# Jefferson's *Manual* of 1801: A Bibliographic Inventory of Copies Currently in Existence and Known to the Historical Record

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When Thomas Jefferson became Vice President to John Adams after the election of 1796, it set him on course for another of his many achievements: author of *A Manual of Parliamentary Practice*, first published in February of 1801. The book was immediately influential among national, state, and even international lawmakers, yielding a second Jefferson-authorized edition in 1812 and numerous other reprintings over the years. A tribute to its lasting effect, Jefferson's *Manual* is still used to this day by the U.S. House and Senate, as well as dozens of other legislatures.<sup>2</sup>

The U.S. Constitution proscribes few duties to the Vice President, but among them is to serve as President of the Senate, the upper chamber's presiding officer. Although the Constitution provides that "Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings," (Art. I, Sec. 5), when Jefferson assumed his duty, the Senate had only a limited set of rules and the chair wielded excessive power. Jefferson sought to correct this situation, offering his *Manual* as the

Jefferson's *Manual* of 1801 – An Inventory of Copies Version Date: 20210115

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basis of a system of rules, "the effects of which may be accuracy in business, economy of time, order, uniformity, and impartiality" (Jefferson 1801, Preface).

Jefferson had long experience in the rules of legislatures, beginning with his interest in parliamentary law while a student in Williamsburg in the 1760s, and extending through service in the Virginia House of Burgesses, the Continental Congress, the Virginia House of Delegates, the Virginia governorship, and the Congress of the Confederation. A committed student of the subject, he maintained a Parliamentary Pocket-Book throughout much of his career. He referred to this diary of reading notes and observations while Vice President and in authoring the *Manual*.

On assuming his Vice-Presidential role in the U.S. Senate, he sought immediately to improve his knowledge of parliamentary law. During four years of service, he read extensively, drew from his lessons in the chair, and consulted his mentor George Wythe and other colleagues. By 1800, he sought to put his accumulated wisdom into a manual which, as he wrote to Wythe, "I mean to deposit with the Senate as the Standard by which I judge, and am willing to be judged" (TJ to George Wythe, PTJ, 28 February 1800). Jefferson delivered his Manual to his political ally and publisher, Samuel Harrison Smith, at Washington, in December 1800.<sup>3</sup> The book was published mere days before he became the United States' third president on March 4, 1801.

This registry of copies of Jefferson's Manual of 1801 is a bibliographic inventory that identifies known and surviving copies of the Manual printed by Samuel Harrison Smith. The Smith printing warrants priority attention as this first edition formed the basis of Jefferson's ongoing activities regarding parliamentary law into the years of his presidency (Alexander 2021) and the second and final edition authorized by Jefferson, published in 1812. Based on analysis of Jefferson's correspondence with Smith, it is estimated that 100 copies of the first edition of the Manual were printed in February 1801. Writing to Smith on December 21, 1800, Jefferson said, "he will ask of mr Smith either to print him 100. copies at his own expence, or for mr Smith to print it on his own account & let Th: J. have 75. copies at the selling price" (TJ to Samuel Harrison Smith, PTJ, 21 Dec. 1800). Nearer to the book's release, on February 23, Jefferson wrote to Smith, "The bookbinder promises me 40. copies of the Manual on Thursday morning. your's therefore might be offered for sale on Saturday" (TJ to Samuel Harrison Smith, PTJ, 23 Feb. 1801). Though the record is not precisely clear, it appears most likely that Smith printed the higher quantity, with Jefferson acquiring 40 for himself (Alexander, ibid.).

About the Copies in the Inventory

Of the 100 estimated copies of the *Manual* printed in 1801, a total of seventy can be verified as currently remaining in existence, with repository location or private ownership known. The tables of the Inventory below provide information on existing copies of the 1801 Manual with known whereabouts (Table A), known copies with unknown whereabouts (Table B), and other possible remaining copies which are recorded with previous ownership but which cannot be presently traced (Table C). The tables are a summary view of more complete information contained in an open source data set, "Jefferson's Manual of 1801: A Bibliographic Inventory," available through Leyburn Library at Washington and Lee University, in Lexington, Virginia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Bayard Smith, Margaret. 1906. The First Forty Years of Washington Society, edited by Gaillard Hunt. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, p. 8.

Information on the estimated 100 copies of the *Manual* printed by Smith in 1801 is provided below on three tables:

- *Table A: Existing Copies, Location Known*. In addition to copies in libraries and archives, this Table includes copies in private collection whose existence can be validated but which are not accessible to the public.
- *Table B: Known Copies, Unknown Location*. These copies could be additional to those in Table A but whose whereabouts are lost or presently unknown, or they could be copies already identified in Table A but without clear identifying information (e.g. the Volney copy, the Carr copy, etc.).
- Table C: Untraced Copies. Copies identified in historical or sales records but that cannot be verified as extant independent copies. Their location and ownership or association are unknown. They could be copies identified in Tables A or B or they could be additional existing copies (possibly listed in Table C more than once); without further information, the whereabouts and existence of these copies remains unclear. Copies more recently sold are more likely to still exist.

The data on copies of the *Manual* was acquired over the period June 2020 to January 2021, through a systematic search of the global bibliographic database Worldcat, individual library and archive catalog searches, websites of antiquarian and rare book sellers and auction houses, and transaction histories of book sales listed in Rare Book Hub. In each case of identified potential copies, libraries, archives, owners, and sellers were contacted requesting information on any markings that indicate early ownership, association, or presentation of the copy, such as on endpapers or title pages. Images and scans were requested, when possible. The inquiry also requested that they look for Jefferson's "secret book mark" where he added a T and an I at the I and T printers signatures on the book gatherings to books in his personal library. (No new bookmarks were found; the only copies known to contain Jefferson's personal mark are Copy 3 and Copy 4 at the Library of Congress and the copy at the University of Michigan's Clements Library.) This information is compiled in the Inventory data set, and summarized in the tables, below. A full record of all correspondence and information gathered, including images of individual copies of the *Manual* helpfully provided by our correspondents, is digitally archived at W&L's Leyburn Library.

Physical copies of the book also provide information about Jefferson's activities regarding the *Manual* after its publication. In total, evidence presented in the Inventory indicates the book was owned by at least three dozen Jefferson associates and early 19<sup>th</sup> century political figures who were contemporaries of Jefferson.<sup>5</sup> With the assistance of archivists at multiple institutions, this research has newly identified ownership marks in copies of the *Manual* by figures such as Theodorus Bailey in the copy at Sewanee, Theodore Foster in the copy at Wake Forest University, and Gideon Granger's personal copy currently housed the Newberry Library.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Why a T and I and not a T and J? Endrina Tay of the International Center for Jefferson Studies makes this compelling case: "While multiple scholars write that Jefferson's bookmark involved him placing his initials T and J beside signatures I and T in a printed book, my view is that Jefferson actually rendered his initials as T and I (not J), even though the I looks like a hooked J. Handwriting analysis from his correspondence, and his use of the block I in his Retirement Library books proves this" (Email to authors, 4 Jan. 2021).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> There are 50 copies in the Inventory with ownership information in them, however not all of those can be identified as early 19<sup>th</sup> century political figures or contemporaries of Jefferson.

An extensive search of Jefferson's letters, library archives and auction records, and physical inspection of the copies themselves reveals 21 presentation copies, instances where President Jefferson gave the first edition of his *Manual* to members of legislative bodies and to key figures of government and politics. Some presentation copies exist in libraries, archives, and in private collections. Other presentation copies are known to have existed, but their present whereabouts are unknown or cannot be confirmed. For instance, Jefferson is known to have presented copies of the *Manual* to figures such as Constantine Volney, Peter Carr, and other contemporaries of his day but their present whereabouts — if they still exist at all — have not been determined.

Three copies of the 1801 edition of the *Manual* contain Jefferson's handwritten annotations: Library of Congress Copy 4, a copy held at Washington and Lee University which Jefferson presented to Hugh Holmes in 1803, and a copy in private collection presented by Jefferson to Francis Taliaferro Brooke in 1802. These annotations were separately printed by Jefferson in 1806 on a supplement to be distributed with copies of the book; the annotations later served as the basis of additional material included in the second edition printed by Joseph Milligan of Georgetown in 1812 (Alexander, ibid.). No copy of the printed supplement is currently known to exist, but it would be an important discovery of Jefferson's research and intentions for the second edition of his *Manual* if it were to be found.

### An Open Data Project

The complete inventory exists as the aforementioned open source data set, "Jefferson's *Manual* of 1801: A Bibliographic Inventory," which includes an Excel Spreadsheet and accompanying images and files, housed online at W&L's Leyburn Library. It is updated as new information comes available and the best effort is made to ensure it is accurate and all information is independently verifiable. When citing the Inventory, include the date of the data set you are using to reflect updates current to that particular time. If you know of additional copies of the 1801 edition of Jefferson's Manual or have other information to add to the Inventory, please contact Brian Alexander (alexanderb@wlu.edu). We welcome your input and stand ready to assist with any questions.

#### Key to Table Data

Row No. This is simply a reference number to make reading or referencing the tables easier; it is not fixed or affiliated with individual copies.

Location. In Table A, existing copies are listed alphabetically by the name of its contemporary location. In Tables B and C, where the location is listed as "Location Unknown," a currently existing copy cannot be validated to correspond with a copy that appears in the historical record. This can mean one of several things. The first is that the copy has been formerly identified in historical correspondence, but its present whereabouts cannot be determined – for example, the Volney copy in Table B, Row 8, or copies recorded by Rare Books Hub as having been sold at auction, as in Table C. Alternately, it is possible copies marked "Location Unknown" are among those with known locations in Table A, such as those listed with no known association with

Jefferson and no information on early ownership. It remains equally possible that such copies are presently lost or perhaps no longer in existence at all.<sup>6</sup>

Association of Copy with Jefferson. Any known direct associations a particular copy with Jefferson is indicated, based on archival or historical records or markings within the copy itself, as in the cases of personal and presentation copies. "No known association" indicates no identified association of the copy with Jefferson.

*Early Ownership*. Known early ownership of the copy based on markings in the copy or other historical correspondence and records is indicated. An effort is made to limit this information to contemporaries of Jefferson, and therefore later ownership information that may appear in or be associated with the copy is excluded from this table. "N/A" indicates no verifiable known early ownership among Jefferson contemporaries.

Date of Presentation (given/received). Dates when a copy was presented by Jefferson either in person or via other correspondence are listed. "N/A" indicates no known presentation.

Item Call Number/Reference ID (Table A). This entry includes archive or library call numbers, record numbers or reference information from source location. Rare Book Hub (RBH) source record numbers, when available, are listed to reference historical sales of particular copies. When possible, information on the most recent seller is listed under "Item Call Number/Reference ID," and the Rare Book Hub number is listed in parentheses.

Source of Item Information (Tables B and C). For copies known to have existed with no known current location, the source of item information indicates the historical record about the copy, such as RBH Source Record Numbers. Listed correspondence of Jefferson and other figures is available through the National Archives at Founders Online (https://founders.archives.gov).

Additional Information. As the heading implies, other relevant or pertinent information about the copy or the records of its lineage is provided.

Individual rows are sorted alphabetically by the contemporary location of a copy, when known, or other earliest discernable provenance. Individual catalog information for respective institutions is provided verbatim, when available. OCLC numbers, which provide a unique control number to bibliographic records in WorldCat, are the same for each copy of the 1801 edition of the *Manual*, but when it is available, additional identifying information at respective repositories is provided.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> If 100 copies were printed by Samuel Harrison Smith, and there are 70 known existing copies in Table A and a sum of 42 copies with no known location in Tables B and C, the total copies in the Inventory exceeds the total printed. Therefore, it is possible either that some of the copies identified as "no known association"/"no early ownership" account for the non-validated copies *or* that Smith printed some unknown number of the first edition beyond the 100 that he and Jefferson discussed. Future research may provide greater clarity on such points of ambiguity.

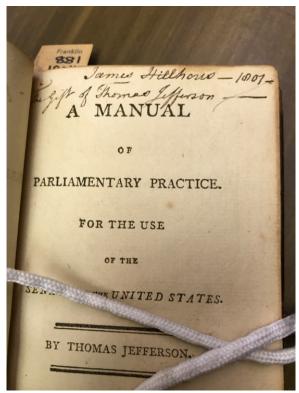
#### Acknowledgements

The hunt for information such as provided here is successful only because of the involvement of numerous helpful and thoughtful individuals. Our inquiry reached dozens of librarians, archivists, rare book dealers, and enthusiasts who responded to multiple requests, and actively provided invaluable, timely information. For every institution and organization listed below, there are at least one if not several people who generously contributed their time and provided their assistance. The year 2020 was a challenging one, and it is a testimony to the dedication of everyone who provided support for this research that they undertook their efforts during the COVID-19 global pandemic, when archives and historical materials were often out of reach or difficult to access. There are too many such individuals to name individually, but our deepest gratitude and appreciation is extended to each person as well as their home institutions, one and all.

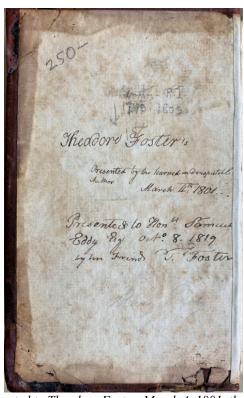
Additional gratitude is extended to the Robert H. Smith International Center for Jefferson Studies (ICJS) at Monticello, in Charlottesville, Virginia. Brian Alexander was an ICJS fellow during the time this research was being completed and both Madison Williams and he received extensive support in this effort from the ICJS staff, including Endrina Tay, Anna Berkes, John Ragosta, Whitney Pippin, and Andrew O'Shaughnessy. Their exceptional comradery and helpfulness have played a substantial role in bringing this and other work on Jefferson's *Manual* together.

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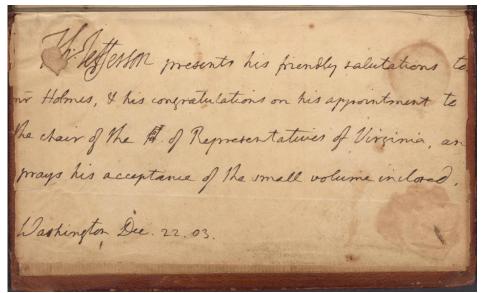
## Sample presentation copies of Jefferson's Manual of 1801



Presented to James Hillhouse, 1801. Image courtesy of Philip Ziesche, Yale University Library.



Presented to Theodore Foster, March 4, 1801, the day of Jefferson's Inauguration. Image courtesy of Megan Mulder, Z. Smith Reynolds Library, Wake Forest University.



Jefferson's letter of presentation to Hugh Holmes, December 22, 1803, pasted onto the front endpaper. Image courtesy of Leyburn Library Special Collections, Washington and Lee University.

Table A: Existing copies, location known.

| Row<br>No. | Location  | Association of Copy with<br>Jefferson | Early Ownership            | Date of<br>Presentation<br>(given/received) | Item Call<br>Number/Reference<br>ID | Additional<br>Information         |
|------------|---|---------------------------------------|----------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1          | American Antiquarian Society  | Presentation                          | Lincoln, Levi              | 1801  | Dated Books                         | Note with year inscribed in copy. |
| 2          | American Philosophical Society Library  | No Known Association                  | N/A                        | N/A   | DLAR 45x                            | One of two copies.                |
| 3          | American Philosophical Society Library  | No Known Association                  | Seybert, Adam              | N/A   | 328.1 J35M                          | Two of two copies.                |
| 4          | Bauman Rare Books   | No Known Association                  | Dallas, Alexander<br>James | N/A   | Bauman Item<br>#116257              | Currently for sale.               |
| 5          | Boston Public<br>Library (Special<br>Collections)                                 | No Known Association                  | N/A                        | N/A   | RARE BKS KF4982<br>.J43             | N/A                               |
| 6          | British Library   | No Known Association                  | N/A                        | N/A   | BLL01016841561                      | N/A                               |
| 7          | The Claremont Colleges (Honnold/Mudd Library Special Collections)                 | No Known Association                  | Cabot, G.                  | N/A   | KF4982 .J43 1801                    | N/A                               |
| 8          | Columbia University<br>(Arthur W. Diamond<br>Law Library)                         | No Known Association                  | N/A                        | N/A   | T J359 1801                         | N/A                               |
| 9          | Dartmouth College<br>(Rauner Special<br>Collections Library)                      | No Known Association                  | N/A                        | N/A   | Val 328.73 J359m                    | N/A                               |
| 10         | Dickinson College<br>(Waidner-Spahr<br>Library Archives &<br>Special Collections) | No Known Association                  | Metzger, George            | N/A   | 328.735 J45                         | N/A                               |

| Row<br>No. | Location  | Association of Copy with<br>Jefferson | Early Ownership           | Date of<br>Presentation<br>(given/received) | Item Call<br>Number/Reference<br>ID | Additional<br>Information  |
|------------|---|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|--|
| 11         | Duke University (Rubenstein Library)                                  | Presentation                          | Franklin, J.              | 1801  | KF4982 .J43 1801                    | Note with year inscribed in copy.  |
| 12         | Eckerd College<br>(Armacost Library<br>Special Collections)           | No Known Association                  | N/A                       | N/A   | KF4982 .J43                         | N/A  |
| 13         | George Washington University (Gelman Library Special Collections)     | No Known Association                  | Wright, W. Lloyd          | N/A   | JK 1091 1801                        | Copy 1   |
| 14         | George Washington University (Gelman Library Special Collections)     | No Known Association                  | Biddle, W.S.              | N/A   | JK 1091 1801                        | Copy 2   |
| 15         | Georgia Historical<br>Society Library (Rare<br>Collection)            | No Known Association                  | N/A                       | N/A   | JK1091 1801                         | N/A  |
| 16         | Harvard University (Houghton Library)                                 | No Known Association                  | N/A                       | N/A   | GEN US 1016.12*                     | N/A  |
| 17         | Historical Society of Pennsylvania                                    | No Known Association                  | Lear, Benjamin<br>Lincoln | N/A   | Tea 53 1801                         | N/A  |
| 18         | Huntington Library (Rare Books)                                       | No Known Association                  | Masters, Josiah           | N/A   | 10162                               | N/A  |
| 19         | Johns Hopkins<br>University (George<br>Peabody Library Rare<br>Books) | Presentation                          | Key, Francis Scott        | Nov. 4, 1825                                | 328.735 J45 1801 c. 1               | Clipping of note<br>from Jefferson in<br>copy with date, to<br>Mr. Key of<br>Baltimore, likely<br>Francis Scott Key. |
| 20         | Library Company of Philadelphia                                       | No Known Association                  | N/A                       | N/A   | Log.2590.D                          | One of two copies.   |
| 21         | Library Company of Philadelphia                                       | No Known Association                  | Pringle, J.R.             | N/A   | 114335.D                            | Two of two copies.   |

| Row<br>No. | Location  | Association of Copy with<br>Jefferson | Early Ownership    | Date of<br>Presentation<br>(given/received) | Item Call<br>Number/Reference<br>ID | Additional<br>Information   |
|------------|---|---------------------------------------|--------------------|---|-------------------------------------|---|
| 22         | Library of Congress<br>(Rare Book/Special<br>Collections Reading<br>Room) | Personal                              | Jefferson, Thomas  | N/A   | KF4982 .J43<br>Jefferson Coll Suppl | Library Copy 4,<br>annotations by<br>Jefferson. Has TJ<br>cursive bookmark. |
| 23         | Library of Congress<br>(Rare Book/Special<br>Collections Reading<br>Room) | Presentation                          | Trist, Nicholas P. | May 29, 1826                                | KF4982 .J43<br>Jefferson Coll Suppl | Library Copy 3,<br>date inscribed in<br>copy. Has TJ block<br>bookmark.     |
| 24         | Library of Congress<br>(Rare Book/Special<br>Collections Reading<br>Room) | No Known Association                  | Mercer, Hugh       | N/A   | KF4982 .J43 midi                    | Library Copy 2  |
| 25         | Library of Congress<br>(Rare Book/Special<br>Collections Reading<br>Room) | No Known Association                  | N/A                | N/A   | KF4982 .J43                         | Library Copy 1  |
| 26         | Library of Virginia (Special Collections)                                 | No Known Association                  | N/A                | N/A   | JK1091 1801                         | N/A   |
| 27         | Massachusetts<br>Historical Society                                       | No Known Association                  | N/A                | N/A   | E187                                | N/A   |
| 28         | New Jersey State<br>Library (Rare Books)                                  | No Known Association                  | N/A                | N/A   | 328 J45, (1801)                     | N/A   |
| 29         | New York Public<br>Library (SASB - Rare<br>Book Collection)               | No Known Association                  | N/A                | N/A   | *KF 1801                            | N/A   |
| 30         | Newberry Library<br>(Special Collections)                                 | Presentation                          | Granger, Gideon    | Jan. 24, 1803                               | Case K 011 .45                      | One of two copies,<br>note with year<br>inscribed in copy.                  |
| 31         | Newberry Library (Special Collections)                                    | No Known Association                  | Thomas, William    | N/A   | VAULT Ruggles 195                   | Two of two copies.  |
| 32         | Northwestern<br>University (Main  | No Known Association                  | N/A                | N/A   | 328.1 J45 1801                      | N/A   |

| Row<br>No. | Location   | Association of Copy with<br>Jefferson | Early Ownership               | Date of Presentation (given/received) | Item Call<br>Number/Reference<br>ID           | Additional<br>Information  |
|------------|--|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|--|
|            | Library Special<br>Collections)                                    |                                       |                               |                                       |   |  |
| 33         | The Ohio State University (Thompson Library Rare Books Stacks)     | No Known Association                  | Parrish, Robert L.            | N/A                                   | JK1091 1801                                   | N/A  |
| 34         | Princeton University<br>(Firestone Library<br>Special Collections) | No Known Association                  | Atherton, Charles<br>H.       | N/A                                   | JK1091 1801s                                  | See Table B, Row<br>11. Likely same<br>copy as that listed<br>on Rare Book Hub<br>in 1924.   |
| 35         | Private collection   | Presentation                          | Brooke, Francis<br>Taliaferro | Dec. 20, 1802                         | RBH 6080 – 34093<br>(Bauman Item<br>#85936)   | Last record of sale<br>in 2012, date<br>inscribed in note to<br>Brooke pasted into<br>copy.  |
| 36         | Private collection   | Presentation                          | Foster, Dwight                | Feb. 26, 1801                         | RBH 6100-36012<br>(Heritage Auctions)         | Last record of sale in 2013, date inscribed in copy.   |
| 37         | Private collection   | No Known Association                  | Clark, James W.               | N/A                                   | RBH 478 – 109<br>(PBA Galleries)              | Last record of sale in 2012.   |
| 38         | Private collection   | No Known Association                  | Dade, William<br>A.G.         | N/A                                   | Raptis Item #111588                           | Last record of sale in 2020.   |
| 39         | Private collection   | No Known Association                  | N/A                           | N/A                                   | Personal communication with Glover's Bookery. | Sold by Glover's Bookery (Lexington, Kentucky) at the 2016 Washington Antiquarian Book Fair. |
| 40         | Raptis Rare Books  | No Known Association                  | Bassett, Burwell              | N/A                                   | Raptis Item #104073                           | Currently for sale.  |

| Row<br>No. | Location   | Association of Copy with<br>Jefferson | Early Ownership     | Date of Presentation (given/received) | Item Call<br>Number/Reference<br>ID     | Additional<br>Information |
|------------|--|---------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------------|---|---------------------------|
| 41         | Royal Collection<br>Trust  | No Known Association                  | N/A                 | N/A                                   | RCIN 1102020                            | N/A                       |
| 42         | Sewanee: The University of the South (Jessie Ball duPont Library Archives and Special Collections) | No Known Association                  | Bailey, Theodorus   | N/A                                   | KF4982 .J43 1801                        | N/A                       |
| 43         | Sewanee: The University of the South (Jessie Ball duPont Library Archives and Special Collections) | No Known Association                  | Turner, Fielding L. | N/A                                   | KF4982 .J43 1801                        | N/A                       |
| 44         | Stanford University (Special Collections & University Archives)                                    | No Known Association                  | N/A                 | N/A                                   | KD1801 .J41                             | N/A                       |
| 45         | State Library of<br>Pennsylvania (Rare<br>Collections Library)                                     | No Known Association                  | Gordon, Elisha      | N/A                                   | 328.1 J359m 1801                        | N/A                       |
| 46         | Swarthmore College<br>(McCabe Library<br>Rare Book Room)   | No Known Association                  | N/A                 | N/A                                   | JK1091 1801                             | N/A                       |
| 47         | Thomas Jefferson<br>Memorial,<br>Washington, DC  | No Known Association                  | N/A                 | N/A                                   | Displayed in exhibit. Possible LC copy? | N/A                       |
| 48         | University of Alabama (W.S. Hoole Special Collections)   | No Known Association                  | Broom, James M.     | N/A                                   | KF4982 .J43                             | N/A                       |
| 49         | University of<br>California, Los   | No Known Association                  | N/A                 | N/A                                   | Delta T J3594m 1801                     | N/A                       |

| Row<br>No. | Location                            | Association of Copy with<br>Jefferson | Early Ownership   | Date of Presentation (given/received) | Item Call<br>Number/Reference<br>ID | Additional<br>Information |
|------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|
|            | Angeles (Law                        |                                       |                   |                                       |                                     |                           |
|            | Library Special                     |                                       |                   |                                       |                                     |                           |
|            | Collections)                        |                                       |                   |                                       |                                     |                           |
|            | University of                       |                                       |                   |                                       |                                     |                           |
|            | Connecticut (Dodd                   |                                       |                   |                                       |                                     |                           |
| 50         | Research Center                     | No Known Association                  | N/A               | N/A                                   | Gaines 655                          | One of two copies.        |
|            | Archives and Special                |                                       |                   |                                       |                                     |                           |
|            | Collections)                        |                                       |                   |                                       |                                     |                           |
|            | University of                       |                                       |                   |                                       |                                     |                           |
|            | Connecticut (Dodd                   |                                       |                   |                                       |                                     |                           |
| 51         | Research Center                     | No Known Association                  | Quincy, Josiah    | N/A                                   | Gaines 656                          | Two of two copies.        |
|            | Archives and Special                |                                       |                   |                                       |                                     |                           |
|            | Collections)                        |                                       |                   |                                       |                                     |                           |
|            | University of Georgia               |                                       |                   |                                       |                                     | Name inscribed in         |
| 52         | (Hargrett Rare Book                 | No Known Association                  | Meriwether, David | N/A                                   | JK1091 .J451                        | copy partially cut        |
|            | and Manuscript                      |                                       | ,                 |                                       |                                     | off. Likely David         |
|            | Library)                            |                                       |                   |                                       |                                     | Meriwether.               |
| 52         | University of Kansas                |                                       | <b>3</b> .T/A     | <b>NT/A</b>                           | D16407                              | <b>3.</b> T/A             |
| 53         | (Spencer Library                    | No Known Association                  | N/A               | N/A                                   | B16405                              | N/A                       |
|            | Special Collections)                |                                       |                   |                                       |                                     |                           |
|            | University of                       |                                       |                   |                                       |                                     |                           |
| 54         | Kentucky (Margaret                  | No Known Association                  | N/A               | N/A                                   | VE4002 142                          | One of true conies        |
| 54         | I. King Library Special Collections | No Known Association                  | N/A               | N/A                                   | KF4982 .J43                         | One of two copies.        |
|            | Research Center)                    |                                       |                   |                                       |                                     |                           |
|            | University of                       |                                       |                   |                                       |                                     |                           |
|            | Kentucky (Margaret                  |                                       |                   |                                       |                                     |                           |
| 55         | I. King Library                     | No Known Association                  | N/A               | N/A                                   | KF4982 .J43                         | Two of two copies.        |
| 33         | Special Collections                 | No Khowh Association                  | 11/71             | IV/A                                  | K1 7/02 .J7J                        | I wo of two copies.       |
|            | Research Center)                    |                                       |                   |                                       |                                     |                           |
|            | University of                       |                                       |                   |                                       |                                     | Has TJ cursive            |
| 56         | Michigan (William L.                | Personal                              | Jefferson, Thomas | N/A                                   | C 1801 Je                           | bookmark.                 |

| Row<br>No. | Location   | Association of Copy with<br>Jefferson | Early Ownership              | Date of Presentation (given/received) | Item Call<br>Number/Reference<br>ID | Additional<br>Information   |
|------------|--|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---|
|            | Clements Library<br>Rare Book Room)  |                                       |                              |                                       |                                     |   |
| 57         | University of North<br>Carolina (Wilson<br>Library)                                    | No Known Association                  | Avery, Waightsill            | N/A                                   | VC097 A95j                          | N/A   |
| 58         | University of Pennsylvania (Kislak Center for Special Collections)                     | No Known Association                  | N/A                          | N/A                                   | KF4982 .J43 1801                    | N/A   |
| 59         | University of Richmond (Boatwright Memorial Library Rare Book Room)                    | No Known Association                  | N/A                          | N/A                                   | KF4982 .J43                         | N/A   |
| 60         | University of<br>Virginia (Albert and<br>Shirley Small Special<br>Collections Library) | Presentation                          | Pendleton,<br>Edmund         | N/A                                   | JK1091 1801                         | Copy 3, note inscribed in copy from Jefferson to Pendleton. Also signed by John Taylor. |
| 61         | University of Virginia (Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library)          | No Known Association                  | Cabell, Joseph<br>Carrington | N/A                                   | JK1091 1801                         | Сору 2  |
| 62         | University of Virginia (Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library)          | No Known Association                  | Carroll, Danl.               | N/A                                   | JK1091 1801                         | Copy 1  |
| 63         | Virginia Historical<br>Society Library   | No Known Association                  | Hughes,<br>Christopher       | N/A                                   | Rare Books JK1091<br>1801           | N/A   |
| 64         | Wake Forest<br>University (Z. Smith  | Presentation                          | Foster, Theodore             | March 4, 1801                         | JK1091 1801b                        | Date inscribed in copy. Later transferred to  |

| Row<br>No. | Location   | Association of Copy with<br>Jefferson | Early Ownership  | Date of Presentation (given/received) | Item Call<br>Number/Reference<br>ID | Additional<br>Information                                  |
|------------|--|---------------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
|            | Reynolds Library<br>Special Collections)   |                                       |                  |                                       |                                     | Samuel Eddy and Thomas Tillinghast.                        |
| 65         | Washington and Lee University (Leyburn Library Special Collections)                | Presentation                          | Holmes, Hugh     | Dec. 22, 1803                         | KF4982 .J43 1801                    | One of two copies,<br>note with date<br>inscribed in copy. |
| 66         | Washington and Lee University (Leyburn Library Special Collections)                | No Known Association                  | N/A              | N/A                                   | KF4982 .J43                         | Two of two copies.   |
| 67         | Western Reserve<br>Historical Society<br>Library                                   | No Known Association                  | Ross, James      | N/A                                   | JK1091 1801                         | N/A  |
| 68         | The College of William and Mary (Swem Library Special Collections Research Center) | No Known Association                  | N/A              | N/A                                   | JK1091 1801a                        | N/A  |
| 69         | William Reese<br>Company   | No Known Association                  | Holgate, Jacob   | N/A                                   | Bookseller Inventory<br>#WRCAM54970 | Currently for sale.  |
| 70         | Yale University (Sterling Memorial Library, Franklin Collection)                   | Presentation                          | Hillhouse, James | 1801                                  | 881 1801j                           | Year inscribed in copy.                                    |

Table B: Known copies, unknown location.

| Row<br>No. | Location | Association of Copy with Jefferson | Early Ownership | Date of Presentation (given/received) | Source of Item<br>Information       | Additional<br>Information         |
|------------|----------|------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1          | Unknown  | Presentation                       | Armstrong, John | N/A                                   | RBH 1944-42<br>(Anderson Galleries) | Last record of sale in 1925, copy |

| Row<br>No. | Location | Association of Copy with<br>Jefferson | Early Ownership               | Date of Presentation (given/received) | Source of Item<br>Information                      | Additional<br>Information  |
|------------|----------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|--|
|            |          |                                       |                               |                                       |  | inscribed from Jefferson to Armstrong.   |
| 2          | Unknown  | Presentation                          | Burwell, William<br>Armistead | Jan. 15, 1806                         | RBH 1925Jan29-30<br>(American Art<br>Association)  | Last record of sale<br>in 1925, date<br>known via<br>Jefferson<br>correspondence.              |
| 3          | Unknown  | Presentation                          | Carr, Peter                   | Oct. 25, 1801                         | TJ to Peter Carr, 25<br>Oct. 1801                  | Date known via Jefferson correspondence.   |
| 4          | Unknown  | Presentation                          | Gordon, John H.<br>(Dr.)      | N/A                                   | RBH 1920Dec08-553<br>(American Art<br>Association) | Last record of sale<br>in 1920, auction<br>record indicates<br>name inscribed by<br>Jefferson. |
| 5          | Unknown  | Presentation                          | Harrison, Edmund              | Dec. 30, 1802                         | Edmund Harrison to TJ, 30 Dec. 1802                | Known via Jefferson correspondence.  |
| 6          | Unknown  | Presentation                          | Johnston, Peter               | Oct. 25, 1801                         | TJ to Peter Carr, 25<br>Oct. 1801                  | Copy included with<br>Carr's, known via<br>Jefferson<br>correspondence.                        |
| 7          | Unknown  | Presentation                          | Minor, John                   | March 2, 1806                         | TJ to John Minor, 2<br>March 1806                  | Known via Jefferson correspondence.  |
| 8          | Unknown  | Presentation                          | Volney,<br>Constantine        | Feb. 6, 1803                          | TJ to Constantine<br>Volney, 6 Feb. 1803           | Known via  Jefferson  correspondence.  |
| 9          | Unknown  | Presentation                          | Warden, David<br>Bailie       | Feb. 27, 1815                         | TJ to David Bailie<br>Warden, 27 Feb.<br>1815      | Known via Jefferson correspondence.  |

| Row<br>No. | Location | Association of Copy with<br>Jefferson | Early Ownership         | Date of Presentation (given/received) | Source of Item<br>Information                       | Additional<br>Information   |
|------------|----------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|---|
| 10         | Unknown  | Presentation                          | Wiatt, Edward           | Nov. 22, 1821                         | TJ to Edward Wiatt,<br>22 Nov. 1821                 | Known via Jefferson correspondence.   |
| 11         | Unknown  | No Known Association                  | Atherton, Charles<br>H. | N/A                                   | RBH 1801-313<br>(Anderson Galleries)                | Last record of sale in 1924. Rare Book Hub description inaccurate(?); is probably first edition (1801). Likely the copy at the Princeton University Firestone Library Special Collections, Table A, Row 34. |
| 12         | Unknown  | No Known Association                  | Putnam, Samuel (Judge)  | N/A                                   | RBH 6553-64<br>(Sotheby's)                          | Last record of sale in 1994.  |
| 13         | Unknown  | No Known Association                  | Randolph,<br>Edmund     | N/A                                   | James Madison to<br>Edmund Randolph, 8<br>June 1801 | Known via Madison correspondence.   |

# **Table C: Untraced Copies.**

| Row<br>No. | Location | Association of Copy with Jefferson | Early Ownership | Date of Presentation (given/received) | Source of Item<br>Information           | Additional<br>Information    |
|------------|----------|------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| 1          | Unknown  | N/A                                | N/A             | N/A                                   | RBH 1335<br>(Murphy)                    | Last record of sale in 1884. |
| 2          | Unknown  | N/A                                | N/A             | N/A                                   | RBH 30Nov1896-<br>2006<br>(Bangs & Co.) | Last record of sale in 1896. |

| Row<br>No. | Location | Association of Copy with Jefferson | Early Ownership | Date of Presentation (given/received) | Source of Item<br>Information                          | Additional<br>Information    |
|------------|----------|------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------------|--|------------------------------|
| 3          | Unknown  | N/A                                | N/A             | N/A                                   | RBH 314-1<br>(Anderson Galleries)                      | Last record of sale in 1904. |
| 4          | Unknown  | N/A                                | N/A             | N/A                                   | RBH 45-1006<br>(Goodspeed)                             | Last record of sale in 1906. |
| 5          | Unknown  | N/A                                | N/A             | N/A                                   | RBH 57-453<br>(Goodspeed)                              | Last record of sale in 1908. |
| 6          | Unknown  | N/A                                | N/A             | N/A                                   | RBH 627-312<br>(Anderson Galleries)                    | Last record of sale in 1908. |
| 7          | Unknown  | N/A                                | N/A             | N/A                                   | RBH 72-393<br>(Goodspeed)                              | Last record of sale in 1909. |
| 8          | Unknown  | N/A                                | N/A             | N/A                                   | RBH 723-440<br>(Anderson Galleries)                    | Last record of sale in 1909. |
| 9          | Unknown  | N/A                                | N/A             | N/A                                   | RBH 1023-333<br>(Anderson Galleries)                   | Last record of sale in 1914. |
| 10         | Unknown  | N/A                                | N/A             | N/A                                   | RBH 112-629<br>(Goodspeed)                             | Last record of sale in 1916. |
| 11         | Unknown  | N/A                                | N/A             | N/A                                   | RBH 1917Nov19-<br>447<br>(American Art<br>Association) | Last record of sale in 1917. |
| 12         | Unknown  | N/A                                | N/A             | N/A                                   | RBH 1581-185<br>(Anderson Galleries)                   | Last record of sale in 1921. |
| 13         | Unknown  | N/A                                | N/A             | N/A                                   | RBH 1701-445<br>(Anderson Galleries)                   | Last record of sale in 1923. |
| 14         | Unknown  | N/A                                | N/A             | N/A                                   | RBH 248-1430<br>(Goodspeed)                            | Last record of sale in 1935. |
| 15         | Unknown  | N/A                                | N/A             | N/A                                   | RBH 503-314<br>(Parke Bernet<br>Galleries)             | Last record of sale in 1943. |
| 16         | Unknown  | N/A                                | N/A             | N/A                                   | RBH 123-105<br>(Eberstadt)                             | Last record of sale in 1947. |

| Row<br>No. | Location | Association of Copy with<br>Jefferson | Early Ownership | Date of Presentation (given/received) | Source of Item<br>Information               | Additional<br>Information    |
|------------|----------|---------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------------|---|------------------------------|
| 17         | Unknown  | N/A                                   | N/A             | N/A                                   | RBH 1064-285<br>(Parke Bernet<br>Galleries) | Last record of sale in 1949. |
| 18         | Unknown  | N/A                                   | N/A             | N/A                                   | RBH 2310-68<br>(Parke Bernet<br>Galleries)  | Last record of sale in 1964. |
| 19         | Unknown  | N/A                                   | N/A             | N/A                                   | RBH 1257-135<br>(Swann Galleries)           | Last record of sale in 1982. |
| 20         | Unknown  | N/A                                   | N/A             | N/A                                   | RBH 1430-154<br>(Swann Galleries)           | Last record of sale in 1987. |
| 21         | Unknown  | N/A                                   | N/A             | N/A                                   | RBH 44-238<br>(MS Rare Books)               | Last record of sale in 1987. |
| 22         | Unknown  | N/A                                   | N/A             | N/A                                   | RBH 1733-236<br>(Swann Galleries)           | Last record of sale in 1996. |
| 23         | Unknown  | N/A                                   | N/A             | N/A                                   | RBH 24-243<br>(Michael Brown Rare<br>Books) | Last record of sale in 2002. |
| 24         | Unknown  | N/A                                   | N/A             | N/A                                   | RBH 73-219<br>(MS Rare Books)               | Last record of sale in 2002. |
| 25         | Unknown  | N/A                                   | N/A             | N/A                                   | RBH 13846-1252<br>(Bonhams)                 | Last record of sale in 2006. |
| 26         | Unknown  | N/A                                   | N/A             | N/A                                   | RBH 675-30884<br>(Heritage Auctions)        | Last record of sale in 2007. |
| 27         | Unknown  | N/A                                   | N/A             | N/A                                   | RBH S259-46<br>(Dominic Winter<br>Auctions) | Last record of sale in 2009. |
| 28         | Unknown  | N/A                                   | N/A             | N/A                                   | RBH 1640-57<br>(Freeman's)                  | Last record of sale in 2019. |

Do you have information to add or correct? Contact Brian Alexander via <a href="mailto:alexanderb@wlu.edu">alexanderb@wlu.edu</a>.