

Testimony submitted to
Senate Committee on the Judiciary

Hearing on
“The Founding Fathers’ Papers:
Ensuring Public Access to our National Treasures”
February 7, 2008

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Introduction

The practice of American historical documentary editing is almost as old as the nation itself. Its first major phase began in the second quarter of the nineteenth century with Thomas Jefferson Randolph's four-volume *Memoirs, Correspondence, and Miscellanies from the Papers of Thomas Jefferson* (1829) and Jared Sparks's twelve volumes of the *Life and Writings of George Washington* (1834–1837). The United States government itself sponsored the three-volume edition of *The Papers of James Madison* (1840), while Charles Francis Adams compiled ten volumes of *The Writings of John Adams* (1850–1856).

A second phase began at the turn of the nineteenth century. Worthington C. Ford contributed fourteen volumes of Washington material (1889–1893), his brother Paul L. Ford added ten volumes on Jefferson (1892–1899), Gaillard Hunt published nine volumes of Madison's writings (1900–1910), and Albert H. Smyth came out with ten volumes on Franklin (1905–1910). The last of this genre was John C. Fitzpatrick's thirty-seven volumes of Washington's papers that appeared between 1930 and 1944. All of these editions shared several defining characteristics: they contained only letters and documents written by the central character; they provided little or no annotation that illuminated their texts; they were highly selective—containing, on average, no more than fifteen to twenty percent of the potential pool of the surviving documents; and their texts were frequently bowdlerized and marred by inaccuracies in transcription.

Modern historical documentary editing was born in 1943 when Julian P. Boyd launched *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*. The enterprise was financed by a major gift from The New York Times Company to Princeton University, in memory of Adolph S. Ochs, long-time publisher of the *Times*, and in recognition of Jefferson's support for a free press. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Thomas Jefferson Bicentennial Commission, which had been asked by Congress to study the feasibility of a comprehensive edition of Jefferson's works, gave their blessing to the edition, and Boyd, the Librarian of Princeton University and an authority on the Declaration of Independence, undertook the task.

Boyd redefined the field and thereafter every modern major documentary project has followed the standards he set for accuracy and completeness. As Jefferson himself wrote in 1823, "The letters of a person, especially of one whose business has been chiefly transacted by letters, form the only full and genuine journal of his life."¹ "The observation," Boyd wrote, "is as sound as it is comprehensive, for it views 'the letters of a person' not merely as those written by him but also as embracing letters received and other correspondence involved in the transaction of business."² Readers and researchers should, therefore, be able to find not only the letters and papers authored by the principal character but also those that were received by him or known to have passed through his hands. Consequently, users of the edition would get both sides of the conversation and much of the relevant contextual material as well.

The modern Founding Fathers' editions emulated Boyd's model. They searched hundreds of archives, libraries, and other repositories, both private and public, throughout the world to find

¹ Jefferson to Robert Walsh, 5 April 1823.

² Boyd, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, 1:xi–xii.

and copy all relevant materials that could be located. Boyd also required the most painstaking scholarship. Even the most difficult, blurred, faded, or damaged documents were pored over until the editor had accurately transcribed them, carefully retaining the author's original spelling and wording. In the annotation of these editions, efforts were made to identify each significant person, place, event, or idea mentioned, and the context in which the document had been created. Editors collected and compared all of the known texts of documents, identified the most authoritative version (usually the recipient's copy), and accounted for significant variations. Then, the transcriptions and annotation were checked word by word, letter by letter, to insure that the publications would stand as authoritative and definitive.

The appearance of the first volume of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* by Princeton University Press in 1950 was a landmark in American historical scholarship. Based on a collection of some 70,000 documents, a total of thirty-four volumes have appeared to date, carrying the documentary record of Jefferson's life through July 1801.

To accelerate the publication of this documentary record, spokespersons from Princeton University, the Thomas Jefferson Foundation, and The Pew Charitable Trusts met in 1997 and initiated a Retirement Series of Jefferson's papers, to be based at Monticello, in order to publish the papers dealing with the final years of Jefferson's life—1809 to 1826. Initially funded by The Pew Charitable Trusts, the new project published its first volume in 2004. Since then, three further volumes have appeared, covering Jefferson's life through to April 1812.

Following the success of the Jefferson edition, Yale University and the American Philosophical Society, in 1953, planned a new edition for Franklin, which was initially funded by the American Philosophical Society and *Life* magazine. The modern *Papers of Benjamin Franklin* draws on a collection of nearly 30,000 documents representing numerous, diverse genres of writing to which Franklin contributed—literary essays, satires, scientific papers, newspaper and pamphlet polemics, and diplomatic correspondence, to say nothing of his personal letters.

The first volume of the new Franklin edition was published by Yale University Press in 1959 and thirty-seven more have been added to date, as well as the authoritative edition of the *Autobiography*. These volumes document Franklin's life from his birth in 1706 to January 1783 when their subject was in Paris, engaged in the multi-national diplomacy that was to result in the international recognition of American independence later in that year. Nine more volumes will round out Franklin's final years until his death in 1790.

Moreover, in 1993 the Packard Humanities Institute (PHI), in collaboration with the Franklin Papers, issued a CD-ROM of the entire archive of Franklin's papers, both published and unpublished, which they periodically updated with corrected texts taken from the new volumes of the Franklin Papers and with additional material and corrections supplied by the editors. In 2006 PHI placed this database on a freely accessible website that they continue to maintain and update. Scholars and the general public therefore already have free access to the entire Franklin archive assembled at Yale University. Searchable electronic indexes to the published volumes are also available on the Franklin Papers project website, and plans are well advanced to supplement them with an edited cumulative index for all the volumes.

In 1954, the Massachusetts Historical Society (MHS) launched *The Adams Papers* edition. The MHS had recently obtained an unprecedented archive composed of the papers of three generations of the Adams family. This unique public and private correspondence spans more than a century and includes not only the writings of the great statesmen like John Adams but the letters and journals of Adams women, most notably Abigail. Because of the complexity of the collection, the output of the project was divided into four series: Series I, Diaries and Journals; Series II, Family Correspondence; Series III, General Correspondence and Other Papers of the Adams Statesmen; Series IV, Family Portraits. Like the other editions, the staff of *The Adams Papers* has not limited its work to documents owned by the MHS but has also continued to search the world for additional Adams material to supplement this extraordinary manuscript collection. The approximately 30,000 documents located to date from the founding generation include not only John and Abigail's correspondence but John's diary, legal papers, and the numerous manuscripts that he prepared for publication.

When completed, *The Adams Papers* will present a comprehensive history of public life in the United States from the 1750s through the 1880s. Currently, however, the project is exclusively publishing materials relating to the founding era—most particularly the lives of John and Abigail Adams. Since its inception *The Adams Papers* volumes—forty-one to date, thirty of which deal with the founding generation—have been published by the Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. Both the MHS and Harvard are committed to the edition, most recently manifested in their support of a digital retrospective conversion of the existing volumes, which will offer full free access online to the volumes beginning in July 2008.

Planning for *The Papers of James Madison* began in 1956 as a joint venture between the University of Chicago and the University of Virginia. Financial support, in the first instance, was provided by the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations as well as the state of Virginia. The editing of the early volumes was carried out at the University of Chicago and the Virginia Historical Society, with the University of Chicago Press publishing the first ten volumes of the edition between 1962 and 1977. In 1971, the project was relocated at the University of Virginia whose press also assumed the responsibility for publication of all subsequent volumes in the edition.

The total number of documents that *The Papers of James Madison* will have to account for is in the region of 40,000. These are being edited in four series. The first, or Congressional Series, in seventeen volumes, was completed in 1991. It makes available all of Madison's correspondence, political essays, and speeches between 1751 and 1801. The Secretary of State Series, started in 1986, documents Madison's political career in the two administrations of Thomas Jefferson between 1801 and 1809. Eight volumes have been published to date, covering the period between March 1801 and January 1805. Eight further volumes should suffice to complete the series.

The Presidential Series, covering the years between 1809 and 1817, was started in 1984 and will center largely, though by no means exclusively, on Madison's conduct as commander in chief during the War of 1812. Five volumes have been published, with a sixth currently in press, which will document Madison's White House years through October 1813. Three additional volumes may be enough to conclude the series. The Retirement Series for the years

1817 to 1836 is planned in seven volumes and will contain correspondence and other papers that constitute a rich and informative commentary on the past history and future prospects of the nation that Madison had done so much to create and preserve during his lifetime.

The Papers of George Washington was launched in 1968, the last Founding Fathers project to get started. It was seated at the University of Virginia as a joint endeavor of the University and Mount Vernon. Initial funding came from these institutions. The editors immediately began the process of collection, eventually gathering some 135,000 documents.

The editing began with Washington's diaries, the first two volumes of which were published in 1976. When these were completed in six volumes in 1979, the work was organized into five chronological series: a Colonial Series, completed in ten volumes; a Revolutionary War Series, seventeen of a projected forty volumes completed; a Confederation Series, completed in six volumes; a Presidential Series, thirteen of a projected twenty-one volumes completed; and a Retirement Series, completed in four volumes. By January 2008, the project had published fifty-eight volumes, with two additional volumes awaiting publication at the press. Producing volumes at a steady pace of two per year, the project expects to complete its final thirty (for a total of ninety) volumes in 2023.

In 2004, with funding from Mount Vernon, the Washington Papers and the University of Virginia Press's digital imprint, *Rotunda*, joined forces to produce a digital edition of the Washington Papers. In the spring of 2007 this digital edition was launched on the Internet, containing the documents of the first fifty-two Washington volumes. More volumes will be added each year.

The fundamental reason for the creation and continuation of the Founding Fathers projects is the central, indispensable role of their subjects in the creation of the American Republic and in the formation of its system of government. One cannot penetrate the pervasive, obscuring myths that surround these men, or objectively evaluate their historical roles, without consulting their voluminous papers.

The impact of the work of the Founding Fathers projects has been keenly felt across many fields in American history, the humanities, and legal scholarship, and it has extended to many levels of American readers. High school students and teachers consult their contents, as do university professors, members of Congress, and Supreme Court justices. As the Founding Fathers themselves were multi-dimensional figures, so too are their papers of significance to multiple audiences.

These papers reveal much about these five essential individuals. But they also provide an invaluable window into American society during the last half of the eighteenth century and the first quarter of the next, including not only the gentry, but the merchants, artisans, indentured servants, and slaves with whom they came into contact. Among the thousands of men and women with whom they corresponded over a period of more than a century, there are family and friends, generals and subalterns, governors and local magistrates, Loyalists and Patriots, farmers and manufacturers, backwoodsmen and scholars, and Native American leaders and European diplomats. There are few facets of research on life and enterprise in the late colonial,

Revolutionary War, and early national periods that have not benefited by the editing and publication of these remarkable papers.

Statement on Productivity

The modern critical editions of the papers of John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and George Washington were launched independently at separate institutions between 1943 and 1968. Work on all these projects has been steadily carried out by a succession of dedicated editors who were responsible for not only collecting, evaluating, deciphering, transcribing, and annotating tens of thousands of complex manuscripts covering a huge range of topics, but also for raising the funds necessary to sustain their respective enterprises. To date, 207 volumes have been published. (Twelve of these, published by the Adams Papers, cover material outside the founding era.) These volumes have been praised as the "gold standard" of the scholarly editing profession, and are rewriting the history of our nation's creation and early decades.

All these projects have had ebbs and flows in publication rate during their long histories due to staff turnover, the size of volumes, and differing levels of complexity in the material being presented. Scholars who are trained in this kind of editing are difficult to find, and the process of training new ones to the exacting standards required takes years. All the projects are currently operating with maximum efficiency, having well-trained staffs of expert editors whose knowledge of the intricacies of this material is unparalleled and whose judgments are routinely praised. They are producing volumes at a steady pace that in many cases represents significant increases over past performance. They are all within the accepted norms for scholarly documentary editing, and are in compliance with their agreements and schedules with funders and presses.

The Adams Papers, which has multiple series, has increased production from one volume every three years to one volume a year. The Papers of John Adams is now expected to finish by 2043. With increased resources, it could finish by 2026. The nine remaining volumes of the Franklin Papers are scheduled to be completed by 2016, at a rate of one volume per year. Thanks to the creation of the Jefferson Retirement Series and to excellent productivity at both Jefferson offices, the previous rate of roughly one Jefferson volume every two years has increased dramatically. Each Jefferson editorial office is currently publishing one volume a year, with completion of both series anticipated by 2026. The Madison Papers are producing one volume a year, and, with 18 volumes to go, expect to finish by 2026. The Washington project has averaged publishing two volumes a year almost from the beginning, and will complete the last thirty (of a projected ninety) by 2023.

A Publication History of the Founding Fathers' Documentary Editions

The Adams Papers comprising four series, two of which (Diaries and Portraits) are complete, has published 30 founding generation volumes to date with the first appearing in 1961 and the most recent in 2007. Another volume will appear in early 2008. Thirty-six additional volumes will be published in the *Papers of John Adams* and the *Adams Family Correspondence* series to complete the edition in 2043.

The Papers of Benjamin Franklin has published 38 volumes to date, in addition to the *Autobiography*. The first volume appeared in 1959 and the most recent in 2006. Another will appear in 2008. Eight additional volumes will be published to complete the edition in 2016.

The Papers of Thomas Jefferson has published 34 chronological volumes to date with the first appearing in 1950 and the most recent in 2007. Another volume is in press for publication in 2008, and 18 additional volumes will be published to complete this part of the edition by 2026. Four titles (five volumes) have also been published in the Topical Series between 1983 and 1997.

The Papers of Thomas Jefferson: Retirement Series has published four volumes to date with the first appearing in 2004 and the most recent in 2007. Nineteen additional volumes will be published to complete this part of the edition in 2026.

The Papers of James Madison comprising four series, one of which (Congressional) is complete, has published 30 volumes to date with the first appearing in 1962 and the most recent in 2007. Another volume will appear in 2008. Eighteen additional volumes will be published in the *Secretary of State*, *Presidential*, and *Retirement* series to complete this edition in 2026.

The Papers of George Washington comprising six series, four of which (Diaries, Colonial, Confederation and Retirement) are complete, has published 58 volumes to date with the first volumes appearing in 1976 and the most recent in 2008. Two additional volumes have been submitted to the press and will appear in 2008. Thirty additional volumes will be published in the *Revolutionary War* and the *Presidential* series to complete the edition in 2023.

THE ADAMS PAPERS
Volumes Published

DIARY & AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF JOHN ADAMS

<u>Vols</u>	<u>Year Published</u>	<u>Dates Covered</u>
1	1961	Diary 1755-1770
2	1961	Diary 1771-1781
3	1961	Diary 1782-1804; Autobiography to Oct. 1776
4	1961	Autobiography 1777-1780
Suppl.	1966	Diary June 1753 -Apr. 1754; Sept. 1758-Jan. 1759

ADAMS FAMILY CORRESPONDENCE

1	1965	Dec. 1761 - May 1776
2	1965	June 1776 - Mar. 1778
3	1973	Apr. 1778 - Sept. 1780
4	1973	Oct. 1780 - Sept. 1782
5	1993	Oct. 1782 - Nov. 1784
6	1993	Dec. 1784 - Dec. 1785
7	2005	Jan. 1786 - Feb. 1787
8	2007	Mar. 1787 - Dec. 1789

PORTRAITS OF JOHN AND ABIGAIL ADAMS, 1967

LEGAL PAPERS OF JOHN ADAMS

1	1968	Cases 1-30
2	1968	Cases 31-62
3	1968	Cases 63 & 64, Boston Massacre Trials

PAPERS OF JOHN ADAMS

1	1977	Sept. 1755 - Oct. 1773
2	1977	Dec. 1773 - Apr. 1775
3	1979	May 1775 - Jan. 1776
4	1979	Feb. - Aug. 1776
5	1983	Aug. 1776 - Mar. 1778
6	1983	Mar. - Aug. 1778
7	1989	Sept. 1778 - Feb. 1779
8	1989	Mar. 1779 - Feb. 1780
9	1996	Mar. 1780 - July 1780
10	1996	July 1780 - Dec. 1780
11	2003	Jan. - Sept. 1781
12	2004	Oct. 1781 - Apr. 1782
13	2006	May - Oct. 1782
14	2008 (April)	Oct. 1782 - May 1783

Non-Founding Generation Series

DIARY OF CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS

1	1964	Jan. 1820 - June 1825
2	1964	July 1825 - Sept. 1829
3	1968	Sept. 1829 - Feb. 1831
4	1968	Mar. 1831 - Dec. 1832
5	1974	Jan. 1833 - Oct. 1834
6	1974	Nov. 1834 - June 1836
7	1986	June 1836 - Feb. 1838
8	1986	Mar. 1838 - Feb. 1840

PORTRAITS OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS AND HIS WIFE, 1970

DIARY OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,

1	1981	Nov. 1779 - Mar. 1786
2	1981	Mar. 1786 - Dec. 1788

The Papers of Benjamin Franklin

	<u>Published</u>	<u>No. pp</u>
VOLUME 1 (Jan. 1706-Dec. 1734)	1959	400
VOLUME 2 (Jan. 1735-Dec. 1744)	1960	471
VOLUME 3 (Jan. 1745-June 1750)	1961	513
VOLUME 4 (July 1750-June 1753)	1961	544
VOLUME 5 (July 1753-March 1755)	1962	575
VOLUME 6 (April 1755-Sept. 1756)	1963	581
VOLUME 7 (Oct. 1756-March 1758)	1963	427
AUTOBIOGRAPHY	1964	351
VOLUME 8 (April 1758-Dec. 1759)	1965	489
VOLUME 9 (Jan. 1760-Dec. 1761)	1966	429
VOLUME 10 (Jan. 1762-Dec. 1763)	1966	459
VOLUME 11 (Jan. 1764-Dec. 1764)	1967	593
VOLUME 12 (Jan. 1765-Dec. 1765)	1968	467
VOLUME 13 (Jan. 1766-Dec. 1766)	1969	580
VOLUME 14 (Jan. 1767-Dec. 1767)	1970	382
VOLUME 15 (Jan. 1768-Dec. 1768)	1972	327
VOLUME 16 (Jan. 1769-Dec. 1769)	1972	359
VOLUME 17 (Jan. 1770-Dec. 1770)	1973	430
VOLUME 18 (Jan. 1771-Dec. 1771)	1974	302
VOLUME 19 (Jan. 1772-Dec. 1772)	1976	494
VOLUME 20 (Jan. 1773-Dec. 1773)	1976	624
VOLUME 21 (Jan. 1774-March 1775)	1978	653
VOLUME 22 (March 1775-Oct. 1776)	1982	726
VOLUME 23 (Oct. 1776-April 1777)	1983	664
VOLUME 24 (May-Sept. 1777)	1984	602
VOLUME 25 (Oct. 1777-Feb. 1778)	1986	779
VOLUME 26 (March-June 1778)	1987	756
VOLUME 27 (July-Oct. 1778)	1988	727
VOLUME 28 (Nov. 1778-Feb. 1779)	1990	708
VOLUME 29 (March-June 1779)	1992	848
VOLUME 30 (July-Oct. 1779)	1993	701
VOLUME 31 (Nov. 1779-Feb. 1780)	1995	626
VOLUME 32 (March-June 1780)	1996	680
VOLUME 33 (July-Nov. 1780)	1997	588
VOLUME 34 (Nov. 1780-Apr. 1781)	1998	641
VOLUME 35 (May-Oct. 1781)	1999	742
VOLUME 36 (Nov 1781-Mar. 1782)	2001	768

VOLUME 37	(March-Aug. 1782)	2003	819
VOLUME 38	(Aug. 1782-Jan. 1783)	2006	691
VOLUME 39	(Jan.-May 1783)	2008	<i>approx.</i> 700

Projected

VOLUME 40	(May-Oct. 1783)	2009
VOLUME 41	(Oct. 1783-Mar. 1784)	2010
VOLUME 42	(April-Dec. 1784)	2011
VOLUME 43	(Jan.-Sept. 1785)	2012
VOLUME 44	(Sept. 1785-Nov. 1786)	2013
VOLUME 45	(Dec. 1786-Dec. 1787)	2014
VOLUME 46	(Jan.-Dec. 1788)	2015
VOLUME 47	(Jan. 1789-Apr. 1790 and addenda)	2016

THE PAPERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON

VOLUMES PUBLISHED

The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Julian P. Boyd and others, eds.

<u>Vols</u>	<u>Published</u>	<u>Dates Covered</u>
1	1950	14 January 1760-25 December 1776
2	1950	2 January 1777-18 June 1779
3	1951	18 June 1779-30 September 1780
4	1951	1 October 1780-24 February 1781
5	1952	25 February-20 May 1781
6	1952	21 May 1781-1 March 1784
7	1953	2 March 1784-25 February 1785
8	1953	25 February-31 October 1785
9	1954	1 November 1785-22 June 1786
10	1954	22 June-31 December 1786
11	1955	1 January-6 August 1787
12	1955	7 August 1787-31 March 1788
13	1956	[March 1788]-7 October 1788
14	1958	8 October 1788-26 March 1789
15	1958	27 March-30 November 1789, with Supplement, 19 October 1772-7 February 1790
16	1961	30 November 1789-4 July 1790
17	1965	6 July-3 November 1790
18	1971	4 November 1790-24 January 1791
19	1974	24 January-31 March 1791
20	1982	1 April-4 August 1791

The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Charles T. Cullen and others, eds.

<u>Vols</u>	<u>Published</u>	<u>Dates Covered</u>
21	1983	Cum. Index: Vols. 1-20
22	1986	6 August-31 December 1791
23	1990	1 January-31 May 1792

The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, John Catanzariti and others, eds.

<u>Vols</u>	<u>Published</u>	<u>Dates Covered</u>
24	1990	1 June-31 December 1792
25	1992	1 January-10 May 1793
26	1995	11 May-31 August 1793
27	1997	1 September-31 December 1793, with Supplement, 26 July 1764-23 July 1793
28	2000	1 January 1794-29 February 1796

The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Barbara B. Oberg and others, eds.

<u>Vols</u>	<u>Published</u>	<u>Dates Covered</u>
29	2002	1 March 1796-31 December 1797
30	2003	1 January 1798-31 January 1799
31	2004	1 February 1799-31 May 1800
32	2005	1 June 1800-16 February 1801
33	2006	17 February-30 April 1801
34	2007	1 May-31 July 1801

Anticipated 53 volumes total, projected completion date of 2026

The Papers of Thomas Jefferson: Retirement Series, J. Jefferson Looney and others, eds.

<u>Vols</u>	<u>Published</u>	<u>Dates Covered</u>
1	2004	4 March-15 November 1809
2	2005	16 November 1809-11 August 1810
3	2006	12 August 1810-17 June 1811
4	2007	18 June 1811-30 April 1812

Anticipated 23 volumes total, projected completion date of 2026

SECOND (or, TOPICAL) SERIES

- 1983 Jefferson's Extracts from the Gospels, Dickinson W. Adams and others, eds.
1988 Jefferson's Parliamentary Writings, Wilbur S. Howell, ed.
1989 Jefferson's Literary Commonplace Book, Douglas L. Wilson, ed.
1997 Jefferson's Memorandum Books, 1767-1826, 2 vols., James A. Bear, Jr., & Lucia C. Stanton, eds.

The Papers of James Madison

Congressional Series.

- Vol. 1 (16 March 1751-16 December 1779) (U of Chicago Press, 1962)
- Vol. 2 (20 March 1780-23 February 1781) (U of Chicago Press, 1962)
- Vol. 3 (3 March 1781-31 December 1781) (U of Chicago Press, 1963)
- Vol. 4 (1 January 1782-31 July 1782) (U of Chicago Press, 1965)
- Vol. 5 (1 August 1782-31 December 1782) (U of Chicago Press, 1967)
- Vol. 6 (1 January 1783-30 April 1783) (U of Chicago Press, 1969)
- Vol. 7 (3 May 1783-20 February 1784) (U of Chicago Press, 1971)
- Vol. 8 (10 March 1784-28 March 1786) (U of Chicago Press, 1973)
- Vol. 9 (9 April 1786-24 May 1787) (U of Chicago Press, 1975)
- Vol. 10 (27 May 1787-3 March 1788) (U of Chicago Press, 1977)
- Vol. 11 (7 March 1788-1 March 1789) (U Press of Va, 1977)
- Vol. 12 (2 March 1789-20 January 1790, with a supplement, 24 October 1775-24 January 1789) (U Press of Va, 1979)
- Vol. 13 (20 January 1790-31 March 1791) (U Press of Va, 1981)
- Vol. 14 (6 April 1791-16 March 1793) (U Press of Va, 1983)
- Vol. 15 (24 March 1793-20 April 1795) (U Press of Va, 1985)
- Vol. 16 (27 April 1795-27 March 1797) (U Press of Va, 1989)
- Vol. 17 (31 March 1797-3 March 1801, with a supplement, 22 January 1778-9 August 1795) (U Press of Va, 1991)

Secretary of State Series

- Vol. 1 (4 March-31 July 1801) (U Press of Va, 1986)
- Vol. 2 (1 August 1801-28 February 1802) (U Press of Va, 1993)
- Vol. 3 (1 March-6 October 1802) (U Press of Va, 1995)
- Vol. 4 (8 October 1802-15 May 1803) (U Press of Va, 1998)
- Vol. 5 (16 May-31 October 1803) (U Press of Va, 2000)
- Vol. 6 (1 November 1803-31 March 1804) (UVa Press, 2002)
- Vol. 7 (2 April-31 August 1804) (UVa Press, 2005)
- Vol. 8 (1 September 1804-31 January 1805, with a supplement, 1776-23 June 1804) (UVa Press, 2007)

Presidential Series

- Vol. 1 (1 March-30 September 1809) (U Press of Va, 1984)
- Vol. 2 (1 October 1809-2 November 1810) (U Press of Va, 1992)
- Vol. 3 (3 November 1810-4 November 1811) (U Press of Va, 1996)
- Vol. 4 (5 November 1811-9 July 1812, with a supplement, 5 March 1809-19 October 1811) (U Press of Va, 1999)
- Vol. 5 (10 July 1812-7 February 1813) (UVa Press, 2004)

The Papers of George Washington

The Diaries

- Vol. 1: 1748 – 1765 (1976)
- Vol. 2: 1766 – 1770 (1976)
- Vol. 3: 1771 – 1775, 1780 – 1781 (1978)
- Vol. 4: 1784 – June 1786 (1978)
- Vol. 5: July 1786 – December 1789 (1979)
- Vol. 6: January 1790 – December 1799 (1979)
- Abridged Edition, 1748-1799 (1999)

Colonial Series

- Vol. 1: 1748 – August 1755 (1983)
- Vol. 2: August 1755 – April 1756 (1983)
- Vol. 3: April – November 1756 (1984)
- Vol. 4: November 1756 – October 1757 (1984)
- Vol. 5: October 1757 – September 1758 (1988)
- Vol. 6: September 1758 – December 1760 (1988)
- Vol. 7: January 1761 – June 1767 (1990)
- Vol. 8: June 1767 – December 1771 (1993)
- Vol. 9: January 1772 – March 1774 (1994)
- Vol. 10: March 1774 – June 1775, with Cumulative Index (1995)

Revolutionary War Series

- Vol. 1: June – September 1775 (1985)
- Vol. 2: September – December 1775 (1987)
- Vol. 3: January – March 1776 (1988)
- Vol. 4: April – June 1776 (1991)
- Vol. 5: June – August 1776 (1993)
- Vol. 6: August – October 1776 (1994)
- Vol. 7: October 1776 – January 1777 (1997)
- Vol. 8: January – March 1777 (1998)
- Vol. 9: April – June 1777 (1999)
- Vol. 10: June – August 1777 (2000)
- Vol. 11: August – October 1777 (2001)
- Vol. 12: October – December 1777 (2002)
- Vol. 13: December 1777 – February 1778 (2003)
- Vol. 14: March – April 1778 (2004)
- Vol. 15: May – June 1778 (2006)
- Vol. 16: July – September 1778 (2006)
- Vol. 17: 15 September – 31 October 1778 (2008)

Confederation Series

- Vol. 1: January – July 1784 (1992)
- Vol. 2: July 1784 – May 1785 (1992)
- Vol. 3: May 1785 – March 1786 (1994)
- Vol. 4: April 1786 – January 1787 (1995)
- Vol. 5: February – December 1787 (1997)
- Vol. 6: January – September 1788 (1997)

Presidential Series

- The Journal of the Proceedings of the President, 1793-1797 (1981)
- Vol. 1: September 1788 – March 1789 (1987)
- Vol. 2: April – June 1789 (1987)
- Vol. 3: June – September 1789 (1989)
- Vol. 4: September 1789 – January 1790 (1993)
- Vol. 5: January – June 1790 (1996)
- Vol. 6: July – November 1790 (1996)
- Vol. 7: December 1790 – March 1791 (1998)
- Vol. 8: March – September 1791 (1999)
- Vol. 9: September 1791 – February 1792 (2000)
- Vol. 10: March – August 1792 (2002)
- Vol. 11: August 1792 – January 1793 (2002)
- Vol. 12: January – May 1793 (2005)
- Vol. 13: June – August 1793 (2007)

Retirement Series

- Vol. 1: March – December 1797 (1998)
- Vol. 2: January – September 1798 (1998)
- Vol. 3: September 1798 – April 1799 (1999)
- Vol. 4: April – December 1799 (1999)

Access to the Papers of the Nation's Founders

All the teams of scholars preparing the definitive editions of the papers of John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and George Washington are extremely mindful of their ongoing responsibility to provide access to their materials and research assistance, whenever possible, while the scholarly work on the volumes is moving forward. These materials, with the exception of the Adams Family Papers, an extensive manuscript collection owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society, are not original manuscripts. They are photocopies and photostats of original documents that were assembled for the use of the editorial projects from a wide range of repositories--the Library of Congress, the National Archives, historical societies, independent research libraries, universities, and private collections from around the world. The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, for example, has photocopies from more than 900 repositories around the world. All of the project editors are committed to disseminating their work to the American public in a variety of ways.

Research Assistance

It is the policy of all the projects to provide access to their "archives" of photocopy holdings whenever possible and to answer requests for assistance from a diverse public, including scholars, students, biographers, journalists, lawyers, curators, documentary film and television producers, speechwriters, the National Park Service, and members of the three branches of the government. This can mean providing visiting scholars with work space in the project offices or answering questions by letter, phone, and e-mail. All of the projects reply to dozens of research questions annually. Often the assistance lies in explaining how the information can be obtained by consulting the already-published volumes or, in the case of the Adams Papers, for example, checking the comprehensive microfilm available in roughly one hundred locations throughout the United States, Canada, Europe, and New Zealand. We also steer researchers to other collections or documents with which they may not be familiar. At times we can simply send, either electronically or in photocopy, copies of the documents researchers need and answers to the questions they pose. In all cases, we are committed to providing access to documents and help toward the most efficient way of using them.

In addition to photocopies or digital scans of documents, the editorial offices also contain extensive finding aids for making a more informed use of the photocopied documents and for doing original research on the founding era. Control files, begun as paper slip records in the 1940s and 1950s and now being created as (in the case of the Retirement Series of the Jefferson Papers) or converted to databases, provide a wealth of information on the location and provenance of documents. Project subject files, bibliographical and genealogical compilations, and rare pamphlet collections are also made available. Research notes and correspondence between the project editors and outside scholars gathered over the decades are openly shared with today's researchers and give them crucial information for understanding the incoming and outgoing letters, including tentative dates for undated documents, identifications of persons mentioned in letters, and a general historical context. Lawyers and constitutional historians made extensive use of

the Adams Papers for investigating his role in the drafting of the Massachusetts state constitution.

By no means is our audience exclusively, or even primarily, scholarly. Any interested party can seek access to the photocopied documents that we have gathered in our offices. David McCullough has used the files of the Adams Papers and the Washington Papers. Reporter and author Cokie Roberts has had access to the Dolley Payne Madison Papers and the Adams Papers. Walter Isaacson's biography of Benjamin Franklin relied heavily upon the Franklin edition. PBS and History Channel documentaries on the Founders have as their foundation the published volumes of the Founding Fathers editions, as well as the expertise of the editors. Our commitment has always been to give access to our materials and contribute to the telling of accurate historical stories in print, in film, and in the electronic world. We encourage access in all ways that we can.

High School and Elementary School Students and Teachers

All the projects receive and respond to numerous queries from school-age children, participants in National History Day activities, and K-12 teachers who seek to develop a document-based curriculum and to impart to their pupils the excitement of learning early American history from primary sources. A high school freshman from Rockland County, New York, spent time at the George Washington Papers offices to work on her History Day project on the Newburgh Conspiracy. At the Jefferson Papers at Princeton University a visit from an Advanced Placement American History class at a high school in northern New Jersey has become an annual event, enthusiastically praised by the teachers and students who participate. The parents report that their teenagers come home eager to discuss contemporary issues in a much more knowledgeable way, one that is informed by an understanding of American history and values.

Electronic Access

Each of the projects has a robust website that greatly enhances public access to the documents they are publishing and draws the public into the study of the founding era. While these websites vary from project to project, among the most common components are the presentation of featured documents, indexes to recent volumes, bibliographical and biographical information, and visual images. In 2004 the Retirement Series of the Jefferson Papers launched the Family Letters Project website, which provides access to transcriptions of a growing collection of Jefferson family documents. This material was initially assembled solely as an internal collection to aid research on the Retirement Series, but the editors concluded that it was an essential source on early nineteenth-century American life generally as well as on Jefferson himself, and so the project moved quickly to make it freely available to the public. The website of the Franklin Papers contains a digitized, searchable version of every one of the published indexes. That of the Jefferson Papers offers images and transcriptions of such key American documents as the Declaration of Independence, the Kentucky Resolutions, and Jefferson's First Inaugural Address.

These websites, regularly updated, are located at:

http://www.masshist.org/adams_editorial/ ; <http://www.yale.edu/franklinpapers/>;
<http://www.princeton.edu/~tjpapers/> ;
<http://www.monticello.org/papers/index.html>; www.virginia.edu/pjm/;
www.virginia.edu/gwpapers

Every one of the Founding Fathers projects is involved in planning for or actually preparing its materials for digitization and subsequent electronic publication. The projects are at different stages, but all are committed to the same end. The Adams Papers will provide free access to all volumes published through the year 2006 on the Massachusetts Historical Society website beginning July 2008. Additional volumes will be added upon publication if funding is available.

In 1988 the Trustees and Editors of the Founding Fathers Papers, Inc. embarked upon a joint venture with the Packard Humanities Institute (PHI) to create a CD-ROM edition of the papers of the five Founding Fathers projects that would be distributed at minimal or no cost to the public. Annual contracts with PHI since 1988 have supported the transcription and digitization of well over 100,000 documents across the five projects, as well as the ongoing editorial work necessary to produce authoritative transcriptions and publish annotated volumes. In recent years, supplemental funding has been provided for such special initiatives as cumulative indexes and databases, which enhance the access to these editions.

While PHI generously supported work on all the five Founding Fathers projects, they decided to begin their ambitious venture with the Franklin Papers, which represented the smallest corpus of all the Founding Fathers Papers and therefore would be most manageable for developing the protocols. What they learned from this project could serve as a model for the other Founding Fathers editions when their turn came. In 1993, fifteen years after work on the PHI digital edition began, the first test-version of the Franklin Papers CD-ROM was issued and free electronic access to the entire archive of published and as-yet-unpublished documents became available to the public on computers at Yale and the American Philosophical Society, and to individuals upon request. In January 2006, in honor of Franklin's 300th birthday, the PHI mounted the Electronic Franklin Papers database onto a freely-accessible website (www.franklinpapers.org/). It is accessed on average 13,000 times per month by users in more than 150 countries. It is searchable by name of correspondent, date, and volume number. A master Names List, created by the Franklin Papers staff, insures that word searches on proper names will pick up all variants. A biographical dictionary, created from information supplied by the Franklin Papers staff, provides thumbnail sketches for each of Franklin's hundreds of correspondents (save those about whom no information could be found.) Translations will be provided for all the French documents; many of these translations are already in place. The Digital Franklin Papers is an ongoing collaboration between PHI and the Franklin Papers. The unverified texts are replaced by authoritative ones as each successive volume is published, and the database is periodically updated with corrections and additions as supplied by the editors.

In 2001, the University of Virginia Press took a transformational step when it established an electronic imprint, Rotunda (<http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu>), with assistance from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation and the President's Office of the University of Virginia. Rotunda is building an American Founding Era collection of digital editions that will be creative in design, cross-searchable, and based on fully verified, scrupulously accurate texts. Rotunda will make available in a usable and responsible electronic form the writings of the founding generation, available on a sliding scale subscription basis. The editors of the Founding Fathers Papers fully support this venture and see it as the fulfillment of our mission to make available to the nation and the world the words of the nation's founders.



UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA PRESS

January 30, 2008

Mr. James Taylor
Editor, *The Adams Papers*
1154 Boylston Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02215

Dear Jim:

You asked me to provide information for the Senate hearing on February 7 about Rotunda's work in creating digital editions of the Founding Fathers Papers and other related documentary editions. I am pleased to give you this report.

University presses and historical societies have been supporting and publishing the documentary editions relating to the Founding Era for decades. The University of Virginia Press publishes two of the major Founding Fathers papers series as print volumes, the Washington Papers and the Madison Papers. We have published over fifty volumes in the Washington Papers series since its inception, and now publish two or three new volumes a year. We took over publication of the Papers of James Madison from the University of Chicago Press after publication of volume X. There are now 30 volumes available in the Madison edition, and a new volume is published each year.

In addition to publishing these two editions in print, the University of Virginia Press is publishing many of the Founding Era editions in digital editions through its new electronic imprint, Rotunda (<http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu>). The electronic imprint was established in 2001 through grants from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation and the President's Office of the University of Virginia. In 2004 Rotunda published its first work, a born digital publication, *The Dolley Madison Digital Edition*. The U Va. Press proceeded to build an American Founding Era collection of digital editions through arrangements with other university presses and with historical societies and with continuing support from our original sponsors and others.

Each of the editions in the Rotunda collection is available separately and can be searched in various ways within the edition. The real value of this collection, however, will come when a number of the editions are published and can be searched across works. It will then be possible for a user to explore names, places, and concepts in a rich environment in which users will be able to make new discoveries, as indicated by the following comment:

The Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution is the only collection of its kind. It gathers together ALL of the relevant materials for the ratification process in each state. The distinguished editors who oversee the project are well-known for adhering to the highest standards in the documentary editing field. Their introductions and footnotes further enhance the value of the primary sources. Although the printed volumes are already widely used by historians, lawyers, and political scientists, the possibility of searching the texts digitally would substantially increase their availability and ease of use. Digital searches might well reveal new, and previously unknown, relationships between and among the texts. I most enthusiastically support this project. —Rosemary Zagari, George Mason University

Yours sincerely,

Penelope Kaiserlian
Director

UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA PRESS

The following editions are published, in preparation, or in negotiation for publication as Rotunda digital editions in the American Founding Era collection.

Published:

- *The Papers of George Washington Digital Edition*, 52 volumes published, ongoing edition (University of Virginia Press) Published **February 2007** (see attached review from *Choice* magazine)

In Process:

- *The Adams Papers Digital Edition*, 30 volumes published, ongoing edition (Massachusetts Historical Society/Harvard University Press) Digital edition forthcoming **April 2008**
- *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Digital Edition*, 34 volumes published in the main series, 4 in the Retirement series; ongoing edition (Princeton University Press) Digital edition of main series and Retirement series forthcoming **July 2008** Five Second Series volumes to follow
- *Documentary History of the Ratification of the Constitution Digital Edition*, 20 volumes published; ongoing edition (Wisconsin Historical Society) Digital edition forthcoming **December 2008**

Planned and Under Contract:

- *The Papers of James Madison Digital Edition*, 30 volumes published; ongoing edition (University of Virginia Press) **Est. Spring 2009**
- *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton Digital Edition*, 26 volumes published, completed edition (Columbia Univ. Press) **Est. Fall 2009**

Possible additions

The academic editors of the following editions have expressed interest in having their works included in Rotunda, and their publishers are willing to make arrangements:

- *The Papers of John Marshall*, 12 volumes published; completed edition (University of North Carolina Press)
- *The Political Correspondence and Public Papers of Aaron Burr*, 2 volumes published, completed (Princeton University Press)
- *The Papers of Andrew Jackson*, 7 volumes published, ongoing (University of Tennessee Press)

We are also in discussion with the publishers of other major editions of the Founding Era.

Reference \ Social & Behavioral Sciences

The Papers of George Washington: Digital Edition. Purchase price ranges from \$1,326.00 to \$6,630.00, depending on type of institution; annual maintenance fee applies. Internet Resource. Reviewed in 2007 Aug CHOICE.

<http://rotunda.upress.virginia.edu/>

[Visited May'07] Dating back to 1837 with the publication of Jared Sparks's *Writings of George Washington*, various compilations of Washington's papers have been published. However, the most recent and by far superior manifestation is being undertaken at the University of Virginia. Initiated in 1969, *The Papers of George Washington* (PGW) project has produced 52 published volumes to date in six series: "Diaries" plus the chronological "Colonial," "Revolutionary War," "Confederation," "Presidential," and "Retirement" (with two series still edging toward completion). The bulk of the original Washington archives is housed in the Library of Congress, although numerous other repositories and libraries have contributed to the Washington papers project. The archive is large, yielding some 135,000 documents, including all extant writings of Washington as well as letters written to him.

The PGW is a magnificent accomplishment in historical and scholarly editing. The project has continued through the years under a progression of editors and contributors, with Theodore J. Crackel currently editor in chief. Now, the University of Virginia Press, under its "Rotunda" electronic imprint, has issued a searchable, full-text digital edition, and it is a notable achievement. The *Digital Edition* (PGWDE) offers a synergy that builds upon the printed one, and brings a wealth of Washington scholarship and primary source material together in one digital file. Although the print volumes still have their place and purpose, the digital version weaves a web of cross-referencing and indexing that permits researchers an ease of access not possible using only the print. Users may search the entire papers collection by chronological date, author, or recipient, and also use a full-text search feature. In addition, the PGWDE's exceptional master index, comprising the combined and integrated indexing of the print volumes, lends a powerful tool to mine this database. All internal references are linked; for example, one can toggle between the correspondence and the diaries, or exploit the valuable editorial gloss in a dynamic way.

Once mastered, the navigational "compass" tool, together with a hierarchical search "trail" feature, allows a sophisticated mechanism for moving about. The PGWDE includes a remarkable depth of documentation and explanatory materials that place persons and events in historical context. The wealth of topics and characters included here, like Washington himself, offers a key for understanding the Colonial and early national periods of American history. Although currently an array of founders and presidential papers projects are under way (see the Library of Congress *American Memory* site, CH, Dec'05, 43-2404), no other project offers researchers the bounty of the landmark PGWDE. **Summing Up:** Highly recommended. All academic collections supporting lower-level undergraduates through faculty/researchers; general readers.

■ K. Potts, *California State University Stanislaus*

These sample documents from the Adams Papers and the Jefferson Papers illustrate some of the difficulties that may confront anyone attempting to work from manuscripts. The annotation illustrates the contribution that trained and experienced documentary editors make to scholarship.

II 1910 XXXI 34

Sunday

My dearest Friend

May 31. 1789

Yesterday I received your Letter of May the 24th and shall begin tomorrow to get such things in readiness as will enable us to keep house, & feel a reluctance at shipping this whole at present. because I am well persuaded that we shall in some future period of our lives are prolonged return to it, and even supposing a summer sojourn, we might wish to come & spend a few months here, an other reason is, that I do not wish to bring all our own furniture, because cogs are not, & do not possess sufficient stability to be run of continuing long in any one state, - I am fully satisfied with the house you have taken & glad that it is a little removed from the city. the advantages will overbalance the inconvenience I don't not, I suppose Barnard has arrived before this, would not be best to let him know that he will have a full freight ready, return as soon as he will, and that I must look out for some other vessel if he delays. tho I have not the least prospect of getting one, for Mr. Safford's got at New York Barnard's is calculated for the trip up, & I could get a small vessel to come here to Mr. Blew's & take in my things & carry them along side of Barnard, which will be less expence & damage than carting them to Boston, in the mean time I will get the Dr to look out, & see if any other vessel can be hired for the purpose provided Barnard should delay at New York. This you can advise me of by the next post, with the greatest expedition I do not think I can get them ready under a week. I must leave answer to come by water with them, if you think it best for me to come before my furniture is shipped, but I do not see what advantage I can be of, to you situated as you are, an additional man-

From the Adams Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. Not to be reproduced without permission.

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benance to my poor family would be still more indelicate than
imposing the vice of indolence upon him for several months, and
rendering his situation so delicate that he could neither leave
him with decency, or stay with decorum, and to be at Samaria
& could do no more than if I was at Mainbury to assist in any thing
the Smokes which I sent contain bed & table Linen some cloths
& the cases contain carpets, I will however be directed wholly by
your wishes & come next week if you think it best, and you
have any penne to put me, you must be sensible from the tenor of
your letters that I have not known hitherto what to do, any more
than you have from your situation, what to direct, you will
be as patient as possible & rest assured that I will do my utmost
with the means I have, to expedite every thing. as to insurance
there will be no occasion for it by Samard who is so well acquainted
with the coast, & at this season of the year

The president & Lady dined
with me yesterday, he has got permission for Charles's absence -
Jolly Tailor would cry a waker if I did not bring her, for a
house maid I know not where I could get her equal, Elizabeth's mother
thinks it is too slow for her son to go, but if they consent my Uncle
can take him on board Samard when he comes, but I shall not
prop it, poor Daniel has been sick with Fever which gathered on
his throat & which nearly proved fatal to him, he expected from you
some gratuity for himself, owing to the multiplicity of cares which
on all sides surrounded you, at that time, it was omitted, as it was
Catherine & Daniel's expectations were disappointed, he mentioned it
to one or two persons, amongst whom Woodard was one, who having
just returned from New York, clasp'd ²⁶ his hands into his pocket & taking
out two crowns gave them to him, telling him that you were
so much engaged at the time, that it had slipped your mind

but that he saw you at Weymouth & that he had bought them³⁴¹ for him. This came to my knowledge by the way of our friend who insisted upon letting me know it, & immediately repaid Mr Woodard & thanked him for his kindness -

Your brother & believe will take care of the place when I leave it. The time for breaking up the Hill came too late for this season, the weather is remarkably cold & backward, the pastures bare & vegetation very slow. There is a fine blow upon the place, & if the frost last week which killed beans, has not injured the Alopia, we shall have a fine ^{large} crop of fruit, I had yesterday a fine piece of fair musquets upon the table, sound as when they were taken from the trees. My garden looks charmingly ^{dry}, it wants warmth. I have got some ~~large~~ asparagus beds made, & my little grass plots before the door, pray well for the manure which I had put on. In short I regret leaving it. Your mother is well as usual, her eyes are very troublesome to her, you will let me hear from you by the next post, I hope to be able to relieve you from your domestic cares & anxieties, at least my last endeavours do not be wanting, I know you want your own bed & pillows, your hot coffee & your full portion of Arian where habit has become grateful, how many of these little matters make up a ^{large} portion of our happiness & content, and the more of publick cares & perplexities that you are surrounded with, the more necessary these alleviations. Our blessings are sometimes enhanced to us, by feeling the want of them, as one of that number it is my highest ambition to be estimated, & shall be my constant endeavour to

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affectionately yours A Adams

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His Excellency John Adams

Vice President of the United States

Wm Lloyd Garrison

Sample Document – Transcribed and Verified

Abigail Adams to John Adams

my dearest Friend Sunday

May 31. 1789

I received yesterday your Letter of May the 24th and shall begin tomorrow to get such things in readiness as will enable us to keep House. I feel a reluctance at stripping this wholly at present, because I am well persuaded that we shall in some future period if our lives are prolonged return to it, and even supposing a summer recess, we might wish to come & spend a few months here. an other reason is, that I do not wish to bring all our own furniture, because congress are not, or do not possess sufficient stability to be sure of continuing long in any one state,— I am fully satisfied with the House you have taken & glad that it is a little removed from the city. the advantages will overbalance the inconvenience I doubt not. I suppose Barnard has arrived before this. would it not be best to let him know that he will have a full freight ready, returns as soon as he will, and that I must look out for some other vessel if he delay's, tho I have not the least prospect of getting one, for mr Tufts's is yet at Newyork Barnard's is calculated for the Buisness, & I could get a small vessel to come here to mr Blacks & take in my things & carry them along side of Barnard, which will be less expence, & damage than carting them to Boston. in the mean time I will get the dr to look out, & see if any other vessel can be hired for the purpose provided Barnard should delay at Newyork. this you can advise me of by the next post. with the greatest expedition I do not think I can get them ready under a week— I must leave Brisler to come by water with them, if you think it best for me to come before my furniture is ship'd, but I do not see what advantage I can be of, to you situated as you are. an additional incunberence to mr Jays family would be still more indelicet than imposing the vice Pressident upon him for several months, and rendering his situation so delicate that he could neither leave him with decency, or stay with decorum, and to be at Jamaica I could do no more than if I was at Braintree to assist in any thing the Trunks which I sent contain Bed & table Linnen some Cloths & the cases contain carpets. I will however be directed wholly by your wishes & come next week if you think it best, and you have any place to put me. you must be sensible from the tenor of Your Letters that I have not known hitherto what to do, any more than you have from your situation, What to direct. you will be as patient as possible & rest assured that I will do my utmost with the means I have, to expidite every thing. as to insurence there will be no occasion for it by Barnard who is so well acquainted with the coast, & at this season of the Year

The Pressident & Lady dinned with me yesterday.¹ he has got permission for Charles's absence— Polly Tailor would cry a week if I did not bring her, for a House maid I know not where I could get her equal. Elijahs mother thinks it is too far for her son to go, but if they consent mr Brisler can take him on Board Barnard when he comes, but I shall not press it. Poor daniel has been sick with a soar which gatherd in his Throat & which nearly proved fatal to him. he expected from you some gratuity for himself, oweing to the multiplicity of cares which on all sides surrounded you, at that time, it was omitted. as it was Customary & daniels expectations were dissapointed, he mentiond it to one or two persons, amongst whom woodard was one, who having just returnd from Newyork, clapt his hands into his pocket & taking out two crowns, gave them to him,

telling him that you was so much engaged at the time, that it had slipt your mind but that he saw you at Newyork & that he had brought them for him. this came to my knowledge by the way of mr Wibird who insisted upon letting me know it. I immediatly repaid mr woodard & thank'd him for his kindness—

your Brother I believe will take care of the place when I leave it. the leave for Breaking up the Hill came too late for this season, the weather is remarkably cold & Backward, the pastures bare & vegetation very slow there is a fine blow upon the place, & if the frost last week which killd Beans, has not injured the Blossom, we shall have a large crop of fruit. I had yesterday a fine plate of fair Russets upon the table, sound as when they were taken from the Trees my Garden looks charmingly, but it wants warmth— I have got some Large asparagrass Beds made, & my little grass plots before the door, pay well for the manure which I had put on in short I regret leaving it. your Mother is well as usual. her Eyes are very troublesome to her. you will let me hear from you by the next post. I hope to be able to relieve you soon from [all?] domestick, cares & anxieties. at least my best endeavours sh[all] not be wanting. I know you want your own Bed & pillows, your Hot coffe & your full portion of kian where habit has become Natural.² how many of these little matters, make up a large portion of our happiness & content, and the more of publick cares & perplexities that you are surrounded with, the more necessary these alleviations our blessings are sometimes enhanced to us, by feeling the want of them. as one of that Number it is my highest ambition to be estimated, & shall be my constant endeavour to / prove in all situations & circumstances / affectionatly yours

A Adams

RC (Adams Papers); addressed: "To / His Excellency John Adams / vice president of the united States / Newyork." Some loss of text where the seal was removed.

¹ That is, Joseph Willard, president of Harvard, and his wife, Mary.

² Cayenne pepper (*OED*).

Jefferson to Yusuf Qaramanli, Pasha and Bey of Tripoli, 21 May 1801

The Papers of Thomas Jefferson. Volume 34: 1 May to 31 July 1801 (Princeton University Press, 2007), 159-61.

Jefferson composed this letter knowing that Yusuf had declared an intention of going to war with the United States. In fact, although Jefferson could not have known it as he wrote, Tripoli had formally commenced hostilities on 14 May by pulling down the flagstaff at the American consulate. Jefferson had been in office as President for 78 days when he signed this letter.

For Volume 34 of the *Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, the editors transcribed Jefferson's draft (which is in the Library of Congress) to reconstruct his changes in wording as he composed his letter to the Bey. Explanatory annotation supplements the transcription and provides historical context.

Great & respected friend.

May 21, 1861.

The friendly assurances, which our General has given you from great friendship to us, & of our sincere desire to cultivate peace & friendship & commerce with your subjects, are ^{faithful expressions} in perfect concordance with our dispositions, and ~~you will continue to find proofs of them in~~ ^{as we do} ~~you may assure~~ ^{that they shall ever be testified by} all those acts of respect & friendly intercourse which are ^{due} between two nations sharing in the relations of peace & amity with each other. We at the conclusion of our treaty with you we endeavored to ^{manifest} ~~show~~ move ourselves interested with it ~~our satisfaction~~ ^{at that event} by such demonstrations as were then satisfactory to you; and we are disposed to believe that in rendering into another language those expressions of ^{your} love of the 25th of May of the last year which seem to imply expectations inconsistent with the solemn engagements entered into by inconsistent with the faith of that transaction have your intentions been misconstrued. ^{appearing} ~~and~~ on this behalf we request release to you, ^{nevertheless} the assurances of our constant friendship and ^{that} our desire to cultivate peace & commerce with you continues firm & unabated.

We have found it ^{essential} important to detach a squadron of observation
into the Mediterranean sea, to supersede the safety, four commenced
there & to secure our regions in national duties, we recommend them
to your hospitality, ^{and from that} should occasion require their resorting to your
harbours we hope that ^{their appearance will give courage to no power} as ~~as~~ ^{we} ~~would~~ ^{will} ~~not~~ ^{be} ~~in~~ ^{at} ~~the~~ ^{no} ~~possibility~~
~~of~~ ^{being} ~~of~~ ^{of} the Mediterranean power, they have the strictest orders
to conduct them ^{on}, while we mean to rest the safety of our commerce on the
resources of our strength & bravery in every sea, we ^{have} ~~not~~ ^{yet} ~~even~~ ^{given} ~~it~~ ^{to} ~~them~~
in strict command to bear the most rigorous respect to conduct themselves
towards all friendly powers with the most perfect respect & good order
it being the first object of our ^{solicitude} ~~rather~~ to cherish with solicitude that
peace & friendships which can be held with all nations with whom it can
be held on terms of equality & neighbourly.

I pray ^{God} ^{that} he may have you, ~~very~~ ^{very} great & respected friend,
always in ^{his} holy keeping.

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21 MAY 1801

friend (whose forte is certainly not quick movements either of body or mind), will not be equal to." Matthew Davis, Liv-

ingston observed, would be better suited for the office (Gallatin, *Papers*, 4:767; Vol. 33:330, 331-2n).

To Yusuf Qaramanli, Pasha and Bey of Tripoli

GREAT & RESPECTED FRIEND.

May 21. 1801.

The assurances of friendship¹ which our Consul has given you,² & of our sincere desire to cultivate peace³ & commerce with your subjects, are faithful expressions of⁴ our dispositions, and you will continue to find proofs of them in⁵ all those acts of respect & friendly intercourse which are due⁶ between nations standing as we do in the relations of peace & amity with each other.⁷ at the conclusion of our treaty with you we endeavored to prove ourselves contented with it⁸ by such demonstrations as were then satisfactory to you;⁹ and we are disposed to believe that in rendering into another language those expressions in your lre of the 25th. of May last which seem to imply expectations¹⁰ inconsistent with the faith of that transaction your intentions have been misconstrued.—on this supposition we renew¹¹ to you sincerely¹² assurances of our constant friendship and that our desire to cultivate peace & commerce with you¹³ continues firm & unabated.

We have found it expedient¹⁴ to detach a squadron of observation into the Mediterranean sea, to superintend the safety of our commerce there & to exercise our seamen in nautical duties. we recommend them to your hospitality and good offices should occasion require their resorting to your harbours. we hope that their appearance will give umbrage to no power¹⁵ for, while we mean to rest the safety of our commerce on the resources of our own strength & bravery in every sea, we have yet given them¹⁶ in strict command to conduct themselves towards all friendly powers with the most perfect respect & good order it being the first object of our sollicitude¹⁷ to cherish peace & friendship with all nations with whom it can be held on terms of equality & reciprocity.

I pray God very great and respected friend that he may have you always in¹⁸ his holy keeping.

Dft (DLC); heavily emended; the most significant changes are recorded in notes below. FC (Lb in DNA: RG 59, Cre-

dences); in a clerk's hand; at head of text: "Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States of America; To the Most

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21 MAY 1801

illustrious and honored Bey of Tripoli of Barbary, whom God preserve"; lacks dateline at head (see note 18 below); substantive variations are recorded in notes below. Tr (DNA: RG 233, PM, 7th Cong., 1st sess.); in the same clerk's hand; wording follows FC. PrC (DNA: RG 46, EPFR, 7th Cong., 1st sess.); a letterpressed copy of the Tr; faint, portions overwritten. TJ transmitted this letter to Congress among the papers supplementing his 8 Dec. 1801 message (ASP, *Foreign Relations*, 2:348-9; JHR, 4:24). Not recorded in SJL.

Yusuf (ca. 1773-1838) was a younger son of the ruling Qaramanli family, but he displaced his father and brothers by intrigue and force of arms and, with assistance from Tunis, expelled another aspirant to power who had been approved by the Ottoman sultanate. From 1795 he ruled Tripoli and attempted to consolidate and expand the country's economic wherewithal and political power. The sultan sanctioned Yusuf's rule, accorded Tripoli the same status in the empire as Tunis and Algeria, and helped strengthen its navy. Yusuf, however, resisted Ottoman domination. He expanded Tripoli's authority into the North African interior and supported the French campaign in Egypt. Later in his reign, after the United States and European nations ceased to pay tribute money and he was forced to renounce the enslavement of their seafarers, his imposition of high taxes fostered internal discord that led to his abdication (Kola Folayan, *Tripoli during the Reign of Yusuf Pasha Qaramanli* [Ile-Ife, Nigeria, 1979], 4, 7-21, 25-7, 47-58, 71-2, 128-34, 144-6; Ronald Bruce St. John, *Historical Dictionary of Libya*, 2d ed. [Metuchen, N.J., 1991], 63-4; Seton Dearden, ed., *Letters Written during a Ten Years' Residence at the Court of Tripoli: Published from the Originals in the Possession of the Family of the Late Richard Tully, Esq., the British Consul* [London, 1957], 241).

James Leander Cathcart was the American CONSUL in Tripoli. Yusuf had expressed dissatisfaction to Cathcart over the terms of the TREATY between the United States and Tripoli, which had

been signed in 1796 and ratified the following year. As conveyed to Congress, the letter that Yusuf addressed to John Adams on 25 May 1800 said in part, after expressions of goodwill: "We, on our part, will correspond with you, with equal friendship, as well in words as deeds. But if only flattering words are meant, without performance, every one will act as he finds convenient. We beg a speedy answer, without neglect of time, as a delay on your part cannot but be prejudicial to your interests. In the mean time, we wish you happiness." The bey subsequently communicated an intention to declare war in the spring of 1801 if the United States did not undertake new negotiations (ASP, *Foreign Relations*, 2:352; Joseph Barnes to TJ, 19 Mch. 1801).

FIRST OBJECT OF OUR SOLICITUDE: on 21 Mch., Levi Lincoln wrote to William Eaton, the consul at Tunis: "The new Administration which has commenced under Mr. Jefferson has not yet been able to decide upon the interests of the United States in relation to Barbary. We are however impressed with the necessity of paying immediate attention to the menacing demands of Tripoli. It is not improbable that a part of our naval force may be speedily sent into the Mediterranean to guard against exigences or by a demonstration of our power to reduce the capricious Sovereigns of Barbary to a sense of justice, thro' the medium of their fears" (in DNA: RG 59, DCI).

¹ TJ first wrote "The <expre> <friendly> assurances" before altering the phrase to read as above.

² TJ here canceled "of our great friendship to you."

³ TJ here canceled "friendship."

⁴ Preceding three words interlined in place of "in perfect correspondence with."

⁵ Preceding nine words interlined in place of "you may be assured that they shall ever be <tested> manifested by."

⁶ Word interlined in place of "observed."

⁷ FC begins a new paragraph with the next sentence.

⁸ Preceding five words interlined in place of "<evidence> manifest our satisfaction <at> on that event." FC: "to

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prove our respect for yourself, and satisfaction at that event."

⁹ FC: "as gave you then entire content."

¹⁰ FC: "purposes." In Dft TJ here canceled "inconsistent with the solemn engagements not warranted by."

¹¹ TJ first wrote "and on this belief we repeat" before altering the clause to read as above.

¹² Word interlined in place of "the."

¹³ TJ altered "you" to "your state," then restored the original wording.

¹⁴ Word interlined in place of "convenient."

¹⁵ TJ first wrote "by any of the Mediterranean powers."

¹⁶ FC: "given to this squadron."

¹⁷ Word interlined in place of "wishes."

¹⁸ Preceding two words interlined in place of "under." After this sentence FC continues in a new paragraph: "Written at the City of Washington, the twenty first day of May in the year of our Lord one thousand Eight hundred and one," followed by a transcription of TJ's signature and "By the President, James Madison Secretary of State."

From Winthrop Sargent

RESPECTED SIR

New York May the 21st. 1801—

As the Intelligence contained in the enclosed Hand Bill seems important I take Leave to transmit the same by Post believing it will come to hand one Day earlier than any other of those Bills which shall be forwarded—

I arrived in Boston Sir from the Mississippi Territory a few Days since and am now upon my Way to pay my Respects to you at the Seat of Government—but my health permits me not to travel with, the Expedition of the main Stage

I have the honour to be respected Sir with very high Consideration
Your obedient humble Servant

WINTHROP SARGENT

RC (MoSHi: Jefferson Papers); at foot of text: "The President of United States"; endorsed by TJ as received 25 May and so recorded in SJL. Enclosure not found.

To James Monroe

DEAR SIR

Washington May 29. [i.e. 22] 1801.

I am late in answering your favor of the 4th. because the Navy department, from an extraordinary press of business, could not till within this day or two furnish me the inclosed papers. you will see by them that the money for Gosport (12,000. D.) has been placed in Norfolk at Mr Hopkins's command, ever since the last week in January. why it should have been withheld so long he will probably explain to you.

As to the mode of correspondence between the General & particular executives, I do not think myself a good judge. not because my

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Heads of Answer to Speech of The Glass, [30 June-3 July 1801]

The Papers of Thomas Jefferson. Volume 34: 1 May to 31 July 1801 (Princeton University Press, 2007), 508-10.

The Glass, a Cherokee Indian chief, headed a deputation from the tribe that traveled to Washington in the summer of 1801. On 30 June, the group met with Henry Dearborn, the Secretary of War (the department responsible for Indian affairs). The Glass made an oral address that expressed concern about encroachments on the Cherokees' territory on the frontiers of Georgia and Tennessee. Jefferson was not present, but probably saw a transcription of The Glass's oration. Drafting on a scrap piece of paper (the address sheet of a letter received by James Madison), Jefferson framed a reply to the Cherokees that Dearborn delivered to the visitors on the administration's behalf on 3 July.

Jefferson's draft and a letterpress copy of his finished version of the text are in the Library of Congress. The editors of the Jefferson Papers used them to develop the annotated transcription for the volume.

heads of arrows to the Speech of the glad men

1. The president receives their visit with great cordiality listens willingly to their representations, and assures them of the friendship of the U.S. and that they will be governed in all proceedings with them by the rules of justice & the brotherly feeling with them.

The Indians have many people & little land for them. The Indians have much land & few people. it is natural therefore that the whites should be willing to buy wherever the Indians can spare. but only with the good will of the Indians. the lands heretofore bought have been marked off by a line. all beyond that line belongs to the Indians. whenever they choose to sell more we shall be ready to buy, and on this subject we shall never press. ^{and they shall not receive the right of the white men to buy land.} any thing disagreeable to them. but where the Indian lands lie between our settlements, so that our people cannot visit & trade without passing thro' the Indⁿ lands, if they cannot sell us their lands, we wish them to let us have roads along which our people may pass and have here & there houses to lodge ^{by the way} ~~we~~ ^{we} praying for this privilege. on this subject we are about to propose their meeting in private.

They ask who get the lands when the Indians sell them? they see that the States of Tennessee & Kentucky have been established on these purchases.

We rejoice to learn that they are beginning to spin & weave clothes, to raise stock, a. S. to make bread with the plough. this is a more certain subsistence than hunting. and we will with pleasure send them persons to instruct them in all the useful arts.

We have withdrawn some of our troops because so many were not necessary there, we shall leave enough to prevent encroachment on their land.

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...and we have had people tell us that
we still certainly possess them if they can be found out
but if they do it so secretly that we cannot find them
and if they own away & hide themselves
we will faithfully give the Indians the satisfaction
settled in our treaty, it is not in our power to do more.
we expect the same & no more from the Indians; on
this subject we will have further talk with these great
men at the treaty we are about to propose to them, as
it is our duty to give them all just satisfaction.

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we still certainly possess them if they can be found out
but if they do it so secretly that we cannot find them
and if they own away & hide themselves
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settled in our treaty, it is not in our power to do more.
we expect the same & no more from the Indians; on
this subject we will have further talk with these great
men at the treaty we are about to propose to them, as
it is our duty to give them all just satisfaction.

James Madison Esq:

Secretary of State
City of Washington

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that we cannot but do it, or if they run away, and escape from our
arms, we will faithfully, as the Indians, the satisfaction stipulated in
the treaty, this will be done so as to pay the same to no more from the Indians.
We will have further talk with their grand men and the
tribe, as we have done before, and there be any just claims
and strictly give them the satisfaction due.

REPLY TO A CHEROKEE DELEGATION

on their nation on their return," Little Turkey, on hearing the deputation's report of the conference with Dearborn, decided that he would not meet with the commissioners. Another murder of a Cherokee along the frontier strained the situation even further, and several chiefs, including The Glass, attempted to change the site of the meetings, which were originally scheduled to begin on 1 Aug. to allow time for the commissioners to negotiate with the Chickasaws and Choctaws that autumn. After delays, some chiefs did meet the commissioners early in September 1801, but they expressed deep concerns about encroachments on Cherokee lands and refused to discuss new roads. Unable to pursue negotiations with the Cherokees, the commissioners moved on to hold discussions with the other tribes (Dearborn to Wilkinson, 17 July 1801, Lb in DNA: RG 107, LSMA; Dearborn to chiefs of the Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Choctaws, 18 June 1801, Lb in DNA: RG 75, LSIA; Thomas Foster, ed., *The Collected Works of Benjamin Hawkins, 1796-1810* [Tuscaloosa, Ala., 2003], 361-86).

Commenting on The Glass's oratory, the *National Intelligencer* affirmed that his "mode of delivery, the tone of his voice, and his general expression of countenance, were mild and persuasive, and his deportment and gestures were highly dignified and graceful." The Glass was a chief from the Cherokees' Lower Towns, which were located along the Tennessee River between Chickamauga and Muscle Shoals. Many of those Cherokees, who were sometimes called the Chickamaugas, were dismayed by the expansion of settlements from the American states and, as a result, supported the British side during the American Revolution. In that period and for some time after, The Glass resisted encroachments on the Cherokees' territory, but in the years following his visit to Washington he came to be identified with land cessions and as an advocate of relocation. In 1808 his opponents forced him, for a time, off the Cherokee national council, prompting him to sign appeals to Jefferson and Dearborn. "Our hearts are true to the U. States," one of those addresses declared. The Glass became a leader in the migration of Cherokees to Arkansas. His name in English apparently came from a confusion of his Cherokee name with the word for "looking glass" (*National Intelligencer*, 6 July 1801; remonstrances of 2, 25, [ca. 26] Nov. 1808, in DNA: RG 107, LRUS; McLoughlin, *Cherokee Renascence*, 20, 60, 80, 85, 95, 100-1, 115, 118, 122, 133, 144-5, 156, 160, 211, 230, 232, 417; Hoig, *Cherokees*, 63-4, 73, 77, 88, 96, 102, 112-13, 120; Jack Frederick Kilpatrick and Anna Gritts Kilpatrick, eds., "Letters from an Arkansas Cherokee Chief (1828-29)," *Great Plains Journal*, 5 [1965], 26-34; Vol. 2:285-6; Vol. 3:5, 479n).

I. Heads of Answer to Speech of The Glass

[30 June-3 July 1801]

Heads of answer to the speech of the glass¹ to be amended or incorporated with others as Genl Dearborne shall think best.

1. That the President recieves their visit with welcome & cordial-

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ity,² listens willingly to their representations, assures them of the friendship of the US. and that all their proceedings with them shall be directed by justice and a sacred regard to our treaties.³

2. The Whites have many people & little land.⁴ the Indians much [land &] few people. it is natural therefore that we should be willing to buy whenever the Indians can spare. but only with the good will of the Indians. the lands heretofore bought have been marked off by a line. all beyond that line belongs to the Indians. whenever they shall chuse to sell more, we shall be ready to [buy:] on this subject we shall never press any thing disagreeable [to them,] and they shall now receive the map of the last line as was promised them⁵ and to stand as evidence between them and us, of the lands which belong to each.

3. But where the Indian lands lie between our settlements, so that our people cannot visit & trade without passing through them, we wish for roads⁶ along which our people may pass, & have here & there houses to lodge in by the way; we paying them for this indulgence.⁷ on this subject we are about to propose their meeting us in treaty.

4. They ask who get the lands when the Indians sell them? they see that the States of Kentucky & Tennessee have been established on these purchases.

5. We rejoice to learn that they are beginning to spin & weave clothes, to raise stock & to make bread with the hoe & the plough. this is a more certain subsistence than hunting; and we shall with pleasure send persons to instruct them in all the arts necessary for these objects.⁸

6. We have withdrawn some of our troops, because so many were not necessary there. we shall leave enough to prevent encroachments on their land.

7. Whenever any of our wicked⁹ people kill or rob¹⁰ an Indian, we will certainly punish them if they can be found out, but if they do it so secretly that we cannot find who did it, or if they run away and escape from our search,¹¹ we will faithfully give the Indians the satisfaction stipulated¹² in our treaty. this is all we can do, &¹³ we expect the same & no more from the Indians. on this subject also we will have further talk with their great men at the treaty we are about to propose to them.¹⁴ we will there hear any just claims they have on th[is] subject, and strictly give them the satisfaction due.

PrC (DLC: TJ Papers, 115:19758-9); 114:19542-3); undated; in TJ's hand, entirely in TJ's hand; undated; faint written on an address cover addressed in and blurred. Dft (DLC: TJ Papers, an unidentified hand to James Madison at

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REPLY TO A CHEROKEE DELEGATION

Washington with a postmark or endorsement in another hand: "Thornton June 26th 1801 Free."

¹ Remainder of sentence lacking in Dft.

² Dft: "with great cordiality."

³ Dft: "that they will be governed in all proceedings with them by the rules of justice & the treaties existing with them." In Dft TJ numbered this paragraph with a "1" in the margin and did not number the other paragraphs.

⁴ Dft continues "for them."

⁵ Remainder of sentence lacking in Dft, where TJ continued without a paragraph break. In Dft TJ interlined the passage from "and they shall" to this point.

⁶ Dft: "if they cannot sell us these lands, we wish them to let us have roads."

⁷ Dft: "privilege." Remainder of paragraph interlined in Dft.

⁸ Dft: "and we will with pleasure send them persons to instruct them in all the useful arts."

⁹ Dft: "bad."

¹⁰ Preceding two words interlined in Dft.

¹¹ Dft: "run away & hide themselves."

¹² Dft: "settled."

¹³ Dft: "it is not in our power to do more."

¹⁴ Dft continues here, following a comma, "as it is our desire to give them all just satisfaction." In Dft, TJ apparently first intended to end the paragraph here with "to them" and to begin a new paragraph with "A map of," which he canceled.

II. Reply to the Cherokee Delegation by Henry Dearborn

FRIENDS AND BROTHERS,

[3 July 1801]

When I had the pleasure of conferring with you three days since, I promised to lay all that you should represent, on behalf of your Nation, before your Father, the President of the United States. This has been done, and I have it in charge, from him to tell you, that he receives your visit¹ with welcome and cordiality, that he listens willingly to your representations, and requests you and your Nation to be assured of the friendship of the United States, and that all our proceedings towards you shall be directed by justice and a sacred regard to our Treaties.

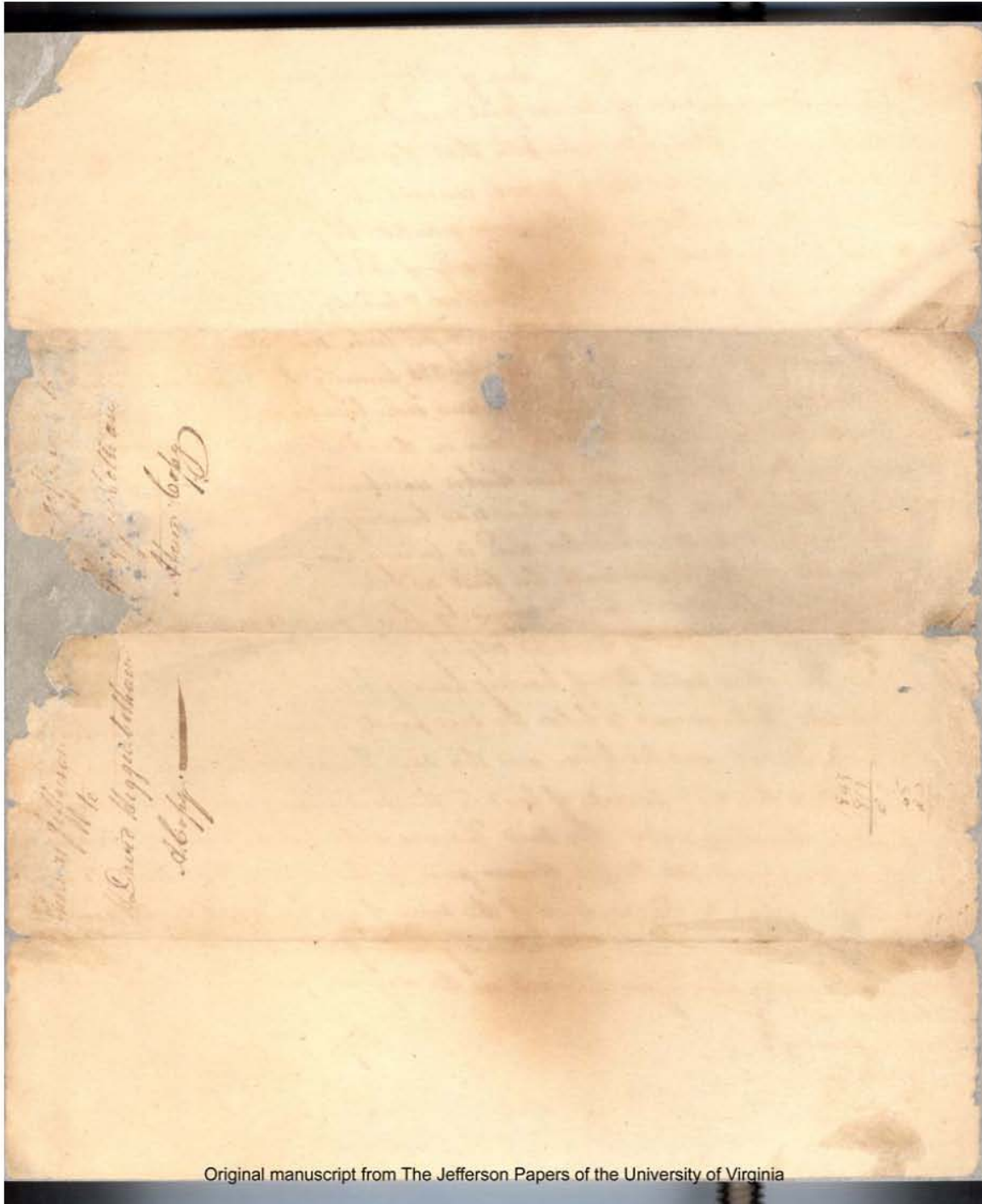
You must be sensible, that the White people are very numerous, and that we should therefore be desirous to buy land, when you are willing to share it, but we never wish to buy, except when you are perfectly disposed to sell. The lands we have heretofore bought of you have been marked off by a Line, and all beyond that Line we consider as absolutely belonging to our Red Brethren. You shall now receive the Map of the last Line, which has heretofore been promised to you to stand in evidence between your people and ours, and to shew which lands belong to you and which to us. Whenever you shall chuse to sell more, we shall be ready to buy, but we will not press any thing on this subject, that may be disagreeable to you.

But where lands that you are unwilling to part with lie between

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Witnessed in the day of Nov^r one thousand eight hundred
and eleven Thomas Jefferson of the one part and David Higgenbotham of the other,
of the County of Henrico, do hereby certify that the said Thomas in consideration of
the sum of one hundred and thirty pounds current money of Virginia to him in
hand paid by the said David in full for and granted bargained & sold unto the said
David certain parcel of land in the City of Richmond adjacent to James
Street & containing one hundred & twenty five square yards by the
survey of the said David & by the right line which runs on the South
side of the said street & on the East side of the lot formerly the property of Patrick Henry
the said parcel of land is bounded on the North side by the common lane
which runs from the said street to the North Western side bounding on
the South side by a line from the said warehouse to the wharf is thirty
yards long & the line on the North Western side bounding on the land of formerly the
property of Robert Carter Nicholas dec^d is twenty two yards long which line
meets the first at a right angle with the first at a third line before mentioned
part of land which is to be conveyed by these presents is part of a
lot which is in the plan of the said city by the number three hundred and
thirty four the other parts thereof having belonged to Robert Carter Nicholas
dec^d. It was agreed to hold the said parcel of land with its appurtenances
to the said David and his heirs and the said Thomas his heirs executors and
administrators the said parcel of land to the said David and his heirs against
all persons claiming under the said Thomas with power warrant and depu-
ties paid against all lawful claims prior to the date of these presents to wit
the sum of one hundred & thirty pounds
the said Thomas hath been
in the sum of one hundred & thirty pounds on the day and year above mentioned
Signed
Thomas Jefferson

Original manuscript from The Jefferson Papers of the University of Virginia



Original manuscript from The Jefferson Papers of the University of Virginia

NOVEMBER 1811

Birch's ODE, entitled "His Excellency Thomas Jefferson, Esq.," celebrates TJ's triumph over opposition as president and declares a readiness to fight any power that threatens American naval interests, especially while "Jefferson trims all the sails, With helm in his hand." The same volume includes two orations by unidentified authors celebrating TJ as he

entered retirement (Birch, *Virginian Orator*, 15-22, 64-6). The lines SUCH AS IT IS—AH MIGHT IT WORTHIER BE, ITS SCANTY FOLIAGE ALL IS DUE TO THEE were written in 1750 by St. George Molesworth (James Hervey, *Meditations and Contemplations* [London, 1753], 1:xxv).

Conveyance of Thomas Jefferson's Lot in Richmond to David Higginbotham

This indenture made on the day of Nov^r one Thousand eight hundred [and] eleven between Thomas Jefferson of the one part and David Higginbotham of the other; both of the County of Albermarle witnesseth that the said Thomas in consideration of the sum of one hundred and thirty pounds currant money of Virginia to him in hand paid by the said David, hath given granted bargained & sold unto the said David one certain parcel of land in the city of Richmond adjacent to James [River] containing by estimation eight hundred & twenty five square yards, be the [abovementioned lot included within?] four right lines, whereof one on the South Eas[tern side] bounding on the [lot with?] Number 334 formerly the property of Patrick Cout[ts] is 36 yds long[.] one other on the southwestern side bounding on the common towards the River is twenty four yards long[.] one other on the North Western side bounding on the common laid off as a road from Shockoe warehouse to the wharf is thirty nine yards long & the other on the Northeastern side bounding on the lands formerly the property of Robert Carter Nicholas dec^d is twenty two yards long which line [before]mentioned forms right angles with the first and third lines beforementioned[. The] parcel of land meant to be conveyed by these presents is part of t[he lot] designated in the plan of the said city by the number three hundred and thirty five[.] the other part thereof having¹ belonged to Robert Carter Ni[cholas] aforesaid dec^d. To have and to hold the said parcel of land with its appurtenanc[es] to the said David and his heirs. and the said Thomas his heirs executors and administrators, the said parcel of land to the said David and his heirs against all persons claiming under the said Thomas, will forever warrant and defend entirely and against all lawful claims prior to the date of these presents he will warrant and

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defend to the amount of the sum of one hundred & thirty pounds [before] mentioned & no further. in testimony whereof the said Thomas hath herewith subscribed and affixed his seal on the day and year above mentioned

Signed sealed and
delivered in presence of }

COLEMAN ESTES
CHARLES VEST
DAVID HUCKSTEP
JOHN BURKS

Signed
THOMAS JEFFERSON

Tr (ViU: TJP); faint, with portions of right margin damaged; unrelated calculations in an unidentified hand on verso; endorsed (in part): "Thomas Jefferson to David Higginbotham" and "A true Copy."

On 20 Oct. 1811 TJ noted that he had sold his "lot in Richmond" to Higginbotham, with the proceeds "to be credited in my account with him" (*MB*, 2:1270). William Mayo and James Wood had drawn the first PLAN of Richmond in the winter of 1736-37 at the behest of its pioneering owner, William Byrd (1674-1744). Lot 335 is shown in city plans of 1804 and 1809 (Richard W. Stephenson and Marianne M. McKee, *Virginia in*

Maps: Four Centuries of Settlement, Growth, and Development [2000], 70-1; Richmond city plans, 1737, 1804, 1809 [Vi]). Higginbotham subsequently sold the lot to John G. Gamble (Gamble to TJ, 20 July 1813; TJ to Gamble, 10 Aug. 1813).

A 20 Oct. 1811 letter from TJ to Higginbotham is recorded in SJL. Higginbotham's letters to TJ of 20 Oct. and 2 Nov. 1811 are recorded in SJL as received from Milton on 20 Oct. and 3 Nov. 1811, and an undated letter and one of 23 Dec. 1811 are both recorded as received on 24 Dec. 1811. None of these letters has been found.

¹ Manuscript: "having having."

From Joseph Milligan

DEAR SIR

Georgetown December 2nd 1811

Your esteemed favour of the 19th October was duly received and Should have been regularly attended¹ to but I was at that time much engaged in the business of the Potomac and Shenandoah Navigation Lottery which is Since finished, indeed this lottery has taken up much of my time the past summer but I am happy to say that I have now got through it and am able to attend to my bookselling concern which I will prosecute with all the vigour that I am master of The first edition of Jeffersons Manual is now out of print I should be happy to have your permission to print a second edition I believe that 200 Copies would be wanted for the Senate & House of Representatives—

I have repeatedly tried to procure a complete Copy of Scientific

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City of Washington, January 8th 1812.

Sir,

I have the honor to transmit an abstract of the calculation of the longitude of Monticello west of Greenwich, founded on the apparent times of the intimal contacts of Sun and Moon on the 17th of September last, as contained in your letter of the 29th of December; and having ascertained the elements with scrupulous exactness, tested by various rules, the accuracy of the result, according to the data furnished, may be confidently relied on.

Lat. of Monticello, by observation... $38^{\circ} 8' 0''$ N. reduced (320 to 319) $37^{\circ} 57' 33''$ 341.
Constant log to ~~the~~ Moon's equat. hor. parallax, for the lat. and ratio... 9.9994827 .
Obliquity of the Ecliptic, Sept. 17th 1811... $23^{\circ} 27' 42''$ 690
Estimated longitude of Monticello, supposed near the truth... $5^{\circ} 15' 20'' = 78^{\circ} 50' 0''$ W.

Annulus formed... $1.53.0$ = $28^{\circ} 15' 0''$ Dec.
Estimated long. from Greenwich + $5.15.20$ = $174.26.55.519$.
Corresponding time at Greenwich $7.8.20$ = $22.41.55.519$.
Right ascension of the meridian... $46.44.3.732$.
Altitude of the nonagesimal... $2.41.31.560$.
Longitude of the nonagesimal... $112.24.2.7.711$.
Moon's true longitude... $8.39.23.849$.
" true distance a nonagesimal, (West)... $0.54.5.916$.
" hor. parallax, reduced (320 to 319) = $0.8.700$.
Sun's hor. parallax... $0.53.57.216$.
hor. parallax $\Delta \alpha$... $0.5.58.862$.
 Δ s parallax in longitude... (Correct) $8.45.22.711$.
" apparent distance a nonagesimal... $0.37.20.676$.
" true latitude, north ascending... $112.23.56.8.849$.
" apparent longitude... $112.23.57.7.341$.
Sun's longitude... $0.0.58.942$.
diff. of apparent longitude Δ west of \odot ... $0.36.58.430$.
" ~~horizontal semidiameter~~ (Correct) $0.0.22.246$.
" apparent latitude, north... $14.45.595$.
" horizontal semidiameter... $0.10.185$.
augmentation... $0.2.977$.
Influxion of light... $15.57.246$.
 \odot 's semidiameter... 1.623 .
Irradiation of light... $1.2.820$.
difference of Sun and Moon's semidiameters, Corrected... $29.51.15.000$.

Annulus broken... $1.59.25$ = $29.51.15.000$.
Sun's right ascension (corresponding time at Greenwich) $174.27.9.923$.
Right ascension of the meridian... $24.18.24.923$.
Altitude of the nonagesimal... $46.5.42.940$.
Longitude of the nonagesimal... $4.12.14.333$.
Moon's true longitude... $112.24.5.17.322$.
" true dist. a nonagesimal, (West)... $10.6.57.041$.
" hor. parallax, reduced... $0.54.5.942$.
Sun's hor. parallax... $0.8.700$.

Δ 's Parallax in longitude, (correct) 0.0.54.272.
 " apparent distance à nonagesimal 10.13.51.283.
 " true latitude, north ascending 0.37.38.905
 " apparent longitude N° 23.58.23.050
 Sun's longitude N° 23.57.23.018.
 diff. of apparent longitude, Δ East of \odot , 0.1.0.032.
 Δ 's parallax in latitude, (correct) 0.37.24.643.
 " apparent latitude (north) 0.0.14.262.
 " horis. semidiameter 14.45.604.
 Augmentation + 10.028. } Semid. Corrected, 0.14.52.655
 Inflection of light - 2.977 }
 Sun's semidiameter 15.57.247. } Semid. corrected, 15.55.622
 Irradiation of light - 1.623 }
 Difference of Sun and Moon's Semidiameters, Corrected. 0.1.2.967
 1st internal contact 2^{do}
 diff. of Semid.^s 62.820 - diff. of Semid.^s 62.967
 Δ 's apparent lat. 22.246 } 14.262
 Sum, 85.066. log. 1.9297560 } 77.229. log 1.8877804
 = diff. 40.574. log. 1.6082478 } 48.705. log 1.6875735
 2) 3.5380038 } 2) 3.3755339
 1.7690019. } 1.7876769.5
 0.0000000 }
 1.7876769.5 }
 Δ 's apparent lat. co. sine, ar. comp + 0.0000000 }
 diff. of apparent \odot and Δ , + 58.749 1.7690019. } diff. of app. long. 1.1.330.
 Parallax in longitude - 5.58.862. } Parallax in long. - 6.54.272.
 true diff. of long. \odot & Δ , - 5.0.113. } true diff. long. - 7.55.602.
 The Moon's hourly velocity ^{of the Moon} from the Sun, at a middle time between the formation of the annulus and the true conjunction of the Sun and Moon at Monticello, was 27.6.0328; and between the breaking of the annulus and the true conjunction, 27.6.0505.
 As 27.6.0328 to one hour, or 60 minutes, so is true diff. of long. \odot and Δ , 5.0.113. to the interval of apparent time, which is 11.4.443.
 which subtracted from 1.53.5. the time of the formation of the annulus, gives 1.41.55.557. the time of true conjunction of Sun and Moon at Monticello, by the first internal contact.
 As 27.6.0505. to one hour, or 60 minutes, so is true difference \odot and Δ , 7.55.602, to 17.32.960, which subtracted from 1.59.25. gives 1.41.52.040, the time of true conjunction, by the second internal contact.
 Mean, true conjunction at Mont. 1.41.53.798
 diff. at Greenwich, 6.57.14.913.
 Longitude intima, West, 5.15.21.117. = 78.50.16.755.

Another method.

Moon's apparent motion in lat. during the annular appearance, " dec $7.984 \log + 10 =$

" apparent motion in longitude, " dec $118.974 \log \dots 10.9022205$
tangent, angle of inclination, " $3.50.21.108 \log \dots 2.0754521$
 8.8267684

Moon's apparent motion in longitude $\log \dots 2.0754521$

angle of inclination, ar. co. cosine " $\log \dots 0.0009757$

Chord of transit, " $119.242 \log \dots 2.0764278$

diff. of semidiameters, $62.820 (t)$

" $62.967 (u)$

Sum, $125.787 (V)$

diff. $0.147 (W)$

As Chord of transit, " $119.242 \log. co. ar. 7.9235722$

To " " " " $125.787 \log \dots 2.0996358$

So " " " " " $0.147 \log \dots 9.1673173$

To " " " " " $0.155 \log \dots 9.1905253$

Chord of transit, $\alpha = 119.087$ half $59.5435 (r)$

$\alpha + \alpha = 119.397$ half $59.6985 (s)$

Log. " (r) $59.5435 \log + 10 \dots 11.7748343$

Log. " (t) $62.820 \log \dots 1.7980979$

Log. " (u) $62.967 \log \dots 9.9767364$

Angle of conjunction $18.35.11.714$

" of inclination $+ 3.50.21.108$

Central angle $22.25.32.822$ Cosine 9.9658480 Sine 9.5814791

diff. of semidiameters $62.820 \log \dots 1.7980979$ $\log \dots 1.7980979$

diff. of apparent longitude $58.069 \log \dots 1.7639459$ $\log \dots 1.3795770$

diff. of app. lat. 23.965

CB $59.6985 \log + 10 \dots 11.7759634$

(c) $62.967 \log \dots 1.7991061$

(u) $62.967 \log \dots 9.9768673$

Angle of conjunction $18.32.20.714$ Cosine 9.9855669 Sine 9.4044164

Angle of inclination $3.50.21.108$ Cosine 9.9855669 Sine 9.4044164

Central angle $14.41.59.606$ Cosine 9.9855669 Sine 9.4044164

(u) $62.967 \log \dots 1.7991061$ $\log \dots 1.7991061$

diff. of app. long $60.905 \log \dots 1.7846530$ $\log \dots 1.7846530$

diff. of app. lat. 15.978

Parallax in long. $5.58.862$ } Parallax in long. $6.54.272$

diff. of app. long. $+ 0.58.069$ } diff. of app. long. $1.0.905$

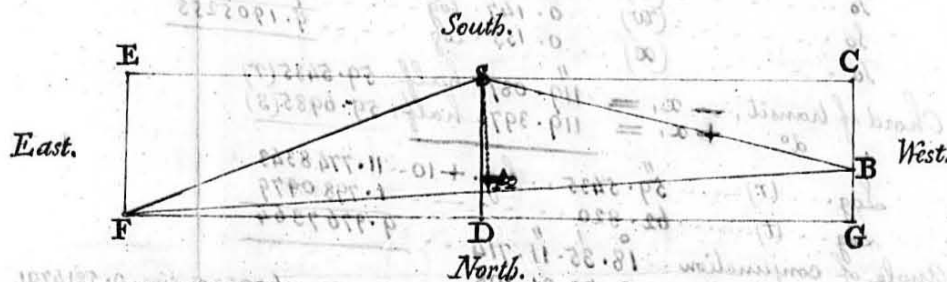
true diff. long. \odot and D , $5.0.793$ } true diff. long. \odot and D , $7.55.177$

As hourly velocity $\text{D} \alpha \odot$, $27.6.0328$ to one hour, or 60 minutes, so is true diff. long. $5.0.793$ to $11.5.949$, which subtracted from $1.53.0$ gives $1.41.54.051$ the time of true conjunction of Sun and Moon at Monticello, by the formation of the Annulus.

As hourly velocity $\text{D} \alpha \odot$, $27.6.0505$ to one hour, or 60 minutes, so is true difference of longitude, $7.55.177$ to $17.32.021$, which subtracted from $1.59.25$ gives $1.41.52.979$ the time of true conjunction, by breaking of annulus.

Jan 9
1812 By formation of annulus -- h. m. Sec. Dec. 1. 41. 54. 051
" breaking of ditto -- 1. 41. 52. 979
True conjunction of \odot & \lrcorner , at Monticello, 1. 41. 53. 515
" at Greenwich, - 6. 57. 14. 915
Longitude in time, West - 5. 15. 21. 400 = 78. 50. 21. 000
By first method. - 78. 50. 16. 755
Mean result - 78. 50. 18. 877

The above may be considered as an accurate determination of the longitude of Monticello, by the internal contacts, supposing the latitude of the place, the apparent times of formation and breaking of the annulus, and the Sun and Moon's positions in the Nautical Almanac, to be correctly given. The last method may be explained by the following figure. —



The line $E, S, C = F, D, G$, represents a small portion of the ecliptic, passing through the center of the Sun, S , equal to the Moon's apparent motion in longitude from the Sun, during the appearance of the annulus.

F , the Moon's center at the formation, B , at the breaking of the annulus.

FS , the difference of the Sun and Moon's semidiameters (corrected) at the beginning, BS , at the end. EF , the Moon's apparent latitude at the beginning, CB , at the end of the annular appearance. SA , the nearest approach of the centers of \odot and \lrcorner .

GFB , the angle of inclination, FAB , the Chord of transit, or the Moon's motion in the apparent orbit. AFS , the angle of conjunction at the beginning, ABS , at the end.

FSE , and ISC , the Central angles, from which, the difference of apparent longitude of Sun and Moon, SE , at the formation, and SC , at the breaking of the annulus, may be correctly ascertained, as in the foregoing process.

I am, Sir, with great respect,
Your most obedient servant,
Thomas Jefferson,
late President of U.S.

William Lambert.

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the transcript of the record of the decree aforesaid and the arguments of the appellants counsel, is of opinion that there is no error in the said Decree, therefore It is Decreed and Ordered that the same be affirmed.

Which is Ordered to be certified to the said Superior Court of Chancery.¹

A Copy,

Teste,

H, DANCE C,C,A

Tr (ViU: TJP, final document [p. 50] in *Peyton v. Henderson* Court Record [1804-12]); in the hand of Harrison Dance, clerk of the Virginia Court of Appeals. 2d Tr (ViU: TJP-LBJM); entirely in George Carr's hand; also certified by William W. Hening. 3d Tr (same, p. 41); entirely in Carr's hand; with subjoined notation that the decree had been certified by Hening on 26 Feb. 1812 as clerk at a session of the Superior Court of Chancery for the Richmond District; on verso of 2d Tr. Enclosed in Dance to TJ, 10 July 1812.

This decision ended legal efforts to overturn John Henderson's asserted right to run a canal through lands at Milton that TJ had purchased from the Henderson heirs through the agency of Craven Peyton (Peyton to TJ, 6 Aug. 1809, and note; Robert F. Haggard, "Thomas Jefferson v. The Heirs of Bennett Henderson, 1795-1818: A Case Study in Caveat Emptor," *MACH* 63 [2005]: 1-29).

¹ Preceding thirteen words omitted in 2d Tr.

From Gideon Granger

DEAR SIR

General Post Office January 8. 1812

I have just received yours of the 30th. Ult: and given instructions to the Postmaster of the City if any Such bundles arrive for the future, to detain them and notify me, and you may be assured I shall keep them Carefully as well as apprise you of their being in my possession.

With great esteem and Respect

GID^N GRANGER

RC (DLC); in a clerk's hand, signed by Granger; at foot of text: "Thomas Jefferson Esq Monticello V^a"; endorsed by TJ as received 12 Jan. 1812 and so recorded in SJL.

From William Lambert

SIR,

City of Washington, January 8th 1812.

I have the honor to transmit an abstract of the calculation of the longitude of Monticello west of Greenwich, founded on the apparent times of the internal contacts of Sun and Moon on the 17th of Sep-

[402]

8 JANUARY 1812

tember last, as contained in your letter of the 29th of December; and having ascertained the elements with scrupulous exactness, tested by various rules, the accuracy of the result, according to the data furnished, may be confidently relied on.

Lat. of Monticello, by observation	38.° 8. ' 0. " N. reduced, (320 to 319)	37.57.33.341.
Constant log. to reduce the Moon's equat. hor. parallax, for the lat. and ratio		9.9994827.
Obliquity of the Ecliptic, Sept. 17 th 1811		23.27.42.690
Estimated longitude of Monticello, supposed near the truth		5.15.20 = 78.50.0.W.

	h. m. S.	=	° ' " dec.
Annulus formed	1.53. 0.		28.15.00.000
Estimated long. from Greenwich	+5.15.20		
Corresponding time at Greenwich	7. 8.20.	☉'s R.A.	174.26.55.519.
Right ascension of the meridian,		☾,	22.41.55.519.
Altitude of the nonagesimal,			46.44. 3.732
Longitude of the nonagesimal,		☾,	2.41.31.560
Moon's true longitude		☾,	24. 2. 7.711
" true distance à nonagesimal, (West)	0.54.5.916		8.39.23.849.
" hor. parallax, reduced, (320 to 319)	-0.8.700		
Sun's hor. parallax,			0.53.57.216
hor. parallax ☽ à ☉,			0. 5.58.862
☽'s parallax in longitude, (correct)			8.45.22.711
" apparent distance à nonagesimal,			0.37.20.676.
" true latitude, north ascending		☾,	23.56. 8.849.
" apparent longitude		☾,	23.57. 7.341.
Sun's longitude,		+	0. 0.58.942
diff. of apparent longitude, ☽ west of ☉,			0.36.58.430
☽'s parallax in latitude (correct)			0. 0.22.246.
" apparent latitude, north,	14.45.595		
" horizontal Semidiameter	+0.10.185	} Semidiam. corrected.	14.52.803
Augmentation,	-0. 2.977.		
☉'s Semidiameter,	15.57.246.		
Irradiation of light	-1.623	Semidiam. corrected.	15.55.623
difference of Sun and Moon's Semidiameters, corrected			1. 2.820.

	h. m. Sec.	=	° ' " dec.
Annulus broken,	1.59.25		29.51.15.000
Sun's right ascension, (corresponding time at Greenwich)			174.27. 9.923.
Right ascension of the meridian,		☾,	24.18.24.923.
altitude of the nonagesimal,			46. 5.42.940
Longitude of the nonagesimal,		☾,	4.12.14.333.
Moon's true longitude,		☾,	24. 5.17.322.
" true dist. à nonagesimal, (West)	0.54. 5.942		10. 6.57.011
" hor. parallax, reduced	-0.8.700		
Sun's hor. parallax,			0.53.57.242
hor. parallax ☽ à ☉,			

8 JANUARY 1812

☾'s Parallax in longitude (correct)	0. 0.54.272.
" <u>apparent</u> distance à nonagesimal	10.13.51.283.
" <u>true</u> latitude, north ascending	0.37.38.905
" apparent longitude	☿. 23.58.23.050
Sun's longitude,	☿, 23.57.23.018.
diff. of apparent longitude, ☾ East of ☉,	- 0. 1. 0.032.
☾'s parallax in latitude, (correct)	0.37.24.643.
" apparent latitude (north)	0. 0.14.262.
" horiz. Semidiameter,	14.45.604. }
Augmentation,	+10.028. }
Inflexion of light,	- 2.977. }
Sun's Semidiameter,	15.57.247. Semid. corrected. 15.55.622.
Irradiation of light	- 1.623
difference of Sun and Moon's Semidiameters, corrected.	0. 1. 2.967

1 st internal contact				2 ^d			
diff: of Semid ^s	62.820			diff. of Semid ^s	62.967		
☾'s apparent lat.	22.246				14.262		
Sum,	85.066	log.	1.9297560		77.229.	log	1.8877804
diff.	40.574	log.	1.6082478		48.705.	log.	1.6875735
			2)3.5380038				2)3.5753539
			1.7690019.				1.7876769.5
							0.0000000
☾'s apparent lat. co.sine, ar. comp	+0.0000000			diff. of app. long.			1.7876769.5
diff: of apparent ☉ and ☾, +	58.749		1.7690019.		- 1. 1.330.		
Parallax in longitude	-5.58.862.			Parallax in long.	-6.54.272.		
<u>true</u> diff. of long. ☉ & ☾,	-5. 0.113.			true diff. long.	-7.55.602.		

The Moon's hourly velocity of the Moon from the Sun, at a middle time between the formation of the annulus and the true conjunction of the Sun and Moon at Monticello, was 27.' 6." 0328; and between the breaking of the annulus and the true conjunction, 27.' 6." 0505. dec.

As 27.' 6." 0328 to one hour, or 60 minutes, so is true diff. of long. ☉ and ☾, 5.' 0." 113. to the interval of apparent time, which subtracted from 11. m. 4. Sec. 443. dec which subtracted from 1. h. 53. m. 0, S. the time of the formation of the annulus, gives 1. h. 41. m. 55. Sec. 557. dec the time of true conjunction of Sun and Moon at Monticello, by the first internal contact.

As 27.' 6." 0505. to one hour, or 60 minutes, so is true difference ☉ and ☾, 7.' 55." 602, to 17. m. 32. Sec. 960, which subtracted from 1. h. 59. m. 25. Sec gives 1. h. 41. m. 52. Sec. 040, dec. the time of true conjunction, by the second internal contact.

	h. m. Sec. dec
1 st	1.41.55.557.
2	1.41.52.040.
Mean true conjunction at Mont.	1.41.53.798
ditto at Greenwich,	6.57.14.915.
Longitude in time, West,	5.15.21.117. = 78.50.16.755.

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Another method.

Moon's apparent motion in lat. during the annular appearance,	" ^{dec}	7.984. log + 10 =	}
" apparent motion in longitude,	" ^{dec}	10.9022205	
tangent, angle inclination,	118.974	log.	2.0754521.
Moon's apparent motion in longitude	3.50.21.108		8.8267684
angle of inclination, ar. co. cosine		log.	2.0754521.
Chord of transit,	119.242	log.	+ 0.0009757
diff. of Semidiameters, 62.820 (t)			2.0764278.
& 62.967 (u)			
Sum, 125.787. (v)			
diff. 0.147 (w)			

As chord of transit, 119.242.	log. co. ar.	7.9235722
To (v) 125.787.	log	2.0996358
So (w) 0.147	log	9.1673173
To (x) 0.155.	log	9.1905253

Chord of transit, -x, = 119.087. half 59.5435 (r)
d° +x, = 119.397. half, 59.6985 (s)

Log. (r)	59.5435	+ 10	11.7748343
Log. (t)	62.820		1.7980979
Angle of conjunction	18.35.11.714		9.9767364
" of inclination,	+3.50.21.108		
Central angle	22.25.32.822.	cosine	9.9658480. sine. 9.5814791.
diff. of Semidiameters	62.820	log.	1.7980979. log. 1.7980979.
diff. of apparent longitude, +58.069		log	1.7639459 log. 1.3795770.
			app. lat.
			23.965.

(s) 59.6985	log. + 10	11.7759634
(u) 62.967	log.	1.7991061
angle of conjunction, 18.32.20.714.	Cosine	9.9768573
Angle of inclination -3.50.21.108		
Central angle, 14.41.59.606	cosine	9.9855469 sine 9.4044164
(u) 62.967	log.	1.7991061 log. 1.7991061
diff. of apparent long. -60.905.	log.	1.7846530 log. 1.2035225

Parallax in long. -5.58.862	}	Parallax in long. -6.54.272
diff. of app. long. +0.58.069		diff. of app. long. -1. 0.905
true diff. long. ☉ and ☽, -5. 0.793.		true diff. long. ☉ & ☽, -7.55.177.

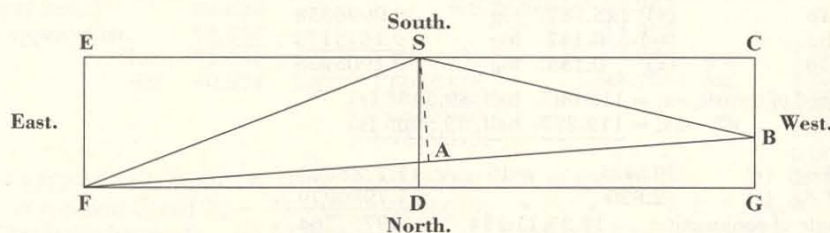
As hourly velocity ☽ à ☉, 27. 6." 0328 to one hour, or 60 minutes, so is true diff. long. -5. 0." 793. to 11. m. 5. s. 949, which subtracted from 1. h. 53. m. 0. S. gives 1. h. 41. m. 54. Sec. 051. dec. the time of true conjunction of Sun and Moon at Monticello, by the formation of the annulus.

As hourly velocity ☽ à ☉, 27. 6." 0505. to one hour, or 60 minutes, so is true difference of longitude, -7. 55." 177, to 17. m. 32. Sec. 021. dec, which subtracted from 1. h. 59. m. 25. S, gives 1. h. 41. m. 52. Sec 979 the time of true conjunction, by breaking of annulus.—

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	h. m. Sec. dec.
By formation of annulus	1.41.54.051
" breaking of ditto	1.41.52.979.
True conjunction ☉ & ☾, at Monticello,	1.41.53.515.
" at Greenwich,	6.57.14.915
Longitude in time, West	<u>5.15.21.400</u> = 78.50.21.000
By first method	78.50.16.755.
Mean result	<u>78.50.18.877.</u>

The above may be considered as an accurate determination of the longitude of Monticello, by the internal contacts, supposing the latitude of the place, the apparent times of formation and breaking of the annulus, and the Sun and Moon's positions in the Nautical almanac, to be correctly given. The last method may be explained by the following figure.—



The line **ESC**, = **FDG**, represents a small portion of the ecliptic, passing through the center of the Sun, **S**, equal to the Moon's apparent motion in longitude from the Sun, during the appearance of the annulus.

F, the Moon's center at the formation, **B**, at the breaking of the annulus.

FS, the difference of the Sun and Moon's semidiameters (corrected) at the beginning, **BS**, at the end. **EF**, the Moon's apparent latitude at the beginning, **CB**, at the end of the annular appearance. **SA**, the nearest approach of the centers of ☉ and ☾. **GFB**, the angle of inclination, **FAB**, the chord of transit, or the Moon's motion in the apparent orbit. **ASF**, the angle of conjunction at the beginning, **ABS**, at the end. **FSE**, and **BSC**, the central angles, from which, the difference of apparent longitude of Sun and Moon, **SE**, at the formation, and **SC**, at the breaking of the annulus, may be correctly ascertained, as in the foregoing process.

I am, Sir, with great respect, Your most obedient servant,

WILLIAM LAMBERT.

RC (DLC); on two folio sheets; at foot of text: "Thomas Jefferson late President U.S." Enclosed in Lambert to TJ, 9 Jan. 1812.

Thomas Lindsay
Director
We The People
National Endowment for the Humanities
1100 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20506

September 1, 2006

Dear Mr. Lindsay:

The editors of the founding fathers projects and Stan Katz have requested that I collect from them the information you requested concerning our ideas and cost estimates for producing verified and encoded transcriptions of the first four presidents' papers for an NEH digital publication. We have exchanged ideas and generally agree on several points that you will see in the enclosed narratives. Below is a summary of some of those points.

1. We are considering for selection all documents not yet published in the modern editions, through the presidencies of each man. The inclusion of the papers created during the long retirement periods of some of the men would extend the project far beyond five years. It is understood that a retrospective digital edition of all the published volumes will be completed as part of the Rotunda Project by the University of Virginia Press.
2. The estimated number of documents ranges from a low of 7,500 for the Adams Papers to 17,000 for the Washington Papers.
3. The editors insist that the documents presented in digital form must maintain the highest standards of accuracy as represented in the print editions.
4. The regular ongoing work must not be interrupted by the digital project.
5. Office space will be a problem and some projects may need to move work off-site. This presents management as well as cost issues.
6. Each project will need some time and funding for preparation. Hiring appropriate staff, completing document management systems and finishing document searches, as well as other preliminary, work will take several months.
7. There must be coordination among the projects to determine XML encoding standards.
8. The combined estimated budget for the four projects is \$13,319,875.

Sincerely,

C. James Taylor

**NEH Digital Initiative
The First Four Presidents
Report on Considerations and Costs**

The Washington Papers

Transcription, Verification and Collation

The Transcription of our documents is essentially complete.

The first level verification of the transcriptions will be accomplished by a research assistant familiar with the history of the early national period and the persons involved, and with considerable experience in reading late 18th century manuscript.

The second (final) level of verification (and collation) will be accomplished by a seasoned documentary editor who has significant experience in editing the papers of a senior American civil servant or military officer from the period of the Revolutionary War, the Confederation, or the New Republic.

XML Tagging

I anticipate that we will use the same XML format for this work as we do for the documents of the project's digital edition. Following the lead of our Rotunda effort, **I do not** contemplate any special tagging of specific elements in these texts, i.e. names, places, organizations, etc.

Staffing considerations

This effort will require editorial, support, and senior management staff time. The latter will be provided by the Editor in Chief of the Papers of George Washington. The editorial team will consist of both seasoned editors and skilled research assistants, and some number of student assistants. The administrative element will be an administrative assistant who will manage the office and keep track of pay roll, bookkeeping, etc.

Management: The Editor in Chief of the Papers of George Washington will provide overall supervision of the effort, devoting more time during the period of organization and less as the work progresses.

Seasoned Documentary Editors: The only persons that I would consider capable of doing an acceptable level of verification and collation are persons who have spend a number of years as documentary editors in projects that have dealt extensively with the Revolutionary War, the Confederation era, and/or the early years of the new American republic. At least six such editors, working half time, will be needed to complete the work in five years. (This kind of work cannot be done effectively for more than a half day at a time.) Fewer editors (if the ideal number is unobtainable) would stretch out the work and drive up the cost.

Research Assistants: At this pace three research assistants will be necessary to do the first level of verification and the XML and Web related work. The first will necessarily be more knowledgeable concerning early American history and familiar with late 18th century

manuscript. The latter will have to be more proficient on the technical side. I envision that the research assistants will work on site.

Students Assistants: Editors will have student assistants (undergraduate or graduate student) to assist them with tandem proofreading of transcriptions and other chores.

Administrative Assistant: One person to handle personnel, budget, and administrative issues, and to help facilitate communication with any off-site editors and research assistants.

Work Management Considerations

I anticipate that most of the editors will work off-site—many in locations quite remote from Charlottesville. To accommodate this dispersion and to achieve efficiencies that can keep costs down, we will need a document management system that will allow collaboration and the efficient transfer of documents and information between the various members of the effort team. One such model of this is the PubMan system currently used by the Jefferson Retirement Series team. Work on establishing this facility will have to begin very early in the organizational stage of this effort, for it should be in place and operating effectively before any editorial work begins.

Effort Duration

As indicated above, with a staff of six half-time editors I anticipate that we can complete the careful transcription of the roughly 17,000 documents that we anticipate using as principle documents in our future letterpress volumes. These have already been selected from a total of as many as 30,000 documents for the period of time this effort will consider. Most of those not chosen are enclosures which were neither to nor from GW.

The actual duration of the effort will be largely dependent upon the number of qualified editors available to do the careful final verification and collation of the transcripts. I am not at all certain that we will be able to keep the effort staffed at a level which will ensure its completion in the five to seven years we have discussed, but at the appropriate time I will investigate this in more detail.

The beginning of editorial work on the project cannot begin until the document management system is in place. I anticipate that this work will take six months to a year after a contract is let. That means that early funding for this part of the work will be necessary if a timely completion is to be achieved.

Cost Considerations

The cost estimate includes salaries and benefits for the editor in chief (10-30%), editors (half-time), research assistants (full-time), administrative assistant (full-time), student assistants (part-time), and other costs—including travel, office space rent, document scanning, computers and other office equipment, phone, internet, and utilities.

The level of staffing of **editors** will determine the time this work will take. If staffing can be maintained at an average of six part-time editors, the prospective transcription of the Washington Papers can be accomplished in five years (after a preliminary period of planning and organization) and the total cost is estimated to be roughly **5.45 million dollars** (including nearly

\$1.85 million in indirect costs). Planning year (year 0) costs will be some \$400,000, including the cost of installing a document management system.

If the work is drawn out to seven years (assuming the availability of an average of only four half-time editors on staff), the total (including indirect cost) is estimated to be some **\$5.65 million**.

There are contingencies (currently unquantifiable) that could drive the final cost up a bit, but I don't think this increment will exceed \$100,000. The major problem is the transcription and verification of foreign-language documents that were not translated for GW. (These, by tradition, we publish in the original language.) We will need a French translator on a part-time basis (and persons to handle other languages on a much less frequent basis), but the extent of this requirement is unknown and will require a more detailed examination of the documents than is possible now.

Theodore J. Crackel
Professor and Editor in Chief
The Papers of George Washington
The University of Virginia

The Adams Papers

Transcription and Verification

We believe that approximately 7,500 documents will be included in the John Adams portion of the NEH digital project. The selection for this digital project will be undertaken in accordance with the standards of the print edition. This means that approximately 75% of the entire corpus of John Adams documents through the end of his presidency will be included in the print edition as well as the retrospective and prospective digital editions.

Most of the documents have been transcribed, though some have not been converted to electronic form from typescripts created decades ago. Also, one of the first orders for this project will be to complete a long-delayed search for documents from the executive period (1789-1801). The Adams Papers are chronologically behind the other founding fathers' editions, having only published the Papers of John Adams into the early 1780s. The volume currently being prepared will take the story to mid-1783. We estimate that a search of the collections in the Library of Congress and the National Archives will net 1,000 to 1,500 additional items to be accessioned, transcribed, and evaluated for inclusion in the edition. We plan to employ a part-time transcriber to complete that task.

The verification process to determine the final authoritative text will be the most time consuming part of the work. The accuracy of the digital texts must be comparable to that of the documents in the published volumes. This standard can only be assured by employing the same two-stage

tandem-reading verification process used to prepare documents for the volumes. The second (final) reading must include the participation of a senior Adams Papers editor.

XML Encoding

As with the transcription, we would hire a part-time encoder. We currently have another NEH digital project for which part-time staff is employed. Based on our experience we have determined that this is the most efficient and cost effective route to follow. Some communication and coordination among the participating editions and NEH will be necessary to insure the compatibility of the encoding schemes.

Staffing Considerations

The Adams Papers will be able to complete the digital project in five years, with the proper preparation, if, in addition to the part-time transcriber and encoder, three new full-time staff members are added to complete the first tandem-reading and assist with the second. Two current senior Adams Papers editors will need to devote at least 20% of their time to complete the selection of the documents for inclusion and to assist with the second reading. The editor in chief will be project director and responsible for its timely completion. The project manager will oversee the day-to-day operations. A member of the current staff has agreed to manage this digital project. Her knowledge of the history and the Adams documents will give the project a well-qualified manager. Adams Papers staff resources devoted to this work cannot jeopardize the successful and timely completion of the print edition. The personnel shifted from the regular staff to the digital project must be replaced. Funding for the ongoing edition must remain intact.

Other Considerations

Two other significant points that must be addressed are a new document-control system and office space. The Adams Papers maintains a huge paper control file established in the 1950s. It contains immensely valuable information about the archive created by the editors. The conversion of this incomparable resource from its antiquated form to an electronic document-control system will be essential to the management and successful completion of the digital project. Also, the sizable investment needed to produce such a tool will provide access to anyone who wishes to search the definitive Adams Papers archive. The Massachusetts Historical Society will make this system available to the public as a part of its online catalog.

Each of the founding fathers documentary editions will need to find additional office space. The MHS has very limited space but is committed to the digitization of its documentary holdings. Because the Adams Papers editors use many original manuscripts from the MHS collections, which is much more desirable than working from photocopies or microform, we must find a way to remain in the MHS building. Also, the contribution of the senior editors to the project makes it essential that the digital project remain close to the Adams Papers offices. I have discussed this with the MHS managers and I believe we can find space in the building—but, if not, outside office space will add to the cost of the project.

Adams Papers Budget

Preliminary:

Document-management system	\$100,000
Complete search for executive-period documents	20,000
Computers, XML software, and office equipment	20,000
Time for planning and hiring additional staff	<u>10,000</u>
	\$150,000

Year One:

Project Supervisor	\$54,000
2 Assistant Editors-----@ \$42,000 each	84,000
Editor Gregg Lint -----90,000 @ 20%	18,000
Editor Jim Taylor-----130,000 @ 20%	<u>26,000</u>
Total full-time salaries	\$182,000
Benefits @ 27%	<u>49,140</u>
	\$231,140

Years Two through Five:

Salaries and benefits @ 4% increase per year	\$1,020,789
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Part time/Hourly:

Transcriber -----1800 hrs @ \$20+benefits @ 10%---	\$39,600
XML Encoder-----2000 hrs @ \$20+benefits @ 10%---	<u>\$44,000</u>
	\$83,600

Total Direct Costs	\$1,485,529
MHS Indirect Costs @ 15 %	<u>222,829</u>
Estimated Total Project Costs	\$1,708,358

C. James Taylor
Editor in Chief
The Adams Papers

The Papers of Thomas Jefferson

Transcription and Verification

We estimate that we have approximately 15,000 documents covering Jefferson's two terms as president. Thirty-two published volumes cover all of Jefferson's life up to the presidency. The first three volumes covering his presidency are either completed or in the advanced stages of preparation. We are projecting that on-line presentation will begin roughly with 1 January 1802, the date at which the volumes are not yet substantially underway. However, if arrangements can be made with the Princeton University Press, it would make sense to have those beginning volumes of his presidency also mounted on the chosen website.

Virtually all our transcriptions of letters to and from Jefferson are complete. This does not include enclosures, however, which are sometimes integral to understanding Jefferson's correspondence (letters to and from Albert Gallatin, secretary of the treasury, for example). Verifications of these transcriptions remain to be completed, and, like our fellow editors at the other projects, we are committed to maintaining our regular standards of accuracy for the transcriptions we mount. Senior staff will be involved in monitoring any transcriptions done by new or inexperienced staff. Because at least into 1804 Jefferson continues to use his presscopy machine, some of his outgoing letters are virtually illegible. Transcribing them requires using a high quality scan or consulting the original, or both. These we will exclude from this prospective digital initiative, reserving work on them for ultimate publication in the volumes. Focusing on them now would severely limit our ability to do the bulk of the documents within a six-year time frame.

XML Tagging

With the editors of the Adams, Madison, and Washington Papers we will work to develop a standard of tagging that will tag for format. We would like to see some basic content tagging as well, and we want to make sure that any decision we make on tagging now will not preclude more robust tagging in the future as we move the documents toward publication in the volumes.

Comprehensiveness

We will think of our effort as "comprehensive" in that we are not selecting by subject matter or "importance" of the document. That said, we know that this cannot be completely comprehensive. Since we do our selection for the volumes as we go along (maybe a volume or two volumes in advance) rather than way ahead, we would have to spend more time selecting that verifying the transcriptions. Other projects will be different, but I think we don't have to be all the same in this area.

Staffing and Management

Adding a major new endeavor to the regular work publishing volumes on an ambitious schedule of one a year will require senior management staff time and administrative and technical support. Our budget assumes that the General Editor will devote a third of her time to this for at least the first three years. This will allow the two senior Associate Editors to continue to focus their efforts on the editorial work of the volumes and will allow her to develop the standards and provide supervision and training for the new hires. Other current staff members will devote some of their time to the effort. The goal, however, will be to gradually turn over management and technical work to a digital manager and the other new hires. I expect this to be an evolving process, and can make only general predictions and outlines right now.

Cost Considerations

The Jefferson portion of the NEH Digital Initiative of the papers of the first four presidents through the end of their presidencies is as follows. Time frame, 6 month start up period and 5 1/2-6 years for remaining transcription, verification, and coding of approximately 15,000 documents. The period covered will be January 1, 1802, through March 4, 1809. The first ten months of Jefferson's first term as president will have appeared in volumes 33-35.

Start-up and planning period:	
Completion of database	\$10,000
Editorial time for planning	35,000
Travel to meet with other Founding Fathers Editors	<u>3,000</u>
Total	\$48,000

Year 1 estimated costs:

Salaries

1/3 of Editor's time; 1/2 of Associate Editor's;	
1/2 of Administrative/Editorial Assistant's; 1/3 of	
research assistant's; 3 new hires, with technical experience	\$326,000
Fringe benefits at university's rate of .35	114,000

Equipment and software (to upgrade existing computers and purchase new ones for the staff members working on the new initiative)	45,000
Rental space near campus (this figure can be only an estimate now)	25,000
Copying, scans, and supplies over and above the cost of those for the regular editorial work	2,000
Travel when needed for verification of documents for the digital initiative	3,000
Consultant for XML coding and tagging	<u>7,500</u>
Total direct costs for Year 1	\$522,500

Indirect costs (estimate, and it may depend upon how much extra space is needed) 100,000

Total \$622,500

Years 2-5 calculated at a 4 % increase each year (the individual components may shift around within each year, but I am doing ballpark calculations for this round)

Year 2	647,400
Year 3	673,300
Year 4	700,200
Year 5	728,200
Year 6 (6 months)	365,000

ESTIMATED total cost \$3,784,600

Barbara B. Oberg
General Editor
The Papers of Thomas Jefferson

The Papers of James Madison

Transcription:

The status of the transcription of the documents relating to Madison's public career until 4 March 1817, and excluding the correspondence of his retirement years, is as follows:

1) Congressional Series, 1751-1801: contains approximately 4,500 documents, which have already been transcribed, proofread, and published (in 17 volumes). These documents will not need to be retranscribed or checked again, but they will need to be rekeyed or scanned and then tagged in an XML format. However, this series does NOT include the notes that Madison took while he was a member of the Federal Convention in Philadelphia in 1787. Editor in Chief Robert Rutland, many years ago, made the decision to expedite progress on the edition by omitting these notes from *The Papers of James Madison*. His reason for doing so was that an adequate edition of the notes had already been prepared by Max Farrand and was available to researchers and the general public in volumes published by Yale University Press. More recently, the Library of Congress has placed digitalized images of Madison's 1787 notes on its American Memory website. Were it to be decided that the text of these notes should be included in the present NEH proposal, it would require the transcription, checking, and tagging of an additional 1,900 pages of material, not including all the supplementary documents that Madison, in his retirement, stipulated should be included with it and were published in the first edition of Madison's papers in 1840.

2) Secretary of State Series: There remain to be transcribed about 300 documents, written to or written by Madison, in this series. However, there are approximately 2,500 documents, mainly consular dispatches, that were printed in abstract or summary form only in the first seven published volumes in the series. Many of these will need to be retranscribed in full. The number of enclosed documents yet to be transcribed in the series is about 5,000, making for a grand total of about 7,800 documents that will require varying degrees of further work.

This estimate does NOT take into consideration some of the problems that will arise from working on particularly complicated documents in this series, such as Madison's 1806 pamphlet on neutral rights (204 printed pages), Madison's 44-page instruction to James Monroe and William Pinckney in 1807, Monroe's 58-page letter to Madison in February 1808, or the 80-page journal Monroe kept during his 1805 negotiation in Madrid, which he also sent to Madison. Nor does it do justice to the fact that some of the enclosures relating to some negotiations, such as Monroe's in Madrid in 1805, run to hundreds of pages. Furthermore, there are a number of foreign-language documents, mainly in French and Spanish, that have yet to be translated. There might also be taken into account some shorter letters that were dealt with only in footnotes in our published volumes. It would, therefore, be advisable to increase the estimated number of documents requiring transcription work by 10-15%--to about 8,500. The total number of pages that might need to be transcribed, checked, and tagged before they could be placed on-line could well be in the 25,000 range.

3) Presidential Series: About 470 documents, written to or written by Madison, remain to be transcribed in this series. There are also 840 documents in the first four published volumes in this

series that were printed in abstract form or dealt with in annotation only. Most of these will need to be transcribed in full. There will also be some foreign-language documents, of a number yet unknown, to be translated. Most of these are in French and Spanish, but some are in Chinese and Portuguese. Our editor for the presidential series has estimated that the number of pages for the enclosures yet to be transcribed is in the region of 5,630.

In short, there may be as many as 9,000-10,000 remaining documents in the three series that need varying degrees of transcription, and that number could possibly translate into a total of about 30,000 pages of material.

Staffing Considerations

If the NEH proposal is to be completed within a five-year period, it will, effectively, require *The Papers of James Madison* to recruit a second staff--assuming that the present editorial and support staff will continue to work on the letterpress volumes of the edition and will not be diverted from that task. Indeed, they could not be so diverted and still honor the commitment under their present federal grants to devote 100% of their effort to volumes. At the very least, this second staff would have to consist of four full-time people, or their equivalents. We would need at least two research assistants to transcribe and proofread, in tandem, documents to an acceptable standard. (That standard has yet to be defined, but it would seem that it must involve something that is considerably better than a first essay at transcription but one that might not necessarily achieve the high level of accuracy of the texts in our published volumes).

This second staff would also require expert supervision to an extent that could prove difficult for the present staff of the project to provide. Ideally, the second staff will need a supervisor who was already experienced in matters of documentary editing and familiar with the requirements of managing an office as well. If a properly qualified person could not be found for this task, the staff for the second team would have to be trained by the present editorial staff. That requirement would give rise to some awkward administrative and practical issues. State regulations require that all university employees, in whatever capacity, devote 100% of their time to their contractually specified duties. Any increase in those duties beyond the specified limits would entail an "overload," which, in turn, would require special administrative arrangements. It would also raise questions about additional financial compensation, to say nothing of the unwanted consequence of causing delays in the ongoing production of letterpress volumes.

A fourth new staff member would have to be recruited for the purpose of XML tagging of the documents to go on-line. This is a function with which the present staff of the project has no experience, so it is difficult to estimate the amount of time this would require. If, as has been suggested to me by a colleague with some knowledge about this line of work, a single tagger might do about twenty documents a day, amounting to about 3,900 per year; and if it is assumed, arbitrarily to be sure, that the average document is three pages in length, then it should be possible to tag about 10,000 documents (or as many as 30,000 pages) within a five-year period.

Accommodations for a second staff of four persons present some difficulties. In the space presently occupied by *The Papers of James Madison* in the Alderman Library of the University of Virginia, there is room for only one additional staff member. There is no realistic possibility

that space for three more staff members can be obtained in the library, thus raising the prospect of the project having to rent space outside the library. Ideally, that space should not be too remote from the present project staff, i.e., it would need to be within reasonable walking distance of the university library, and all new staff will also have to be provided with office equipment and a data management system--such as PubMan--appropriate for organizing on-line materials. Among other matters, the equipping of a second office would require the purchase of computers, a scanner, a printer, desks, chairs, filing cabinets, a copier, and a microfilm reader. There would also be overhead costs, such as phones, computer maintenance, and fees for storing document files on a university server.

Year 1 estimated costs:

Salaries

1 supervisor @\$60,000	\$60,000
2 research assistants @\$40,000	80,000
1 encoder @\$35,000	<u>35,000</u>
Total	\$175,000
Benefits @ 28.3%	<u>49,525</u>
Total salaries and benefits	\$224,525

Rental Space

1000 sq. feet @ \$21 per sq. foot	21,000
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Office Equipment

including PubMan	38,140
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Overhead

2,000

Travel and copying

4000

Total non salary costs	<u>65,140</u>
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Total Direct Costs	\$289,665
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Indirect Costs

University rate of 51.5% negotiated with DHHS	<u>149,178</u>
Total costs	\$438,843

Years 2 through 5 @ 4% inflation per year	1,938,074
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Estimated Total cost for 5 years \$2,376,917

J. C. A. Stagg
Professor and Editor in Chief
The Papers of James Madison
The University of Virginia