"On the whole I find nothing any where else in point of climate which Virginia need envy to any part of the world . . . spring and autumn, which make a paradise of our country. . . we have reason to value highly the accident of birth in such an one as that of Virginia."

Jefferson to Martha Jefferson Randolph, 1791
Introduction

Although Monticello and the University of Virginia share a unique place together on the United Nations Educational, Social and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) World Heritage List, these two projects are rarely discussed in concert. Jefferson's Monticello is viewed as his mountaintop retreat, the 'essay in architecture' that took nearly half of his life to design and build. The University rests in the valley, visible from the North Terrace of Monticello, as Jefferson's 'hobby of old age' and lasting bequest of the importance of public education. In the cultivated legacy of Jefferson at the University we rarely discuss what lessons were learned from the design and construction of Monticello, what worker's hands touched the brick and stone at both sites, and how sectional similarities pervade the landscaped design of each place. At the University our understanding of Jefferson on grounds during design and construction is substantial yet we do not fully comprehend what place students had at his home nor how Jefferson's family perceived his shared parental responsibility as 'father' to the University.

Thomas Jefferson is an iconic figure of the American Enlightenment. He was multifaceted: a statesman that always considered himself a farmer and a nation-builder that constructed both written and physical monuments to edify the United States. The home and self-titled hobby projects of Jefferson are phenomenally illustrative of his educational, aesthetic and social ideas through their contained programs and built spaces. The goals of this essay are to discuss the connections and contradictions between Monticello and the University of Virginia that make the two built projects premier examples of Jefferson's aesthetic and didactic theories, worthy of the selective UNESCO title of 'universally significant'.
The committee inscribed the selection criteria. Six of these criteria are cultural; the satisfaction of at least one of the ten codified criteria is a requirement for inscription. UNESCO maintains a list of World Heritage Sites. The World Heritage List is under the jurisdiction of the UNESCO. World Heritage sites are annually reviewed for possible inscription to the list. In 1987 Jefferson's Monticello and the University of Virginia were elevated to abiding international prestige when they were inscribed to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) World Heritage Sites. UNESCO World Heritage Sites are recognized for their cultural, scientific, or artistic importance to humanity. They are sites of historical or aesthetic significance that are of universal value. The World Heritage List recognizes sites that meet the criteria for inscription as having unique cultural or natural significance. UNESCO maintains a list of World Heritage Sites that are inscribed. The list has grown from two sites in 1978 to over 1,000 sites in 2023. UNESCO inscribed Monticello and the University of Virginia in 1987. These sites are considered to be of universal significance.

Monticello was designed by Thomas Jefferson in the 1770s and 1780s. It was his home and a center for political and social activities. The University of Virginia, founded by Jefferson in 1819, was the first public university in the United States. It is considered to be one of the most innovative and influential universities in the world. Both sites are located in the state of Virginia.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau's theory of education, which emphasized the importance of the individual, was a significant influence on Jefferson's architectural designs. Jefferson's approach to education was based on the belief that the physical environment could influence the learning process. He designed Monticello and the University of Virginia to be spaces that reflected the values of the Enlightenment. Jefferson's architecture was influenced by classical architecture, which he believed was a reflection of rational social order. The University of Virginia was designed to be a model of education, with a library, a museum, and a theater. Monticello was designed as a private residence and a laboratory for Jefferson's experiments in design and architecture.

At both sites, the architecture is not simply a shelter but rather a conducive vessel for ideals and social programs of Monticello and the University. Similar to the Saltworks, the agricultural, educational and social programs of Monticello and the University of Virginia seamlessly blend into the architecture. The Jefferson Nomination as submitted to UNESCO stressed the importance of both sites as experiments in architectural design, the importance of the joint inscription of Monticello and the University of Virginia for the World Heritage List based upon the satisfaction of three UNESCO criteria.

1. unique artistic achievement
2. outstanding example of a specific architectural movement
3. example of the built environment tangibly associated with beliefs of universal significance

Although the Jefferson Nomination as a report is intricate, nationally-produced document about Jefferson's architecture in relation to concepts of the Enlightenment such as education, self-determination and social programs of Monticello and the University.

One key element not fully addressed by either the Jefferson Nomination or subsequent ICOMOS report is Jefferson's multifaceted status as national builder. Unlike any other architects named on the World Heritage List, Jefferson helped to literally construct the nation through his appointed governmental service, elected governmental service, written documents, and his proposed and executed monuments to the first president. The Jefferson Nomination as a report is Jefferson's multifaceted status as national builder. Jefferson was a self-trained architect but is deserving of a more deferential term than hobbyist, a statesman with a strong interest in the arts that also served as a patron.
"A system of general instruction, which shall reach every description of our citizens from the richest to the poorest, as it was the earliest, so will it be the latest of all the public concerns in which I shall permit myself to take an interest."

-Jefferson to Joseph Cabell, 1818
A Vision for Education

The Age of the Enlightenment was a philosophical movement that questioned conventions, morals and religion. Largely centered in France, England and Germany the movement later spread through Europe and eventually crossed the Atlantic. The act of becoming enlightened was derived from reading, writing, corresponding, conversing, listening to music and looking at pictures. Therefore, the endeavor was partially a social and partially an act of individual study.15 The movement encouraged education through discourse and introspection, or as John Locke stated, “a talk with one’s self.”16 The Janus-faced methodology of enlightenment, public and private, was directly related to shifts in built space. Under the patronage of the Enlightenment the museum and library became prevalent architectural programs. Until the Enlightenment, most structurally innovative, ornate and spatially awe-inspiring works of architecture were either sacred spaces or projects sponsored by empires. Architects of the Enlightenment challenged the precedent of architectural hierarchies and introduced inspirational spaces intended for non-secular, public use. For example, the British Museum, opened in 1759, was the first purpose-built national museum opened to the public. Architecture in the private realm also evolved during the Enlightenment: French architects of the mid-eighteenth century Étienne-Louis Boulée and Nicolas-Claude Venustre penned innovative designs for the cooper, surveyor and industrial worker. Suddenly, spaces designed by trained architects were not solely reserved for wealthy aristocrats. As for the architecture of introspection, libraries became more common outside of the secular world. Quiet study was no longer reserved for the cloistered as it was in the age of humanism and for the first time silent reading, as opposed to reading aloud among a group, was prevalent.17 Public structures like the British Museum opened magnificent reading rooms and libraries became part of the programmatic language of private residences. At Monticello and the University of Virginia, Jefferson tackled the Enlightenment architectural programs of the library and museum. The architecture of these educational spaces will be discussed later in this essay.

Previous page: Joseph Wright, A Philosopher Giving that Lecture on the Orrery, 1766.
Left: Étienne-Louis Boulée, Bibliotheque Nationale, c.1775.
Right: Étienne-Louis Boulée, Newton’s Cenotaph, c. 1774.
The questioning of core values and assumed knowledge of the world clearly impacted the social and economic rationales of the Founding Fathers and outspoken patriots of the American Revolution. The Old World initiated the Enlightenment by their invention, theoretical formulations and overall agitation of conventions but it can be argued that it was only the New World that saw many of the true principles of the Enlightenment come into fruition. The Enlightenment of America was fueled by activism. It was led by farmers, tradesmen, and lawyers, not by monarchs or philosophers. Although America questioned the position of the common man more than the scholars across the Atlantic, the democratic ambitions of the American Enlightenment will always be tarnished with the realities of racial and gender boundaries. With regard to the Age of Enlightenment, Jefferson is a representative character in America. He was statesman, scientist, builder, botanist and reader while perpetuating his nation's imperfect democracy through the ownership of more than 600 slaves during his lifetime. The presence of slavery, as well as the ruinous condition of many areas in the nation following the Revolutionary War, led to the 'skeptical' Enlightenment in America. Even Jefferson was victim to the disregard. In letters, he wrote of a thankless nation that did not recognize the sacrifices of its citizens in the pursuit of liberty and one that was divided on the issue of slavery. Jefferson's frustrations were clearly expressed in a letter to Colonel Monroe in 1885:

“My God! how little do my countrymen know what precious blessings they are in possession of, and which no other people on earth enjoy...come, then, and see the proofs of this, and on your return add your testimony to that of every thinking American, in order to satisfy our countrymen how much it is their interest to preserve, uninfected by contagion, those peculiarities in their government and manners, to which they are indebted for those blessings...”

Fortunately, Jefferson's dissatisfaction fueled his desire for change. Like many of his countrymen, Jefferson viewed education as the essential conduit, “if the condition of man is to be progressively ameliorated, as we fondly hope and believe, education is to be the chief instrument in effecting it.” Although further inspired by the post-War conditions in America, Jefferson's campaign for public education began during his tenure as Governor of Virginia.
Most of the Founding Fathers were educators; however, Jefferson left the strongest record of devotion to the education of the public through his governmental agendas and private advocacy. Jefferson's own educational background included private tutors and college instruction granted by his privileged family condition. Jefferson's system for public education in Virginia was intended to be a solution for the problems he experienced and those he would habitually criticize in the realm of private education: only the wealthy were given the opportunity for education, there was a general lack of regulation or universal assessment, there was a closed concept of epistemology that discouraged non-traditional learners and the system fostered a distinct sense of provincialism. Jefferson did not envision the future of Virginia's intellectual circle, or arguably that of the nation, as one solely reserved for the privileged. Jefferson believed people were the guardians of their own liberty, "enlighten the people generally, and tyranny and oppressions of body and mind will vanish like spirits at the dawn of day." Instead of nurturing an aristocracy of wealth and familial connections, Jefferson championed for an "aristocracy of the mind." For Jefferson social class did not define academic potential. Throughout his life, Jefferson underscored the difference between the artificial aristocracy, which derived from wealth and birthright, and natural aristocracy which was defined by virtue and talent.

Jefferson began his lifelong fight for public education in 1778 with his Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge. The three bills presented to the Virginia General Assembly outlined a comprehensive plan for education in Virginia. Under the bills, Virginia would be divided into regions of ‘hundreds’ where each unit had a local elementary school. All children would be educated free of charge by the state for three years in reading, writing, arithmetic, geography and history. Students who could not afford to continue to general schools would enter a tradesmen track beginning with apprenticeship. A select number of financially challenged students would be “raked from the rubbish annually” and given the opportunity to attend general schools under the sponsorship of the state. From general schools, students may “retire to the land or politics” or continue on to professional schools where competitive scholarships would still be made available to the most talented of the impoverished students. In this complex, multi-tiered system of education Jefferson envisioned a state where all citizens would be literate and educated in the most basic principles, wealth did not define academic opportunity when promise was shown on the part of the student and diverse talents were recognized by the broadened definitions of knowledge and skill. The bills were initially defeated in 1779 and did not have any greater success upon their reintroduction in June of 1780.

As one of the first Americans to lay out a plan for public education, Jefferson called for a rigorous series of tests for advancement. His plan also illustrated his broad, Enlightenment-inspired sense of knowledge. The multiple-tiered system of Jefferson's plan could easily be described today as one that incorporates the theory of multiple-intelligences. In Jefferson's plan, the ‘aristocracy of the mind’ referred to professionals, craftsmen, technicians and academic scholars alike. Jefferson also called for secular education that taught less about morals and focused more on instilling students with an understanding of the global intellectual community. Under the Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge it is clear that Jefferson wanted to raise a commonwealth prepared to actively engage both the nation and global community in discourse.

Left: author's diagram of Jefferson's education plan.
Jefferson’s Notes on Virginia, his only published book, also outlined his ideas for education in his native state. The text was written after Jefferson’s bills but show that the defeat of the bills in the General Assembly did little to alter Jefferson’s adamant support of public education. Jefferson discussed the importance of education for all children in Virginia in the areas of “reading, writing, and common arithmetic”; he stressed the importance of universities and discouraged the instruction of the Bible in favor of the “most useful facts” from the ancient Greeks and Romans as well as the history of Europe and America. Jefferson also commented in Notes on the importance of a national endowment for the establishment of public libraries and art galleries. Erudition was not merely for the school-aged.

Today nearly ninety percent of children in America attend public schools where religious instruction is prohibited. Merit-based scholarships exist at public universities around the nation; at the University of Virginia some of those select students are aptly named Jefferson Scholars. Even in contemporary society, the contents of Jefferson’s bills for public education would be met with opposition. Jefferson’s plan revolved around two concepts still in debate in the public school system: equity and equality. Similar to contemporary educational policy, Jefferson struggled with the ownership of education in the government. Like many of Jefferson’s ideas, his argument proposed contradictory elements: Jefferson wanted decentralized, locally-run schools that conformed to federal standards, were subject to national recruitment and reflected the architecture of the Republic.
"I am an enthusiast on the subject of the arts. But it is an enthusiasm of which I am not ashamed, as its object is to improve the taste of my countrymen, to increase their reputation, to reconcile to them the respect of the world, and procure them its praise."

Jefferson to James Madison, 1781
Jefferson was an outspoken advocate for the elevation of architecture in America. Much like his European contemporaries of the Enlightenment, he had been exposed to architecture in his travels and displayed his studied knowledge of design and construction. Jefferson reflected on not just the architectural precedents of America, the lower orders, but the problems of function, differentiation of public and private structures, and the surrounding landscape, spatial experience from the elements. Built space could be inspirational, unifying and a symbol of national values and identity. In Notes, Jefferson commented on the lack of true architecture in America. His descriptions of Williamsburg, for example, that "architecture is the order, nor proportioned within themselves. Its beauty depends on a pedestal, which is high for its span. Yet, on the whole it is the most pleasing piece of architecture we have. The order is not without a column, and the ornamentation, save only that the intercolonations are too large. The upper is iconic, too small for that on which it rests. Its ornaments, save only that the intercolonations are too large. The upper is iconic, too small for that on which it rests. Its ornaments, save only that the intercolonations are too large. The upper is iconic, too small for that on which it rests. Its ornaments, save only that the intercolonations are too large. The upper is iconic, too small for that on which it rests. Its ornaments, save only that the intercolonations are too large. The upper is iconic, too small for that on which it rests. Its ornaments, save only that the intercolonations are too large. The upper is iconic, too small for that on which it rests. Its ornaments, save only that the intercolonations are too large. The upper is iconic, too small for that on which it rests. Its ornaments, save only that the intercolonations are too large. The upper is iconic, too small for that on which it rests. Its ornaments, save only that the intercolonations are too large. The upper is iconic, too small for that on which it rests. Its ornaments, save only that the intercolonations are too large. The upper is iconic, too small for that on which it rests. Its ornaments, save only that the intercolonations are too large. The upper is iconic, too small for that on which it rests. Its ornaments, save only that the intercolonations are too large. The upper is iconic, too small for that on which it rests. Its ornaments, save only that the intercolonations are too large. The upper is iconic, too small for that on which it rests. Its ornaments, save only that the..."
antiquity, it is very simple, but it is noble beyond expression, and would have done honor to our country, as presenting to travelers a specimen of taste in our infancy, beyond expression, and would have done honor to our country, as presenting to travelers a specimen of taste in our infancy, and poetic, optimistic and educational.

The idea of a building as a teaching tool was also applied to Jefferson’s home Monticello. After his return from France Jefferson began a dramatic remodeling project for the home. Unlike the Virginia State Capitol that was intended to be a model for the national government, Jefferson designed his home Monticello as his own personal retreat and intellectual laboratory. The mountaintop retreat served as a literal drawing board for Jefferson to test his own architectural ideas. Additionally, elements of Monticello’s program displayed Jefferson’s design ideas for institutional architecture. Monticello contained one of the first private museums in America as well as a series of rooms dedicated to the occupations of reading, writing, and poetic, optimistic and educational.

No one more sincerely wishes the spread of information among mankind than I do, and none has greater confidence in its effect, as a means of opening the mind to the beauties of antiquity…it is very simple, but it is noble beyond expression, and would have done honor to our country, as presenting to travelers a specimen of taste in our infancy, beyond expression, and would have done honor to our country, as presenting to travelers a specimen of taste in our infancy, and poetic, optimistic and educational.

In the 1817 bill, Jefferson described the specific potential for Central College to be transitioned into a state university specifically named the University of Virginia. This suggestion marked an important transition in Jefferson’s architectural program. Prior to the bill of 1817, Jefferson seemed content with a small and separate lodge for the school & lodging of each professor is best. These connected by covered ways out of which the rooms of the students should open would be best. These may then be built only as they shall be wanted. In fact a University should not be a house but a village.46

The ‘academical village’ was one of Jefferson’s pioneering ideas in American institutional architecture. The scheme of combined classroom spaces and professorial accommodations, adjacent to student quarters and concentrated around a large open square of grass and trees, would make it, what it should be in fact, an academical village.47

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On each of the sites so located shall be erected one or more substantial buildings the walls of which shall be of brick or stone, with 16. dormitories in or adja cent to the same, each sufficient for 2. pupils, and in which no more than two shall be permitted to lodge, with a fire place in each, & the whole in a comfortable & decent style suitable to their purpose.49

The above description contains two specific elements: consistency of design language and a subtle reference to classical design. From 1805 and on, whenever Jefferson described his ideas for institutional architecture, he referred to the idea of a centralized structure combining classrooms and professorial lodging adjacent to student accommodation. The simplistic, but unique design provided for infinite expansion while maintaining a unified whole unlike the haphazard additions of individualistic structures that dot the landscapes of today's universities. The phrase 'comfortable & decent style suitable to their purpose' is directly related to the three requisites of architecture as listed by Vitruvius in his ten books of architecture, De architectura.50 Within the text, Vitruvius asserts that the three most important elements of a building are firmitas, utilitas, venustas: strength or durability, usefulness, and beauty.51 Through the simple phrase 'comfortable & decent style suitable to their purpose' Jefferson set up a legal framework for the buildings of Virginia's colleges, and eventually his University, to be models of neoclassical design. Jefferson continued to press for educational legislation as it related to built projects and would eventually serve as the ultimate project architect for his state's first public university. Jefferson pursued these all these tasks after the chaos of his final twenty years of formal governmental service. Jefferson's tireless devotion to the architecture of education, in reference to both built space and the formulation of school systems, is best understood through the difficult process of creating the University of Virginia. Even after the charter for Central College was passed in 1816, Jefferson had to continually justify his educational scheme, its architectural design and the resulting expense. In order to further his mission, Jefferson took on the difficult task of agent for the University, “the University of Virginia is the last object for which I shall obtrude myself on the public observation.”52 Jefferson advertised the University in manners that had not been used in any of his other governmental or educational efforts. Jefferson even wrote an anonymous letter as a traveler from the Warm Springs to the Richmond Enquirer praising the design of then Central College:

I rode to the grounds and was much pleased with their commanding position & prospect. a small mountain adjacent is included in their purchase, & contemplated as a site for an astronomical observatory, and a very remarkable one it will certainly be ...besides the Observatory and building grounds, will afford a garden for the school of botany, & an experimental farm for that of Agriculture... the plan, and the superintendence under which it will be, give me the hope that we are at length to have a seminary of general education, in a central and healthy part of the country, with the comfort of knowing that while we are husbanding our hard earnings and savings to give to our sons the benefits of education53
Much of the opposition to Jefferson’s educational plans was not from an ideological standpoint but rather a financial one. As best summarized by Dumas Malone, “he [Jefferson] regarded the cost of these schools as trivial in comparison with the cost of ignorance.” Therefore, Jefferson sought to justify his design beyond the immediate realms of education and aesthetic value. In the Report of the Commissioners for the University of Virginia from August 4, 1818, known most commonly as the Rockfish Gap Report, Jefferson further codified his rational for the University’s design. He stated that the design provided unity, tranquility for the professors, and of utmost importance, provided security against fire and infection. The idea of designing for health was certainly not a prominent one of Jefferson’s America even though the concept was rooted in the texts of Vitruvius and Palladio and was revived in Enlightenment architecture such as the ideal city of Chaux by Ledoux. The architectural arrangement of the University was intended to demonstrate basic principles of urban planning for safety and health.

Finally on January 25, 1819 the Virginia state legislature chartered the University of Virginia, naming Central College as the site. By this time, many of Jefferson’s architectural operations at Monticello had finished, allowing him to devote more time to the design and construction of the University. Although Jefferson’s University was given both a site and small annual grant, the difficulties of the University did not subside. Construction was moving along at a slower pace than desired due to a lack of funding and able craftsmen, the University was already faced with its first lawsuit, and the realization of Jefferson’s essential architectural symbol of education, the Rotunda, was in peril. Even though the University now existed on paper and in a few constructions on the land, the prospects of ever seeing students occupy the Academical Village must have seemed bleak.
“It is the last act of usefulness I can render, and could I see it open I would not ask an hour more of life.”

Jefferson to Spencer Roane, 1821
Jefferson's University had been in the planning stages of schematic design since the early 1800s; yet the frustratingly slow progress of the University's adoption can be viewed in stark contrast to the rapid design development and construction of much of the Academical Village. At the age of seventy-six Jefferson drew the basic designs for five of the east pavilions in two weeks. In between the laying of the cornerstone for Central College at Pavilion VII on October 6, 1817 and Jefferson's first annual report to Richmond about the affairs of the University, dated December 1, 1819, seven of the ten pavilions were completed or under construction and thirty-seven students dorms were ready for occupation. Despite the enthusiastic language of the report, the University would not receive its first students for more than five years and Jefferson had not yet completed plans for the Rotunda.

The Rotunda, originally intended to serve as the library and repository of multiuse spaces, is the most iconic element of the University of Virginia; however, it was the structure met with the most contention during Jefferson's lifetime. Jefferson's design for the building derived from Leoni's depiction of the Pantheon. Aptly, Jefferson transformed a temple to all the gods into a temple of knowledge. The elevated, and costly, architecture of the Rotunda was not viewed as a fortuitous move by all. Critics of the Rotunda stated that the building was suffocating Virginia's Literary Fund and, "the architectural beauty of the school will lead to a corresponding display of furniture & dress among the faculty & students. It will lead to ostentatious pride and will give this image to the rest of the country." Thankfully, with an additional grant from the Literary Fund and the forgiveness of loans of more than $180,000 in 1824 from the Virginia legislature, the construction of the Rotunda proceeded as planned. Although the process of creating the University was a stressful, lengthy one for the aging Jefferson, his letters consistently reveal his passion and pride in the enterprise:

I am laying the foundation of an University in my native state, which I hope will repay the liberalties of it’s legislature by improving the virtue and science of their country, already blest with a soil and climate emulating those of your favorite Lodi. I have been myself the Architect of the plan of it’s buildings, and of it’s system of instruction; for years have been employed in the former, and I assure you it would be thought a handsome & Classical thing in Italy. I have preferred the plan of an Academical village rather than that of a single, massive structure; the diversified forms which this admitted in the different Pavilions, and varieties of the finest samples of architecture, has made of it a model of beauty original and unique. It is within view too of Monticello. So it’s most splendid object, and a constant gratification to my sight.
After a quest for public education that lasted more than forty years, Jefferson spent the last year of his life planning and overseeing the construction of his great Rotunda. He spent time on his construction site every evening at Monticello.65

Monticello and the University of Virginia were connected as offices for the operations of Jefferson's paternal legacy to his nation since he had no surviving male children from his marriage to Martha Wayles Skelton. The inscription on his tombstone that stated he was “father” not merely “founder” of the University is indicative of his family and paternal legacy to his nation. This was no accident of terminology. In many of his descriptions of the University, Jefferson contrasted the tone of his description of the University of a patriot often considered a radical, with the rationale of his argument: designed spaceMonticello. Jefferson literally enveloped the Board institution while surrounded by the masterpiece of architecture' was largely completed by 1809 but today visitors to Monticello are gifted with an attractive vista of the Rotunda through the foliage at least before that of our meeting, as we can prepare our business here so much more at leisure than at the University.”68 It is interesting to imagine that Jefferson, as “sage of the University rather than his own home in relation to the University complained about the chaos and noise of the construction of his great Rotunda. He spent time on the grounds, touring the visitors to the University and, unfortunately, dealing with disciplinary matters related to unruly students. Early students at the University complained about the chaos and noise of construction. The October Riots of 1825 proved to be the ongoing and much anticipated construction of the Dome Room that had already been delayed and then returned to his home. Jefferson did not live to see the Rotunda completed but today visitors to Jefferson are gifted with an attractive vista of the Rotunda through the foliage that already seemed as if Monticello and the University below connected to the unfinished second story of the Rotunda and the University of a patriot often considered a radical, with the rationale of his argument: designed space

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Forty years after Jefferson’s first presentation of the Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge he saw a facet of his educational system come to full fruition: a public university with no religious difficulties with the first scholars, he still invited a certain number students to dine with him on Sunday evenings at Monticello.60

Sixteen Months

After a delay opened due to the arrival of foreign professors, the University welcomed its first sixty-two students on March 7, 1825; Jefferson was invited and uninvited guests. When the University opened, Jefferson still made rides into Charlottesville to oversee the ongoing and much anticipated construction. The October Riots of 1825 proved to be the ongoing and much anticipated construction of the Dome Room that had already been delayed and then returned to his home. Jefferson did not live to see the Rotunda completed but today visitors to Jefferson are gifted with an attractive vista of the Rotunda through the foliage that already seemed as if Monticello and the University below connected to the unfinished second story of the Rotunda and the University of a patriot often considered a radical, with the rationale of his argument: designed space

Sixteen Months

After a quest for public education that lasted more than forty years, Jefferson only lived to see his University in full operation for a mere sixteen months.62 After working on his own land every evening before the formal meeting, “I shall hope to have the pleasure of receiving you at Monticello a day, at least before that of our meeting, as we can prepare our business here so much more at leisure than at the University.”68 It is interesting to imagine that Jefferson, as “sage of the University rather than his own home in relation to the University complained about the chaos and noise of the construction of his great Rotunda. He spent time on the grounds, touring the visitors to the University and, unfortunately, dealing with disciplinary matters related to unruly students. Early students at the University complained about the chaos and noise of construction. The October Riots of 1825 proved to be the ongoing and much anticipated construction of the Dome Room that had already been delayed and then returned to his home. Jefferson did not live to see the Rotunda completed but today visitors to Jefferson are gifted with an attractive vista of the Rotunda through the foliage that already seemed as if Monticello and the University below connected to the unfinished second story of the Rotunda and the University of a patriot often considered a radical, with the rationale of his argument: designed space

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Edgar Allan Poe

Poe attended the University from February to December in 1826. His time in Charlottesville certainly had an impact on the young writer. Poe’s ‘A Tale of Ragged Mountains’, published for the first time nearly twenty-five years after he left the University, is a story of mesmerism that takes place in the hills outside of Charlottesville. A hike taken by Poe in the Blue Ridge inspired the dramatic imagery utilized in the story. Perhaps Poe’s initial literary foray into the grotesque was inspired by his brief time at the University during its notoriously chaotic, vulgar and often violent early years of operation. In a letter to his step father on September 21, 1826 Poe described a fight outside his room that resulted in the expulsion of a student:

The faculty expelled Wickliffe last night for general bad conduct -- but more especially for biting one of the student’s arms with whom he was fighting -- I saw the whole affair -- it took place before my door -- Wickliffe was much the stronger but not content with that -- after getting the other completely in his power, he began to bite -- I saw the arm afterwards -- and it was really a serious matter. It was bitten from the shoulder to the elbow -- and it is likely that pieces of flesh as large as my hand will be obliged to be cut out.  

Much like Jefferson, Poe retains a ghosted place at the University through the preservation of his room; paradoxically room number thirteen on the West Range. Here students and visitors can peer through plexiglass and into a recreated time capsule of one of the earliest students at the University. Poe’s presence at Monticello is a possible one as well considering the young student may have dined with the former President during one of the Sunday dinners held at Monticello during the University’s first two sessions of operation. Many have also asserted that Poe was also part of the University party that marched from Charlottesville to Monticello in mourning of their institution’s founder.

Although Poe’s presence at Monticello is not a historical certainty according to the documentary evidence, it is enticing to envision the interaction between two talented, but at many times troubled, minds. Did Poe’s experience at Monticello somehow inspire his story in ‘The Fall of the House of Usher’? If Poe had visited the ‘sage of Monticello’ in his later years he would have seen a neoclassical home with signs of disrepair, a museum with collections on the walls and varied objects scattered around the room and a parlor containing an art gallery saturated with paintings. Although many of the items in Monticello were uplifting images of natural and constructed beauty, it would be hard to escape the sublime tones of the home: mastodon bones on marble tables, a wall adorned with animal antlers, skins, and heads, a painting of the head of St. John the Baptist, the eyes of intricately carved portrait busts staring from pedestals around the corners of rooms, and large mirrors to reflect flickering candle light in the dim hours of the evening. The architecture of the home itself was a contrast of careful work and deteriorated details. Passages from ‘The Fall of the House of Usher’ could have easy been ascribed as notes from visitors to Monticello in the later years of Jefferson’s life:

Its principal feature seemed to be that of an excessive antiquity. The discoloration of ages had been great. Minute fungi overspread the whole exterior, hanging in a fine tangled web-work from the eaves. Yet all this was apart from any extraordinary dilapidation. No portion of the masonry had fallen; and there appeared to be a wild inconsistency between its still perfect adaptation of parts, and the crumbling condition of the individual stones… The general furniture was profuse, comfortable, antique, and tattered. Many books and musical instruments lay scattered about…
“Architecture is my delight, and putting up and pulling down, one of my favorite amusements.”

Jefferson, 1824
Design

If Monticello was Jefferson’s self-titled ‘essay in architecture’, then the University was most certainly his treatise. Monticello was a piece of residential architecture: the design and construction of the home spanned Jefferson’s entire adult lifetime. The house is a reflection of his evolution as an architect, especially considering the massive design changes from Monticello I to the home as it is known today. Monticello, however, was small scale and was an isolated project. Jefferson made no mention of his home’s design as a prototype for reproduction around the nation nor did he take any measures to preserve the home for the future as a monument of neoclassical architecture in his budding nation. The University, however, was a different condition. It was illustrative of his theories of design for institutional architecture that had been written in letters since 1805. Jefferson’s University was groundbreaking for its design in America. It is clear from Jefferson’s letters that advocated an open court design flanked by combined accommodations and classrooms that Jefferson was not carefully guarding the intellectual property of his design but rather disseminating the idea for greater implementation. Just like an architectural treatise, Jefferson’s University provided a guide for the ideological structure of new institutional architecture in America and varied interpretations of neoclassical design. In many ways, Monticello served as a small practice piece for elements of the University’s design. Nonetheless, both sites contain unique design solutions that make Monticello and the University ideal case studies in Jeffersonian architectural theory.

Site Selection

Monticello and the University of Virginia are both located in Charlottesville, Virginia, just four miles apart from each other. The small city of Charlottesville was never a capital, the site of any major battle, or famous for any particular natural feature; but it was home to Thomas Jefferson. Many of his formative years were spent in the area, considered the frontier of Virginia at that point in time. Although Charlottesville was thriving during Jefferson’s lifetime he chose to situate both Monticello and the University outside of the city. Both Jefferson’s home and the University give distinct insight to his ideas on site selection and display the influence of ancient architecture. As a young man, Jefferson would have been familiar with the villa typology from his study of ancient Romans such as Pliny the Younger, a first century writer and Roman statesman, who described the benefits of villas in the country.79 When Jefferson broke ground on his mountaintop home in 1768, removing approximately ten feet from the summit, he conscientiously situated his home as a model villa rustica that provided respite from the chaos of urban life, negotium, in the form of relaxation in nature, otium.80 The location of Monticello displayed his favor of the picturesque over the practicality of a highly functional plantation:

And our own dear Monticello: where has nature spread so rich a mantle under the eye? Mountains, forests, rocks, streams! With what majesty do we ride above the storms! How sublime to look down into the workhouse of nature, to see her clouds, hail, snow, thunder, all fabricated at our feet! And the glorious sun when rising, as if out of a distant water, just gliding the tops of the mountain, and giving life to all nature.81

Similarly, when Jefferson purchased land for what would become the University of Virginia he looked outside of the city’s boundaries approximately one mile to the west.82 Although it seems convenient that Jefferson situated the University in his own backyard, he went to great lengths to prove that Charlottesville was an ideal location for a college. In 1818 Jefferson argued, and graphically illustrated, that Charlottesville
which do not contribute to the happiness of their
domestic audience, because they acquire there habits
and partialities; it is much more advantageous to
be a friend to placing young men in populous cities,
which are more capable of improving any genius
in the immediate context of the city in order to provide
a more conducive learning environment, “I am not a
friend to placing young men in populous cities,
because they acquire there habits and partialities.
Mr. Jefferson expressed his view with the words “It
is convenient.” However, as Jefferson further
studied and matured as an architect he may have
discovered that a true north-south orientation was
not the most fortuitous arrangement, especially in
relation to the population. The University
was at the center of the state geographically and
was also praised by early visitors: “Jefferson
as an early landscape architect. Both sites
are in relation to the population. The
University was at the center of the state geographically and
was also praised by early visitors: Jefferson
as an early landscape architect. Both sites
are in relation to the population.

In a city, or land cultivated country it would
not be possible to absorb cold air and concentrated wind loads. As
Jefferson wrote to his daughter while residing on the
Lawn it is hard to imagine the space without
life occupying the expanse of the Lawn. The initial
arrangement until his return to America. In 1793
Jefferson made the slopes appear as symmetrical as possible. At Monticello the character of the north and south slopes are very
different: transportation and utilitarian domestic functions are on the north such as a carriage house,
and retaining walls to the East Gardens. One main
difference by simply adding additional terraces
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Materiality

Today, sustainable or ‘green’ design is at the forefront of architectural discussion. Site selection, adaptability and energy management are key elements of today’s designs. Although sustainable architecture is very much a facet of contemporary popular society, the use of local materials is not a new concept to architectural design. Like many of his contemporaries, Jefferson valued local materials not as an act of conscientious sustainability but out of necessity. The structures of Monticello and the University were comprised of bricks due to the availability of rich clay. Geologically, the soils at Monticello and the University are comprised of Cecil loam, which is fertile if maintained but also very susceptible to sheet erosion, as well as three different types of clay loams that were useful for the production of bricks. Bricks were also used for the composition of most of the columns at the University as well as the columns of the West portico and piers of the terraces at Monticello. Local quartzite was used for Monticello’s East Portico and Jefferson tried to use mica schist for the ornamental parts of the gardens of certain pavilions. As such, it was deemed unusable, as mica schist can be found in various forms of completion in the Rotunda. Schist can be found in various forms of completion in the Rotunda. Schist was deemed unusable. Only after the material was acquired did Jefferson resort to importing marble for the capitols of Pavilion III and the Rotunda. Today the botched carvings of the capitols. Only after the material was acquired did Jefferson resort to importing marble for the capitols of Pavilion III and the Rotunda. Today the botched carvings of the capitols. Only after the material was acquired did Jefferson resort to importing marble for the capitols of Pavilion III and the Rotunda. 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Jefferson used a pure cantilever form to construct however, was out of the ordinary. At Monticello was not atypical. Jefferson's use of cantilevers, America, the basic structural systems of both sites within the structure was uncommon in Jefferson's constructions, primarily composed of double wythe bearing walls. Although the amount of apertures important change to the prescribed Delorme method create continuous structural ribs. Jefferson made one within the Delorme manner, a structural system that Jefferson introduced to during his travels in France.98 The dome at Monticello was constructed in the Delorme manner, a structural system that Jefferson rendered brick columns, making it appear as if the balcony the tension rods are hidden behind the rendered brick columns, making it appear as if the balcony is floating. Jefferson's incorporation of tension rods allowed for balconies with regularly sized areas to be constructed and provided a much more dynamic architectural form. In terms of Enlightenment ideology, light symbolized clarity and reason rather than a mysterious, divine intervention.102 True to his Delorme manner, a structural system that Jefferson structural system. At the University six of the ten pavilions have cantilevered balconies that are given a sense of weight through the suspension of the balcony the tension rods are hidden behind the designed the area of glass necessary for desirable illumination around the room during the course of the sun's movement. Although rectilinear skylights exist only at Monticello, Jefferson incorporated an oculus into the design of both the Rotunda and the University's Rotunda. The Rotunda's oculus is sixteen feet in diameter; exactly four times larger than that of Monticello. At both sites, the oculus provides diffused light and casts a dramatic circular silhouette of both the interior and exterior of the room. Unlike the Pantheon, both Jefferson's domes have apertures other than the oculus. The resulting space is a light filled rotunda that affords views not only to the sky but also to the surrounding landscape. At both sites, light penetrates even the subterranean spaces through the placement of windows along the ground: lunettes illuminate the cupola, Monticello and the Rotunda. Jefferson used the cupola, a familiar feature at both sites, to create smaller windows for the dormitories that could be made of wood instead of stone. Therefore, the glazed lunettes create a rhythm along the lowest elevation of Monticello and the Rotunda. The game of visual symmetry is played very differently at both sites: at his home, Jefferson seems to create irregularities in form whereas he masked irregularities at the University. The south façade is identical or possess pure symmetrical characteristics: both areas are similar elevation characteristics: both areas are inside and outside yet the arcade of north piazza is open to the home. Even if the difference in the arcade treatment of the north and south façade is ignored there is one, clever detail that separates the designs.
On the south, there are windows in the frieze, placed within the construct of three metopes. This detail was a simplistic way to get light to the nursery. The windows fit neatly within the existing decorative language of the entablature and are some of the most modern, almost mannerist features of the home.

As a whole design, symmetry was one of the most neat, stylistic ways to get light to the nursery. On the south, there are windows in the frieze, placed within the construct of three metopes. This detail was a simplistic way to get light to the nursery. The windows fit neatly within the existing decorative language of the entablature and are some of the most modern, almost mannerist features of the home.

The architectural language of Monticello is an amalgamation of several classical ideas but has no direct precedent. Although the form of the entrance on the East Portico of Monticello is cullumetrically translated into a vestibule and at Pavillion X the Giant order of the portico engulfs the entrance, the entrance on the East Portico of Monticello is not a direct derivative of the Pantheon and the Rotunda is a distinct amalgamation of several classical ideas but has no direct precedent. Although the form of the entrance on the East Portico of Monticello is cullumetrically translated into a vestibule and at Pavillion X the Giant order of the portico engulfs the entrance, the entrance on the East Portico of Monticello is not a direct derivative of the Pantheon and the Rotunda is a distinct amalgamation of several classical ideas but has no direct precedent. 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Conclusion

Jefferson was one of the primary architects of the American Enlightenment in relation to governmental structure, education and built space. Jefferson's home began as an experimental, self-motivated construction and eventually became an international icon. Monticello was not only the primary residence a man of international influence but the home's design was an anomaly for the nation. As an ambitious, self-taught architect, Jefferson did not limit his architectural program to his own homes or small, sideline projects. Jefferson pursued the architecture of national identity through his work at the Virginia State Capitol and his suggestions for the nation's capitol in Washington. Nonetheless, his greatest contribution was the architecture of education: at the University Jefferson created an academical village that was a perfect vessel for learning. It was complete with indoor and outdoor classrooms, places for informal discourse sheltered from the weather and neoclassical forms adapted for modern uses. Jefferson took the architectural lessons learned at his private residence and translated design ideas, sectional properties and light manipulations into moves appropriate for a public program. At the University, Jefferson uniquely took the five part Palladian parti and translated it into an expandable, replicable institutional architecture.

Monticello and the University of Virginia are built expressions of Jefferson's aspirations for the young nation: both structures express confidence, the value of education and maintain fortuitous connections to the surrounding landscape. Although both places have been altered since Jefferson's time, they both maintain strong educational program. Today, I have no doubt that Jefferson would be pleased to know that both sites have high visitation and many of those visitors come equipped with cameras in an attempt to capture Jefferson's unique approach to the architecture as a true national builder.
Appendix A: United Nations World Heritage List Selection Criteria

i. to represent a masterpiece of human creative genius;

ii. to exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design;

iii. to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared;

iv. to be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;

v. to be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the influence of irreversible change;

vi. to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria);

vii. to contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance;

viii. to be outstanding examples representing major stages of earth's history, including the record of life, significant on-going geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features;

ix. to be outstanding examples representing significant on-going ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, fresh water, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals;

x. to contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation.

Appendix B: Projects related to the Enlightenment on the World Heritage List

Date of Inscription: 1982
Residence of the Duke of Arenenberg, France (no. 203)
Architect: Claude-Nicolas Ledoux
Construction began 1775
The rational and hierarchical organization of an industrial city was meant to promote order, harmony and serve as a model for the future construction of an ideal city.

Date of Inscription: 1987
City of Bath, England (no. 428)
Associated architects: John Woods, Robert Adam, Thomas Baldwin, John Palmer
The neoclassical theme is prevalent through the planning, architecture, and the spa-city culture that was embraced in the eighteenth century with a focus on the Roman baths.

Date of Inscription: 1990
Palaces and Parks of Potsdam and Berlin, Germany (no. 532ter)
The varied spaces reflect architectural ideals of the Enlightenment and served as places of discourse for philosophers such as Voltaire.

Date of Inscription: 1995
Museumsinsel (Museum Island) in Berlin, Germany (no. 896)
The concept of the public museum evolved from the Enlightenment and the five museums that occupy the island represent the evolution of this building type and contained program through structures constructed between 1824-1930.

Date of Inscription: 2001
New Museum of the World Cultures, Argentina (no. 429rev)
Much like the Saltworks, the town design reflected the ideas of founder Robert Owen and served as an architectural experiment on the eve of the Industrial Revolution.

Date of Inscription: 2003
Royal Botanic Gardens of Kew, England (no. 1084)
Associated designers: William Kent, Capability Brown, William Chambers
The design and planting plan display the scientific and economic pursuits in the field of botany in the eighteenth century that would eventually lead to pastoral and sublime design movements in landscape architecture.

Date of Inscription: 2004
Waterkampu/ Park Mozalkowsh, shared listing of Germany and Poland (no. 1127)
Created by Prince Hermann von Puckler-Muskau between 1815-1844 the park represented a fundamental shift in the design philosophy of landscape architecture movement away from the concept of classical gardens and the incorporation native plants for a more humanized design.

Date of Inscription: 2005
Port of the Moon, Bordeaux, France (no. 1256)
The urban planning and architecture of the renovations from the eighteenth century represent the cross-cultural and cosmopolitan ideals of Enlightenment philosophy.
Endnotes

1 The Thomas Jefferson Thematic Nomination will hereafter be referred to as the Jefferson Nomination.
2 At the end of 2004, UENSCO adopted a single matrix for the ten criteria, allowing for mixed sites to be incorporated both ways into the list.
4 Tony Lee was the author of the UNESCO sub-mission with consultation of Thomas Jefferson Foundation and University of Virginia. Her initial letter of inquiry regarding the nomination was addressed to William Beiswanger of the Thomas Jefferson Foundation on September 9, 1985. The proposal for submission was accepted and both sites were consulted on the submission document.
6 See Appendix I for the complete UNESCO World Heritage Criterion list.
7 The ICOMOS report was presented to the 11th session of the World Heritage Committee at UNESCO headquarters in Paris. The Committee was comprised of voting members from Algeria, Australia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Cuba, France, Greece, India, Lebanon, Mexico, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Turkey, United Republic of Tanzania, United States of America, and the Yemen Arab Republic.
9 Ibid, 3.
10 The Saltworks was constructed between 1775-1779 and during Jefferson’s tenure in France Ledoux was heavily engaged in the ‘Barrières’ or toll house project for Paris from 1783-1787. Whin serving as Minster to France Jefferson may have met Ledoux considering the French architect was one of Louis XVI’s preferred design architects.
12 The city of Vicenza and Palladio’s villas in the Veneto were inscribed in 1994 and the list was later extended in 1996. Four major townhouses of Victor Horta in Belgium were inscribed in 2000. In 2008 Berlin Modernism Housing Estates recognizing the work of the Bauhaus were inscribed; this nomination is separate from the inscription of the Bauhaus sites in Weimar and Dessau that were added to the list in 1996. Several other architects may join the list of repeatedly recognized designers in regards to pending items on the World Heritage Tentative List: in 2006 France nominated fourteen buildings under the heading of Le Corbusier’s body of work in 2006, it also submitted nominations for the works of Leon Battista Alberti, and in 2008 the United States submitted a nomination for the works of Frank Lloyd Wright who included two of his built works in America.
13 Fiske Kimball’s pioneering work on Jefferson as architect gave Jefferson credit as a revivalist but not necessarily as a revolutionary architect. See Pittman for more on this distinction. Much of Jefferson’s work, especially Monticello, was thought to be the genius of Robert Mills. One of the first books on American architecture, William Dunlap’s The History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States, had no separate listing for Jefferson but rather cited him as a footnote to Mills. See Richard Guy Wilson, ed. Thomas Jefferson’s Academic Villas: The Creation of an Architectural Masterpiece (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1993), 32.
14 Not all of Jefferson’s designs have strong ant-grammatic motivations. Projects such as his unbuilt designs for the Monticello decorative outchamber (c.1776), Nicolas, 52, Governor’s Palace (1779–1781, Nicolas, 7), Octagonal Chapel (c.1770, Nicols 9), and several for homes (c.1820, Nicolas, 31-32) and built projects at Barboursville, Farmington, and Edgemont are better classified as ‘armchair architect’ exercises in composition.
Lancaster's experiences but also by books he owned such as Francis education were largely informed by his own education

24 Jefferson even remarks on this fact in his "Auto-
to education in America see Commager, 114.


20 Henry F. May, 1975), 3. The Enlightenment in America

19 Commager, 13.

18 Henry Steele Commager, 1989), 7.

The idea of introspective, self-guided study will first recorded time when silent reading, not in public, was recorded as a prolific and even encouraged. Historians can Public Education" (EdD diss., Pepperdine University, 2003), 25. Jefferson returned to his idea of localized

Jefferson's original scheme in plan and section; that year the Rotunda was finished to

Architect of the University of Virginia (1817-1825) to host the University. "Establishing a System of Public Education," October 24, 1817, E-text. Jefferson was well acquaint-

Ingrid Rowland and Thomas Noble Howe (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994). Jefferson's Rotunda stood only until the famous fire of 1895

Jefferson's Flne Arts Library: His Selections for the

38 Jefferson, 249-251.


36 Heath, 193.

35 Heath, 14.

34 Addis, 1.

32 Jefferson, 243.

31 Commager, 114.

30 Commager, 13.

29 For the full text see Merrill D Peterson, ed, Thomas Jefferson's Architecture from Monticello to the 2003), 42. Jefferson's cited term, is, "the distance between the planetarium intended for the ceiling of the dome. Jef- Ferris Wheel, which was visually familiar with the architecture of the Veneto


43 Pickens, 277. argues that Jefferson did not visit

42 Jefferson's Fine Arts Library: His Selections for the 2003), 43. this treatise from ancient times; if drawings accompanied the

41 Fleming, 285. "the distance between the multiples of column diameters."


38 Jefferson, 249-251. Jefferson's Flne Arts Library: His Selections for the 2003), 42. Jefferson's cited term, is, "the distance between the planetarium intended for the ceiling of the dome. Jef- Ferris Wheel, which was visually familiar with the architecture of the Veneto


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unusual home and contained collections for posterity.

78 A contemporary example would be the pres-
er," Charlottesville: Rector and Visitors of the University
77 Edgar Allan Poe, “The Fall of the House of Ush-
Poe or the Jefferson family.

75 Britton, 39.

Museum, Richmond, Virginia. E-text.
74 Edgar Allan Poe, Letter to John Allen 21 Sep-
1828 Visit to Monticello, the University and Montpelier,"
85 Margaret Bayard Smith to Anna Bayard Boyd
84 Thomas Jefferson to Doctor Wistar, Washing-
83 Margaret Bayard Smith to Anna Bayard Boyd
82 The property on which the Lawn is situated was
81 Thomas Jefferson to Maria Cosway, Paris, Octo-
80 See Robert F. Dalzell, Jr., “Constructing Inde-
Illustrated
79 In addition to Pliny, Jefferson knew of ancient

takes on any measures of preservation.
1828 Visit to Monticello, the University and Montpelier,"
86 See the Monticello: house (study plan), before
85 See Robert F. Dalzell, Jr., “Constructing Inde-
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