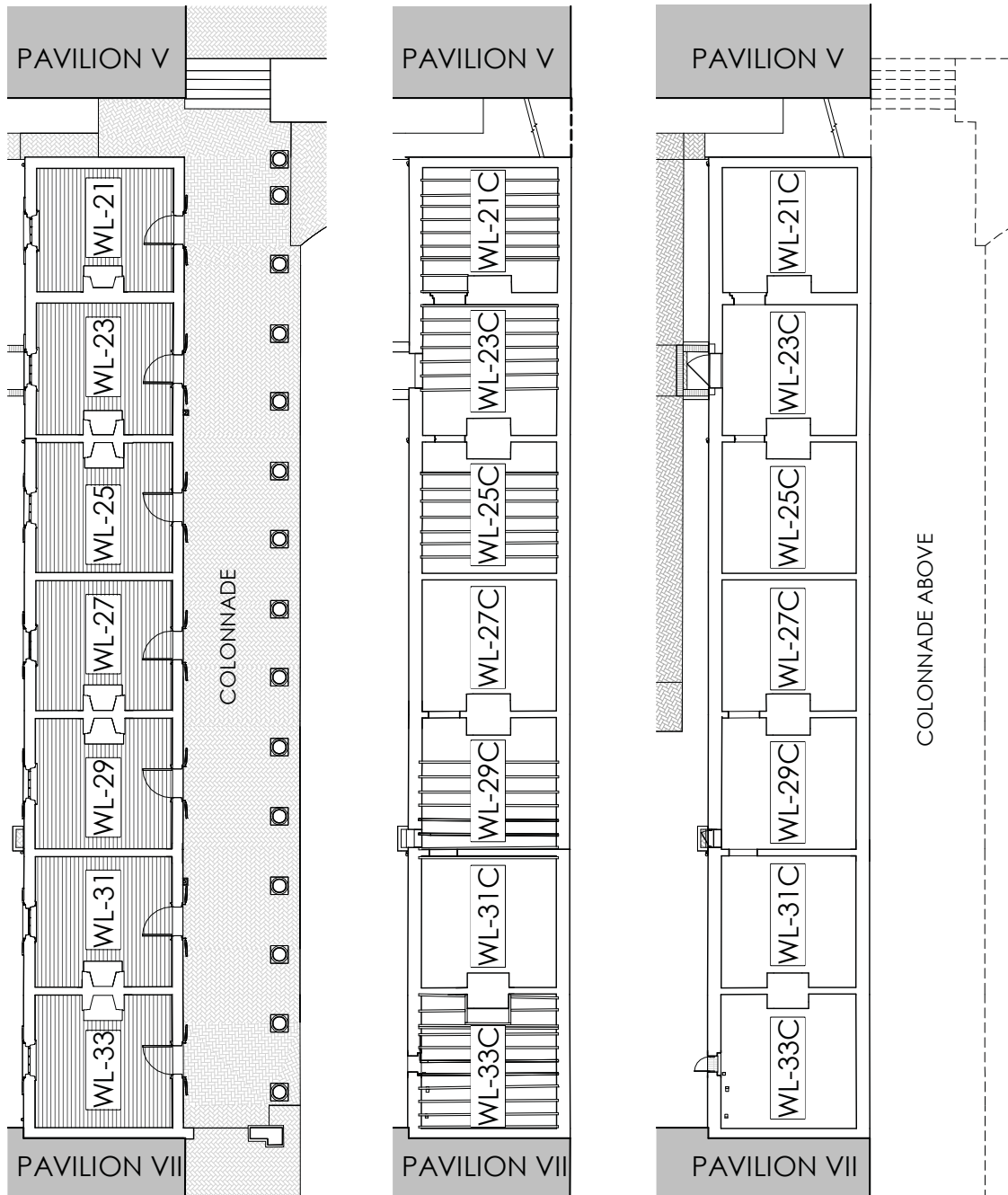


Figure 141. Ground floor plan, cellar plan, and cellar framing plan of 21-33 West Lawn. Note that joists not illustrated are inaccessible, not absent.

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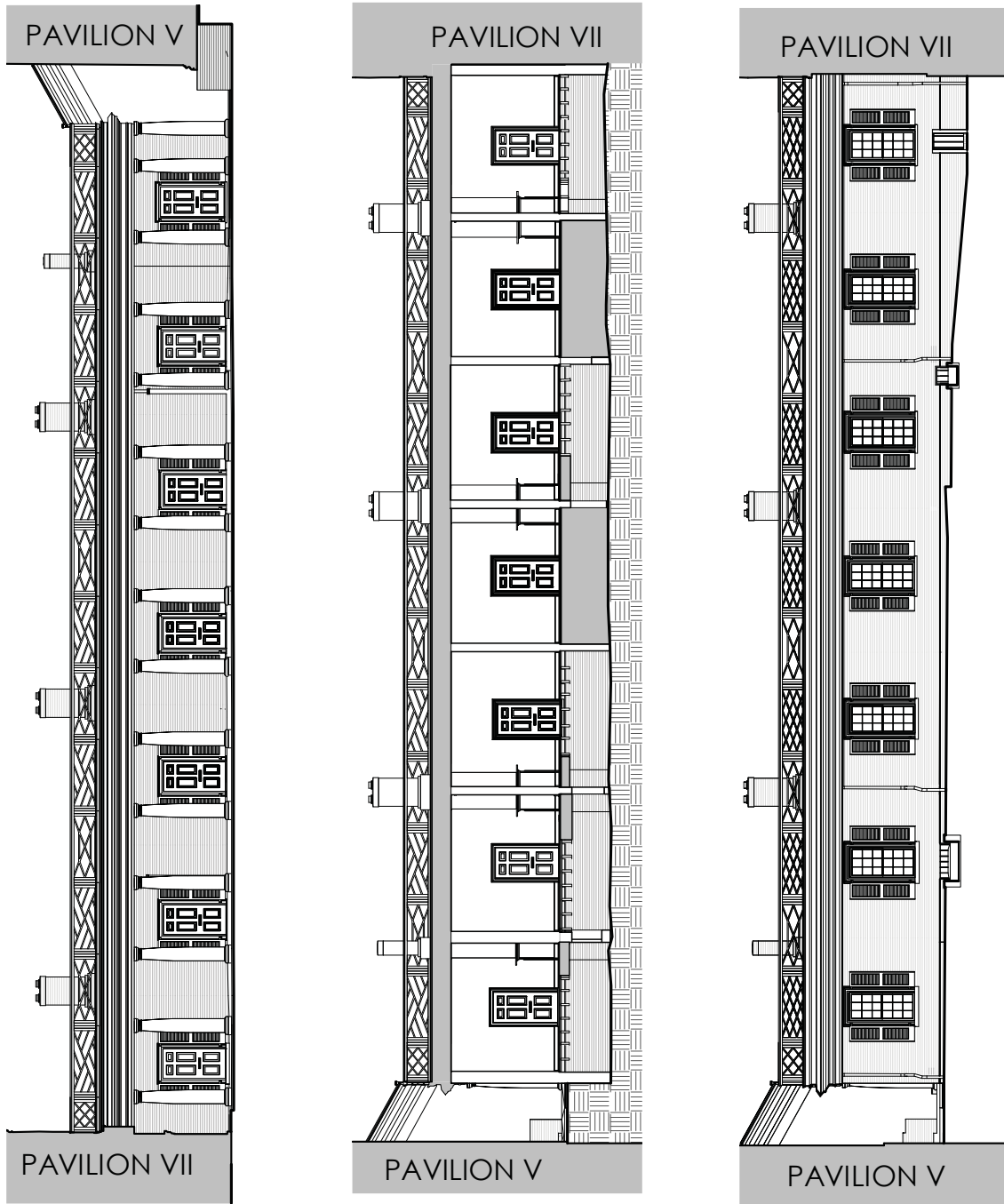


Figure 142. Elevations and section of 21-33 West Lawn.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 35-51 WEST LAWN

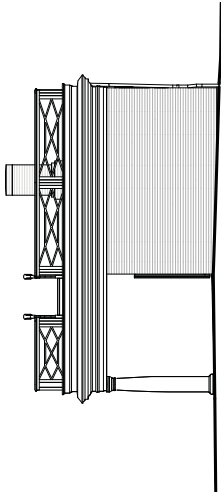
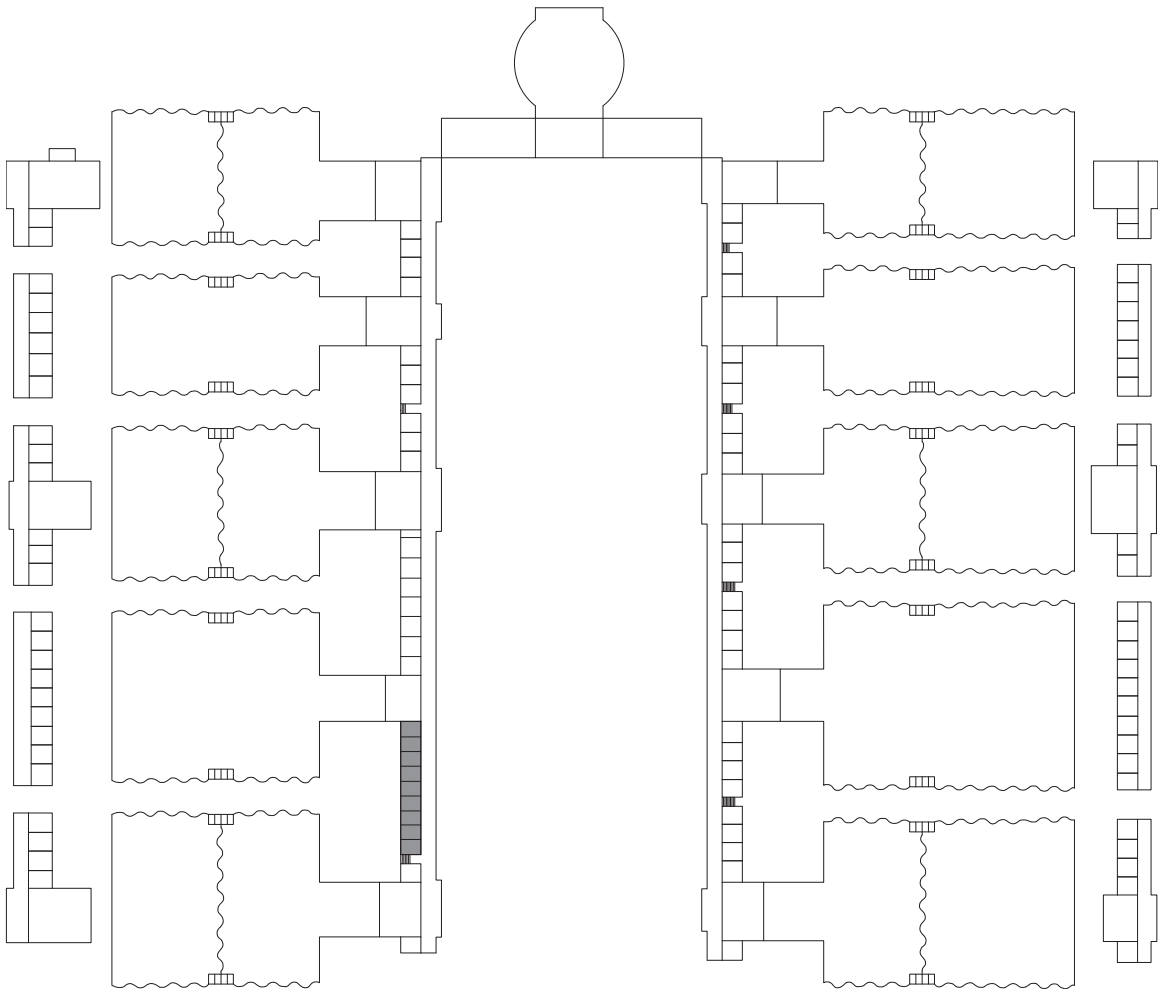


Figure 143. North elevation facing Pavilion V, 21-33 West Lawn.

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35-51 West Lawn

Proctor's Designation:	Dormitories 11 to 26 West; Dormitories 12 to 26, West
Date Begun:	June, 1818
Date Complete:	October, 1819
Brick Mason:	Matthew Brown
Carpenter:	John Perry



35-51 West Lawn is the row of nine rooms south of Pavilion VII. They are the first set of rooms to be laid out on Grounds. The masonry for 35-51 was executed by Matthew Brown, who completed this work by September of 1818 and was paid for it in April of 1821, though John Perry later claimed credit for it.³⁹⁷ Like 23-33 to the north and unlike the remainder of the ear-

397. Perry to University of Virginia Board of Visitors, March 27, 1819; "Proctor's Journal, 1819-1828," 65.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 35-51 WEST LAWN

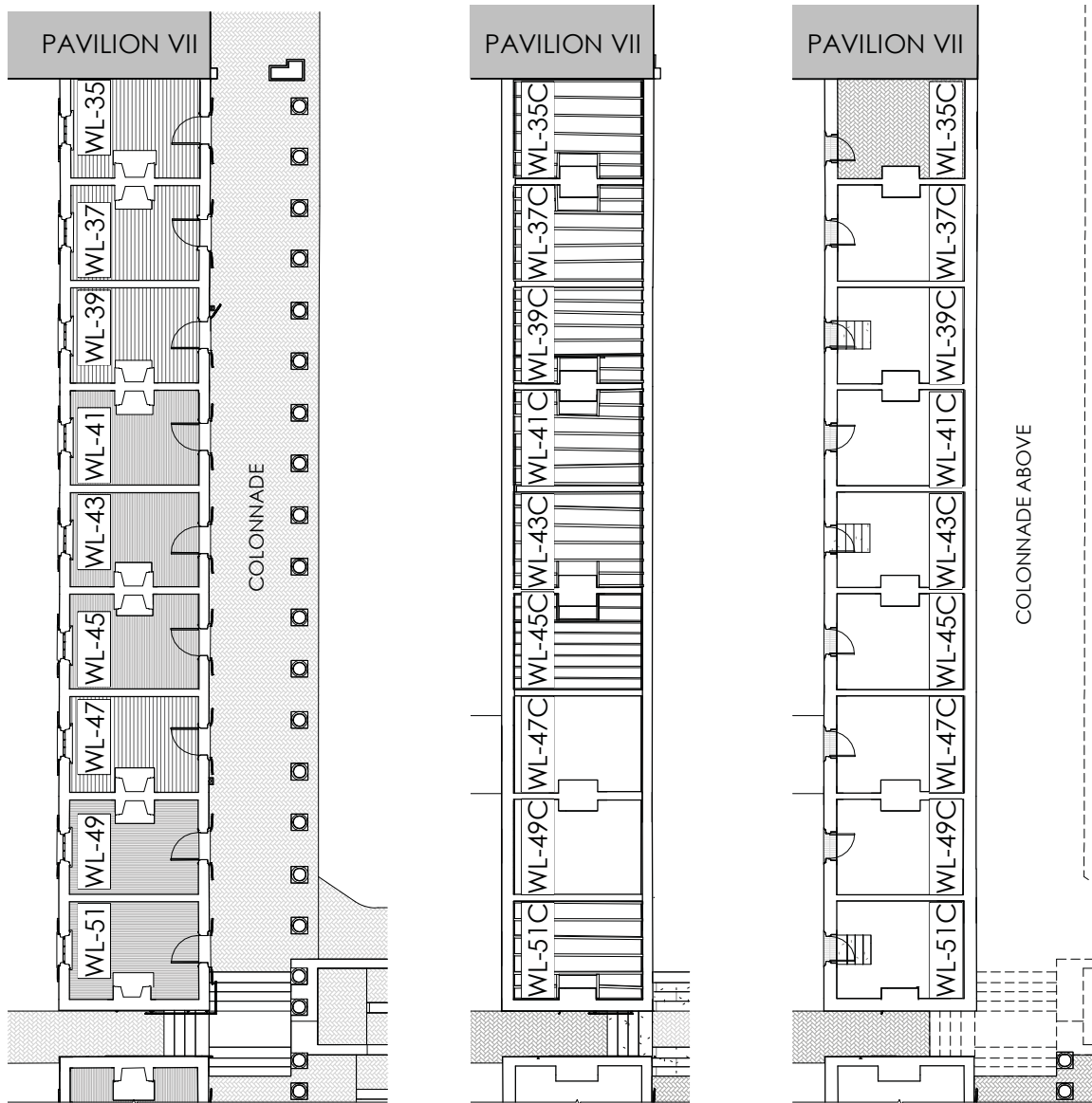


Figure 144. Ground floor plan, cellar plan and cellar framing plan, 35-51 West Lawn. Note that joists not shown in framing plan are inaccessible, not missing.

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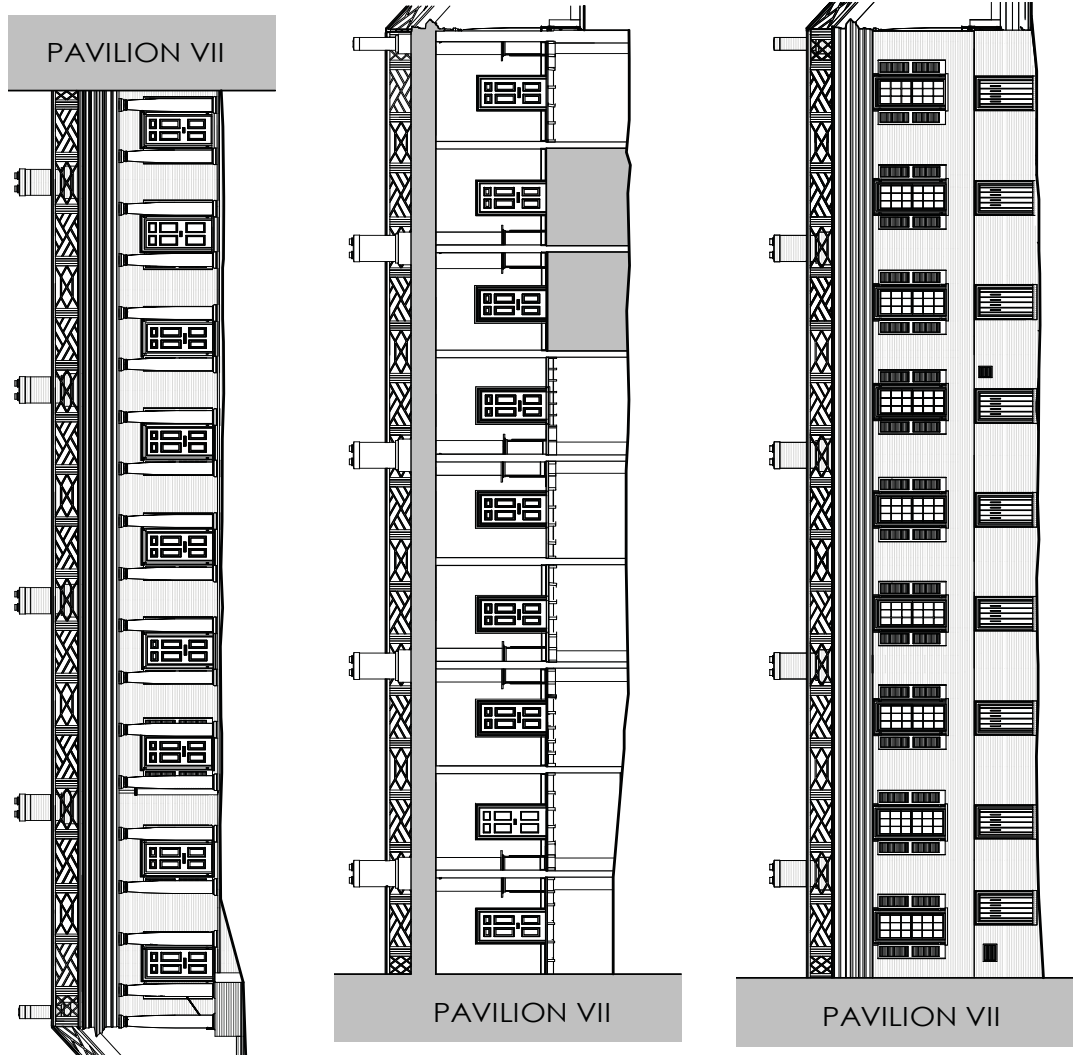


Figure 145. Front and rear elevations and longitudinal section, 35-51 West Lawn.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 35-51 WEST LAWN

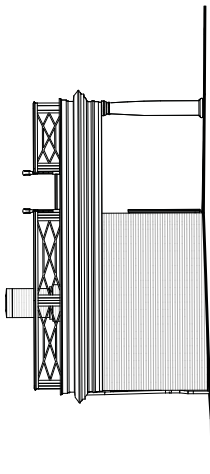


Figure 146. End elevation, 35-51 West Lawn, facing 53 West Lawn.

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ly dormitories, all of its walls are laid in 1:3 common bond. The carpentry was done by Perry, who was paid in August of 1821 and October of 1822.³⁹⁸ This set of rooms is smaller than the others on Grounds and reflects an early effort by Jefferson to balance economy and student comfort. Following their completion, the remainder of student rooms were built roughly three feet wider. Arthur Brockenbrough described the woodwork for these rooms and the ones north of Pavilion VII as “very nearly finished” on October 1, 1819.³⁹⁹

Unlike the remainder of the rooms on the West Lawn, these are on cellars. Jefferson had promised housing for some of his builders from outside Charlottesville in student rooms and cellars and these were likely occupied beginning in 1819 by the lower-status workers who came from Philadelphia with Richard Ware. Cellar walls and ceilings are whitewashed but none have any plaster. Early framing, all hewn and pit-sawn and running east-west survives under rooms 35 to 43 and room 51 but has been replaced with modern 2x10 dimensional lumber under room 45. The floor framing is not accessible under rooms 47 and 49, where the cellar spaces have been converted to women’s restrooms. Like the row of rooms to the north of Pavilion VII, its flat roof uses the guttered joist system. It was restored in 2010.

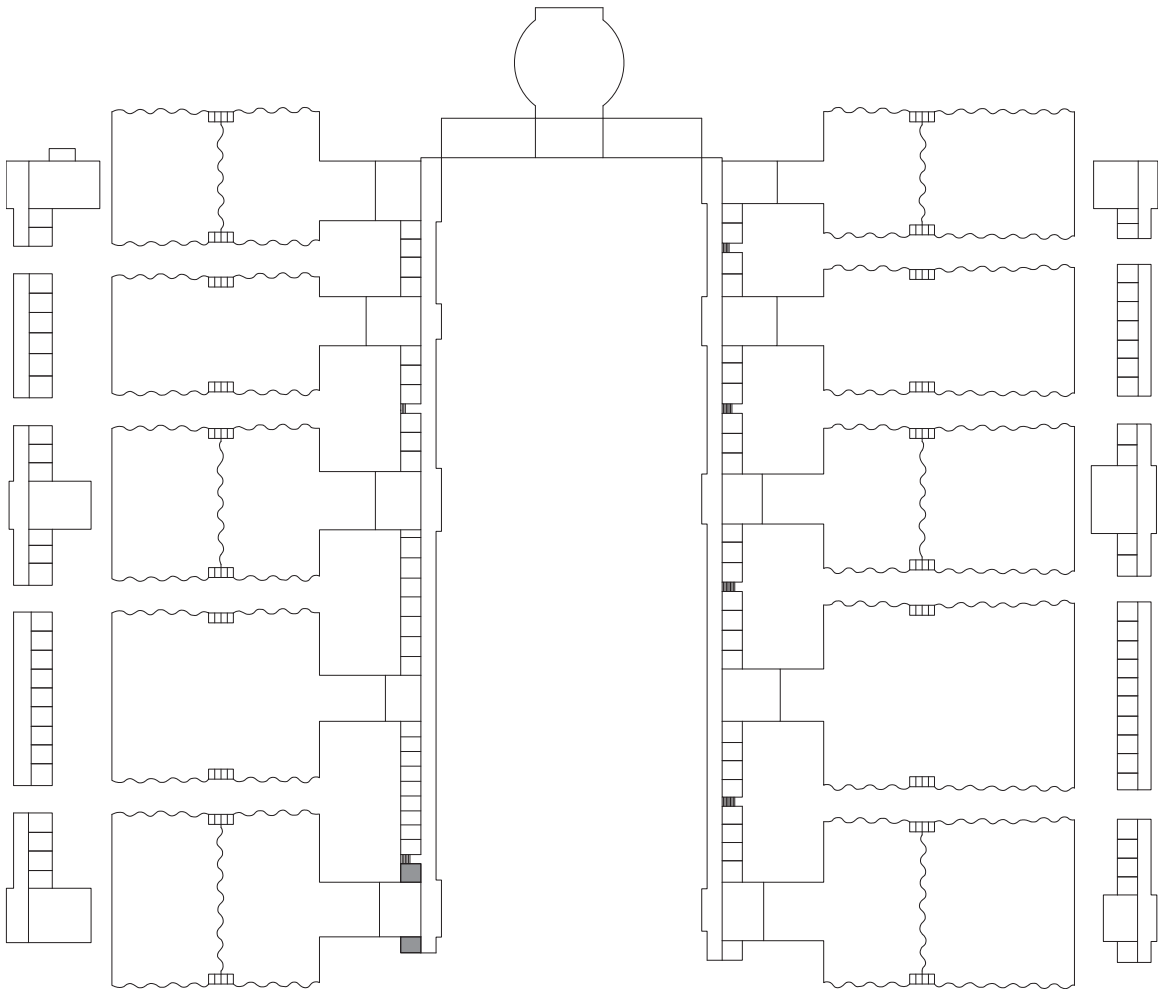
398. “Proctor’s Journal, 1819-1828,” 93, 164.

399. Brockenbrough, “Cost Estimates, October, 1819.”

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 53-55 WEST LAWN

53-55 West Lawn

Proctor's Designation:	Dormitories 27 + 28
Date Begun:	September, 1819
Date Complete:	Spring, 1822
Brick Mason:	Curtis Carter and William B. Phillips
Carpenter:	John Neilson



53-55 West Lawn is the pair of single rooms on either side of Pavilion IX. They were built alongside that pavilion and by the same builders. The masonry was executed by Curtis Carter and William Phillips, who had completed this work by October of 1819 and were paid for it in April of 1821.⁴⁰⁰ The carpentry was done by John Neilson, who was paid in November of 1822.⁴⁰¹ They do not seem to have been included in any of Arthur Brockenbrough's annual

400. Brockenbrough; "Proctor's Journal, 1819-1828," 168.

401. "Proctor's Journal, 1819-1828," 168.

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counts of completed rooms until October of 1822. Perhaps constrained by the southern end of the plateau on which the Lawn was laid out, they are just under 11 feet wide each in the clear. This makes them the second smallest rooms in the Academical Village, larger only than 35-51 West Lawn, to the north.

They are built on crawl spaces and their floors sit at their original level. Only the crawl under room 55 is accessible, from which this room's original tightly spaced framing and flooring is visible. The flooring is gauged and undercut, one of very few examples of this traditional technique of fitting flooring to joists that remains on Grounds. As at 9-19 West Lawn, the masonry under the door sill has been re-laid in the modern era, consistent with the installation and removal of ventilation grates. Their serrated lath roofs with metal gutters in the valleys are still in place. These were exposed in 2008 when the 1830s pitched roof was repaired.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 2-8 EAST LAWN

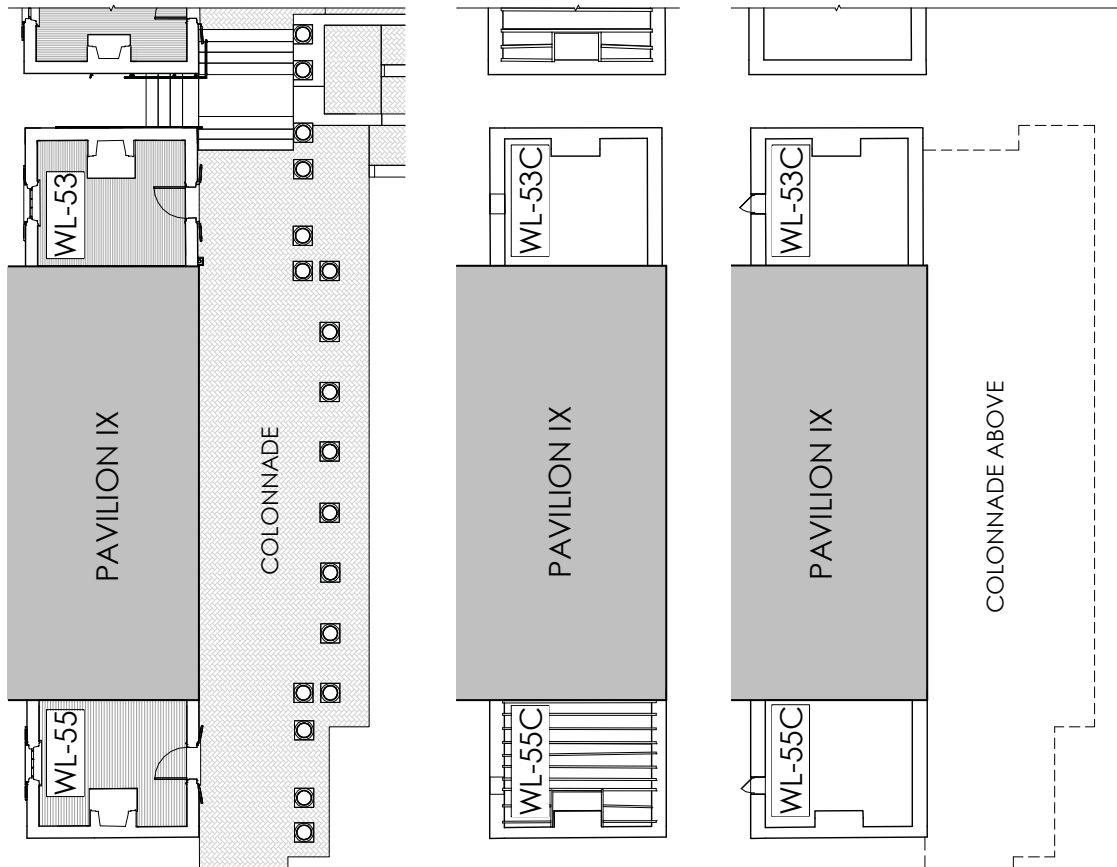


Figure 147. Plans, sections, elevations of 53-55 West Lawn.

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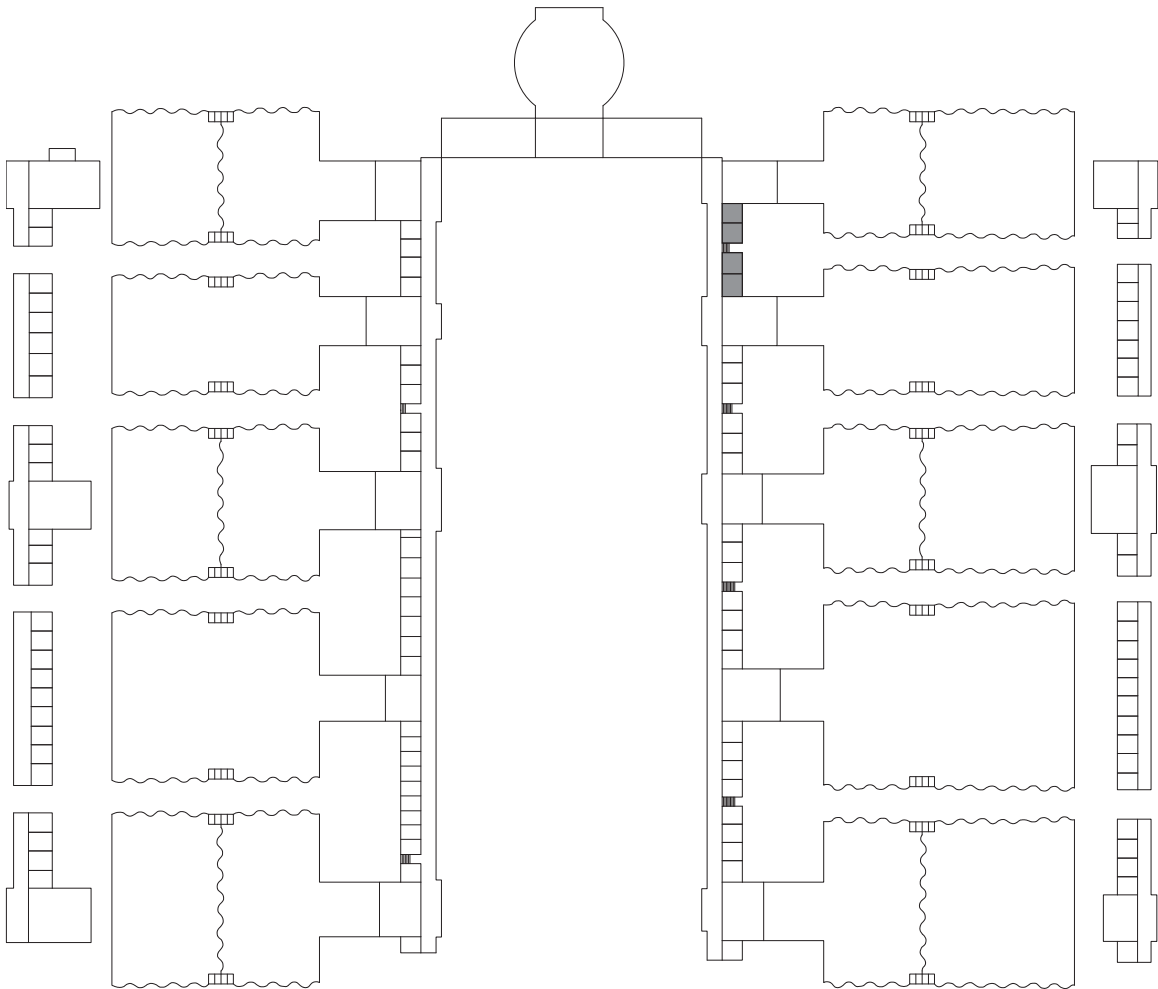


Figure 148. Section and elevations of 53-55 West Lawn.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 2-8 EAST LAWN

2-8 East Lawn

Proctor's Designation:	Dormitories 1 to 4, East
Date Begun:	Fall, 1819
Date Complete:	Fall, 1821
Brick Mason:	Richard Ware
Carpenter:	Richard Ware



2-8 East Lawn is the row of four rooms between Pavilion II and Pavilion IV. They were among the first set of dormitories to be assigned to Philadelphia Richard Ware but the second group that he and his large crew began. Ware was responsible for both masonry and carpentry. He was paid for the former in April of 1821 and the latter in November of 1822.⁴⁰² Ware arrived in Charlottesville in May of 1819, with his crew of about 20 men soon afterward. He began work on this group of rooms only after completing those to the south.

402. "Proctor's Journal, 1819-1828," 67, 164.

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Figure 149. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: East Lawn 4 cellar, showing concrete underpinning, repointing and new brick around inserted access hatch.

Rooms 2 and 4 sit above a low cellar; 6 and 8 are on crawls, alone among the East Lawn rooms. The cellar under room 4 was connected to that under room 2 in the modern era, when it was excavated and underpinned with poured concrete and seven courses of concrete block (figure 149). All four floors sit at their original levels and their original framing and flooring remains in place, with framing running north-south. The masonry under the door sills at 2 and 4 has been disturbed and repointed; that under the doors at 6 and 8 is intact with remnants of a red wash on it. The 1830s pitched roof remains in place here.

2 East Lawn Cellar

The cellar below 2 East Lawn is distinctive for a few reasons which, taken together, suggest that this space was, from a very early date, part of the service space for the adjoining Pavilion II.⁴⁰³ Whether as a quarter or storage space is unclear but if the latter, it was dark, poorly ventilated, and unfinished, with neither a coat of plaster or whitewash on its walls and ceilings.

This room is the only one in the row below East Lawn 2 through 8 that was originally a full cellar. Rooms 6 and 8 remain crawl spaces and the crawl under room 4 was only excavated

403. Nelson, "The Architecture of Democracy in a Landscape of Slavery," 114.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 2-8 EAST LAWN

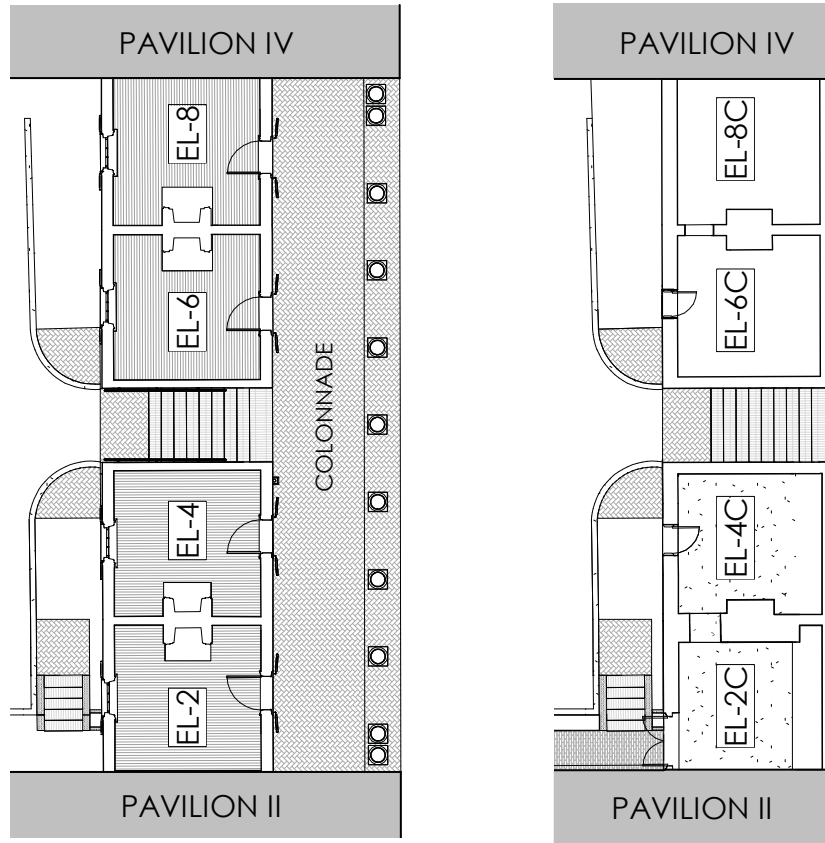


Figure 150. Ground floor and cellar floor plans for 2-8 East Lawn.

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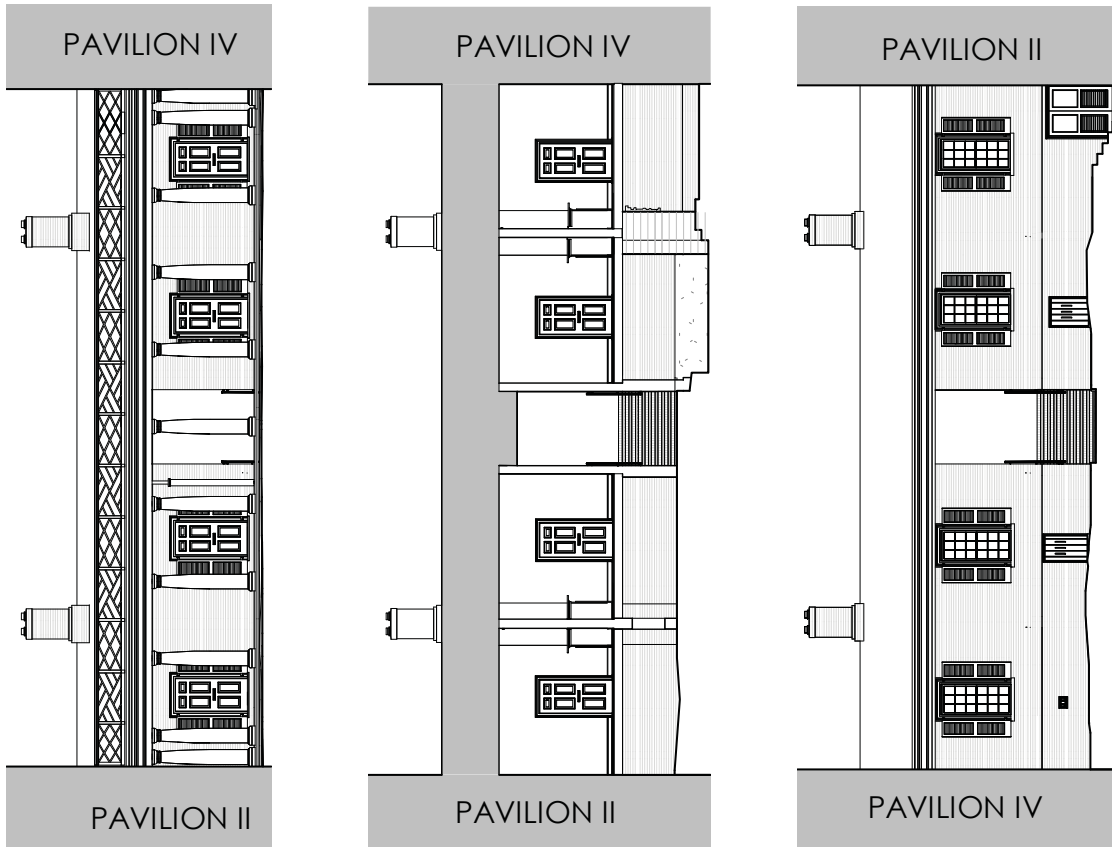


Figure 151. Section and front and rear elevations for 2-8 East Lawn.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 2-8 EAST LAWN

in the twentieth century, when it was underpinned with concrete. It is, additionally, the only cellar room in which the door is not aligned with the window above. Instead, the door is pushed to the north extremity of its east wall, at the corner with the cellar of Pavilion II (figure 152). This places it within the narrow area-way along the west wall of the pavilion cellar, which was clearly excavated originally to allow access to the yard, whose level is about two feet higher than that of the cellar floor. It also provided access to the cellar under room 2.



The door to this space was enlarged in the twentieth century but its earlier width is preserved in the concrete door sill. And though this wall has been re-pointed more than once, the continuous coursing in the water table indicates that access to the cellar was never directly below the window. We interpret

this evidence, together, to indicate that this room was intended from the beginning to be part of the service accommodations for Pavilion II, likely as storage but conceivably as a small, dark quarter. It is, therefore, additionally noteworthy in that this space was not simply appropriated as an expedient to enlarge a pavilion after construction—it was planned in this way.

Finally, a fragment of demolished wall extending from the west side of the chimney base in the south wall seems to be a remnant of a retaining wall that was removed with the installation of utility lines along the west wall. If so, it reduced the width of this room by about four feet.

8 East Lawn

8 East Lawn adjoins Pavilion IV on its north side and was for a time appended to it. In 1895,

Figure 152. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: 2 East Lawn cellar door, from area-way adjoining cellar at Pavilion II. Note that this area-way configuration must be early to accommodate the door from cellar of Pavilion II here, whose sill would otherwise be below grade.

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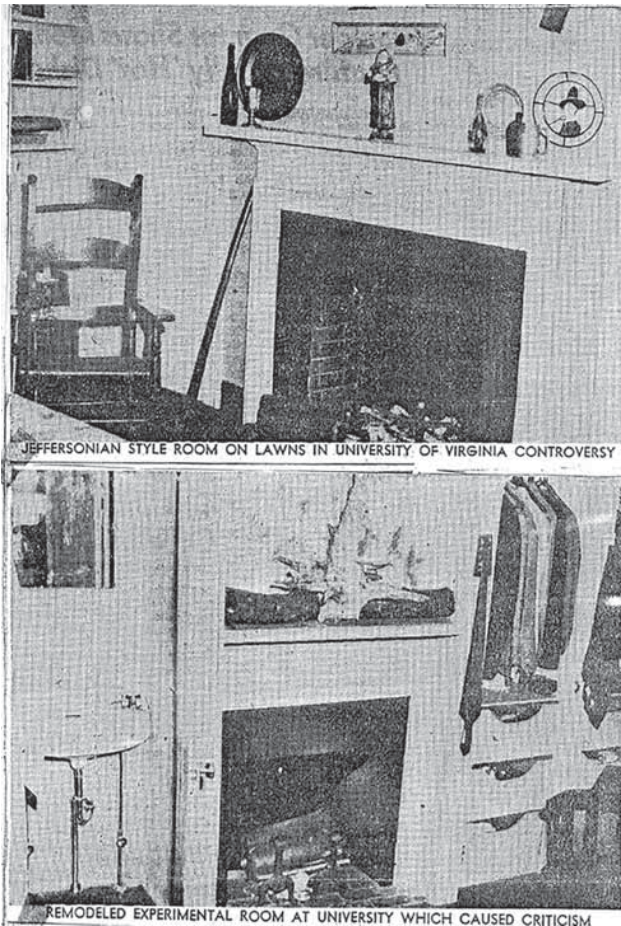


Figure 153. Images from 1955 Richmond News Leader article on proposed closet enlargement.

a small sink, and were fitted with a series of four narrow, modern doors. They crowded the historic mantel surrounds by abutting the edge of the backband, requiring the mantel shelf to be trimmed back on both sides.⁴⁰⁴

Reports of this experimental installation caused an outcry. A photograph of it ran in the *Richmond News Leader* in November of 1955, accompanied by a highly critical letter signed by three faculty members: Aubrey Bowles, Richard Crampton, and Francis Moravitz. The letter described “the proposed mediocrity” as “a bastardization of architectural materials and forms which has destroyed the delicate balance between human scale and classical proportion that distinguishes our university from any other in the world.”⁴⁰⁵ Some students also doubted the wisdom of the exercise, suggesting more concisely, and more dismissively, that the new ar-

404. “UVA Experiment: ‘Room’ Photograph,” *Richmond News Leader*, November 30, 1955.

405. Bowles, Crampton, and Moravitz, “Remodeling Experiment Seen ‘Defiling’ U. of Va.”

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 2-8 EAST LAWN

rangement looked like “a modern hotel room.”⁴⁰⁶ And it was a student who provided the photograph that accompanied the article, which contrasted it with a view of a “Jeffersonian Style Room” with its original closet and mantel still in place (figure 153).

Subsequent to the appearance of the article, plans for room improvements evolved under the direction of Frederick Nichols, then an associate professor in the School of Architecture and an ardent advocate for the restoration of the Rotunda.⁴⁰⁷ A 1958 drawing by Nichols shows the existing lawn rooms, all with their early closets in place except for two: 8 East Lawn, with its new prototype closets; and 50 East Lawn, whose closets and chimney had been removed when the room was modified to become part of Professor John Minor’s study (figure 154). Nichols’ new closet solution was to remove the old ones altogether and to replace them with handsome walnut wardrobes, to be fabricated by the Clore furniture company.

In 1955, both the mantels and the associated closets were understood to be Jefferson-era fixtures, as revealed in the *News Leader* article. But in a 1976 account of his work restoring the Academical Village, Nichols expressed his feeling that both represented later alterations.⁴⁰⁸ It is likely that some of the early mantels had indeed been replaced, perhaps because of excessive wear or other damage—the handful of student room mantels that survive are deeply and abundantly inscribed by generations of graffiti. But many remained *in situ* and at least one member of the Facilities Management staff recognized their age and value.⁴⁰⁹ Objecting to their demolition, he preserved two of the original mantels by removing them to campus storage, where they remain (figure 101).

406. “UVA Experiment: ‘Room’ Photograph.”

407. Board of Visitors, “Public Minutes,” February 12, 1955.

408. Nichols, “Restoring Jefferson’s University,” 332–33.

409. Loth, *Reminiscences*.

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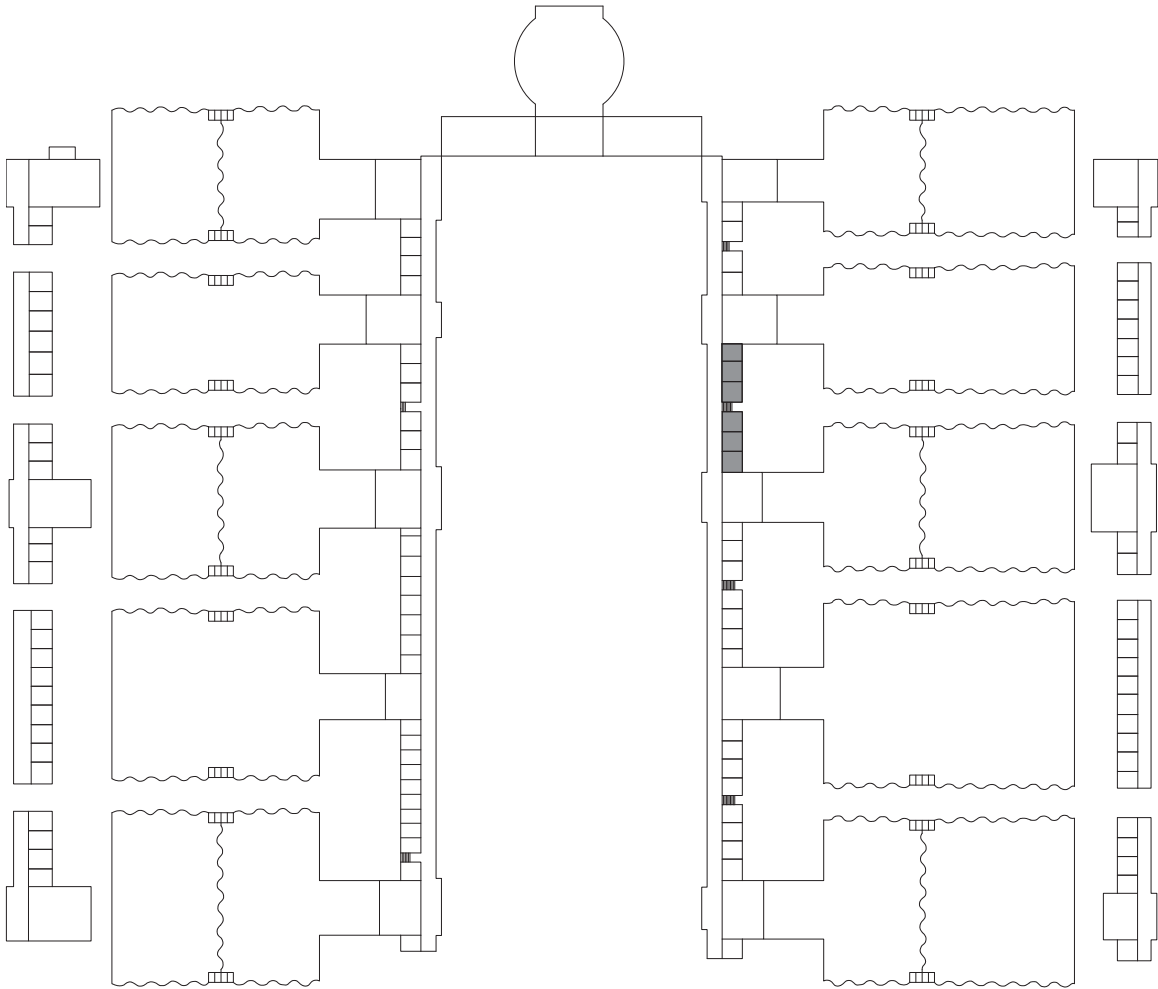


Figure 154. 1958 floor plans titled "Restoration of East Lawn Rooms" made by Frederick Doveton Nichols to illustrate then-existing conditions in East Lawn dormitories, including closets. Sheet 2, below, includes drawing of alterations for typical rooms, to include removal of closets and replacement with fixtures by the Clore furniture company. Courtesy of University of Virginia Facilities Management.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 10-20 EAST LAWN

10-20 East Lawn

Proctor's Designation:	Dormitories 5 to 13, East
Date Begun:	Fall, 1819
Date Complete:	October, 1820
Brick Mason:	Curtis Carter
Carpenter:	Richard Ware



10-20 East Lawn is the row of six rooms between Pavilion IV and Pavilion VI. They were among the first set of dormitories to be completed by Philadelphian Richard Ware. The masonry was executed by Curtis Carter, who was assigned the work during the confusing period during which Ware was imprisoned and his prospects for involvement in the construction of the university seemed bleak. Though the masonry was complete by December of 1819, Carter

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was only paid in July of 1821.⁴¹⁰ Ware was responsible for carpentry and he was paid for this work in November of 1822.⁴¹¹ This row, with the three to the south of Pavilion VI, seem to have been included in Thomas Jefferson's report that there were 31 rooms "on hand" in October of 1820.⁴¹²

These rooms all sit on cellars, with floors at their original level. Floor framing survives well; original hewn-and-pit-sawn joists are in place under each room and hearth framing is tenoned and wedged. Joists run north-south under each room except under 10, where they run east-west. As at the rooms to the north, the 1830s pitched roof is in place, likely covering the earlier flat roof.

10 East Lawn and Cellar

The room on the other side of Pavilion IV from room 8 is more important for the use of its cellar than the room itself. Like many of the spaces under rooms on the East Lawn, the walls and ceiling were whitewashed in the nineteenth century—in this case, many times. Additionally, 38" from the northeast corner of the room is a vertical seam in the north wall masonry that separates it from the cellar of Pavilion IV. To the east of the seam are modern, machine-made bricks set in Portland cement mortar, indicating that this section of wall was installed sometime in the twentieth century, filling an earlier opening. When it was cut through is unclear, as there are no records in the Proctor's papers or the minutes of the Board of Visitors permitting such an alteration. One tenant of Pavilion IV, however, was George Blaetterman—one of the most disagreeable figures of the early history of the university—who sometimes made improvements to his residence without permission. In 1835, he was reprimanded for making changes to the exterior of Pavilion IV and then repainting it.⁴¹³ Two years later, he petitioned the Board of Visitors for reimbursement for some further unauthorized changes he had made to the interior of his pavilion.⁴¹⁴ Following his dismissal from the university for domestic violence in 1840, he was still seeking compensation for unspecified work on the house.⁴¹⁵

In 1830, Blaetterman was head of a large household, with a wife and three young boys and 18 enslaved people. These included ten adult men and eight children, three of them girls.⁴¹⁶

410. Grizzard, "Documentary History of Construction at UVA," chap. 4; "Proctor's Journal, 1819-1828," 86.

411. "Proctor's Journal, 1819-1828," 172.

412. Jefferson, "Report to Literary Fund."

413. "Journal of the Chairman of the Faculty for Session 11," 1835, Special Collections, University of Virginia.

414. Board of Visitors, "Public Minutes" (August 17, 1837).

415. Board of Visitors, "Public Minutes" (September 14, 1840); Board of Visitors, "Public Minutes" (July 1, 1841). For more on Blaetterman and his dismissal, see Brent Tarter, "George Blaettermann (1782–1850)," *Encyclopedia Virginia*, December 22, 2021, <https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/blaettermann-george-1782-1850/>.

416. *Virginia. 1830 United States Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charlottesville* (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1830).

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 10-20 EAST LAWN

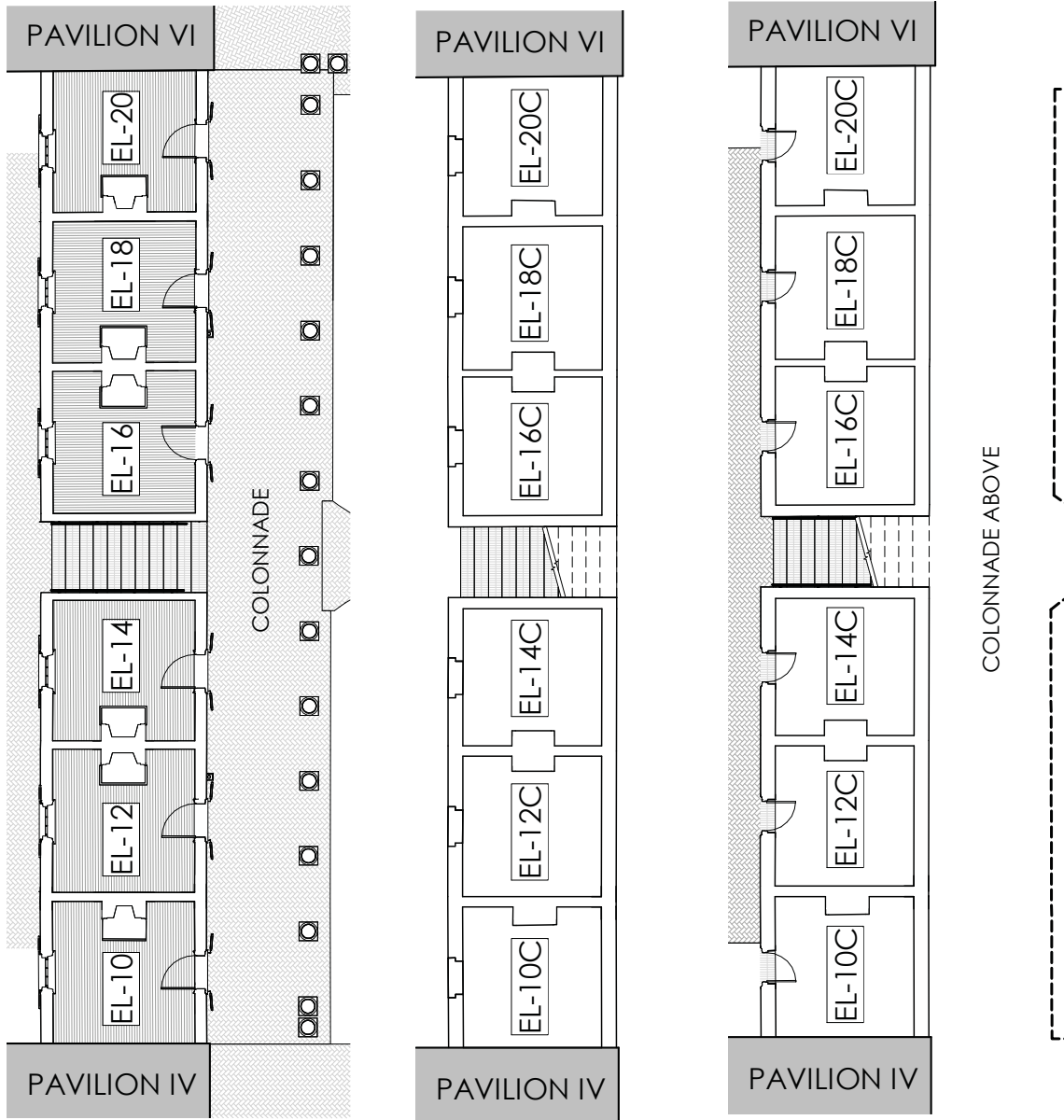


Figure 155. Ground floor and cellar plans for 10-20 East Lawn.

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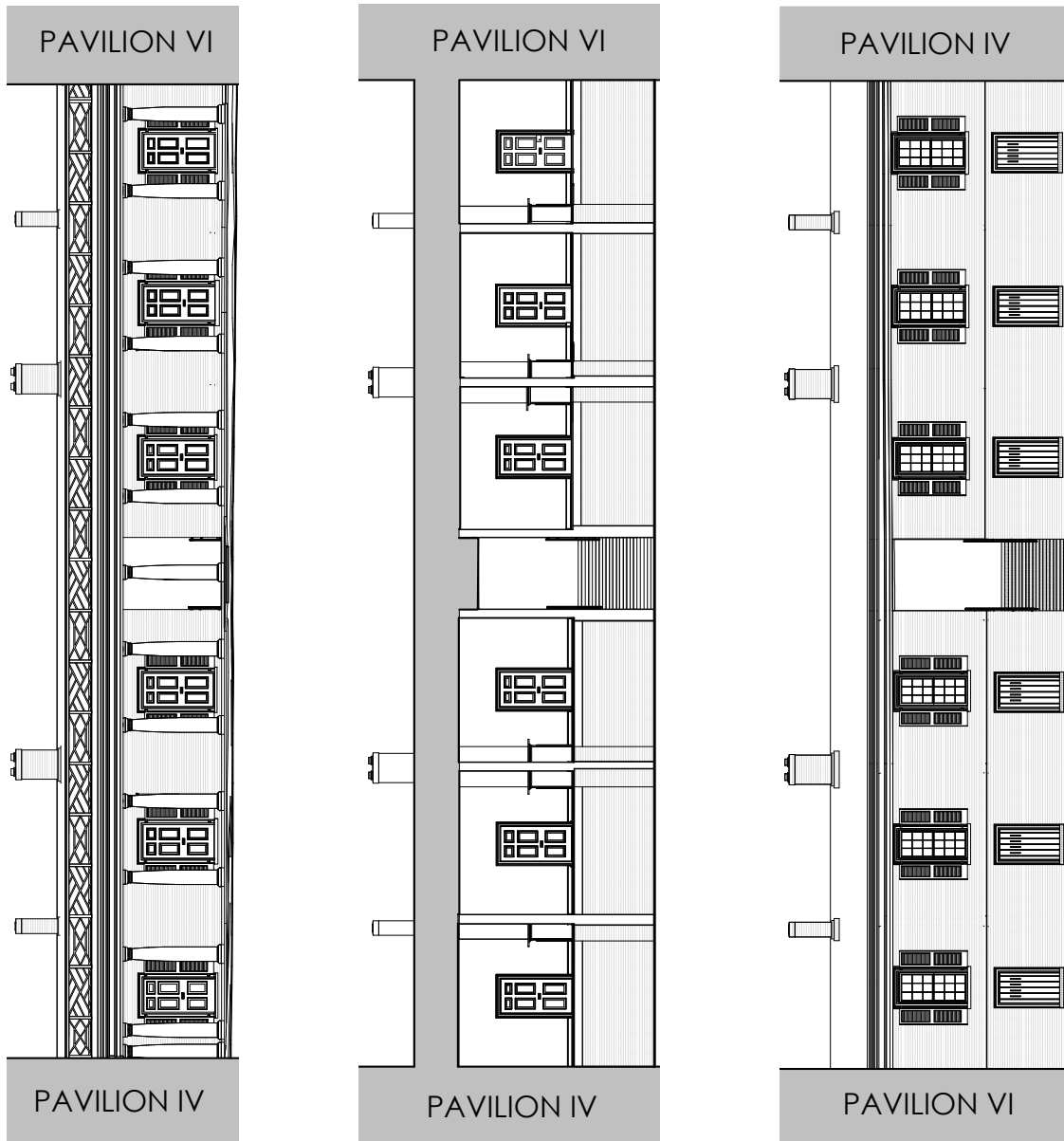


Figure 156. Front and rear elevations and longitudinal section for 10-20 East Lawn.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 10-20 EAST LAWN

Though some of them lived on nearby Limestone Farm, many people crowded into Pavilion IV in that year, a circumstance that led to some friction with students as daily life and work of the house spilled out into the yard and adjoining spaces.⁴¹⁷ Two students, residents of 10 East Lawn, complained to Willis Woodley of “very great nuisances created by the use of their cellar by Doct. B’s servants, + of the yard, embracing the cellar in which a cow was frequently penned + fed.” Woodley reported that he believed that the students were indeed entitled to the use of the cellar but Blaetterman resisted, claiming his own rights to the room.⁴¹⁸

How the dispute was resolved is unknown but it is clear that both the yard and the cellar were being used in some manner to support the household in Pavilion IV in 1839. The patch in the brickwork suggests further that Blaetterman had, perhaps several years earlier, connected this room to the cellar of his pavilion. It seems likely, given the size of his enslaved workforce and given that the cellar, the domain of that workforce, has never been enlarged, that this room was used as a quarter, rather than for storage or some other ancillary purpose. Louis Nelson observes that it had the key benefit of providing Blaetterman’s enslaved cook, Lucy Cottrell, more direct access from her kitchen to the yard to the west of the pavilion cellar.⁴¹⁹ In any case, Blaetterman enlarged his residence by co-opting nearby dormitory cellars without leaving a trace in the documentary record.

The cellar under 10 East Lawn has always been accessible by means of a door in the rear yard. As at 22 East Lawn and 36 East Lawn, two other documented quarters in dormitory cellars, the only way for light and air to enter this space was by leaving the door open. Unlike the room under 22 East Lawn, Blaetterman did not provide a source of heat for this space, nor did he finish the interior with anything more than a coat of whitewash.

20 East Lawn and Cellar

20 East Lawn was vacant in 1833, when Pavilion VI, adjoining it to the south, was occupied by Gessner Harrison, professor of Ancient Languages. The records of the Board of Visitors and the Proctor’s Papers record no alterations requested to this room by Professor Harrison during his tenure. In 1839, the only rooms on the East Lawn for which faculty were charged rent were 36, 50, and 52.⁴²⁰ Professor Harrison did, however, request improved service accommodations from the Board of Visitors, including the construction of an “office” in his yard, likely either a

417. Louis P. Nelson and Maurie D. McInnis, “Landscape of Slavery,” in *Educated in Tyranny: Slavery at Thomas Jefferson’s University*, ed. Maurie D. McInnis and Louis P. Nelson (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2019), 74.

418. Woodley to Davis, September 18, 1839.

419. Nelson, “The Architecture of Democracy in a Landscape of Slavery,” 114–16.

420. “Dormitories Occupied by Professors” (1839), Proctor’s Papers, Box 12, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library.

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kitchen or a purpose-built quarter, in 1831.⁴²¹

In 1840, William Rogers, professor of natural philosophy and Harrison's replacement in Pavilion VI, received permission to erect a fence on one side of his pavilion at his own expense. This was to be "contiguous to his pavilion and parallel to the north wall of the same, embracing a breadth of ground equal to the length of the adjacent dormitory."⁴²² This partition, similar to others erected behind the dormitories, served to enclose a portion of the yard to the north of Pavilion VI, extending Professor Rogers' domestic yard slightly but more important, connecting it to the cellar under 20 East Lawn. The requirement that the wall extend no further than the width of one dormitory suggests that Rogers had, like Professor Blaetterman, begun using this room without it appearing in the university records. This enclosed area was enlarged in 1867 by Professor George Holmes. The new fence ran from the same point behind the student rooms but from there, turned to the northeast to connect to the northwest corner of Professor Harrison's 1831 service building.⁴²³

The creation of the fence was in response to the movement of people between the 20 East Lawn cellar and the work yard of Pavilion VI—movement that was meant to be separated from the activities of students. Reinforcing the interpretation that this room was occupied by enslaved servants during Professor Rogers's tenure is the presence of plaster staining on the underside of original joists under 20 East Lawn. Most of this ceiling is currently covered by modern plaster but in the northeast, southeast, and southwest corners, portions of this plaster are missing, exposing the stains of long-removed lime plaster on wood lath. The walls of this room are white-washed and there is at least one generation of whitewash on the sides of the joists, seemingly pre-dating the installation of plaster.

It is conceivable that this room was only used for storage but it is likely that it was, like room 22 nearby, finished out to be a living quarter. The additional expense of installing a plaster ceiling was to some purpose. Like the plank wall that Professor Rogers erected, it reinforced the boundary between the activities of enslaved workers from those of students.

421. Waite et al., "Pavilion VI," 34.

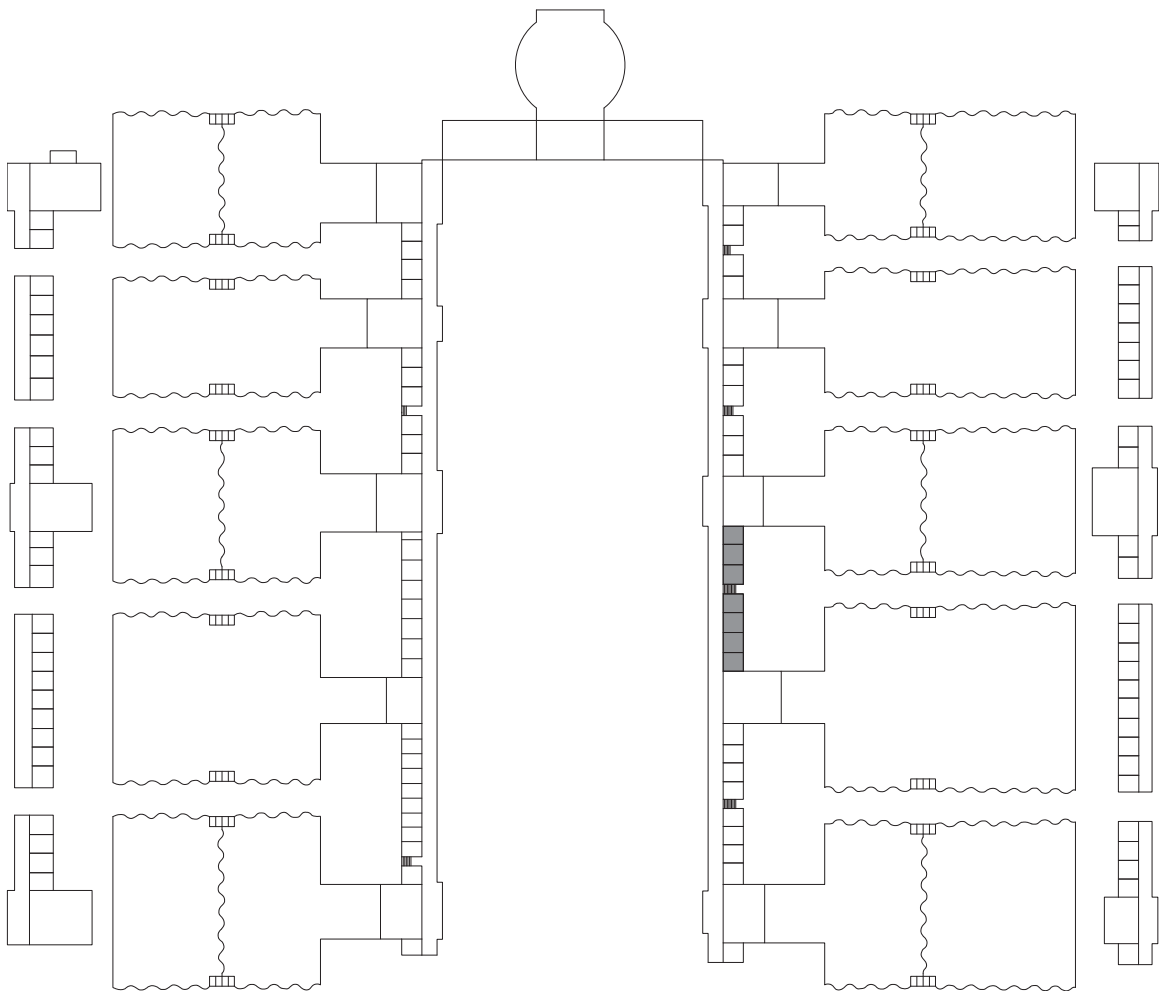
422. Board of Visitors, "Public Minutes" (July 4, 1840).

423. Rivanna Archaeological Services, LLC, "Archaeological Investigations Associated with the Structure 1 Outbuilding, Pavilion VI Garden, University of Virginia," Archaeological Report (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia, May 2016), 8, 22–23.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 22-34 EAST LAWN

22-34 East Lawn

Proctor's Designation:	Dormitories 5 to 13 East; Dormitories 14 to 21, East
Date Begun:	Fall, 1819 (22-26); Fall, 1820 (28-34)
Date Complete:	October, 1820 (22-26); Fall, 1821 (28-34)
Brick Mason:	Curtis Carter (22-26); Perry + Thorn (28-34)
Carpenter:	Richard Ware (22-26); James Dinsmore (28-34)



22-34 East Lawn is the row of seven rooms between Pavilion VI and Pavilion VIII. The three at 22-26 were among the first set of dormitories to be completed by Philadelphian Richard Ware and part of his contract for rooms from 10 to 26. Their masonry was executed by Curtis Carter,

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who was assigned the work in the confusing period during which Ware was imprisoned and his prospects for involvement in the construction of the university seemed bleak. Though the masonry was complete by December of 1819, Carter was only paid in July of 1821.⁴²⁴ Ware was responsible for carpentry and he was paid for this work in November of 1822.⁴²⁵ These rooms, with the three to the south of Pavilion VI, seem to have been included in Thomas Jefferson's report that there were 31 rooms "on hand" in October of 1820.⁴²⁶

28 to 34 were part of a separate contract. Their masonry was executed by John Perry and Abiah Thorn, who accompanied Richard Ware from Philadelphia and soon distinguished himself as a highly capable brick-maker and mason, enough to be eventually entrusted with the construction of the Rotunda. These rooms were not among the 31 described as complete by Jefferson in the fall of 1820 but were underway by then. Perry and Thorn were paid for their work in April of 1821.⁴²⁷ James Dinsmore was paid for carpentry in October of 1822 but the rooms were included in Brockenbrough's report in November of 1821 that specified that 51 rooms were plastered and finished.⁴²⁸

These rooms all sit on cellars, with floors at their original level. Where visible, the original floor framing survives. Joists run north-south at room 24 and east-west at room 22 and 32 to 34. The framing is not visible at the cellars under rooms 26 to 30, which have been converted to modern restrooms. The 1830s pitched roof is in place, above the original serrated-lath flat roof with its tin-lined gutters.

At 28 East Lawn is a plaque commemorating Edmund Minor Wilson, a student at the university in the late 1910s. Facing it is a plaque at 26 East Lawn that marks the room of Captain Edward Carrington Venable Boykin, who lived here from 1939 to 40. Boykin was an air force pilot during World War II and was killed in action over France on New Year's Eve, 1943.

22 East Lawn and Cellar

22 East Lawn was occupied as a dormitory until 1860, when Lewis Coleman, faculty resident of Pavilion VI to the north, received permission to take it "for the use of his family." Around the same time, he built an addition to the pavilion to the east.⁴²⁹ His successor tenant in 1862 was George Holmes, Professor of History, who continued to use room 22 through the end of the nineteenth century. But unlike some other appended student rooms, such as East Lawn 36,

424. Grizzard, "Documentary History of Construction at UVA," chap. 4; "Proctor's Journal, 1819-1828," 86.

425. "Proctor's Journal, 1819-1828," 172.

426. Jefferson, "Report to Literary Fund."

427. "Proctor's Journal, 1819-1828," 66.

428. Brockenbrough to Board of Visitors, November 26, 1821.

429. Waite et al., "Pavilion VI," 36.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 22-34 EAST LAWN

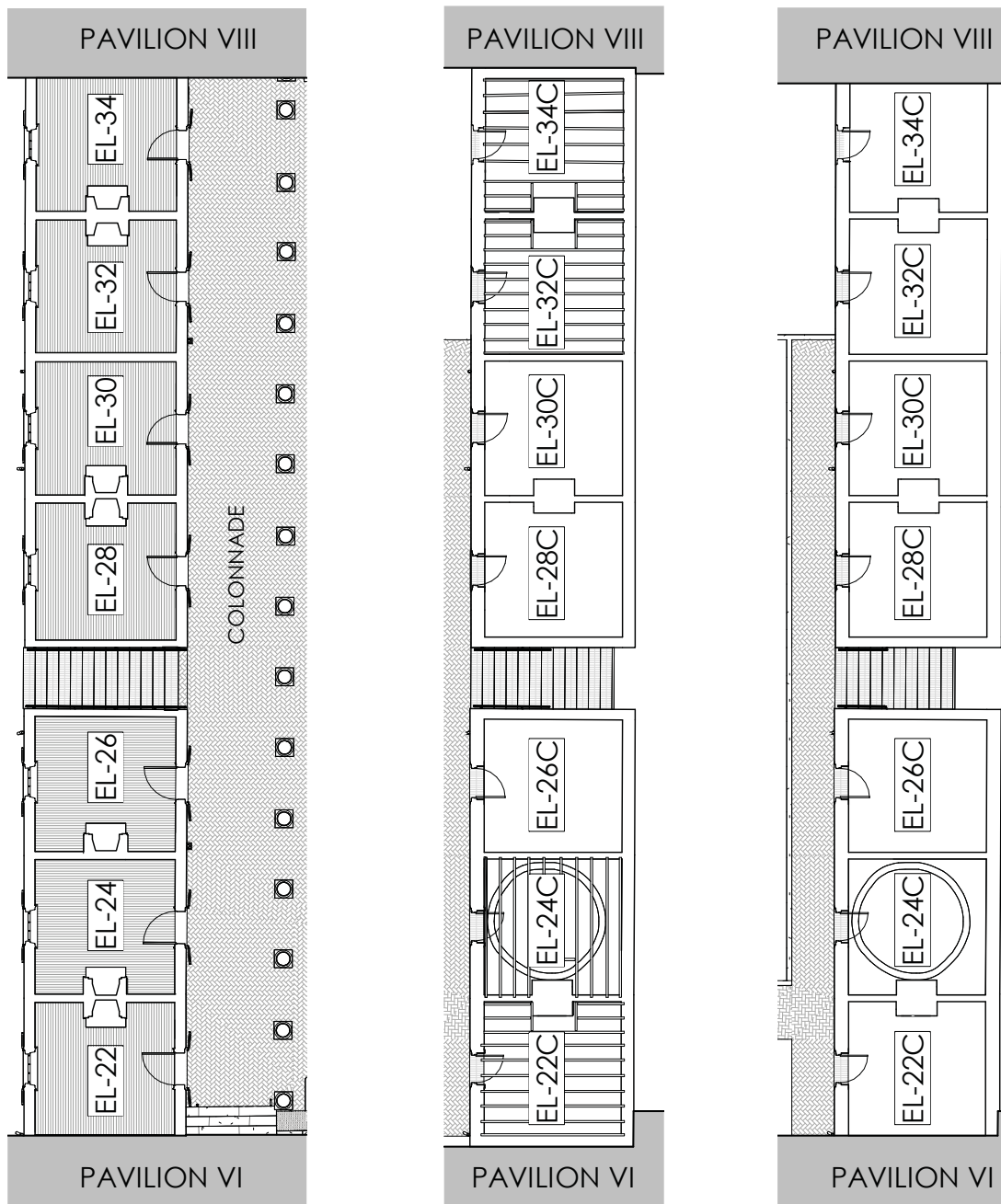


Figure 157. Ground floor plan, cellar plan, and cellar framing plan for 22-34 East Lawn.

DORMITORIES

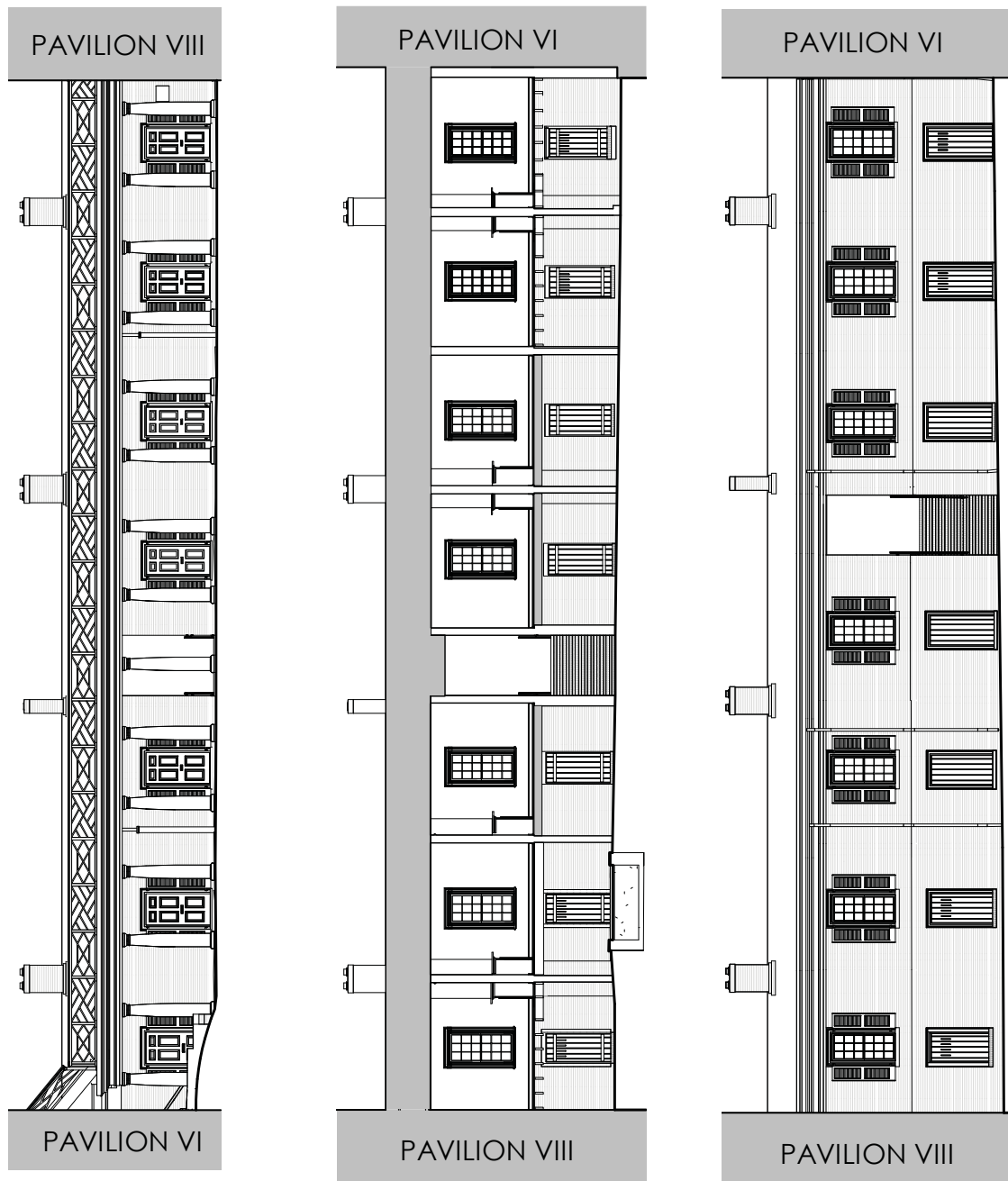


Figure 158. Front and rear elevations and longitudinal section for 22-34 East Lawn. No framing data available for cellar rooms under 26, 28, and 30.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 22-34 EAST LAWN

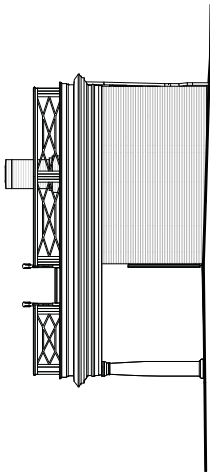


Figure 159. End elevation for 22-34 East Lawn [in progress].

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Figure 160. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: East Lawn 22 cellar, showing limewashed walls and ceiling joists and retrofitted fireplace.

it was never connected with an internal opening to the pavilion. It seems to have reverted to student use by the end of the nineteenth century, probably at the time when William Perkinson succeeded Holmes in Pavilion VI.⁴³⁰

The cellar below 22 contains clear physical evidence for occupation by an enslaved person, in the form of a retrofitted fireplace, the only cellar room on grounds to be improved in this way. There is a firebox inserted into the stack below room 46 East Lawn but this was not to heat the cellar room; instead, it served the room itself after its floor was lowered. The timing of this work is unclear but the likelihood is around the time that Professor Coleman gained access to room 22 in 1860, when he was making improvements across the site to enlarge both his family's space and that of his enslaved staff.⁴³¹

Whenever it happened, this room is distinguished from the others in East Lawn cellars that were improved for enslaved workers through the provision of a heat source. For a time, it was also finished with a floor, seemingly of brick. A hard horizontal edge in the limewash on the perimeter walls stops a few inches above the present clay floor, suggesting the presence of a lost

430. Waite et al., 38.

431. Ford, Wenger, and Baker, "University of Virginia East Lawn 22 Basement Room Study."

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 22-34 EAST LAWN

surface above the clay. This surface was about a foot higher than the sill of the present door to this room, requiring the door to be substantially shorter than it is currently. The masonry around the door has been repointed but there are no closers in the bottom 5 courses on either jamb, consistent with the sill being originally set as much as 15" higher. Currently, the floor is cut away inside the door to accommodate its inward swing.

Remarkably, this room continued to be used, likely after emancipation. The large firebox originally created at the base of the stack was later reduced in size to dimensions suited to a coal grate. The university had contemplated converting fireplaces to coal as early as 1854 on the grounds of economy and in 1866, the Board of Visitors authorized the installation of coal grates in all student rooms.⁴³² Additionally, there are multiple layers of paint on the joists overhead, reflecting many years of occupation. Pasteboard and newspapers applied to the wall surfaces further support this room being used until the 1930s, though whether these 20th century improvements were for human occupation or some other purpose is less clear.



Figure 161. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: East Lawn 24 cellar, showing cistern remnants.

432. Ford, Wenger, and Baker, 10.

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24 East Lawn Cellar

24 East Lawn has always been a dormitory but the cellar below it preserves an unusual feature, installed in the 1820s: a cistern. Installed in 1829 by Proctor Arthur Brockenborough, without permission of the Board of Visitors, it was intended to support fire suppression on the East Lawn. Unlike a well, which uses specially shaped tapered bricks, its wide diameter allowed the walls to be laid using conventional brick modules and the interior was parged to hold water. It extended about 3 feet below the present grade and originally rose another 3 feet high, though this portion of the cistern has since been demolished.⁴³³

The ceiling of this room was finished with lath and plaster to protect the cistern from dirt and debris. Remnants of this lath remain in place on the underside of original floor joists. Stains from the plaster and a coat of whitewash survive at the top of the masonry walls, which are otherwise unfinished.

26-30 East Lawn Cellar

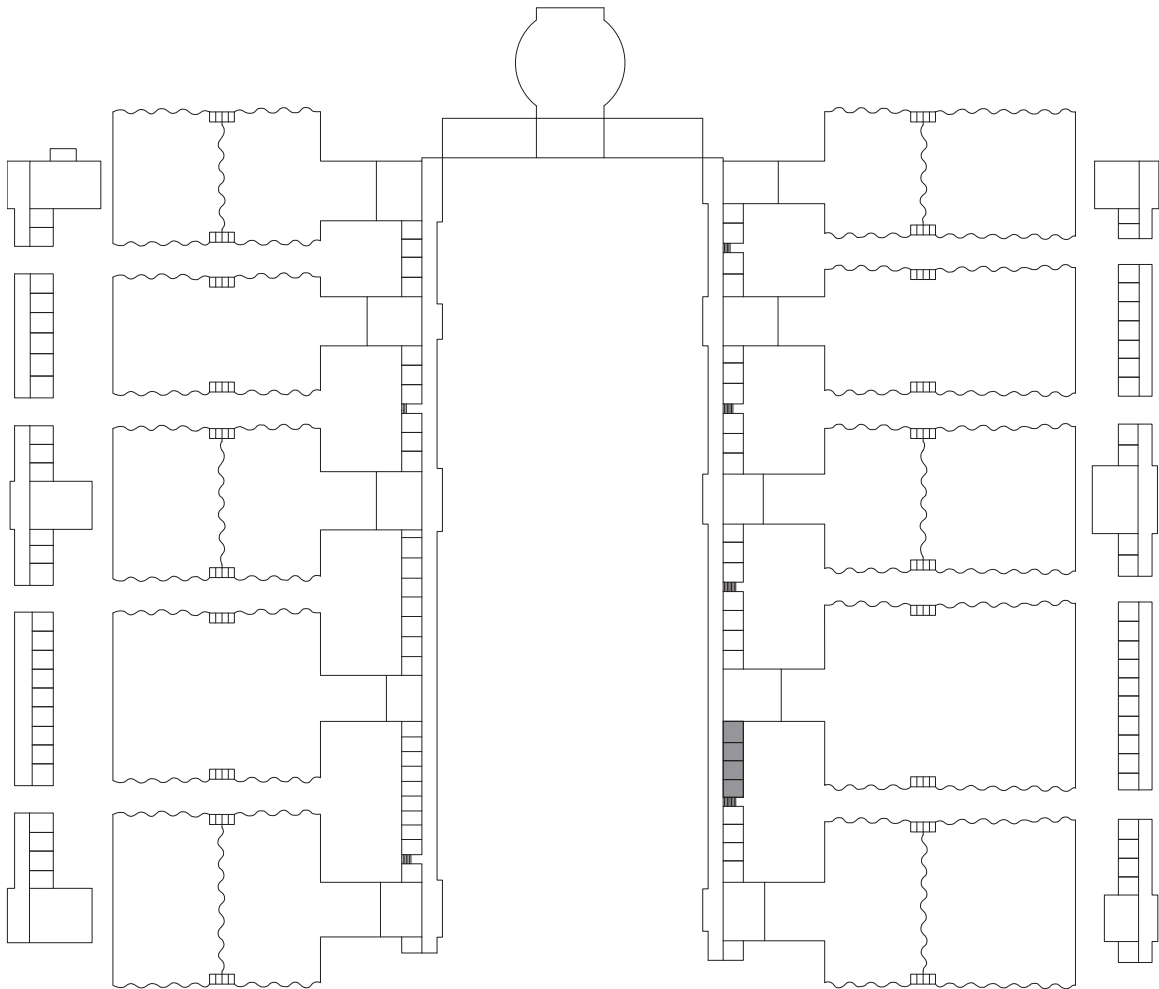
These three rooms have been converted to men's and women's restrooms. They have been refurbished in the modern era with tile floors and tile walls up to counter-level; there is a painted concrete floor under room 30. The ceiling and all brick surfaces have been covered with damp-proof wallboard and there are new partitions in place to divide toilet and shower stalls. All three doors have been replaced with modern replicas of board-and-batten doors mounted on powerful closers and secured with electronic locks.

433. Ford, Wenger, and Baker, 38–40.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 36-42 EAST LAWN

36-42 East Lawn

Proctor's Designation:	Dormitories 14 to 21, East
Date Begun:	Fall, 1820
Date Complete:	Fall, 1821
Brick Mason:	John Perry and Abiah Thorn
Carpenter:	James Dinsmore



36 to 42 East Lawn are the four rooms on the south side of Pavilion VIII. They were built under the same contract as 28-34, to its north. Their masonry was executed by John Perry and Abiah Thorn. These rooms were not among the 31 described as complete in the fall of 1820 but were underway by then. Perry and Thorn were paid for their work in April of 1821.⁴³⁴ James Dinsmore was paid for carpentry in October of 1822 but the rooms were included in

434. "Proctor's Journal, 1819-1828," 66.

DORMITORIES

Brockenbrough's report in November of 1821 that specified that 51 rooms were plastered and finished.⁴³⁵

These rooms sit on cellars, with floors at their original level. Their original floor framing is intact, with hewn-and-pit-sawn joists running east-west and set in masonry pockets. Their hearths are framed with doubled joists, except at room 38, where the joist pocket for the hearth trimmer is double-width but only a single joist has ever been installed. The 1830s pitched roof remains in place.

36 East Lawn and Cellar:

In the 1990s, Murray Howard thought this room was important because it provided evidence for double doors in student rooms on the Lawn. He used the doors that were formerly installed on room 36 as justification for converting all doors on Lawn rooms to double doors. Those doors were important but not for this reason—they are rare physical evidence of a common phenomenon on the Lawn, the incorporation of adjoining student rooms into professors' pavilions as an enlargement of their domestic space. Additionally, and critically, the space under this room is one of only four cellar rooms (the others being 10 East Lawn, 20 East Lawn, and 22 East Lawn) that were used as quarters for enslaved domestic servants.

Charles Bonnycastle, 32-year-old professor of natural philosophy and mathematics, occupied Pavilion VIII by June of 1828, replacing the short-tenured Thomas Hewitt Key.⁴³⁶ Bonnycastle found the facilities in the pavilions inadequate and had already sought space in the Rotunda for his collection of scientific instruments.⁴³⁷ He paid rent in 1829 on two dormitory rooms, suggesting he had already appropriated room 36 and room 34.⁴³⁸ In July of the following year, the Board of Visitors permitted him to cut a door between Pavilion VIII and room 36, which was to be used as a study.⁴³⁹ In November of 1836, he was charged for the "Difference between old door and a folding door for office."⁴⁴⁰ It is likely that this charge was for the change from a single leaf door to a double door for room 36, where a double door was installed after the other Lawn doors had been repainted at least once.⁴⁴¹ In 1838, he was again charged rent for rooms 34 and 36. The following year, he sought permission to occupy room 38, as well, and to cut a door between 36, his study, and 38, which would become a workshop. At the same time, he

435. "Proctor's Journal, 1819-1828," 145; Brockenbrough to Board of Visitors, November 26, 1821.

436. Waite et al., "University of Virginia Pavilion VIII," 27-31.

437. Waite et al., 30.

438. University of Virginia Proctor, "Proctor's Ledgers," 1832 1826, 149.

439. Board of Visitors, "Public Minutes" (July 10, 1830); Waite et al., "University of Virginia Pavilion VIII," 31.

440. Cited in Waite et al., "University of Virginia Pavilion VIII," 36.

441. Wenger to Loth, "Lawn-Range Doors--Paint Data," October 25, 2001.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 36-42 EAST LAWN

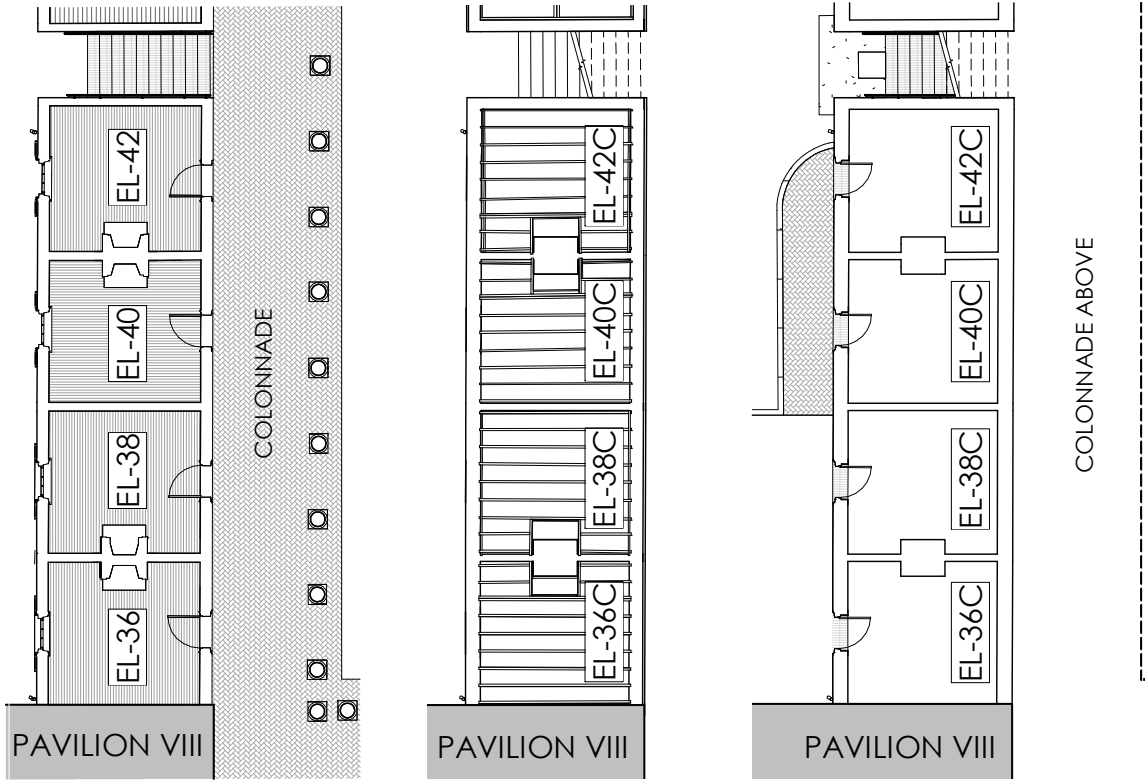


Figure 162. Ground floor plan, cellar framing plan, and cellar plan, 36-42 East Lawn.

DORMITORIES

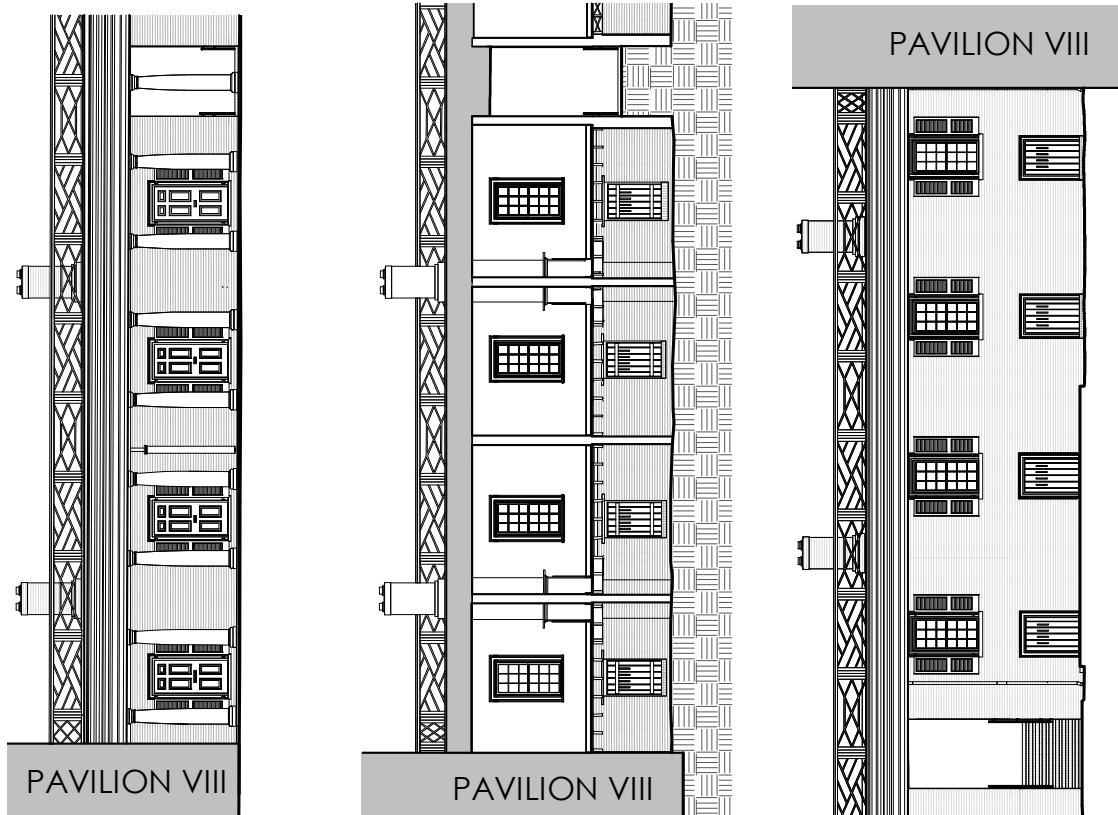


Figure 163. Longitudinal section and front and rear elevations for 36-42 East Lawn.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 36-42 EAST LAWN



Figure 164. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: double doors removed from 36 East Lawn, interior face. Note grained paint exposed in voids at top and bottom of doors for battens (since removed) used to join doors into single leaf.

proposed to take over the cellars below these two rooms.⁴⁴²

The doors were originally grained and before this surface was repainted for the first time, someone secured a pair of battens to the inside face of the doors so that they could function as a single leaf (figure 164). This was likely still during the occupancy of the Bonnycastle household but surely no later than 1853, when the pavilion received a new tenant.

Some of Bonnycastle's motivations were certainly to improve the utility of his small accommodations in Pavilion VIII. Like many professors of the 1830s, he found Jefferson's domestic provisions, however handsome, to be too small for a polite family. In 1840, his household included his wife Ann, their three children, and seven enslaved people.⁴⁴³ But, like some of his fellow faculty, he also wanted to strengthen the boundary between the lively life of adolescent students and that of his wife and children, as a long lament to the Board of Visitors concerning desired improvements in the yard behind room 36 suggests:

The cellars of the two dormitories which I should then rent, would be of some though trifling use to me, and it would add to this convenience if I were allowed to erect an open ornamental rail between the dormitories and my garden wall. I care very little about this last part of the request, and if I erected such rail it would be chiefly to assist in removing the extremely disagreeable custom into which the students have fallen of using these places for the purpose of playing marbles. They are thus brought directly under our windows, and as all youth will in their amusements employ language which little suits such a position, the nuisance is considerable.⁴⁴⁴

442. Waite et al., "University of Virginia Pavilion VIII," 36.

443. *Virginia. 1840 United States Federal Census, Population Schedule, Charlottesville* (Washington D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1840).

444. Charles Bonnycastle to Board of Visitors, July 3, 1839, Proctor's Papers, Box 12, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library.

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Figure 165. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: 36 East Lawn cellar at hearth bed showing doubled joist with through-tenon for hearth timmer and lath stains on underside of joists for plaster ceiling.

The Board of Visitors was sympathetic and permitted Bonnycastle to put up a new wall in the yard south of Pavilion VIII. The minutes of the same meeting indicate that the trifling use to which he intended to put the dormitory cellars included fitting out one of the rooms as a quarter for one of his seven enslaved domestic workers. The visitors were unwilling to spend more than forty dollars on this conversion.⁴⁴⁵ Unlike the room under 22 East Lawn, the 36 East Lawn cellar was not retrofitted with a fireplace but like the room under 10 East Lawn, it was connected to the Pavilion VIII cellar with a new door opening. Unlike either of the other rooms, it was given a plaster ceiling—stains from lime plaster on wooden lath are visible on the underside of the original joists for the floor above (figure 165). Like some quarters on contemporary Virginia plantations, any light or air that entered the room came only through leaving the low rear door ajar.⁴⁴⁶ The room under 34 East Lawn, intended for storage rather than human occupation, was only whitewashed and no door was cut through the wall of the adjoining pavilion.

445. Board of Visitors, “Public Minutes,” July 4, 1840.

446. Edward A. Chappell, “Housing Slavery,” in *The Chesapeake House: Architectural Investigation by Colonial Williamsburg*, ed. Cary Carson and Carl Lounsbury (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 156–78.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 36-42 EAST LAWN

Bonnycastle's successor continued to occupy rooms 34 and 36, along with their cellars. Socrates Maupin, graduate of the University of Virginia, was appointed professor of chemistry in 1853 and occupied Pavilion VIII from then until 1871.⁴⁴⁷ Maupin required yet more space and petitioned the Board of Visitors to enlarge his house substantially, nearly doubling it in size. The cellar of the pavilion was given over to quarters and work rooms, including a large kitchen and laundry and four bedchambers. The space under room 36 was converted from a quarter to storage space, like the cellar under room 34. Room 36 remained an office, connected to the pavilion internally, while room 34 was evidently not joined to the residence proper and its function is not identified on the drawing of Maupin's improvements.⁴⁴⁸

While he occupied Pavilion VIII from 1886 to 1896, Professor Charles Venable also used room 36 as his study. But following his tenure, the Board of Visitors disallowed the practice of renting student rooms to professors to be used as appendages of their pavilions.⁴⁴⁹ Room 36 was finally returned to student use permanently in 1935.

447. Waite et al., "University of Virginia Pavilion VIII," 38–39.

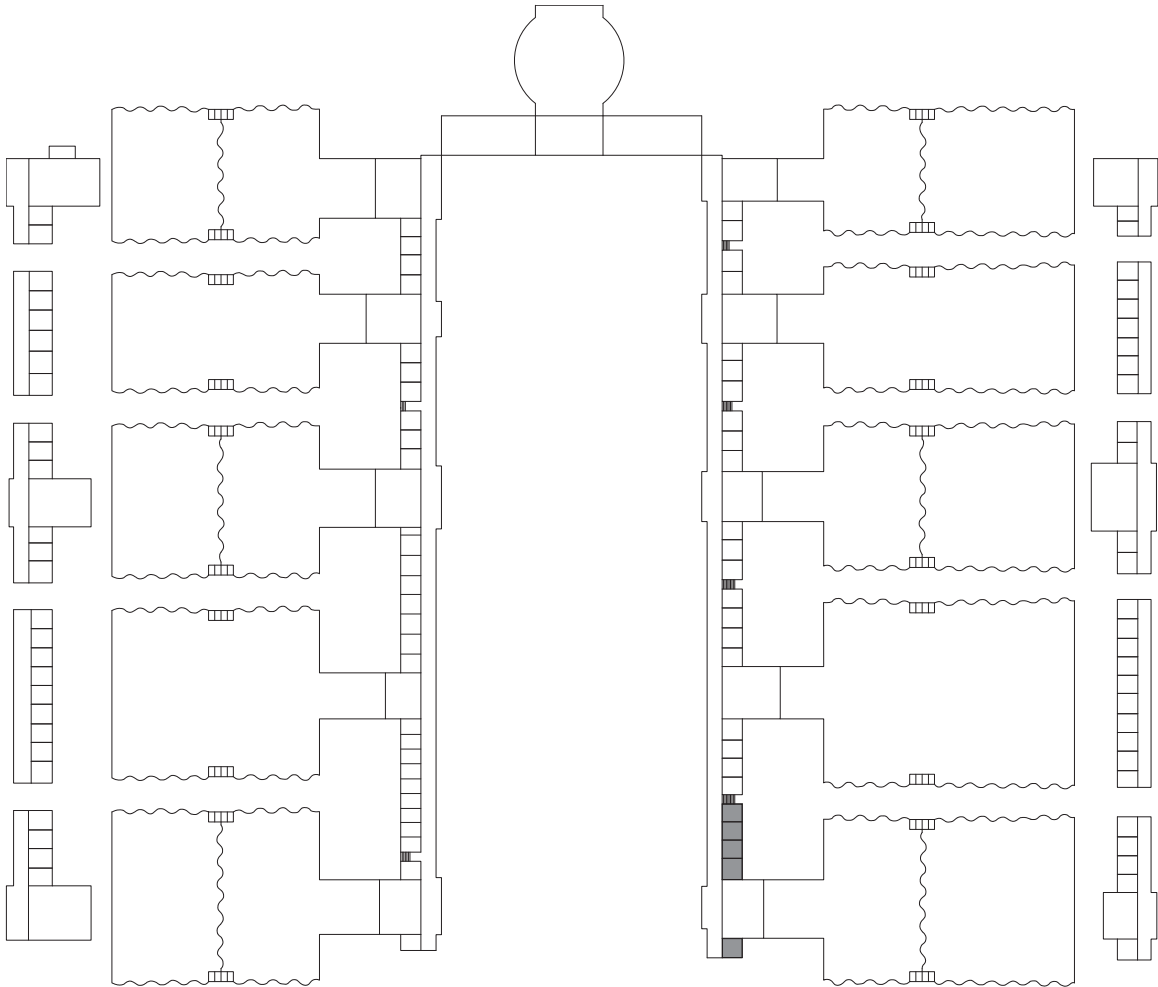
448. Waite et al., 39–40.

449. Board of Visitors, "Public Minutes" (October 2, 1896).

DORMITORIES

44-52 East Lawn

Proctor's Designation:	Dormitories 22 to 26, East
Date Begun:	Fall, 1820
Date Complete:	Fall, 1821
Brick Mason:	William B. Phillips
Carpenter:	John Neilson



44 to 52 East Lawn includes the four rooms to the north and one room to the south of Pavilion X. Their masonry was executed by William Phillips, who was paid for this work in December of 1821.⁴⁵⁰ These rooms were not among the 31 described as complete by Brockenbrough in the fall of 1820 but were underway by then. We count the four to the north of the pavilion among the 51 that Arthur Brockenbrough called complete in November of 1821, with the

⁴⁵⁰. "Proctor's Journal, 1819-1828," 108.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 44-52 EAST LAWN

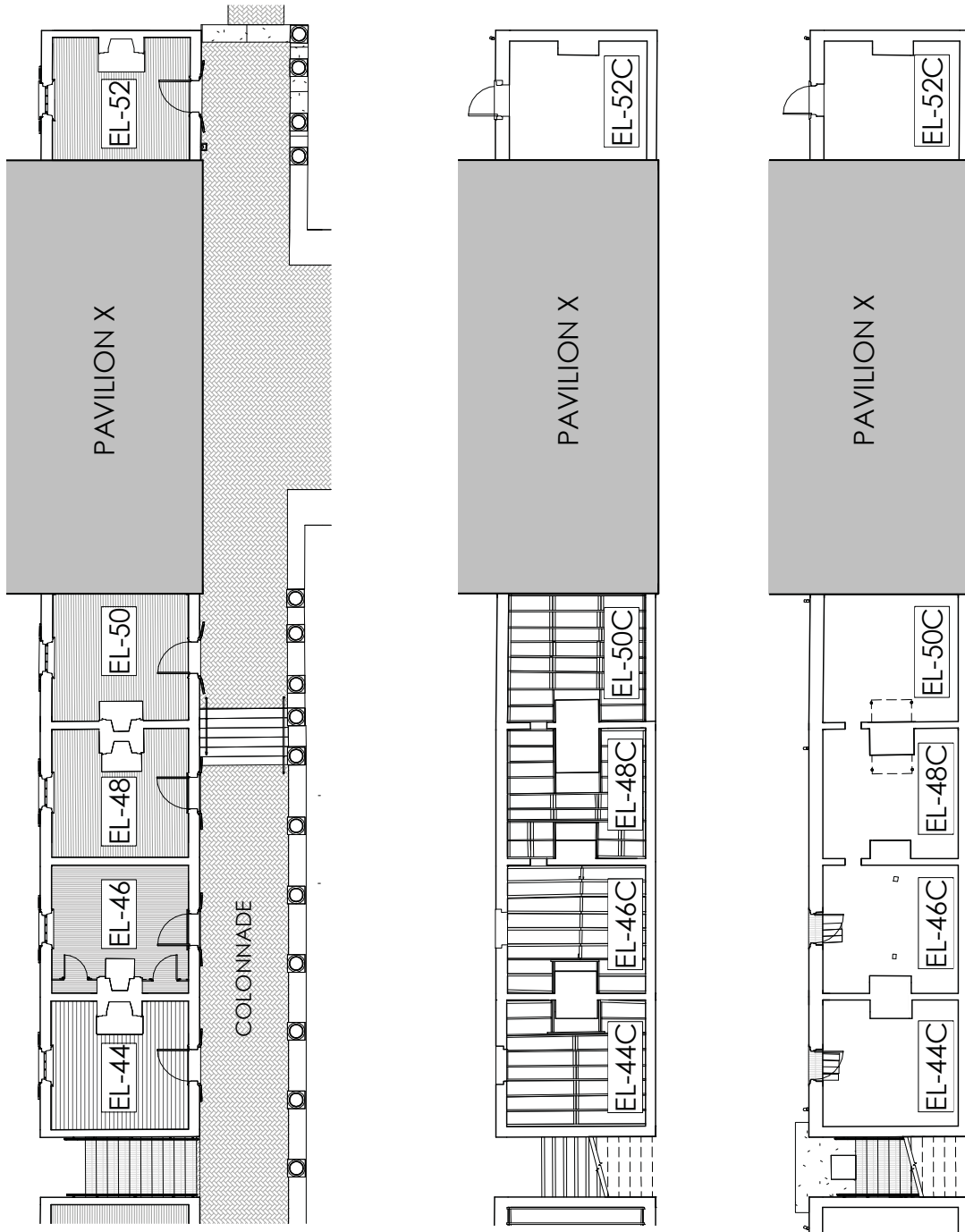


Figure 166. Ground floor, cellar, and cellar framing plan, 44-52 East Lawn.

DORMITORIES

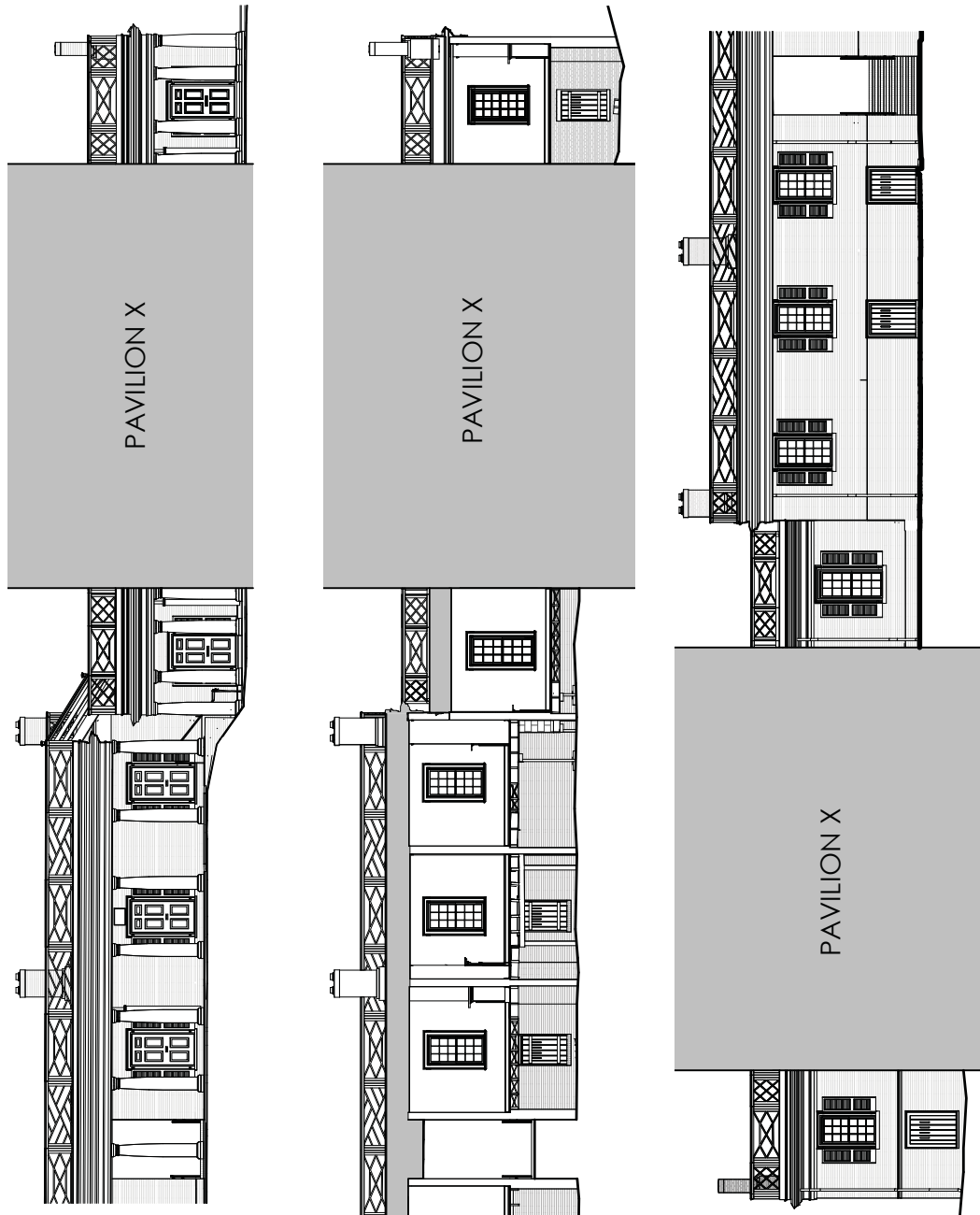


Figure 167. Longitudinal section and front and rear elevations for 44-52 East Lawn.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 44-52 EAST LAWN

fifth among the 22 “ready for plastering.”⁴⁵¹ John Neilson did the carpentry, along with that on Pavilion X. He was paid for this work in November, 1822.⁴⁵²

These rooms sit on cellars, with floors at their original level. Room 52 retains its original floor framing, oriented east-west. All other floor framing is modern and runs east-west. The 1830s pitched roof remains in place over a flat roof composed of serrated lath with metal-lined valleys.

46-50 East Lawn

These three rooms have the most complex physical history of any dormitories in the Academical Village. Among them, 46 is now the most important because it preserves a remnant of early finish, including closets and an early 20th-century mantel.

For a time, the use of student rooms by faculty between Pavilions VIII and X was extensive, reserving only three out of eight rooms as dormitories. This is a part of grounds where the faculty footprint was especially large. Rooms 50 and 52 were likely occupied by a faculty member from the earliest university sessions. In 1832-1833, the first year from which a room-by-room student directory survives, there were no students living in rooms 50 or 52 East Lawn.⁴⁵³ Professor John A. G. Davis, resident of Pavilion X, paid rent on both rooms in 1839.⁴⁵⁴ His successor in Pavilion X, John B. Minor, expanded his acquisition of dormitories yet further, even as the Board of Visitors sought to curtail faculty use of student rooms. In 1854, the Visitors asked the faculty to “surrender...such of the dormitories now in their occupancy as they may respectively be able to give up without serious inconvenience to themselves.” Further, they maintained that “as a general rule no Professor should occupy more than one dormitory.”⁴⁵⁵ According to this guideline, Minor should have halved his dormitory use; instead he would eventually double it, taking four rooms on either side of his pavilion and combining two of them into one large room.

Minor’s alterations were extensive but they began modestly, similar to the changes made by other members of the faculty. His pavilion was close to the floor level of room 50 and 52 so his first changes, requested in 1847, involved opening doors between his dining room and the room to the south: “the application of Professor Minor to open a door of communication between his dining room & the adjacent Dormitory be referred to the Executive Committee.”⁴⁵⁶ Though unidentified, the most likely ground floor room for dining is that in the southwest

451. Brockenbrough to Board of Visitors, November 26, 1821.

452. “Proctor’s Journal, 1819-1828,” 171.

453. *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the University of Virginia. Session of 1832-33.*

454. *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the University of Virginia. Session of 1832-33;* “Dormitories Occupied by Professors.”

455. Board of Visitors, “Public Minutes,” June 26, 1854.

456. Board of Visitors, “Public Minutes” (June 25, 1847).

DORMITORIES

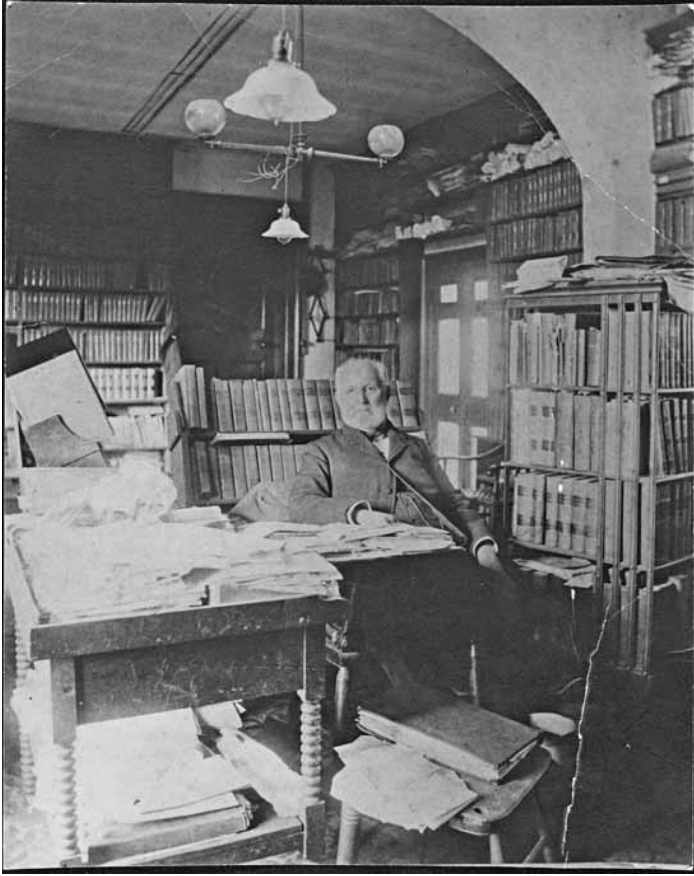


Figure 168. UVA East Lawn 48-50, Charlottesville, Virginia, with law professor John B. Minor in his study, formed by combining two student rooms. The door to his home in Pavilion X is over his right shoulder. Photograph taken after 1876, in collection of University of Virginia Law School.

addition was put onto Pavilion X in 1879, because the Visitors regarded his use of student rooms as an expedient: “We recommend assigning to Mr. Minor the dormitory now adjoining his present dormitory which will be taken into his new office, until his house is enlarged.”⁴⁵⁸ The incorporation of room 46 involved the lowering of its floor, to match the level of rooms 48 and 50, but did not include the removal of the wall between 46 and 48.

The evidence for this work remains in place in the cellar below the rooms, where a plaster surface on the walls extends down about four feet below the present floor level, an artifact not of historic cellar room use but of the previously lowered floor of Professor Minor’s study. Additionally, there is a blocked masonry firebox still in place about four feet below of the floor of room 46, a remnant of the relationship between this room and Professor Minor’s study

corner of the pavilion. Like many faculty, Minor pushed against the modest dimensions of his Jeffersonian pavilion and requested an addition to it in 1876. The Visitors sympathized but declined to commit the necessary funds right away; instead, they agreed to assign a third student room to Minor and to do substantial work to allow him to join rooms 48 and 50 together as a large study. This included the demolition of the masonry wall and chimney stack between the two and the lowering of the floor of room 48 to the same level as room 50, a distance of about four and a half feet. The visitors directed “that the partition between his present office and the adjoining dormitory be removed and the floor lowered so as to enlarge his office and thus give him the two dormitories asked for.”⁴⁵⁷

Around this time, Professor Minor seems also to have acquired room 46. This surely happened before the

Visitors regarded his use of student rooms as an expedient: “We recommend assigning to Mr. Minor the dormitory now adjoining his present dormitory which will be taken into his new office, until his house is enlarged.”⁴⁵⁸

457. Board of Visitors, “Public Minutes” (June 26, 1876).

458. Board of Visitors.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 44-52 EAST LAWN

in rooms 48 and 50, a relationship that is not apparent in the documentary record (figure 169).

The alterations by Professor Minor to rooms 46 and 48 continued to the exterior. On the rear walls of these rooms are sections of rebuilt masonry below each window showing where they were dropped when the floors were lowered, evidently to match the level of the window in room 50 (figure 170). Note, too, that this work required the closing in of cellar doors, whose jamb locations are preserved in straight joints under the room 48 window.

In 1896, despite a resolution curtailing the faculty use of dormitories, the Board of Visitors permitted Professor William Lile to continue to occupy multiple student rooms, including a pantry and an office, “said rooms be allowed to remain as heretofore in the occupancy of the professor.”⁴⁵⁹ There is no documentary record recording when the floors of these rooms were returned to their original level but it was sometime in the early 20th century. The floor for all four rooms from 44 East Lawn to 50 is framed with modern dimensional lumber, nominally 2 by 10. Alumni Office records show students once again consistently living in 46 East Lawn beginning in 1920; and in 1926, the room was reserved for members of the UVA chapter of the Kappa Sigma fraternity: “room 46 East Lawn is hereby assigned to the Kappa Sigma Fraternity, beginning with the session of 1926-27.”⁴⁶⁰ Alumni Office records show rooms 48 and 50 returning to student use only in 1936, indicating that the partition between them had been restored by that year, following the departure of the Professor Lile’s widow in August of that year.



Figure 169. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: cellar of 48 East Lawn, looking back towards 46 cellar, showing fireplace and plaster for room above, both installed when floor was lowered for John B. Minor in 1876.

459. Board of Visitors, “Public Minutes,” October 2, 1896.

460. Board of Visitors, “Public Minutes” (April 27, 1926).

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Figure 170. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: rear of 48 East Range, with blocked opening at cellar and rebuilt masonry below formerly lowered window, since raised back to original position.

Reserving 46 for the use of Kappa Sigma has had an important consequence—the preservation of its closets and a mantel that would otherwise have been discarded in the two late-twentieth century cycles of refurbishment and restoration of Lawn rooms. The 1926 resolution of the Board of Visitors assigning the room to the fraternity allowed it to control its decoration and furnishings so long as these were done with the permission of the Buildings and Grounds department. As a result, Frederick Nichols' plans for the Lawn and Range dormitories excluded this room from further alterations, leaving its closets in place. That said, there are few elements from the closet wall that survive from the 1920s. The mantel, door casings, and enclosures above the closets are all trimmed with moldings used throughout grounds at the turn of the twentieth century and likely date to the room's restoration at its present

floor level sometime around 1920 (figure 171). Though it has the proportions of a Greek Revival surround, its lack of substantial paint build-up and any graffiti suggest that it was only installed in the twentieth century. The right-hand closet door, however, is joined and has the same panel profile as the doors in 53 West Range closets. Whether or not it was restored to its original position in 1920, it is one of just three surviving dormitory closet doors on grounds.

All three rooms were fitted with double doors under the direction of Murray Howard in 2001; these were replaced with the present single door leaves in the 2010s. Finally, the fireplace wall, chimney, and associated mantels for rooms 48 and 50 were restored in 2022 after designs by MCWB Architects.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 44-52 EAST LAWN

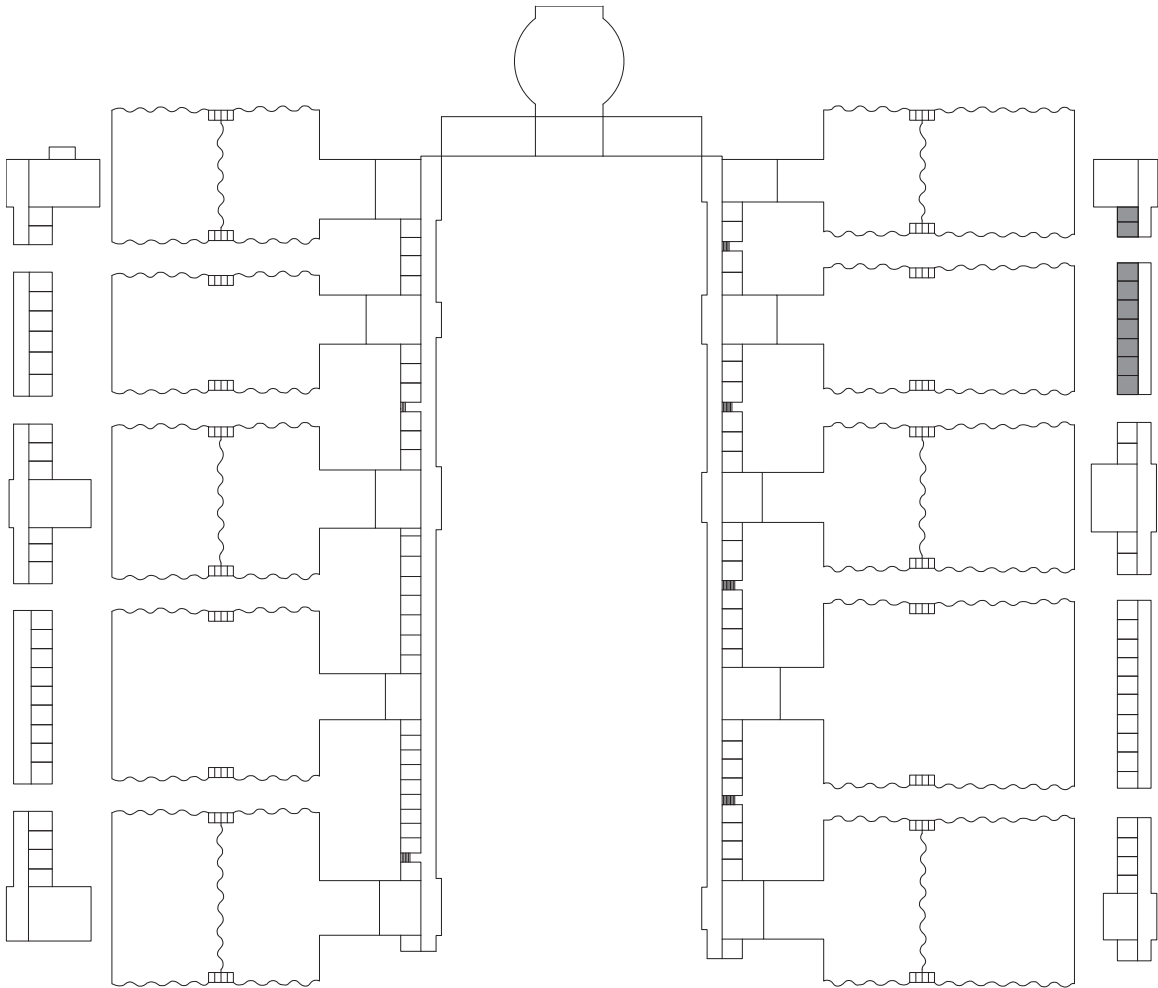


Figure 171. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: 46 East Lawn interior, closet and mantel wall.

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2-18 East Range

Proctor's Designation:	Dormitories 1 to 9 East Street
Date Begun:	Fall, 1820
Date Complete:	Spring, 1822
Brick Mason:	John Perry
Carpenter:	James Oldham



This group includes the two rooms attached to the south side of Hotel B and the freestanding row of seven rooms between Hotel B and Hotel D. Curtis Carter supplied the bricks and their masonry was executed by John Perry; Carter was paid in July of 1821 and Perry in November of 1822.⁴⁶¹ This division of a masonry contract is unusual. The carpentry was done by James

⁴⁶¹ "Proctor's Journal, 1819-1828," 86, 172.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 2-18 EAST RANGE

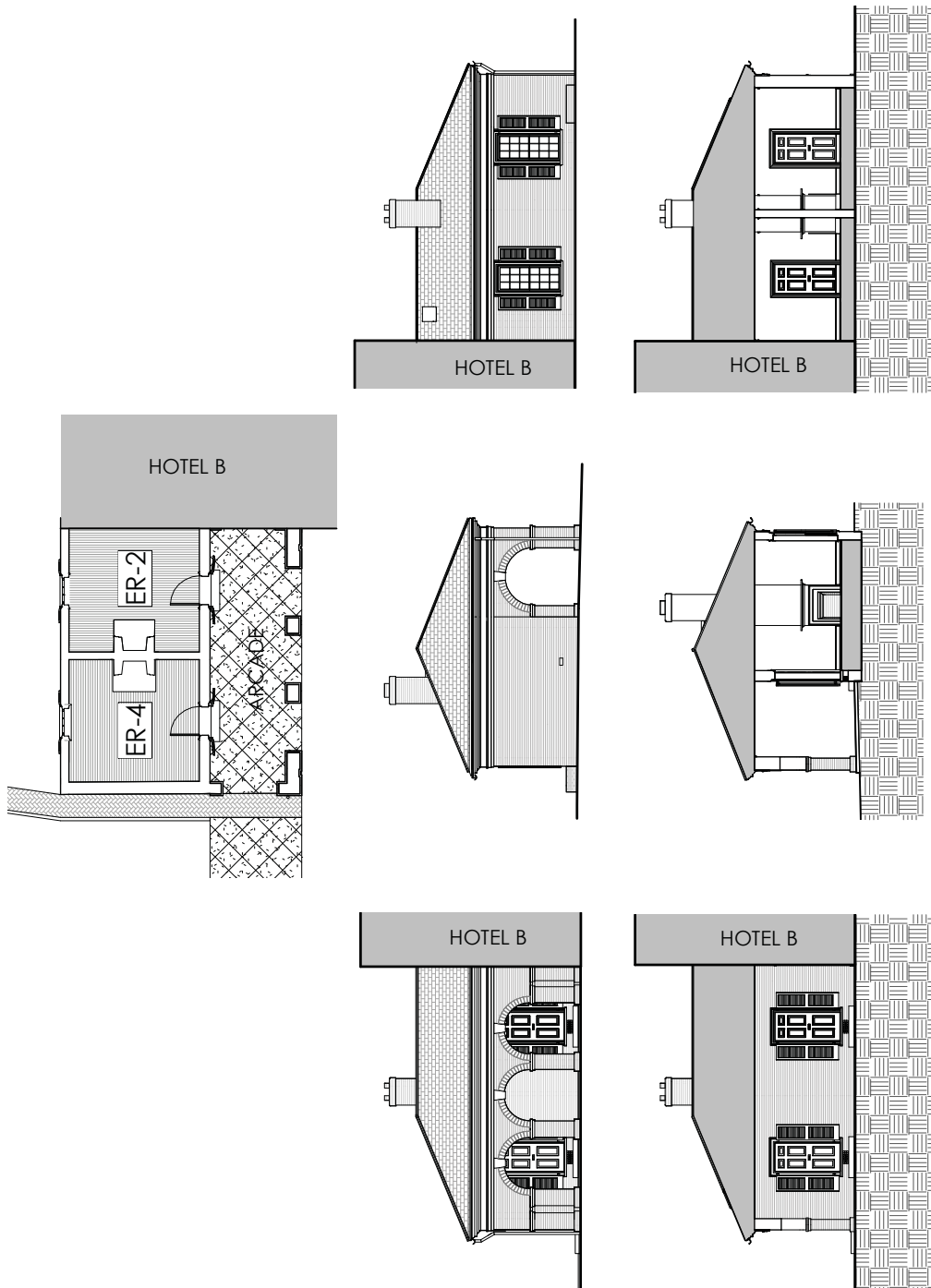


Figure 172. 2-4 East Range plan, sections, and elevations.

DORMITORIES

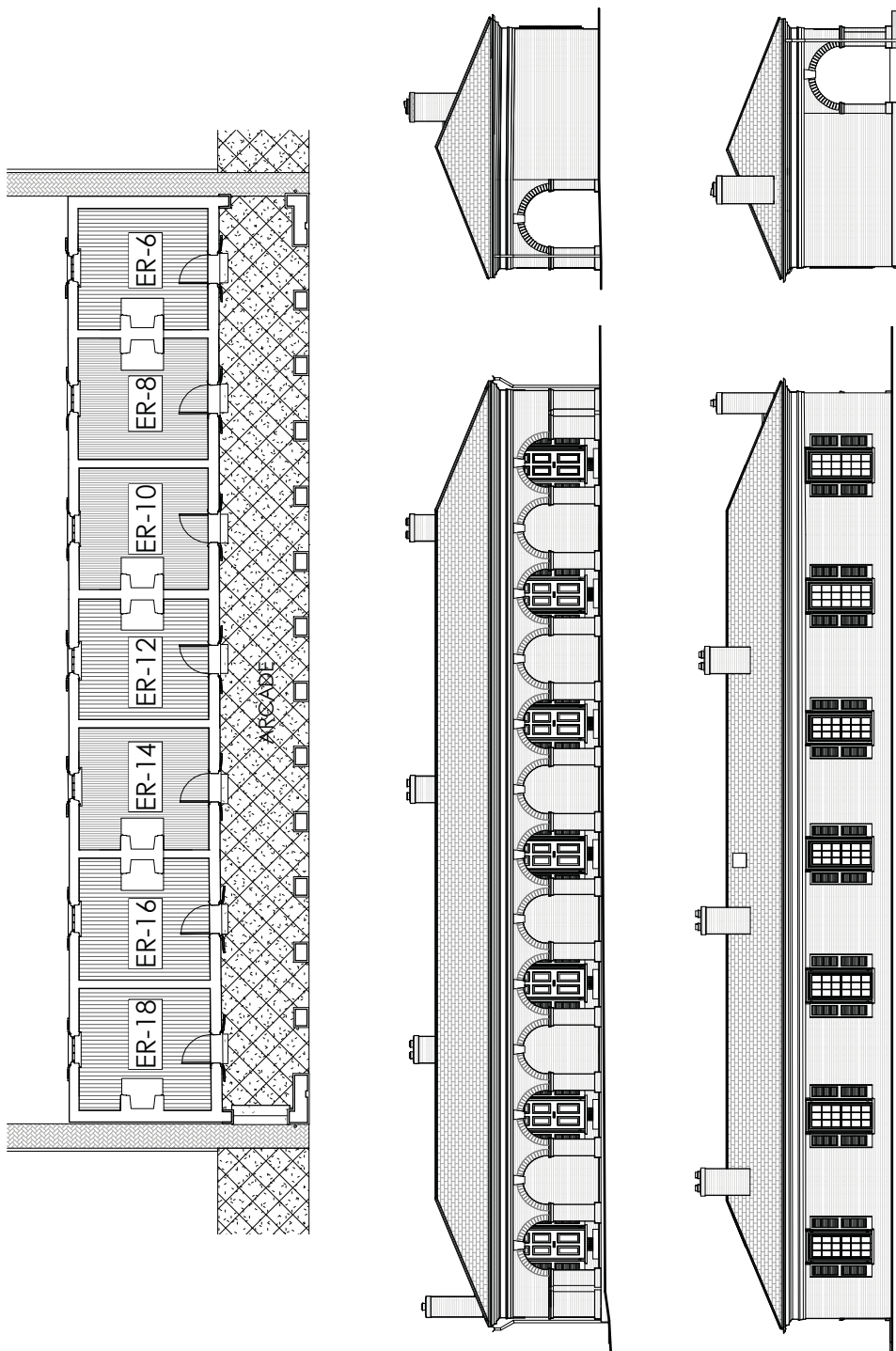


Figure 173. 6-18 East Range plan and elevations.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 2-18 EAST RANGE

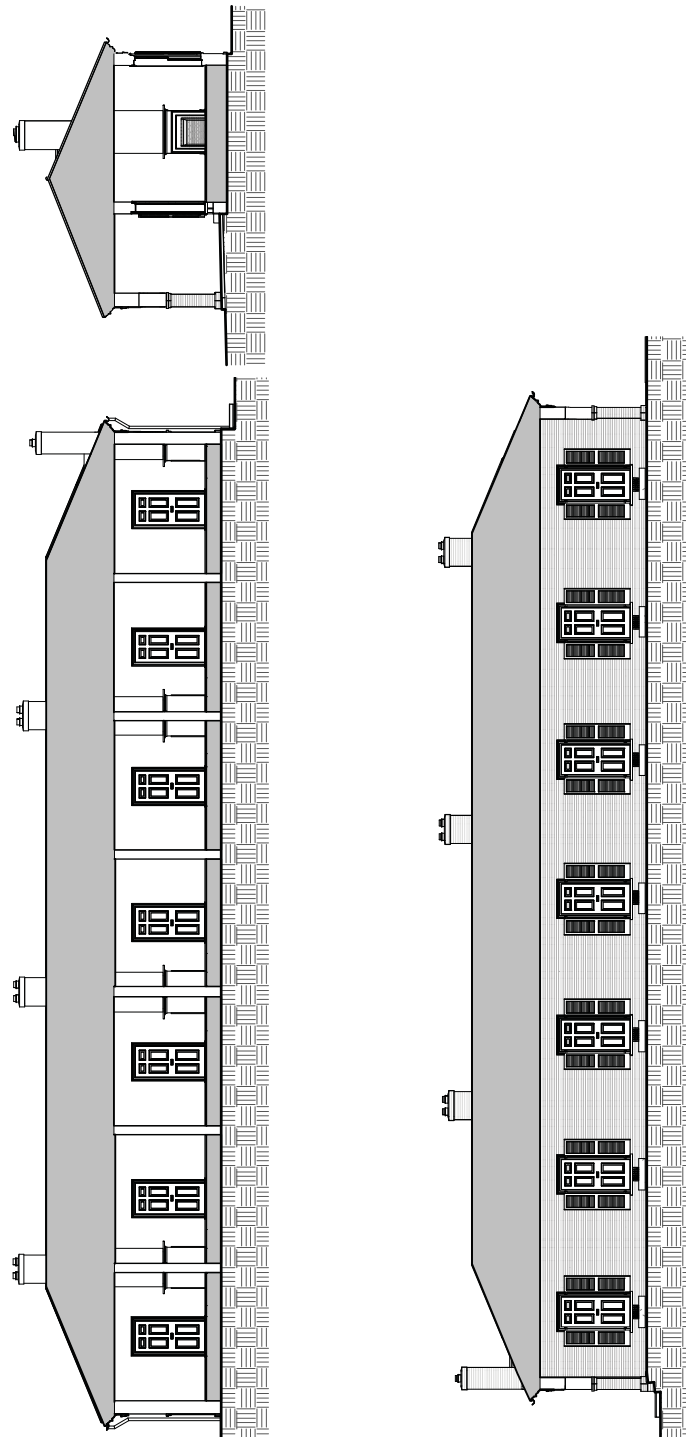


Figure 174. 6-18 East Range sections, including section through arcade.

DORMITORIES



Figure 175. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, East Range 6 to 18, rear. Note how present grade at rear comes within three courses of brick of the window sills.

Oldham, who was paid in November of 1822.⁴⁶² They were underway in October of 1820 and Arthur Brockenbrough, in November of 1821, thought that they were ready for plastering.⁴⁶³

Like most rooms on the East Range, these are on crawl spaces. As part of the university's response to the cholera epidemic, the floors under rooms 2 and 4 were raised two courses of masonry in 1858 and fitted with vents at the front and rear. The floors in the row from 6 to 18 were also raised but by three courses. Iron vents have been inserted under the door sills, in the fashion typical of Range rooms. At the rear, present grade falls at or above the floor level. Small masonry areaways behind rooms 8, 12, and 16 may provide for modest movement of air in this crawl space.

The crawls under rooms 2 and 4 are especially low. Even after being raised, their joists are just four courses above the ground surface. Their framing is early but not original, consisting of sash-sawn joists running east-west. The crawls under rooms 6 to 18 are similarly low. The spaces under rooms 8 to 12 are inaccessible. The framing under room 6 is modern, with joists

462. "Proctor's Journal, 1819-1828," 172.

463. Brockenbrough to Board of Visitors, November 26, 1821.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 2-18 EAST RANGE

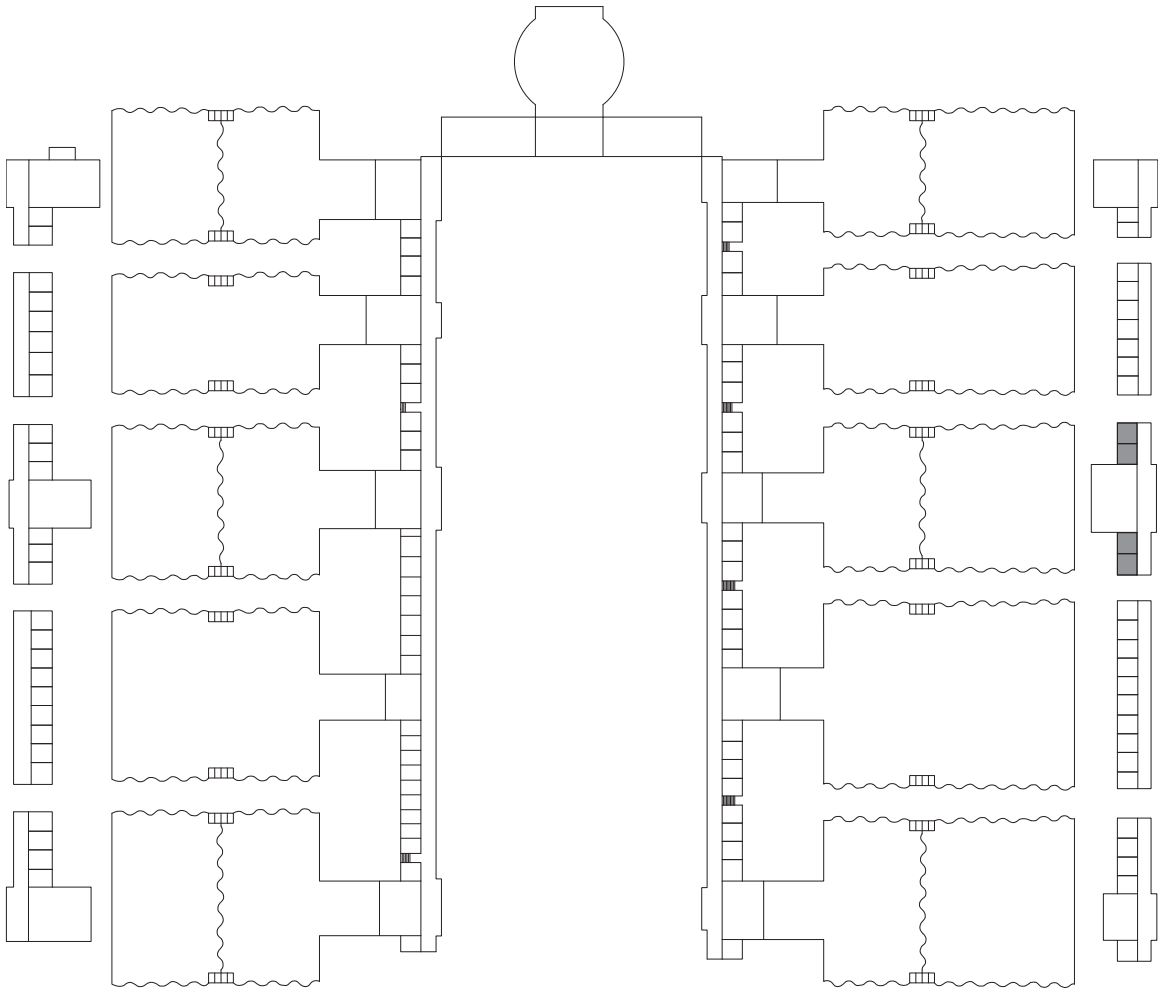
running north-south. There is just one course of masonry between the ground surface and the underside of the framing, evidently reflecting some fill installed when the floors were raised. There is a large boulder at the base of the north wall. The framing under room 14 is also modern but that below rooms 16 and 18 is hewn-and-pit-sawn pine, oriented north-south; it is old material but raised 9 ½" from its original position, which is indicated in joist pockets in the north and south walls. As elsewhere on the East Range, space in the crawl is limited, with just three courses of masonry between grade and framing at the east wall. The west end has been excavated to accommodate utilities, with masonry buttressing installed to stabilize the west wall.

The 1830s pitched roofs remain in place over an early flat roof composed of serrated lath with metal-lined valleys.

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20-26 East Range

Proctor's Designation:	Dormitories 10 to 13 East Street
Date Begun:	Spring, 1821
Date Complete:	Spring, 1822
Brick Mason:	John Perry and Abiah Thorn
Carpenter:	John Perry



This group includes the four rooms on either side of Hotel D. John Perry and Abiah Thorn executed the masonry and were paid in April of 1821.⁴⁶⁴ Perry was undertaker for the carpentry and he was paid in November of 1822.⁴⁶⁵ These rooms were among the 13 that Arthur Brockenbrough, in November of 1821, expected to be ready for plastering in the following spring.⁴⁶⁶

464. "Proctor's Journal, 1819-1828," 66.

465. "Proctor's Journal, 1819-1828," 171.

466. Brockenbrough to Board of Visitors, November 26, 1821.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 20-26 EAST RANGE

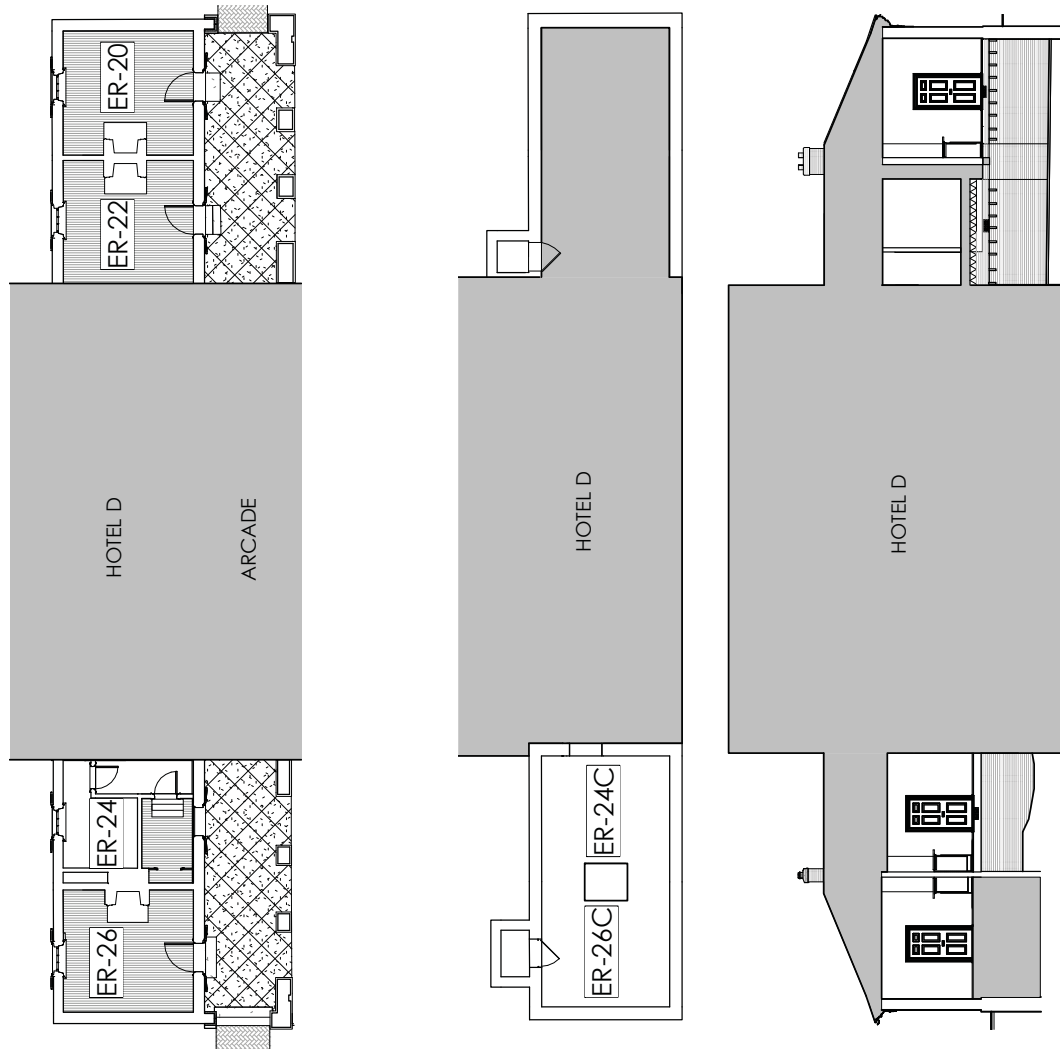


Figure 176. Plans and longitudinal section of 20-26 East Range.

DORMITORIES

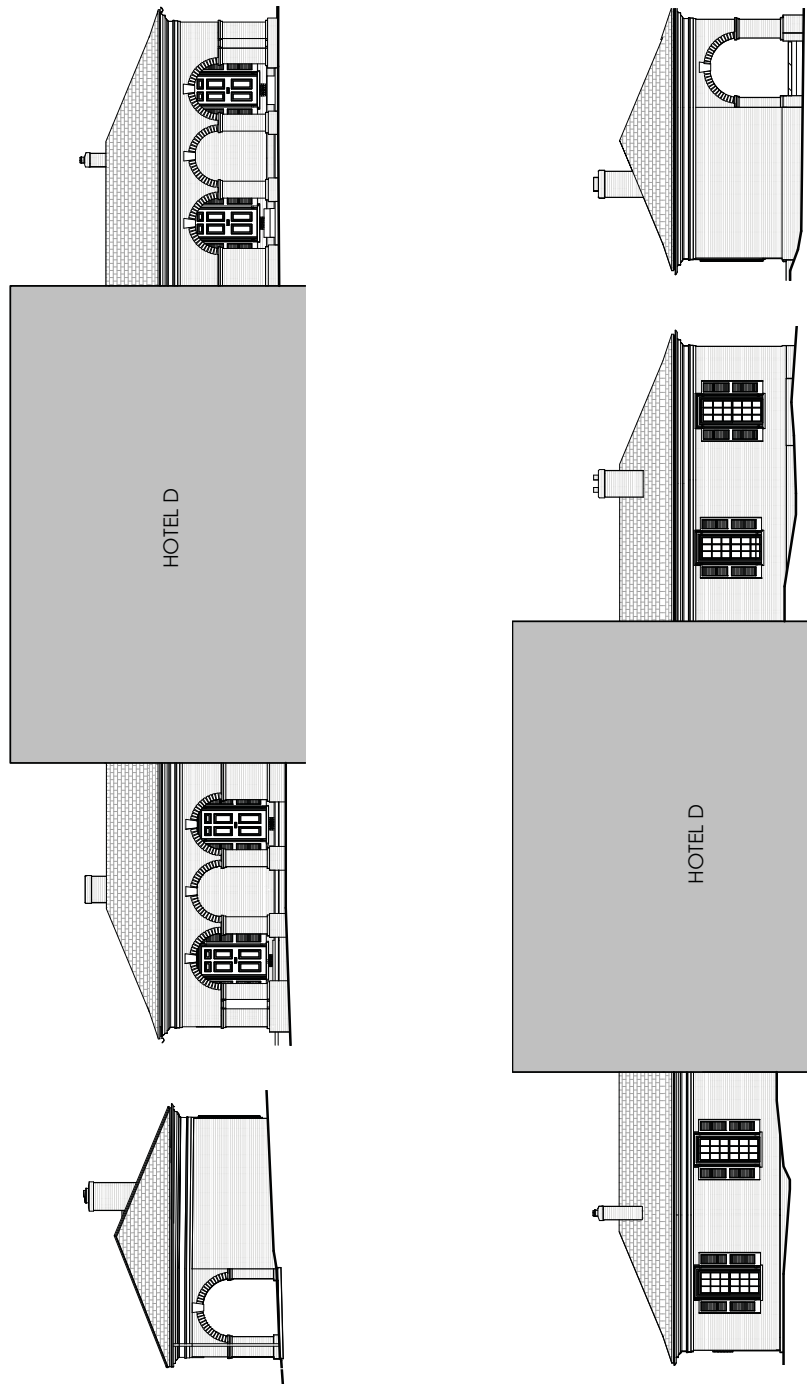


Figure 177. Elevations of 20-26 East Range.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 20-26 EAST RANGE

Like most of the rooms on the East Range, 20 and 22 are on crawl spaces. The floors under them were raised in the 1858 and fitted with iron vents at the front and rear. 24 and 26, on the south side of Hotel D, are on cellars. The crawl under 20 is not accessible but the framing under 22 is early, hewn-and-pit-sawn pine, oriented north-south. The west wall in the crawl has been underpinned and thickened below grade, likely when the utility trench was excavated. The floors under 24 and 26 were partially raised in the early 20th century on metal truss joists but the original framing remains in place. It is composed of hewn-and-pit-sawn pine joists, running east-west. The 1830s slate-covered pitched roof remains in place on both sides of Hotel D. The original flat roof below survives; it is of the serrated lath type, with tin-lined valleys. Unlike other serrated-lath systems, the valleys do not align with the ceiling joists below.

24 East Range and Cellar

At present, 24 East Range is part of the Center for Teaching Excellence, occupying Hotel D. It has been converted into a large closet and bathroom reached by an opening inserted in the southeast corner of the large ground floor room. It retains one of its original closets as well as one of only two surviving window sash in all of the student rooms (the other is in the Poe Room, 13 West Range). Any evidence of another closet or the original chimney mass is currently obscured behind a modern bathroom (figures 178 and 179).

On the main level, the connection between room 24 and Hotel D is by means of a Greek Revival, 2-panel door, cased with Jeffersonian double architraves (figure

Figure 178. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, 24 East Range, view of original closet as absorbed into closet for Hotel D, adjoining bathroom, currently in Center for Teaching Excellence.



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Figure 179. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, 24 East Range, view of original window with surviving sash, currently in south bathroom of Center for Teaching Excellence (Hotel D).

180). Students, however, occupied room 24 in 1833 and 1849 and there is no record of connecting this room to Hotel D in this period.⁴⁶⁷ It must have been installed, and was likely moved here, sometime after 1849.

Favoring an early date for the door is the form of the casing, whose cyma backband and ½” bead resemble Jefferson-era work elsewhere on grounds. It is possible that the door was inserted during the tenancy of William Pratt, superintendent of buildings and grounds, who occupied the house from 1859 to 1865. Though the Civil War was not a period of great investment in buildings on Grounds, any payments made by the Proctor to improve Pratt’s residence are obscured in the documentary record because payments made on his behalf were for unspecified

work around grounds.⁴⁶⁸ The use of a two-panel Greek Revival door leaf suggests that the work was undertaken some time in the middle of the 19th-century and likely not later than about 1875. Conceivably, both door and casing date to the 2nd quarter of the nineteenth century but were relocated to this position from elsewhere as part of later alterations.⁴⁶⁹

Obscure though the alterations on the main level are, the cellar is relatively clear. Unlike other cellar rooms in the Academical Village, that under room 24 was originally connected both to that under room 26 and Hotel D. The east jamb of an opening in the north wall of room 24

467. *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the University of Virginia. Session of 1832-33; Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the University of Virginia. Session of 1848-49.*

468. Waite et al., “University of Virginia Hotel D,” 48–50.

469. The 2016 Historic Structures Report on Hotel D dates this door, reasonably, to the 1830-1850 period. This is a likely date of its fabrication but an unlikely date for the door to be installed in this position because the adjoining room 24, to which it gave access, was occupied by students in both 1833 and in 1849. Waite et al., 140.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 20-26 EAST RANGE

survives, with no sign of disturbance in the masonry, indicating that this opening was planned from the outset (figure 181). It is additionally apparent that it was fitted with a door. A vertical edge in the whitewash on the inside face of the jamb and a pocket for a wood sill that was set into that jamb show the location and depth of a wooden frame. This door opened the cellar of the hotel to those under room 24 and 26. The student room cellars were planned to be open to one another, as well. There is no masonry wall between them, nor was there ever one. The only masonry between the rooms below grade are a pair of square brick piers against the outside walls and the base of the chimney stack. In the present, access to these rooms is through a small hatch in an areaway behind room 26. This was inserted in the modern era. Previously, the only way to enter either cellar was from Hotel D.

Further setting these rooms apart from the other cellars is the partial survival of brick paving



Figure 180. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, Center for Teaching Excellence (Hotel D), detail of door from large south (left) room to former student room at 24 East Range.



Figure 181. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: 24 East Range, cellar, with Eric Gradoia inspecting remnant of masonry jamb in north wall, at opening to cellar of Hotel D. Note pocket at base of wall, paint edge, and flat mortar joints at left side of brick jamb, all showing location of early wood door jamb.

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Figure 182. University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia: 26 East Range cellar, showing floor paved with a mixture of bats and whole bricks.

on the floor (figure 182). This is clearly early, composed of a mixture of whole bricks and bats in a somewhat regular pattern. Less distinctive but still significant is the presence of whitewash

on the walls and, fragmentarily, on the hewn-and-pit-sawn joists under room 24. Together, the paving, whitewash, and internal access to Hotel D suggest that these rooms were occupied, or intended to be occupied, as early as the 1820s. In 1825, hotel keeper George Spotswood reported that the cellars of Hotel D itself had previously been occupied, unhappily. Abiah Thorn had rented Hotel D while he was working on the Rotunda and, according to Spotswood, “his servants who lived in the lower part, I am told were very unhealthy, and I am thoroughly convinced from this, as well as sad experience, that my sellers are, and will always [be] unhealthy.”⁴⁷⁰ Spotswood does not clarify whether Thorn’s workers occupied the rooms under 24 and 26 but their conditions were certainly no better than those under the hotel. Given the lack of any air or light and any source of heat, it seems likelier that they were intended for storage rather than human occupation. If anyone slept in these rooms, they were among the most unhealthy and uncomfortable human accommodations of the period.⁴⁷¹

Sometime in the early 20th century, the floors and framing below room 26 were replaced with modern dimensional lumber. Around the same time, those below room 24 were replaced and partially raised, using early metal truss joists, to bring the inserted bathroom in room 24 to the level of the adjoining room. The floor under the closet stayed at its original level, supported on the original joists.

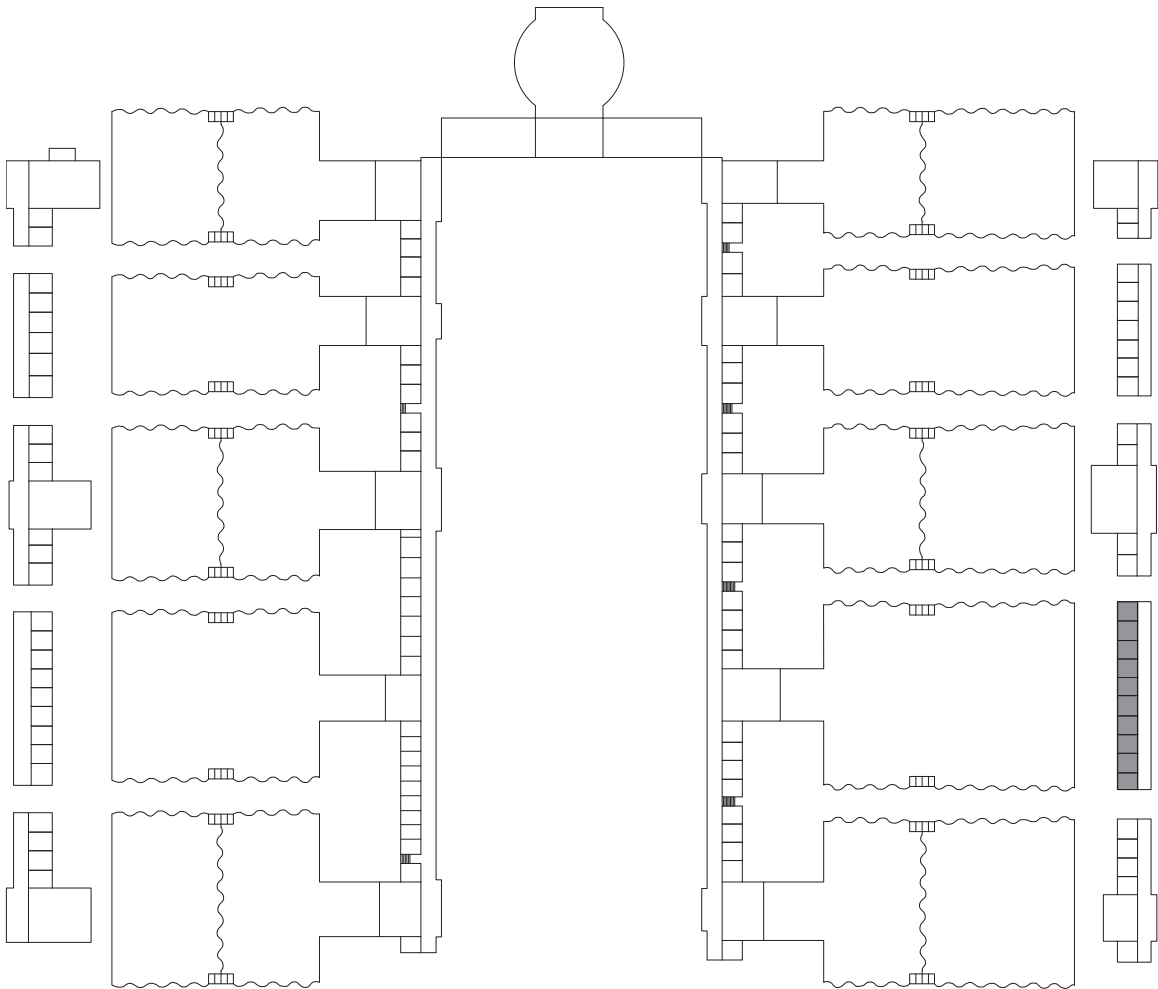
470. “Proctor’s Journal, 1819-1828,” 273. George W. Spotswood to James Madison, November 29, 1825. James Madison Papers, Library of Congress. Cited in Ford, Wenger, and Baker, “University of Virginia East Lawn 22 Basement Room Study,” 11.

471. For comparative material, see Chappell, “Housing Slavery” and Ford, 2020, p. 317.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 28-46 EAST RANGE

28-46 East Range

Proctor's Designation:	Dormitories 14 to 23 East Street
Date Begun:	Spring, 1821
Date Complete:	Spring, 1822
Brick Mason:	John Perry and Abiah Thorn
Carpenter:	George W. Spooner



This group includes the freestanding row of ten rooms between Hotel D and Hotel F. John Perry and Abiah Thorn, continuing their partnership, burned the bricks and executed the masonry. They were paid in April of 1821.⁴⁷² The carpentry was done by George Spooner, who was paid in October of 1822.⁴⁷³ The rooms were underway in October of 1821 and included in the group of 13 that Arthur Brockenbrough, in November of 1821, thought would be ready

472. "Proctor's Journal, 1819-1828," 67.

473. "Proctor's Journal, 1819-1828," 150.

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for plastering in the spring.⁴⁷⁴ They surely were plastered by June, when John Perry began renting some portion of them for \$2 per month.⁴⁷⁵

Like most rooms on the East Range, these are on crawl spaces. The floor under room 28 has been raised by three courses of masonry but the remainder are at their original level. Vents have been inserted under the sills of all of the rooms. As in the row from 6 to 18 East Range, the grade at the rear is close to the floor level and there are small areaways under alternating windows to provide modest circulation of air in this crawl. The crawl under room 46 has been excavated about 42" from exterior grade to provide access to systems at this end of the block and the west foundation wall has been underpinned with concrete. Where it can be inspected in this block, the floor framing is of modern dimensional lumber, running east-west. The only other crawls to which there is currently access are under rooms 28 and 34.

474. Brockenbrough to Board of Visitors, November 26, 1821.

475. "Proctor's Journal, 1819-1828," 281.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 48-56 EAST RANGE

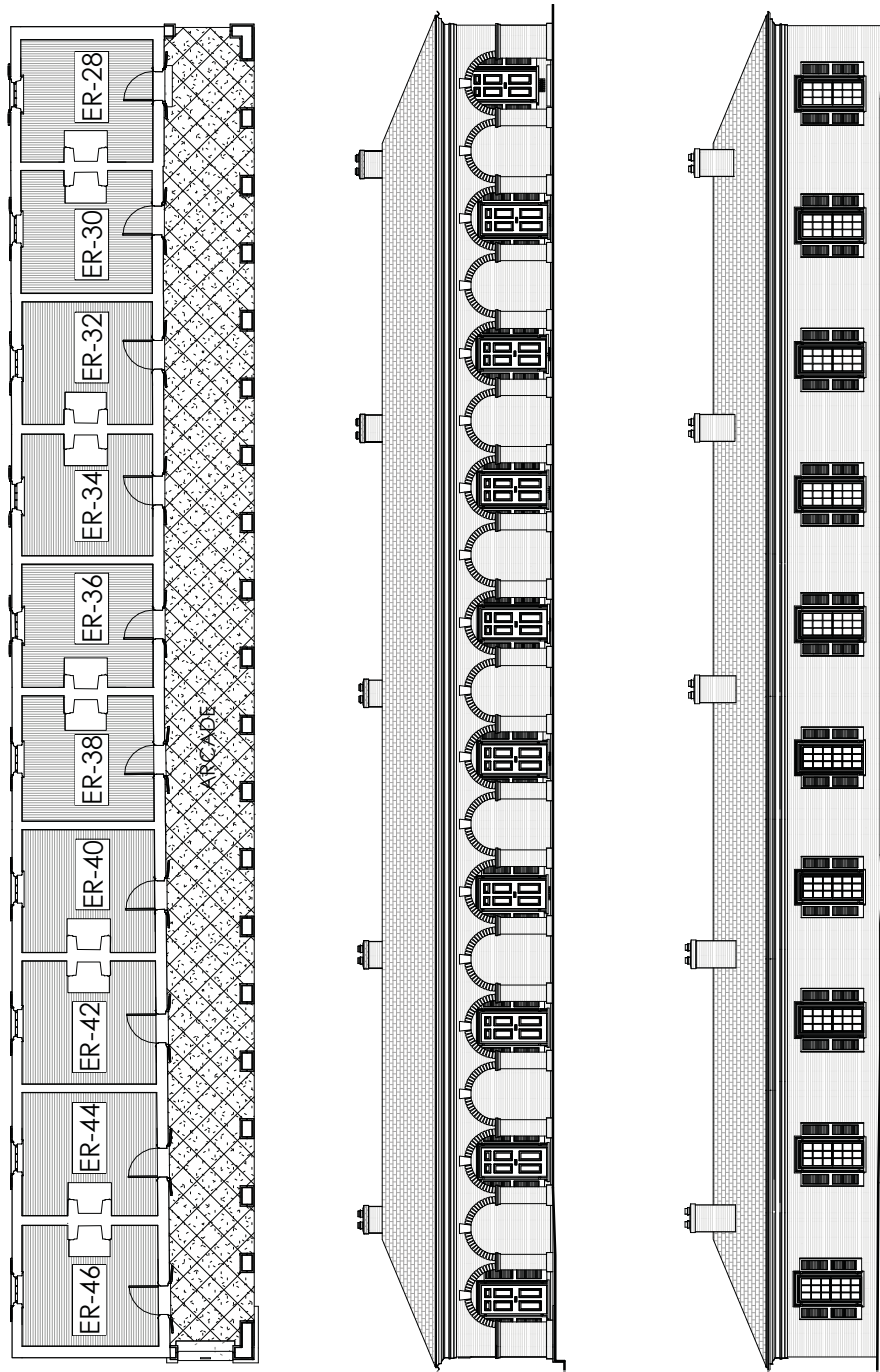


Figure 183. Plan and elevations, 28-46 East Range.

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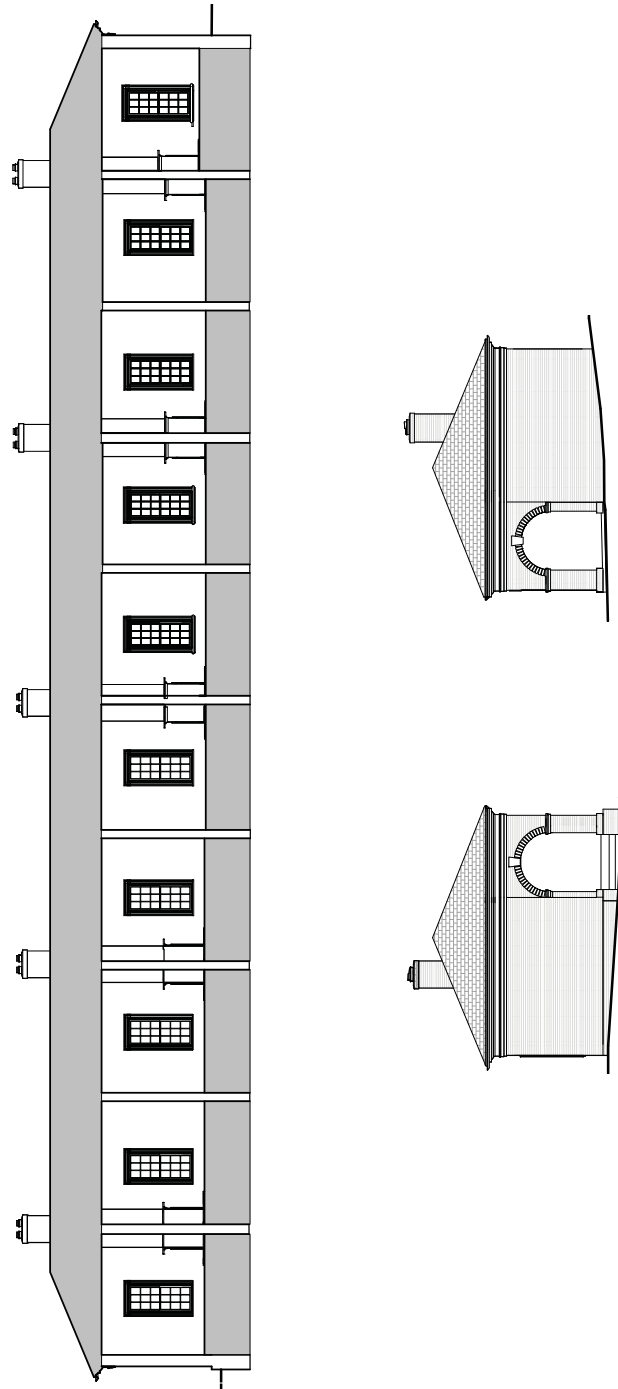
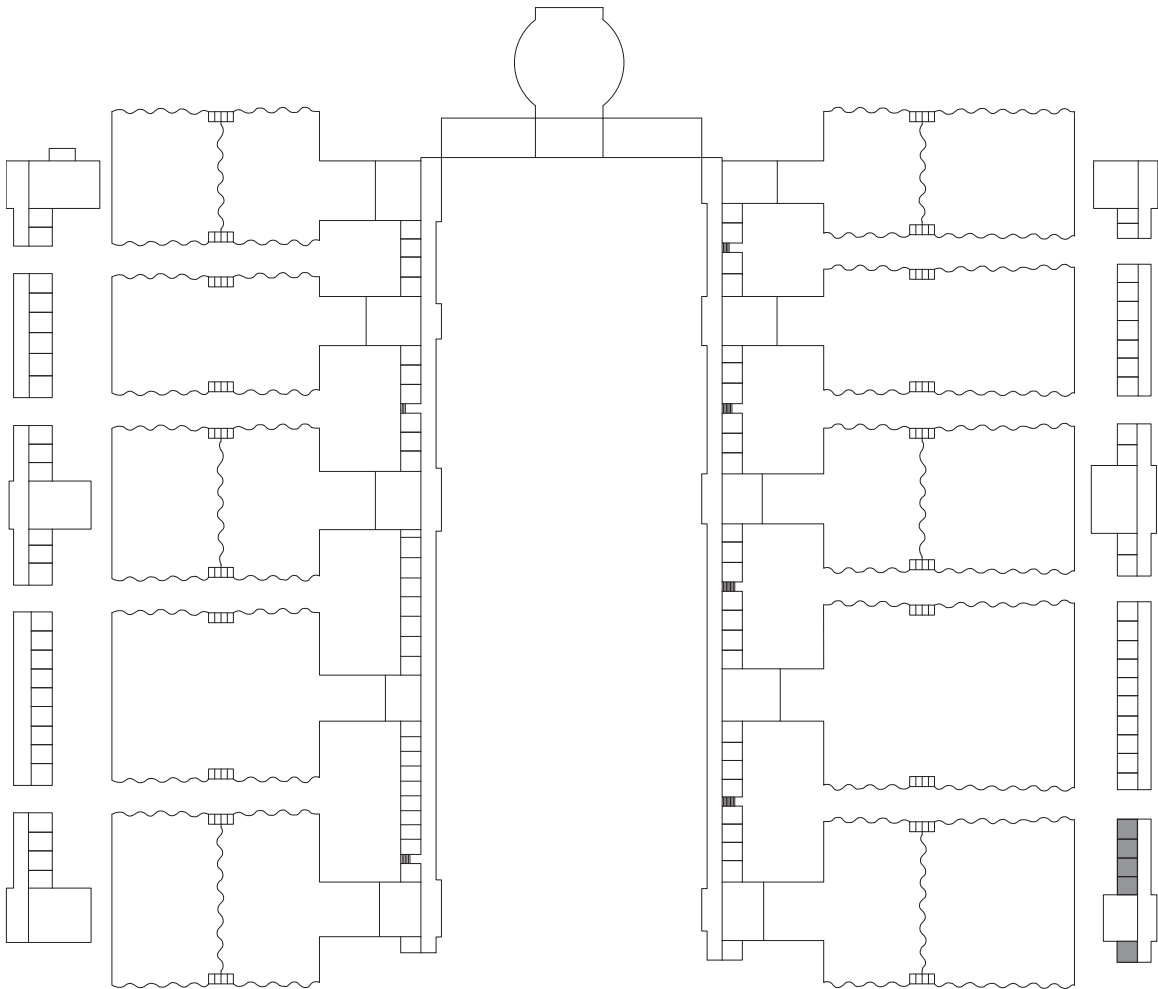


Figure 184. Section and end elevations, 28-46 East Range.

ROOM DESCRIPTIONS: 48-56 EAST RANGE

48-56 East Range

Proctor's Designation:	Dormitories 24 to 28 East Street
Date Begun:	Spring, 1821
Date Complete:	Spring, 1822
Brick Mason:	William B. Phillips
Carpenter:	George W. Spooner



This group includes the four rooms to the north of Hotel F. A fifth, to the south, is no longer extant. William Phillips executed the masonry and was paid in November of 1822.⁴⁷⁶ George Spooner did the carpentry and was paid in October of 1822.⁴⁷⁷ These rooms were among the 13 that Arthur Brockenbrough expected to be ready for plastering in the spring of 1822.⁴⁷⁸

476. "Proctor's Journal, 1819-1828," 161.

477. "Proctor's Journal, 1819-1828," 150.

478. Brockenbrough to Board of Visitors, November 26, 1821.

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Like most rooms on the East Range, these are on crawl spaces. The crawls have been more altered than most others on the ranges. All four floors were raised about three courses of masonry in 1858, when iron grates were installed under each door. There is a single vent at the rear, behind room 50. All framing under these rooms consists of modern dimensional lumber, running east-west. The original foundation walls are seen best under room 54, where seven courses of masonry sit above a two-course spread footing which has been undermined for modern utilities. Unlike other crawl spaces, this one has been excavated to install systems, rather than trenching along one wall. Portions of the west and east foundations have been buttressed or underpinned with concrete and chimney stacks have been underpinned with brick. The 1830s slate-covered pitched roof remains in place above these rooms. The original flat roof below survives; like those at 20-26 East Range, it is of the serrated lath type, with tin-lined valleys.

56 East Range

This room is no longer extant. It stood, in fact, for just 33 years, as it has been replaced by Levering Hall on the south side of Hotel F. It was one of the rooms occupied as a single in 1832-33 by George F. Henry, from Campbell County, Virginia but in 1848 it was no longer a student room.⁴⁷⁹ In that year, Hotel F was the Proctor's residence and it is likely that room 56 had become an appendage to it; certainly by 1853, it was the Proctor's Office.⁴⁸⁰ This tenure was short-lived, however, because between 1856 and 1858, it was demolished for the construction of Levering Hall, from designs by William Platt.⁴⁸¹

479. *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the University of Virginia. Session of 1832-33; Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the University of Virginia. Session of 1848-49.*

480. Baker et al., "University of Virginia Hotel F," 12-13.

481. Baker et al., 39-40.

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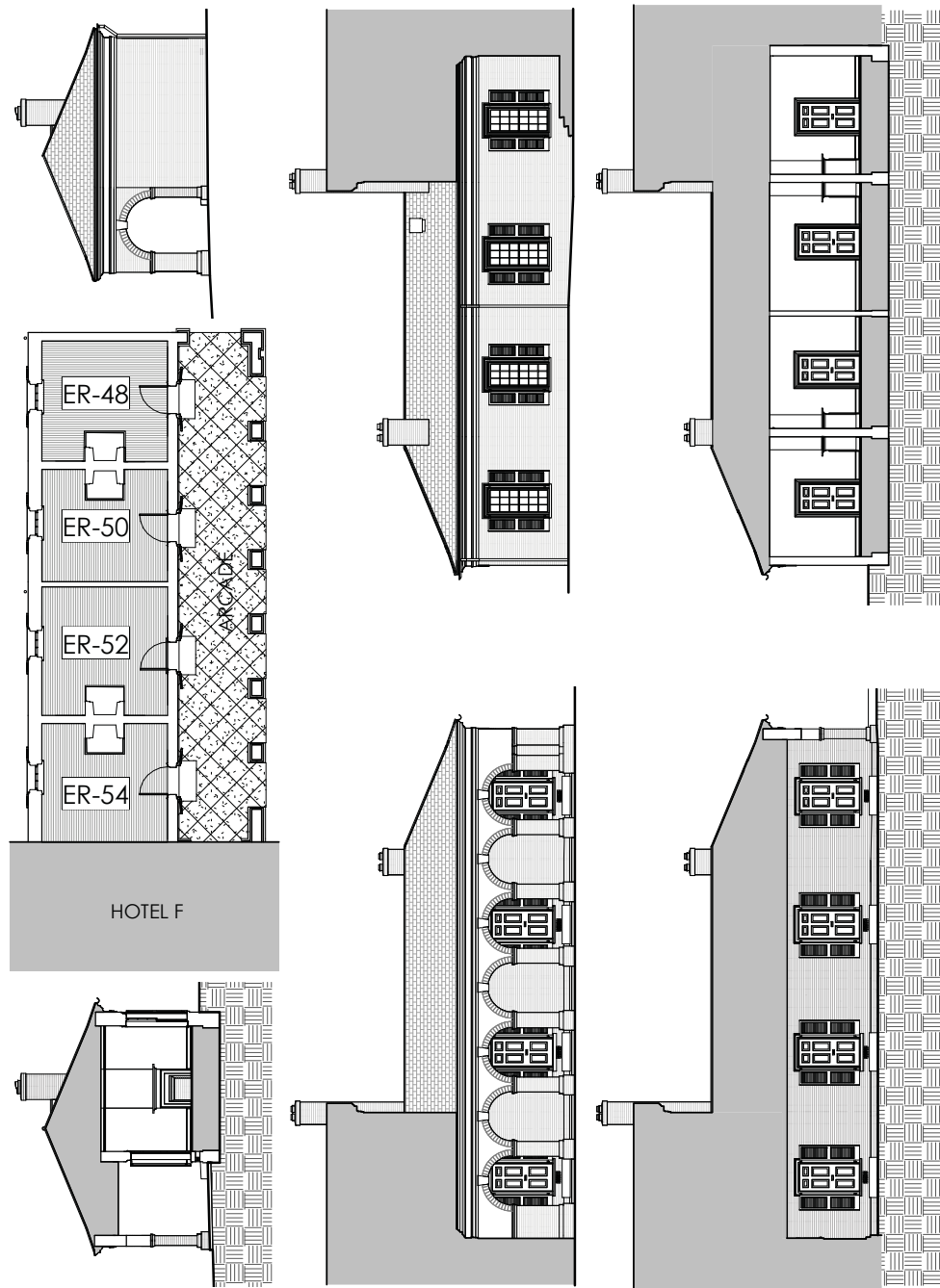


Figure 185. Plans, sections, and elevations of 48-54 East Range.

APPENDIX

Construction Timetable Documents

1820, October 2, University of Virginia Board of Visitors Report to Literary Fund President and Directors

<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-16-02-0245-0001#X1a0e9705-55a7-4f7b-9d40-4f7d00c6e298>

To the President and Directors of the Literary fund.

In obedience to the Act of the General assembly of Virginia requiring that the Rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia should make report annually to the President & Directors of the Literary fund (to be laid before the Legislature at their next succeeding session) embracing a full account of the disbursements, the funds on hand, & a general statement of the condition of the said University, the said Visitors make the following Report.

The General assembly, at their last session of 1819.20. having passed an Act authorising the sd Visitors, for the purpose of finishing the buildings of the University, to borrow the sum of 60,000.D. and to pledge, for repayment of the sd sum & interest, any part of the annual appropriation of 15,000.D. heretofore made by law, the board of Visitors, at their semi-annual meeting of April last, proceeded to the consideration of the sd act, and of the authorities therein permitted to them. they were of opinion, in the first place, that it would be most expedient to compleat all the buildings necessary for the accomodation of the Professors & Students, before opening the Institution, as the Maintenance of that, when opened, by absorbing all it's funds, would leave nothing to compleat what might yet be requisite for the full establishment called for by law.

On view of the accounts rendered by the Bursar & Proctor they found that with the aid of the loan authorised (if the commencement of it's instalments for repaiment could be suspended four years) and of their annuity during the same time, they might accomplish the whole of the buildings of accomodation for the Professors & Students according to the estimates, heretofore made, of their probable cost, of which the following statement presents a summary view.

1820. Apr.	The existing debts are	D 10,000.
	To compleat the 7. pavilions and 31. Dormitories on hand	18,000.
	To build three more pavilions & 24. Dormitories to compleat the lawn	27,600.
	To build 3. Hotels & 25. Dormitories, compleating the East back street	19,000.

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1821.	To build 2. Hotels & Proctor's house, & 25. Dormitories completing the West back street	19,000 93,600
Means.		D
1820. April.	Loan from the Literary fund.	40,000.
1821. Jan. 1.	Annuity of 15,000.D. - 2,400. int. of 40,000.D Additional loan of	12,600. 20,000.
1822. Jan. 1.	Annuity of 15,000.D. - 3600. int. of 60,000.	11,400.
1823. Jan. 1.	Annuity of 15,000.D. - 3600. int. of 60,000	11,400. 95,400.

They therefore proceeded to negotiate a loan of 40,000.D. from the President and Directors of the Literary fund, reimbursable by five instalments of 14,244.D. a year beginning on the day of April 1824: and afterwards a second loan of 20,000.D. reimbursable by like instalments, commencing from the day when the others should end.

On this view of their resources, the Board proceeded to authorise their Proctor to enter into contracts for the completion of the buildings already begun, and for the erection of those still wanting, so as to provide, in the whole, ten Pavilions for the Professors required by law, five Hotels for dieting the Students, and a sixth for the use of the Proctor, with an hundred and four Dormitories, sufficient for lodging 208. students: and they instructed him to make, in his contracts, effectual provision that the whole shall be completed in the autumn of the ensuing year 1821. at that time therefore the buildings of accomodation for the Professors and students are expected to be all ready for their reception; and the institution might then be opened, but that the remaining engagements for the buildings, and the reimbursement of the sums borrowed from the Literary fund, will require the whole revenue of the University for seven years to come, that is to say until the day of April 1828.

In the statement of the expenditures and means of the University it will be perceived that we have not taken the private subscriptions into account. of these 2079.D. 33. cents of the 1st instalment, 3914.13 D. of the 2d & 8217.09 D. of the 3d are still due: and the last, amounting to 10,666.50 D. will become due on the 1st day of April next. but of these some loss will be occasioned by the distresses of the times; and the residue, from the same cause, will be so tardy and uncertain in the times of it's receipt, that the Visitors have not thought it safe to found on it any stipulations requiring punctuality in their fulfilment. they have thought it more advisable to reserve it as a supplementary and contingent fund, to aid the general revenue, as it shall be recieved, and to meet casualties unforeseen, errors of estimate, & expences other than those of meer building.

In the Report of the Commissioners who met at Rockfish-gap on the 1st day of August 1818. it was stated that 'a building of somewhat more size, in the middle of the grounds, may be called

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for in time, in which may be rooms for religious worship, under such impartial regulations as the Visitors shall prescribe, for public examinations, for a Library, for the schools of Music, drawing & other associated purposes.' the expences of this building are not embraced in the estimates herein before stated. it's cost will probably be of about 40,000. Dollars, and it's want will be felt as soon as the University shall open. but this building is beyond the reach of the present funds. nor are these indeed adequate to the maintenance of the institution on the full scale enacted by the legislature. that body, aware that Professors of desirable eminence could not be expected to relinquish the situations in which they might be found, for others, new, untried and unknown, without a certainty of adequate compensation, confided to the discretion of the Visitors the salaries which should be stipulated to the Professors first employed. but the annuity heretofore appropriated to the maintenance of the University cannot furnish sufficient inducement to ten Professors, of high degree each in his respective line of science. and yet to employ inferior persons, would be to stand where we are in science, unavailed of the higher advances already made elsewhere, and of the advantages contemplated by the statute under which we act. if the legislature shall be of opinion that the annuity already apportioned to the establishment and maintenance of an institution for instruction in all the useful sciences, is it's proper part of the whole fund, the Visitors will faithfully see that it shall be punctually applied to the remaining engagements for the buildings and to the reimbursement of the extra sum lately recieved from the general fund: that during the term of it's exclusive application to these objects due care shall be taken to preserve the buildings erected from ruin or injury, and at the end of that term, they will provide for opening the institution in the partial degree to which it's present annuity shall be adequate.

If, on the other hand, the legislature shall be of opinion that the sums so advanced in the name of a loan, from the general fund of education were legitimately applicable to the purposes of an University, that it's early commencement will promote the public good, by offering to our youth, now ready and waiting for it an early and near resource for instruction, and by arresting the heavy tribute we are annually paying to other states and countries for the article of education, and shall think proper to liberate the present annuity from it's engagements, the Visitors trust it will be in their power, by the autumn of the ensuing year 1821. to engage and bring into place that portion of the Professors designated by the law, to which the present annuity may be found competent; or, by the same epoch, to carry into full execution the whole objects of the law, if an enlargement be made of it's participation in the general fund adequate to the full establishment contemplated by the law.

The accounts of reciepts, disbursements, and funds on hand for the year ending with the present date, as rendered by the Bursar and Proctor of the University, are given with this Report, as is required by law.

Th: Jefferson, Rector
October 2. 1820.

APPENDIX

1820, September 30, Arthur S. Brockenbrough's Statement of Expenditures by the University of Virginia

<https://founders.archives.gov/?q=Author%3A%22Brockenbrough%2C%20Arthur%20S.%22&s=1111311111&r=23>

A Statement of the application of the Funds of the University of Virginia, showing how much has been paid to each undertaker of work and for what purposes, and to other individuals on acct of the buildings and other expences, from the 1st day of October 1819 to the 30th day of September 1820—

	\$	Ct	\$	Cts
This sum paid to John M Perry on acct of the last payment for the 48¾ Acres of Land & improvement	3 615.90			
To J. M. Perry on acct of the brick work of Pav: No 3 & 7 Dormitories executed in 1819	2 990.54			
To the same on acct of work on Pavilion No 4 West and 16 dormitories, including plastering & Bill of lumber, and the brick-work of Pavilion 4 East with 8 dormitories & the brick & wood work of Hotel B with 9 dormitories, lumber included	8.598.75			
			15.205.19	
To this sum paid to James Dinsmore on acct of Carpenter & Joiners work on Pav: No 2 West and Pav: No 4 East & eight dormitories including lumber & other articles				5 314.15
To Dinsmore & Perry, for Carpenters & Joiners work and lumber for Pavilion No 3 West and six dormitories				1 544.11
To Richard Ware for brick work in Pav: 1 and 2 East & four dormitories	3 891.72			
“ same for Carpenter & Joiners work & lumber for Pavilions 1, 2 and 3 & 13 dormitories	6 503.77			
			10,395.49	
To Carter & Phillips for amt of their brick work last year in Pavs No 1 & 5.3 & five dormitories &c				3.506.75
To James Oldham on acct of Carpenters & Joiners work on Pavilion No 1 West with four dormitories and Hotel A. with nine dormitories & lumber				2 919.99
To A. Thorn for stone foundation for Columns to Pavilion No 1 West				86.50

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To George W. Spooner on acct Carpenters work on Pavilion No 5 West and on Hotel C with 10 dormitories and lumber		2 084.57
To John Nelson for work & lumber for Pavilion No 5 West & Pavilion No 5 East with seven dormitories	1 486.57	
To Peter Myers for brick work in Pavilion No 5 West	11.56	1 498.13
To William B Phillips on account of brick work the present year		898.71
To Curtis Carter on acct of his contract for brick work the present year		926.79
To Nelson Barksdale for lumber for the buildings	800.00	
same for the hire of Negroes for 1819	1 101.00	
same for a Horse for the use of the Institution	65.00	1 966.00
To Michele & Giacomo Raggi on acct wages as Sculptors board washing &c	1 294.24	
“ Giacomo Raggi on acct wages	70.	1364.24
To Joseph Cowden & James Campbell stone cutters	314.50	
To John Gorman on acct of stone work	679.06	993.56
To John Cullen & others for quarrying stone for Bases, Caps, door sills, steps &c		269.25
To Thos B. Conway for free Stone		75
To Joseph Antrim for Plastering	681.69	
To Edward Lowber for Painting and Glazing	598.25	
To A. H. Brooks, for covering Pavilions 1 and 5 West and 1 and 2 East with Tin & pipes No 2 West	798.47	2 078.41
To James Leitch for sundries furnished for the buildings including, Glass, Tin, hardware &c in 1818 and 1819	1 332.73	
To Brockenbrough & Harvie for Nails	282.96	
To John Van Lew & Co for Tin, hardware &c	1360.76	
To D. W. & C Warwick for sundries	37.00	3013.45
To Elijah Huffman for boring & laying water pipes	242.53	
“ Lewis Bailey for ditching for water pipes	25.50	
“ William Boin & others for do do	85.67	353.70
To John Herron for Wages as overseer	106.00	
“ Jesse Lewis blacksmith work	160.88	
To this paid for provision for laborers & overseer	797.83	

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“ this sum paid for the hire of laborers, waggonage and other unavoidable expences	1 620.26	2 684.97
To A. S. Brockenbrough on acct services	1 604.85	
“ Alex Garrett on acct services	375.00	1 979.85
Total amount paid out from 1 Oct: 19 to 30th Sept 1820		\$59.158.81

An Estimate of what will probably be required to complete the buildings now on hand and two other Hotels, a Proctors house and twenty eight dormitories to complete the range on the Western Street—

	\$	Ct	\$	Cts
Agreeable to our estimate on the 1st Oct 1819 we required to complete the buildings then contracted for the sum of				38.898.25
For 3 other Pavilions now building	18.000			
“ 3 Hotels or boarding houses do	9.000.			
45 Dormitories do	18.000			
				45,000.00
For 2 Hotels & a Proctors House on the west street with 28 dormitories				20.200
				\$104.098.25
To which may be added on account of stone work digging & removeing earth and other unavoidable expences at least 25 pCent				26.024.56
				\$130.122.81
From which deduct the sums paid to the several undertakers of the buildings & others as pr the foregoing acct—since Oct: 1st 1819				59,158.81
				\$70.964.00
Funds required to meet the above balance	\$			

DORMITORIES

This sum unappropriated of the sum borrowed of the Literary fund	20.000	
The State donation of 1821 after paying 2.400 Ds interest for money borrowed	12.600	
Balance required to complete the buildings	38.364	70,964

From the foregoing estimate it will be seen that the sum of \$38.364 will be wanting to complete the buildings contemplated for the accommodation of the Professors & students at the University of Virginia, the sum wanting is enlarged by adding to our former estimate a Proctors house and ten Dormitories which are required to make the Ranges on the East & West streets equal—In my estimate of October 1st 1819 the cost of the buildings alone was brought into the calculation, to make good what has been paid out for land and a variety of unforeseen contingent expences I have added 25 prcent on the estimate of October 1st 1819 which I am confident will be sufficient to complete the aforesaid buildings—the foregoing statements are respectfully submitted to the board of Visitors by thier obt Humble Sevt

A. S. Brockenbrough Proctor

University Sept: 30th 1820

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1821, September 30, Thomas Jefferson to University of Virginia Board of Visitors

<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-17-02-0465>

Monticello Sep. 30. 21.

Dear Sir

Mr Brockenbrough has been closely engaged, since our last meeting in settling the cost of the buildings finished at the University, that we might obtain a more correct view of the state of our funds, and see whether a competency will remain for the Library. he has settled for 6. Pavilions, 1. Hotel, and 35. Dormitories, and will proceed with the rest; so that I hope, by our next meeting, the whole of the 4. rows will be nearly settled. from what is done he has formed an estimate of the cost of what is yet to be done; & guided in it by actual experience, it is probably nearly correct. the result is that our actual reciepts heretofore, with what is still to be recieved of the loan of this year, after paying for the lands and all incidental & current expences, will exactly compleat the 4-rows of buildings for the accomodation of the Professors and students, amounting in the whole to 195,000. Dollars, and leave us without either debt or contract.

In the conjectural estimate laid before the Visitors at their last meeting it was supposed that the 3. annuities of 1822. 23. & 24. would suffice for the Library and current charges, without the aid of the unpaid subscriptions, which were reserved therefore as a contingent fund. by this more actual estimate it appears that the unpaid subscriptions, valued at 18,000.D. will be necessary to compleat that building. so that that conjectural estimate fell short by 18,000.D. of the real cost of the 4. rows; which in a total of 195,000.D. is perhaps not over-considerable. I call it the real cost because that of the unfinished buildings is reckoned by the real cost of those finished. the season being now too far advanced to begin the Library, and the afflicting sickness in Genl Cocke's family having deprived me of the benefit of consultation with him, I think it a duty to leave that undertaking entirely open and undecided, for the opinion of the Visitors at their meeting in November, when it is believed the actual settlements will have reached every thing, except 1. pavilion, and 3. Hotels, which alone will be unfinished until the spring.

The considerations which urge the building the hull, at least, of the Library, seemed to impress the board strongly at their last meeting; and it is put in our power to undertake it with perfect safety, by the indefinite suspension by the legislature, of the commencement of our instalments. this leaves us free to take another year's annuity, to wit that of 25. before we begin instalments, should the funds fall short which are here counted on for that building. the Undertakers are disposed to accept and collect themselves the outstanding subscriptions in part of payment.

You will distinguish, in this statement, by their enormous cost the Pavilions No 3. and 7. and

DORMITORIES

16. Dormitories, contracted for in 1817. & 18. at the inflated prices prevailing then while we acted as a Central College only. in 1819. & the following years, prices were reduced from 25. to 50. per cent. the enlarged cost of the latter Dormitories has been occasioned by the unevenness of the ground, which required cellars under many of them.

I shall hope to have the pleasure of receiving you at Monticello a day, at least before that of our meeting, as we can prepare our business here so much more at leisure than at the University. I salute you with great friendship and respect

Th: Jefferson

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1821, November 26, Enclosure: Arthur S. Brockenbrough to the University of Virginia Board of Visitors

<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-17-02-0563-0008>

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA,

Proctor's Office, November 26, 1821.

Gentlemen,

In compliance with the duty enjoined on me, I now lay before you, the following report of the state and condition of the buildings of the University of Virginia, accompanied with a statement of the amount of the Proctor's drafts on the Bursar for the last 12 or 14 months, and the balance that will be required to complete the unfinished buildings and their appendages. The estimates that are made on those that are unfinished, are put down at the average cost of others that are finished and prices fixed.—There may be some little variation in the cost of the unfinished buildings, but not to materially affect the estimates. You will find the balance required to complete the present buildings, exceeds the former estimates. If this was a novel case in building, I should feel much chagrined at it; but as we have numerous precedents before us in all great public works, and indeed in all large private buildings, (occasioned by innumerable contingent and other expences that man cannot foresee, and which is known to all that are any way conversant in building).¹ I am the better satisfied, as it cannot be expected, that I should be freer from error in estimates than others, (many of whom have much more experience) and where so much is left for conjecture. The present funds at the disposal of the Visitors, will, it is hoped, be found adequate, to complete what has heretofore been contracted for; all engagements have been made with an eye to economy.

The following is the present state of the buildings:—

Pavilions.—Of the ten directed by law for the accommodation of the Professors, seven of them are so nearly completed, that a few days notice to complete the painting, would be sufficient to put them in a proper state for the reception of the intended occupants; the other three are so far advanced in wood work, that the plaistering may be done as early in the spring as the weather will permit; you may calculate on their being finished by autumn.

Hotels, or Boarding Houses.—Three of those buildings are now complete for the reception of tenants; three more, including the one for the residence of the Proctor, which may be converted into a boarding house in a short time, if circumstances should require it, are so far advanced, that you may calculate on them also by the beginning of autumn; they are calculated to dine about fifty students each.

DORMITORIES

Dormitories.—There are one hundred and nine of those rooms, intended for students; fifty-one of which are plastered and finished; twenty-two ready for plastering; and thirteen others that will be ready by the spring; the balance twenty-three, that may be calculated on by midsummer, which will complete the establishment, as far as I have been directed to contract.

I am, gentlemen, Most respectfully, Your obedient humble servant,

A. S. BROCKENBROUGH, P. U. V.

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1821, November 30, University of Virginia Board of Visitors Report to Literary Fund President and Directors

<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-17-02-0563-0001>

To the President & Directors of the Literary fund.

In obedience to the act of the General assembly of Virginia, requiring that the Rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia should make report annually to the President and Directors of the Literary fund (to be laid before the legislature at their next succeeding session) embracing a full account of the disbursements, the funds on hand, and a general statement of the condition of the sd University, the sd Rector & Visitors make the following Report.

At their meeting in April last the attention of the Visitors was first drawn to the consideration of the act of the late General assembly which authorised the Literary board to lend, for the use of the University a further sum of 60,000.D. from such monies as should thereafter come to their hands. and taking such view as could then be obtained of the expences already incurred for the lands, buildings, and accessory purposes for the accomodation of the Professors and Students of the University, so far as already compleated, or in a state of advancement, and the further expences still to be incurred necessarily to compleat those accomodations, they concluded it to be for the benefit of the institution to obtain the said loan. application was accordingly made to the Literary board, a sum of 29,100.D. was obtained, and the further sum of 30,900.D. is expected so soon as the reciepts of that board shall enable them to furnish it.

In the mean time the board deemed it incumbent to obtain as early as possible a correct statement of the actual cost of what was already done, and a probable one of that still to be done, estimated according to the experience now obtained. they therefore instructed their Proctor to apply himself assiduously to the completion of the buildings generally, to a settlement of all accounts of the actual cost of those finished, and an estimate, according to that, of what would be the cost of those still to be finished. the completion of the buildings of accomodation, which are in 4. rows of about 600. feet in length each, as may be seen by the plan accompanying this Report, has been pressed with as much effect as could be expected; insomuch that there are now compleat, and in readiness for occupation, 6. Pavilions for the accomodation of the Professors, 82. dormitories for that of the Students, and 2. Hotels for their dieting; and the others will all be compleated in the ensuing summer. the accounts for the construction of those already finished have been actually settled; and the probable cost of the unfinished has been estimated according to the rates which the others have been found to cost.

The following is a summary view of the actual expenditures of the institution from the beginning, of those yet to be incurred to it's completion, & of the funds recieved & still recievable, as nearly as can at present be stated.

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6. Pavilions finished have cost	52,713.76	
17. capitels for them expected from Italy are to cost by contract	2,052.	
2. Hotels finished have cost	8,215.82	
82. Dormitories finished have cost	52,997.74	113,927.[32]

The following are nearly finished, & are estimated at the rates the others have cost, or at prices actually contracted for.

4. Pavilions	33,563.15	
4. Hotels	16,000.	
27. Dormitories	11,952.21	61,515.[36]
Backyards and gardens		1,500.
making the whole cost of the 4. rows of buildings of accomodation		176,94[2.68]
The purchase of 245½ acres of land & the buildings on them, past compensations to the Bursar and Proctor, hire & maintenance of laborers, & all other accessory and contingent expences		24,607[.77]
making a total for the lands, buildings Etc. compleat		201,550.[45]
to which add for interest on the loans, calculated to Dec. 31. 1821.		6,160[.25]

		207,710[.70]
The funds applied and applicable to these expenditures are	D	
The sale of Glebe lands	3,104.09	
A state certificate No 32. bearing interest.	176.77	
Annuities of 1819.20.21.	45,000.	
loan of 1820.	60,000.	
loan of 1821.	60,000.	
Subscriptions recieved to Nov. 27. 21.	24,676.37½	
Balance of subscriptions (due 19,668.91 of which suppose 3000. lost)	16,668.95	209,626.18
from this would result a small Surplus of		1,915.48
		207,710.70

According to the Proctor's Accounts for the present year (which, with the Bursar's are here-with inclosed, and) which contain minuter specifications of the expenditures

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To finish and pay for the whole of the buildings of accomodation not yet finished and paid for will require a further sum to be placed at his command of 53,494.79

The resources for this are

the balance of the loan of 21. still to be recieved	30,900.	
the balance still due of subscription monies, sperate	16,668.95	
Cash in the banks undrawn as per Bursar's account	2,301.23	
do in the Bursar's hands, as per his account	447.84	
State certificate No 32.	176.77	
from which would result a deficit to be supplied from the annuity of	3,000.	53,494.79

So far then as can at present be seen (and we are now so near the end of this work that there is room for little error) the funds recieved and recievable, will, within a small fraction, pay for the lands purchased, for the whole system of buildings of accomodation, and all accessory expences.

The building for the library, comprehending Halls indispensably necessary for other public purposes,⁵ and estimated by the Proctor, according to past experience, to cost 46,847.D. will remain to be erected from the same fund of the Annuity. the anticipations of this by loans, for expediting the other buildings, will have weakened it by nearly one half it's amount by the sums of interest to which it is subject; and will consequently retard the commencement of it's applications to the discharge of the sums borrowed by annual instalments, if such should continue to be the will of the Legislature.

The buildings of accomodation will be finished, as before observed, in the ensuing summer, and will constitute the whole establishment, except that of the library. with the close of these works, the accounts of their costs will also be closed. these will be first examined by a committee of the Visitors that nothing may enter into them not sanctioned by the board. they will then be finally submitted to the Accountant of the Literary board, for the assurance of the public that the monies have been correctly and faithfully applied.

In the course of these works, as is unavoidable perhaps generally in those of considerable magnitude, there have occurred instances of monies paid, not in direct furtherance of the legitimate object. the first was the case of a contract by the Visitors of the Central College, for a Professor, while acting for that as a private establishment, and under an expectation of it's immediate commencement. but that institution being afterwards merged in this of the University, and the enlargement of the plan occasioning that of the time of it's commencement also, it became important that that contract should be rescinded. this was done on a just and reason-

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able compromise and indemnification of 1500. Dollars. another instance was the importation of a foreign Artist, for carving the capitels of the more difficult orders of the buildings. the few persons in this country, capable of that work, were able to obtain elsewhere such high prices for their skill and labor that we believed it would be economy to procure an Artist from some country where skill is more abundant, & labor cheaper. we did so. but on trial the stone we had counted on in the neighborhood of the University was found totally insusceptible of delicate work; and some from a very distant, but the nearest other quarry known, besides a heavy expence attending it's transportation, was extremely tedious to work, and believed not proof against the influences of the weather. in the mean time we had enquired and learned that the same capitels could be furnished in Italy, and delivered in our own ports for a half, or third, of the price, in marble, which they would have cost us here in doubtful stone. we arrested the work here therefore, and compromised with our Artist at the expence of his past wages, his board and passage hither, amounting to 1390. D 56. C these are the only instances of false expence which have occurred within our knolege.

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 US. has been done on cheaper terms, nor more correctly, faithfully, or solidly executed, according to the nature of the materials used.

That the style or scale of the buildings should have met the approbation of every individual judgment was impossible from the various structure of various minds. whether it has satisfied the general judgment, is not known to us. no previous expression of that was manifested but in the injunctions of the law to provide for the accommodation of ten Professors, and a competent number of students; and by the subsequent enactments, implying an approbation of the plan reported by the original Commissioners, on the requisition of the law constituting them; which plan was exactly that now carried into execution. we had therefore no supplementary guide but our own judgments, which we have exercised conscientiously, in adopting a scale and style of building believed to be proportioned to the respectability, the means & the wants of our country, and such as will be approved in any future condition it may attain. we owed to it to do, not what was to perish with ourselves, but what would remain, be respected and preserved thro' other ages. and we fondly hope that the instruction which may flow from this institution, kindly cherished, by advancing the minds of our youth with the growing science of the times, and elevating the views of our citizens generally to the practice of the social duties, and the functions of self-government, may ensure to our country the reputation, the safety and prosperity, and all the other blessings which experience proves to result from the cultivation and improvement of the general mind. and, without going into the monitory history of the antient world, in all it's quarters, and at all it's periods, that of the soil on which we live, and of

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it's occupants, indigenous & immigrant, teaches the awful lesson, that no nation is permitted to live in ignorance with impunity.

Th: Jefferson, Rector.

November 30, 1821.

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1822, October 7, University of Virginia Board of Visitors to Literary Fund Board

<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/98-01-02-3079>

To the President and Directors of the Literary fund.

In obedience to the act of the General assembly of Virginia, requiring that the Rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia should make report annually to the President and Directors of the Literary fund [to be laid before the legislature at their next succeeding session) embracing a full account of the disbursements the funds on hand, and a general statement of the condition of the University the said Rector & Visitors make the following Report.

The Visitors considering as the law of their duty the Report of the Commissioners of 1818. which was made to the legislature, and acted on by them, from time to time subsequently, have compleated all the buildings proposed by that Report, except one; that is to say, ten distinct houses or Pavilions containing each a lecturing room, with generally four other apartments for the accomodation of a Professor & his family, and with a garden and the requisite family offices; six Hotels for dieting the Students, with a single room in each for a Refectory, and two rooms, a garden and offices for the tenant; and an hundred and nine Dormitories, sufficient each for the accomodation of two students, arranged in four distinct rows between the Pavilions & Hotels, and united with them by covered ways; which buildings are all in readiness for occupation, except that there is still some plaistering to be done, now in hand, which will be finished early in the present season, the gardens grounds and garden walls to be compleated, and some columns awaiting their Capitels not yet recieved from Italy. these buildings are mostly paid for by the monies which have been recieved, and it is still expected they would be compleatly so, by the subscriptions due, were they in hand. but the slowness of their collection will render it necessary to make good their deficiencies, in the first instance, out of the annuity of the ensuing years, to be replaced to that fund again by the subscriptions as they come in.

The remaining building, necessary to compleat the whole establishment, & called for by the Report of 1818. which was to contain rooms for religious worship, for public examinations, for a Library, & for other associated purposes, is not yet begun for want of funds. it was estimated heretofore by the Proctor, according to the prices which the other buildings have actually cost at the sum of 46,847. Dollars. the Visitors, from the beginning, have considered it as indispensable to compleat all the buildings before opening the institution; because, from the moment that shall be opened, the whole income of the University will be absorbed by the salaries of the Professors, and other incidental and current expences, and nothing will remain to erect any building still wanting to compleat the system. they are still of opinion therefore that it is better to postpone, for a while, the commencement of the institution, and then to open it in full and compleat system, than to begin prematurely in an unfinished state, and go on, perhaps for ever, on the contracted scale of local academies, utterly inadequate to the great purposes

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which the Report of 1818. and the legislature have hitherto had in contemplation. they believe that, in that imperfect state, it will offer little allurements to other than neighboring students, and that Professors of the first eminence in their respective lines of science, will not be induced to attach their reputations to an institution, defective in its outset, and offering no pledge of rising to future distinction. yet the Visitors consider the procuring such characters (and it will certainly be their aim) as the peculiar feature which is to give reputation and value to the Institution, and to constitute its desirable and important attractions. but the present state of the funds renders the prospect of finishing this last building indefinitely distant! the interest of the sums advanced to the institution now absorbs nearly half its income. a suspension of interest indeed, for three or four years, would give time for erecting the building with the established annuity; but the subsequent repayment of the principal from that annuity would remove the opening of the Institution to a very remote period.

On this view of the condition of the University, the Visitors think it their duty to state that, if the legislature shall be of opinion that the sums advanced to the University, in the name of loans, from the general fund for education, have been applied to their legitimate object, and shall think proper to liberate the annuity from their reimbursement, it will suffice in three or four years to complete the last building, and the institution may be opened at the end of that term. and further that if the requisite sum can be supplied from the same or any other fund, then the University may be put into as full operation, as its income will admit, in the course of the year ensuing the present date, and while the remaining building will be proceeding on such supplementary fund. this however, or whatever else their wisdom may devise, is subject to their direction, to which the Visitors will in willing duty conform.

In the same Report of the Commissioners of 1818. it was stated by them that 'in conformity with the principles of our constitution, which place all sects of religion on an equal footing, with the jealousies of the different sects in guarding that equality from encroachment or surprise, and with the sentiments of the legislature in favor of freedom of religion, manifested on former occasions, they had not proposed that any professorship of Divinity should be established in the University; that provision however was made for giving instruction in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin languages, the depositories of the Originals, and of the earliest and most respected authorities of the faith of every sect, and for courses of Ethical lectures, developing those moral obligations in which all sects agree. that, proceeding thus far, without offence to the Constitution, they had left, at this point, to every sect to take into their own hands the office of further instruction in the peculiar tenets of each.'

It was not however to be understood that instruction in religious opinions and duties was meant to be precluded by the public authorities, as indifferent to the interests of society. on the contrary, the relations which exist between man and his maker, and the duties resulting from those relations, are the most interesting and important to every human being, and the most incumbent on his study and investigation. the want of instruction in the various creeds of

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religious faith existing among our citizens presents therefore a chasm in a general institution of the useful sciences. but it was thought that this want, and the entrustment to each society of instruction in it's own doctrines, were evils of less danger than a permission to the public authorities to dictate modes on principles of religious instruction, or than opportunities furnished them of giving countenance or ascendancy to any one sect over another. a remedy however has been suggested of promising aspect, which, while it excludes the public authorities from the domain of religious freedom, would give to the Sectarian schools of divinity the full benefit of the public provisions made for instruction in the other branches of science. these branches are equally necessary to the Divine, as to the other professional or civil characters, to enable them to fulfil the duties of their calling with understanding and usefulness. it has therefore been in contemplation, and suggested by some pious individuals, who percieve the advantages of associating other studies with those of religion, to establish their religious schools on the confines of the University, so as to give to their students ready and convenient access and attendance on the scientific lectures of the University; and to maintain, by that means, those destined for the religions professions on as high a standing of science, and of personal weight and respectability, as may be obtained by others from the benefits of the University. such establishments would offer the further and great advantage of enabling the Students of the University to attend religious exercises with the Professor of their particular sect, either in the rooms of the building still to be erected, and destined to that purpose under impartial regulations, as proposed in the same Report of the Commissioners, or in the lecturing room of such Professor. to such propositions the Visitors are disposed to lend a willing ear, and would think it their duty to give every encouragement, by assuring to those who might chuse such a location for their schools, that the regulations of the University should be so modified and accomodated as to give every facility of access and attendance to their students, with such regulated use also as may be permitted to the other students, of the library which may hereafter be acquired, either by public or private munificence. but always understanding that these schools shall be independant of the University and of each of each other. such an arrangement would compleat the circle of the useful sciences embraced by this institution, and would fill the chasm now existing, on principles which would leave inviolate the constitutional freedom of religion, the most inalienable and sacred of all human rights, over which the people and authorities of this state individually and publicly, have ever manifested the most watchful jealousy: and could this jealousy be now alarmed, in the opinion of the legislature, by what is here suggested, the idea will be relinquished on any surmise of disapprobation which they might think proper to express.

A committee of the board was duly appointed to settle finally the accounts of all reciepts and disbursements, from the commencement of the Central college, to the entire completion of the four ranges of buildings of the University. they found it necessary to employ a skilful Accountant to make up a compleat set of books, in regular form, wherein all the accounts, general and particular, should be stated, so as that every dollar might be traced from it's reciept to it's ultimate expenditure, and the clearest view be thus exhibited of the faithful application of the monies placed under the direction of the board. this work has taken more time than expected;

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and altho' considerably advanced, is not entirely compleated. until it's completion however, the committee cannot proceed on the final settlement with which they are charged. the Bursar's accounts for the year preceding this date are rendered herewith; as are also the Proctor's for the first six months; but his books and papers being necessarily in the hands of the Accountant, his account for the last half year could not as yet be prepared. the settlement by the committee, when made, will be transmitted, as a supplementary document, to the Literary board, as well for it's regular Audit by their Accountant, as to be laid before the legislature.

And the board adjourned without day.

Th: Jefferson Rector

Octob. 7. 1822.

DORMITORIES

1832-33 List of Students by Room

From *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the University of Virginia, Session of 1832-33*

Row	Room	Occupants
East Lawn	2	no student
East Lawn	4	James A. Chapman
East Lawn	6	Robert A. Read
East Lawn	8	Robert C. Stanard
East Lawn	10	Archibald Cary
East Lawn	12	John B. Lightfoot, Carter W. Wormeley
East Lawn	14	Thomas M'Laughlin, Stanhope Posey
East Lawn	16	Douglas H. Cooper, David H. Turpin
East Lawn	18	James G. Carson, John R. Liddell
East Lawn	20	no student
East Lawn	22	W. Van Hamm
East Lawn	24	Jno. Tayloe Key
East Lawn	26	David W. Brodnax, Thomas Withers
East Lawn	28	Hazlet Lofland
East Lawn	30	William H. Dunbar
East Lawn	32	Walter Henderson
East Lawn	34	Joseph F. Montgomery, Benjamin F. Trice
East Lawn	36	no student
East Lawn	38	John C. Burrus, Septimus D. Cabaniss, William B. Wilbourn
East Lawn	40	James F. Gray
East Lawn	42	Richard A. Wilkins
East Lawn	44	Martin Hart, John R. Williams
East Lawn	46	Willis P. Boccock
East Lawn	48	George Schley, Jno. P. C. Whitehead
East Lawn	50	no student
East Lawn	52	no student
East Range	2	William M. Minor
East Range	4	George Minor
East Range	6	Thomas Leigh
East Range	8	Erwin P. Jones, William E. Mills
East Range	10	John T. Grattan
East Range	12	William F. Turner
East Range	14	Chamberlayne Pollard
East Range	16	Joseph N. Atkinson
East Range	18	Hierome L. Opie
East Range	20	Thomas T. Bouldin
East Range	22	George L. Nicholson, Robert W. Tomlin

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East Range	24	William M. Randolph
East Range	26	John H. Cochran
East Range	28	Peter T. Johnson, James W. Strider
East Range	30	Albert G. Chewning, James W. Poindexter
East Range	32	William S. Woods
East Range	34	Thomas Semmes, Jr. John M. Forbes
East Range	36	William C. Ashe, John B. Lynch
East Range	38	no student
East Range	40	James R. Craig
East Range	42	Robert S. Bagley
East Range	44	Robert C. Cabell
East Range	46	T. Freeman Epes, J. W. Williamson
East Range	48	Thomas L. Land, M. Pickett
East Range	50	William H. Hall
East Range	52	Henry R. Carter
East Range	54	no student
East Range	56	George F. Henry
West Lawn	1	no student
West Lawn	3	no student
West Lawn	5	Francis S. Sampson
West Lawn	7	James H. Davis, John B. Minor, Thomas J. Pritlow
West Lawn	9	no student
West Lawn	11	Richard Cross
West Lawn	13	William A. Baynham
West Lawn	15	Alexander A. Austin
West Lawn	17	Jno. Hanson Thomas, William M. Ambler
West Lawn	19	Thomas L. Patterson
West Lawn	21	Alexander J. Baylor, Frederick W. Coleman
West Lawn	23	Elijah B. Hilliard
West Lawn	25	Alexander S. Mathews
West Lawn	27	Edmund Ruffin
West Lawn	29	John A. Meredith
West Lawn	31	John B. Young
West Lawn	33	John W. Harris
West Lawn	35	David C. Winfree
West Lawn	37	William B. Archer
West Lawn	39	Jacob D. Dudley, Robert H. Gilliam
West Lawn	41	John Preston
West Lawn	43	David H. Tucker

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West Lawn	45	William S. Triplett
West Lawn	47	Richard Morris, John C. Singleton
West Lawn	49	Jno. Richard Jones
West Lawn	51	John D. Morris
West Lawn	53	no student
West Lawn	55	no student
West Range	1	no student
West Range	3	Edwin F. Conway, Z. M. P. Powers
West Range	5	John Mayo
West Range	7	no student
West Range	9	Joseph M. Newman
West Range	11	William S. Atkins, William L. Dulaney
West Range	13	Thomas B. Washington
West Range	15	Augustine S. Magill
West Range	17	George Wm. Ransom
West Range	19	Rufus K. Polk
West Range	21	M. M. Pallan
West Range	23	no student
West Range	25	William F. Brand, Socrates Maupin
West Range	27	Thomas B. Robertson, Thomas Wallace
West Range	29	Richard Parker
West Range	31	Robert S. French
West Range	33	Thomas P. Giles, Lilburn H. Trigg
West Range	35	John B. Radford
West Range	37	William Davis
West Range	39	John G. Fulton, Samuel Miller
West Range	41	John S. Woods, William Finley
West Range	43	John H. Christian, John F. Curtis, Daniel E. Watson
West Range	45	Charles H. Randolph
West Range	47	Lawson M. Burfoot
West Range	49	McClurg Wickham
West Range	51	R. H. Weightman
West Range	53	no student

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