

References

Note on sources. The *Papers of Thomas Jefferson* project began in 1943, on the bicentennial of his birth, and is still in progress. It is a magnificent scholarly endeavor. Almost every document that Jefferson ever sent or received is now available in print online, and the few that are not are usually available in facsimile from the archives where they are held.

Jefferson's writings are quoted wherever possible from the online Rotunda edition, Main Series and Retirement Series, see <https://www.upress.virginia.edu/rotunda/>. At the time of writing, the Main Series contains every known document Jefferson wrote or received (other than most of the volumes in the Second Series, see below) from childhood through March 1805. The Retirement Series contains everything he wrote or received from March 1809, when he retired from the Presidency, through November 1821. Where a document has not yet appeared in the Rotunda collection (i.e., dating from between March 1805 and March 1809, or after November 1821), it is cited from the most convenient available publication or facsimile.

Jefferson's writing has several idiosyncrasies. For instance, he often begins sentences with lowercase letters. He always puts *it's* (with apostrophe) for the possessive *its* and *knolege* for *knowledge*. One of his favorite authors, the Scottish judge Lord Kames, he always call *Kaims*. My direct quotations preserve these idiosyncrasies.

The *Papers* project includes a 'Second Series', listed individually in the reference list below, of which only his Memorandum Book is in the online Rotunda collection. In-text citations use the

following abbreviations: LeCB = *Legal Commonplace Book*, see Konig and Zuckert 2019 below); LCB = *Literary Commonplace Book*, see Wilson 1989 below.

The Second Series comprises:

- *Jefferson's Memorandum Books* 2 vols ed. J.A. Bear and L.C. Stanton. These are now available online.
- *Jefferson's Legal Commonplace Book* ed. by D.T. Konig and M. P. Zuckert;
- *Jefferson's Extracts from the Gospels* ed. D.W. Adams;
- *Jefferson's Literary Commonplace Book*, ed. by D.L Wilson;
- *Jefferson's Parliamentary Writings* ed. by W.S. Howell.

Jefferson's only published book *Notes on the State of Virginia* is not included in the *Papers of Thomas Jefferson* family. There are several modern editions. I use the second edition of one edited by William H. Peden, published in 1982. It is a scholarly edition, although not the most recent. But it is now widely available online.

Jefferson's *Equity Commonplace Book*, unlike the *Legal* and *Literary* commonplace books, has not been transcribed. The MS is held by the Huntington Library, San Marino, CA, where it may be viewed in facsimile.

The papers of Jefferson's frequent correspondents George Washington, James Madison and John Adams, and those of his bitter enemy Alexander Hamilton are mostly available in the US National Archives' *Founders Online* collection (see <https://founders.archives.gov/>). Where I cite

from that collection, the full *Founders Online* citation is shown in the text. For convenience, however, I do not always use *Founders Online*. I cite letters between Jefferson and Adams in the wonderful compilation by Cappon (1987 edition). I cite marginal notes made by Adams, in the books in which he scribbled copiously, direct from the Adams collection in Boston Public Library. I cite the papers of Alexander Hamilton from the online version of Syrett (1961), using the formula *PAH* [vol.]: [page range].

Madison started his *Notes of Debates in the Federal Convention of 1787* on the spot, transcribing his notes on speeches made within a few days, but spent years editing them to the version known today (see Bilder 2015; Rakove 2016). They were not published until after his death. There are two standard print editions: Farrand 1911 vol. 1 and Koch 1987. But I cite them from where they can most easily be found, indexed by date of the proceedings: at the Avalon Project at https://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/debates_618.asp, accessed Jan. 29 2024.

The Federalist papers (Hamilton, Madison and Jay 1788) are cited from the Project Gutenberg ebook version at https://www.gutenberg.org/files/1404/1404-h/1404-h.htm#link2H_4_0030, accessed Jan. 30 2024.

Many other eighteenth-century books exist in modern scholarly editions, which are cited where I have found one. Others again are readable through the good offices of the Google Books digitization project, or in the *Gale* compilation, see <https://www.gale.com/intl/primary-sources/eighteenth-century-collections-online>

Law cases are cited in the text according to the standard method for their jurisdiction.

Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* and David Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature* are cited in the standard formats used by Smith and Hume scholars, so that they may be found in any edition. Smith's *Correspondence* is cited by letter number, not page number, so that it may equally be checked in the paper and online editions of his work.

Jefferson's French correspondents usually wrote to him in French and he replied in English. Not all the French documents in this book are translated, because sometimes what matters is to see how well TJ understood his correspondent (spoiler alert: very well, in my view much better than most people think). The translations, where I present a document in English, are mine unless otherwise stated.

The standard edition of the works of Condorcet is still Arago and O'Connor (1847: O'Connor was married to Condorcet's daughter). It is cited as *OC* [vol.] [page range]. This edition does not include his *Essai* of 1785, nor his *Esquisse* posthumously published in 1795 [l'An 3 de la République]. These are cited from their original publication.

Although Jefferson's personal life is not a focus of this book, his relationship with Sally Hemings and their children cannot be separated from any assessment of his intellectual life. Relevant details of his children by Sally and their descendants may be found at The Jefferson Foundation's 'Getting Word' site at <https://gettingword.monticello.org/#>.

My citation of modern writing on Jefferson is rather sparse. My priority has been to present Jefferson (and Adams, Hamilton, Madison, Condorcet, among others) in their own words, and by referring to books that they read. The modern literature on Jefferson is vast. A bibliography published in 1983 (Shuffelton 1983) lists 3447 items published up to then. Professor Shuffelton had read them all. I confess I have not – and his list stops in 1980. Where I cite modern scholarly work, it is either in connection with claims I make in this book, or to indicate disagreement with a point of view that has much academic support.

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