THE Jefferson BROTHERS

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Peter and Jane (Randolph) Jefferson were married for seventeen years. Jane was frequently pregnant, delivering ten children into mid-18th century Colonial Virginia. Only two of their four sons survived to adulthood. The elder, Thomas, grew up to influence a generation and help shape a nation. The younger, Randolph, led a simple life as a planter on the banks of the James River. A great deal is known about Thomas, and his life's work will continue to be the subject of discussion for decades to come. By contrast, very little is known about Randolph whose story sheds a much, much smaller light on his neighborhood in northern Buckingham County, Virginia.

In the summer of 1757, Peter Jefferson suddenly died. Tom, then fourteen years old, was nearly a man in 18th-century terms. Randolph, only two, was yet unformed and would grow up fatherless. Despite their extremely divergent paths in life, both of the Jefferson brothers would be significantly shaped by Peter's bequest of two quite separate land holdings: the Rivanna lands and the Fluvanna lands of Albemarle County, Virginia.

Chapter One

Peter Jefferson, Gent.

No society is so precious as that of one's own family.
Thomas Jefferson to Randolph Jefferson, 1789

Over the decades, the life of Peter Jefferson has been preserved more as legend than as fact. The long shadow cast by his prodigiously talented son, Thomas, has obscured and lessened Peter's pioneering accomplishments. Stepping back to Colonial Virginia, Peter Jefferson emerges as an influential figure in the development of Virginia's Piedmont, with a distinct vision for the James River's Horseshoe Bend.

Peter Jefferson was born on February 29, 1708, south of the James River in what was then part of Henrico County.[1] His parents were Mary (Field) and Thomas Jefferson, II, who set an example of civil service which Peter would follow.[2] Thomas was a Gentleman Justice for Henrico for nearly twenty years, a Captain in the Militia, and for at least two years, held the office of High Sheriff in the county. He also aided in the building of a church in Bristol Parish, long referred to as "Jefferson's Church."[3] He owned a racing mare and fraternized with the local gentry, with whom the Jeffersons would long intermarry.

Prior to Thomas Jefferson's death, Peter began developing his father's land to the west, which lay on Fine Creek. By 1728, he had spent £3.10 on a house and had invested an additional £3.2 on two tobacco houses. These expenses were "charged to Mr. Thomas Jefferson's Acc't with Peter."[4] The young Virginian was

also eager to establish his own homestead and, shortly after he came of age, Peter acquired 322 acres of "new" land. The land grant, issued in 1730, came from His Majesty King George II of England and was signed by Governor William Gooch. Not far from Fine Creek, the tract lay in the newly established Goochland County, on the south side of the James River, nestled among the French Huguenot refugees who had settled land around Manakin Town in the early 1700s. For a generation, these French Protestants had successfully cultivated the area, infusing the surroundings with their Gallic sensibilities.[5]

The area appealed to several of the younger Jeffersons. Two of Peter's sisters married men established in this part of Goochland. Martha Jefferson wed Bennet Goode, who operated Jude's Ferry from his land on the south bank of the James River to Col. John Fleming's land on the north bank.[6] Mary Jefferson married Thomas Turpin, who eventually served as one of Peter Jefferson's five executors.

Peter had barely struck out on his own when his father died, leaving him additional land south of the James River. The last will of Thomas Jefferson, II was recorded in Henrico County in April of 1731. It reads in part:

> ITEM. I give unto my son PETER JEFFERSON and to his Heirs forever all my land on Fine Creek and on Manakin Creek, . . . I also give unto my son, Peter and to his Heirs forever, two Negro's Farding and Pompey I also give unto my Son PETER my Chest and Wearing Cloathes with the Cloth and Trimming that is in the Chest, my Cane, Six Silver Spoons, which I bought of Turpin, two Horses named Norman and Squirrell, my Trooping Arms and Gunn I had of Joseph Wilkinson, Two Feather Beds, Ruggs and Blankets, one Suit of Curtains and Vallains, a Diaper Table Cloth and six Napkins, two Iron Potts and Hooks, one large and one small, A brass Kettle I had of Thomas Edwards, the Couch standing in the Hall and the Two Tables standing there, six Leather Chairs, Half my Stock of Cattle, Sheep and Hogs, on condition my Son PETER live to be Twenty One years old. . . .[7]

PETER JEFFERSON: SURVEYOR GOOCHLAND COUNTY

When Goochland County surveyor, William Mayo, died in 1744, Peter Jefferson was named his successor. Mayo had served the county since its formation in 1728, took an interest in Jefferson when he settled in Goochland, and may have taught him the rudiments of surveying. The Goochland Court Order Book for the December Court of 1744 preserves details of Jefferson's appointment and his commission received from the President and Masters of the College of William and Mary. As one of his first orders of business, Jefferson was directed to run the new county line between Goochland and Albemarle. He was to meet with such persons appointed by the Albemarle County Court. There, Joshua Fry had been appointed Surveyor with Peter Jefferson as his assistant. Anne Mayo, William's widow, was ordered to deliver unto Peter Jefferson, Gent. the books of plats and the original entry books and all other papers belonging to the office of Surveyor. Apparently, Anne was reluctant to surrender the papers. At Goochland County's February Court of 1744/45 (OS), Jefferson claimed that "Anne Mayo Executrix of the last Will and testament of William Mayo deced hath refused to Deliver the Books belonging to the Surveyors Office Pursuant to an order made at December Court last," and requested an order demanding that Mrs. Mayo comply.

[Silvio A. Bedini, "William Mayo (1684-1744) Surveyor of the Virginia Piedmont," *Professional Surveyor Magazine,* Parts I & II (February 2000, March 2000)]

Peter, having reached his majority prior to his father's death, accepted his father's appointment as Executor. Initially, he and his brother, Field, continued to operate the family's ferry across the James River at Osbornes (a.k.a. "Jefferson's Landing").[8] This familiarity with, and perhaps affection for, life on the river would later affect at least two of Peter's real estate investments.

Ultimately, neither Jefferson brother elected to stay at Osbornes. Field removed southward to Lunenburg County, Virginia, where he served as a Vestryman in Cumberland Parish and as a Justice of the Peace.[9] Peter returned to Fine Creek and Goochland, which became his training ground as a public servant. There, his associates and neighbors around Fine Creek, Beaverdam, and Dover Church included local heavyweights such as the Randolphs, Flemings, and Woodsons.[10]

Numerous Goochland County records survive, documenting Peter Jefferson's contribution to the development and maintenance of this increasingly settled section of Virginia frontier. In 1734, he was appointed Surveyor of the Road, from the Mountains to Lickinghole Creek, and was recommended, along with his friend, William Randolph, and brother-in-law, Thomas Turpin, as a Gentleman Justice.[11] The Goochland Court Order Book for the October Court of 1734 reads:

> Justices recommended Upon consideration of the want of a sufficient number of Justices for the dispatching the business of the Court & the preservation of the peace administration of justice in the severall (sic) parts of the county the following gentlemen to witt Dudley Digges, Charles Lewis, William Randolph, John Netherland, George Carrington, Peter Jefferson, Thomas Dickins, & Thomas Turpin are recommended to the Honble. William Gooch Esqr. his Majesty's Lieut. Governour as person proper to be added to the commission of the peace.[12]

Soon, Peter found himself serving as the foreman on a Grand Jury.[13] By 1737, he was Sheriff of Goochland County. The security bond for his appointment as Sheriff was provided by Isham Randolph and William Randolph, Jr., indicating

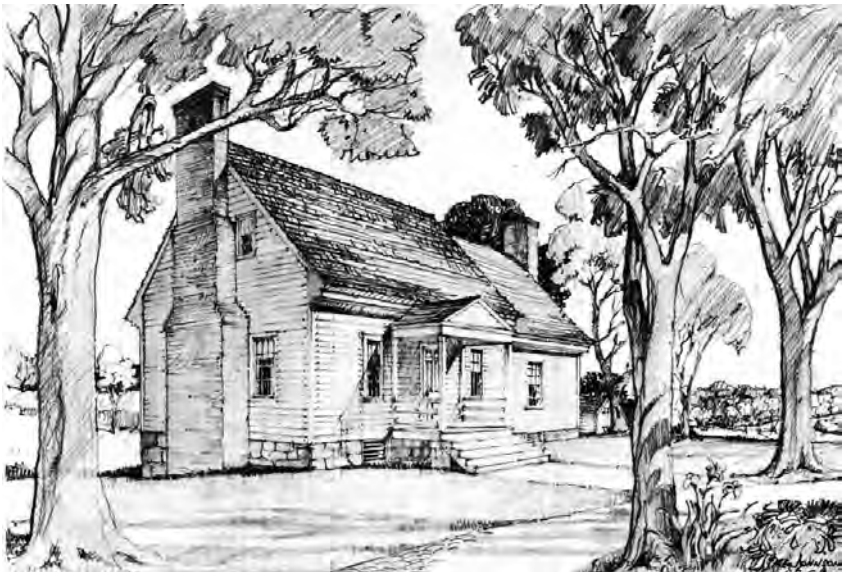
solid Randolph family support in establishing Peter's position of authority in the county. As Magistrate, Surveyor, and Sheriff, even if Jefferson was not a significant planter, his "earned" status made him an appropriate mate for Isham Randolph's daughter, Jane.[14]

Becoming a large-scale planter in the increasingly crowded Goochland was difficult in the 1730s, so Peter looked further west to the next frontier. In May of 1736, he struck a distinctive deal with his good friend, William Randolph, who deeded him 200 acres of land in exchange for "Henry Weatherborne's biggest bowl of Arrack punch."[15] The agreement concerned a tract near the foot of the Blue Ridge Mountains to which Randolph held the patent. This desirable land was located considerably west of Fine Creek, in the part of Goochland that would soon become Albemarle County. There, Jefferson could establish himself as an important planter, build a home, and a life of his own.

A basic dwelling house was constructed, and by the fall of 1739, Peter was ready to marry Jane Randolph. She was nineteen years old; he was a mature thirty-one. Their marriage bond was recorded in Goochland, and they were likely wed at her family home, Dungeness.[16]

If the newlyweds remained in Goochland, they did not tarry long. Jane was immediately pregnant, and their daughter, Jane, Jr., was born on June 27, 1740, not at Fine Creek or at Dungeness, but at the Jeffersons' rustic new home in the west.[17] Lying along the Three Notch'd Road on the north side of the Rivanna River; the Jeffersons called the farm Shadwell, after Jane's home parish in England.[18] Compared to Fine Creek, with its more established community, Shadwell was isolated and remote. Ellen (Randolph) Coolidge, Peter Jefferson's great-granddaughter, described her ancestors' homeland as "thinly peopled and densely wooded."[19] It was indeed a daunting place to deliver a first baby in an era when many women went home to mother for their confinement. Two more Jefferson children, Mary and Thomas, would be successfully delivered at Shadwell while it was still part of Goochland County.

Meanwhile, Virginia's swelling population pushed westward along the James, its westward extension known as the Fluvanna and the Rivanna rivers, and, in 1744, county lines in the Piedmont were redrawn. The vast county of Goochland was sub-divided and, as a result, Peter Jefferson became a founding father of a new entity called Albemarle County. Once cut from Goochland, a



Albemarle Courthouse was established on Scott land where Toiter Creek enters the James River. This rendering of the Edward Scott dwelling house at Scott's Ferry, drawn by architect Floyd Johnson, represents a typical 18th-century dwelling in central Virginia. The original house at Snowden may have resembled the Scott home. (Courtesy of Scottsville Museum)

new county government was necessarily established, and the experienced thirty-six-year-old was primed to step into Albemarle's top offices.

It is no surprise that most of the county's first officials had long-cemented relationships in Goochland's government. They included Joshua Fry, who was first to be sworn in as Chief Magistrate and County Lieutenant ("Commander of the Plantations" and head of the Militia). His friend and surveying partner, Peter Jefferson, was sworn in alongside him as Magistrate. They, in turn, heard the oaths of Allen Howard, Gent. and William Cabell, Gent., both former Goochland Magistrates, as well as Joseph Thompson and Thomas Bellew. The group comprised Albemarle's first Gentleman Justices. Fry also served as Chief Surveyor, with Jefferson as his Assistant Surveyor.[20]

These men then established Albemarle's new county seat. Located on the James River at "Scott's Ferry," the chosen spot was both central and convenient to transportation on the river.[21] The landing, soon to be home to a courthouse,

jail, and various services, was situated on the land of Daniel Scott, which had been patented by his father, Edward Scott, a former Goochland Magistrate, Sheriff, and Burgess.[22] In 1745, the new county government went to work planning the building of the courthouse and improving transportation routes to the area. The territory was raw and demanding. John Hammond Moore describes some of the challenges:

> The essential fact of Albemarle life during these years is the creation of a prosperous, stable community wrested from virgin frontier. The county's early citizens were spared bloody confrontation with Indian tribes and never suffered the attacks from England's enemies that made day-to-day existence so hazardous in other colonies and in the western counties. . . . But the men and women who took up the arduous task of establishing new homes, farms, and plantations in the foothills of the Blue Ridge had to contend with the loneliness of isolation, separation from loved ones, and the rigors that wilderness living imposes upon all who dare to push forward into its depths.[23]

Apparently, Peter Jefferson was just the man to transform this virgin frontier into a planter's paradise, with Shadwell an early oasis in the wilderness.[24] At least, over the years, that is how he has been characterized. A blend of near super-human strength and elegant style, he embodied the paradox of the Virginia countryside. Cast as a classic frontier hero, legends clung to him like fog to the Blue Ridge. In the 1960s, Virginia Moore concisely repeated the oft-told details concerning the man who looms like a mythological giant of the Virginia wilderness behind his famous son, Thomas:

> Fry's fellow judge, surveying assistant and close friend Peter Jefferson was another man who wore tall boots. As a Goochland Magistrate and Sheriff, he had married Jane, daughter of Isham Randolph of Dungeness, and . . . took her to live at newly-built Shadwell on the Rivanna (River Anna), north branch of the James. Huge-framed Peter was noted for his strength. Once he carried a mule on his back; and standing between two hogsheads of tobacco could

> do the impossible: head them up. Self-educated, he knew where the values lay. On his shelves, side by side with the Book of Common Prayer, stood Pope, Swift, Addison, Steele, Shakespeare. The February day he rode twenty-odd miles to the Scott house for the swearing-in, three little children were running around Shadwell; a pair of daughters and a two-year-old son named Thomas.[25]

Moore and many others, from James Parton writing in 1874, to Fawn Brodie publishing a century later, have reworked Thomas Jefferson's early biographer, Henry S. Randall, in regards to Peter Jefferson. In 1858, Randall preserved the already mythic Jefferson family narrative:

> Many well attested facts and anecdotes are yet extant of the life of the father of Thomas Jefferson. . . . They all show that he was no ordinary man. He owed none of his success to good fortune or ingratiating manners. He was a man of gigantic stature and strength – plain and averse to display – he was grave, taciturn, slow to make, and not over prompt to accept, advances. He was one of those calmly and almost sternly self-relying men, who lean on none – who desire help from none. And he certainly had both muscles and mind which could be trusted! He could simultaneously "head-up" (raise from their sides to an upright position) two hogsheads of tobacco weighing nearly a thousand pounds apiece! He once directed three able-bodied slaves to pull down a ruinous shed by means of a rope. After they had again and again made the effort, he bade them stand aside, seized the rope, and dragged down the structure in an instant.... [A]s a surveyor through the savage wilderness, after his assistants had given out from famine and fatigue, subsisting on the raw flesh of game, and even of his carrying mules, when other food failed, sleeping in a hollow tree amidst howling and screeching beasts of prey, and thus undauntedly pushing on until his task was accomplished.[26]

Incredibly, in 1901, Field family genealogist, Frederick Clifton Peirce, lifted Randall's prose about Peter virtually verbatim and attributed it to Peter's father,

Thomas Jefferson, II, making this minor, but so significant, adjustment in the opening: "Many well attested facts and anecdotes show that Capt. Thomas Jefferson was no ordinary man."[27]

By the time Henry Randall collected these stories, 100 years had already passed since Peter Jefferson's death, allowing plenty of time and space for embellishment. There is no way to know if either father or son were true Goliaths. In fact, stories like these were commonly applied to many pioneering men. As the sire of the monumental Thomas Jefferson, stories of Peter Jefferson's physical prowess grew to match the impressive intellectual prowess of his first-born son, until these anecdotes of a rural Hercules approached folkloric magnitude. It is remarkable that in the over 150 years since Randall published these virtual tall tales that they have not been critically evaluated. Repeated over and over as literal, they have been passed down unquestioned.

Even allowing for exaggeration, Peter Jefferson was probably a large man and a fit one, and he may have inherited a strong physic and a "gigantic" stature from his father. However, contrary to Jefferson family tradition, Peter definitely was *not* a plain man, adverse to display. He sported a silver-hilted sword, equipped with a silver-hilted cutlass, wearing silver spurs on his boots – all of which he owned at his death. A pair of brass-barreled pistols completed this image of a well-heeled frontiersman.

The plain facts are that Peter did ride fearlessly along mountain precipices and did call Native American Chiefs his friends. He was ready, willing, and able to tackle a host of wilderness challenges while on his surveying adventures – including bear, adverse weather, and very possibly near starvation. Over the coming years, these myriad stories were undoubtedly told to his wide-eyed children, who in turn told them to their equally wide-eyed children and grandchildren, taking on a life of their own as oral traditions tend to do.[28]

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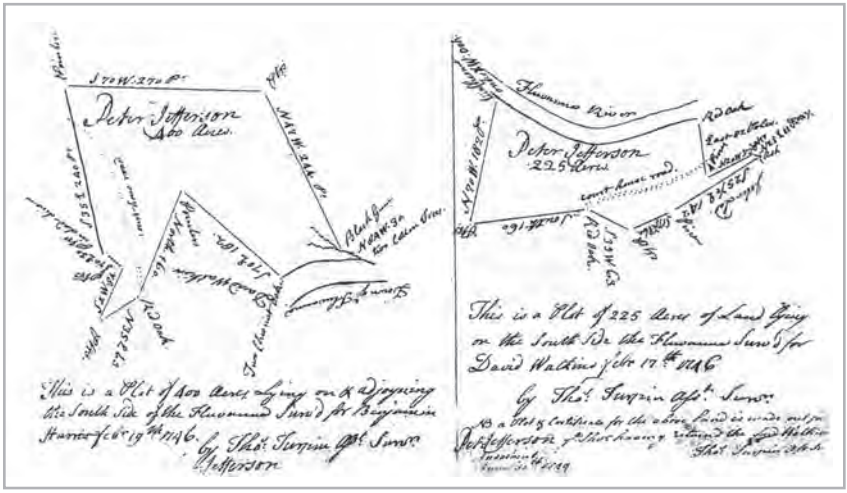
Despite the fact that Peter Jefferson was present at the inception of Albemarle County, his intimate, day-to-day involvement with the brand new county was ultimately short-lived. In 1745, he uprooted his young family from Shadwell, moving their residence to Tuckahoe, the estate of the late William Randolph, where he would act as guardian for William's three orphaned children. This gesture fulfilled the last wish of his friend and his wife's first cousin, which read:

"Whereas I have appointed by my will that my dear only son Thomas Mann Randolph should have a private education given him in my house at Tuckahoe, my will is that my dear and loving friend Mr. Peter Jefferson to move down with his family to my Tuckahoe house and remain there till my son comes of age with whom my dear son and his sisters shall live."[29] William Randolph's generosity had resulted in the establishment of Shadwell. Now it was Peter Jefferson's turn to oblige his friend's family and respect William Randolph's dying request.

Located in Goochland County, down river from Albemarle and much nearer to Richmond, Tuckahoe offered an elegant abode compared to Jefferson's frontier farm. The plantation's genteel atmosphere was both familiar and comfortable to Jane Jefferson. Living there guaranteed that her oldest children would benefit from graceful, more established living, as opposed to the relatively primitive Albemarle. The Jeffersons remained at Tuckahoe for at least six years. There, among other duties, Peter served on Goochland's St. James Northam Parish Vestry, to which he was appointed on January 18, 1747, replacing Benjamin Cocke, Gentleman.[30]

The distance from Tuckahoe to Albemarle County, however, did not deter Peter's plans to settle permanently there. He continued his involvement in the



Peter Jefferson's holdings were surveyed by his friend and brother-in-law, Thomas Turpin. In 1757, Jefferson chose Turpin as one of the executors for his estate. (Albemarle County Plat Book)

county government, his surveying adventures with Joshua Fry, and his plan to create a plantation along the Fluvanna River directly opposite the new county seat. With Shadwell as his base camp, Jefferson set about acquiring land along the south side of the Fluvanna River. As Virginia Moore observed, Edward Scott wisely chose a mix of acreage, his land providing him a double guarantee: "rich lowlands for crops, and sites elevated enough to escape the river's periodic rampage."[31] Peter Jefferson would make similar choices when acquiring his land by purchase and patent, mirroring Scott on the south side of the river.

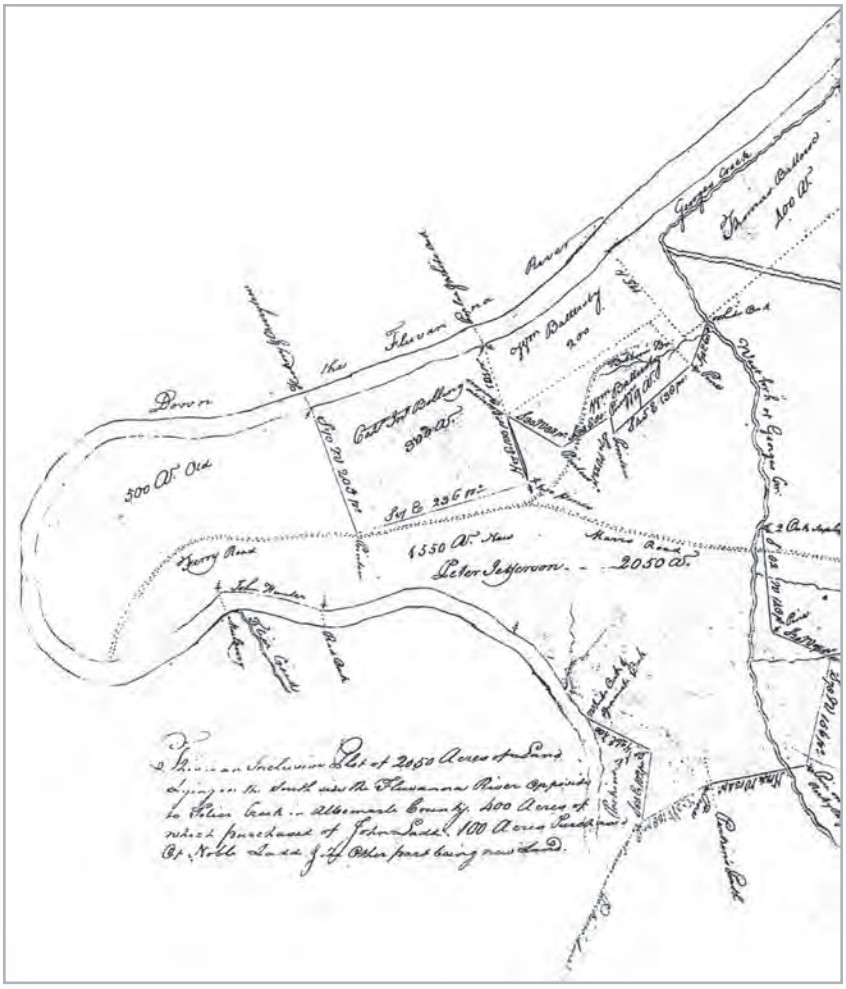
Exactly how and when Jefferson conceived of his plan to develop his Fluvanna plantation across from Albemarle Courthouse is not known. It may have been soon after the county seat was established in 1744. By early 1746, he was acquiring land south of the river, beginning with two parcels, totaling 625 acres, which had been previously patented by others.[32]

Ultimately, Jefferson was interested in the spot directly across from Scott's Ferry, where Daniel Scott established a ferry on the north side of the river to serve the new Albemarle Courthouse. The ferry bridged the primitive roads then being constructed, designed to connect vast stretches of Albemarle to the north and to the south.

In colonial days, a ferry wasn't merely a business; it was "public business" and the business of the Crown of England. In February of 1745, under King George II, a statute was recorded into the Laws of Virginia which included Daniel Scott's permission to operate a ferry. A man or a horse, they paid three pence apiece to cross the Fluvanna River.[33] Additionally, on July 25, 1745, Albemarle County granted Daniel Scott an ordinary license.[34] At the very least, his tavern and ferry would be bustling on court days.

The precise location of the ferry landing at Albemarle Courthouse is not currently known. The north side landing was described as near the mouth of Totier Creek. The south side landing was on Noble Ladd's property at the tip of the Horseshoe Bend, adjacent his brother, John Ladd.[35] If Peter Jefferson wanted the ferry landing on the south side, he was going to have to buy it from the Ladd family, who had owned this property since the 1720s.[36]

In March 1740/41, Amos "Lad" of Goochland divided 400 acres in the Horseshoe Bend between his son, Noble, and Col. John Bolling. Noble paid his father £10 for 100 acres.[37] By 1745, Amos Ladd was dead, and Noble Ladd



This undated survey (c.1754) shows the fully assembled Snowdon plantation, consisting of 2,050 acres. Peter Jefferson's "Fluvanna Lands" included 1,550 acres of "new" land and 500 acres of "old" land he purchased from John and Noble Ladd. Jefferson assembled his plantation of high and low grounds, well-timbered and immensely fertile, along the western extension of the James River. The Ferry Road ran through the center of the tract. His neighbors, Col. John Bolling, William Battersby, Thomas Ballow, and Hardin Perkins were all in place. (Albemarle County Plat Book)

was named his Executor.[38] Then, in 1750, Noble sold the land to Jefferson for £105, a tidy profit over the £10 he paid his father for the property. Of course, in the intervening ten years, the tract's desirability as a ferry landing had vastly increased its value and Noble Ladd had himself improved the property. The deed between Jefferson and Ladd describes it as the plantation tract whereon Noble Ladd "lately dwelt," indicating that Ladd had also improved the property with a dwelling.[39] Soon after, his brother, John Ladd, sold Peter an additional, adjacent 400 acres.[40] Peter had reached his goal; he now owned the tip of the Horseshoe Bend, including the ferry landing.[41]

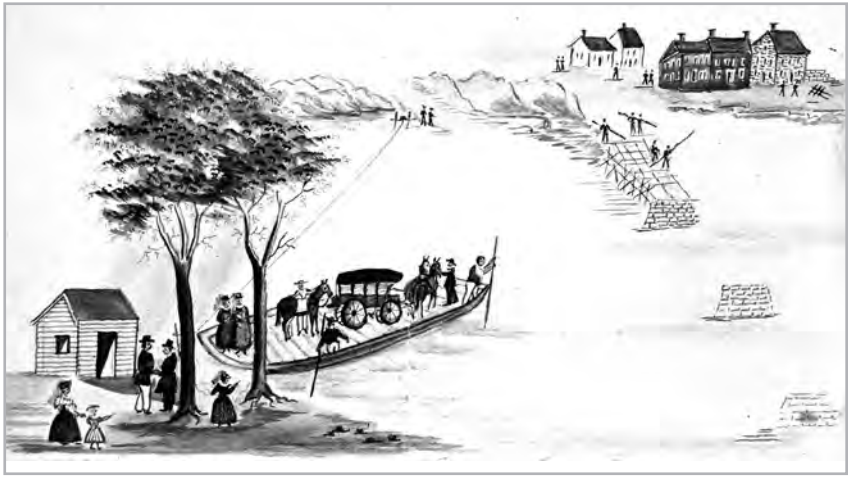
Mr. Jefferson's Landing

At some unknown point in time, Col. Peter Jefferson named his Fluvanna River plantation Snowdon. Family tradition holds that it remembered his family seat in Wales.[42] Once the land was cleared for planting, the view from the bluff was stunning. Situated at the river's Horseshoe Bend, the water wrapped Jefferson's land in a ribbon of blue. The man who owned this strategic point 400 feet above the county seat commanded the crowning point at the heart of a vast and fertile Albemarle County.

The Ladds' 500 acres added extremely fertile lowlands to the plantation, and with a road running from the river south through the property, Snowdon was poised to serve the developing southern section of Albemarle. This significant addition to Peter Jefferson's farm established him and all the successive proprietors of Snowdon as the owners of the south side landing of Scott's Ferry, cementing a relationship with the north bank and, later, with Scottsville, which would continue until the ferry closed in 1907 in deference to the new wooden-planked bridge.[43] Additionally, Noble Ladd's land came with the ordinary, soon to be known as the "Snowdon Ferry House."[44] In short, Peter had successfully recreated the "Jefferson's Landing" of his childhood, potentially a very lucrative commercial site.

When John Hammond Moore described taverns, like the one at Snowdon, he quipped that while Peter Jefferson made an income from his property, he likely never had the misfortune to stay the night there.

Albemarle's colonial ordinaries, although ostensibly controlled by the county court, appear to have been rather dismal, often filthy affairs far removed from romantic pictures we have today of cozy rural inns complete with jovial host and voluptuous serving maids. If the justices themselves occasionally had been forced to seek meals or lodging in them, perhaps conditions would have improved in short order. Constant complaints indicate these public facilities left much to be desired; whenever possible, travelers preferred to spend the night in private homes. The usual meal consisted of eggs, bacon, and hoecake washed down with either peach brandy or whiskey, both of local origin. Beds often were crawling with bugs and vermin. Both Peter Jefferson and William Cabell owned taverns, although these structures were not within present-day Albemarle nor were they operated by these gentlemen.[45]



The south side landing of Scott's Ferry was at Snowdon from 1745 until the ferry closed in 1907. Folk artist, Lewis Miller, depicted the ferry crossing the James River from Buchanan to Pattonsburg. (Lewis Miller, "Sketchbook of Landscapes in the State of Virginia, 1853-1867," Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Museum, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Va., Gift of Dr. and Mrs. Richard M. Kain in memory of George Hay Kain)

Ten years earlier, both Cabell and Jefferson had helped determine regulations for ordinaries in the county. When the second court for the newly-formed Albemarle met in March of 1745, Peter Jefferson, Magistrate, was present at Edward Scott's house when the judges discussed the plans for the new courthouse and the necessary building of a nearby ordinary – to lodge, feed, and provide liquor for travelers coming to the county seat. The men set the prices in detail: "For a Diet, twelve pence. For a Servant Diet, six pence. For one night's Lodging, seven pence, half penny. Indian corn by the Gill, four pence."[46] According to Virginia Moore, "If the food was monotonous, the choice of liquids on the price list had more range: West Indian rum, French brandy, peach brandy, Madeira wine, Virginia cask or bottled beer, and 'good Virginia cyder.'"[47]

In 1750, it would soon be more than a ferry that connected Peter Jefferson of Snowdon and Daniel Scott of Scott's Ferry. The eldest son of Edward Scott (1695-1738), Daniel Scott (1725-1754) had inherited his father's lands on the north side of the Fluvanna River and successfully established and operated his ferry and tavern for several years, initially dealing with Noble Ladd and William Battersby on the south side. There is every reason to believe that when Peter Jefferson took over the south-side landing, the two men were already collaborators, rather than competitors; for on November 28, 1751, Daniel Scott married Anne Randolph, Peter Jefferson's sister-in-law.[48]

At Isham Randolph's death in 1742, Peter Jefferson had been named as one of five guardians for Randolph's minor children, including Anne (a.k.a. Anna), who was about eleven years old at the time.[49] During the years the Jeffersons lived at Tuckahoe (1746-1751), they were physically close to the Isham Randolph home at Dungeness, where his widow, Jane (Rogers) Randolph, and youngest Randolph children remained; the proximity would have facilitated frequent family visits.[50] During these years, Peter and Jane Jefferson grew especially close to young Anne. It may even have been through the Jeffersons that she met Daniel Scott. Not yet twenty-one years old in the fall of 1751, Anne asked Peter's consent to marry, which he gave as her guardian, signing the couple's marriage bond as Anne's nearest male relative.[51]

After their marriage, the Scotts settled on the river at Albemarle Courthouse. About the same time, the Jeffersons returned to Shadwell. It is possible the men had long envisioned a co-operative ferry business, with one branch of the family

owning and operating the ferry on the north bank of the river and the other branch providing services on the south bank, imitating the Branch and Jefferson family arrangement at Osbornes. For the next couple of years, they had ample opportunity to continue any plans to develop the area around Scott's Ferry.

Then, late in 1753 or early in 1754, Daniel Scott died, leaving Anne a childless widow. Only about twenty-two years old, Anne returned east to Goochland County.[52] Her mother was still alive to see Anne settled once again, marrying Jonathan Pleasants on June 14, 1759. Jane Randolph may have favored Anne, leaving her a gold watch. Following Jonathan Pleasants' death in 1765, Anne married his cousin, James Pleasants, and they were the parents of James Pleasants, Jr. who became a United States Senator and Governor of Virginia.[53]

Despite Anne's return to Dungeness, the affection between her and the Jefferson family was abiding and was formally acknowledged in October of 1755, when not one but two Jefferson babies honored Aunt Anne. When Jane and Peter's baby girl was accompanied by a twin boy, the Jeffersons conceived of the clever and charming gesture of splitting Anne's name between the twins, calling them Anna Scott and Randolph Jefferson.

Peter Jefferson knew the value of river commerce; however, he did not see himself personally operating the ferry house and decided to raise his family further north, away from the immediate vicinity of Scott's Ferry. As a result, Snowdon's riverfront property was leased to a man named Richard Murray, who paid Jefferson £4 per year for four acres, a house, and an ordinary.[54] One day, Peter imagined, his adult son would inherit this lucrative property. From the vantage point of 1750, that fortunate son was Thomas. How different the world might have been, if Peter Jefferson had lived long enough to see his elder son turn twenty-one and establish him at Snowdon.

Life at Shadwell

Having assembled the Fluvanna plantation, Peter Jefferson provided himself with a steady rental income which could be used to support the ongoing improvement of his farm at Shadwell or fund other new land investments. In 1750, his family still resided at Tuckahoe, and Peter Jefferson embarked on the "remodeling" of the dwelling at Shadwell in anticipation of their return to Albemarle when Thomas Mann Randolph reached his majority.[55]

By 1753, when the Jeffersons eventually returned to Shadwell, Peter Jefferson was in his early forties and the father of a still expanding family. Six children now needed to be accommodated in Shadwell's dwelling house and two more would be born there within two years. Jefferson wasted no time improving the farm and expanding his home. Structures had no doubt deteriorated somewhat during their absence at Tuckahoe. His accounts include multiple entries for building materials, acquired from carpenter John Biswell, who was long associated with Jefferson and the grist mill at Shadwell. From "posts for porches" to "hewing sills for Dwelling house," improvements were made on the mansion house; the stable was moved; roofs were repaired on three small houses; the hen house was repaired. He also placed a significant order with joiner Francis West, ordering new furnishings for the dwelling's interior.[56]

The farm had a typical complement of buildings and implements for agriculture, livestock, and modest "industry." Barns stored tobacco and grain; stables housed the horses. Vegetable gardens fed the family, and flower gardens provided beauty. Orchards gave forth fruit. Unimproved woodlands provided timber and wild game. There was a grist mill and a brewing operation. Livestock included cattle, hogs, and sheep. In the 1990s, archeology at Shadwell revealed that fences and gates marked off the main house. The separate kitchen sat in the yard, and slave quarters ran east to west on the ridge top.[57]

Historians and archeologists have long speculated about Shadwell's exact floor plan and have not reached a consensus. In 2010, Susan Kern concluded, "The total length of the house cannot be determined from what remains archaeologically."[58] However, based on the general limits of the foundation, typical floor plans of the day, and the historical evidence concerning Shadwell's contents, particularly as presented in the 1757 inventory of Peter Jefferson's estate, it is possible to imagine the shape of life at Shadwell. It is life at Shadwell, not at Tuckahoe, which would shape Peter Jefferson's younger son, Randolph.[59]

Jefferson family history describes the house as a story-and-a-half-dwelling, which was *de rigueur* for 18th-century planters in central Virginia. Like other homes in the region, when the family expanded, the core house was likewise expanded, frequently in more than one direction. Randolph Jefferson was born in and grew up in an elaborated version of the original dwelling. Early biographer of Thomas Jefferson, Henry S. Randall, describes it as follows:

PETER JEFFERSON'S LIBRARY

Peter Jefferson's fairly extensive library of books and periodicals also provided a basis for the education for his children. Subjects represented included history, literature, religion, and natural philosophy, as well as law. Peter's tastes were broad and included the poets Jonathan Swift (1667-1745), Joseph Addison (1672-1719), Alexander Pope (1688-1744), and William Shakespeare (1564-1616); the latter being his favorite. From Swift's satire to Shakespeare's sonnets, did Peter Jefferson commit verse to memory and recite it in the Jefferson household, perhaps still delivered with traces of lyrical Welsh tones? The collected English periodicals included Joseph Addison and Richard Steele's daily *Spectator* and the *Tatler*, to which both Swift and Addison contributed. The stated aim of the London daily *Spectator* was "to enliven morality with wit, and to temper wit with morality . . . to bring philosophy out of the closets and libraries, schools and colleges, to dwell in clubs and assemblies, at tea-tables and coffeehouses." In the mid-18th century, this aspiration to sophistication extended to Jane and Peter Jefferson at the frontier edge of Virginia. Assuming that the Jefferson library was intact until the house burned in 1770, Randolph Jefferson had access to his father's collection until he was fourteen years old and may have been attracted to the practical subjects most applicable to the planter's life that lay ahead of him, drawn to titles such as *The London and Country Brewer* (1744) and Stephen Switzer's *Practical Husbandman and Planter*, which included horticultural illustrations demonstrating such agrarian arts as "how to graft a tree." His father's map collection and surveying tools, which likewise represented applied sciences, may have intrigued him.

> It was of a story and a half in height; had the four spacious ground rooms and hall, with garret chambers above, common in those structures . . . and also had the usual huge outside chimneys, planted against each gable like Gothic buttresses, but massive enough, had such been their use, to support the walls of a cathedral, instead of those of a low, wooden cottage. In that house was born Thomas Jefferson. . . .[60]

If this vision is correct, based on family tradition passed down to the 1850s, it likely represents the expanded house, Shadwell as it existed at Peter Jefferson's death. His estate inventory, which lists the contents of the house in 1757, contains plenty of furnishings to fill a dwelling this size. The inventory not only lists the contents of the house, but also specifically ascribes Peter Jefferson's office furnishings to an unheated room. There he worked at a desk made of cherry wood, surrounded by his maps, surveying tools, and a library of about fifty books, an extensive collection compared to others in the county.[61]

In 2005, Susan Kern envisioned the first house with "two or three rooms on the ground floor and the main entrance may have been directly into one of these rooms instead of into a passage that buffered inner living spaces from the outdoors. The porch added in the 1750s united the old and new parts of the house and framed the entrance that now opened to the passage flanked by imposing rooms."[62] In 2010, she pictured the expanded house with four rooms with a significant middle passageway.[63] Hallways, like this one, provided more than access to main rooms, they flexibly functioned as another room. Open doors at both ends created a breezeway, a perfect place for a game of cards, to linger with an after-dinner drink, or enjoy a cooler place to sleep.

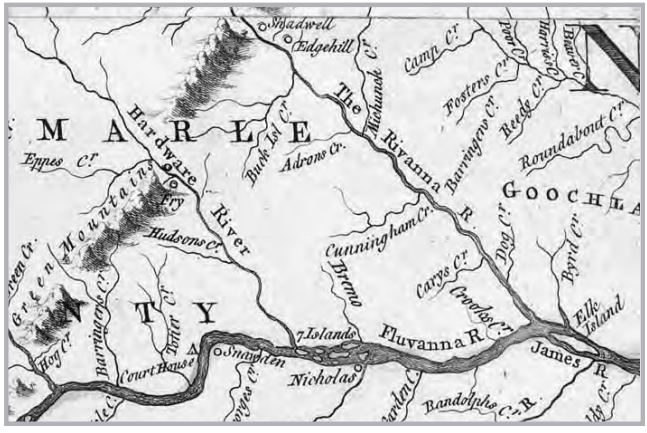
While the precise layout of the Shadwell dwelling house is ultimately left to the imagination, Peter Jefferson's household inventory reveals that life on the plantation emulated Virginia Tidewater gentry and English manners and that this was the standard of living provided for the Jefferson children at Shadwell in the 1750s. Growing up with fine appointments no doubt influenced Randolph Jefferson's eventual aspirations for Snowdon, which was a virtual *tabula rasa* when he came into his inheritance.

The genteel Jeffersons subscribed to the famous Virginia hospitality, and were well-equipped to entertain and clearly valued this aspect of gracious living.

Jane Jefferson owned three tea tables and a tea service, a mix of cups and saucers from China and "white stone tea ware." Jane was equally prepared for coffee drinkers, with a silver coffee service and a set of coffee cups. This was Jane's most valuable possession. Her "one silver coffee pot teapot & milk pot" was valued at £17.10.[64]

Table linens, silver, wine glasses, and a silver-plated dinner service graced their board. They owned chairs to accommodate as many as twenty persons for dinner, seated at a collection of tables. In 1750, Peter commissioned several small oval tables from Frances West, marking his plans for domestic expansion. The Jeffersons' spiked punch was served with a silver ladle. A large looking glass in a cherry frame, with candlesticks, provided beautifully reflected illumination.[65]

Guests were no doubt plentiful at Shadwell, both relations and friends. The plantation's proximity to the Three Notch'd Road, the main east-west thoroughfare from Richmond to the Valley, and Old Fredericksburg Road, running north and south, guaranteed traffic and visitors. At Snowdon, the Ferry Road promised similar traffic and a steady opportunity to entertain. Shadwell visitors included the peripatetic Anglican minister Rev. Robert Rose (1704-1751), who, like Jefferson, was a land speculator and surveyor, as well as the illustrious Joshua Fry (c.1700-1754).[66]



The Fry-Jefferson map (1751) locates both of Peter Jefferson's plantations, Shadwell and Snowden. (Courtesy of the Library of Virginia)

Joshua Fry was a surveyor, pioneer, and professor of mathematics and natural philosophy at the College of William and Mary. His partnership with Peter Jefferson on the "Fry-Jefferson Map" is their best known association; however, they were connected over many years through surveying, land speculation, and county government. Fry's home lay south of Shadwell, about halfway to Albemarle Courthouse at Scott's Ferry, its location encouraging visits by Jefferson as he rode down on county business.[67]

On October 1, 1755, the Jeffersons' youngest children were born in this expanded, bustling mansion house; they were the twins, Anna Scott and Randolph. Thomas, twelve years their senior, had been born in Shadwell's ruder, smaller house, constructed in the 1730s. Later, Thomas would envision a lifestyle far grander than he'd known as a boy, even at Tuckahoe. Randolph, on the other hand, was content to recreate the "frontier elegance" that had been his primary experience.

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During the mid-1750s, Peter Jefferson's world steadily expanded professionally as well as personally. As County-Lieutenant, Commander-in-Chief of the Albemarle Militia, Peter had earned the title of Colonel. In 1754, he replaced Joshua Fry as the surveyor of Albemarle and, in 1756, he became a Burgess to the General Assembly, representing the county in Williamsburg.[68]

Then, in the summer of 1757, just as Peter Jefferson was busy reinforcing and expanding his world, something happened to compromise the health of this apparently exceptionally vital man. Beginning the last week in June his neighbor and friend, Dr. Thomas Walker, made frequent visits to Shadwell. Walker called on the household fourteen times that summer.[69] On July 13, 1757, it became clear to Jefferson that he might not survive, and he wrote his lengthy and very precise last will. A little over a month later, on August 17th, Peter Jefferson was dead. He was forty-nine years old. Like his father before him, he was stopped in the prime of life.

Though he assigned personal slaves to all of his children, Jefferson's last will stated that his land was to be equally divided between his two sons, Thomas and Randolph. He bequeathed a few individual slaves to his children. These included Myrtilla's son Peter, whom he gave to Randolph and his heirs forever. Additionally, Jefferson gave "all my Slaves not herein otherwise disposed of

to be equally divided between my two sons Thomas and Randolph at such time as my son Thomas shall attain the age of twenty one years." Thomas was given his choice of the Rivanna lands, which included Shadwell and what would become Monticello, and the Fluvanna lands which included Snowdon. Shadwell, the Jefferson homeplace, would provide for Jane during her lifetime.[70]

When Thomas chose the Rivanna lands as his own, he necessarily had to wait until his mother's death to come into full possession of the property. He leased the farm from her until her death, which came in 1776. Thomas' choice of the Jefferson homeplace left the less developed and more remote Fluvanna lands to his much younger brother, Randolph. A distant working farm, Snowdon would have to wait many years for Randolph to grow up and become its squire.

While Snowdon awaited Randolph Jefferson's maturity, a change took place that would deeply effect the potential of the plantation's location. In 1761, the land in Albemarle County which lay south of the Fluvanna River was cut out to form the new Buckingham County. As a result, Albemarle's county seat was moved to Charlottesville, a more central location given Albemarle's new boundaries. Folks began to call Scott's Ferry "Fool's Corner." Once at the heart of an enormous county, it was now relegated to the southeast corner, and Buckingham's county seat was located a distant twenty-three miles south of the Snowdon tract.[71]

The farm's proximity to the river and Scott's Ferry was still desirable; however, the fact that the Scott land was no longer home to Albemarle's county seat and at center of a much larger Albemarle necessarily impacted the growth of what would eventually become Scottsville. Snowdon, which had once been a very convenient ferry ride from the county seat with its bustling activity, was now remotely located in relation to both Albemarle's and Buckingham's courthouses.

HISTORY / BIOGRAPHY

The Jefferson Brothers introduces Randolph Jefferson, Thomas Jefferson's only brother, and brings him out from the shadow of his famous sibling, focusing on the years during which their paths crossed. Over twelve years Randolph's senior, Thomas Jefferson stood in for the father his brother never knew, guiding his education and helping the younger man establish himself as a successful planter in central Virginia. Particularly after Thomas Jefferson's retirement from the political stage, the Jefferson brothers related as planters and slaveholders – Thomas at Monticello in Albemarle County and Randolph at Snowden in Buckingham County, Virginia. Life at Snowden, during and after the American Revolution, illuminates not only Randolph Jefferson's commonplace existence, but also the everyday world of planters in central Virginia. Additionally, *The Jefferson Brothers* introduces a new Thomas Jefferson, not the great statesman of monumental intellect, but the thoughtful brother and dedicated farmer.

Joanne Yeck was awarded a Jefferson Fellowship at the International Center for Jefferson Studies (2010) and her regional history, *"At a Place Called Buckingham" . . . Historic Sketches of Buckingham County, Virginia* (Slate River Press), was published in 2011. She is also the author of numerous articles concerning Classic Hollywood and American Popular Culture, as well as the co-author of *Movie Westerns* (Lerner) and *Our Movie Heritage* (Rutgers University Press).

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