

Musical Monticello: Classical Music and America

An examination of cultural significance; exemplified by Thomas Jefferson and his family.

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Academic Thesis



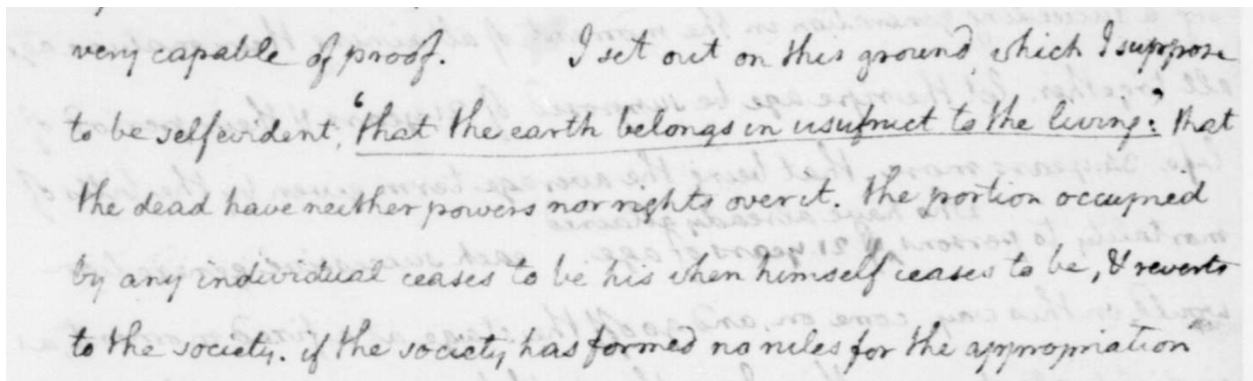
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Abstract

Thomas Jefferson's Monticello plantation is here used as a case-study examining classical music's foundations in the United States. Among other titles, Jefferson was a statesman, diplomat, slave master, and avid violinist. He is remembered as the principal author of the Declaration of Independence and third U.S. President. Early documentation suggests he was a gifted musician, reading notation at age nine and practicing "no less than three hours a day" for "a dozen years". Music played an important role in the courtship of his wife, Martha Skelton Wayles, a harpsichordist and singer. They parented six children, of which two daughters survived to adulthood. Both received substantial keyboard training and their eldest inherited her father's "taste and talent for music". Upon their mother's death in 1782, Thomas began a complicated relationship with his late wife's enslaved half sister, Sally Hemings. She became pregnant at sixteen and bore six of Jefferson's children, four of which survived to adulthood. While Jefferson's white daughters learned keyboard, two of his enslaved black sons were taught violin. It is likely that Jefferson himself taught them using the treatises of his expansive musical library, notably Geminani's "Art of Playing the Violin". A year after Jefferson's death, the two sons were given their freedom; the youngest's profession is listed as "musician" in the 1850 census; he is remembered as an "accomplished caller of dances". These sons span the full stylistic gamut available in 19th century American music: from fiddle to violin. Thomas Jefferson and his family represent the kernels of America's musical traditions, and the way they have morphed in parallel with America itself. The musical ecosystem of Monticello plantation is a dynamic location to discuss colonial music's intersections with class, race, gender, and national identity.

Introduction

A photograph of a handwritten manuscript snippet on aged paper. The text is written in cursive and reads: "very capable of proof. I set out on this ground, which I suppose to be self evident, 'that the earth belongs in usufruct to the living;' that the dead have neither powers nor rights over it. the portion occupied by any individual ceases to be his when himself ceases to be, & reverts to the society. if the society, has formed no rules for the appropriation".

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*Thomas Jefferson to James Madison
Paris, September 6. 1789*

The foundations of classical music in the United States are suspect.

Political, cultural, and economic intersections in Thomas Jefferson's musical ecosystem build a tactful case study that is comparable with the contemporary dynamics of the same music today.

It is critical for those involved to understand what classical music means to them and what it means to their geography. This is particularly true in the United States, where there is a dominant European residue.

Much as in the 18th century, classical music occupies a unique position at the intersection of political, cultural, and economic value. Musical practitioners retain a benevolent, humanist notion of art as societal balm or salve. Sharpening the resolution of classical music's origins is vital to the health and sustainability of the culture.

Placing the cultural significance of classical music in the United States is urgent. Addressing dominant racial, sexist, and classist undertones while maintaining a through-line of historical connection, or tradition, can only be done through a removed case study. In addressing the origins of this music contemporaneously with the origins of the nation, we can assess the foundation inherited, and reevaluate the directionality of the culture today.

Questions Asked

What is America's Classical tradition, and what does this mean *musically*?

What are the origins of European musics in North America? What is valuable about understanding colonial North America; how best is this accomplished through a musical study? How may we be judicious in evaluating an unequal exchange?

What was Thomas Jefferson's relationship to music? Why was he taught music, and why did he teach his children music? What music did he play, and in what context? What music did his children play, and in what context?

What is classical music in the United States? What is its history? What does it mean? What was its practice, style, and industry? Who are the people that participated in these musical biomes? How can we understand their lives and the structures they interacted with?

How does the past relate to the present? What is meaningful about the music of the dead? How does the past enrich our lived experience?

The Colony of Virginia 1584-1743

John Wolfe's 1590 printing of Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* inscribes the following dedication:

TO THE MOST MIGHTIE AND MAGNIFICENT EMPRESSE ELIZABETH, BY THE
GRACE OF GOD QVEENE OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND IRELAND DEFENDER
OF THE FAITH &c.

Her moft humble

Seruant:

Ed. Spenfer.

After the work proper, a preface letter dated 1589— perhaps intended to be read before, but published at the end. It is inscribed:

A Letter of the Authors Expounding His Whole Intention In The Course of This Worke:
Which For That It Giveth Great Light to The Reader, For The Better Understanding Is
Hereunto Annexed

To the Right Noble, and Valorous, Sir Walter Raleigh, Knight, Lord Wardein of the
Stanneryes, and Her Majesties Liefetenaunt of the County of Cornewayll

Richard Field's second edition printing of 1596 does not include the author's letter and reads an expanded dedication:

TO THE MOST HIGH, MIGHTIE And MAGNIFICENT EMPRESSE RENOWWMED
FOR PIETIE, VERTVE, AND ALL GRATIOVS GOVERNMENT ELIZABETH BY THE
GRACE OF GOD QVEENE OF ENGLAND FRAVNCE AND IRELAND AND OF
VIRGINIA, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c . HER MOST HVMBLE SERVANT
EDMVND SPENSER DOTH IN ALL HVMILITIE DEDICATE, PRESENT AND
CONSECRATE THESE HIS LABOVRS TO LIVE VVITH THE ETERNITIE OF HER
FAME.

The pomp surrounding these two London publications of celebrated text are here useful for two reasons: Sir Walter Raleigh¹ is the beneficiary of Spenser's extra-monarchal attention and by 1596 Elizabeth I is publicly credited with the territorial holding of Virginia.

In 1584, Elizabeth I sanctioned a royal charter for Raleigh, legitimizing English royal claims to any

remote, heathen and barbarous lands, countries and territories, not actually possessed of any Christian Prince or inhabited by Christian People²

Employing Captain Philip Amadas and Master Arthur Barlowe, the English exploratory expedition left for North America 27th April, 1584 at Raleigh's expense. By July, the pair of ships had arrived at the Atlantic seaboard of the new world. It is poetically remembered by Barlowe in his letter to Raleigh with the biblical naivety:

The second of July we found shole water, wher we smelt so sweet, and so strong a smel, as if we had bene in the midst of some delicate garden abounding with all kinde of odoriferous flowers, by which we were assured, that the land could not be farre distant: and keeping good watch, and bearing but slacke saile, the fourth of the same moneth we arrived upon the coast, which we supposed to be a continent and firme lande, and we sayled along the same a hundred and twentie English miles before we could finde any entrance, or river issuing into the Sea. The first that appeared unto us, we entred, though not without some difficultie, & cast anker about three harquebuz-shot within the havens mouth on the left hand of the same: and after thanks given to God for our safe arrivall thither, we manned our boats, and went to view the land next adjoining, and to take possession of the same, in the right of the Queenes most excellent Majestie, and rightfull Queene, and Princesse of the same, and after delivered the same over to your use, according to her Majesties grant, and letters patents, under her Highnesse great seale. Which being performed, according to the ceremonies used in such enterprises, we viewed the land about us, being, whereas we first landed, very sandie and low towards the waters side, but so full of grapes, as the very beating and surge of the Sea overflowed them, of which we found such plentie, as well there as in all places else, both on the sand and on the greene soile on the hills, as in the plaines, as well on every little shrubbe, as also climing towards the tops of high

¹ Raleigh's poetry was set by such esteemed 16th c. composers as William Byrd, Alfonso Ferrabosco the Younger, and Orlando Gibbons. English lutenist Francis Cutting too wrote a work, "Sir Walter Raleigh's Galliard". Raleigh and Music, 15 Dec. 2017, <http://raleigh400.blogspot.com/2017/12/raleigh-and-music.html>.

²"The Laws of War." Avalon Project - Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/lawwar.asp.

Cedars, that I thinke in all the world the like abundance is not to be found: and my selfe having seene those parts of Europe that most abound, find such difference as were incredible to be written.³

Six weeks after their landing, Amadas and Barlowe returned from this seeming Eden with two indigeonus men. Wanchese of the Roanoke and Manteo of the Croatoan Algonquins. The terms of their service are questionable; by October they were presented at Elizabeth's court.

The land these first conquerors had surveyed was known as Wingandacoa, under the rule of Pemisapan, or Wingina, leader of the local Algonquins. Anglicizing these words, or perhaps referring to Elizabeth's status as Virgin Queen, the colony of Virginia was penned and annexed to the English Crown. Raleigh was knighted in January 1585 for his patronage and quickly gathered the means for a permanent settlement.

Commissioning seven ships under the direction of Sir Ralph Lane and Sir Richard Grenville, the English returned to the so-called virgin lands at Raleigh's behest. In May, Wanchese and Manteo returned to North America with the colonists after several months in England.⁴ The settlers landed on what is now Roanoke Island, by August building a fortress in close proximity to the village of Chief Pemispan. Grenville quickly left for England, promising to return with supplies; Wanchese and Manteo returned to their families; tensions between the English and the Algonquins grew rapidly. Lane's men exploited their weaponry for food, relying on Pemispan's people for fish and crops. As Pemispan began withholding tribute to the English, Lane believed the surrounding tribes to be uniting

³ The First Voyage Made to the Coasts of America, with Two Barks, Where in Were Captaines M. Philip Amadas , and M. Arthur Barlowe , Who Discovered Part of the Countrey Now Called Virginia, Anno 1584. Written by One of the Said Captaines , and Sent to Sir Walter Raleigh Knight, at Whose Charge and Direction, the Said Voyage Was Set Forth. the Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques & Discoveries of the English Nation Made by Sea or over-Land to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth at Any Time within the Compasse of These 1600 Yeeres the First Voyage Made to the Coasts of America, with Two Barks, Where in Were Captaines M. Philip Amadas, and M. Arthur Barlowe, Who Discovered Part of the Countrey Now Called Virginia, Anno 1584. Written by One of the Said Captaines, and Sent to Sir Walter Raleigh Knight, at Whose Charge and Direction, the Said Voyage Was Set Forth., <http://www.virtualjamestown.org/exist/cocoon/jamestown/fha/J1014>.

⁴ The ships did not navigate directly but traveled quite far south, visiting the West Indies and Hispanola. Don Fernando de Altamirano, Spanish captain of a frigate captured en route notes Manteo and Wanchese were "richly dressed", "spoke good English and were great lovers of music". This is one of the only descriptions of these characters in the record. This same journey Grenville recalls a friendly meeting between Spanish and English on the north coast of Hispanola "with the sound of trumpets, and consort of music".

https://books.google.nl/books?id=R31xVVqI-jEC&pg=PA57&lpg=PA57&dq=altamirano+finished+by+noting+that+the+two+Indians+on+board+were+richly+dressed,+spoke+good+English,+and+were+lovers+of+music.&source=bl&ots=lpqQ5ISEi7&sig=ACfU3U1EA57Mf7vMOl0IeDYbIovtQp6hgg&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKewjMoL7mt_31AhXGuKQKHVa6CXUQ6AF6BAgDEAM#v=onepage&q=music&f=false

against them. On June 1st 1586, Lane makes a crucial decision, foreshadowing the next several hundred years in North America:

with the light horseman, & one Canoa, taking 25. with the Colonel of the Chesepians, and the Serjeant major, I went to Adesmocopeio, and being landed sent Pemisapan word by one of his owne savages that met me at the shore ... hereupon the king did abide my comming to him, and finding my selfe amidst 7. or 8. of his principal Weroances, & followers, (not regarding any of the common sort) I gave the watchword agreed upon, (which was Christ our victory,) and immediately those his chiefe men, and himselfe, had by the mercie of God for our deliverance, that which they had purposed for us. The king himselfe being shot thorow by the Colonell with a pistoll lying on the ground for dead, & I looking as watchfully for the saving of Manteos friends, as others were busie that none of the rest should escape, suddenly he started up, and ran away as though he had not bene touched, insomuch as he overran all the companie, being by the way shot thwart the buttocks by mine Irish boy with my Petronell. In the end an Irish man serving me, one Nugent and the deputie provost undertook him, and following him in the woods overtook him, and I in some doubt least we had lost both the king, and my man by our owne negligence to have bene intercepted by the Savages, we met him returning out of the woods with Pemisapans head in his hand.⁵

Not two months later, like Greville, Lane boards a ship back to England with the promise of return. He never sets foot in the new world again. About a year later, in August 1587, Virginia Dare was born at Roanoke colony– she is remembered as the first Anglo-American born in the new world. Unable to plant crops and with no resupply ships, Governor John White, leader of the Virginian English, sails across the Atlantic. When he returns in August 1590, the Roanoke colony and its residents are gone. Edmund Spenser publishes the first volume of *The Faerie Queene* in this year; with homage to Sir Walter Raleigh, but not yet to Virginia.

The Roanoke Island settlement is often referred to as the “lost colony” by anglo-historians today. The intricacy of the episodes from 1584 to 1590 are skewed by the surviving records of proud English conquerors, returning to Europe and publishing adventurous memoirs.

⁵ Hakluyt, Richard, et al. “Ralph Lane: ‘An Account of the Particularities of the Employments of the English Men Left in Virginia.’” *The Principall Navigations Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1965.

Elizabeth I perished in March of 1603, passing the throne to James VI, King of Scotland, henceforth James I, King of England and Ireland. The Virginia Company was chartered in 1606, laying credence of possession to the Atlantic seaboard, from present day Maine to the Carolinas. On May 4th, 1607, “James Fort” was established: it is remembered today as Jamestown, the first permanent settlement of the English in North America⁶.

In August of 1619, the first Africans of anglo-North America arrived at Point Comfort on a British ship flying a Dutch flag. Part of a larger group taken captive in Angola by Portuguese slavers and brought to the Caribbean as cargo, these first “20 and odd” African Americans were there stolen as loot by British privateers and brought to Virginia.⁷ By 1640 a colonial Virginian court establishes a legal basis for the lifetime enslavement of Africans:

in a case involving runaway servants ... although three men ran away, two—a Scot and a Dutchmen—were required to serve an additional 4 years “after the time of their service is expired . . . ; the third being a negro named John Punch” was ordered to serve “his master or his assigns for the time of his natural life” (Palmer, 1971, p. 67). Thus, John Punch’s name should go down in history as being the first official slave in the English colonies.⁸

With slavery fully entrenched in Virginia by 1660, The Royal African Company⁹, established by charter of English monarch Charles II

shipped more enslaved African women, men, and children to the Americas than any other single institution during the entire period of the transatlantic slave trade...In 1673, soon after

⁶ Jamestown has been mythologized as a core tenant of the American national identity and was propagandized in the 1995 Disney film Pocahontas; the caricatured figures of founding conquerors were that year distributed in fifty-five million Burger King kids meals.

[<https://web.archive.org/web/20081202025918/http://www.ew.com/ew/article/0,,295962,00.html>]

⁷“The Royal African Company.” National Parks Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, <https://home.nps.gov/jame/learn/historyculture/the-royal-african-company-supplying-slaves-to-jamestown.htm>.

⁸Coates, Rodney D. “Law and the Cultural Production of Race and Racialized Systems of Oppression.” *American Behavioral Scientist*, vol. 47, no. 3, 2003, pp. 329–351., <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764203256190>.

⁹ This company received great interest by the contemporary musicological community around 2015, when it was revealed that G.F. Handel and his patron, the Duke of Chandos, were shareholders by 1720. Receiving lesser interest was the startling revelation that “32% of the investors and subscribers (or close family members) to the Royal Academy of Music during its existence 1719-28 also invested in the Royal African Company”.

“Handel and the Royal African Company.” *Musicology Now*, <https://musicologynow.org/handel-and-the-royal-african-company/>.

the company's foundation, the English had a 33 percent share in the transatlantic slave trade. By 1683, that share had increased to 74 percent.¹⁰

In late July of 1619, a few weeks before the first enslaved Africans were brought to the colony, the Virginia General Assembly was established as a body of twenty-two representatives from Jamestown and the lands surrounding. The free white males elected were to complement the Governor and advisors appointed by the chartered Virginia Company of London, giving a sense of political locality and public control. With increasing population and territorial claims beyond the original settlements, the Virginia House of Burgesses was established in 1642 as a further electoral body, creating the bicameral structure that exists today. Commemorating the 1619 assembly 400 years later, the United States government celebrated this assembly as

the oldest continuous law-making body in the New World.¹¹

The expanding territory of the Virginia Colony was organized into eight Shires in 1634. These were:

Accomac Shire (now Northampton & Accomack Counties)

Charles City Shire (now Charles City County)

Charles River Shire (now York County)

Elizabeth City Shire (extinct – consolidated with the City of Hampton)

Henrico Shire (now Henrico County)

James City Shire (now James City County)

Warwick River Shire (extinct – consolidated with the City of Newport News)

Warrosquoake Shire (now Isle of Wight County)

Our story centers in the Shire of Henrico, the inland frontier once ripe with plantations. As the population grew and political systems sharpened, counties began to form within the Shire's borders. In 1728, Goochland County was the first to endeavor this smaller unit of governance and by 1744, the

¹⁰ Pettigrew, William A. "The Politics of Slave Trade Escalation, 1672-1712." *Freedoms Debt - the Royal African Company and the Politics of the Atlantic*, The University Of North Caroli, 2016.

¹¹"Message on the 400th Anniversary of the First Representative Legislative Assembly in America." *Message on the 400th Anniversary of the First Representative Legislative Assembly in America | The American Presidency Project*, 30 July 2019, <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/message-the-400th-anniversary-the-first-representative-legislative-assembly-america>.

western part of Goochland had further splintered into Albemarle County. It is in this area, the land once home to the Monacan indigenous people, where Monticello plantation was built.

Bachelor in Paradise 1743-1770

There is a sign marker in Shadwell, Virginia, placed there by the United States Department of Historic Resources in 2001. It reads:

Thomas Jefferson—author of the Declaration of Independence, third president of the United States, and founder of the University of Virginia—was born near this site on 13 April 1743. His father, Peter Jefferson (1708-1757), a surveyor, planter, and officeholder, began acquiring land in this frontier region in the mid-1730s and had purchased the Shadwell tract by 1741. Peter Jefferson built a house soon after, and the Shadwell plantation became a thriving agricultural estate. Thomas Jefferson spent much of his early life at Shadwell. After the house burned to the ground in 1770, he moved to Monticello, where he had begun constructing a house.

This government designated construction of the man, Thomas Jefferson, heavily acknowledges his father, Peter Jefferson, but does not acknowledge his mother, Jane Randolph Jefferson. Peter had bought the tract from his wife's uncle and named it after the parish in London where she was born: Shadwell. Though the Randolphs were among Virginia's first families, Jane moved there at age five; her established heritage and old-world birth gave her an air of gentry and high dignity that would manifest in Thomas.

The Department of Historic Resources sign also neglects to acknowledge that the Shadwell house was not so much built by Peter Jefferson as the at-least sixty people he enslaved on his property.¹² The plantation's "thriving agricultural estate" may have seemed as such to the profiteer, but was surely less so to the individuals who lived and died in servitude of Master Peter Jefferson and his cash crops.

Despite the surmising marker at his birthplace—one of many summations—Thomas Jefferson was careful to prescribe his own legacy, leaving precise instructions for the construction of his epitaph and the language by which he would be remembered. In March 1826, coinciding with the preparation of his last will, he dictated the words which would mark his tomb. Upon his death some months later—on that most American of days, July 4th—these words were etched on the obelisk standing in the Monticello graveyard.

¹² "The Enslaved Household of President Thomas Jefferson." WHHA (En-US), <https://www.whitehousehistory.org/slavery-in-the-thomas-jefferson-white-house>.

Here was buried
Thomas Jefferson
Author of the Declaration of American Independence
of the Statute of Virginia for religious freedom
& Father of the University of Virginia.¹³

Historical subjects are always constructions of mythology; in the case of the American Founding Fathers, they are presented as archetypes of the American national identity. The following text aims at a Thomas Jefferson built not as a politician, philosopher, or businessman, but as a dedicated musician. He is regarded not as the father of a nation but as the father of an extensive family.

Nothing is recorded about where young Thomas found a violin, or where he learned to play it, but by the time he was nine, boarding at Reverend William Douglas' Latin School, he was able to "play by the book" (in other words, read notation)¹⁴. From fourteen, following the death of his father, Jefferson's classical education continued with the Reverend James Maury. Some years later, Jefferson remembered Maury as a "correct classical scholar"¹⁵. Violin practice was the perfect supplement to the Greek and Roman ideals Jefferson consumed; as such, his education hints at the curious connection between culture in the 18th century "classical" period, and its iconic reference.

Enrolling at the College of William and Mary in 1760, Jefferson moved to the cosmopolitan capital city of Williamsburg, where he was able to access a culture of performance. Seat of the House of Burgesses and colonial courts, the town was at the center of Virginia's political life and hosted the most elite plantation owners and royal advisors when the assembly was in session. In this climate, Jefferson nurtured his musical affinity alongside his political and social capital, attending small soirées of Royal Governor, Francis Fauquier¹⁶. Gov. Fauquier was the son of Dr. John Francis Fauquier, a colleague of Sir Isaac Newton and the former director of the Bank of England; the governor was therefore highly

¹³ "Thomas Jefferson: Design for Tombstone and Inscription, before 4 July 1826, 4 July 1826," Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/98-01-02-6185>.

¹⁴ Salgo, Sandor. *Thomas Jefferson, Musician and Violinist*. Charlottesville, VA: Thomas Jefferson Foundation, 2000, p. 2.

¹⁵ "Thomas Jefferson - Born 4/13/1743." *The Classical Historian*, <https://www.classicalhistorian.com/johns-blog/thomas-jefferson-born-4131743>.

¹⁶ "The Governor was musical also & a good performer and associated me with 2. or 3. other amateurs in his weekly concerts" "Thomas Jefferson to Louis H. Girardin, 15 January 1815," Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-08-02-0167>. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Retirement Series*, vol. 8, 1 October 1814 to 31 August 1815, ed. J. Jefferson Looney. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011, pp. 200–201.]

educated, wealthy, and well regarded by the English crown. An avid gentleman violinist, he invited Thomas Jefferson and a few other law students to play chamber music regularly. Among them were

John Randolph, violin—a cousin of Jefferson, future State Representative, Senator, and Minister to Russia.

Patrick Henry, violin—delegate to the first and second Continental Congress, first Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia, known popularly for the quote “give me liberty or give me death”.

John Tyler (Sr.), cello—future Governor of the Commonwealth of Virginia, District Judge, and Father of 10th President John Tyler

Robert Carter III, harpsichord—grandson of former Royal governor.¹⁷

John Tyler much later remembered Jefferson’s envy at his bow arm. Jefferson supposedly remarked that if he possessed such skill, he would

yield the palm to no man living in excellence of performance¹⁸

The members of this group were, at that time, current and future leaders of Virginian society; they valued music as an engaging leisure activity and appreciated its highbrow associations. As members of the so-called planter class, each member counted enslaved people among their property.

Despite the mature aspects of his youthful station, Jefferson’s naivety from this period is expressed in a desire for travel. It underlines his fascination with western European nations and a classical dose of exoticism.

“I shall visit particularly England Holland France Spain Italy (where I would buy me a good fiddle) and Egypt”¹⁹

¹⁷ Ibid. Salgo, p. 6-7.

¹⁸ Lyon G. Tyler, *The Letters and Times of the Tylers, 2 vols.* (Richmond: Whittet & Shepperson, 1884-96), 1:54-55. From Salgo, Sandor. *Thomas Jefferson, Musician and Violinist*. Charlottesville, VA: Thomas Jefferson Foundation, 2000, p. 7.

¹⁹ “From Thomas Jefferson to John Page, 20 January 1763,” Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-01-02-0003>. [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 1, 1760–1776, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950, pp. 7–9.]

Francesco Alberti, or Francis Alberte, emigrated from Faenza, Italy, to Williamsburg, Virginia, some time in the 1750s or 60s. A violinist, harpsichordist, and dancing instructor, Alberti “came over with a troop of players and afterwards taught music in Williamsburg”²⁰. The troop of players was likely an accompanying band for the Hallam Douglass theater company²¹, the most prominent in North America through the 18th c. and credited with the first performance of Shakespeare on the continent²². Alberti was a welcome teacher in the homes of many elite Virginians: his Italian heritage being at once fetishized and regarded as artistically thoroughbred. Some time in the 1760s Jefferson met Alberti and began a studious relationship for many years. When Jefferson eventually left Williamsburg, he convinced Alberti to follow, employing him not only as a violin teacher for himself, but also a music teacher for his family. His influence is noted in an early 20th century publication which credits him with establishing the “New Italian School”²³ in North America. Among his young students were James Madison, fourth U.S. President and lifelong friend of Thomas Jefferson, and Richard Taliaferro, an Anglo-Italian architect credited with some of the most significant buildings in colonial Williamsburg²⁴. Alberti lived as a true professional musician and was never afforded the opportunity to accrue the same wealth as his planter students; at the time of his death in 1777, he possessed

three fans, cordial bottles, a pair of ladies' gloves, a tenor violin, five violin bridges, seven bows, a hymn book, and three old music books, among other items²⁵

It is unclear what instrument Jefferson was playing through this period, but by May of 1768 the first recorded purchase of a violin is marked in his extensive financial records. In his later reflections on his

²⁰ Nicholas Trist Memorandum, quoted in Randall, *Life*, 1:131-32. According to John Molnar, the “troop of players” was almost certainly the Hallam-Douglass Company. See John W. Molnar, “Art Music in Colonial Virginia,” in *Art and Music in the South*, ed. Francis B. Simkins (Farmville, VA: Longwood College, Institute of Southern Culture, 1961), 80. See also an advertisement for “A Concert,” *Virginia Gazette*, May 11, 1769, page 4. From “Monticello.” *Francis Alberti*, https://www.monticello.org/site/research-and-collections/francis-alberti#footnote2_tb74r94.

²¹ Ibid. “Monticello.” *Francis Alberti*, https://www.monticello.org/site/research-and-collections/francis-alberti#footnote2_tb74r94.

²² Morrison, Michael A. *Shakespeare in North America* in Wells, Stanley and Stanton, Sarah *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare on Stage* (Cambridge University Press, 2002) pp. 230–232

²³ Sonneck, O. G., and William Treat Upton. *A Bibliography of Early Secular American Music, 18th Century*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1964.

²⁴ Ibid. “Monticello.” *Francis Alberti*, https://www.monticello.org/site/research-and-collections/francis-alberti#footnote2_tb74r94.

²⁵ This tenor violin may have referred to a viola or a violin tuned an octave below standard. It is a curious instrument nonetheless. Ibid. “Monticello.” *Francis Alberti*, https://www.monticello.org/site/research-and-collections/francis-alberti#footnote2_tb74r94.

youth, Jefferson describes having primarily played a kit violin until this time, for which he had constructed a case designed to be attached to a saddle²⁶. This was an ideal instrument for the traveling lawyer, but surely not the fine fiddle he desired. This first documented violin was purchased from Dr. William Pasteur, owner of a main street apothecary in Williamsburg. Pasteur was married to Jefferson's second cousin, but there is no record of them having any correspondence or musical encounters. Jefferson purchased the violin for £5; earlier that year he had bought a mare for £11.²⁷ The instrument was by no means cheap, or obscenely expensive, but it is worth remembering that Jefferson was quite wealthy. He must have been playing often, or the weather was quite bad, because in October of 1768 there are recorded two entries for the purchase of "fiddle strings"²⁸. This violin is referred to by Jefferson as his "Cremona" and is quite probably the *shop of Amati* instrument preserved at the Smithsonian Institute's Museum of American History.²⁹

Jefferson traveled often, to various plantations as legal counselor, and to Williamsburg where his social and political network was, but following his time at William and Mary, his primary residence was his childhood home at Shadwell plantation, where he lived with his mother. Jefferson inherited the plantation in 1764, age twenty-one, and enlisted overseers to steady the production of tobacco cultivated by enslaved people. In 1770, a fire consumed the main house, destroying—most distressingly—Jefferson's extensive library and papers:

My late loss may perhaps have reac[hed y]ou by this time, I mean the loss of my mother's house by fire, and in it, of every pa[per I] had in the world, and almost every book. On a reasonable estimate I calculate th[e cost o]f t[he b]ooks burned to have been £200. sterling. Would to god it had been the money [;then] had it never cost me a sigh! To make the loss more sensible it fell principally on m[y books] of common law, of which I have but one left, at that time lent out.

²⁶ Ibid. Salgo, p. 8.

²⁷ "Memorandum Books, 1768," Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/02-01-02-0002>. [Original source: The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Second Series, Jefferson's Memorandum Books, vol. 1, ed. James A Bear, Jr. and Lucia C. Stanton. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997, pp. 43–84.]

²⁸ "Memorandum Books, 1768," Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/02-01-02-0002>. [Original source: The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Second Series, Jefferson's Memorandum Books, vol. 1, ed. James A Bear, Jr. and Lucia C. Stanton. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997, pp. 43–84.]

²⁹ "Violin from the Shop of Amati, Ca. 1670." Smithsonian Chamber Music Society. Smithsonian Institute, n.d. <http://www.smithsonianchambermusic.org/collection/violin-shop-amati-ca-1670>.

Of papers too of every kind I am utterly destitute. All of these, whether public or private, of business or of amusement have perished in the flames.³⁰

Over 100 years later, Jefferson's great-granddaughter, Sarah Nicholas Randolph, describes the heroic event which is most associated with this tragedy. It has been described as family lore:

He was from home when the fire took place at Shadwell, and the first inquiry he made of the negro who charried him the news was after his books. "Oh, my young master," he replied, carelessly, "they were all burnt; but, ah! We saved your fiddle."³¹

The heroism of this unidentified man, who Randolph describes as replying "carelessly", suggests the importance of the violin to Jefferson, well known even to those he regarded as property; given the choice of saving anything from the fire, this man took the violin. This incident goes beyond family lore and has indeed become one of the most associated proofs of Jefferson's involvement with the instrument. Sandor Salgo identifies the heroic man as

"Old Isaac", a family slave³²

But this unsubstantiated claim seemingly confuses the identity of enslaved Monticello memoirist, Isaac Granger Jefferson, son of enslaved overseer George Granger— who was born five years later.

This incident has as many tellings as people that tell it; one unnamed curator at the Smithsonian Institute's Museum of American History described the violin as having been rescued by one of

"Jefferson's favorite slaves".³³

Despite the lack of clarity on the happenings of the fire, the musical significance cannot be understated.

³⁰ Thomas Jefferson from Perkins, Buchanan & Brown, 2 October 1769," Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-01-02-0022>. [Original source: The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, vol. 1, 1760–1776, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950, pp. 33–34.]

³¹ Randolph, Sarah N. *The Domestic Life of Thomas Jefferson Compiled from Family Letters and Reminiscences*. Project Gutenberg, 2013, p. 43.

³² Ibid. Salgo, p. 9.

³³ I do not wish to identify said curator due to the unfounded basis of his claim.

Martha and Little Mountain 1770-1784

The year Jefferson purchased his first violin from the Williamsburg apothecary's doctor, the people he enslaved cleared and leveled an area across the stream from Shadwell at his direction. The Albemarle county deed-book listed one high mountain and one little mountain, and it was on top of the latter that he had the site prepared. Jefferson first referred to this area as Monticello the year before, and its Italianization—classically consistent—seems to draw from Renaissance architect Andrea Palladio's description of the Villa Rotunda's location:

"Its situation is as advantageous and delicious as can be desired, being seated on a hillock of a most easy ascent"³⁴

Jefferson had a translated copy of Palladio's *Architecture* in English from which this quote originates, but the original Italian text for "seated on a hillock" is

"sopra un monticello"³⁵

Curiously, Jefferson referred to the original quote despite lacking the original text. It is clear that Jefferson's Italianate fascination, cemented by his relationship with Alberti, was cultivated through the 1760s.

When the fire at Shadwell consumed the main house, it provided the impetus for Jefferson to settle at Monticello—a move he had anticipated for two years. A physical manifestation of the American culture it hoped to embody, the materials of the house were largely sourced on site while the design ideals were largely imported. Lumber was milled from trees on the estate, nails were initially bought but later made at the estate's blacksmith shop, and even the stone for the Eastern columns was quarried on Jefferson's land.³⁶

The Monticello main house was something of a living testament to Jefferson's hunger for development and it existed in a near-constant state of renovation for some forty years. When Jefferson first moved to

³⁴ Andrea Palladio, *The Architecture of A. Palladio: in Four Books ...*, trans. N. Du Bois (London: John Darby, 1721), 1:64. From "Monticello." Origin of the Name "Monticello", <https://www.monticello.org/site/research-and-collections/origin-name-monticello>.

³⁵ Ibid. "Monticello." Origin of the Name "Monticello", <https://www.monticello.org/site/research-and-collections/origin-name-monticello>.

³⁶ "House Faqs." Monticello, <https://www.monticello.org/house-gardens/the-house/house-faqs/>.

the estate, it was to a rather modest construction of two stories referred to as the *South Pavilion*. Gradually as construction commenced and the main house was raised around it, this once freestanding structure was fully incorporated into the expansive building. It was in this modest house, surrounded by construction, where Jefferson lived when he began to court his future wife, Martha Wayles Skelton.

Martha was Jefferson's third cousin, a widow, and a mother of a three year old child when he began pursuing her. She was a harpsichordist, guitarist, and singer³⁷; this musical inclination was a powerful element in their romance. The 1858 Jefferson biographer S. Randolph describes a scene where two of Martha's suitors by-chance hear the young lovers making music:

Two of Mr. Jefferson's rivals happened to meet on Mrs. Skelton's door-stone. They were shown into a room from which they heard her harpsichord and voice, accompanied by Mr. Jefferson's violin and voice, in the passages of a touching song. They listened for a stanza or two. Whether something in the words, or in the tones of the singers appeared suggestive to them, tradition does not say, but it does aver that they took their hats and retired, to return no more on the same errand!³⁸

Tragically, Martha's three year old son died in 1771, heralding an all too common occurrence in her life: over the next decade, Martha would mother five more children with only two of them surviving to adulthood. This terrible event did not seem to overtake her with grief, because six months later she would marry Jefferson, on new years day of 1772. Writing to one London supplier, Jefferson asks for a particularly new and fashionable wedding gift:

I must alter one article in the invoice. I wrote therein for a Clavichord. I have since seen a Forte-piano and am charmed with it. Send me this instrument then instead of the Clavichord. Let the case be of fine mahogany, solid, not veneered. The compass from Double G. to F. in alt. a plenty of spare strings; and the workmanship of the whole very handsome, and worthy the acceptance of a lady for whom I intend it.³⁹

³⁷ "Jefferson and Music." Monticello, <https://www.monticello.org/thomas-jefferson/a-day-in-the-life-of-jefferson/a-delightful-recreation/jefferson-and-music/>.

³⁸ Ibid. "Jefferson and Music." Monticello, <https://www.monticello.org/thomas-jefferson/a-day-in-the-life-of-jefferson/a-delightful-recreation/jefferson-and-music/>.

³⁹ "From Thomas Jefferson to Thomas Adams, 1 June 1771," Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-01-02-0050>. [Original source: The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, vol. 1, 1760–1776, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950, pp. 71–72.]

This instrument was surely one of the first fortepianos in the new world. It is easy to imagine the excitement Martha felt at the sound and touch of this thoroughly modern invention.

Among the gifts of their marriage was a sizable dowry, including Elk Hill plantation and some 135 enslaved individuals.⁴⁰ When Martha's father, John Wayles, died in 1773, they inherited the ownership of more lands and people, leaving Jefferson as the second largest enslaver in Albemarle County.⁴¹ Among the people brought to Monticello was Betty Hemings, a mixed-race mother of ten, the youngest six of which were half-siblings of Martha, fathered by John Wayles. The youngest of these children was an infant, Sally Hemings.

Jefferson entered into a curious contract in 1771 with his cousin and fellow-musician, John Randolph. Jefferson had admired Randolph's violin since their days playing chamber music at Gov. Forquier's residence in his law-school years, and he hoped to acquire it to complement his "Cremona". Little is known about the pedigree of this instrument, though it must have been quite fine. The language of the legal document is somewhat humorous, as is the premise: good friends agreeing to something of a wager on reward of whoever dies first.

It is agreed between John Randolph, Esq., of the City of Williamsburg, and Thomas Jefferson, of the County of Albemarle, that in case the said John shall survive the said Thomas, that the Executors or Administrators of the said Thomas shall deliver to the said John 100 pounds sterling of the books of the said Thomas, to be chosen by the said John, or if not books sufficient, the deficiency to be made up in money: And in case the said Thomas should survive the said John, that the Executors of the said John shall deliver to the said Thomas the violin which the said John brought with him into Virginia, together with all his music composed for the violin or in lieu thereof, if destroyed by any accident, 60 pounds sterling worth of books of the said John, to be chosen by the said Thomas.⁴²

⁴⁰ "Martha Jefferson." WHHA (En-US), <https://www.whitehousehistory.org/bios/martha-jefferson>.

⁴¹ "The Practice of Slavery at Monticello." Monticello, <https://www.monticello.org/thomas-jefferson/jefferson-slavery/the-practice-of-slavery-at-monticello/>.

⁴² "Agreement with John Randolph, 11 [April?] 1771," Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-01-02-0045>. [Original source: The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, vol. 1, 1760–1776, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950, pp. 66–67.]

The contract was not to be fulfilled for, in 1775, as tensions between the colonies and Britain began to reach a boil, Randolph decided to return to Europe as a loyalist of the crown. This was not an uncommon position, and the four years following that contract saw a steep decline in relations between Jefferson, an advocate for independence, and his cousin. Before leaving Virginia, Randolph sent an intermediary to Jefferson, offering up the violin for a sum of £13. The following are the letter and reply confirming the purchase, and making amends.

I received your message by Mr. Braxton and immediately gave him an order on the Treasurer for the money, which the Treasurer assured me should be answered on his return. I now send the bearer for the violin and such musick appurtenant to her as may be of no use to the young ladies. I believe you had no case to her. If so, be so good as to direct Watt Lenox to get from Prentis's some bays or other coarse woollen to wrap her in, and then to pack her securely in a wooden box.

I am sorry the situation of our country should render it not eligible to you to remain longer in it. I hope the returning wisdom of Great Britain will e'er long put an end to this unnatural contest ... My best wishes for your felicity attend you wherever you go, and believe me to be assuredly Your friend & servt.,

Th: Jefferson

P.S. My collection of classics and of books of parliamentary learning particularly is not so complete as I could wish. As you are going to the land of literature and of books you may be willing to dispose of some of yours here and replace them there in better editions. I should be willing to treat on this head with any body you may think proper to empower for that purpose.⁴³

I have received ten Guineas of the Treasurer and have left the Violin with Mr. Cocke of Wmsburg. I wish I had had a Case for it.

Tho we may politically differ in Sentiments, yet I see no Reason why privately we may not cherish the same Esteem for each other which formerly I believe Subsisted between us. Should any Coolness happen between us, I'll take Care not to be the first mover of it. We both of us seem to be steering opposite Courses; the Success of either lies in the Womb of Time. But

⁴³ "From Thomas Jefferson to John Randolph, 25 August 1775," Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-01-02-0121>. [Original source: The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, vol. 1, 1760–1776, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950, pp. 240–243.]

whether it falls to my share or not, be assured that I wish you all Health and Happiness. I am
Dr Sr Your most obedt Servant,⁴⁴

Though it was not through music itself, the violin as diplomatic intermediary allowed their relationship to be salvaged. Here this instrument is a token of respect and friendship, but it is a token nonetheless. Jefferson was already the owner of a fine Cremonese instrument and the addition to his collection was something of a trophy or an affirmation of status. The price of the instrument was more than double the “Cremona”, but pales in comparison to another purchase of the same year: some £220 for a man named Phil⁴⁵.

Francis Alberti was a mainstay of the musical life in Monticello. After leaving Williamsburg with Jefferson in 1767, he settled in Albemarle to remain close to his dedicated student. Acting not only as a violin teacher for Jefferson and his brother Randolph, Alberti was a keyboard teacher for his wife Martha and her future children. Alberti was not the only Italian settled in Albemarle county; in 1773, an Italian doctor and horticulturist, Filippo Mazzei (Philip Mazzie), who had been working as an importer out of London, moved to Virginia with ten farmers. Quickly befriending Jefferson, they together opened the first vineyard in Virginia.⁴⁶ Mazzei introduced Jefferson to several important Europeans through correspondence— among them was Giovanni Fabbroni, an Italian polymath famous for his contributions to the metric system. In 1778, Jefferson wrote to Fabbroni one of his most famous musical letters, proclaiming his deep spiritual involvement with the medium, and petitioning him to commission European musicians that might emigrate to Virginia:

If there is a gratification which I envy any people in this world it is to your country its music. This is the favorite passion of my soul, and fortune has cast my lot in a country where it is in a state of deplorable barbarism. From the [line] of life in which we conjecture you to be, I have for some time lost the hope of seeing you here. Should the event prove so, I shall ask your assistance in procuring a substitute who may be a proficient in singing and on the harpsichord.

⁴⁴ “To Thomas Jefferson from John Randolph, 31 August 1775,” Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-01-02-0123>. [Original source: The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, vol. 1, 1760–1776, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950, p. 244.]

⁴⁵ Ibid. “Memorandum Books, 1768,” Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/02-01-02-0002>. [Original source: The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Second Series, Jefferson’s Memorandum Books, vol. 1, ed. James A Bear, Jr. and Lucia C. Stanton. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997, pp. 43–84.]

⁴⁶ “About Jefferson Vineyards.” Jefferson Vineyards, <https://www.jeffersonvineyards.com/About/History>.

I should be contented to receive such an one two or three years hence, when it is hoped he may come more safely, and find here a greater plenty of those useful things which commerce alone can furnish. The bounds of an American fortune will not admit the indulgence of a domestic band of musicians. Yet I have thought that a passion for music might be reconciled with that oeconomy which we are obliged to observe. I retain for instance among my domestic servants a gardener (Ortolano), weaver (Tessitore di lino e lan[a,]) a cabinet maker (Stipettaio) and a stonecutter (scalpellino lavorante in piano) to which I would add a Vigneron. In a country where, like yours, music is cultivated and practised by every class of men I suppose there might be found persons of those trades who could perform on the French horn, clarinet or hautboy and bassoon, so that one might have a band of two French horns, two clarinets and hautboys and a bassoon, without enlarging their domest[ic] expences. A certainty of employment for a half dozen years, and at [the] end of that time to find them if they chose it a conveyance to their own country might induce [them] to come here on reasonable wages. Without meaning to give you trouble, perhaps it mig[ht] be practicable for you in your ordinary intercourse with your pe[ople] to find out such men disposed to come to America. Sobriety and good nature would be desireable parts of their characters. If you think such a plan practicable, and will be so kind as to inform me what will be necessary to be done on my part, I will take care that it shall be done. The necessary expences, when informed of them, I can remit before they are wanting, to any port in France with which country alone we have safe correspondence.⁴⁷

Though Jefferson and Fabbroni remained in correspondence for many years, this letter was intercepted by the British and never arrived at its destination in France.⁴⁸

Almost exactly nine months following their wedding, Martha and Thomas welcomed their first child, Martha, who would be called “Patsy”. She would live on as the sole child to survive both of her parents. A year and a half later, another child, Jane Randolph, was born and lived for eighteen months. Two years later, an unnamed son was born and died after seventeen days. The loss of two children so quickly

⁴⁷ “From Thomas Jefferson to Giovanni Fabbroni, 8 June 1778,” Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-02-02-0066>. [Original source: The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, vol. 2, 1777–18 June 1779, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950, pp. 195–198.]

⁴⁸ “In 1805 fourteen musicians from Palermo, accompanied by their families and newly-purchased instruments, immigrated to Washington, D.C. to become U.S. Marine bandsmen” Salgo p. 36. Ibid. “From Thomas Jefferson to Giovanni Fabbroni, 8 June 1778,” Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-02-02-0066>. [Original source: The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, vol. 2, 1777–18 June 1779, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950, pp. 195–198.]

was devastating for both the parents and their young daughter, but in 1778, they welcomed another child, Mary or “Polly”, who would live for twenty-five years. In 1780, Lucy Elizabeth Jefferson was born, surviving one year; in May 1782, a second child named Lucy Elizabeth Jefferson was born, surviving two years. Five months after the birth of her last child, Martha Wayles Skelton died at the age of thirty-four. She had been married to Thomas for ten years.

The decade of Thomas and Martha was one of extreme violence and political gambits in North America. By 1776, Jefferson and other influential oligarchs had invited war with the British; as the principal author of the Declaration of Independence, Jefferson painted a target on the back of himself and his young family. Serving as the Governor of Virginia in 1779, the family moved to Williamsburg, seat of the colonial capital, where Jefferson promptly moved the legislature to the more centralized Richmond, away from the front of the war. When the British burned the Richmond capital the following year, Jefferson and his family fled to Poplar Forest Plantation, one of the properties inherited from John Wayles in their marriage dowry. The frequent pregnancies, flights from violence, and an anxious fear of capture led to the steep decline of Martha’s health.

On September 6th, 1782, Jefferson wrote in one of his account books, “My dear wife died this day at 11:45 a.m.”.⁴⁹ The days before, as the two prepared for her passing, they together wrote a quotation of Laurence Sterne. In Martha’s hand:

Time wastes too fast: every letter / I trace tells me with what rapidity life follows my pen. The days and hours / of it are flying over our heads like clouds of a windy day never to return...⁵⁰

And in Thomas’s hand:

And every time I kiss thy hand to bid adieu, every absence which / follows it, are preludes to the eternal separation which we are shortly to make!⁵¹

⁴⁹ National Archives and Records Administration, National Archives and Records Administration, <https://clintonwhitehouse3.archives.gov/WH/glimpse/firstladies/html/mj3.html>.

⁵⁰ “Lines Copied from Tristram Shandy by Martha and Thomas Jefferson, [before 6 September 1782],” Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-06-02-0185>. [Original source: The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, vol. 6, 21 May 1781–1 March 1784, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952, pp. 196–197.]

⁵¹ Ibid. “Lines Copied from Tristram Shandy by Martha and Thomas Jefferson, [before 6 September 1782],” Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-06-02-0185>. [Original source: The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, vol. 6, 21 May 1781–1 March 1784, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952, pp. 196–197.]

Jefferson kept the scrap of paper on which these words were written with a lock of her hair tied around it.

A final parting wish from Martha, remembered by overseer Edward Bacon

On her deathbed, holding her hand in his, Mr. Jefferson promised her solemnly that he would never marry again. And he never did.⁵²

⁵² Kammen, Michael. Boston.com, The Boston Globe, 23 Dec. 2007,
http://archive.boston.com/ae/books/articles/2007/12/23/a_deeply_undemocratic_jefferson/.
<https://historyfan2.wordpress.com/2010/04/25/thomas-jeffersons-grief-over-his-wifes-death-and-his-promise-to-her/>

Europe: A Savage of the Mountains of America 1784-1789

It is hard to know the grief which overcame Jefferson following Martha's death. His Eldest daughter, Patsy, remembers:

He walked almost incessantly night and day, lying down only when nature was completely exhausted on a palette that had been brought in during his long fainting fit. When at last he left his room, he rode out, and from that time he was incessantly on horseback, rambling about on the least frequented roads and just as often through the woods, and those melancholy rambles. I was his constant companion, a solitary witness to many a violent burst of grief.⁵³

Perhaps as a nod to his enfeebled state, with the hopes that he might be pulled out of his depression, the United States Congress appoints Jefferson to join John Adams and Benjamin Franklin in Europe to negotiate terms of peace with Great Britain. Jefferson accepts in November, not two months after Martha's passing, and prepares to make good on his long standing dream of visiting Europe. Replying to one correspondence late that month, Jefferson writes that the letter

found me a little emerging from the stupor of mind which had rendered me as dead to the world as she was whose loss occasioned it. Your letter recalled to my memory that there were persons still living of much value to me.⁵⁴

Jefferson arrived in Philadelphia on December 27th, 1782, five days before what would have been his eleventh anniversary with Martha, and prepared to sail across the Atlantic. Winter weather delayed his departure and he soon decided to return to Monticello. Congress withdrew his appointment in early 1783.

Coping with the emptiness of his extensive house, Jefferson completed an astounding library catalog of 2,640 texts in March, 1783. The volumes, collected in the thirteen years since the Shadwell fire, include three chapters of musical works; theory, vocal, and instrumental. Of the theoretical works, two by Francesco Geminiani, *The Art of Playing the Violin*, and *Rules for Playing in Taste*, are perhaps recommendations of Alberti, cementing Jefferson in an Italian school of instrumental technique and

⁵³ "From Thomas Jefferson to Elizabeth Wayles Eppes, [3? October 1782]," Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-06-02-0188>. [Original source: The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, vol. 6, 21 May 1781–1 March 1784, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952, pp. 198–200.]

⁵⁴ <http://www.let.rug.nl/usa/presidents/thomas-jefferson/letters-of-thomas-jefferson/jefl19.php>

taste. In *The Art of Playing the Violin*, Jefferson transcribes in the margin a quote of famed musical traveler, Admiral Charles Burney, remarking on the use of the “close-shake”, or vibrato:

* The Beat upon the unison, octave, or any consonant sound to a note on the violin, which so well supplies the place of the old close-shake, if not wholly unknown, is at least neglected by all the violin performers I heard on the continent tho’ so commonly and successfully practiced in England by those of the Giardini school.⁵⁵

That summer Jefferson was elected as a delegate to the United States Congress from Virginia. It is following his first session at Annapolis, in November, 1783, that he began a period of correspondence with his eleven year old daughter, Patsy.

Writing to her for the first time on November 28th, he prescribes for her the following schedule

With respect to the distribution of your time the following is what I should approve.
from 8. to 10 o'clock practise music.
from 10. to 1. dance one day and draw another
from 1. to 2. draw on the day you dance, and write a letter the next day.
from 3. to 4. read French.
from 4. to 5. exercise yourself in music.
from 5. till bedtime read English, write &c.⁵⁶

On December 11th, he writes near the end of his letter

Always let me know too what tunes you play.⁵⁷

On December 22nd, he begins his writing

⁵⁵ Gallo, Denise. “Jefferson’s Musical Legacy Library’s Sponsor Also a Great Violin Aficionado.” Jefferson’s Musical Legacy (May 2006) - Library of Congress Information Bulletin, <https://www.loc.gov/loc/lcib/0605/jefferson.html>.

⁵⁶ “From Thomas Jefferson to Martha Jefferson, 28 November 1783,” Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-06-02-0286>. [Original source: The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, vol. 6, 21 May 1781–1 March 1784, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952, pp. 359–361.]

⁵⁷ “From Thomas Jefferson to Martha Jefferson, 11 December 1783,” Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-06-02-0303>. [Original source: The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, vol. 6, 21 May 1781–1 March 1784, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952, pp. 380–381.]

I hoped before this to have received letters from you regularly and weekly by the post, and also to have had a letter to forward from you to one of your aunts as I desired in my letter of November 27th. I am afraid you do not comply with my desires expressed in that letter. Your not writing to me every week is one instance, and your having never sent me any of your copies of Mr. Simitiere's lessons is another. I shall be very much mortified and disappointed if you become inattentive to my wishes and particularly to the directions of that letter which I meant for your principal guide.⁵⁸

On January 15th, 1784

Your long silence had induced me almost to suspect you had forgotten me and the more so as I had desired you to write to me every week. I am anxious to know what books you read, what tunes you can play, and to receive specimens of your drawing.⁵⁹

On March 19th,

Let me know what books you have read since I left you, and what tunes you can play.⁶⁰

On April 4th,

I wish to know what you read, what tunes you play, how you come on in your writing⁶¹

On April 17th,

⁵⁸ "From Thomas Jefferson to Martha Jefferson, 22 December 1783," Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-06-02-0322>. [Original source: The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, vol. 6, 21 May 1781–1 March 1784, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952, pp. 416–417.]

⁵⁹ "From Thomas Jefferson to Martha Jefferson, 15 January 1784," Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-06-02-0358>. [Original source: The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, vol. 6, 21 May 1781–1 March 1784, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952, pp. 465–466.]

⁶⁰ "From Thomas Jefferson to Martha Jefferson, 19 March 1784," Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-07-02-0041>. [Original source: The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, vol. 7, 2 March 1784–25 February 1785, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953, pp. 43–44.]

⁶¹ "From Thomas Jefferson to Martha Jefferson, 4 April 1784," Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-07-02-0069>. [Original source: The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, vol. 7, 2 March 1784–25 February 1785, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953, p. 62.]

I wish much to know what books you have read since I left you, and what tunes you can play.⁶²

Jefferson, in his second year as a single father, and his first such in an extended period away from his children, is here seen anxiously checking in on his daughter. Asking what “tunes” she has learned is almost a refrain. Learning the keyboard from an early age, taught by Alberti first and then her mother Martha, Jefferson projects demandingly on his daughter one of his late-wife’s greatest pleasures. Jefferson here exudes a nervous love, one that struggles with the distance of his public profession from the desire for a more intimate family life. The April 17th letter is the last until 1786, because Jefferson had set plans in motion to reunite with Patsy again.

On July 5th, 1784, Jefferson boarded a ship at Boston harbor that was to sail for Le Havre. Accompanied by his daughter, Patsy, and enslaved man James Hemings, the forty-one year old Jefferson was making good on a long-standing dream, traveling to Europe as minister plenipotentiary, and later, minister to France. Upon arriving in Paris, Jefferson enrolled Patsy at the Abbaye Royale de Panthémont where she studied harpsichord with Claude Balbastre, organist at Notre Dame and St. Roche.⁶³ James Hemings, a talented cook⁶⁴, was there to learn the art of French cuisine, studying with restaurateur Monsieur Combeaux. While Patsy had been trained in French for several years, James began learning upon arrival.

Jefferson quickly engaged himself in the Parisian soiree circuit, a form of intense political and cultural gathering that he had become familiar with as a law student in Williamsburg. His introduction from revolutionary hero, Marquis de Lafayette, to his Aunt, Madame de Tessé, went some way to embed him within the upper echelons of French aristocracy.

I must not forget, dear heart, to commend to your attention Mr. and Miss Jefferson. The father, an admirable, cultivated and charming man, overwhelmed me with kindnesses when he was Governor of Virginia during the war, and I very much hope that he may like France well enough to wish to replace Mr. Franklin, which will not be difficult to manage should he

⁶² “From Thomas Jefferson to Martha Jefferson, 17 April 1784,” Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-07-02-0104>. [Original source: The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, vol. 7, 2 March 1784–25 February 1785, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953, pp. 110–111.]

⁶³ Ibid. Salgo, p. 18.

⁶⁴ James Hemings is credited with the invention of American dish, Macaroni and Cheese. “Mac and Cheese and the French Cuisine of James Hemings.” Stevenson Ridge, 6 June 2019, <http://stevensonridge.net/blog/mac-and-cheese-and-the-french-cuisine-of-james-hemings/>.

consent. As to the daughter, she is a very attractive young woman, and I here and now appoint you to be her mother, chaperone and anything else you can think of. I beg you to take them under your wing, and to do all you can for them.⁶⁵

Soon a well known figure at the gatherings of such *grande dames* as Madame de Staël, Madame d'Houdetot, the duchesse d'Anville, Jefferson also frequently attended the Opera in the permanent boxes of Madame de Corny, the Comtesse d'Houdetot, and Chastellux and Chalut de Verin.⁶⁶ In addition to private house concerts and Opera performances, Jefferson was a frequent attendee at the famed series *Concert Spirituel* which he purchased tickets for thirteen times. Among the violinist performers he saw were the child prodigy George Brigtower⁶⁷, mixed-race violinist of recent fame as the original dedicatee of Beethoven's "Kreutzer Sonata", and the revered legend Giovanni Battista Viotti⁶⁸, and two of Viotti's students, Paul Adlay and Madame Gautherot.

Jefferson was very taken by the refined French society in which he circulated, particularly the musical aspect

But you are perhaps curious to know how this new scene has struck a savage of the mountains of America...I have never yet seen a man drunk in France, even among the lowest of the people. Were I to proceed to tell you how much I enjoy their architecture, sculpture, painting, music, I should want words. It is in these arts they shine. The last of them particularly is an enjoyment, the deprivation of which with us cannot be calculated.⁶⁹

In 1786, Jefferson both fell in love again and permanently injured his right wrist. Becoming enamored with married composer, harpist and singer, Maria Cosway, he describes her

⁶⁵ André Maurois, Adrienne: The Life of the Marquise de La Fayette (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961), 122. From "Monticello." Madame De Tessé, https://www.monticello.org/site/research-and-collections/madame-de-tesse#footnote2_y4djlrd.

⁶⁶ Ibid. Salgo, p. 21, 25.

⁶⁷ Morrisroe, Patricia. "The Black Violinist Who Inspired Beethoven." The New York Times, The New York Times, 4 Sept. 2020, <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/04/arts/music/george-bridgetower-violin.html>.

⁶⁸ "I have heard Viotti often, but never derived the same pleasure from him that I have from Alberti." Ibid. "Monticello." Francis Alberti, https://www.monticello.org/site/research-and-collections/francis-alberti#footnote2_tb74r94.

⁶⁹ "From Thomas Jefferson to Charles Bellini, 30 September 1785," Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-08-02-0448>. [Original source: The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, vol. 8, 25 February–31 October 1785, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953, pp. 568–570.]

qualities and accomplishments, belonging to her sex, which might form a chapter apart for her: such as music, modesty, beauty, and that softness of disposition which is the ornament of her sex and charm of ours.⁷⁰

When her husband became aware of their burgeoning romance and arranged for them to move to London, Jefferson became heartbroken. Many stories exist of the circumstances surrounding Jefferson's broken wrist

Jefferson rushed to Maria for a last meeting and, in a failed leap over a fountain while in a state of euphoria, fell to the pavement and shattered his right wrist. Another story involves a fall after his attempted vault over a fence before helping Maria over it. A later account is found in a letter to President Jefferson from William Goldsmith, a Paris-based bookseller: "... [W]hen your Excellency had the misfortune to hurt his Arm by a fall from his horse, while living at Challiot the writer was honored to write dictated by your Excellency himself."⁷¹

Regardless of how the incident happened, the compounded physical injury of a disabled wrist with the emotional departure of Cosway brought Jefferson close to the depression he had begun to escape by leaving the United States; however, this time, he could not play his violin. His distress at losing Cosway is documented in his only romantic letter, which includes a 3,900 word dialogue between the head and the heart.

Head. Well, friend, you seem to be in a pretty trim.

Heart. I am indeed the most wretched of all earthly beings. Overwhelmed with grief, every fibre of my frame distended beyond it's natural powers to bear, I would willingly meet whatever catastrophe should leave me no more to feel or to fear.

Head. These are the eternal consequences of your warmth and precipitation. This is one of the scrapes into which you are ever leading us. You confess your follies indeed: but still you hug and cherish them, and no reformation can be hoped, where there is no repentance.⁷²

⁷⁰ "From Thomas Jefferson to Maria Cosway, 12 October 1786," Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-10-02-0309>. [Original source: The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, vol. 10, 22 June–31 December 1786, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954, pp. 443–455.]

⁷¹ Ibid. Salgo, p. 29.

⁷² "From Thomas Jefferson to Maria Cosway, 12 October 1786," Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-10-02-0309>. [Original source: The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, vol. 10, 22 June–31 December 1786, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954, pp. 443–455.]

Though this injury kept him from playing until he was a grandfather, Jefferson continued to purchase instruments and strings through his time in Paris, renting a forte-piano in 1786, buying a kit-fiddle and a guitar⁷³ in 1788. Though there is no reference to this purchase in the memorandum books, a 1971 exhibit in New York documented a bow of François Tourte

spangled with 13 stars, bears an American eagle and has the initials “TJ” on its gold ferrule⁷⁴

It is seemingly belonging to Jefferson, and may have been a gift from one of his high-class friends. It is from the first generation of concave bows and is a fascinating invention.

In 1787, Jefferson sent for his younger daughter, Polly, to join him and Patsy and James Hemings in Paris. Accompanying her was Sally Hemings, 14 year old sister of James, and enslaved half sister of Jefferson’s late wife, Martha. Jefferson’s loss of Maria Cosway and injury to his wrist, hindering his musical life, writing ability, and general mobility, may have enacted a shift in his psyche, or surfaced what may have been there all along. In the eighteen months that Polly and Sally were in France, Jefferson began a complicated sexual relationship with Sally. It is here remembered by Jefferson’s son, Madison:

During that time my mother became Mr. Jefferson's concubine, and when he was called back home she was enciente by him. He desired to bring my mother back to Virginia with him but she demurred. She was just beginning to understand the French language well, and in France she was free, while if she returned to Virginia she would be re-enslaved. So she refused to return with him. To induce her to do so he promised her extraordinary privileges, and made a solemn pledge that her children should be freed at the age of twenty-one years. In consequence of his promise, on which she implicitly relied, she returned with him to Virginia. Soon after their arrival, she gave birth to a child, of whom Thomas Jefferson was the father. It lived but a short time. She gave birth to four others, and Jefferson was the father of all of them. Their names were Beverly, Harriet, Madison (myself), and Eston--three sons and one daughter. We all

⁷³ For Mary Jefferson. “Memorandum Books, 1788,” Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/02-01-02-0022>. [Original source: The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Second Series, Jefferson’s Memorandum Books, vol. 1, ed. James A Bear, Jr. and Lucia C. Stanton. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997, pp. 690–722.]

⁷⁴ <https://www.nytimes.com/1971/02/15/archives/display-of-french-violins-includes-jeffersons-bow.html>

became free agreeably to the treaty entered into by our parents before we were born. We all married and have raised families.⁷⁵

⁷⁵Life among the Lowly, No. 1," Pike County (Ohio) Republican, March 13, 1873. From "Chronology - the Memoirs of Madison Hemings (1873) | Jefferson's Blood | Frontline." PBS, Public Broadcasting Service, <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/jefferson/cron/1873march.html>.

Intertwined Families

The day after Veterans Day in 1998, the Oprah Winfrey show was a special kind of gold.

A slave, an American president. Did they have children? New evidence says, yes.⁷⁶

Large strides in forensic DNA processes that year confirmed the legend that had always been true: the children of Sally Hemings are also Jeffersons, and descendants of the multicolored family were meeting, live, on primetime television. The genealogical work, coordinated by Dr. Foster and published in *Nature* a week earlier,

compared Y-chromosomal DNA haplotypes from male-line descendants of Field Jefferson, a paternal uncle of Thomas Jefferson, with those of male-line descendants of Thomas Woodson, Sally Hemings' putative first son, and of Eston Hemings Jefferson, her last son⁷⁷

What of it?

Well, Shay and Doug, come out and meet your relatives. Come on out... Mary and Lucian, Shay and Doug.⁷⁸

Little is recorded about the Hemings-Jefferson children. Their oldest surviving son Beverly Hemings was born on April 1st, 1798, the same week that Jefferson ordered

an excellent harpsichord for Maria⁷⁹

When Patsy visited Monticello on the 28th, she mentioned nothing about the birth of her young half-brother but remarked about the instrument

⁷⁶ The Oprah Winfrey Show, Season 13, Episode 13100, *Thomas Jefferson's Black & White Relatives Meet Each Other*, 12/11/1998. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7uCvaTV-L0U>

⁷⁷ Foster, E., Jobling, M., Taylor, P. et al. *Jefferson fathered slave's last child*. *Nature* 396, 27–28 (1998). <https://doi.org/10.1038/23835>

⁷⁸ Ibid. Oprah

⁷⁹ Beverly Hemings Jefferson, Born 1798, <https://www.moremarymatters.com/William%20Beverly%20Hemings.htm>.

A charming one I think tho certainly inferior to mine⁸⁰

Beverly worked as a carpenter and was well regarded as a musician. When Jefferson's grandchildren

Organized weekend dances at Monticello, to which they invited young men from Charlottesville. They frequently asked Beverly Hemings, Sally's oldest son, to provide the music.⁸¹

Harriet was born in 1801 and worked as a wool spinner in the plantation's textile factory. In 1822 Harriet was allowed to leave Monticello, though not formally or legally emancipated. Beverly accompanied her, though did not receive any money. Overseer Edmund Bacon remembers

He freed one girl some years before he died, and there was a great deal of talk about it. She was nearly as white as anybody and very beautiful. People said he freed her because she was his own daughter. She was not his daughter; she was _____'s daughter. I know that. I have seen him come out of her mother's room many a morning when I went up to Monticello very early.⁸²

When she was nearly grown, by Mr. Jefferson's direction I paid her stage fare to Philadelphia and gave her fifty dollars. I have never seen her since and don't know what became of her. From the time she was large enough, she always worked in the cotton factory. She never did any hard work.⁸³

When Beverly and Harriet left Monticello, their younger brothers, Eston and Madison, were fourteen and seventeen. The only surviving account of their lives after Monticello was from Madison's memoirs

Beverly left Monticello and went to Washington as a white man. He married a white woman in Maryland, and their only child, a daughter, was not known by the white folks to have any

⁸⁰ Ibid. Beverly Hemings Jefferson, Born 1798, <https://www.moremarymatters.com/William%20Beverly%20Hemings.htm>.

⁸¹ Thomas Jefferson: Draftsman of a Nation, University of Virginia Press, Charlottesville, 2008, p. 278.

⁸² "The Slaves' Story - 'Mr. Jefferson's Servants' | Jefferson's Blood | Frontline." PBS, Public Broadcasting Service, <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/jefferson/slaves/bacon.html>.

⁸³ Ibid. "The Slaves' Story - 'Mr. Jefferson's Servants' | Jefferson's Blood | Frontline." PBS, Public Broadcasting Service, <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/jefferson/slaves/bacon.html>.

colored blood coursing in her veins. Beverly's wife's family were people in good circumstances.⁸⁴

Harriet married a white man in good standing in Washington City, whose name I could give, but will not, for prudential reasons. She raised a family of children, and so far as I know they were never suspected of being tainted with African blood in the community where she lived or lives. I have not heard from her for ten years, and do not know whether she is dead or alive. She thought it to her interest, on going to Washington, to assume the role of a white woman, and by her dress and conduct as such I am not aware that her identity as Harriet Hemings of Monticello has ever been discovered.⁸⁵

More is known of Eston and Madison Hemings, who were emancipated in 1827 at the ages of nineteen and twenty-two. Their father died the year before, in his will listing they would spend one more year in his posthumous service

I give also to John Hemings the services of his two apprentices, Madison and Eston Hemings, until their respective ages of twenty one years, at which period respectively, I give them their freedom. and I humbly and earnestly request of the legislature of Virginia a confirmation of the bequest of freedom to these servants, with permission to remain in this state where their families and connections are, as an additional instance of the favor, of which I have received so many other manifestations, in the course of my life, and for which I now give them my last, solemn, and dutiful thanks.⁸⁶

Eston and Madison were, like their older brother, active violinists. There is no trace of where they found instruments, or training. Isaac Granger remembers in his memoirs

⁸⁴ Ibid. Life among the Lowly, No. 1," Pike County (Ohio) Republican, March 13, 1873. From "Chronology - the Memoirs of Madison Hemings (1873) | Jefferson's Blood | Frontline." PBS, Public Broadcasting Service, <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/jefferson/cron/1873march.html>.

⁸⁵ Ibid. Life among the Lowly, No. 1," Pike County (Ohio) Republican, March 13, 1873. From "Chronology - the Memoirs of Madison Hemings (1873) | Jefferson's Blood | Frontline." PBS, Public Broadcasting Service, <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/jefferson/cron/1873march.html>.

⁸⁶ "Thomas Jefferson: Will and Codicil, 16-17 Mar. 1826, 16 March 1826," Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/98-01-02-5963>.

Sally had a son named Madison, who learned to be a great fiddler. He has been in Petersburg twice: was here when the balloon went up—the balloon that Beverly sent off.⁸⁷

It is possible that Jefferson's brother, Randolph, played a part in their musical education. He is remembered by Granger as

a mighty simple man: used to come out among black people, play the fiddle & dance half the night: had'nt much more sense⁸⁸

When Eston and Madison were emancipated, they moved to Charlottesville with their mother, who had also been freed. When Sally died in 1835, the brothers moved to Chillicothe, Ohio, a free state with no legal enslavement. Madison continued to work as a carpenter and Eston as a musician

Eston Hemings, being a master of the violin, and an accomplished "caller" of dances, always officiated at the "swell" entertainments of Chillicothe; and they were more frequent then than now, I think.⁸⁹

When he with his violin, Graham Bell with his clarionet and Wambaw with the bass viol cut loose, there was only one thing to do, and that was — dance. When they struck up "Money Musk," or "Wesson's Slaughter House," he was a chump indeed who could sit by and look on without clinching onto a pretty girl and joining the merry throng.⁹⁰

Eston's profession is listed in the 1850 Ohio census as a musician.

⁸⁷ Jefferson, Isaac. "Life of Isaac Jefferson of Petersburg, Virginia, Blacksmith' by Isaac Jefferson (1847)." *Encyclopedia Virginia*, 1 Jan. 1970,

<https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/life-of-isaac-jefferson-of-petersburg-virginia-blacksmith-by-isaac-jefferson-1847/>.

⁸⁸ Ibid. Jefferson, Isaac. "Life of Isaac Jefferson of Petersburg, Virginia, Blacksmith' by Isaac Jefferson (1847)." *Encyclopedia Virginia*, 1 Jan. 1970,

<https://encyclopediavirginia.org/entries/life-of-isaac-jefferson-of-petersburg-virginia-blacksmith-by-isaac-jefferson-1847/>.

⁸⁹ "Chronology - a Sprig of Jefferson Was Eston Hemings (1902) | Jefferson's Blood | Frontline." PBS, Public Broadcasting Service, <https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/jefferson/cron/1902sprig.html>.

⁹⁰ McCormick, David. Rock & Reel: Monticello's Black Fiddlers » Early Music America. <https://www.earlymusicamerica.org/emag-feature-article/rock-reel-monticellos-black-fiddlers/>.

	Joseph Howard	31	10					
	William Hankins	23	16					Blacksmith
642	Mary Gibbs	64	34					Blacksmith
	Malinda "	16	34					Blacksmith
	Black M ^o "	13	14					Blacksmith
643	William Anderson	25	10					Laborer
	Mary "	23	34					Laborer
	Eli Baker	22	10					Laborer
	Maria "	25	34					Laborer
644	Eston Hemmings	14	16	16				Moussician
	Julian "	36	34	16				Moussician
	Wazley "	15	16	16				None
	Ann "	14	34	16				None
	Beverly "	13	10	16				None
645	William Agins	32	16					Laborer
	Ellen "	24	34					Laborer
	Joseph "	23	16					Laborer
646	Friedrich Korze	44	16					Grower
	Elizabeth "	31	34					Grower
	John "	10	16					Grower
	Bl "							Grower

That same year of 1850, the fugitive slave act passed, allowing vigilante bounty hunters to kidnap people they thought were "run away slaves". The danger this posed to the Hemings brothers in Ohio was substantial, as many free-people were erroneously taken and sold back into bondage in the South. Eston moved north to Madison, Wisconsin in 1852 and died there in 1856. Madison lived the remainder of his life in Chillicothe, dying in 1872 at the age of 77.

There is a mysterious instrument in the Smithsonian Collection referred to several times previously; this is the "Cremona" violin purchased from Dr. Pasteur in Williamsburg, 1768, which is now regarded as the "ex-Jefferson" from the shop of Amati. In 1828, following the dissolution of Jefferson's estate, Martha's son in law wrote to her

My friend Wormely goes to England on the 1. October, he takes the violins – and thus saves freight, duty, and commissions; I hope to get 100 to 150 guineas for the Cremona in London.⁹¹

⁹¹ "Thomas Jefferson to Ellen W. Randolph (Coolidge), 7 August 1828," Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-06-02-0493>. [Original source: The Papers of Thomas Jefferson,

But we do not hear again of any of the violins for seventy-one years

“One day in 1899 a cellist and dealer in rare violins, Albert Hildebrandt of Baltimore, gave a recital in Charlottesville. Next day, while being shaved by a Negro barber, he asked if there were any old violins for sale in the neighborhood. The barber directed him to another Negro, a man 93 years old who lived on the outskirts of the city. This man showed Hildebrandt what looked to be an Amati and explained that it had been bequeathed to his father, a slave, by his master, Thomas Jefferson. Hildebrandt bought it on the spot for a handsome sum. Although there was room for doubt—and there still is—that the violin was Jefferson’s own, Hildebrandt remained convinced that it was.”⁹²

From this, it may be understood that Jefferson’s “Cremona” never left the country, or even the state where it had been brought to from Europe. This violin was donated to the Smithsonian by Ross McCullum in 1976; the museum does not authenticate the claim that it is the violin once owned by Jefferson, but it is certainly the violin from the Charlottesville barbershop.

Retirement Series, vol. 6, 11 March to 27 November 1813, ed. J. Jefferson Looney. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009, pp. 646–647.]

⁹² Biancolli, Louis. “T. Jefferson, Fiddler.” *Life*, April 7, 1947.

Digestion

For having, in the natural history of this earth, seen a succession of worlds, we may conclude that there is a system in nature; in like manner as, from seeing revolutions of the planets, it is concluded, that there is a system by which they are intended to continue those revolutions. But if the succession of worlds is established in the system of nature, it is in vain to look for anything higher in the origin of the earth. The result, therefore, of this physical enquiry is, that we find no vestige of a beginning, – no prospect of an end.

Theory of the Earth

Edinburgh, 1788

James Hutton

I began this study with an inscription of Thomas Jefferson from the year 1789. It states *that the earth belongs in usufruct to the living: that the dead have neither powers nor rights over it.*

This final inscription is from James Hutton in the year 1788—the year before Jefferson’s—when Europe was ripe with revolution.

Hutton was, like my parents, a Geologist; he is credited with debunking the biblically literal notion that the world was no more than 6,000 years old at the time. The final line *no vestige of a beginning, – no prospect of an end* is the motto for the school of earth and space science where my father was a graduate student; it is written on a few of my favorite coffee mugs. Hutton, to me, evokes the spiraling nature of any historical study; physical or social. When we speak of Jefferson today, we are speaking of *a succession of worlds* that has landed us squarely in the present. I fervently deny that the dead hold no powers over us, but rather, that they belong to a continuing system of revolutions.

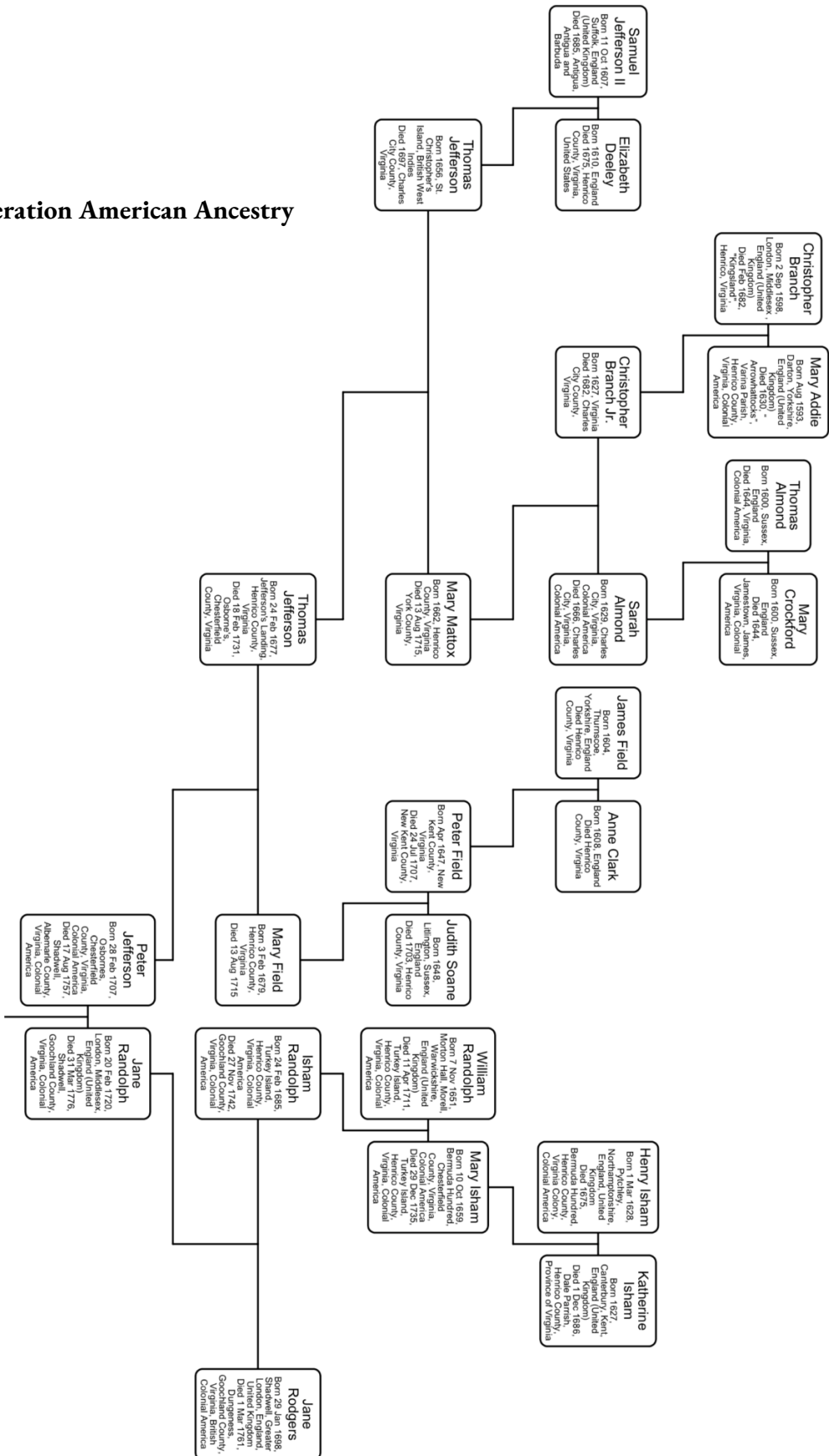
There has been much ink spilled on Thomas Jefferson, less so on his musical life, and less still on the musical lives of his children, but each of these subjects remain credibly popular in the American historical curiosity. Those curious about the lives of American founding fathers can gorge on many lifetimes of digitized information through government websites and public libraries. But with this widely accessible information, those who engage with it must ask the question, as with any inquiry, what bearing does any of this have today. Why continue the involvement with Thomas Jefferson.

Speaking of Thomas Jefferson is speaking about the patriarch of a diverse family of descendants that includes several thousand relatives. It reminds us that the study of human history is the study of extended families. I believe that Thomas Jefferson, like a flipping Nickel, exists in a quantum state: between traditional judgements of good and evil. On one side of the coin is the face of liberty’s signatory, the shining mint-fresh Father. On the other is his plantation’s facade, a measured monument of progressive damnation. Jefferson’s musical involvement takes us to the self-declared soul of the man. It shows that his soul was shaped by forces outside of his control, that he was trained into associations, equated beauty with status, and was by some fault unable to view all men as equal: in a few words, it shows that the dead had powers over him.

Involvement with historical music necessitates a reckoning with these powers. It requires a continual placing in the succession of worlds.

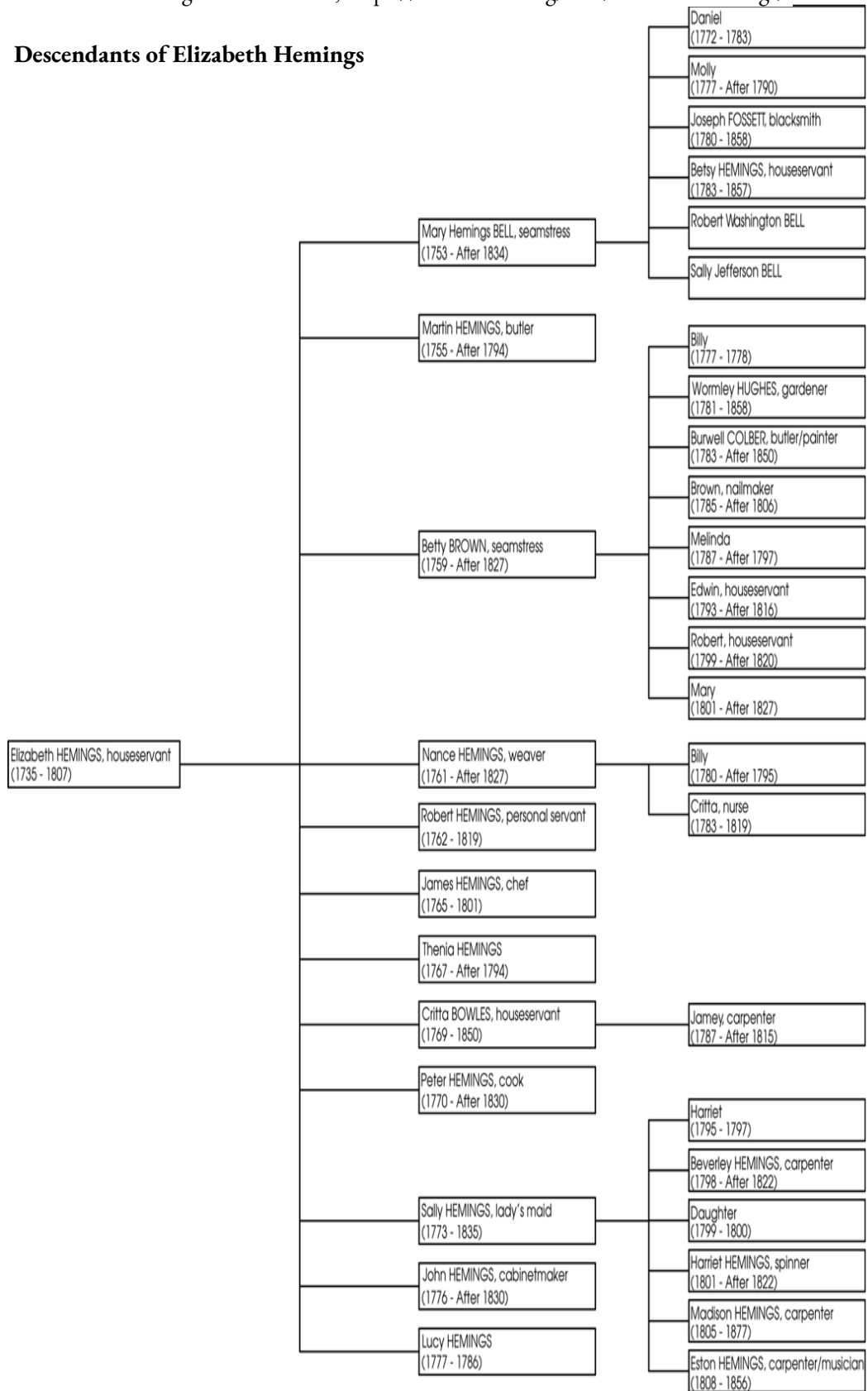
Appendices

TJ First Generation American Ancestry



“Elizabeth Hemings Site.” *DAACS*, <https://www.daacs.org/sites/elizabeth-hemings/>.

Descendants of Elizabeth Hemings



5. Music. Chap. 35. Theory.

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 Kelly.
 Pleyel 5th & 6th.
 Valentine
 Vivaldi.

} concertos

Borghi op. 4th.
 Chinzer 2^d.
 Godwin.
 Haydn 9th.
 Martini 5th.
 Roeser. 2^d.
 Corelli 6th.
 Vivaldi.

} duets
in 2. vols.
} single parts

- v. Corelli's Solos. by Cooke.
- v. Corelli's Solos. op. 5.
- v. Vivaldi's Solos. op. 2.
- v. Tesserini's solos. op. 2.
- v. Wodizka's solos.
- v. Campriani's & Chabran's solos.
- v. Geminiani's 12. solos. op. 1.
- v. Degiardinio's 12. solos.
- v. Degiardinio's 6. harpsichord sonatas. op. 3.
- v. Burgess's lessons for the harpsichord.
- v. Boccherini's Sonatas for the harpsichord.
- v. Felton's Concertos op. 1.
- v. Stamitz' concertos for the harpsichord.
- v. Bremner's harpsichord miscellany.
- v. Hardin's lessons for the harpsichord.
- v. Abel's Overtures.
- v. Periodical Overtures for the harpsichord.
- v. Heron's voluntaries.
- Rank's Sonatas Op. 10.
- v. Arnold's Sonatas. for the harpsichord.
- v. Love in a village.
- Hoedel's Lessons.
- Lilly's Lessons.
- Forster's Lessons.
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- v. Minuets, country dances &c. several books.
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- v. Thumoth's Scotch & Irish airs.
- v. Pocket companion for the German flute 8^{vo}

Pugnani's Solo. op. 3.

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Helen Cripe. *Thomas Jefferson and Music*. Appendix I, pp. 97-104.

Nolan, Carolyn Galbraith. "Thomas Jefferson: Gentleman Musician." M.A. thesis. University of Virginia, 1967, pp. 112-19.

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<https://small.library.virginia.edu/collections/featured/selected-music-materials/thomas-jeffersons-music/>

1783 Catalog of Books, [circa 1775-1812], pages 188-197, by Thomas Jefferson [electronic edition]. Thomas Jefferson Papers: An Electronic Archive. Boston, Mass. : Massachusetts Historical Society, 2003.

<http://www.thomasjeffersonpapers.org/>

5. Music. Chap. 35. Theory.

= Holden's essay towards a rational system of music.

= Jackson's scheme of sounds with the preliminary discourse.

The same.

= Bremner's rudiments of music. 12mo.

= Burney's present state of music in Italy 8vo.

= Burney's present state of music in Germany 8vo.

Burney's history of music.

in 1 vol. fol.

= Geminiani's art of playing the violin

= Geminiani's rules for playing in taste

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= Pasquali's art of fingering the harpsichord.

= Pasquali's Thorough bass made easy

= Zuccari's method of playing Adagios

Miss Ford's instructions for playing on the musical glasses.

Compleat tutor for the German flute.

= Hoegi's tabular system of minuets.

Rivoluzioni del teatro musicale Italiano. dal Arteaga. 3 v. 8vo.

Chap. 36 Vocal

= La buona figliuola del Piccini
Alfred, a masque
Artaxerxes
= Love in a Village
= Thomas and Sally
= The Padlock
= The Deserter
The Beggar's Opera
= Handel's Alexander's feast, the words by Dryden
= Handel's Coronation anthems
= Handel's Funeral anthems
= Stabat mater by Pergolesi
= Pope's ode by the same
Henry Purcell's Harmonia sacra. 2.v.
= Daniel Purcell's psalms set for the organ.
Playford's book of psalms
Purcell's 50 psalms set to Music
The [?] companion, a collection of hymns and anthems.
Butt's miscellany of sacred music.
= Purcell's Orpheus Britannicus. fol.
= The same.
Howard. British Orpheus. 6 books
= Clio & Euterpe. 3. v. 8vo.
= Arne's Lyric harmony, op. 4 th.
Arne's Select English songs, 9 books.
= Baidon's Laurel 2d book.
= Hayden's Cantatas.
Pasquali's songs.
Jackson's songs.
= Drinking songs. 2 books
= Curtis's Jessamine
= Bach's songs 2d collection
= Heron's songs books 4th & 5th
= Favorite songs published by Bremner
= Dibdon's songs 8vo
= book of songs 8vo
= Book of songs folio.

Chap. 37 Instrumental

- = Corelli's concertos in parts.
- = Vivaldi's concertos in parts.
- = 12 Concertos chosen from the works of Vivaldi. 1st part.
- Vivaldi's Cuckoo & Extravaganza
- Hasse's grand Concerto
- Pergolesi's Overtures
- = Handel's 60 overtures from all his Operas and Oratorios, 8 parts
- = E. of Kelly's Overtures in 8 parts, Op. 1 (2d violin wanting)
- = Arne's Clarke's Lampe's medley overtures in parts
- = Abel's overtures in 8 parts, op. 1
- = Howard's Overtures in the Amorous goddess in parts.
- = Corelli's Sonatas.
- 4 operas by Cooke. 4 parts.
- in 3 parts. 3 vols.
- = Corelli's Sonatas op. 7th
- = Lampugnani's Sonatas op. 1
- in 4 vols.
- = Corelli's Sonatas. 4 operas
- = Pasquali's 12 Sonatas in 2 sets
- = Humphries' Sonatas
- = Corelli's 6 Sonatas, Op. 3
- = Martini of Milan's Sonatas. Op. =1. =2. =3. 4.
- = Abel Overtures Op. 1 in 3 parts
- = Lampugnani's Sonatas.
- = Giardini's 6 trios, op. 17.
- = Campioni's Sonatas Op. =1. 2. =3. 4. =5. 6. =7.
- = Humble's Sonatas
- = Boccherini's Sonatas op. =2. =11.
- = Gasparini's Sonatas.
- = M.S. Sonatas by Kammel, Vanhall, & Schwindel
- = Campioni's 6. duets.
- = Roeser's 6 duets, op. 2
- = Godwin's 6 duets.
- in 2 vols. folio.
- = Tessarini's duets, op. 2
- = Bezossi's duets.
- = Martini of Milan's duets op. =4. =7. =10.

= Battino's duets
= Figlio's nocturnes
= Figlio's duets
= Campioni's duets op. 8
= Degiardino's duets op. =2. =13.
3 v.
= Campioni's Sonatas, viz. op. 1. Paris
1. 3. =5. 6. London
6. Amsterdam
7. London
Duets.
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Agrel 3d
Boccherini 2d and 11th
Gasparini
Giardini 17th
Haydn 1st. 2d. 3d. 47th. 48th
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Just. 8th
Kammel. 5th
Lampugnani 1st.
Lampugnani & Martini. 2d.
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Concertos
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Borghi op. 4th
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Godwin

Haydn 9th

Martini 5th

Roeser 2d

Single parts

Corelli 6th

Vivaldi

= Corelli's Solos by Cooke.

1 vol. fol.

= Corelli's Solos, op. 5

= Vivaldi's Solos, op. 2

= Tessarini's solos, op. 2

= Wodizka's solos.

= Campioni's & Chabran's solos.

1 vol. fol.

= Geminiani's 12. solos, op. 1.

= Degiardino's 12. solos.

= Degiardino's 6. harpsichord sonatas, op. 3

in 1 vol. fol.

= Burgess's lessons for the harpsichord.

= Boccherini's Sonatas for the harpsichord.

= Felton's Concertos, op. 1

= Stamitz's concertos for the harpsichord

in 1 vol. fol.

= Bremner's harpsichord miscellany

= Hardin's lessons for the harpsichord.

= Abel's Overtures

= Periodical Overtures for the harpsichord.

= Heron's voluntaries

= Bach's Sonatas Op. 10

in 1 vol. fol.

= Arnold's Sonatas for the harpsichord.

= Love in a Village

Handel's lessons

Lully's lessons.

Felton's lessons.

Stanley's solos.

= Geminiani's minuet

= Minuets, country dances, and several books

- = Thumoth's English, Scotch, & Irish airs.
- = Thumoth's Scotch and Irish airs.
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- Pugnani's Solos, op. 3.

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Part 1

Monticello music collection: Manuscripts Department, Alderman Library, ViU, Acc. No. 3177. [Spec. Coll: Acc. No. 3177-A, Call No. MF 2256-2260] When this collection was acquired, it was sorted and stored in six boxes and one oversize box. For convenience, I itemize it according to the manner in which it is presently stored.

Box 1, folder 1:

Minuets with their Basses ... for German Flute, Violin, or Harpsichord. [London, ca. 1753]. This book contains about 110 short minuets, some with names and some without. Those named are generally named after some person, or simply after the composer.

Box 1, folder 2:

Manuscript music book containing a mixture of songs, hymns, excerpts from Corelli violin solos, minuets, and scales and preludes in all of the major and minor keys. Several hands are represented, and some of the writing has been identified as that of Martha Wayles Jefferson.

Box 1, folder 3:

Several individual pieces of music bound into one volume:

Stabat Mater, composed by Sigr. [Giovanni Battista] Pergolesi. [London, ca. 1749].

An Ode — The Dying Christian to His Soul, by Mr. [Alexander] Pope ... adapted to the principal airs of the hymn, Stabat Mater, composed by Pergolesi. [London, ca. 1764].

The Anthem Which Was Performed in Westminster Abbey at the Funeral of Her most Sacred Majesty, Queen Caroline. Composed by Mr. [Georg Friedrich] Handel. Vol. II. [London, ca. 1770].

Handel's Celebrated Coronation Anthems [three] in Score, for Voices and Instruments. Vol. I, [London, 1743].

Box 1, folder 4:

The Psalms Set Full for the Organ or Harpsichord, by Mr. Daniel Purcell, [London, n.d.] Several have the words written in, possibly in Martha Randolph's handwriting. The book contains:

"Canterbury Tune,"

"York Tune,"

"Southwell Tune,"

"St. Mary's Tune,"

"100th Psalm Tune,"

"Windsor Tune,"

"London Tune,"

"St. David's Tune" (one of TJ's favorites),

"119th Psalm Tune,"

"148th Psalm Tune,"

"113th Psalm Tune."

Box 1, folder 5 (filed in oversize box):

Songs and Duets composed by Mrs. Cosway. 8 pages of short songs and duets in Italian, with harp accompaniment. Seven Songs by Francis Hopkinson, [ca. 1784]. Hopkinson dedicated these songs to George Washington. He sent Washington and Jefferson each a copy of them in December, 1788.

Box 1, folder 6:

Volume of several groups of selections, bound together:

The Harpsichord or Spinnet Miscellany ... by Robert Bremner. [London, ca. 1765].

Six Sonatas for the Piano-Forte or Harpsichord, Composed by Sigr. C. E. [Carl Philip Emanuel] Bach. [ca. 1775].

Eight Lessons for the Harpsichord, Composed by Giovanni Battista Pergolesi. [London, ca. 1771].

Variations for the Harpsichord to a Minuet of Corelli's, the Gavot in Otho [by Handel], and the Old Highland Laddie, by J. Snow. [London, ca. 1769].

Six Favorite Overtures Adapted for the Harpsichord or Organ, Composed by C[hristian] F[erdinand] Abel. [London, ca. 1769-75].

Box 2, folder 7:

Six Concerto [sic], pour le Clavecin ou le Forte-Piano ... Composed by J. S. Schroetter. Oeuvre III. [Paris, ca. 1785].

Ouverture et Airs de Ballets D'Alexandre aux Indies, by de Mereaux, arranged for Clavecin or Forte-Piano by the author [ca. 1765].

Box 2, folder 8:

Green bound volume of manuscript music, entitled Sonatas Pour le Clavecin par differens auteurs 1788.

Contains:

Pasquali's method of tuning the harpsichord

Sonata — Ferdinand Stoes

Rondeau Sonata — Ernest Eixner [Eichnerl]

“The Merman's Song” –Haydn

Overture from Alexandre Aux Indies [by de Mereaux]

Duke of York's March

Chorus — des Vovageurs de la Caravanne

“The Shipwrecked Seaman's Ghost”

“Tis Not the Bloom on Damon's Cheek”

There are several much smaller sheets in this volume that are obviously not part of it, but were just placed there.

They contain:

“Black Eyed Susan,”

“Two Catches,”

“War Song” — from Moore,

“Dulce Domum,”

“My Nanie O.”

Box 2, folder 9:

Bound volume, with green cover, contains:

Quatre Sonates pour la Harpe ... by [Valentino] Nicolai

Trois Sonates Pour la Clavecin ou le Piano-Forte ... by Nicolai

Trois Duos Concertants pour le Clavecin on Forte-Piano ... by Nicolai

All of these are typical of the many selections published in arrangements for solo instrument and thoroughbass.

The keyboard instrument played the thoroughbass and any instrument could be used for the solo — usually the violin or flute was used. These selections by Nicolai were published in France, ca. 1780-83. In this folder there is also an additional folder of loose pieces of manuscript music and a printed song from Handel's Alexander's Feast. They were removed from the collection a number of years ago, and the person who removed them did not know exactly where to put them back.

Box 2, folder 10:

Bound volume, with green cover, contains:

Sei Sonate de Cembalo e Violino Obligato da Luigi Boccherini, Opera V, [Paris, ca. 1780].

Six Sonates pour le Clavecin avec Accompagnement d'un Violon ad Libitum par Mr. [Johann Friedrich] Edelman, Oeuvre I, [Paris, ca. 1780]

Trois Sonates en Trio pour le Clavecin ... violin et violoncello, par Ernesto Eichner, [Paris, ca. 1780].

Box 3, folder 11:

Bound volume, with brown cover, contains:

XII Solos for a Violin with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Violincello, composed by Arcanogelo Corelli, [London, ca. 1740]. op. 5.

XII Solos for a Violin with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Bass Violin, Composed by Antonio Vivaldi, [London, ca. 1721]. Op. 2.

XII Solos for a German Flute, or Hoboy or a Violin with a Thorough Bass for the Harpsichord or Bass Violin, composed by Carlo Tessarini, [London, ca. 1736]. op. 2.

Six Solos for a Violin and Bass, Composed by Wenceslaus Wodizka, [London, ca. 1750]. Op. 1.

Six Favorite Solos for a Violin with a Bass for the Violincello and Harpsichord, Composed by [Carlo Antonio] Campioni and Sigr. Chabran, [London, ca. 1760].

Box 3, folder 12:

Bound volume, with cover missing, contains:

“Overture” to Artaxerxes, by T. A. Arne, [London, ca. 1790].

Haydn's Celebrated Overture — harpsichord or pianoforte Two Grand Sonatas, for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord, with an Accompaniment for the Violin ... by Ignace Pleyel, [London, ca. 1790].

Three Sonatas for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord ... by E[rnesto] Eichner, [London, ca. 1790].

The following are issues of: Bland's Collection of Sonatas, Lessons, Overtures, Capricios, Divertimentos, &c, &c for the harpsichord or pianoforte without accompaniment, by the Most Esteemed Composers. This series was published in London, ca. 1790-94.

No. 21, Vol 2:

Edelman's Sonata I, Op. 1

Vento — Sonata

No. 22, Vol 2:

Edelman's Sonata I, Op. 16

Overture to The Bastille Edelman's Sonata II, Op. 16

No. 28, Vol 3:

Pleyel's "Cottage Maid"

Edelman's Third Sonata, Op. 8

No. 29, Vol 3:

Edelman's Third Sonata, Op. 16

Martini's Grand Overture to Henry the Fourth

No. 38, Vol 1:4:

Gluck's Overture — Paradies und Elena

Edelman's Sonata IV, Op. 16

No. 42, Vol 3:4:

Overture Oedipe à Colonne, Arranged by Lachnitth

Eichner's fourth Sonata

Haydn's Grand Orchestra Sinfonie, adapted for Piano Forte or Harpsichord. With an Accompaniment for Violin by Rimbault, [London, ca. 1785].

Haydn's Grand Orchestra Sinfonie ... at the Nobility's Concerts. Adapted for Organ, Harpsichord, or Piano Forte. [London, ca. 1785.]

Concerto, pour le Clavecin ... by J. C. Fischer, Berlin and Amsterdam, n.d.

Box 3, folder 13:

Several loose sheets, some unidentifiable: "The Plain Gold Ring," "Buy a Broom," "I'd Be a Butterfly," "Let Us Haste to Kelvin Grove" Overture to The Deserter, 12 pages of unidentifiable sheets

Box 3, folder 14:

Bound volume, with green cover, contains:

Pieces de Clavecin par M. Balbastre, [Paris, ca. 1765] — a group of 16 short pieces

Trois Quatuors de Mr. Ignace Pleyel [Paris, ca. 1785].

Trois Sonates pour le Clavecin ... by Leopold Kozeluch, [Paris, ca. 1788].

Trois Sonates pour Clavecin ... by J. S. Schroetter, [Paris, ca. 1785].

A Duett for two Performers on One Forte Piano, by Sigr. [Muzio] Clementi, op. VI, [London, ca. 1786].

Box 4, folder 15:

Bound volume, with green cover, contains:

Six Sonatas pour le Clavecin ... par Jean Cretien Bach [Oeuvre V] [Paris, ca. 1780].

La Chasse pour le Clavecin ... par Muzio Clementi, Oeuvre XVI, [London, ca. 1786].

Trio pour le Clavecin ... Violon ... par W[olfgang] A[madeus] Mozart, Oeuvre 16, [ca. 1775, Paris].

Box 4, folder 16:

Manuscript book of songs, waltzes, melodies from operas, tables of note values and rests, and miscellaneous unidentifiable pieces, in several different handwritings. Leaves of music are tied together with string.

Box 4, folder 17:

Unidentifiable printed scraps and fragments, including six sonatas.

Box 4, folder 18:

Trois Quatuors de M. Ignace Pleyel. With Violin accompaniment by [Ludwig Wenzil] Lachnitth, [Paris, ca. 1788].

Box 4, folder 19:

Ouverture de la Bonne Fille ... arrangee Pour le Clavecin ... par L. F. Despreaux, [Paris, ca. 1785].

Box 4, folder 20:

A group of selections from some operas popular in Paris during the Jeffersons' stay there:

“Le Carillon des Trois Fermiers,”

“Trio d'Azor,”

“Air des Trois Fermiers,”

“Rose Chérie de Zemire et Azor,”

“Air de Trois Fermiers.”

There are notes and lyrics throughout the pieces in the handwriting of Martha Jefferson (Randolph).

Box 4, folder 21:

Unbound scrap containing two sonatas, or parts of two sonatas, by Edelman, Op. VII, for pianoforte and violin.

Box 4, folder 22:

Bound volume, with covers missing, contains: Harpsichord Sonatas by Dibdin Easy Lessons for Harpsichord ... by Wagenseil Three minuets by Graff, Toeschi and Tenducci Sonata by Pescetti Lessons by Giovanni, Rutini, Green, and Castrucci [London, ca. 1770-80].

Box 4, folder 23:

Bound volume, containing three small volumes of French songs, mainly pastorals, romances, and rondos:

Recueil de Petits Airs ... Darondeau, Oeuvre VI, [Paris, ca. 1785].

Recueil de Romances et D'Ariettes ... Darondeau, Oeuvre IV, [ca. 1785].

Recueil de Petits Airs de Chant ... Martini, [ca. 1770].

Box,5, folder 24:

Large bound volume, with MISS JEFFERSON [sic] stamped in gold on the cover, contains:

Le Tout — Ensemble, de Musique, pour le Forte Piano, ou Clavecin avec Accompagnemens par les grands Maitres de L'Europe ... [ca. 1786].

There are a few fragmentary and unidentifiable selections from this collection. Some of them are violin parts. Several pages of untitled manuscript music, inscribed "Maria Jefferson" at the beginning.

Niccolai's Opera 3rd, Sonata III, IV, V, VI, [ca. 1785].

Six Sonatas ... [keyboard and violin] [London, ca. 1790].

Sei Sonate ... [keyboard and violin] [Lyon, ca. 1785].

Quatre Sonates ... [harp, violin, bass] Oeuvre 111, [Paris, ca. 1770].

Unidentified sonatas 4, 5, and 6, arranged for piano duet.

Six Sonates ... [keyboard and violin] ... Valentin Nicolay, Oeuvre XI, [ca. 1785].

Concertos 1-4, op. XI-XV ... Schobert [keyboard], [London, ca. 1790].

Sigr. [Joseph] Haydn's Grand Orchestra Sinfonie [no. 1] as Performed at the Nobility's Concerts, adapted for the Organ, Harpsichord or Piano Forte, [London, ca. 1785].

The Celebrated Overture La Chasse ... Haydn [keyboard], [London, ca. 1785].

A Concerto [no. 3] ... [keyboard and instruments] ... J. F. Kloffler, [London, ca. 1780].

A Favorite Concerto ... [keyboard and instruments] by Vincent Manfredini, [London, n.d.].

The Celebrated Overture [to Sinfonie II] ... by Haydn [keyboard] [London, ca. 1790].

Three Sonatas [keyboard] ... by Mozart, [London, ca. 1786].

Box 5, folder 25:

Bound volume, with green cover, contains:

Sonates in Quatuor pour le Clavecin ... par Mr. Balbastre ... Oeuvre III, [Paris, ca. 1780].

Six Sonates ... [keyboard and violin] ... Mr. [Muzio] Clementi, Oeuvre II, [Paris, ca. 1783].

Six Sonatas for the Piano Forte or the Clavecin ... by Clementi, Opus IV, [London, ca. 1783].

La Chasse pour Le Clavecin ou Forte Piano par Leopold Kozeluch, Oeuvre V, [Vienne, ca. 1781].

Box 6, folder 26:

Bound volume, with green cover, contains:

Sonates pour le Clavecin ... Opera V, par M. [Johann] Schobert, [Paris, ca. 1785].

Sonatas en Quatuor pour le Clavecin ... Schobert, Oeuvre III, [Paris, ca. 1785].

Sinfonies pour le Clavecin ... Schobert ... Opera IX, [Paris, ca. 1785].

Sinfonies pour le Violon et Cors de Chasse ... Schobert, Opera X, [Paris, ca. 1785].

Six Sonates pour Clavecin Ou Forte Piano ... Jean Cretian Bach, Oeuvre XV, [Paris, ca. 1775-79].

Box 6, folder 27:

Manuscript and music book inscribed "Virginia J. Randolph." Several different handwritings. Contains:

Overture to Lodoiska by Knetzer;

Dutch Minuet;

"Murphy Delany";

"Jack Lahn";

Variations to "Duncan Grey";

song by Lord Lytellton;

"New Crazy Jane";

"Arietta" from La Fausse Magie;

"Rural Felicity" with variations.

Box 6, folder 28:

Manuscript music book inscribed "Ellen Wayles Randolph, Eliza Waller, Jane Blair Cary." Several different handwritings and many unidentified pieces. Contains:

"La Canonade" by Balbastre;

"God Save the Commonwealth";

"Rise Cynthia Rise";

"Lullaby";

Sonata of Edelman;

German Waltz.

Box 6, folder 29 (in oversize box):

Many loose sheets of fragmentary manuscripts in various handwritings, a few pieces tied together with string. Contains:

"Vedrai Carino";

"New York Serenading Waltz";

"Fin Ch'han del vion" from Don Giovanni by Mozart;

"Aurora";

“Batti Batti” from Don Giovanni by Mozart;

“Valse Hongroise”;

several vocal exercises;

Rondo de Paganini;

Air de Ballet;

“Charming Village Maid”;

“There’s Nothing True But Heaven”;

Musette D’Armide;

Air de Danse de Roland;

Sonata by Haydn;

Duo de Blaise et Babet;

“Ye Lingring Winds.”

Box 6, folder 30 (in oversize box):Manuscript music book, bound but fragmentary, contains:

Variations on Sicilian Hymn;

“Life Let Us Cherish”;

“The Knight Errant”;

“The Portrait”;

Hungarian Waltz;

“Come Rest in This Bosom”;

“The Ill Wife”;

A Favorite Scots Air;

Air in The Battle of Marengo;

“The Waltz Cotillion”;

Fin Ch’han del Vino”;

“De Tanti Palpiti”;

“Merrily Danced the Quaker’s Wife”;

“Je Suis Lindor” — Air du Barbier de Seville;

The Spanish Fandango;

“The Haunted Tower”;

Clementi’s Grand Waltz;

Overture of Panurge – Gretry;

Overture de Chimene;

Choeur de Voyageurs de la Caravanne;

Air Lison Dormoit;

“Home Sweet Home”;

“There’s Nae Luck About the House”;

vocal scales and exercises;

Bonaparte’s Grand March;

A Much Admired Waltz by Mozart;
"God Save the Emperor";
"Lord Courtney";
"Gramachree" — with variations.

Box 6, folder 31:

New and Complete Preceptor for the Spanish Guitar, Philadelphia, publ. by John Klemm, 1827, sold at P. Thompson, Washington. Contains 14 pages, some obviously missing: several pages of instructions and exercises; "Come Rest in This Bosom"; "Where Roses Wild Were Blowing"; "The Gallant Troubadour"; "Comin' Thru the Rye"; "Draw the Sword Scotland."

Box 6, folder 32:

Der Freischutz (opera) by Carl Maria von Weber. Complete score, inscribed on title page, "Margaretta Deverell."

Box 6, folder 33:

Small manuscript music notebook of songs, in handwritings of Martha Jefferson Randolph and several others. Contains:

"A Poor Little Gvpsy" — by Arne;
"The Silver Moon" — by Hook;
"Owen," a Welch Song;
"Ellen Aroon";
"Flutt'ring Spread Thy Purple Pinions";
Air du Barbier de Seville;
"Life Let Us Cherish";
"Song in the Stranger";
"Crazy Jane";
"When Pensive I thought of My Love" — from Bluebeard;
"The Tear";
"Poor Richard";
"Ah! Gentle Hope";
"The SailorBoy";
"The Wedding Day";
"Dear Nancy I've Sailed the World All Around";
"M'ha Detto la mia mama" — by Martini;
"Thou Art Gone Awa' Mary";
"Flora";
"A Prey to Tender Anguish";

“Psalm 148”;
“Old 100th Psalm”;
“Psalm 134”;
“Psalm 57, verse 8” by Handel;
“Psalm 146, verse 6” by Handel
“Psalm 42, verse 9” by Handel;
“Easter Hymn”;
“Sanctus”;
“Lewis Gordon”;
“Evening Hymn”;
“The Mermaids Song,” by Haydn;
“The Blind Boy”;
“Duke of York’s March.”
Box 6, folder 34:

Two pages of manuscript music and notes in the hand of Thomas Jefferson. Opening phrases of compositions of Carlo Antonio Campioni which Jefferson owned, inscribed “On this paper is noted the beginning of the several compositions of Campioni which are in possession of T. Jefferson. He would be glad to have everything else he has composed of Solos, Duets, or Trios. Printed copies would be preferred; but if not to be had, he would have them in manuscript.”

Part 2

A collection of eighteenth-century songs. Inscribed “John Wayles,” father-in-law of Thomas Jefferson.

This bound volume is in the Rare Book Room, ViU. It consists of several books of songs and many loose pieces of sheet music all bound together as one volume. In the last part of the volume, many of the loose pieces of sheet music were mounted on pages from the Bristol Journal, [ca. 1766-67]. [Spec. Coll.: McGregor A 1723-1790 .J4 no. 1-9 (folio)] Contents of the volume:

Lyric Harmony — 18 entire new ballads, with Colin and Phaebe [sic] in Score — performed at Vauxhall Gardens by Mrs. Arne and Mr. Lowe — composed by Thomas Augustine Arne — printed — Wm. Smith, Middle Row, Holborn, [ca. 1740-41].

“The Kind Inconstant”

“The Invitation”

“The Charms of Isabel”

“The Complaint”

“The Rover Reclaim’d”

“Philosophy no Remedy for Love”

“Colin’s Invitation”
“The Generous Distress’d”
“Kindness and Gracefull Air Preferr’d to Beauty”
“Cloe Generous as Fair”
“The Lovesick Invitation”
“The Fond Appeal”
“To a Lady, who, Being Asked by her Lover for a Token of Her Constancy, Gave Him a Knife”
“The Complaint”
“The Contest Between Love and Glory”
“The Dumps”
“The Happy Bride”
“Colin and Phaebe — a Pastoral”

A Second Collection of Favorite Songs Sung at Vauxhall – composed by J. C. Bach — printed by Welcker in Gerrard St., St. Ann’s, Soho, [ca. 1762-68].

“In This Shady Blest Retreat”
“Smiling Venus Goddess Dear”
“Tender Virgins Shun Deceivers”
“Lovely Yet Ungrateful Swain”

The Laurel Book II — English Songs and Cantatas — composed by Mr. Joseph Baildon — printed for I. Walker, in Catherine St. in the Strand, [ca. 1736-66].

Songs listed by first lines.

“Should fate in some kind hour decree”
“Believe not youth with wit or sense to gain the heart of woman”
“Haste, Lorenzo, hither fly” (as Jessica in The Merchant of Venice)
“Gentle Youth, ah! why this pressing”
“On pleasure’s smooth wings”
“In Cupid’s famed school”
“Bid me to live and I will live thy constant swain to be”

Cantata

(separate sheet) “The Love Rapture” — by Mr. Arne

The Jessamine collection of songs by Mr. Thomas Curtis, organist of St. Mildred’s, Bread St. Printed by I. Cox at Simpson’s Musick Shop in Sweeting’s Alley, opposite the East Door of the Royal Exchange, [ca. 1765-96].

“The Self Contest”
“The Confused Lover”

“Aminta’s Choice”

“Strephon’s Invitation”

“The Advice”

“Then Maidens Like Me Resolve to be Free”

“The True Britton”

The Ballads Sung by Mr. Dibdin this Evening at Ranclagh composed by Mr. Dibdin — printed and sold at the composer’s house, at the Lyre and Owl, in St. Martin’s Lane; at Mr. Griffin’s, bookseller in Catharine St; at Ranelagh House, [ca. 1764-76].

Listed by first lines.

“My Nancy was as neat jade”

“There was a fair maiden, her name it was Gillian”

(a 22-page “Conclusion Piece” — 4-part vocal, also instrumental)

Three Cantatas by Mr. G. Hayden [Haydn] printed John Johnson, Harp and Crown in Cheapside, [ca. 1740-62].

“Martillo”

“Thyrsis”

“Neptune and Amymone”

A Collection of Songs Sung at Marybone Gardens — by Mr. Rennoldson — music by Mr. Heron, organist of St. Magnus, London Bridge, and to the Earl of Peterborough — Book IV — Longman, Lukey and Co., 26 Cheapside, [ca. 1769-75].

“Young Collin”

“Dolly’s Petition”

“Damon and Phyllis”

“The Invitation”

“The Rose”

“The Moth”

“Polly”

“A Hunting Song”

[Same as above] Book V, 1771

“The Cuckoo”

“Damon”

“Stern Winter”

“Rise Glory”

“Patie” (Scotch Song)

“The Choice”

The Favorite Songs Sung At Ranelagh printed for Robert Bremner, Harp and Hautboy, opposite Somerset House in Strand, [ca. 1762-89].

“Come Ye Hours” — by Vento

“Not on Beauty’s Transient pleasure” — by Giardini

“Sylvia” — cantata, the words from Tasso’s Aminta

“Go, Lovely Rose” — the words taken from Waller’s poems

“Phyllis and Silvano”

“Cloris” — from Waller’s poems

The following are separate sheets of music, and comprise the last part of the bound volume:

“The Bee” — music by Mr. Collett

“The Adieux — set by Mr. Oswald

“Robin Hood”

“The Maying”

“Bacchus”

“The Fairest of the Fair”

“By My Sighs”

“The Rose”

A New Song — “Come Damon, come, oh haste away”

A Drinking Song sung at Sadler’s Wells

“The Banquet”

“Jolly Bacchus”

“The Farmer’s Description of London”

“Cupid God of Soft Persuasion” — from Love in a Village

“Damon” — set by Mr. Leonard Abingdon

“Volamente, a Rondeau — by Giardini

“The Jolly British Tar”

A Two-Part Song — set by Mr. H. Purcell, “Fill, fill, fill all the Glasses”

“The Mighty Bowl”

Song for Three Voices — Made on the Peace

A Song, with a Trumpet — set by Mr. Henry Purcell, Genius of England

A New Song — “Give us Glasses my Wench”

“Lovely Nancy” — with variations

A Song — “How Wellcome My Shepard’ — by Mr. Fischer

Sung by Mr. Prentice at Sadler’s Wells — “I’m a Hearty Good Fellow”

Sung by Mr. Jagger at Vauxhall — “In fancy our hopes and fears”

“The Pilgrim”

The Serenade — “My Bliss too long my Bride Denies” — from The Merchant of Venice
“Jockey” — favorite new Scotch Ballad (2 copies)
“In Praise of Woman”
“The Second Ode of Anacreon”
“Woman” — set by Mr. J. Soaper
“A Bacchanalian Song”
“Content” — a pastoral
“Time Made Prisoner”
“The Honest Fellow”
“The Ass”
“Push Around the Brisk Glass”
“Platos’s Advice”
“The Cottager”
“Delia” — by Dr. Arne
“Still in Hopes to Get the Better of My Stubborn Flame I Try” — Young Meadows’ Song in Love in a Village
“The Bird”
“May Eve, or Kate of Aberdeen”
“The Full Flowing Bowl”
“The Charms of a Bumper”
“On Friendship”
“This World is a Stage”
“Russell’s Triumph”
“The Father Away” — from Artaxerxes
“Make Hay Whilst the Sun Shines”
“The Spinning Wheel”
“To Keep My Gentle Jessy” — by Dr. Arne, from The Merchant of Venice”
“To Some Petty Sinner Go Wheedle and Whine”
“Well, Well, Say No More” — and, “There Was a Jolly Miller” — both from Love in a Village
“The Right Thinker”
“When All the Attic Fire was Fled”
“Rule Britannia” — by Dr. Arne
“The Confession”
“Anacreon on Himself”
“The Evening Adventure”
“Nottingham Ale”
The Bacchanalian — “While I quaff the rosy wine”
“Love and Wine in Alliance”
“Whilst I’m Carrouzing”
“Wine, Wine is Alone ye Brisk Fountain of Mirth”

“Woman for Man”
“The New Year’s Gift”
“Delia”
“English Ale”
“The Union of Love and Wine”
“Addressed to the Ladies at Ranelegh”
“Sparkling Champaign”
“Ye Fair Married Dames — from The Way to Keep Him — by Dr. Arne”
“Ye Famed Witty Nine” — sung in Praise of the Half-Moon Society “Ye Lads and Ye Lasses Who Bloom in Your Prime”
“Ye Mortals that Love Drinking”
“The Triumph of Bacchus”
A Song in Lethe — “Ye Mortals Whom Fancies and Troubles Perplex”
“Bacchus’ Invitation”
“Bagnigge Wells”
“Miss Dawson’s Hornpipe”
“Jack Latin”
Part 3

Manuscript music book, supposedly belonged to Martha Jefferson Randolph. Several unidentifiable selections and fragments of selections, along with the following listing. Ace. No. 7443-F, Manuscripts Department, ViU. [Spec. Coll.: M-2260]

Sonata du Môme
Simphonie del Signor Wonesch
Sonata Del Signor Ernest Eichner
Rondo par Mr. Balbastre
[Italian song] — sung by Sigr. Pacchierotti
Ma Chère Amie — Sigr. Hook
The Mansion of Peace
[Italian song] — del Signor Mortellari
Airs Variés par Mr. Charpentier, Organiste
Aria Matinore Musette
Aria Triste Raison
La Petite Poste de Paris
Menuet de Fischer
Air des Amours D’Eté
Les Folies D’Espagnes Variées
Ouverture La Buona Figliuola

La Triomphante — sonata
Ouverture de Chimene
Ballet de Chimene
Choeur des Voyageurs — de la Caravanne
Rondeau par J. B. Krumpholtz
Ouverture D'Iphigenie en Aulide
Symphonie del Signor Krumpholtz
March Querrier par Mr. Balbastre
La Canonade du Mème
Symphonie du Mème
La De Villiers Du Mème
Sonata del Signor Scarlati
Les Sauvages — by Mr. Rameau
“In This Still Retirement,” and “Let Not Age Thy Bloom Ensnare,” — by Mr. Haydn
Pleyel's Celebrated Quartette from his 5th suite called Le Tout Ensemble
Pleyel's German Hymn with Variations — “Children of the Heavenly King”
“Adeste Fideles”
Duetto del Signor Vincenzo Martini
Part 4

Music manuscript notebook (ca. 1770). This notebook allegedly belonged to Martha Wayles Skelton Jefferson. It contains words and music of several songs. Deposited with Manuscripts Department, ViU, by Mr. James A. Bear, Jr., Curator of Monticello. [Spec. Coll.: Acc. No. 5385-ab, M-2260]

Minuet — Mr. Clarke
Camilla
Almaine — Mr. Clarke
“Celia has a thousand charms”
Arietta Bononcini — for Camilla
Aurelia Singing ... by Mr. Clarke
“The Silver Swans” — by Mr. Jeremiah Clarke
“Love and Folly”
“Fate has decried us”
“Boast No More, Fond Love”
Corant
Epithalamium ... “Once Cloris Did Fly Me...”
A Ground
Symphony
Grave

“Hither, hither, gentle shepherd”
“If You In Love Such Tickling Joys”
“My Song Shall Be Always of the Loving Kindness of the Lord”
Ground by Coreili [Sonata, op. 5, no. 12, Follia con variaziones]
The Ponjury Son — in Indian Queen
A Song — Mr. Purcell
A Song in The Tempest — Mr. Purcell
An Italian Song
The Chorus in The Fairy Queen
Chorus in The Prophetess
Part 5

Monticello music collection, Curator’s Office, Monticello Acc. No. 71-6331

Folder A

Collection of sheets of music, tied together with string. Some of the pieces are individual editions of songs in sheet music form; a few are selections cut from other volumes. Inscribed “Elizabeth Virginia Lightfoot” and “Elizabeth Virginia Nicholas” in several places. Most of these pieces of music date from the 1790s. There is no way of telling how or when they came into the possession of the Jefferson family. The following list contains as much information on each piece of music in this folder as is available.

“The Caledonian Laddy.” Printed by Benjamin Carr and sold at his musical repositories in Philadelphia and New York, and by I. Carr in Baltimore. This edition represents pp. 2-3 in “The favorite songs,” by Mr. Hook, published in Philadelphia, [ca. 1794-95]. “Pauvre Jaque.” Also printed for Carr, [ca. 1796]. Song with pianoforte accompaniment, French and English words. Below the title is printed, “NB The small notes with the tails downwards must be sung to the French words.” This copy is rather washed out, and somebody has gone over parts of it with ink, to make the printing clearer. Sonneck (p. 327) gives Madame B. de Travanet as the composer.²

“Ma Belle Coquette.” Song with pianoforte accompaniment, by Mr. Hook, Printed for G. Willi, 165 Market St., Philadelphia, [ca. 1795-97].

“Here’s the Pretty Girl I Love.” Song with pianoforte accompaniment, composed by Mr. Hooke. Printed for J. Hewitt’s musical repository, 131 William St., New York; Published, Jan., 1798.

“Negro Philosophy.” Song, with Pianoforte accompaniment, written, composed, and sung by Mr. Dibdin in his new entertainment, called the “General Election.” Printed and sold at Hewitt’s and Carr’s. About a third of the second page has been cut off.

“The Confession.” A favorite canzonet with an accompaniment for harp or pianoforte, the music by an amateur. French words penciled in, part of last page missing. Printed by Longman and Broderip, 26 Cheapside and 13 Haymarket, London.

“The Sailor’s Journal.” Song with Pianoforte accompaniment, by Dibdin. Also titled “Nancy” or “Nancy, or the Sailor’s Journal.” Printed for Carr’s, 1797.

“Meg of Wapping.” Another selection from Dibdin’s “General Election.” Pianoforte accompaniment to song, last part of second page missing. Printed for Hewitt’s and Carr’s, published Dec. 1797-Jan. 1798.

“The Patent Coffin.” Song with pianoforte accompaniment, by Mr. Dibdin. Printed for Hewitt’s and Carr’s, 1797. Page 2 missing.

“Sweet Nan of Hampton Green.” Published by G. Willig, Philadelphia, n.d. Song with pianoforte accompaniment, guitar part on second page. Sonneck gives Hook as the composer and 1792-93 as the publication date.[2] This edition is a separate issue.

“Fair Aurora.” A “celebrated duett” in *Artaxerxes*, by Dr. Arne. Duet arrangement, pianoforte accompaniment with figured bass. Published by Mr. Trisobio [Filippo Trisobio, 66 North Front St., Philadelphia, 1796-98].

“Did Not Tyrant Custom Guide Me.” Song by Giordani, published by Trisobio (see above). This is a rather peculiar-looking edition, having the voice part written on the second of the three staves.

* “Within a Mile of Edinbrough.” Song with pianoforte accompaniment from Stephen Storace’s musical farce, *My Grandmother*, performed at the New Theater, Philadelphia, April 27, 1795.

* “Ever Remember Me.” From Storace’s opera, *The Pirates*. Melody only (treble clef), with text in 3 verses.

* “The Drummer” (1st line: “How charming a camp is...”). From the opera, *The Prisoner*, by Thomas Attwood. Melody only (treble clef), with text. Begins in the middle of p. 56; p. 57 is missing.

* Unidentified; perhaps last 3 lines of “How Sweet When the Silver Moon” from *The Purse or The Benevolent Tar* by William Reeve. Page 53 of above.

* “The Delights of Wedded Love” (1st line: “Mark, my Alford all the joys”). Written and sung by Mrs. Melmoth in Samuel Arnold’s opera, *The Children in the Wood*. Performed, Jan. 2, 1795, New York. This copy is the bottom half of p. 53 of above.

* “Say How Can Words a Passion Feign.” Song from *My Grandmother*, see above, p. 54.

* “Favorite Country Dance Composd by Dibdin.” Two treble clef staves only, p. 54 of above.

“The Happy Dreamer.” Song with pianoforte accompaniment. No author or composer indicated. Printed and sold by G. Willig, 185 Market St., Philadelphia, [ca. 1798-1804].

“Water Parted From the Sea.” Song with pianoforte accompaniment, by Dr. Arne, from *Artaxerxes*, “and adorned with Italian graces by Mr. Trisobio.” [Filippo Trisobio, 66 N. Front St., Philadelphia, 1796-98].

“In My Pleasant Native Plains.” Song with pianoforte accompaniment. From *The Carnival of Venice*, by Thomas Linley, Sr. Performed in Philadelphia, 1796-97, and in New York, 1798. This song printed and sold by G. Willig, 185 Market St., Philadelphia, [ca. 1798-1804].

“No More His Fears Alarming.” Song with pianoforte accompaniment. From Stephen Storace’s opera, *The Pirates*. Published by G. Willig, 165 Market St., Philadelphia, [ca. 1795-97].

“Two Bunches a Penny Primroses.” Song with pianoforte accompaniment and guitar arrangement. No publisher indicated, [ca. 1800].

“The Rose.” Song with pianoforte accompaniment. This copy has no imprint. The song was from *Selima and Azor* by Thomas Linley, Sr. It first appeared in a collection published in Philadelphia in 1789 by Alexander

Reinagle, then as a separate piece of sheet music published by Willig, at the 185 Market St. address, [ca. 1798-1804].

Folder B

Pages 17-30 of a collection of songs. All of the pieces in this selection are written in one- or two-staff treble clef arrangements. Arrangements such as this were usually used for violin or flute. None of the songs have lyrics, or any evidence of composers or date of composition and publication. They probably date from the early 19th century. The following tunes are in this collection:

“Oft in the Stilly Night”

“Buy a Broom”

“Wha’ll Be King But Charlie”

“Willis Grand March”

“Quick Step”

“I’ve Been Roaming”

“The Rustic Reel”

“When Thy Bosom Heaves the Sigh”

“Love was Once a Little Boy”

“A Russian Quick Step”

“Blink Over the Burn, My Sweet Laddie”

“The Oracle Waltz”

“Let us Haste to Kelvin Grove”

“Boston Brigade March”

“LaFayettes Quick Step”

“Caspar” from Der Fryschutz [sic]

“Laughing Chorus” in Der Freyschutz [sic]

“Bertha”

“Henry”

“Caroline”

“Giovinetto Cavalier”

“The Plain Gold Ring”

“The Huntsman’s Chorus” in Der Freischutz [sic]

Folder C

Collection of miscellaneous pieces of sheet music for voice and pianoforte, some being separate sheet issues and some excerpts from other collections. They are in very bad shape. Someone has stitched them together with string. The following list includes whatever is known about each selection.

“Time.” A favorite sonnet composed by Pleyel. This particular edition was published in Dublin by Edmund Lee, No. 2 Dame St., near the Royal Exchange. Americans knew it as “Sonnet to Time” and it appeared in published American collections, [ca. 1799-1803].

“How Sweet the Love that Meets Return.” Composed by Mr. Hook and sung by Mrs. Kennedy. Sonneck lists no known place or date of publication, but places it sometime in the 1790s.

“Ca Ira.” French and English words. Published by Edmund Lee. Several American editions of this were available, 1793-96.

“Come Blushing Rose.” By Pleyel, published by Edmund Lee. Published in America in 1795.

“From Branch to Branch.” From the opera Lionel and Clarissa, music by Dibdin, libretto by Bickerstaff. This separate sheet published by Anne Lee, same address as Edmund Lee. The opera was performed in Philadelphia in 1792, and in various places through the 1790s.

“Poor Jack.” By Charles Dibdin. No identification on this sheet, but several editions of the song were published in America, 1794-98.

“Ariette de Blaise et Babet.” From Blaise et Babet, by N. Dezède. Words in French. No identification. Several American editions of the Overture from Blaise et Babet were published in America, 1789-1800.

“My Heavy Heart.” A favorite Scotch song sung by Miss Bertles, VauxHall. Page no. 21 appears in upper right-hand corner. This indicates that it could be from A Collection of Favorite Songs, Divided into Two Books. Arranged by Alexander Reinagle. Published, Philadelphia, [ca. 1789].

“Canzonet” (1st line: “Time has not thinned my flowing hair...Composed by W. Jackson. No. 22 in upper left-hand corner identifies it as the back of the preceding page from Reinagle’s book. Apparently, it had another page, which is missing.

“Donald.” A favorite Scots song. No. 25 in upper right-hand corner. No other identification.

“Moggy’s Complaint of Jockey.” No. 26 in upper left-hand corner on the back of the previous page. No other identification.

Folder D

Pieces of music from a book of B. F. Peale’s arrangement for Spanish Guitar, published by G. E. Blake of Philadelphia, July 29, 1826. Jefferson’s granddaughters, Cornelia Randolph, Virginia Randolph Trist, and Septimia Randolph Meikleham, all played the guitar. Jefferson bought Virginia an expensive Spanish guitar in 1816, and there are many passages in the family correspondence that mention the fact that she played it, probably rather well. The date of this guitar music indicates that it was very likely used by Virginia, and perhaps later by Cornelia and Septimia.

“Loudon’s Bonnie Woods and Braes”

“Waters of Elle”

“The Castilian Maid”

“Come Chace That Starting Tear Away”

“Tis Love in the Heart”

“I’ll Watch for Thee”

“Home” [“Home, Sweet Home”]

“The Harper’s Song”

“Slowly Wears the Day, Love”

Folder E

One-page manuscript fragment, “Row Gently Here — A Popular Venetian Air, from [?].” Piano and voice arrangement, with lyric.

Folder F

One-page sheet, “Flutt’ring Spread Thy Purple Pinions.” Piano and voice, with guitar and German flute parts. Published by John Lee, No. 70 Dame St., at the corner of Eustace St., Dublin, [ca. 1778-1803].

Folder G

Two pieces of sheet music, bound together with string.

“The Timid Tear” Words by Moore, music by Barry. Piano and voice. Published by G. E. Blake, No. 1 South 3rd. St., Philadelphia, 1803/04-1814].

“In Praise of the Fair” Adapted to the popular French air, “La Pipe de Tobac.” Piano and voice, with flute accompaniment. Also published by Blake. G. E. Blake came to the United States in 1793. These two pieces were probably published [ca. 1803-14].

Folder H

Miscellaneous pieces of manuscript music and lyrics in various hands, one of them Martha Jefferson Randolph’s.

“Copenhagen Waltz with Variations”

“Cottage Rondo” composed by Holst

“The Tyrolese Song of Liberty” by Thomas Moore. Begins on last line of page where “Cottage Rondo” ends.

The next page may be part of it; it has the same key and time signatures.

“Mozart’s Favorite Waltz.” Starts in the middle of the back of the previous page; it may or may not be by Moore.

“Robin Adair.”

“Musette de Nina.”

“The Coronach.” Words by Scott, music by Dr. Clarke of Cambridge. One page of manuscript lyrics;

“The Ill Wife” [verses 2-6].

“Home, Sweet Home” [2 verses, in hand of Martha Jefferson Randolph, inscribed “Tufton, April 2nd, 1827”].

“There’s Nae Luck About the House” [verses 2-5].

Folder I

Fragment of a book of Scotch songs. Pp. v-vi of introduction, the table of contents, nos. 1-24 of the lyrics, and nos. 1-23 of the music are intact. Published, Blair-Sweet, Edinburgh, May 1, 1793.

Folder J

Six Ariettes Choisis, Avec Accompagnement D'un Clavecin ou Piano Forte Arrange Par Mr. L. Prix 4 livre 4 sols
A Paris. Chez le Sr. Sieber Musicien rue St. Honore entre la rue D'orlean et Celle des vielles Etuves vis avis
l'Hotel D'Aligre chez l'Apothicaire No. 92.

Air de Chimene ("Toi qui seul peut lire en mon coeur")

Air de Didon ("Ah! que je fus bien inspiree")

Air de Chimene ("Par donnez mon coeur vous offense")

Air de Rodrigue dans Chimene ("Tout ce qui dut me rendre heureux tout ce que j'maimais dans la vie")

De l'Acte de Tibule et Delie ("Je me prisais l'Amour")

Air de l'Epreuve Villageoise ("Bon Dieu com heir a cete fete")

Folder K

Miscellaneous sheets from several issues of a weekly music journal published in Paris. Voice and piano, or harpsichord.

Air from Dardanus ("Jour heureux") 2nd year, No. 17.

Airs de Ballet d'Alexandre aux Indies [same as above]

Air d'Oedipe à Colone [Sacchini] ("Votre cour devint mon azile") 3rd year, No. 19.

Air de Dardanus ("C'est un charme supreme qui suspendra mon tourment") No. 44.

Bibliography

“An Inventory of the Collections of Jefferson Family Music.” Thomas Jefferson and Music, Thomas Jefferson Foundation, Charlottesville, VA, 2009. University of Virginia Music Library, https://wordpress.its.virginia.edu/UVA_Music_Library/resources/thomas-jeffersons-music/#part5

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“From Thomas Jefferson to Charles Bellini, 30 September 1785,” Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-08-02-0448> [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 8, 25 February–31 October 1785, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1953, pp. 568–570.]

“From Thomas Jefferson to Elizabeth Wayles Eppes, [3? October 1782],” Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-06-02-0188> [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 6, 21 May 1781–1 March 1784, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952, pp. 198–200.]

“From Thomas Jefferson to Giovanni Fabbroni, 8 June 1778,” Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-02-02-0066> [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 2, 1777–18 June 1779, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950, pp. 195–198.]

“From Thomas Jefferson to Henry Lee, 8 May 1825,” Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/98-01-02-5212>

“From Thomas Jefferson to John Randolph, 25 August 1775,” Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-01-02-0121> [Original source: The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, vol. 1, 1760–1776, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950, pp. 240–243.]

“From Thomas Jefferson to Maria Cosway, 12 October 1786,” Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-10-02-0309> [Original source: The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, vol. 10, 22 June–31 December 1786, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954, pp. 443–455.]

“From Thomas Jefferson to Maria Cosway, 12 October 1786,” Founders Online, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-10-02-0309> [Original source: The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, vol. 10, 22 June–31 December 1786, ed. Julian P. Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954, pp. 443–455.]

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