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## **Behind the Scenes at William and Mary: Front Stage History and Backstage Archaeology**

Tiffany Olivia Little

*College of William & Mary - Arts & Sciences*

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Behind the Scenes at William and Mary: Front Stage History and Backstage  
Archaeology

Tiffany Olivia Little

Grayson, Kentucky

Bachelor of Arts, Northern Kentucky University, 2009

A Thesis presented to the Graduate Faculty  
of the College of William and Mary in Candidacy for the Degree of  
Master of Arts

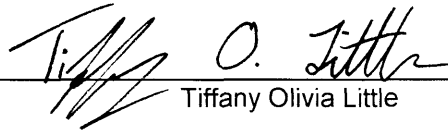
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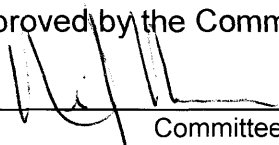
## APPROVAL PAGE


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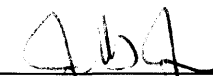
Master of Arts

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Tiffany Olivia Little

Approved by the Committee, August, 2013

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Committee Chair  
Asst. Professor Neil Norman, Anthropology  
College of William and Mary

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Professor Curtis Moyer, Anthropology  
College of William and Mary

  
\_\_\_\_\_  
Joseph Jones, Director  
William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research

This thesis is an analysis of an outbuilding which was partially excavated by the William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research in 2010. During routine monitoring of utility work on campus several subsurface features were found, including the corner of a shallow cellar belonging to an outbuilding of unknown function which dates to the first half of the eighteenth century. Traditional histories of the College tend to focus on the prominent figures who were the driving force of establishing the College and its early years. In contrast this thesis is intended to bring focus to the lives of those who built and maintained the college during those first years.

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This thesis is dedicated to Andrew. I could not have done this without your support and encouragement.

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## INTRODUCTION

The focus of this thesis is the archaeological evidence of an outbuilding found at the College of William and Mary. The site was investigated in 2010 and this thesis is the product of the analysis of the artifacts from the associated test excavations. The structure was likely built in the early 1700s and was subsequently razed in the third quarter of the eighteenth century. Located behind the oldest building on campus, the Wren Building, the function of the structure is unknown. The ultimate goal of this research is to investigate some of the possible purposes for this structure while taking a closer look at the people who built and maintained the College during its earliest history.

The servants, slaves, and workmen who served at the College held a significant, but largely forgotten role. While traditional histories mostly focus on the prominent figures in the early history of the College, this work seeks to bring attention to the people who worked in the background. The site at the center of this research was investigated by the William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research (hereafter known as WMCAR) as a cultural resource management project. The project was funded by William and Mary Facilities Management as part of utilities work on campus. The project strategy was planned in such a way that the effects of construction work on significant archaeological resources would be avoided or minimized to the extent feasible. For example, a pipeline was installed 15-20 feet underground, extending under nearly 3,000 feet of the campus, while disturbing only two comparatively small surface areas at either end of the pipeline. The two affected areas are within the regions known as Locus 10 and Locus 6. The outbuilding this thesis focuses on is located within the boundaries of Locus 10 which is located behind Tucker Hall approximately 33 feet from Richmond Road.

WMCAR conducted archaeological survey and testing in advance of construction, where possible to do so. Within Locus 10, however, paved roadway and parking areas prevented archaeological survey in advance of mechanical excavation and removal of asphalt. Instead, in coordination with the Virginia Department of Historic Resources, WMCAR staff implemented a plan to monitor the mechanical removal of asphalt followed by a sufficient amount of time allocated prior to construction for the archaeologists to document and test archaeological resources identified beneath the pavement.

Ultimately more than sixty features of various size and significance were found and investigated by the WMCAR team within the affected section of Locus 10, including a feature which was initially thought to be a midden bordering the project area. Other features include over thirty post hole and post mold features, several historic and modern trenches as well as two eighteenth-century colonial dog burials. Subsequent test excavations revealed indications that the midden feature was actually a refuse-filled cellar feature representing an outbuilding which was likely built in the early eighteenth century and then gone, with the cellar pit filled in during the third quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. This timespan covers the first and second constructions of the Wren building, the building of the Brafferton School and the President's House, as well as other smaller construction endeavors. The historical section of this thesis will look at the origins of the College, focusing on everyday life at the institution and on periods of construction which may have affected the site.



*Figure 1: Cellar Feature, photo courtesy of the William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research*

This project operated under a number of constraints that limit interpretations of the site at this time. An important interpretive constraint was that only a portion of the cellar feature and adjacent areas was exposed within the construction area. Given that adjacent portions of the archaeological resources within Locus 10 lay beneath asphalt-paved surfaces that would not otherwise be affected by the proposed undertaking, it was not feasible to expand the removal of pavement beyond the extent of the area of potential effect for the undertaking. In short, the associated archaeological resources outside of the area of potential effect have been preserved in place and per state guidelines regarding significant archaeological resources on state lands, any additional archaeological investigations or recovery targeting the resources situated outside of the area of potential effect for the undertaking would require coordination with the State Historic Preservation Officer and development of an appropriate archaeological treatment plan.

In the next few chapters this thesis will explore Erving Goffman's theory of performance and presentation of self, and then look at the historical background and documentary evidence associated with the site. The final chapter will directly link the site to periods of building dating back to the original College construction.

## THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Theory is an integral part of the archaeological experience. Through theory the archaeologist not only provides the framework with which to interpret the material world into action and behavior, but also to acknowledge and expose the bias of the researcher. All archaeologists use theory, but that does not mean that all archaeologists define what theory they use, or even realize that they are using theory (Johnson 2010: 5). Without some form of theory the data generated by an archaeological dig is nothing more than a few interesting objects, but the goal of archaeology is not to learn about objects, the goal is to learn about people and behavior. Theory allows us to make sense of the patterns in the archaeological record and to translate patterns into actions.

Michael Olmert's book *Kitchens, Smokehouses, and Privies* brought to my attention the intersection between outbuildings and Erving Goffman's work (1922-1982).

“Architecture is often said to be about the ‘presentation of self’ but outbuildings, in their shape and arrangement in the historic backyard, can be seen apart from considerations of aesthetics or the physics of building. They can tell us who we were. So you might say this book is about the mentalities of the little structures that Anglo-Americans (and African-Americans) designed and erected around their homes and plantations. And what they came to expect from those buildings.” (Olmert 2009: 2)

Erving Goffman uses theatrical terms to describe everyday behavior (1959). The core of his work lies in the performance. The performance of an individual consists of both the expressions he gives and the impressions he gives off (Goffman 1959: 2). Any situation is partially defined by the individuals present and their actions, and the performance is most easily defined by how those individuals behave in those situations (Goffman 1959: 6). The performer exists on a spectrum of awareness and belief in the performance

(Goffman 1959: 17). A performer may be unaware of the role they play, or be fully aware of their performance. It is important to note that awareness of a performance does not mean that the performance is intended to hurt or delude the audience. An actor may be acting intentionally in order to obtain a result that he sees as beneficial for the audience (Goffman 1959: 18). A good example of an intentional actor is a politician or someone who works in public relations. They manipulate and control their image in order to produce a chosen result, and to protect their own image. At times individuals work together as a team to maintain a certain performance and to prevent dissonant events which disrupt the performance (Goffman 1959: 76, 86). The student population at William and Mary was younger than the College student of today; children can be a wild card, especially when they are minimally supervised by adults. Despite internal politics and student pranks it was up to President James Blair and the leaders of the College to maintain the image of a well-run institution, and to control the impressions of outsiders. As part of his own image Blair needed to be seen as the ideal leader for the College. In his description of idealization Goffman could have been describing Blair's appointment to the presidency.

“... performers often foster the impression that they had ideal motives for acquiring the role in which they are performing, that they have ideal qualifications for the role, and that it was not necessary for them to suffer any indignities, insults, and humiliations, or make any tacitly understood 'deals,' in order to acquire the role.” (Goffman 1959: 46)

Not only did Blair need to be seen as the ideal leader, but he needed the College to seem just as ideal. This was especially true because the College was a religious institution and because any breaches in the performance inevitably led to drops in enrollment.

Histories of the College focus on the President and Masters of the College, although Wenger's excellent discussion on Thomas Jefferson's College experience places more emphasis on the daily experiences of the students at the College (Wenger 1995). Ultimately, these historical accounts are histories of elites, and even by focusing on the students the focus is on future elites. While education at William and Mary was available to Virginia's forming middle class it was a tool of upward momentum, elevating boys into gentlemen. The initial push to establish a College in Virginia was driven by a rise in university educated men immigrating to Virginia. These men wished to bestow upon their sons the education that they were privileged to have (Goodson et al 1993: 6). Even today education is a tool used by many to change their social class.

On the other side of the coin, a large number of people worked to maintain life at the College, and their experiences are generally unrecorded. Servants and slaves maintain a performance all their own, and are often treated as if they were invisible or part of the elite performance (Goffman 1959: 152). Their presence allowed the school faculty to elevate themselves above manual labor, although some students did pay for their education by performing chores for the College. This invisibility creates a bias in the historical records of the College, which consist largely of correspondence during this period. The roles servants play are essential for the performances of the elites at the College, but largely out of the view of the audience.

The physical place that the performances occur is the setting, which can also be referred to as fronts or scenes (Goffman 1959: 22). The setting includes furniture, décor, and the layout of an area. This provides props for the performers (Goffman 1959: 22). A

front can be used by many performers and for many types of performances, but some stages tend to conform to stereotypical ideals (Goffman 1959: 27). An example of this would be the similarity of churches to one another. The stage dictates a certain kind of behavior and assists the performers in creating the proper situation.

Another category of setting which could be used to describe the College is a region which is defined as “any place that is bounded to some degree by barriers to perception.” (Goffman 1959: 106) This can include anything from a room to a geographical region, such as the Royal Colony of Virginia. The most distinct categories of regions are the backstage and the front stage. These two regions are not bounded by walls, but by the activities carried out at a location, and a single location may serve as both front and back stage at different points in time. The region is defined by the actions occurring in the area at the time of the action, and using this definition a more flexible understanding of space is possible. A parlor being cleaned becomes part of the backstage, but reverts to the front stage when guests arrive.

Areas that are used exclusively as backstage tend to be set apart from the front stage. Access is restricted and whenever possible they are placed out of the view of the public (Goffman 1959: 113). Included in the exclusively backstage areas are places where actors are vulnerable, such as a privy or a bedroom (Goffman 1959: 123). In 18<sup>th</sup> century Chesapeake Virginia the backstage often includes outbuildings, which are out of sight and private. At the historic College there were several buildings which present a public image. These are the Wren building, the Brafferton Indian School, and the President’s House. While some of the backstage work of running the school was



contained within these structures, the College used a functioning system of outbuildings. At the College, the front stage was designed to give off an impression of academia and affluence. The visibility of work undermines this image, but any space which is lived in requires physical labor to maintain an aesthetic standard. This is especially true in meal preparation. In order to hide the physical labor of running a huge household, work areas were concealed in the basement of the Wren Building, including a kitchen and a laundry (Olmert 2009: 29). However, not all the work areas could be contained inside a single structure. The College maintained a network of small outbuildings throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The Locus 10 outbuilding cannot be separated from its context within the landscape of the College. Much like the relationships between artifacts in the ground, the details exist within the context of the system they were built within (Neiman 1986: 294). While the environment plays a role in landscape, landscapes are by definition man-made (Anschuetz et al 2001: 160-161). Landscapes are an expression of identity and are formed through perception (Hall 2006: 189, Upton 1985: 122). At the College, formal ideas of architecture combine with the local vernacular architecture. This is epitomized by the Wren building which was modeled after English public buildings of that time. This was the beginning of a period when academic ideas of architecture and the numbers of professional architects were increasing in the colonies (Upton 1982: 95). On the other hand the Wren building followed the Virginia model and used a system of outbuildings in order to support the main structure. Later adaptations of the Wren building did more to adapt to the Virginia environment and culture.

The Locus 10 outbuilding is located only a short distance in the rear of the College, on the east side of what is now Tucker Hall. The structure is a Virginia style house, built with posts set in the ground, a style unique to the Chesapeake region (Neiman 1986: 300). While the Wren building was created with the political needs of the College in mind, largely ignoring the environment it was set in, the outbuilding was built for Virginia (Neiman 1986: 294). The College was designed for visual impact, located at the end of the main road in Williamsburg. Visually the Wren Building was designed to evoke the kind of official buildings that were popular in England at the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Later on, when the Brafferton School and the Presidents house were built, they flanked the Wren Building, creating a symmetrical image which evoked power, knowledge and wealth. The placement of this outbuilding would not interfere with the aesthetic setting of the college building, which would keep the backstage from interfering with the performance. In addition to the visual impact of placing outbuildings and work areas out of sight, distancing slaves from the main building also creates a social distance (Upton 1982: 96). Fraser Neiman also deals with the social impact of physical distance, “Spaces defined by architectural barriers became more functionally specific progressively separating masters from laborers, superiors from inferiors, private from public and finally the self from others.” (Neiman 1986: 311) While the traditional histories and the archaeology of the more prominent areas of the campus focus on the front stage, the Locus 10 outbuilding can potentially provide a window into the backstage. If the Wren Building, Brafferton School, and President’s house tell us the performance, then this building tells us what goes on behind the curtains.

The documentary records from the early College also are a product of the front stage. Most of these records were produced through correspondence and other documents written by College leaders and their peers. In historical archaeology the documentary records are combined with the archaeological record to create a more complete understanding of behavior and events at a given site or region. Although many are tempted to treat written records as a complete record, the documentary record is as incomplete as the archaeological record (Johnson 2010: 92). This is true for several reasons. First, not all documents survive. Paper is inherently fragile, and while many of the records relating to the College have survived, fire destroyed many of the earliest records. Second, the documentary records have been incomplete from their creation, not every detail is written down, and often the records that are produced represent only a small portion of the population.

Written documents tend to be produced by elites and this creates an inherent bias. Funari et al mentions specifically the neglect of the urban poor and those who live in rural areas as just two categories of people who may be absent from records (Funari et al 1999: 9). At the College the daily lives of students and masters are well documented, but mentions of servants, slaves and workmen are rare. A dichotomy exists with historical archaeology between literate and non-literate groups (Funari et al 1999: 5). The College functioned on the labor of slaves, who as a group produce very few written documents. The illiterate and the poor have two barriers against recording their own history; a lack of ability, and a lack of time (Funari et al 1999: 5). Finally, primary source documents are a product of culture "...documents are nothing if not statements of thoughts." (Johnson

2010: 92) This means that no document will be unbiased, no matter how impersonal it appears. Documents that are produced by the upperclasses will reflect the opinions and views of the upper-class, and when servants and slaves appear in those documents so do the upper-class opinions of the underclasses. In the documentary records of the College this is most apparent when slaves are mentioned, often in conjunction with racially charged accusations of misconduct or idleness. Within the ranks of historical archaeologists the value of documents vs. the value of archaeological evidence has been fought from both sides. Conflicts on the superiority of archaeology over history and vice versa have been problematic throughout the theoretical discussions of historical archaeology (Johnson 1999: 24). If the documentary record is a subjective creation of the elite members of the College, and the archaeological record is a subjective product of the archaeologist where do we go from there? A first step is to address the inherent biases in the evidence.

The documentary record is often a product of elites and a product of politically savvy people who generally recognize the importance of performance, even at a distance. The result is lack of data on the underclasses and a preponderance of data on the elites and middle classes (Hall 1999: 195). Additionally, these accounts cannot always represent undeniable facts, but rather opinions and personal sides in the events they convey. In the case of the College we are looking for the underclasses who were living among the elites, sharing an archaeological footprint, but also separate. In any case, the details of structures and objects are meaningless by themselves, like the patterns found in archaeological sites that form context and meaning, objects exist as part of a system

(Neiman 1986: 294). This is a reflection of how the details of culture are meaningless when removed from their context. This means that artifacts, structures and documents need to be treated as a whole, and kept inside the context of the culture of whence they came.

Theory is especially needed at this site, where the archaeological evidence does not directly show the function of the structure. The nature of archaeology creates a certain amount of ambiguity in every archaeological site; however, the academic community places a high premium on certainty (Gero 2007: 312). It is a more honest approach to recognize the ambiguity in archaeology and work towards as much certainty as possible (Gero 2007: 314). In addition to ever present archaeological ambiguity there is a persistent bias in the documentary record, simply because the documents were created by elites, and elites who were very involved with the maintenance of their own images. This site was placed in the backstage of College life, and because of that it is suppressed in the records. The best way to bring the site from the backstage and into the open is to combine Goffman's theory, the history of the College and the archaeological evidence in one place.

## ORIGINS AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE COLLEGE

The archaeological data that has been recovered from the Locus 10 outbuilding represents a very limited portion of the structure due to a partial excavation of the feature. The feature primarily consisted of fill from a small cellar, and is comprised of a secondary post-occupation deposit of trash used to fill the cellar. There is no direct evidence for the function of the structure. Unlike the vast majority of small archaeological sites excavated as part of cultural resource management projects this site is associated with a famous and heavily documented institution. Despite limited written records discussing the buildings in the periphery of the College some clues to the function of this structure can be found in the written records. This structure in particular was built at or around the same time construction began on the original Wren Building. It may have been used to house the workmen during the long construction process. Through the early history of the College we can potentially identify periods of building and activity on campus, during which this site may have been in use. Several scholars have written about the College in depth, including Goodson et al., Kale, and Morpurgo among others (1993, 2007, 1976). Their accounts of the College's history tend to focus on the significant figures and events at the College, these accounts are also more detailed and extensive than is feasible for a project of this nature.

The College's origins are celebrated as beginning in 1692, but on the day that the royal charter for the College was signed there were no buildings and no students. The hope of a college in Virginia began long before 1692 and while William and Mary was the first successful college in Virginia it was the second attempt at founding a college. The first effort towards that goal began in 1616 when The Virginia Company began to

raise funds for a college at Henrico, Virginia (Kale 2007: 18, Morpurgo 1976: 5). This plan ended with a massacre at Henrico and the loss of the Virginia Company's charter followed by disinterest by supporters (Morpurgo 1976: 7-9).

Under royal governance Virginia began to thrive, growing from 5,000 persons in 1635 to over 40,000 in 1666 (Kale 2007: 19). With population increase also came a more stable economy supporting an increase in elite members of society who desired to educate their children locally (Goodson et al 1993: 6). Despite the rapidly expanding population and profitability of the colony, Virginia struggled to attract enough clergymen from England. In order to fulfill this need, the General Assembly enacted legislation aimed at the establishment of a college (Kale 2007: 19). The plan was for Virginia to grow its own church leadership (Morpurgo 1976: 15).

If a college was going to be built in Virginia it needed a strong leader whose goals matched that of the greater Church. The Reverend James Blair was to become a principal figure in the establishment of the College. Over the years of his involvement Blair lobbied, fundraised, cajoled and battled in order to achieve his goals. A Scot, Blair was ordained through the Presbyterian Church. (Kale 2007: 19). He was last denied the opportunity to serve in the Anglican Church in England due to conflicts aroused by the takeover of the Presbyterian Church. While working as a clerk he became acquainted with Bishop Compton, who was seeking ministers to go to the colonies (Kale 2007: 21). The opportunity to serve a parish appealed to Blair and in 1685 he sailed to Virginia. Blair's new post was at Varina, formerly the town of Henrico (Morpurgo 1976: 27). With

his appointment Blair was set on the path to become the most influential figure in the history of the College.

In July of 1690 Blair's mission to start a College in Virginia began (Morpurgo 1976: 30). Blair was appointed as the commissary for the Bishop of London in Virginia and a convocation of clergymen in Virginia petitioned the General Assembly for a college (Morpurgo 1976: 28). As a result, Lt. Governor Nicholson appointed forty-two commissioners, including Blair, to raise funds toward this goal. Blair was then sent to England to request royal permission for the institution (Kale 2007: 22). The throne was held by King William and Queen Mary who were seeking humanitarian projects that would reinforce the power of the Protestant church and improve their colonies.

The mission had several goals: First, get support from the Bishop of London and Lord Howard of Effingham, the Governor of Virginia. Then Blair needed to gain an audience with the King and Queen in order to request a charter and financial support for the College. He was also to request a grant of an official seal for the College, the first seal to be bestowed upon any American institution. Additionally the College needed a faculty (Morpurgo 1976: 31). At first Blair had difficulties obtaining assistance from Bishop Compton, but Bishop Stillingford of Worcester came to the rescue and it was through Stillingford that Blair was able to gain audiences with the King and Queen (Morpurgo 1976: 32).

While Blair waited for his requests to be granted, he went looking for sources of private funding. The first major support for the College came from estate of Robert Boyle, the famous English chemist, who directed his estate to the "advancement of



Christian Religion.” (Morpurgo 1976: 33) The College was given £200 directly from the estate, which would arrive near the end of 1697, and later Brafferton Manor in Yorkshire was purchased as an investment (Morpurgo 1976: 34, Kale 2007: 25, Bullock: 1961: 45). The profits from Brafferton Manor were intended to support the education and conversion of the Indians at Harvard and the College of William and Mary (Morpurgo 1976: 34). Half of this profit specifically went to William and Mary, and years later Blair would ensure that as profits increased Harvard never received more than £90 per year, while William and Mary’s share would continue to increase until the Revolution (Morpurgo 1976: 34, 42). The restrictions of this endowment would have later repercussions on the policies at William and Mary during the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Eventually Blair heard from the Lords of the Treasury, two of Blair’s requests were approved; a one penny tax on all tobacco exported from Maryland and Virginia, and lands for the College. Later on, more financial support was awarded by Queen Mary and the office of Surveyor-General was established at the College (Morpurgo 1976: 34). The charter was finally granted on February 8, 1693 and on this date the College of William and Mary became the newest institution of higher learning in the colonies, second only to Harvard, and the first to receive a royal charter (Kale 2007: 23).

In the charter a board of Trustees was appointed, with one member elected each year to serve as rector. In addition to the Trustees, a Chancellor would serve a seven year term. The first Chancellor for William and Mary was the Bishop of London. Once the College was declared to be fully established the Trustees would be recast as Visitors and

perform an advisory role to the College (Morpurgo 1976: 36). The charter designated Blair as president of the College for life. Charter in hand and funding secured, Blair still needed to find a school master, and he began to make plans for the physical structure of the College. Finding an acceptable candidate for the position of Master in the grammar school was a challenge, Blair, who preferred English candidates, eventually hired a Scotsman, Mongo Ingles. In the meantime, Blair hired Thomas Hadley to oversee building at the College, an usher, a gardener trained by the King's own gardener, and other skilled workmen (Morpurgo 1976: 35-37). Hiring English workmen as opposed to Virginians did more than show that Blair was already planning and preparing for a grand building, it also shows a reliance on English expertise and experience. Blair was hiring English builders for the same reason the College was established; Virginia had a small population, and just as there was a lack of trained clerics, Virginia also lacked trained builders.

With a builder hired, the origins of the College design must be discussed. Tradition holds that the original plans for the College were designed by Sir Christopher Wren, the royal Surveyor-General. Despite this, there is no evidence in the College papers and royal correspondence that specify the source of the plans for the Wren Building (Morpurgo 1976: 38, Kale 2007: 26). This lack can partially be explained by the destruction caused by a devastating fire in 1705, but scholars have sought to prove and disprove the provenience of the architectural design of the College (Kale 2007: 33). It cannot be denied that the style of the College was inspired by Wren's designs. Other

structures have been attributed to Wren with no more involvement than a sketch or rough draft of a plan (Morpurgo 1976: 38).

It was not until 1724 in Hugh Jones's book *The Present State of Virginia* that the main College building was associated with Wren (Kale 2007: 26). Jones' statement about the College, describing it as "beautiful and commodious, being first modeled by Sir Christopher Wren, adapted to the Nature of the Country by the Gentleman there..." (Jones 1865: 26) manages to provide the prestige of Wren's involvement and to indicate the changes that were necessary to adapt the structure to the environment of Virginia before and after the fire. Wren's own biographers do not support the claims of the College (Kale 2007: 28). Hugh Jones was employed at the College for a short period of time during Blair's tenure as president. He may have been privy to information that has since been lost, but the claim of a connection to Wren may still have been exaggerated (Kale 2007: 27).

Another important structural element at the College was the formal gardens. In 1694 James Road arrived in Virginia to serve as gardener to the College. The formal gardens were part of the public display spaces at the College and were similar to gardens at the estates of the wealthy in both England and Virginia. Mr. Road seems to have been hired before any other workmen, and he was trained under Mr. London, the man responsible for the King's own formal gardens (Morpurgo 1976: 36). In addition to the formal gardens, a kitchen garden was also necessary for the operation of the College (Oast 2008: 176). The professional gardener who worked at the College would also

oversee College owned slaves in their labor in both formal and kitchen gardens (Oast 2008: 176).

The history of the College of William and Mary cannot be divided from the issue of slavery. Wealth in Virginia was inseparable from slavery and tobacco. “Land and labor – these were the two necessary components for creating wealth in the Virginia tobacco economy.” (Oast 2008: 167) While Virginia did not begin with the institution of slavery in place there was already an unfree status present in England and her colonies (Tate 1965: 2). Indentured servants came to Virginia and paid for their passage with labor, they served for a finite period of time after which they were free. When enslaved Africans were brought to Virginia at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century they also became indentured servants (Tate 1965: 2). Midcentury saw increasing inequality between white and African servants and in 1670 laws were passed that made lifetime servitude for African servants the norm (Tate 1965: 6-7). Laws continued to change and by the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century laws dictating rights based on skin color and chattel slavery were in place (Tate 1965: 9).

The laws were changing to deal with a larger population of Africans in Virginia. Prior to 1690 the African population was tiny but growing, between 1648 and 1700 the population of Africans went from 300 to 16,000 (Tate 1965: 11-12). Over the next thirty years the population doubled, and then it doubled once again in a decade (Tate 1965: 13). While slavery in the rural areas of Virginia primarily meant plantations and field labor, urban slavery was a different story (Tate 1965: 24). Urban slaves, including those at the College, were employed in general household tasks and according to Tate, five out of every six families in Williamsburg owned at least one slave (1965: 36). In the very first

years of the College the workforce included both white indentured servants and enslaved Africans, but over the early 18<sup>th</sup> century the labor force turned entirely to slave labor (Oast 2008: 168). This is partially due to the increase in importation of slaves and it was becoming harder to attract indentured servants from England (Oast 2008: 169). Campus slaves were also hired out to provide income, a common practice within the Anglican Church in Virginia (Oast 2008: 17-18, 169). Hiring out was a practice where slave owners would rent out their slaves like a landlord rents out an apartment. This allowed the owner to profit from their slaves without the expense of maintaining a place for them to work.

After hiring educators and workmen, Blair headed back to Virginia in April of 1693, bringing with him Thomas Hadley, Mongo Ingles, an usher, and more workmen. His gardener would follow the next year (Morpurgo 1976: 38). Blair returned to a changed political climate in Virginia. Nicholson had been sent to be the governor of Maryland, with Sir Edmund Andros replacing him as Governor (Morpurgo 1976: 39). Tensions ran high between Nicholson and Andros and as an ally of Nicholson this placed Blair at odds with Andros (Morpurgo 1976: 40).

Despite the tension the debate over the location for the new College was short, selecting land in Middle Plantation, near Bruton Parish Church (Morpurgo 1976: 40). Middle Plantation was ideal for many reasons: A central location between the York and James rivers provided a stable and dry location to build upon. The clay subsoil was also convenient for the College to manufacture their own bricks. The land was away from marshes and elevated above the watershed. Middle Plantation already featured Bruton

Parish Church, founded ten years earlier. More importantly Middle Plantation also had a schoolhouse, and one of the first expenses from College funds was to be a small amount to repair the structure and begin holding classes at the grammar school (Morpurgo 1976: 40). Students studied under Mongo Ingles and both students and masters were housed at a discount at the home of Mrs. Mary Stith (Jones 1865: 27-28).

Three hundred and thirty three acres were purchased for £170 from Thomas Ballard, the site for the future College. Thomas Hadley began work clearing off the corner of the property nearest the church (Morpurgo 1976: 41). In addition to the skilled workmen brought from England, there were also a number of slaves involved in the construction of the Wren building (Moore and Miller 2009: 22). The building would be one of the earliest brick structures in Virginia. The College's design may also have begun a fashion for brick structures. Brick's increasing popularity began at the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and its expense made it an outward sign of prosperity, more of an attractant than a deterrent (Neiman 1986: 307). The first foundation stones were laid ceremoniously on August 8, 1695 (Morpurgo 1976: 41). Originally the College building was planned to be a quadrangle, but because of the budget the building was limited to an open quadrangle (Kale 2007: 27). Nearly two years later, in the spring of 1697, building slowed almost to a standstill because of a lack of funding. Only some walls were standing and the College was roofless (Morpurgo 1976: 42). Blair returned to London in order to raise money, and to roust Andros out of office and attempt to place Nicholson as governor of Virginia. It was at this time that Blair managed to increase the share the College received from the Boyle estate (Morpurgo 1976: 42). Blair was also able to toss out Andros and bring

Nicholson back as Governor of Virginia (Morpurgo 1976: 42). This act would be one of the last times Nicholson and Blair would act as allies.

The College was close to being complete by the middle of 1699 (Kornwolf 1989: 37). The original building featured a “Great Hall” echoing the largest rooms of most contemporary homes in Virginia (Upton 1982: 97). The first building included two stories, a cellar and an attic. The cellar held kitchens, storerooms and servant’s quarters. Aside from the Great Hall the main floor held classrooms and the grammar school, with the second floor providing more classrooms and quarters for students and faculty. The attic would later become an additional dormitory (Kale 2007: 31). Unfortunately the original College building was flawed. Kale quotes a memorandum written circa 1704—1705. The original writer describes the badly designed chimneys and grates, foreshadowing the fires which would plague the College.

“All the chimneys in the 2n Story are scarce big enough for a Grate whereas the only firing in this Country being wood, the fire cant be made in them without running the hazard of its falling on the floor, as it once happened in the room where the Secretary’s office was kept. ...The ovens were made within the Kitchen, but when they were heated the Smoke was so offensive that it was found necessary to pull them down and build others out of doors.” (2007: 31)

It is apparent that it was merely the ovens which were separated from the main building, and not the entire kitchen. Wenger states that during the 1760s and 1770s the kitchen was still located in the cellar directly beneath the hall despite a partial redesign of the building (1995: 344). In England detached kitchens were common until the mid-1500s, when they began to fall out of style while the detached kitchen remained popular in the southern colonies (Olmert 2009: 27). The Wren building is not the only early

Tidewater structure with an attached kitchen, although most examples of this style were public buildings like the College (Olmert 2009: 27, 31).

The typical kitchen arrangement for Virginians during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was to build a separate, small structure to house the kitchen (Jones 1865: 36). This kept the heat of the ovens and the smells of the kitchen apart from the house, as well as separating the front stage environment of the house and the head of the household from the backstage kitchen, servants, and slaves. The Wren building did not feature a baking oven in the kitchen, implying the presence of a larger oven for baking located outside (Olmert 2009: 29). The location of this oven is unknown to date. Olmert's stance on the detached kitchen is that the detachment a direct product of slavery (2009: 47). Separating the work of the kitchen is about suppressing the work needed to produce a meal into the backstage, and in hiding the work the workers are also hidden. At the College, with its large basement kitchen, a detached kitchen would increase the visibility of labor at the College. Although the College did not feature an outdoor kitchen there were a large number of outbuildings at the College during the course of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. These included a bake-house, brew-house, meat-house, smokehouse, dairy, laundry, sheds and storehouses, stables, a carriage house and several privies (Oast 2008: 175). Slaves lived in outbuildings on the campus, in addition to a number of slaves who lived in the main structure (Oast 2008: 174).

In 1699, young scholars from the grammar school would make speeches at May Day festivities, proposing that the colony's capital be moved to Middle Plantation. The General Assembly would consider the proposal later that month (Kale 2007:29). Blair



moved into the College in 1700, shortly before the General Assembly met on December 5, 1700 also moving into the College as an interim capital building (Kale 2007: 31). The result was an overcrowded College building and closeness brewed tensions between the faculty, students and public servants.

Despite a rocky start the grammar school was for a long time the most successful aspect of the College, but Blair's plan for the College included three tiers of scholarship. The grammar school educated the younger boys in Latin and Greek, a course of study to be completed by the time they were sixteen. This was followed by two branches of secondary education: Moral Philosophy and Natural Philosophy. The school of natural philosophy covered mathematics and the sciences while the school of moral philosophy prepared students for the third tier. This highest tier was the divinity school which taught Hebrew and other languages and served as a seminary (Kale 2007: 32). The grammar school had 29 students in 1702 (Kale 2007: 32). The students studied under the ushers for the first two years of their education (Jones 1865: 84). The ushers assisted with the education and discipline of the students and the first usher was brought from England along with the master of the grammar school (Wenger 1995: 341, Morpurgo 1976: 38). Once the students had spent two years with the ushers they were taught for another two years by the Grammar master (Jones 1865: 84).

There were a variety of other workers at the College, headed by the housekeeper who was responsible for purchasing food as well as preparing and planning meals (Wenger 1995: 341). The housekeepers at the College were invariably respectable local women (Oast 2008: 176). In addition to supplying the College's culinary needs, the

housekeeper also oversaw the slaves in their everyday tasks (Oast 2008: 176). During Thomas Jefferson's attendance during the early 1760s there was also a nurse, who also sewed for the servants and cleaned the residential areas of the College (Wenger 1995: 341). In addition to this core staff, there were slaves working for the College and personal servants of both students and faculty (Wenger 1995: 341). In 1754 eight students paid extra fees in order to board their personal slaves at the College (Moore and Miller 2009: 22). One major role of slaves was to supply the College with firewood and to keep fires going throughout the property (Oast 2008: 177).

Blair went to England in 1702 to raise funds and because of increasing political tensions he also sought to oust Governor Nicholson from office (Kale 2007: 33). As always the school was short of money, and Blair used the promise of an Indian school to raise funds without actually working towards finding students for such a school. With Blair away, Nicholson seized the opportunity to attempt to find students for the Indian school; he sent a message with traders heading west to spread word that a school had been established for Indian boys (Kale 2007: 37) The mission was unsuccessful, and there were no Indian students enrolled at the school at any time during Nicholson's tenure (Morpurgo 1976: 55). By October of 1705 Nicholson was replaced by Col. Edward Nott. The new capital was completed and Middle Plantation was now known as Williamsburg (Morpurgo 1976: 56-57). Near midnight on October 29<sup>th</sup> the College caught fire for the first time. The building was rapidly gutted by the flames, which destroyed the books and all early records kept in the library (Kale 2007: 33-34). The new governor attempted to investigate amid accusations that Blair himself had set the fire. The ultimate decision was

that the cause of the fire was unknown, and the most likely cause was accident and blame was placed on the known faults in the chimneys at the College (Morpurgo 1976: 57-58).

Rebuilding did not begin again until 1709 when John Tullet would construct a new College. The construction was still in progress when Lieutenant Governor Alexander Spotswood arrived in Virginia in June of 1710. Spotswood immediately took an interest in the rebuilding of the College (Kale 2007: 34). Spotswood also altered the original design, adapting the foundation and cellar in order to prevent flooding and water damage (Morpurgo 1976: 59). As much as was possible was done to preserve the foundation and incorporate the remaining walls in order to save time and money (Kale 2007: 34).

The new building was nearing completion in 1716. In the meantime Blair bid unsuccessfully for a seat on the Virginia House of Burgesses, choosing to blame his failure on Spotswood (Morpurgo 1976: 59). Changes were also occurring at the College and enrollment began to increase, especially after 1720. Many of the students came from prominent Virginia families (Kale 2007: 35). The faculty now consisted of two or three professors, in addition to the master of the grammar school.

Alexander Spotswood would be a major player in the Indian school, seeing the school and the welfare of the students as a powerful political tool. He began by buying captive boys from local tribes, a policy which did more to hurt the school's reputation than fulfill its goals. The local tribes refused to send their sons to the school voluntarily, believing that their own children would be sold as slaves (Morpurgo 1976: 66) In 1712, in the wake of an attack in North Carolina Spotswood convinced the chiefs of the local Native communities to send twenty young boys to the school, as hostages, to guarantee

the cooperation of the chiefs (Kale 2007: 38, Morpurgo 1976: 66-67). The Nine Nations complied because they feared takeover from more powerful Northern tribes (Morpurgo 1976: 67) When Governor Spotswood went to the House of Burgesses, requesting financial support for so many students he was refused. Spotswood wrote of the House of Burgesses that “so violent an humor prevail amongst them for extirpating all the Indians without distinction of friend or enemys.” (Kale 2007: 38) This attitude greatly damaged the reputation of the school and enrollment again began to drop, to leave the school without students by 1721. In order to keep a schoolmaster at the Indian school local white boys were enrolled to be taught separately, as the teachers were paid per student (Morpurgo 1976: 69). Blair used the lull in enrollment at the Indian school as a tool for toppling Spotswood, claiming temporary success as his own and casting Spotswood as incompetent. Returning to England he was able to expel Spotswood as easily as he had deposed Andros and Nicholson. Hugh Drysdale was the next to take on the role of Lt. Governor and accompanied Blair on his return to Virginia.

Blair was facing accusations that the College was failing, so he announced the intention to build a new building, to house the Indian school as a show of health and success (Morpurgo 1976: 69). The Brafferton was named for the estate which had provided for the College since 1692. The building consisted of two stories and an attic. Students lived and studied in the building, but they would join the other students at the main building for meals and religious services (Wenger 1995: 341). The Brafferton was built by Henry Cary; the builder who had been involved in the construction of the Governor’s Palace and would later build the President’s House (Kale 2007: 38).

The Indian school was never a successful institution. Students who came to the school suffered homesickness, and were vulnerable to the diseases common among the English as well as alcohol abuse. Contrary to the hopes of the school's founders boys returning from the school typically attempted to rejoin their native culture, instead of becoming missionaries to their own people (Kale 2007: 39). A chief complained that the returned boys were now part of neither native or white culture, "When they came back to us, they were bad runners, ignorant of every means of living in the wood, unable to bear cold or hunger, were therefore neither fit for hunters, warriors, nor councilors; there were totally good for nothing." (Kale 2007: 39) After the Brafferton was built Hugh Jones suggests that similar housing be provided for the servants and slaves.

"As there is lately built an Apartment for the *Indian* Boys and their Master, so likewise is there very great Occasion for a Quarter for the Negroes and inferior Servants belonging to the College; for these not only take up a great deal of Room and are noisy and nasty, but also have often made President and others apprehensive of the great Danger of being burnt with the College, thro' their Carelessness and Drowsiness." (Jones 1865: 88)

In 1723, in spite of the fact the building had been occupied and in use for some years, Blair officially declared the College restored (Morpurgo 1976: 74-75). Blair then set to the task of establishing the Statutes of the College and transition the Trustees into Visitors (Morpurgo 1976: 80). In the statutes, an administrative model and syllabus were laid out, both heavily influenced by English institutions (Morpurgo 1976: 81). A chapel wing was begun in 1729, and completed in 1732 (Kale 2007: 29). The tensions of construction and short budgets caused conflict between Blair, the governor, some of the trustees and members of the governor's council.

James Blair continued to be a major force in the success of the College, also continuing to fight with the masters, local clergy, members of government and the trustees. The Reverend Hugh Jones, who had served as master of mathematics from 1717 until 1721, wrote the book *The Present State of Virginia* three years after his resignation and return to England. In the appendix to his book, he criticizes the College and blamed the near-constant disputes for many of the problems. “Now a College without a Chapel, without a Scholarship and without a statute. . . . There have been Disputes and Differences about these and the like of the College without end. These things greatly impede the Progress of Sciences and Learned arts. (Jones 1865: 83-84)”

Jones describes the culture of Virginia as placing a stronger emphasis on practical knowledge than on being well read, and he describes the gentlemen of Virginia as “desirous of learning what is absolutely necessary, in the shortest and best Method (Jones 1865: 44).” When he acknowledges the reasoning for not sending more students to England for an education he stressed the importance of the College and of the availability of education in the colonies (Jones 1865: 46). Homegrown education was so important to the Colonies, because there was still a continuing need for willing clergymen in the Colonies which continued to be a persistent problem through the 1720s (Jones 1865: 78-79).

In 1729 there were enough funds for Blair to finally hire a full faculty, numbering six masters including the masters of the grammar school and Indian school (Kale 2007: 40). The College was essentially an immense household; similar to manor houses or plantations in the area, but the experience of the students was steeped in reminders of the

authority of the Anglican Church and the Crown (Wenger 1995: 342). Daily life at the College was punctuated by religious services, beginning and ending with prayers (Wenger 1995: 346). The academic calendar was structured around the church calendar, observing all the holy days (Wenger 1995: 346-347). Wenger describes life at the College as “the most intensive Anglican experience possible... (1995: 347)” and students who had hailed from more distant plantations would have been unaccustomed to church attendance even weekly, partially due to the scarcity of pastors in Virginia (Wenger 1995: 347). Even local boys and boys from towns with regular church services would have been unaccustomed to the level of immersion in the church practiced at the College. Images and symbols of the royal patronage of the College were also very apparent in the chapel and elsewhere. The presence of the capital building and the presence of the Virginia government further reinforced the emphasis on Royal, Colonial and Church power (Wenger 1995: 348).

At the end of the 1720s construction was begun on the third side of the quadrangular building (Kale 2007: 40). The chapel wing was dedicated on June 28, 1732, and building began in the President’s house soon after. The location of the President’s house was primarily chosen to balance out the appearance of the front lawn of the College. By this point the Georgian style of architecture was increasingly popular in Virginia (Deetz 1977: 157-158). Deetz defines the Georgian house, describing it as “rigorously symmetrical, and left and right halves are appended to a central element that shares its design form with the lateral ones, but is also somewhat different.”(Deetz 1977: 66) In order for the College to maintain the sensibilities of Georgian style the campus

needed to be symmetrical with the central feature of the Wren building standing out (Morpurgo 1976: 91). The President's house was designed to be nearly identical to the Indian school, but slightly larger. This house featured several outbuildings, conforming to the standards of regional architecture for the period. The outbuildings included a kitchen, a laundry, a well house and a privy (Kale 2007: 41). Like the College itself the president's house also featured a kitchen garden, another typical feature of an upper class Virginia home.

Blair would spend very little time living in the President's house. Blair died on April 18<sup>th</sup>, 1743 after serving as the president of the College for fifty years (Kale 2007: 41). Throughout his life, Blair fought to make his dream of a college in Virginia real. In so doing he earned allies and enemies in both England and in the colonies. He amassed a great deal of political power and influence, and was responsible for the recall of three Royal Governors from Virginia (Wenger 1995: 352). No future President of the College would ever possess the level of political pull that Blair could claim. The death of Blair was an end of an era for Virginia, Williamsburg and the College of William and Mary.

Between the end of the seventeenth and the middle of the eighteenth century the College moved from an idea to a reality. Through the history of the College we can see periods of growth represented by new construction and an increase in attendance. This is punctuated by periods of waning, destruction by fire and periods of rebuilding. The building of the President's house followed by the death of Blair ended the first major period of building at the College. The outbuilding that this research is focused on was torn down and filled in during the third quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, its function, however



unknown, fulfilled. Through the force of personality a Scottish Minister built an English institution in the colony of Virginia, a reminder of the power of the crown and the power of the Anglican Church. In the background, hidden from view, are the people who built and maintained the College. Even through the archaeology of the College often focuses on the lives of the academics who lived and studied there, the contributions of the hidden people are just as important. Their lives intermingled with those they served and their mark can be found behind the Wren Building, in the backstage.

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS

Over the last eight decades there have been numerous archaeological projects on the historic campus of William and Mary. The first of these was undertaken between 1929 and 1931 (Moore and Miller 2009: 7). This initial work was carried out by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation during restoration of the President's House and the Wren Building and including a series of diagonal trenches across the yard at the front of the Wren Building (Moore and Miller 2009: 7). This technique was common to early Colonial Williamsburg archaeological projects and focused on identifying and exposing brick foundation remains as part of restoration efforts. In 1950 Colonial Williamsburg Foundation archaeologist James M. Knight excavated in the Wren yard again, ultimately finding walls dating to a late 18<sup>th</sup> century expansion of the Wren building (Moore and Miller 2009: 7).

Still under the auspices of the Colonial Williamsburg foundation, Ivor Noël Hume excavated in the basement of the President's house which revealed a drain system and shed light on the drainage problems the College property continually suffered from the earliest period of occupation (Moore and Miller 2009: 8). In 1980 more archaeology was carried out around the President's house preceding the installation of air conditioning. In 1997 testing in the northern area of the Wren yard revealed a brick foundation; initially this was thought to predate the College building, but later work in 1999-2000 by the William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research (WMCAR) proved that this structure dated to the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Higgins et al. 2001; Moore and Miller 2009: 8).

The brick foundation was dated during the course of extensive shovel testing and excavations across a wide area of the North Wren yard (Higgins et al. 2001: 1). The North yard is the area between the Wren Building, the President's house and its dependencies, and a brick wall to the northwest. This area includes over three thousand square meters and there were additional areas south of the Wren building included in the project (Higgins et al. 2001: 1). Areas of the North and South yards that were within the project area for proposed ground-disturbing construction of new facilities and utility connections were the focus of the archaeological investigations (Higgins et al 2001: 5). The research goals for that project were to identify archaeological resources in the Wren Yard, and to evaluate those resources for their potential to reveal new information on life at the College (Higgins et al 2001: 5). The north yard had several functions and was used heavily as a service area and contained a vegetable garden. It was also determined that the south yard was an area of intense activity during the construction of the Wren Building (Higgins et al 2001: 5).

Beginning with the 1980 air conditioning project a pattern in the archaeology at the College emerges, an increasing awareness of the impact of construction on the archaeological remains, and for projects associated with construction on the historic campus. In 2006 the surface of the parking lot of the President's house was removed to allow archaeological evaluation of resources that may lie extant beneath the parking lot, in advance of proposed installation of a manhole structure for underground utilities. Archaeological investigation revealed subsurface remains of an 18<sup>th</sup> century outbuilding with a laid brick floor, a 19<sup>th</sup> century dwelling, and two feature complexes that may be

subsurface remains of the impermanent foundations of Civil War era Sibley tent structures (Moore and Miller 2009: 9). This period of recent improvement projects on the historic campus reached something of a peak in 2009 with plans for a comprehensive upgrade of various underground utility lines between many of the campus buildings, which served as an opportunity for systematic and fairly comprehensive archaeological survey along proposed utility lines extending across areas of the campus where the nature and extent of the archaeological resources was poorly understood. The survey included shovel testing and test units (Moore and Miller 2009: ii).

The result of the 2009 survey was more than the sum of artifacts recovered. The entire area of the historic campus was redefined as a single multicomponent archaeological site, known as 44WB131 (Moore and Miller 2009: ii). Within the historic campus are several standing historic buildings including the Wren Building, The President's house, and Brafferton Hall. Within the larger site WMCAR identified ten activity areas designated as Loci. The historic campus is covered in overlapping deposits of historical period artifacts ranging from the late 17<sup>th</sup> century to the 20<sup>th</sup> century. These deposits primarily consist of domestic and architectural material, including both surface and subsurface features. The campus is in an archaeologically rich region. There are sixty-eight recorded archaeological sites within one mile of the historical campus, a number which does not include the hundreds of archaeological sites that have been identified within Colonial Williamsburg by staff of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. An archaeological site is defined by those working in cultural resource management as an apparent location of human activity which has sufficient

archaeological evidence to be considered interpretable (Moore and Miller 2009: 31). This does not necessarily include resources representing simple loss or single-episode discard of objects.

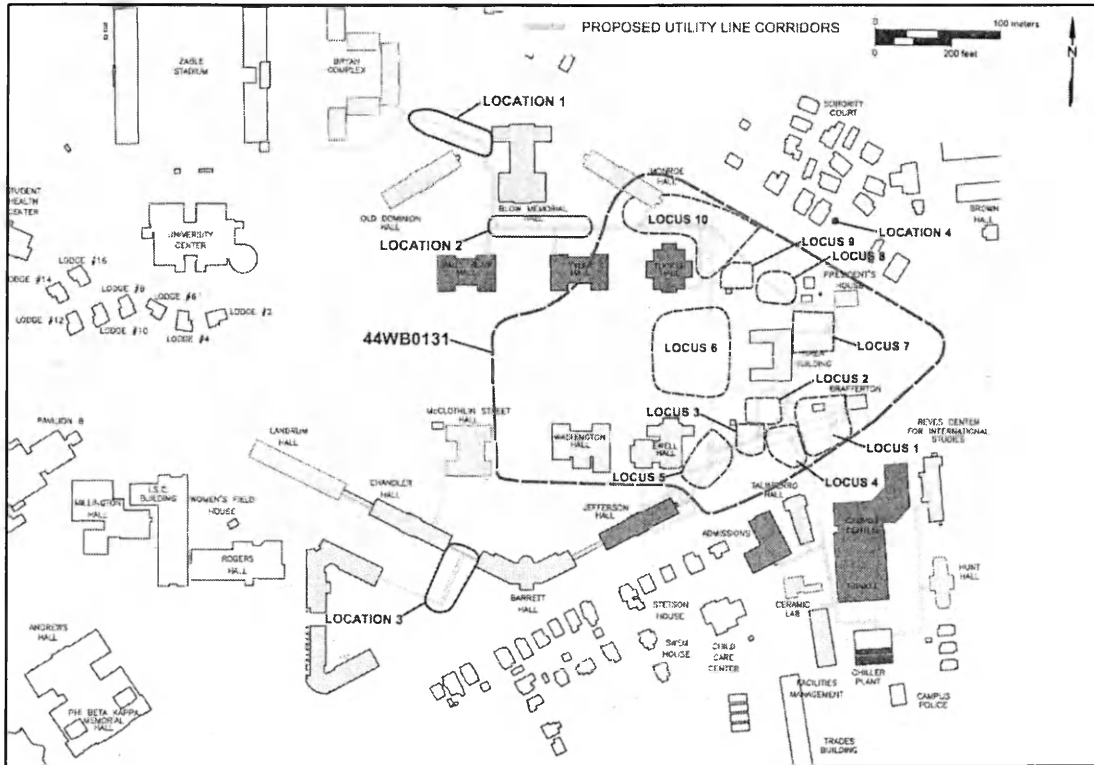


Figure 2: Map of the College of William and Mary including borders of historic area and Loci  
Courtesy of the William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research

As dictated by state guidelines for coordination on cultural resources that might be affected by proposed construction, the historic campus utilities improvement project was planned and staged in coordination with archaeologists from WMCAR so that results of archaeological survey and testing could be taken into account during stages of redesign and implementation of construction such that adverse effects on significant archaeological resources could be avoided. In the summer and fall of 2009 a pipeline was installed 15-20 feet underground, extending under nearly 3,000 feet of campus, while

disturbing only two comparatively small surface areas on campus. The two affected areas are within the areas designated by WMCAR as Locus 10 and Locus 6. The work at Locus 6 was determined to not have an effect on any significant archaeological resources. At Locus 10, which is located between Tucker Hall and Richmond road on the modern campus, the decision was made to excavate the archaeological resources which would be impacted by the construction.

The efforts to minimize the damage to potential archaeological material in the utilities project were made in part because the College is state property and state guidelines applied to the design of the construction. The research design and construction decisions had a direct impact on the excavation of the outbuilding site. The excavation area was constrained by exact borders, determined by the parameters of the state permits and the area affected by the construction. Large quantities of features were found in the project area, including a large triangular feature initially thought to be a midden. The feature was found bordering the project area. Only a change in the route of the pipeline allowed more of the feature to be excavated. When the expanded project area was excavated it became apparent that the midden was an in-filled cellar and part of a structure. On the border of the cellar feature were three structural post molds which most likely relate to the feature but have not been directly linked to the cellar. While the project area was expanded the excavated section was small and the rest of the cellar feature was left undisturbed. Post excavation the entire site was infilled and paved over, protecting both excavated and unexcavated areas.

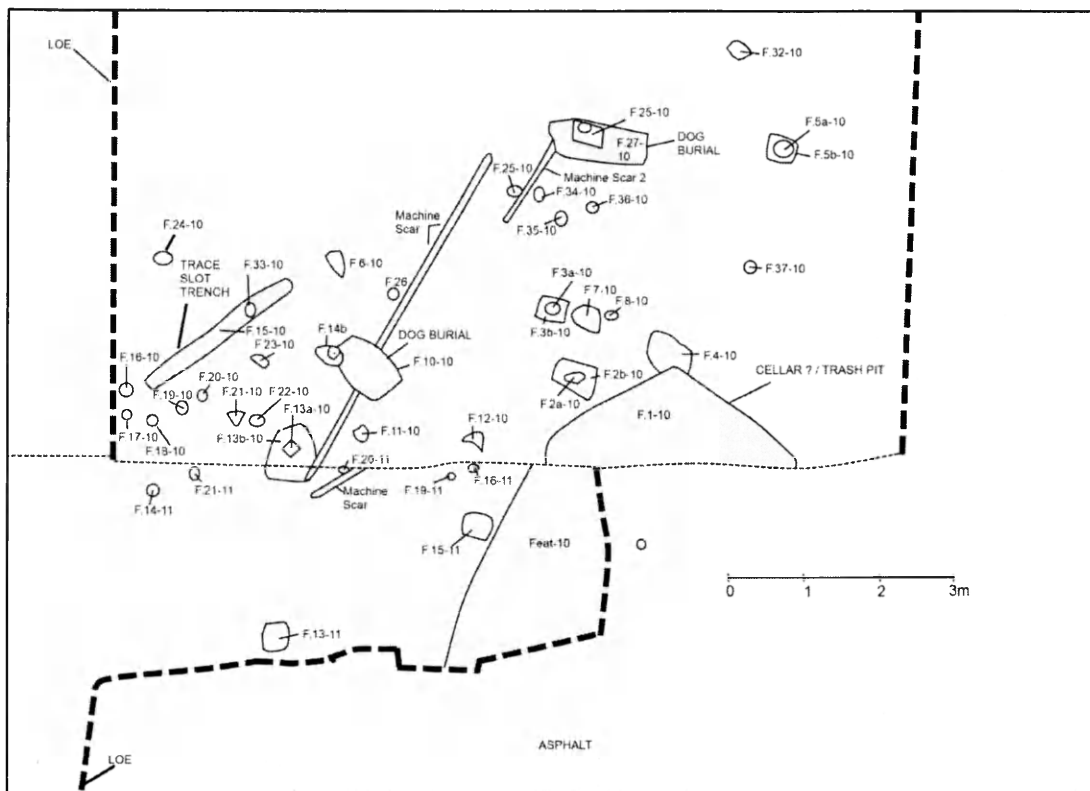


Figure 3: Map of the Locus 10 excavation

At the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century the College purchased of 330 acres of land from Thomas Ballard, which would be the future home of the College (Morpurgo 1976: 41). All but 30 acres of this property would later leave College ownership, but Thomas Hadley, the English master builder, began clearing the land (Morpurgo 1976: 41). Most of the materials for the College would be sourced from the property itself. In the late summer the foundation was begun. The College would sit at the corner of the property closest to Bruton Parish Church (Morpurgo 1976: 41). Also on this piece of land was the outbuilding, which was built at some point after the acquisition of the property; however the outbuilding's origins cannot be determined with the archaeological evidence available

at this time. The building was completed in 1699 but President Blair would not move into the building until 1700 (Kornwolf 1989: 37, Kale 2007: 29).

Five years later a devastating fire gutted the building; it was four years before enough money was raised to begin again (Kale 2007: 33-34, Morpurgo 1976: 56-58). In 1709 John Tullit was hired to rebuild, and forested areas of College lands were once again logged to pay for the construction (Kale 2007: 34). Lt. Governor Alexander Spotswood would directly influence the rebuilding process, Spotswood was an amateur architect and he served as overseer in the construction, as well as altering the design of the original building (Kale 2007: 34, Morpurgo 1976: 59). Spotswood's alterations were less aesthetic than functional; he adapted the cellar and foundation of the College in order to solve a persistent problem with drainage (Morpurgo 1976: 59). The historical records describing drainage problems on the campus are supported by the 1972 work by Ivor Noel Hume in the basement of the President's House (Moore and Miller 2009: 9).

The new building incorporated as much of the original structure as possible, and the building was again habitable by 1716 (Morpurgo 1976: 59, 74-75). Work continued on the building as late as 1723, that same year a new project was begun. A separate structure would be built for the Indian school (Morpurgo 1976: 69). The new building was christened Brafferton Hall, after the Yorkshire manor which had supported the College from the beginning. The Brafferton was built by Henry Cary, who was by then a prominent builder in the area due to his work on the Governor's Palace (Kale 2007: 38).

The Wren Building was originally designed to be a quadrangle, but budget constraints during construction only allowed two sides to be built (Morpurgo 1976: 42).



In 1729 the College was finally successful enough to merit the construction of a chapel wing. The Chapel was completed in 1732, but it is unclear who was in charge of the construction project (Kale 2007: 29). It is possible that Henry Cary was involved, considering his involvement in both the Brafferton's construction and the President's House, on which construction began almost as soon as the chapel was completed.

By the time the President's House was built Georgian design was common in Virginia, and the placement of the President's House helped the College to conform to this new ideal of beauty. The three buildings created a Georgian triad with the two smaller buildings playing off the centrally located Wren Building when viewed from the front. The College was meant to be both visually imposing and appealing to the onlooker (Morpurgo 1976: 91).

The main structure of the President's house also included several dependencies including a kitchen, laundry, well and a privy (Kale 2007: 41). The President's house was a more modern house-form than the College, and represented a Virginian style of vernacular architecture rather than the English institutional style of the College. The completion of the President's House is significant, because it represents the end of an era of construction on the historic campus. Soon after the President's house was built another era at the College was ended, when President Blair died in the spring of 1743 (Kale 2007: 41).

So how does all this history relate to the cellar feature? The Locus 10 outbuilding was built shortly after the College acquired the land, and was filled in during the 18<sup>th</sup> century after 1770; this date is determined by a quantity of creamware found in the fill.

Over this period of time there was near-constant construction of campus over nearly a half a century. From here on out this research will operate with the assumption that the structure is directly related to the College, this is based on the age of the building, the fact it was built on College lands, and its proximity to the Wren building. So what could be the function of the structure? The College building already included a laundry and kitchen in the cellar of the main building, which reduces the likelihood that this building is exclusively used as a detached laundry or kitchen. However the list of outbuildings the College did feature during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries is extensive (Oast 2008: 175). The main distinction that the Locus 10 outbuilding can claim is the early date of its construction. This early date leads me to the conclusion that the function of the structure was living space, which would often be used as a kitchen area as well. Supporting this conclusion in the presence of a cellar in the structure, two dog burials found nearby and the large quantity of domestic trash used as fill for the cellar at the time it was filled.

Determining that the structure was a dwelling opens up a series of new questions. Who lived on the campus of William and Mary during the first decade the property was held by the College? If there was a home built on the campus of William and Mary then who was living in the structure? If this structure had been excavated on a plantation in the tidewater area the function of the building would most likely be interpreted as slave housing due to its location. Documentary evidence does not support the presence of dedicated slave housing at the College during this time. After Brafferton Hall was built Hugh Jones, a professor at the College between 1717 and 1721, wrote in his book that a similar quarter should be built for the servants and slaves at the College (1865: 88). A

short time later in 1766 College monies were spent in repair of “Negro quarters” which again contradicts the lack of slave housing, and much later in 1854 Benjamin Ewell, then President of the College, describes a few small houses on campus for slaves, along with half a dozen small buildings in the immediate area of the Wren Building (Meyers 2008: 1145). Slaves also lived in the various outbuildings on campus (Oast 2008: 174). This presents a picture where slaves lived in the Wren building and in the outbuildings until some point prior to 1766 when slave housing was established. Even after the establishment of dedicated slave housing some slaves would have still slept in the College building, especially personal slaves.

The existence of another group who were involved with the College early on and needed housing, the builders. Thomas Hadley, the first builder of the College, came from England with Blair in 1693, along with other skilled laborers (Morpurgo 1976: 38). These would be only the first of many to work on the campus of William and Mary and it is highly possible that they would establish a “home base” convenient to construction activities. Three categories of people built the College; Thomas Hadley held an important role, placing him in the upper middle class, and his workmen would have been skilled and valued and therefore not part of the lower class, but solidly working class. The third category was slave labor. The documentary record does not indicate where Hadley and his English workmen lived during the construction of the College, but this site may represent their residence during this period.

Desandrouins map, also known as the Frenchman’s map, was drawn by an unknown French military officer. A caption dates the map to May of 1782 (Lombardi

2007).

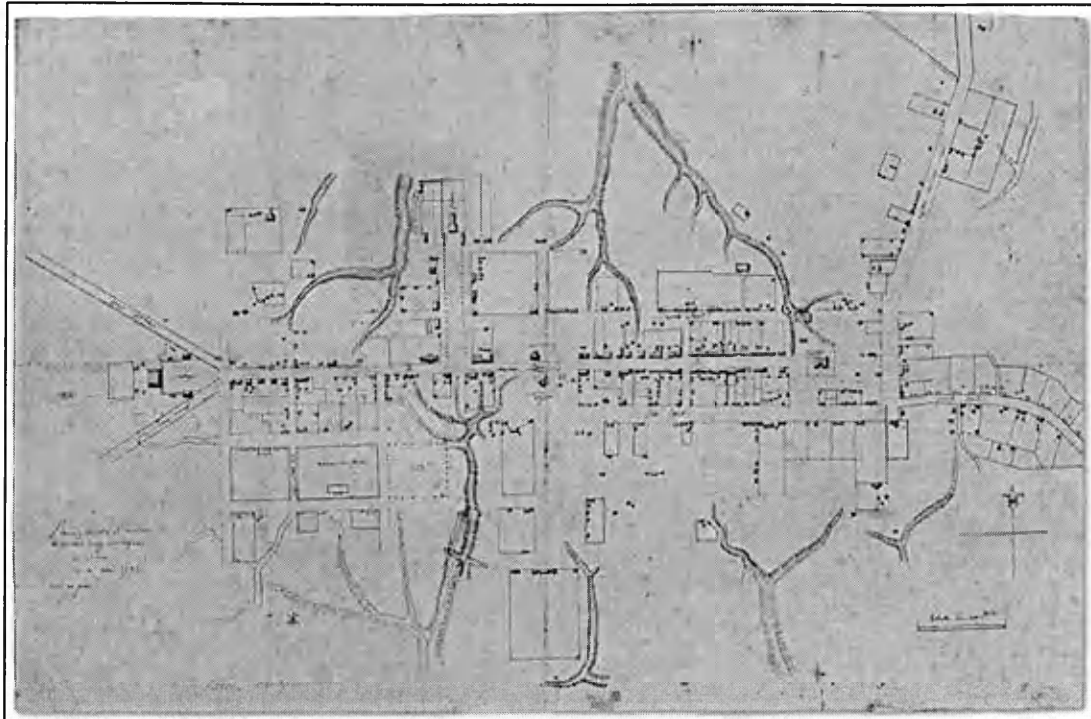


Figure 4: The Frenchman's map, courtesy of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation

The map was a pivotal tool for John D. Rockefeller Jr.'s restoration of Colonial Williamsburg; however, the map has some inaccuracies, especially concerning smaller structures such as outbuildings (Lombardi 2007). The map also includes the campus of William and Mary including a few outbuildings on the campus (Moore and Miller 2009: 83). This map was made several years after the cellar of the Locus 10 outbuilding was filled in but outbuildings in Locus 10 do appear on the map. This presents several scenarios for the structure, it is possible that the structure was torn down at a later date than initially thought, that the cellar may have been filled in but the structure left standing, or that another structure stood on Locus 10 outside of the excavated areas.

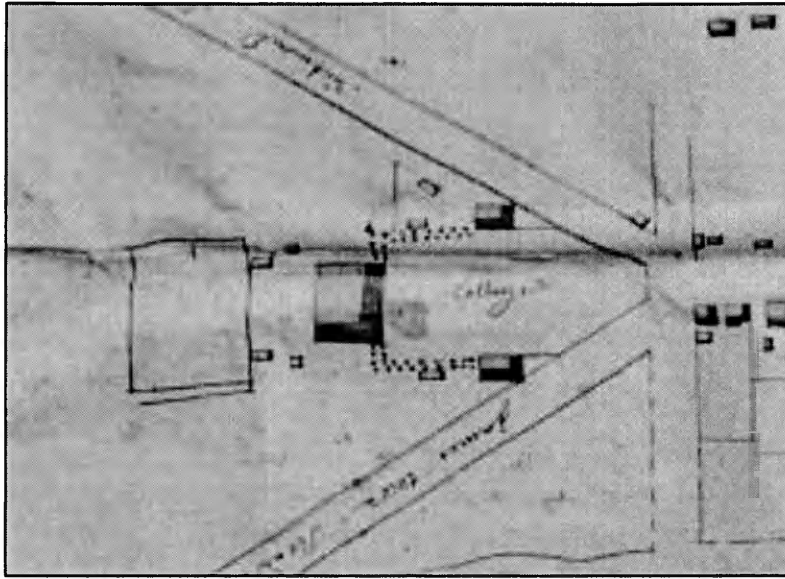


Figure 5: Detail of Frenchman's map showing outbuildings on campus.  
Courtesy of Cornell University Library

The site was excavated in two main levels, and artifacts were also cataloged from the overburden and cleanup stages of excavation even though the provenience is partially lost in these contexts.

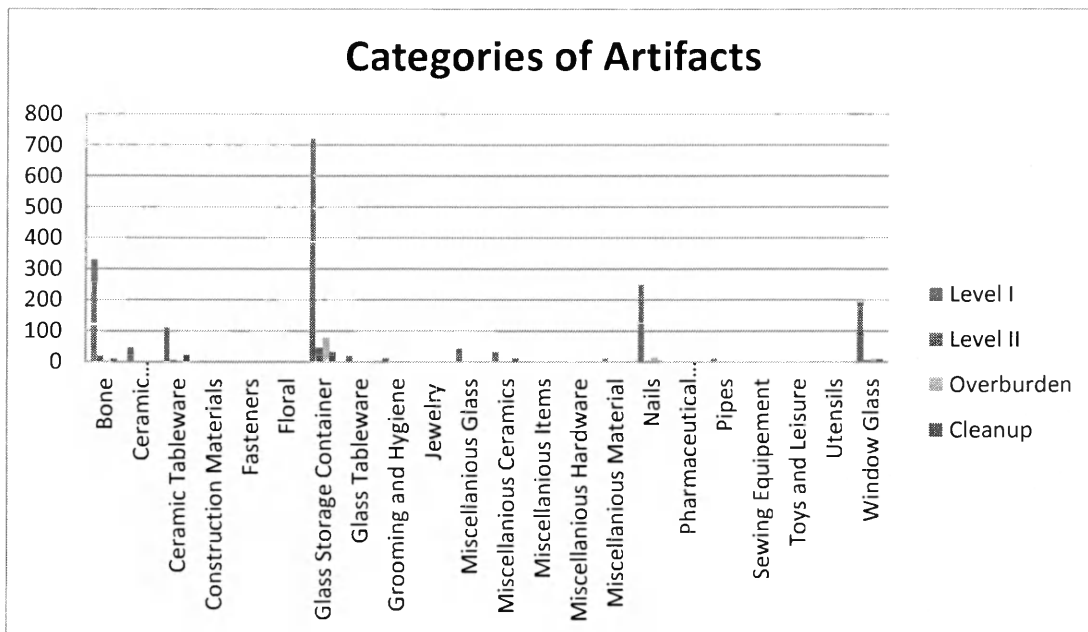


Figure 6: Graph of Artifact Categories

Artifacts were divided into twenty two categories for analysis, not including artifact categories that were measured by weight such as brick. There were ten significant categories are (1) Bone, (2) Ceramic Cooking/Storage, (3) Ceramic Tableware, (4) Glass Storage Container, (5&6) Miscellaneous Ceramics and Glass, (7) Nails, (8) Pipes, (9) Window Glass, and (10) Glass Tableware. Not all of these categories are represented in each level but no category is missing in more than one level. The remaining categories include construction materials, which are included in Level I and mostly contains materials which are measured by weight. Other categories such as Fasteners are small, including the only two buttons found in the feature. The sewing equipment category which consists of a single thimble is similar, and the toy category which is represented by a marble. These artifacts are few in number but significant still, they stand out in contrast to the over 700 glass bottles in Level I alone.



*Figure 7: Cellar feature, image courtesy of the William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research*

The overburden was the most disturbed layer and held 123 artifacts, which is 5.8% of the total number of artifacts found in the feature. The majority (62.6%) of the artifacts recovered from the overburden were glass storage containers; two fragments were dated to the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century but the majority of the glass bottles cannot be given a narrower time span than that of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Fragments of wheel-engraved glass tableware dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The overburden of an archaeological site tends to be the most disturbed which should be kept in mind when using dates from this layer. Three pipestem fragments were recovered, all of which had a bore diameter of 4/64, indicating a date of 1720-1750 (Mallios 2005: 91).

The next layer, Level I was rich with artifacts. This level represents the infilling of the cellar during the mid-eighteenth century. 1,805 artifacts were recovered from Level I, along with 101.2 grams of earthenware roofing tiles, 73 grams of slate, and 592.4 grams of oyster shell. The ceramics found in Levels I and II were studied in depth, drawings and measurements of each ceramic sherd were recorded. Mean ceramic dating

on Level I dated the infilling of the site to circa 1740 (South 2002: 210-212). Particularly indicative ceramics include coarse earthenware dated to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, sgraffitoed refined earthenware which dates the third quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Stemware and tumblers are useful in dating the sites as styles of shape and decoration are distinctive. There are datable bottles from the 1730s to the 1760s, a champagne bottle fragment from the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, and several fragments of stemware dating from the second and third quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Further datable evidence from pipestems show a range of dates, six pipestems were dated to 1720-1750 while 5 were dated between 1750 and 1801. Finally a pipe bowl decorated with the Hanoverian arms was found, which indicates that it was made between 1714 and 1801. These objects all support a date for infilling of the cellar sometime in the third quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In comparison to Level I, Level II held significantly less artifacts. Level II only held 84 artifacts. Again, this number does not include 88.1 grams of brick and small amounts of shell. Very little of the artifacts found in Level II were datable, but 4 wrought nails and an 18<sup>th</sup> century piece of window glass were found in this level. Several artifacts relating to grooming and presentation were found in Level I. This includes two fragments of a wig curler made of white ball clay, a bone comb, tin-enameled earthenware ointment pots, and even an ultramarine blue colored glass jewel.





*Figure 8: Wig curler*

Finally the fourth provenience, Cleanup, is also a small sample, but fortunately there are quite a few datable artifacts from this level. This level includes material from the later 18<sup>th</sup> century and the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Datable materials include refined earthenware from the third quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, glass bottles from the 1780s, one 19<sup>th</sup> glass bottle fragment, a 19<sup>th</sup> century copper alloy candlestick, and a white clay pipe with markings on the stem which may indicate it was made as early as 1690 to 1710. Like the overburden the artifacts from cleanup are highly likely to be disturbed.

Overall the artifacts found in the Locus 10 outbuilding range from expensive stemwares and Chinese porcelain to colonoware and coarse earthenware. The analysis focused on the ceramics at the site. Colonoware is an unglazed and undecorated ware which was made between 1700 and 1800; the shapes tend to mimic European ceramic styles while the shell tempered paste resembles prehistoric materials. Colonoware is almost exclusively made locally to where it is found, and is almost exclusively associated with non-European groups. Colonoware is generally considered to be an indicator for the

presence of enslaved Africans at a site, but recent research has also linked colonoware to local native groups in the Chesapeake (Gallivan 2010: 305).

Both white and brown English stoneware are common in Level I, as well as several varieties of coarse and refined earthenwares. North Devon Gravel storage containers, as well as other coarse earthenware were inexpensive and easily available during the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century. Wares like these are found in almost all dwelling sites, especially sites associated with the kitchen. A few examples of Buckley ware were present: Buckley is a dark, glossy, metallic black glazed earthenware which is particularly rare in the Chesapeake before the 1720s and after the revolution.



*Figure 9: Rim sherd from Buckley pan found in Level I of Locus 10 outbuilding*

Buckley is just one example of an easily datable ceramic type found in the Locus 10 outbuilding. More refined earthenwares such as white salt-glazed stoneware, scratch blue, and Jackfield ware were also found.

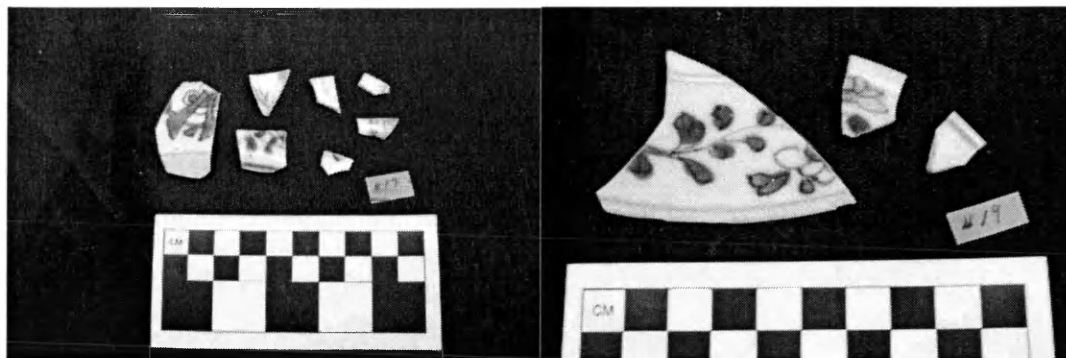


*Figure 10: Rim sherd of white salt-glazed stoneware decorated with scratch blue floral motif*

These ceramics primarily are associated with tableware, and while the structure is not a detached kitchen supporting the College, nearly all the ceramics found were related to cooking, storage, and the serving of food.

There are some luxury items, as well as items on the lower end of the value spectrum. Martin Hall discusses the difficulty in studying the material culture of the underclass (1993: 190). He states that “the material culture used by the underclass was the material culture of their masters, passed down...” (Hall 1993: 190) The most frequent luxury item found in the artifacts is Chinese porcelain. 41 fragments of this ceramic type were found, most of them decorated with underglaze blue. Three pieces, possibly from the same plate or set of plates had an addition of an iron oxide slip on the rim. Fragments

from a saucer or set of saucers with a combination of overglaze decoration and underglaze blue decoration were also found.



*Figure 11: Fragments of Chinese Porcelain found in the Locus 10 outbuilding*

In contrast to the luxury items found in the cellar one small piece of colonoware was found in Level I, and most of a large colonoware vessel was found in another feature in Locus 10. These are not the only examples of colonoware found at the College and the presence of Colonoware at the College during this period is not unexpected, as it is known that there were an undetermined number of slaves at the College throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Oast 2008: 174). Terry Meyers asserts that the oldest buildings on campus were likely built with slave labor, supported by Colonial Williamsburg architectural historian Carl Lounsbury (Meyers 2008: 1141).

The combination of inexpensive and inexpensive goods at the Locus 10 outbuilding is typical of many archaeological sites in the Williamsburg area. Because of the nature of the site we cannot know if porcelain came into the house already cracked and handed down, from master to slave, or if it arrived pristine. In spite of the social distance that colonial leaders were attempting to create through physical distance the lives of elites were inalterably tied to the lives of servants and slaves. The locus 10

outbuilding was built by the first builders at the College, and these Master builders worked closely with slaves and free laborers alike. They may have also lived closely. To this date there is no documentary evidence for housing on campus prior to the completion of the Wren building, but there is also no evidence that the workmen who were brought from England were housed in Middle Plantation with the faculty. What we do know is that this building was established around the turn of the century and that the first incarnation of the Wren building was in construction at that time. We also know that efforts were made to produce as much of the construction materials from the property of the College as possible as a money saving measure. It is feasible that the workers also established a home on the campus during the construction process. The outbuilding may also have served more than a single purpose during the time it was in use, which supports the argument for a combination of elite, middling class, and poor artifacts found in a single large trash deposit.

## CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, the goal of this thesis is to take a deeper look into a previously excavated structure, investigating possible function and more importantly, the people who used the structure. Because of the limitations placed upon the original investigators the site was restricted to a specific area. These kinds of restrictions are common to CRM investigations and archaeology is often limited by time, funding, manpower, workload and deadlines. These are simply the challenges that archaeologists face on a daily basis. By encouraging students, such as myself, to use a CRM site for academic research a divide is crossed, and a valuable site is added to academic discourse. This is just one example of why partnerships between universities and cultural resource management firms are important. Like any other field which exists in both academic and professional worlds there are often divisions between archaeologists, but ultimately the goals of cultural resource management and academia are the same; learning more about past cultures and protecting our cultural heritage so that in the future we may know even more.

There is no archaeological evidence from the cellar feature that directly identifies the function of the structure, or indicates definite links to who used or lived in the structure; however, by combining archaeological material and the historical records a few possibilities can be explored. This structure was built at a time when the property the College sits on was newly purchased, and is contemporary to the earliest construction of the *Wren Building*. Through the documentary evidence and histories of the College the most active periods of construction on campus can be traced. The structure was used

throughout a time period when the campus was in a state of constant construction, as well as a period when Williamsburg went through a great deal of change. The most probable possibility is that this structure was built as a living space for workmen building the College, and that it may have fulfilled other roles in later years, including serving as slave housing.

Ultimately the point of this research is to take the discourse of the College's early history from the front stage to the backstage, and to redirect attention from elites and their interpretation of life at the College so that the highlight can be cast on the working class and enslaved members of the College community. The historical records, and therefore the discourse in the traditional histories of the College, are biased towards elites and towards their portrayal of events at the College and events in Williamsburg and Colonial Virginia. By looking at the people who tend to not appear in the documentary record and incorporating their experiences into the picture we already have of life in Colonial Virginia we create a more nuanced and complete image. All social classes were present in Colonial Virginia and all social classes should be represented in the history of the area as well. The point of archaeology is to expand our knowledge of the past, and without including all classes of people, rich, poor, or in the middle, our knowledge can never be complete.

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