

Jefferson's Vacation Library

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Located in Bedford County about seventy miles from Monticello, Poplar Forest was Thomas Jefferson's home away from home. But no home is complete without a library, so Jefferson acquired several handsome mahogany bookshelves for this vacation retreat, which he filled with hundreds of books. Though much smaller than the great library he established at Monticello, the Poplar Forest collection itself formed one of the finest private libraries in early-nineteenth-century Virginia. Jefferson used the same basic system of subject organization to arrange his books at Poplar Forest as he had at Monticello, but his vacation library was weighted differently. It contained a much greater percentage of belletristic writings than either his great library or his retirement library, that is, the collection he assembled at Monticello after selling his great library to Congress. The Poplar Forest collection formed a true vacation library, one designed first and foremost for pleasure reading.

Poplar Forest had belonged to Jefferson ever since the death of his father-in-law John Wayles in 1773. He sold many of the other properties he had inherited from Wayles, mainly to pay the debts that came with them, but he held onto Poplar Forest, which remained a working farm for decades after Wayles's death. It

never really became a vacation retreat until Jefferson began building here during his second term as president.¹

In some ways, the house that Jefferson built at Poplar Forest was superior to Monticello. Whereas he started building Monticello according to one design and then reconceived and rebuilt it according to another, Poplar Forest turned out pretty much the way he imagined it. An octagonal building constructed on a slope, it had one story in front and two in the rear. The center room, twenty-feet square, served as the dining room. The drawing room, Jefferson's chambers, three other bedrooms, and the pantry encircled the center room. There was a portico in front, connected to the center room by a vestibule; a terrace on one side; and a verandah in the rear, opening out from the drawing room.

Jefferson did not designate a specific room as the library, and little is known about how he furnished Poplar Forest. A surviving tax document provides some valuable information, however. In 1815 the Commonwealth of Virginia imposed a levy on selected personal property, which amounted to a luxury tax for homeowners. Jefferson inventoried the items in his home which could be classified as luxury goods, a category that included furniture made from mahogany, the most expensive wood available. Among his luxury goods, Jefferson's tax inventory lists the following item: "4 bookcases with mahogany sashes."²

Other evidence provides further information about these bookcases. Nineteenth-century biographer Henry Randall learned much about Poplar Forest by corresponding with Jefferson's grandchildren, who frequently accompanied their grandfather to his vacation retreat. Randall specifically mentioned four bookcases at Poplar Forest, each between three and four feet in width and height, all located in the drawing room.³ When the library was sold, the sale catalogue listed the books as well as a handful of miscellaneous items, including "Three small Mahogany Bookcases."⁴ The catalogue reveals something else about the Poplar Forest library: it contained far more books than could fit into four small bookcases. Most likely Jefferson had bookcases in other parts of his vacation home. Some bookshelves he deliberately kept empty to accommodate the additional books that he and his grandchildren brought from Monticello. In one of her letters from Poplar Forest, granddaughter Cornelia Randolph mentioned bringing with her a "long row of books."⁵

Jefferson bequeathed Poplar Forest to his grandson Francis Eppes, who was already living there at the time of his grandfather's death in 1826. Eppes soon decided to move to Florida, selling the property in 1828. For decades he held onto his grandfather's library, both books and cases, but eventually decided to sell the collection, hiring New York bookdealer George A. Leavitt to auction it. Though an experienced bookseller,

Leavitt did not give this, the last and largest collection of Jefferson books left in private hands, the attention it deserved. Instead, he auctioned it off on November 5 and 6, 1873 with another private library, which received precedence over Jefferson's. For the auction, Leavitt divided that other library into six hundred lots. Jefferson's Poplar Forest library, in contrast, he subdivided into only seventy-one lots. In the surviving sale catalogue, it starts with lot 601 and extends to lot 671.

Generally speaking, book collectors prefer association copies with clear and obvious marks of ownership, say, an armorial bookplate or a flyleaf presentation inscription or a dated title-page autograph. Association copies without such evidence sell for a fraction of those with such evidence. As the handful of books that survive from the Poplar Forest library show, Jefferson marked the books in this collection much the same as he marked the other books he owned, by initialing the T- and J-gatherings. He would typically place a manuscript T preceding the printed J on the first page of the J-gathering, and a manuscript J after the printed T on the first page of the T-gathering.

Leavitt deliberately mentioned provenance information in his catalogue entries. The English / French parallel text edition of Robert Dodsley's Economy of Human Life published at Philadelphia

in 1807, he noted, was a presentation copy from translator J. Marie de Bordes to President Jefferson, as its inscription clearly showed. And the 1787 Paris edition of Jean de La Fontaine's Fables Choiesies contained the autograph of Jefferson's daughter Mary Jefferson. Leavitt recognized the value of these inscriptions, but his annotations make no mention of Jefferson's characteristic marks of ownership, which were generally unknown at the time. As surviving volumes indicate, not all the Poplar Forest books contained Jefferson's ownership inscriptions, but some did.⁶ He apparently did not recognize them. In short, Leavitt did not realize the treasure he had on his hands.

Unaware of Jefferson's subtle marks of ownership, Leavitt looked for other ways to puff the volumes. Some he promoted for their decorative features, others for their rarity. He puffed an edition of Aeschylus by noting that it was illustrated by the renowned Italian printmaker, Domenico Cunego. He emphasized the rarity of the seventeenth-century Elzevir edition Thomas Hobbes's Elementa Philosophica de Cive and the extreme rarity of the sixteenth-century Aldine edition of Cicero's De Philosophia edited by distinguished Venetian scholar Paolo Manuzio. And he grouped many similar books into larger lots. On average, each catalogue entry represents nearly ten volumes from Jefferson's Poplar Forest library. To be specific, the seventy-one lots contained a total of 673 volumes.

Collapsing so much information into such a tiny space, Leavitt omitted considerable detail. He did not even bother to name all the authors or titles included. Many of the catalogue entries are frustratingly brief. Lot 646, for instance, contained ten variously dated duodecimo volumes bound in calf, but Leavitt listed just two titles covering only four volumes: a two-volume edition of a longtime Jefferson favorite -- James Mcpherson's Ossianic verse -- and Jean Baptiste Pujoulx's two-volume guidebook to the French National Museum of Natural History, Promenades au Jardin des Plantes, à la Ménagerie et dans les Galeries du Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle. Nothing indicates the contents of the other six volumes in the lot, nothing save a lowly et cetera.

Leavitt titled lot 618 "Early Typography." The catalogue entry for this lot also falls into the frustratingly brief category. It mentions ten sixteenth-century volumes, each bound in either vellum or calf, but lists no publication information and only a few authors, not enough detail to identify any specific editions. This lot did not contain all the sixteenth-century books in Jefferson's vacation library. Besides the Aldine Cicero, Leavitt separately listed Arnold Birkmann's 1549 Paris edition of Aesop's Fables, a Greek and Latin parallel text edition.

Though Leavitt's brief physical description of the "Early

Typography" lot prevents any of its volumes from precise identification, it does allow some surmises. The fine printing and vellum bindings suggest that Jefferson selected books for his vacation library not only for their texts, but also for their superior physical qualities. A beautifully printed and handsomely bound volume greatly contributed to the pleasure of reading. A book was most important to the mind, of course, but how it looked to the eye and felt in the hand also mattered.

One of the most beautiful items at Poplar Forest was the fifty-two-volume set of Comte de Buffon's Histoire Naturelle, Générale et Particuliere, a work containing hundreds of colored plates. Jefferson also kept a copy of Buffon's five-volume Histoire Naturelle des Minéraux, also adorned with numerous colored plates. The war Jefferson waged against Buffon over the natural history of the New World in the pages of Notes on the State of Virginia is well known. But Jefferson could not challenge Buffon without reading him thoroughly. The presence of Histoire Naturelle in his vacation library shows that Jefferson continued reading Buffon long after he had refuted him in Notes on the State of Virginia. Buffon was wrong about the ways of the New World, yet his writings still contained much useful and important information.

Buffon's books also performed a social function. They helped Jefferson recreate the literary life of his personal past at

Poplar Forest. Despite their differences, Jefferson and Buffon became friends in Paris and dined together a number of times. Rereading Buffon, Jefferson could recall their pleasant Paris dinners. Another work in the vacation library, Madame de Staël's De la Littérature Considérée dans ses Rapports avec les Institutions Sociales, functioned similarly. Jefferson had become friends with Madame de Staël during his Paris years and fondly recalled their conversations the rest of his life.⁷ Reading her book, he could recall their conversations and recapture the literary life of Paris in the drawing room of Poplar Forest.

The works listed in the sale catalogue are arranged alphabetically, by author for the most part but sometimes by title. In other words, the catalogue does not preserve Jefferson's original organization. The fact that Jefferson arranged the Poplar Forest collection according to his now-famous memory-reason-imagination organizational scheme is known from other evidence, mainly a letter Cornelia Randolph wrote from Poplar Forest the last Saturday in August 1817. Cornelia's sister Ellen was his grandfather's favorite, but Jefferson enjoyed the company of all the grandchildren. Both Ellen and Cornelia inherited his love of books. On Sunday Cornelia was planning to spend time copying an illustration of Desdemona from her grandfather's copy of Othello. But he had other plans for her and Ellen. In Cornelia's words, they had to "paste numbers" onto the

spines of all the books.⁸ Numbering the volumes in his library was the second step in Jefferson's cataloging process, coming after the books were physically arranged on the shelves in the proper order yet before the catalogue itself was written. The catalogue of the Poplar Forest library Jefferson compiled apparently does not survive.

According to Henry Randall's description, the volumes that filled those small bookcases in the drawing room constituted Jefferson's "petit-format library." This phrase has since been used to characterize Jefferson's vacation library as a whole.⁹ But the phrase is imprecise. Jefferson was quite fond of small-format editions because they let him indulge in one of his greatest pleasures -- reading in bed -- but not all the books at Poplar Forest were small-format volumes. Jefferson had some big, beefy volumes here, as well.

After Buffon's Histoire Naturelle, Thomas Dobson's Encyclopaedia; or, A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Miscellaneous Literature was the largest single work at Poplar Forest. The sale catalogue describes it as a nineteen-volume set, which means that Jefferson owned the original eighteen volumes of Dobson's Encyclopaedia and the first supplemental volume, which Dobson released to correct and update earlier entries.¹⁰ Though each volume was a weighty quarto, the set as a whole fulfilled a similar function to a petit-format library by encompassing a vast

amount of information in a comparatively small space. Jefferson had a copy of the eighteen-volume first edition of Dobson's Encyclopaedia in his great library -- one of many encyclopedias he had at Monticello -- but he acquired another set for his vacation library. This encyclopedia formed the first American version of the Encyclopaedia Britannica; Dobson had local contributors rewrite many of the original articles to suit an American readership. Notes on the State of Virginia formed a prominent source for Dobson's contributors.¹¹ Jefferson was obviously quite pleased with the result, recommending Dobson's Encyclopaedia over Abraham Rees's Cyclopaedia: high praise considering Rees's magisterial work filled more than twice as many volumes.¹²

Other large format works in Jefferson's vacation library included Petrus van Musschenbroek's Cours de Physique Experimentale et Mathematique, a three-volume quarto, and Antonio de Herrera's Historia General De Los Hechos De Los Castellanos En Las Islas I Tierra Firme Del Mar Oceano, a four-volume folio. Musschenbroek's detailed introduction to physics, first published in Latin in 1762 and translated into French in 1769, stayed useful for generations. Benjamin Franklin had a copy of the Latin edition in his library, which he bequeathed to his grandson Benjamin Franklin Bache.¹³ Jefferson had a copy at Monticello, but he acquired another for Poplar Forest, obviously as a

textbook for his grandchildren.

Antonio de Herrera was one of many historians of Spanish America whose works fascinated Jefferson during his time in Paris. King Philip II of Spain appointed Herrera the first historiographer of the Indies, a position prompting him to write his Historia General, an extensive history of the Spanish-American colonies from 1492 to 1554. Herrera's official status gave him access to state papers unavailable to other historians. His use of such primary sources helped to make his history an important and lasting work. Herrera published the first edition in the early seventeenth century. The second edition, a copy of which Jefferson also owned, appeared over a century later. Unlike many collectors, Jefferson generally preferred later editions over earlier ones, especially if the later ones contained more information. In the case of Herrera's work, however, he sold the second edition to the Library of Congress and kept the first, which was sumptuously bound in vellum decorated with gilt edges: further evidence that Jefferson took pains to make his vacation library as physically appealing as possible.

Whereas Henry Randall suggested that the petit-format library filled four bookcases, the sale catalogue uses that same phrase to refer to a much smaller collection, specifically a ninety-eight-volume set of "classical and miscellaneous works," which included such authors as Aesop, Anacreon, Aristophanes,

Boethius, Caesar, Cicero, Erasmus, Homer, Horace, Juvenal, Lucretius, Ovid, Pindar, Seneca, Sophocles, Tacitus, Virgil, and many more authors. The entry listing this petit-format library is another of those frustratingly brief ones. Before naming all the authors whose works comprise the set, the entry trails off into a triple et cetera. Making precise identifications nearly impossible, this entry provides little additional detail. Though grouped together under the same general heading, these volumes were not part of a single, uniform collection. Some were duodecimo. Others were even smaller. The sale catalogue designates them as 32mo, but Leavitt used this format designation to refer to almost every book smaller than duodecimo. Neither were the bindings uniform. Some volumes were bound in calf, others in red morocco. The collection of Pindar's verse must have been the most unusual volume of all ninety-eight: it prompted Leavitt to note that it was printed on satin. The entry lists no specific editions, but it does say that they came principally from three prominent Dutch printing families: Elzevir, Jansson, and Wetstein. In terms of additional publication information, only one place of publication is listed -- Amsterdam -- and only one date -- 1669. Other places and dates of publication are represented by yet another et cetera.

Almost surely Jefferson shelved other small-format, multi-volume collections in the mahogany bookcases. These collections

are designated in the sale catalogue under the following headings: "British Poets," "French Authors," "Greek Historians," "Italian Poets," "Shakespeare," and "Topographical Histories." Since more is known about the collection of British poets than any of the others, it makes a good starting point for understanding these multi-volume collections. In Paris in 1785, Jefferson purchased a 109-volume, small-format edition of the British poets published by John Bell in Edinburgh.¹⁴ Though his memorandum books indicate that he was buying them for his daughter Martha, she did not keep them at her Paris boarding school. Instead, they remained at her father's house in Paris. Neither did she write her name in the books while in Paris. She did not inscribe them until after they returned from France, indeed, not until after her marriage.¹⁵ Besides the autograph, "Martha Randolph, Monticello," the volumes also contain her father's characteristic ownership marks. Though she took possession of the books at Monticello, she ultimately returned the set, all 109 volumes, to her father, who made them part of his Poplar Forest library. Save for one Alexander Pope volume, the entire collection remained in tact at the time of the 1873 sale.¹⁶ Save for one volume, the collection remains in tact at the University of Virginia.

John Bell's British poets are examples of fine bookmanship. Though reasonably-priced, small-format volumes, they are

handsomely printed with beautiful frontispieces. Much the same can be said about Bell's Edition of Shakespeare. In 1785, Bell began publishing a new fine-paper, small-format edition of Shakespeare with detailed scholarly annotations. Each of the plays was issued separately. So were the extensive annotations. Jefferson began acquiring the separate numbers of Bell's Edition of Shakespeare when publication began. He continued expanding the set through 1788, when the last number was issued. Jefferson not only acquired the plays, he also purchased their accompanying annotations.¹⁷ This edition of Shakespeare formed an important part of Jefferson's pleasure reading in Paris and obviously continued to please him at Poplar Forest toward the end of his life.

In the sale catalogue, the general title "French Authors" represents a thirty-five-volume, small-format collection that includes the following authors: Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux, an influential theorist who helped shape Jefferson's literary aesthetic; the great dramatist Pierre Corneille; leading philosophe Denis Diderot, whom Jefferson appreciated as both a moralist and a freethinker; Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle, whose intellectual virtuosity provided a model for many eighteenth-century authors, Jefferson included; Jean de La Fontaine, the fabulist whose works Jefferson knew from multiple editions; Molière, the comic playwright whose works had long been

favorites among educated readers in Virginia; Montesquieu, whose political philosophy influenced Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and just about every other leader in Revolutionary America; Ninon de l'Eclos, the famous seventeenth-century courtesan best known for her scandalous writings; Blaise Pascal, whose literary style dazzled many eighteenth-century readers; and Voltaire, who Jefferson had been reading at least since the mid 1770s.

The task of identifying specific editions in this collection of French authors presents a serious difficulty. Though Leavitt listed the names of all the authors, he supplied little publication information. Like the entry for the petit-format library, the entry for these French authors lists only one place and date of publication, followed by another catchall et cetera. The sole place, along with the accompanying date -- London, 1784 -- does permit one positive identification. A seven-volume edition of Molière is the first item listed in the entry. Oeuvres a Molière, a seven-volume edition with a London imprint, appeared in 1784. The London imprint is false. The work, which also contains Voltaire's life of Molière, was actually printed in Paris.

Two volumes from this edition of Molière survive among Jefferson's books at the University of Virginia. The ownership inscriptions in them resemble those in Bell's English poets. Both volumes contain both Jefferson's characteristic ownership marks

and Martha Randolph's autograph. He apparently bought this edition of Molière for her and kept it at his house in Paris. She took possession of it after their return to Virginia but ultimately let her father have it for his vacation library.

"Italian Poets," another general title in the sale catalogue, represents a twenty-five-volume, small-format collection containing works of Ludovico Ariosto, whose Orlando Furioso Jefferson knew from multiple editions¹⁸; Battista Guarini, whose sixteenth-century pastoral drama, Il Pastor Fido, was a favorite among Virginia readers¹⁹; Pietro Metastasio, whose dramatic works continued to teach Jefferson lessons relevant to the political world of the early nineteenth century²⁰; Francesco Petrarch, whose beautiful poetry thrilled both Jefferson and his daughter Martha²¹; and Torquato Tasso, another longtime favorite among Virginia readers.²²

Though the list of authors is complete, the publication information, unsurprisingly, is inadequate. Once again, the only publication information Leavitt provided consists of a single place and date -- London, 1784 -- followed by the ubiquitous et cetera. Brief as it is, this information does permit another positive identification. A twelve-volume Italian edition of Metastasio's Opera appeared in London in 1784. Though this Italian playwright may seem to reflect an esoteric tastes, Jefferson was not the only early American bookman who enjoyed

Metastasio. In New York, Robert L. Livingston had a copy of the same edition Jefferson owned.²³

Another small-format collection is titled "Topographical Histories" in the sale catalogue. It consists of twenty-seven volumes of geographical compilations, all in Latin and each concerning a different part of the world. Most of these works were published in early seventeenth-century Leyden by the Elzevirs. The collection included such works as Respublica, sive, Status Regni Scotiae et Hiberniae, a geography of Scotland and Ireland compiled from the works of George Buchanan, William Camden, and John Speed. Taken together, the twenty-seven-volume collection amounted to a thorough geographical encyclopedia. It, too, had pedagogical value for the grandchildren. Jefferson strongly believed in teaching languages and other subjects in combination. Years earlier, he had his daughter Mary learn Spanish by having her read Spanish histories.²⁴ Similarly, his grandchildren could learn Latin by reading geography.

Among the large multivolume sets listed in the sale catalogue, the collection of Greek historians is the only one described specifically enough to identify precisely. Leipzig printer Karl Tauchnitz issued all the works in this set the second decade of the nineteenth century: a three-volume edition of Herodotus's Historiarum, Gottfried Heinrich Schäfer's nine-volume edition of Plutarch's Vitae Parallelae, Schäfer's two-

volume edition of Thucydides's De Bello Peloponnesiaco, and Schäfer's five-volume edition of Xenophon's Opera. Tauchnitz would become a large and highly-regarded publishing firm during the nineteenth century. Jefferson's acquisition of these editions shows he recognized the Tauchnitz imprint as a sign of good bookmanship.

Though a collection of pleasure reading, the Poplar Forest library was almost devoid of fiction. Ellen and Cornelia usually brought novels with them on vacation, but their grandfather cared little for fiction. Beyond a few select favorites, he generally avoided reading novels. The Poplar Forest library contained two classic French novels by Alain René Le Sage, Gil Blas and Le Diable Boiteux. Gil Blas was a Spanish translation published at Madrid in 1819, Le Diable Boiteux in a 1781 Paris edition. The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, one of Jefferson's favorite books, filled the first three volumes of the six-volume duodecimo edition of Laurence Sterne's Works at Poplar Forest.

The only other novel in the vacation library was William Wirt's Letters of the British Spy. This volume seems to have earned its place at Poplar Forest not because of any intrinsic worth but mainly because of its physical qualities. When Joseph Milligan planned to reissue Jefferson's Manual of Parliamentary Practice, he initially wanted to publish it in octavo, but its author strongly objected. Jefferson had designed the book for the

pocket and hoped to keep it that way. Taking his advice, Milligan sent Jefferson a copy of the 18mo Baltimore edition of Letters of the British Spy bound in calf and gilt to show Jefferson what he now thought would be an appropriate format for a pocket-sized Manual of Parliamentary Practice. Given its small size and handsome binding, Wirt's epistolary novel made a good addition to Jefferson's collection of small-format books.²⁵

The contents of the vacation library suggests other activities that took place at Poplar Forest. Chess was one pleasure Jefferson greatly enjoyed both at home and on vacation. In his great library he had a copy of Philidor's L'Analyze des Echecs -- the foremost chess handbook in the eighteenth century by the century's foremost chess player -- and four other chess manuals, as well. After selling the great library to Congress, he acquired a copy of J. G. Pohlman's Chess Rendered Familiar by Tabular Demonstrations of the Various Positions and Movements as Described by Philidor for his vacation library. This new book, as Pohlman's preface explains, exemplifies Philidor's instructions and also pays tribute to his genius.²⁶

Jefferson allowed much time for reading at Poplar Forest. His daily vacation schedule was much the same as his Monticello routine. After a long, leisurely breakfast consisting of good food and good conversation, he and his family would go their separate ways until the afternoon, when they would gather for

dinner. After dinner, Jefferson would retire for a few hours. Once the family came together in the late afternoon, they stayed together until bedtime. They often went outdoors at dusk. Describing a typical evening activity in a letter to his daughter Martha from Poplar Forest, Jefferson wrote, "About twilight of the evening, we sally out with the owls and bats, and take our evening exercise on the terras."²⁷ Imagine how extraordinary the stars looked from the terrace of their remote home at Poplar Forest.

The Poplar Forest library helped Jefferson and his grandchildren appreciate the stars. Its modest collection of science books included Jean-Baptiste Biot's introduction to astronomy, Traité Élémentaire d'Astronomie Physique. Widely recognized for his astronomical expertise, Biot's treatise introduced many French readers to astronomy. Another work intended for dual-purpose learning, Biot could help Jefferson's grandchildren practice reading French as they learned about the stars.

After they came indoors, his granddaughters would bring him his tea, and they would sit together quietly, all reading. As Ellen recalled, "He would take his book from which he would occasionally look up to make a remark, to question us about what we were reading, or perhaps to read aloud to us from his own book, some passage which had struck him, and of which he wished

to give us the benefit."²⁸ Ellen paints a charming picture, charming and, by all accounts, an accurate one. Quietly reading himself with his grandchildren quietly reading nearby, their quiet interrupted by occasional conversation: Jefferson could scarcely imagine a better way to spend his vacation.

Notes

1. Kevin J. Hayes, The Road to Monticello: The Life and Mind of Thomas Jefferson (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 605.
2. S. Allen Chambers, Jr., Poplar Forest and Thomas Jefferson (Forest, VA: The Corporation for Jefferson's Poplar Forest, 1993), p. 86.
3. Henry S. Randall, The Life of Thomas Jefferson, 3 vols. (1858; New York: Da Capo Press, 1972), 3: 344.
4. George A. Leavitt, Catalogue of a Private Library Comprising a Rich Assortment of Rare and Standard Works, Many in Fine Bindings . . . Also, the Remaining Portion of the Library of the Late Thomas Jefferson, Comprising Many Classical Works and Several Autograph Letters, Offered by His Grandson, Francis Eppes, of Poplar Forest, Va. (New York: George A. Leavitt, 1873), lot 682.
5. Cornelia Jefferson Randolph to Virginia Jefferson Randolph, 18 July 1819, in Papers of Thomas Jefferson: Retirement Series Digital Library, The Thomas Jefferson Foundation, 2009, <<http://retirementseries.dataformat.com/Document.aspx?doc=121872>>.
6. James A. Bear, Jr., Thomas Jefferson's Book-Marks (Charlottesville: Alderman Library, 1958), p. 5, could locate no books from the Poplar Forest library containing Jefferson's ownership marks, but some Poplar Forest books that survive at the University of Virginia do. John Bell's fourteen-volume edition of

Chaucer's Poetical Works (Edinburgh, 1782), for example, contains Jefferson's ownership marks in the first thirteen volumes and Martha Jefferson Randolph's signature in vols. 2-14.

7. Hayes, Road to Monticello, pp. 297-298.

8. Cornelia Jefferson Randolph to Virginia Jefferson Randolph, 30 August 1817, in Papers of Thomas Jefferson: Retirement Series Digital Library, The Thomas Jefferson Foundation, 2009, <<http://retirementseries.dataformat.com/Document.aspx?doc=121809>>.

9. Douglas L. Wilson, Jefferson's Books (Charlottesville: The Thomas Jefferson Foundation, 1996), p. 27.

10. Robert D. Arner, Dobson's Encyclopaedia: The Publisher, Text, and Publication of America's First Britannica, 1789-1803 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991), pp. 150-152.

11. Arner, Dobson's Encyclopaedia, p. 98.

12. Thomas Jefferson to Samuel R. Demaree, 4 October 1809, in The Papers of Thomas Jefferson: Retirement Series, ed. J. Jefferson Looney et al., 4 vols. to date (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004-), 1: 575.

13. Edwin Wolf, 2d and Kevin J. Hayes, The Library of Benjamin Franklin (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society and Library Company of Philadelphia, 2006), no. 2391.

14. James A. Bear, Jr., and Lucia C. Stanton, eds., Jefferson's Memorandum Books: Accounts, with Legal Records and Miscellany, 1767-1826, 2 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997),

- 1: 597.
15. Hayes, Road to Monticello, pp. 304-305.
16. Leavitt, Catalogue, lot 609.
17. Hayes, Road to Monticello, p. 321.
18. E. Millicent Sowerby, Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Jefferson, 5 vols. (Washington: Library of Congress, 1952-1959. nos. 4311-4312.
19. Kevin J. Hayes, The Library of William Byrd of Westover (Madison: Madison House, 1997), no. 981; J. A. Leo Lemay, ed., Robert Bolling Woos Anne Miller: Love and Courtship in Colonial Virginia, 1760 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1990), pp. 66, 91, 93, 131; "Libraries in Colonial Virginia," William and Mary Quarterly 2 (1894): 247.
20. Hayes, Road to Monticello, pp. 544-545.
21. Hayes, Road to Monticello, p. 353.
22. Hayes, Library of William Byrd, nos. 1119, 1350; Lemay, Robert Bolling Woos Anne Miller, pp. 46, 63.
23. Livingston's copy survives at the New York Historical Society (Livingston ML49 .M48 1784).
24. Hayes, Road to Monticello, p. 385.
25. Hayes, Road to Monticello, p. 527.
26. J. G. Pohlman, Chess Rendered Familiar by Tabular Demonstrations of the Various Positions and Movements, as Described by Philidor (London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1819), sig. A3.

27. Thomas Jefferson to Martha Jefferson Randolph, 18 August 1817, in Family Letters of Thomas Jefferson, ed. Edwin M. Betts and James A. Bear, Jr. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1966), p. 419.

28. Ellen Randolph Coolidge to Henry S. Randall, 18 February 1856, in Randall, Life of Thomas Jefferson, 3: 343.