

DIVISION OF RESEARCH PROGRAMS

Narrative Section of a Successful Application

The attached document contains the grant narrative and selected portions of a previously funded grant application. It is not intended to serve as a model, but to give you a sense of how a successful application may be crafted. Every successful application is different, and each applicant is urged to prepare a proposal that reflects its unique project and aspirations. Prospective applicants should consult the Research Programs application guidelines at http://www.neh.gov/grants/research/scholarly-editions-and-translations-grants for instructions. Applicants are also strongly encouraged to consult with the NEH Division of Research Programs staff well before a grant deadline.

Note: The attachment only contains the grant narrative and selected portions, not the entire funded application. In addition, certain portions may have been redacted to protect the privacy interests of an individual and/or to protect confidential commercial and financial information and/or to protect copyrighted materials.

Project Title: The Papers of Thomas Jefferson

Institution: Princeton University

Project Director: Barbara Bowen Oberg

Grant Program: Scholarly Editions and Translations

Statement of Significance and Impact of Project

This project is preparing the authoritative edition of the correspondence and papers of Thomas Jefferson. Publication of the first volume of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* in 1950 kindled renewed interest in the nation's documentary heritage and set new standards for the organization and presentation of historical documents. Its impact has been felt across the humanities, reaching not just scholars of American history, but undergraduate students, high school teachers, journalists, lawyers, and an interested, inquisitive American public. As Jefferson himself was an interdisciplinary figure, so too are his papers of significance to many audiences around the world. Knowing what he wrote is of fundamental importance to understanding what America is and it is therefore appropriate that *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* is We the People Project.

Jefferson's correspondence – the core of the Jefferson canon – forms the largest component of the approximately 70,000 Jefferson and supporting documents that have been assembled in photocopy form thus far at Princeton University. Jefferson's epistolary legacy, more than any other segment of the written record that our third president bequeathed to the American people, attests to his enduring reputation as a many-sided genius whose interests cut across the fields of the humanities and whose intellectual curiosity knew few bounds. Including letters and papers received as well as those written by Jefferson, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* is designed to supplant the four highly selective and undependable editions of Jefferson's writings published between 1829 and 1904, and to ensure that the task will not have to be redone.

Less than 20 percent of Jefferson's documentary legacy had been published in any form previous to the Princeton edition. Underscoring this point at the inception of the project, Henry Steele Commager predicted the broad and enduring impact that the Princeton edition would have on the humanities: "The publication of a definitive edition of the writings of Thomas Jefferson would be the most profitable contribution that could be made not only to American historical scholarship but to the cause of democracy...Jefferson's writings, public and private, are absolutely central to an understanding of American history – indeed of the whole of modern history. Stretching over more than half a century, they illuminate the story of the Revolution, the establishment of the Republic, the organization of the government, the drafting of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, the beginnings and development of our party system, the origins of our diplomacy, the acquisition of Louisiana and the development of the west, the Monroe Doctrine, the slavery controversy, and – above all – the growth of American democracy." In Jefferson's papers we find both the successes and the shortcomings of American government, society, and culture. The Jefferson volumes at the highest level explore the significant events and themes of our nations history and culture and advance our knowledge of the principles that define us.

No scholar has fully come to terms with the nation's first Democratic-Republican presidency and the impact it has had on American political and social history. American are fascinated with the institution of the presidency and the development of political parties, and Jefferson is at the heart of this fascination. His documentary archive provides the key to understanding his presidential legacy and the very concept of executive leadership in the American republic. This edition, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, makes that archive accessible to the American nation.

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List of Project Participants

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THE PAPERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON

NARRATIVE DESCRIPTION

I. Substance and Context of the Project

This project is preparing the authoritative edition of the correspondence and papers of Thomas Jefferson. The edition is designed to supplant the four extremely selective and undependable compendiums of his writings published between 1829 and 1904, and to ensure that the task will not have to be redone. An outgrowth of a congressional mandate to the Thomas Jefferson Bicentennial Commission to consider the feasibility of a comprehensive edition of Jefferson's works, the enterprise was launched in December 1943 by a major gift (\$200,000) from The New York *Times* Company to Princeton University. The Princeton University Press pledged to publish the volumes. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Bicentennial Commission gave their blessing to this arrangement and Julian P. Boyd, the Librarian of Princeton University and an authority on the Declaration of Independence who had written a feasibility study as Historian to the Commission, agreed to serve as Editor. Publication of the first volume of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* in 1950 was a landmark in American historical scholarship and an official ceremony commemorating this event was held on 17 May 1950. The volume's appearance kindled renewed interest in the nation's documentary heritage and set new, demanding standards for the organization and presentation of historical documents. Its impact has been felt across the humanities, reaching not just scholars of American history, but undergraduate students, high school teachers, journalists, lawyers, and an interested, inquisitive American public. As Jefferson himself was an interdisciplinary figure, so too are his papers of significance to many audiences of the reading public.

Only 14 percent of Jefferson's correspondence had been published in the largest of the previous editions, Boyd reported, and no more than 20 percent of his papers had been published in any form. Underscoring these findings in a statement included in Boyd's report and feasibility study, the noted American historian Henry Steele Commager succinctly made the case for a new edition:

The publication of a definitive edition of the writings of Thomas Jefferson would be the most profitable contribution that could be made not only to American historical scholarship but to the cause of democracy. The lack of such an edition is a major scandal, and one which could scarcely be duplicated in other and poorer countries. Existing editions of Jefferson's writings are incomplete and unsatisfactory not only in that they fail to include the whole body of those writings but in that they make no attempt to embrace the important body of letters written to Jefferson by his distinguished contemporaries. It should not be necessary to insist that Jefferson's writings, public and private, are absolutely central to an understanding of American history – indeed of the whole of modern history. Stretching over more than half a century they illuminate the story of the Revolution, the establishment of the Republic,

the organization of the government, the drafting of the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, the beginnings and development of our party system, the origins of our diplomacy, the acquisition of Louisiana and the development of the west, the Monroe Doctrine, the slavery controversy, and – above all – the growth of American democracy. And because Jefferson was unique in the catholicity of his interests, his writings illuminate, too, the history of American literature, scholarship, science, art and architecture, education, agriculture and other subjects. It is safe to say that no comparable undertaking would be so valuable to so many people.

Now, more than half a century after Commager's assessment, we look at Jefferson in a somewhat different, more complex and shadowed light. We value him not only for what he says about American aspirations and ideals but for what his private writings, public statements, and actions tell us about our shortcomings as a society and a nation. Above all, we must know what Jefferson said in order to know how we became the national community that we are. The acclaimed historian David McCullough has often eloquently and passionately argued that if citizens of the United States do not know and teach our own national story, we will all suffer greatly from the historical amnesia that follows. Endowment Chairman Bruce Cole, in discussing the *We the People* initiative, stated that "citizens kept ignorant of their history are robbed of the riches of their heritage, and handicapped in their ability to understand and appreciate their culture." Thomas Jefferson is a continuing puzzle in our communal effort to come to terms with that heritage and culture. It is highly appropriate, therefore, that the Papers of Thomas Jefferson is a designated *We the People* project.

The 250th anniversary of Jefferson's birth in 1993 stirred a fresh critical assessment of his contributions, contradictions, and shortcomings. Reaffirming what Merrill D. Peterson had earlier called Jefferson's "compelling relationship to the American experiment in democracy," this reevaluation is forcing students of our history and culture to wrestle anew with the meaning of the American experience that he profoundly shaped. "Jefferson is an old, old subject," Professor Peterson reminded us, "but the quest for the historical Jefferson, under the formal discipline of scholarly inquiry, is young." This quest is even more challenging now as we focus our scholarly inquiry on Jefferson the president. As we grapple with an ever-expanding list of questions that historians ask of the election of 1800 and the formation of a new republican government in the first term of his presidency, we confront an immensely expanded documentary base. In following the new paths of this inquiry, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* will continue to have a lasting impact on the world's understanding of the nation's third president and his transformational influence on the ideals of the American people.

II. History and Duration of the Edition

"The purpose of this work is to present the writings and recorded actions of Thomas Jefferson as accurately and as completely as possible," Boyd announced in Volume 1 (vii). The plan for the edition, therefore, aimed "at the inclusion of everything legitimately Jeffersonian by reason of authorship or of relationship, and at the exclusion of great masses of materials that have only a technical claim to being regarded as Jefferson documents," such as official statutes, land warrants, commissions, and the like signed by Jefferson as governor, secretary of state, vice president, and president. As the project moved into the years of Jefferson's presidency, the "masses of materials" that Boyd noted have greatly expanded. They include messages to Congress, resolutions, motions, letters of application and recommendation, petitions for pardon, and records of the executive department that crossed the presidential desk. While the scope of the edition has not changed, precisely how the materials under our rubric will be dealt with has necessarily come under our close scrutiny and reconsideration.

As a part of that reconsideration and in an effort to move the project forward with expedition and a continued commitment to the highest standards, in late 1997 members of the Department of History at Princeton and Daniel P. Jordan, president of the Thomas Jefferson Foundation, began conversations on the feasibility of initiating a "Retirement Series" of Jefferson's correspondence that would publish volumes in tandem with those being edited at Princeton. Following a year of negotiations, representatives of the university, the Foundation, and the Princeton University Press signed Articles of Agreement that established the relationship between the two projects. The Agreement provides that the Princeton Editor serve as General Editor of the Papers. The Editor at Princeton also continues to be responsible for the chronological volumes up through Jefferson's presidency and bears sole responsibility for commissioning and overseeing the publication of the Second Series volumes (see below). A separate staff, under the leadership of J. Jefferson Looney, has been convened at Monticello to edit the volumes chronicling Jefferson's life from 4 March 1809 through his death on 4 July 1826. Princeton University Press will also publish the Retirement Series. The Thomas Jefferson Foundation and Princeton University strongly believe that this partnership is challenging, exciting, and timely. We see it as a significant milestone in the field of documentary editing and as part of the fulfillment of the congressional mandate that launched the Jefferson edition in 1943. At the present time, with one volume published from each editorial office every year, two volumes of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* appear annually.

This "larger undertaking" (the phrase taken from the Guidelines for Scholarly Editions grants) ensures that we have a realistic and achievable date for the completion of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*: within twenty years, or no later than 2026. The reorganization into series, the refreshing of

our traditional editorial procedures with new electronic technology (see paragraphs below under Methods), and the strong editorial staff in place have all contributed to a real momentum in recent years. We are working to build a coalition of funding sources, public and private, to sustain this editorial undertaking and disseminate its results more widely in an electronic world. During the proposed three year period for which this application seeks funding from the Endowment, the editors will work on six volumes in various stages, tentatively covering the period 1 May 1801 through 30 April 1803, and submit three of them to the Press.

The edition will also continue publication of its Second Series volumes as they are submitted by outside scholars. To the Second Series belong those writings that do not lend themselves to chronological arrangement. Already published in the series, which is arranged by topic, are *Jefferson's Extracts from the Gospels*, his *Parliamentary Writings*, his *Literary Commonplace Book*, and his *Memorandum Books* (in two volumes). Boyd had marked several of Jefferson's other writings for possible inclusion in the Second Series, including the Autobiography, the Fee Book, and the Equity Commonplace Book. Edited by scholars unaffiliated with the Princeton editorial offices, but with the guidance and review of the General Editor, these works are published by Princeton University Press. Currently underway for the Second Series is Jefferson's *Legal Commonplace Book*, edited by David Konig of Washington University in St. Louis and Michael Zuckert of the University of Notre Dame. No support from the Endowment has been requested for the Second Series.

Jefferson's correspondence – the core of the canon – forms the largest component of the approximately 70,000 photocopies of documents – letters to and from Jefferson in variant texts, official and private writings by him, and third-party supporting materials – that have been assembled thus far at Princeton from more than 900 repositories and private sources in this country and abroad.⁴ In addition to offering a narrative of the significant events of the American revolutionary period and early republic, his correspondence also unveils the complexity and versatility of an extraordinary eighteenth- and nineteenth-century thinker. In its unsurpassed range and depth, Jefferson's epistolary legacy attests to his abiding reputation as a person whose intellectual curiosity knew few bounds. In the period of his life now under study, we see Jefferson caught up in a multitude of scientific queries – analyzing the 1800 census data to project the growth of population in the U.S., seeking to obtain a refracting telescope, ruminating on steam power – and continuing to nurture his interest in Indian languages and paleontology. Jefferson's routine correspondence on the management of Monticello increases our knowledge of both Jefferson the slaveholder and the society and economy of Virginia plantations. His non-epistolary papers, which appear in chronological sequence with the letters in *The* Papers of Thomas Jefferson, embrace subjects as diverse as his drafts of the Declaration of Independence, his paper prepared for the American Philosophical Society on the megalonyx, and

private political jottings, the "Anas." Thanks to Jefferson's meticulous personal record-keeping, his documentary benefactions may represent what the biographer Gilbert Chinard called "the richest treasure house of information ever left by a single man." It is also a treasure house of information about other people, for Americans of all classes felt they could write to Jefferson to describe an extraordinary machine they had invented, to chastise him for his "atheism," or, even before the results of the elections of 1800 were conclusive, to ask for a post in the newly installed republican government.

Jefferson's prolific documentary record, along with that of the other American founders, is a legacy for the nation as it confronts new challenges. The founders' words, deeds, and debates with one another are presented in the great editions commenced in the twentieth century. The distinguished historian Edmund S. Morgan has called the annotated editions of the papers of the founding generation "the major scholarly achievement of American historical scholarship in this century." The papers of Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison, Franklin, and Alexander Hamilton, in scrupulously edited and judiciously annotated book editions, will educate and serve generations of Americans to come. Princeton University and Princeton University Press are committed to the completion and publication of this ongoing printed edition of one of America's most remarkable icons.

To date 38 volumes have been published in 2 series, 33 volumes (including Volume 33, to be published in December 2006) in the chronological series and 5 volumes (4 titles) in the Second Series. A complete list, with sales and figures, is in Appendix B. Volume 34 will go to press by December 2006. The editorial work on Volume 35 is well along. The National Endowment for the Humanities provided support for Volume 27, the final volume of Jefferson's tenure as secretary of state, for the 5 volumes (28-32) covering his first retirement from public office, beginning in January 1794, and his vice presidency. (For a table showing the work accomplished on these volumes and the first presidential volume under the most recent grant from the Endowment, see Appendix C). The documents presented in these volumes, the vast majority of them previously unpublished, contribute significantly to our understanding of Jefferson's private and public life, the struggles of the nation to retain its independence from warring European powers, and the expansion of the concept of a legitimate political opposition through the growth of political parties.

Americans are fascinated with the institution of the presidency and the development of political parties, and Jefferson is at the heart of this fascination. His documentary archive provides the key to understanding his presidential legacy. No scholar has fully come to terms with the nation's first Democratic-Republican presidency and the impact it has had on American political and social history. Such great Jefferson scholars of preceding generations as Dumas Malone and Noble Cunningham noted the complexity of the documents and devoted books to analyzing the process of government

under Jefferson's leadership. "His presidency was much the most complicated part of Jefferson's career and the materials bearing on it are considerably more extensive than in any other equivalent period of his long life," Malone commented in Jefferson the President: First Term, 1801-1805 (1970, xiii). More recently, in his prizewinning American Sphinx: The Character of Thomas Jefferson (1997), Joseph J. Ellis aptly depicted Jefferson's "self-consciously unimperial executive style" as "the textual presidency," observing perceptively that, for our third president, "the art of making decisions was synonymous with the art of drafting and revising texts" (193). Our editorial files fully sustain this judgment, and we predict that scholars will continue to look to the Jefferson volumes for important textual information. How Jefferson composed his inaugural addresses, annual messages to Congress, memoranda to cabinet members, and public correspondence will remain an important subject of scholarly inquiry.

Work on Jefferson's first term as president will continue over the next three years, for which support from the Endowment is sought. Specifically, work on volumes 34-39 will move forward. The following paragraphs describe the highlights of those volumes, and the Plan of Work breaks down the tasks into six-month segments.

Volume 34 (1 May-15 August 1801) chronicles a period in which Jefferson began to put into practice his views on significant and pressing issues. Having declared in his inaugural address that "we are all republicans, we are all federalists," he received a remonstrance from merchants protesting the removal of the collector of customs at New Haven, Connecticut. He answered on 12 July, explaining forthrightly that he "would gladly have left to time & accident" the correction of political imbalances in officeholding, had not the Federalists' "monopoly" required him to make some removals to reflect the will of the majority as expressed in the last election. In mid-May, the president and his cabinet determined to order a naval squadron to the Mediterranean, nominally as a training exercise since they had no way of knowing yet if Tripoli had declared war on the United States. In May also, Congressman John Dawson arrived in Paris seeking French approval of the Senate's modification of the terms of the Convention of Môrtfontaine signed by the two nations in 1800. Napoleon Bonaparte eventually ratified the altered compact, but that fact would not be known in the United States until September. As an attempted coalition of neutral nations in the Baltic region disintegrated, Jefferson wrote an exposition of his own views on the rights of neutral seafaring countries, citing works on international law and asking the opinion of Robert R. Livingston, one of the country's top legal experts and the new American minister to France.

Jefferson spent August and September in Virginia and was there when Volume 35 (16 August-30 November 1801) opens. During this visit Jefferson supervised and made a record of the inoculation of members of the Monticello "family" – slaves as well as his Randolph and Eppes

grandchildren – with the new technique using cowpox vaccine to protect against smallpox. A visit from Secretary of State James Madison in September allowed the two to consult over political appointments and formulate instructions for Livingston. Back in Washington, Jefferson on 6 November prepared his well-known circular letter to the heads of departments, setting forth the "mode and degrees of communication" by which their business would be handled. That month also, in consultation with Madison and Governor James Monroe of Virginia, Jefferson prepared a letter for the state's General Assembly suggesting the West Indies or Africa as possible destinations for rebellious slaves transported outside the state under new laws. He corresponded with his five-year-old granddaughter, Ellen Wayles Randolph, who shared his love of books and asked him to "Make haste to come home to see us."

Congress was not in session for the first nine months of his presidency, and Volume 36 (1 December 1801-15 March 1802) begins just before the convening of the Seventh Congress with a Republican majority in both houses. On 8 December, Jefferson submitted his first annual message, which outlined his plans for government. Heeding advice from his cabinet, he deleted a paragraph from the document that declared the Sedition Act of 1798 unconstitutional. He sent the message to Congress in writing rather than delivering it in person, thus introducing a less "monarchical" form of communication between the branches of government that was followed until 1913. In response to a request for an affirmation of religious liberty from the Baptist Association of Danbury, Connecticut, Jefferson on New Year's Day penned his famous assertion that a "wall of separation" stood between church and state. In March, Congress repealed the Judiciary Act of 1801, under which John Adams had made many of the famous "midnight" appointments.

In the opening month of Volume 37 (16 March-31 July 1802), Great Britain and France signed the Treaty of Amiens, bringing respite – temporarily, as it turned out – to the global conflict sparked by the French Revolution. Concerned that an invigoration of the Louisiana colony would mark "a new epoch in our political course" threatening to American interests, Jefferson suggested to Robert Livingston that France should consider ceding New Orleans to the United States. In July 1802, journalist James T. Callender, bitter that he had not received the support he felt was his due, began to attack Jefferson in the newspapers and accused him of fathering Sally Hemings's children. Callender's "base ingratitude," Jefferson wrote to Monroe, "presents human nature in a hideous form." Jefferson also that month acknowledged "symptoms of a schism" between warring Republican factions in New York. He spent much of May in Virginia, after the close of the congressional session, and returned to Monticello from the latter part of July until the beginning of October.

In the period covered by Volume 38 (1 August-15 December 1802), the controversial pamphleteer Thomas Paine returned to the United States from France and Jefferson learned that authorities at New Orleans had cut off the right of deposit, critical to American commerce in the Mississippi Valley. In November, Jefferson crafted a letter to the Seneca Indian revivalist Handsome Lake, praising the reformer's efforts to promote agriculture and discourage the consumption of alcohol. Later that month Jefferson's daughters, Martha Randolph and Maria Eppes, and two of his grandchildren arrived for a visit of several weeks, the only time that he and his daughters would all be together in the capital city. In December, Rufus King, who had resigned in August as U.S. minister to Britain, responded to an inquiry from Jefferson by saying that prospects of resettling Virginia slaves in Sierra Leone were not very promising. That month the Seventh Congress opened its second session and Jefferson prepared his second annual message.

Volume 39, for which we will begin to select the documents to be included, will carry us into 1803. In the early months of this year, the Supreme Court handed down decisions in Marbury v. Madison and Stuart v. Laird, the state of Ohio was admitted to the Union, and President Jefferson sent a confidential message to Congress seeking support for a western expedition.

Notes to Narrative Description

1. The first of the earlier editions – a four-volume collection published three years after Jefferson's death by his first and favorite grandson, Thomas Jefferson Randolph – was entitled *Memoir*, Correspondence, and Miscellanies from the Papers of Thomas Jefferson (Charlottesville, 1829), and its contents were chiefly official in nature. More than two decades later, Professor Henry A. Washington of the College of William and Mary prepared an edition under the auspices of the Federal government, based on papers purchased by Congress in 1848, that was published in nine volumes as The Writings of Thomas Jefferson (New York and Washington, 1853-54). Washington garbled texts and suppressed material, particularly passages relating to Jefferson's views on slavery. A greater fidelity to Jefferson's writings was achieved toward the close of the century with the publication of a ten-volume edition prepared by Paul Leicester Ford, The Writings of Thomas Jefferson (New York, 1892-99), a work that has earned the reputation of being the most reliable of the earlier editions. The largest compendium prior to the Princeton edition was published under the same title in twenty volumes by Andrew A. Lipscomb and Albert E. Bergh (Washington, 1903-1904). Although this work included previously unpublished papers from the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Virginia State Library, and other sources, the Lipscomb and Bergh collection was largely a reprint of Washington's compilation and perpetuated its inaccuracies and distortions.

Several one-volume collections of Jefferson's writings have appeared in recent years that are useful for the general reader. Among these are the Library of America's *Thomas Jefferson*, edited by

- Merrill D. Peterson (New York, 1984), and Joyce Appleby's Thomas Jefferson: Political Writings (Cambridge, England, 1998). Neither, however, is intended to be a comprehensive scholarly edition.
- 2. "The Danger of Historical Amnesia, A Conversation with David McCullough," http://www.neh.gov/news/humanities/2002-07/danger.html. Bruce Cole, "Our American Amnesia," http://www.neh.gov/wtp/newsroom/wsjarticle.html.
 - 3. Merrill D. Peterson, The Jefferson Image in the American Mind (New York, 1960), vii, 456.
- 4. The century-long dispersal of Jefferson's extensive personal archive following his death in 1826 eventually resulted in the formation of the three major collections of his papers in existence today: the Library of Congress (about 25,000 items), the Massachusetts Historical Society (about 7,000 items), and the University of Virginia (about 3,600 items). The Huntington Library and the Missouri Historical Society also possess significant holdings of Jefferson materials. Thousands of Jefferson documents in other collections of the Library of Congress and in the record groups of the National Archives, of course, have long been in the possession of the United States government. Thousands more were preserved among the papers of his numerous correspondents in hundreds of collections in the custody of other repositories, both public and private, in this country and abroad. Jefferson documents continue to appear regularly on the autograph market.
 - 5. Edmund S. Morgan, "The Genuine Article," New York Review of Books, 29 February 1996.

III. The Staff and Its Responsibilities

A. Project Staff

Barbara Oberg, Editor, did her graduate work in eighteenth-century intellectual history at the University of California, Santa Barbara, and came to the Jefferson Papers after twelve years as Editor of the Papers of Benjamin Franklin at Yale University. Trained as an historian of early America at the University of Michigan, James McClure, Senior Associate Editor, has been a documentary editor since 1982. Senior Associate Editor Elaine Pascu, an American political and social historian trained at Northern Illinois University, formerly edited at Baruch College of the City University of New York the Papers of Albert Gallatin, a figure who looms large in our upcoming volumes. Martha King, Associate Editor, received her doctorate in early American history at the College of William and Mary, and has gained experience on several related documentary editing projects, most recently the Papers of James Madison. Tom Downey, Assistant Editor, earned his doctorate in the history of the U.S. South from the University of South Carolina, where he also worked on the Papers of John C. Calhoun and the Papers of Henry Laurens. John Little received his doctorate in early American History at Princeton and worked on the Woodrow Wilson Papers for thirty years. Amy Speckart, Assistant Editor and doctoral candidate at the College of William and Mary, joined the project in 2004 as an NHPRC Fellow in Historical Documentary Editing with prior experience at the Charles Willson Peale Family Papers. Editorial Assistant Linda Monaco is a graduate of the State University of New York at New Paltz in English literature, with extensive experience in coding volumes for typesetting and formatting special materials for page layout. Curricula Vitae are attached in Appendix A.

Complementing each other's strengths and knowledge, our editorial team brings to the task an admiration for the high standards established by Julian Boyd and maintained by his successors Charles T. Cullen and John Catanzariti. We also have an enthusiastic determination to maintain those standards and share a firm collective commitment to work on the presidential volumes effectively and creatively, moving the project steadily toward completion.

In addition to the core staff in the editorial offices of the Jefferson Papers project, we also rely upon the expertise of several consultants. The presidential volumes will continue to include letters to Jefferson in French, Spanish, and Italian, as well as occasional communications in German, Portuguese, and Arabic. Outside foreign language experts (named on the List of Project Participants) review our transcriptions and provide translations.

As we began to move toward an electronic presence on the web and to develop a basic content management system that would supplant the project's original slip files and allow us to track stages in our workflow, we turned to outside consultants with significant experience and expertise in databases,

computer programming, and the guidelines and standards of the Text Encoding Initiative. The names of these individuals also appear on the List of Project Participants.

B. Staff Responsibilities for Preparing Volumes

We re-evaluate and adjust the distribution of editorial responsibilities as needed but, in general, we now divide the tasks in the following way. Under the direction of Associate Editor Martha King, Assistant Editors Tom Downey and Amy Speckart and Editorial Assistant Linda Monaco perform the first textual verification and draft descriptive notes. They verify transcriptions against the photocopies and, when possible, against online images such as the Library of Congress American Memory project and the Massachusetts Historical Society website. They sketch out possible textual notes and flag for the attention of senior staff difficult texts with substantial emendations and also texts with variant versions, which will need additional collation. The documents are then allocated by Oberg among the editors (Downey, King, McClure, Pascu, and Speckart) and Monaco distributes the documents to them as electronic files. The editors perform the second full verification, revise the descriptive notes as needed, and prepare textual notes for the documents that make up their annotation assignment.

A third verification is necessary for a substantial number of the documents – heavily emended drafts, faint and blurred press copies, and documents where line endings are obscured by tape or tight bindings. When uncertainty remains after we have used all possible online sources or when we need to examine the ink, paper, and watermark, we consult the original manuscripts at the repositories. All members of the professional editorial staff have shared in the responsibility of journeying to Washington, Charlottesville, New York, and Boston to polish our transcriptions.

Preparation of the annotation for the Jefferson volumes is also a shared process. For recent volumes, Oberg has done an initial read-through at the beginning of work on a volume for the purpose of distributing the documents among the editors. Preparation of annotation is both an individual responsibility and a collaborative enterprise among the editors because the issues discussed in letters from different correspondents often intersect. We assign documents according to a general but flexible division of subjects that can be adjusted as needed volume by volume. While each editor handles a core set of correspondents or topics, we discuss overlapping issues in annotation meetings to share information and to prevent duplication of research and annotation effort. In the early presidential volumes, McClure has generally taken responsibility for letters relating to the attorney general, the secretary of war, and Indian affairs, Jefferson's foreign correspondence, some aspects of national politics, and scientific topics. Pascu handles correspondence with Albert Gallatin at the Treasury Department, Postmaster General Gideon Granger, George Jefferson (on Jefferson's business affairs at

Richmond), Martha Jefferson Randolph and her family, and several correspondents in New York and Pennsylvania. King handles correspondence with James Madison, with printers and booksellers, with Mary Jefferson Eppes and her family, and with letters relating to local Virginia politics. Downey focuses on military affairs, especially the Navy Department, as well as dealing with letters relating to the southern states, the Mint, patronage applications, and miscellaneous topics. Speckart deals with medicine, personal finance, expenditures for the President's House, and Jefferson's involvement with the development of Washington, D.C.

After the annotation has been drafted, the descriptive notes vetted by Pascu, and the annotation rigorously checked by Research Associate Little, the volume (in what we call its Edit1 stage) comes to the Editor for an intensive review of texts, descriptive notes, explanatory annotation, and textual notes as it is put into final form. The volume receives a final sense reading by the Senior Associate Editors and they and the Editor consult on any difficulties; revisions are entered by Monaco and checked by at least two staff members at each stage. The volume is printed and submitted to the Press, accompanied by the electronic files.

C. Advisory Committee

Daniel P. Jordan

The Jefferson edition has had an Advisory Committee since the project's inception. The Committee's composition has changed over the years as more members of the Princeton University History Department have become involved and scholars with a variety of approaches to Jefferson have been added. Members are frequently consulted on an individual basis, in person or by telephone, for their advice on historical and editorial matters, as well as for their assistance in raising grants and gifts for the edition. The entire Advisory Committee meets occasionally, and small groups from it have gathered for informal luncheons on campus or in New York. The Executive Committee has convened almost every year, usually during the American Historical Association annual meeting, to offer suggestions on editorial policies for presidential volumes and oversee the partnership with Monticello. The Advisory Committee is composed as follows:

Gordon S. Wood

Jeremy Adelman	Stanley N. Katz *	Daniel T. Rodgers *
Joyce Appleby *	Thomas H. Kean	Jack Rosenthal
Andrew Burstein	Jan Ellen Lewis	Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.
Noble E. Cunningham, Jr.	J. Jefferson Looney	Herbert E. Sloan *
Robert C. Darnton	James M. McPherson	Alan Taylor
Annette Gordon-Reed *	John M. Murrin *	Shirley T. Tilghman
Ronald Hoffman	Merrill D. Peterson	Sean Wilentz

Robert C. Ritchie *

^{*} Presently a member of the Executive Committee

IV. Editorial Methods

A. Accessioning Procedures and Control Files

The basic control files in the Jefferson editorial offices had been the paper slips that were created at the project's inception and now number almost 70,000 items in the corpus. Each text, whether unique or a variant, was assigned a number that was stamped on the back of every page of the photocopy and on the accession jacket. Variant versions of a document were individually accessioned but usually filed with the other versions in a single jacket. The date of the document, its author(s) or correspondent(s), a project-supplied title (for non-epistolary documents), a National Union Catalog (NUC) symbol for the repository or contributor, and the collection were printed on the jacket. Triplicate slips, filed by date, author or recipient, and accession number made up the control files.

In 2002 we began the process of creating an electronic database as a control file for the documents of Jefferson's presidency (March 1801 to March 1809). With the guidance of an experienced consultant, the project now has a relational database in Microsoft Access that enables the staff to execute a variety of searches or create reports in several formats at the click of a button. At the time of this application, the data set contains records of more than 20,500 documents, most of them in the period 1801-1807 (some are duplicate versions, such as a retained file copy of a letter for which we also have the original sent to the recipient). We estimate that by September 2007, data entry for the documentary record of Jefferson's two terms as president will be complete.

As a robust relational data set containing multiple linked tables, the database allows us to attach a variable number of authors' or receivers' names to a document's entry. Updates to the personal names table are instantly reflected in document entries. We can make a connection between entries for different accession numbers, thus relating together different versions of the same text. We also use the database to manage some aspects of workflow and the handling of documents in preparation for publication, including the editor to which a particular document is assigned, whether the text will be printed in full or summarized in annotation to another document, and the document's position within a finished volume. With the assistance of our consultant, we are anticipating a conversion of the Access database to XML format or a web-based database once data entry to March 1809 is complete.

B. Selection

The Princeton edition was designed to be comprehensive in its accounting of Jefferson's Papers. The comprehensive edition that Boyd envisioned, however, did not assume that every document merited printing in full. "In short," as Boyd noted in Volume 1, "'completeness' as applied to this or any other attempt at an exhaustive edition is a relative term, theoretically possible but

practically unattainable and in some respects undesirable. The editors have aimed at the inclusion of everything legitimately Jeffersonian by reason of authorship or of relationship, and at the exclusion of great masses of materials that have only a technical claim to being regarded as Jefferson documents." Boyd stated that "in defining a Jefferson document, the editors have endeavored to be liberal but also realistic." Guidelines for selection have changed over the course of the edition as the density of the documentation has varied. In Volume 33, the first presidential volume, we relegated to summary treatment in annotation follow-up letters from the same correspondent that added nothing new to the first letter sent by that individual, multiple letters of recommendation supporting a candidate for office, and routine correspondence that Jefferson forwarded to the appropriate cabinet officer or government office. We printed in full 545 letters and summarized or used in annotation 69. This is a much more rigorous principle of selection than that applied in past volumes, and one that will grow increasingly rigorous as we move forward.

C. Establishing the Text

Extended discussion of the treatment of texts by the Jefferson edition may be found in Volume 1:xxix-xxxiv. In summary, our practice is as follows. The text chosen for printing is selected from a descending hierarchy of manuscript types. In the case of letters, preference is ordinarily given to the recipient's copy (RC), which is frequently in the hand of the author, and in the case of non-epistolary documents, to a manuscript (MS) in the author's hand. If a primary text does not survive, preference is given to a text retained by and in the hand of the author or the author's agent. To this category, which cuts across both groups of manuscript symbols, belong the press copy (PrC), polygraph copy (PoC), file copy (FC), and one type of transcript (Tr). The press copies and polygraph copies represent mechanical forms of retained texts that in most cases are images of the recipient's copy and are highly useful in cases where the RCs are fragmentary or illegible. When we lack a retained copy, we give preference to a contemporary transcript in the hand of a copyist, particularly if the text was made under Jefferson's aegis and is among his papers. We do not automatically prefer a draft in the author's hand (Dft) to a press copy, or even a file copy or transcript, because it frequently represents an earlier and sometimes incomplete state of the document and of the author's intention. When no contemporary manuscript text of a document exists, recourse must be had to a later version (a transcript made by a descendant, for example, or a printed text from a newspaper, journal, or book). When we deviate from our normal practice we explain our decision in annotation. Variant texts of a document are collated, and significant emendations recorded in textual notes.

D. Rendering the text

Volume 1 of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* set forth an editorial policy described as a "middle course." Various degrees of conventionalization were adopted, although they were not to be applied to certain classes of documents – business papers, tabular materials, and documents "of great textual importance and complexity." For what were highly convincing reasons to Boyd and his contemporaries – bringing rationality to eighteenth-century manuscript material, the convenience of twentieth-century readers, and limited typesetting capabilities – the choice was appropriate at the time, and it was followed, with some slight modifications, by his successors. When the editorial staff of the Jefferson Papers began to re-examine the treatment of texts in 1998, we concluded after much thought that it was time to move toward a more literal rendering of the texts of Jefferson's outgoing and incoming correspondence. We made this decision in concert with the Monticello Retirement Series staff so that the volumes still to be published for both Jefferson's presidency and his years of retirement would have a common textual policy. We embark upon this new direction not in the spirit of criticism of our predecessors, but because we believe the changes are important and timely. The advantages of presenting Jefferson's texts literally and faithfully outweigh the disadvantages of altering the edition's policy in midstream. Our readers can manage abbreviations, sentences beginning with lowercase letters, and dashes as marks of punctuation; when something is obscure it is our responsibility to clarify it in annotation or a textual note. We implemented the new policy with Volume 30.

The revised textual method will adhere to the following guidelines: Abbreviations will no longer be expanded silently. Where the meaning is sufficiently unclear to require editorial intervention, the expansion will be given in a textual note or explanatory annotation. Terminal punctuation will no longer be supplied when absent from abbreviations. Punctuation will no longer be modernized; dashes will not be dropped or converted to periods or commas; so-called redundant punctuation, such as a period followed by a dash, will also be permitted to stand; commas and other punctuation at the end of salutations will no longer be routinely deleted. Capitalization will follow that used in the document. In practice this will mean an end to capitalizing the opening letters of abbreviations (particularly Mr. and Mrs.) that had not been capitalized by their authors and, more dramatically, an end to capitalizing the beginning of sentences when Jefferson or others did not do so. Capitalization tends to present more gray areas than anywhere else in transcription, in part because some authors seem to have had an intermediate-sized letter that they frequently used. In such instances we will follow Boyd's lead, adopting modern usage where we simply cannot tell what the author intended. <u>Superscripts</u> will be brought down to the line.

E. Foreign-language Documents

Beginning with Volume 30, translations or translation summaries have been supplied for French-language documents. These translations follow immediately after the French text of the document. If a contemporary translation that Jefferson made or would have used is extant, we will print it. Otherwise the editors will supply one. We will continue the practice established in Volume 23 of providing translations of Spanish documents but we will also print the Spanish text. We provide translations or translation summaries for German, Latin, Arabic, and other languages that occur in Jefferson's correspondence. Our foreign-language consultants are identified in the List of Project Participants.

F. Annotation

The three principal types of annotation used in the Jefferson volumes – descriptive, explanatory, and textual notes – are fully described in Volume 1:xxxv-xxxvi. Every document, whether printed in full, summarized, or recorded in the annotation, has a descriptive note that contains a physical description of the document and a record of all known versions. The document is characterized – that is, information given on whether it is a recipient's copy, polygraph copy, press copy, duplicate, or transcript – and its repository location given. The explanatory note follows the descriptive note and uses small capitals to highlight key words from the text that are being discussed. Textual notes form a third section of the annotation and are keyed by superscript numerals to the text. Explanatory and textual notes are optional, the need for them varying from document to document. In cases where there are no variant versions and no significant emendations to record, textual notes are not required. In many cases, substantive annotation (the explanatory notes) can be brief or nonexistent, the index serving as the primary means of cross-referencing between documents.

G. Indexes

Our indexes, analytical and thorough, are now the principal form of access to the Jefferson volumes. The volumes edited by Boyd did not have individual volume indexes, and three temporary paperbound indexes to the first eighteen volumes were issued by the project in 1954, 1958, and 1973. Charles T. Cullen and his staff compiled an index to the first twenty volumes of the Jefferson Papers by digitizing, editing, and merging these temporary indexes with ones they compiled to Volumes 19 and 20. Published as Volume 21 (1983), this computer-assisted index made the Boyd volumes more readily accessible to readers and was a milestone in documentary editing. Individual volume indexes, beginning with Volume 27, have been mounted on our website.

Our indexes are created in CINDEX. As they are drafting annotation the editors prepare "preindexing" notes, which are Microsoft Word files that can be cut and pasted into the CINDEX entry

forms as the index is being compiled. These notes record full names of individuals and subjects discussed in the letter and save valuable time when page proofs arrive and the index must be completed under a deadline. To achieve as much consistency as possible between volumes we cut and paste directly from the computer files of earlier indexes the required entries and subentries. By continually refining the entries and cross references in the indexes we hope to increase accessibility to the volumes and, to the best of our ability, keep up with changing interests of students and other users of the volumes. Alterations to the Volume 33 index reflect the shifting emphasis in subject matter as the volumes cover the presidential years. New main entries have been created for "Congress, U.S.," "Courts, U.S.," as well as for each executive department (Navy, State, Treasury, and War). A subentry under the Jefferson entry has been added for "Patronage and Appointments," a new topic that looms large in this and future presidential volumes. Regarding Jefferson's personal affairs, the number of references under Monticello has, at least for the time being, significantly diminished compared to previous volumes, while a new entry has been added for the President's House, reflecting the new prominence of the nation's capital as Jefferson's primary place of residence between 1801 and 1809.

V. Final Product and Dissemination

Princeton University Press has published the Jefferson volumes without subvention since the inception of the edition. For more than a decade, however, the Jefferson Office has been underwriting a significant part of the Press's production costs by coding the main volumes in the chronological series. The Press keeps all volumes in print. Initial sales of new volumes in the chronological series are approximately 1,000 copies. All volumes in the edition continue to sell in small numbers every year, and the Press and the project are committed to the continued publication of printed volumes.

At the same time, however, it is clear to all of us at the Jefferson Papers – the Editors, the Advisory Committee, the Coordinating Board of the Princeton and the Monticello series – that electronic access to The Papers of Thomas Jefferson is vital for reaching humanities audiences across the generations, who desire the best and most up-to-date information possible about Jefferson. More than 15 years ago we took the first step toward achieving this goal by entering into a collaborative agreement between Founding Fathers Papers, Inc., and the Packard Humanities Institute to produce an edition of all the texts of the papers of the founders in CD-ROM format. Already available in a test version are a disk and a web version of the Benjamin Franklin Papers. The online edition has received significant attention through its use for recent biographies by Edmund S. Morgan, Gordon Wood, and Walter Isaacson. The Packard Humanities Institute has for several years generously supported the transcription of documents for Jefferson's presidency and, in the last five years, arranged for the keyboarding of documents that previously existed only in typed transcript here at the Jefferson Papers

office. With the exception of newly accessioned documents, letters we uncover from our search of newspapers for 1801-1809, and stray undated or misdated documents, we have in electronic form transcriptions of the entire documentary base for Jefferson's presidency.

Although we expect the CD-ROM release to be a useful tool, particularly for smaller libraries, schools, and some historical societies, we are fully cognizant that web-based electronic access is the means of the future, and we are proceeding in that direction.

To this end, we have been working closely with Princeton University Press to arrange for the retrospective conversion of our published volumes (Volumes 1-33 of *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, the two published volumes of the Retirement Series, and the available Second Series Volumes) through Rotunda at the University of Virginia Press. After a series of detailed and probing conversations with the Director and senior electronic Editors at the University of Virginia Press, we made the commitment to proceed. We raised questions about the level of content tagging, the degree of responsibility the Press would assume for proofreading, and what kind of linking (within documents, between documents, from documents to name lists, and between the Jefferson texts and those of the other Founding Fathers editions incorporated into Rotunda) would be done. We also wanted to insure that Rotunda's standards were fully compliant with the guidelines of the Model Editions Partnership, based on TEI practices. At the conclusion of the meetings and conversations the representatives of Princeton University Press and the Editors of the Jefferson Papers decided to move forward with Rotunda. As of late October 2006, Rotunda is completing most of its work on producing an electronic edition of *The Papers of George Washington* and plans to begin work on the Jefferson volumes in January 2007. The conversion of our published volumes into searchable electronic texts is an important component of our overall goal of making Jefferson's words available to the American people and the citizens of the world. It is also our hope to begin as soon as possible the "prospective" digitization and mounting electronically of the texts of all the documents through the end of Jefferson's two presidential terms, the culmination of his public career.

With the aid of our consultant Josh Allen, who is well versed in constructing both databases and websites, the project maintains a website on a Princeton University server at www.princeton.edu/~tjpapers. The site provides basic information about the project, its history, and its volumes, including a link to the Princeton University Press's online catalog description of each volume. Also on the website are searchable texts of volume indexes of the Papers of Thomas Jefferson beginning with Volume 27. One section of the website contains electronic versions of a few key documents, currently in HTML format, as our initial venture into the online presentation of complex edited documents. One of those texts is Jefferson's "Rough draught" of the Declaration of Independence as Julian Boyd edited it for Volume 1 of the edition, with our links to images of

Jefferson's draft in the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. Other documents on the website have allowed us to experiment with connecting, via electronic links, different stages or versions of a text. These include Jefferson's famous letter of 24 April 1796 to Philip Mazzei and the controversial extracts published from it (published in Volume 29); the Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 (Volume 30); Jefferson's Reports of Balloting in the House of Representatives on 12 February 1801, as the House attempted to resolve the tied Electoral College vote of the election of 1800 (Volume 32); and the drafts of his March 1801 Inaugural Address (Volume 33).

We at the project are keenly aware that the fruits of our research should be made available to the widest possible audience. Our primary task is to edit and publish the volumes, but when we can, we also help teachers and students find useful ways of exploring what may seem to be a daunting amount of documentary evidence. A visit to the project by Advanced Placement U.S. history students from Northern New Jersey and their teachers has become an annual event for us. We prepare a packet of manuscript copies, transcriptions, and background reading in advance and then break into small seminar groups, each led by an editor, for student discussion of such topics as the Jay Treaty, the Alien and Sedition Acts, the election of 1800, or domestic life at Monticello as seen through the documents. The response from teachers and students about the seminar experience has been overwhelmingly enthusiastic. Parents report that their teenagers anticipate this opportunity, valuing it as a highlight of their school year, and come home eager to discuss contemporary issues in the context of important topics in early American history. We also welcomed to the project offices this year the students from Professor Sean Wilentz's undergraduate class in the early American Republic.

Members of the professional editorial staff engaged in a variety of outreach activities during the last grant period. McClure spearheaded the effort to mount important documents, for use by students, researchers, and the general public, on the project's website. King gave a workshop on reading Jefferson's correspondence to high school students in Williamsburg, Virginia, Pascu again led a college-prep class on Jefferson and editing documents at Adelphi Academy in Brooklyn, and Downey participated in a panel on careers in public history for aspiring historians at the 2006 annual meeting of the American Historical Association. Oberg spoke to graduate students at the University of California at Santa Barbara about Jefferson and the work of documentary editors. King gave a public lecture on editing the papers of Presidents Jefferson and Madison in conjunction with a presidential exhibition for the Historical Society of Princeton. Speckart presented a paper at the annual Conference of the Association for Documentary Editing. For the first time this year, we also created a summer volunteer internship for an eager local high school student who researched the documentary materials related to Jefferson's First Annual Message to Congress.

VI. Plan of Work

The following outline indicates what will be accomplished during each six-month period. Because the work in so many of these areas is shared among several members of the staff, a discussion of who is involved in which tasks can be found in Section III, Project Staff.

1 July-31 December 2007

- Volume 34: Answer any final queries from Princeton University Press. Publication.
- Volume 35: Complete final pre-production tasks and submit to Press.
- Volume 36: Selection and allocation of documents completed. Finish 50% of the first verifications and descriptive notes. Annotation begins.

1 January-30 June 2008

- Volume 35: Review page proofs and compile index according to Press's production schedule.
- Volume 36: First verification finished. Annotation and second verification 75% complete.
- Volume 37: Selection and allocation of documents; and first verification begun.

1 July-31 December 2008

- Volume 35: Answer any final queries from Princeton University Press. Publication of the volume anticipated by end of the year.
- Volume 36: Annotation, second verification, and annotation check complete. Editor's review and sense reading accomplished. Volume submitted.
- Volume 37: Selection, descriptive notes, and first verification of texts done. Annotation and second verification underway.

1 January-30 June 2009

- Volume 36: Review page proofs and compile index according to Press's production schedule.
- Volume 37: Second verification, annotation, and annotation check continue.
- Volume 38: Selection and allocation of documents; begin first verification.

1 July-31 December 2009

- Volume 36: Publication anticipated in late December or early January.
- Volume 37: Second verification, annotation, and annotation check complete. Editor's review and sense reading. Submission.

Volume 38: Descriptive notes and first verification completed. Begin annotation and second verification.

1 January-30 June 2010

- Volume 36: Publication anticipated early in these months, if not achieved by Press in December.
- Volume 37: Review page proofs and compile index according to Press's production schedule.
- Volume 38: Annotation and second verification continue.
- Volume 39: Selection and allocation of documents; first verification begun.