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Scottish Enlightenment influence on Thomas Jefferson's book-buying: Introducing Jefferson's libraries

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By Iain McLean

Introducing Jefferson's libraries

The literature on the Scottish and American Enlightenments is full of claims about the influence of the former on the latter. One subset of claims concerns Scottish influence on particular individuals who played an important role in the founding of the USA, including Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, John Adams, and James Wilson.

Some claims are easy to establish: e.g., that Jefferson and Madison were both taught at university by Scottish Enlightenment figures whom they admired (respectively William Small at the College of William & Mary and John Witherspoon at the College of New Jersey, later Princeton). Others are becoming clearer as new contextual evidence emerges (e.g., from Martin Clagett's analysis of library signatures, it seems that James Wilson borrowed books from the libraries of both St Andrews and Glasgow Universities before he emigrated to Pennsylvania. The Glasgow library list places him at Glasgow University in academic year 1763-4, i.e., the year during which Adam Smith left Glasgow and was replaced as Professor of Moral Philosophy by Thomas Reid).¹

Other claims again are difficult or impossible to prove, because they rely on inferring influence from such matters as similarity of ideas or texts between a given American and a given putative Scots precursor. Occasionally, one of the American founders makes a definite claim to have been influenced by a certain writer. But these claims are rare.

However, one thing we do know for some of US founders including Jefferson, Madison, and Adams: what books they owned, and what books they recommended to others. The information is most copious for Jefferson, who had the biggest library of the three and was the most copious in his book purchase recommendations to others. As part of a broader project on Scottish Enlightenment influence on the USA, this paper therefore attempts to attempt to quantify the Scottish component of Jefferson's libraries.

"I cannot live without books", Jefferson wrote to Adams in 1815 after selling his lifetime collection of over 6000 volumes to the US Congress. He added, perhaps ruefully, "but fewer will suffice where amusement, and not use, is the only future object" (TJ to JA, Jun 10 1815, in Cappon 1987: 443). The *Thomas Jefferson's Libraries* project² run by the International Center for Jefferson Studies, part of the Thomas Jefferson Foundation at Monticello, VA, lists no fewer than eight of Jefferson's libraries. The sets of holdings nest in complex ways, and can be (over)-simplified to the following four:

¹ Ewald 2010; Clagett 2010; Personal communication from Martin Clagett, College of William & Mary, November 2010.

² <http://tjlibraries.monticello.org/>

1. The Shadwell library (1757-70). Jefferson inherited his father's books when the latter died in 1757, when Thomas was 14. He started buying books soon afterwards. However, all were destroyed in a fire at his birthplace, Shadwell, in 1770. The conjectural Shadwell library is being reconstructed from various sources, such as Jefferson's letters and his known purchases while a student in Williamsburg, but the reconstruction is not complete, and therefore the Shadwell library is not included in the following analyses. More detail is expected to be available shortly at <http://tjlibraries.monticello.org/tjandreading/shadwell.html>.
2. The library sold to Congress (1770-1815). This is well documented. Jefferson sold it for a mixture of motives. One was to assist in the enlightenment of Congress, after an earlier congressional library had been burnt by the British in the war of 1812. Enlightening Congress was a long-standing project, as Jefferson and Madison had collaborated on producing a book list for the predecessor Continental Congress to buy as early as 1783. (It declined: Ketcham [1971] 1990: 140-1). Also, by 1815 Jefferson was facing bankruptcy, although he did not understand the depth of his financial plight until later.
 - The 1815 library can be traced through four catalogs. The first is Jefferson's manuscript catalog now at the Massachusetts Historical Society (MHi in the standard code used by the editors of the *Jefferson Papers*), which he kept as he went along, probably from 1770 until 1812. Of particular interest are markings he made in 1783, not long before his 1784-9 sojourn as American Minister in Paris. These markings, of books he then owned, can be used to reconstruct the state of his library in 1783. The second is a list he made of books bought in France between 1784 and 1789. This is now also at MHi. The third is the list published by the Librarian of Congress on receipt of the books. Unfortunately this list destroys Jefferson's ordering of the books within each of the thematic chapters (Jefferson's themes are described below). However, in a fine piece of detective work, James Gilreath and Douglas L. Wilson (1989) established that an 1823 MS in the hand of Nicholas Trist, who would marry one of Jefferson's granddaughters, comprises the books in the 1815 sale, with the ordering within chapters restored to that which Jefferson intended. Many of the books themselves survive at the Library of Congress, but not all, as some were destroyed in a fire there in 1851. The surviving books, and some replacements for titles burnt in 1815, may be seen at the permanent exhibition devoted to Jefferson's library at the Library of Congress. This research uses the first ('1783') and fourth (Trist) of these sources, although it collects information from the others, as relevant, from the LibraryThing database about to be described.
 - One of the sources for the books sold to Congress was an 1806 bequest from Jefferson's law tutor George Wythe, who died after being poisoned by a jealous relative. There were over 600 books in the bequest. A recently discovered list (details at <http://tjlibraries.monticello.org/tjandreading/libraries.html>) enables one to trace the destination of the books. Jefferson gave over 400 away and retained 200 for himself. Many were in his 1815 sale to Congress, but some were held back for his retirement libraries, to be described next.

3. Jefferson started to rebuild his libraries immediately after the 1815 sale. The contents of both are at least partly known from sale catalogs. The main library, at Monticello, was sold at auction in Washington DC (and like most financial transactions on the Jefferson estate, realized less for the bankrupt estate than had been expected).
4. Jefferson also kept a lighter collection of titles at his second home, Poplar Forest, near Lynchburg, VA. This library was retained by the grandson who inherited Poplar forest, and was sold by auction in 1873. The 1873 list is not, however, a full list of the Poplar Forest titles, and work is ongoing to reconstruct the Poplar Forest library. As more information about the Poplar Forest library comes to light it will be posted at <http://tjlibraries.monticello.org/tjandreading/poplarforest.html>.

Researchers at Monticello have put details of libraries 2, 3, and (as far as possible) 4 onto the publicly available database on LibraryThing³ (n of titles = 5541). This is a union of various sets, each comprising one of Jefferson's libraries, but with each title listed only once. It is a list of titles, not of books, so that the total of 4917 *titles* sold to Congress in 1815 (according to the tables in this paper) is consistent with the ≈ 6700 *volumes* sold. Many titles represent multi-volume editions; some (but a smaller number of) volumes contain multiple titles bound together.

In all his library catalogs Jefferson applied a classification scheme that he had devised himself⁴. Ultimately derived from Sir Francis Bacon's classification of knowledge (Gilreath and Wilson 1989: 2), it had three top-level divisions, which Jefferson named *Memory*, *Reason*, and *Imagination*. Broadly, the *Memory* sections contain factual knowledge; the *Reason* sections contain abstract reasoning in science, social science, and mathematics; and the *Imagination* sections concern the fine and applied arts. Jefferson tinkered with this scheme, but the version in the tables below is his 1815 version.

The row entries in Tables 1-4 represent Jefferson's 1815 cataloguing scheme, which must now be explained. Each row is one of Jefferson's 44 classes, except that the very large class 24 'Politics' is divided to separate the American Politics section from the rest, on the grounds that Jefferson's book-buying habits may have been significantly different for American politics than for other parts of his class 24. The tables are based, with various modifications, on the library that Jefferson sold in 1815. We look first at the sale as a whole; then at various methods of calculating the "Scottishness" of the collection; then at the effect of adding in the books that Jefferson retained at Monticello or Poplar Forest.

³ Accessible from <http://tjlibraries.monticello.org/search/search.html>.

⁴ The Trist catalog also contains TJ's ingenious mapping of the *physical* and *intellectual* components of his library on to one another. Physically, it makes good sense to arrange a library with little books on the top shelves, medium books on the middle shelves, and big books on the bottom shelves. It also looks good aesthetically (an important consideration for TJ). The size of books was indicated by printers' terms for the size of paper and the number of times it was folded to make a page. Little books are 16^{mo} or 12^{mo} (sexagesimo; duodecimo). Medium books are 8^{vo} (octavo). Large books are 4^{to} (quarto) or folio. Book size was a price discriminator for publishers as explained in the text (cf Sher 2006).

A typical chapter in the Trist catalog therefore has the books listed in intellectual order, with the shelfmark on the left in size (and therefore non-continuous) order. Table 6 shows how the mapping works for a short chapter.

Table 1 lists the books in the numerical order of Jefferson's classes, which he called 'chapters'. Consider first just the first three columns. Column 1 lists Jefferson's 44 chapters, in the 1815 version of his classification of knowledge, with chapter 24 split as described above. Column 2 is just Jefferson's chapter number. Column 3 lists the number of Jefferson's own purchases in each class to have been sold to Congress.

Table 2 collates the Wythe and Trist lists, so as to show how the Wythe titles that Jefferson retained were distributed among the chapters in the Trist catalog. The succeeding analysis could be done with the Wythe titles either included or excluded, according to the primary interest of the researcher. As my primary interest is in Jefferson's own book-buying rather than either his decisions on the Wythe windfall or the composition of the original Library of Congress, the remaining analysis is performed excluding the Wythe titles. It could be rerun to include them, but the aggregate results would not change much (data not shown but available from the author).

How Scottish are Jefferson's libraries?

The next task is to identify those titles that can claim to be part of Scottish Enlightenment publishing. This task occupies columns 4 and rightwards of Tables 1, 3, and 4. For all of these tables I took a starting date of 1740, as approximately the earliest date for the start of Scottish Enlightenment publishing. The closing date of 1783 is chosen for two reasons:

- it was the year in which Jefferson made up his MS catalog in a way such that his net acquisitions to that date can be distinguished from his later acquisitions;
- it was the year preceding his visit to Paris. In 1784 his book-buying habits changed markedly, thanks to his access to Paris booksellers. These tables are produced as part of an effort to map the relative strength of Scottish and French influence on Jefferson.

In each table, the second column from the right records the percentage of Scottish imprints to all imprints in the class, for books published between 1740 and 1783 inclusive. The rightmost column records the combined percentage of Scottish and "London-Scots" imprints in the class, within the same date range.

Tables 3 and 4 rearrange the data from Table 1 so as to represent two different ways of measuring the Scottish influence on Jefferson's book-buying up to 1783. Table 3 is ranked in descending order of proportion of Scottish imprints, with London-Scots imprints as a tie-break. Table 4 is ranked in descending order of proportion of the union of Scottish and London-Scots imprints. I must now explain this distinction.

Scottish and London-Scots imprints

The data are inherently fuzzy for multiple reasons. The most important concerns the definition of a "Scottish Enlightenment" book. All books with a Scottish imprint in Jefferson's collections are taken to be Scottish productions. However, it was normal for Scottish Enlightenment books to be co-published in Scotland and London. (The principal exception I have found is the Glasgow house of the Foulis brothers, which specialized in high-quality editions of Greek and Latin texts. Jefferson was

quite a copious buyer of Foulis editions). Many of the London co-publishers, each of whom usually worked in tandem with one or a few Scottish publishers, were themselves Scots. Examples include Andrew Millar (Sher 2006: 275-8); William Strahan, who like David Home/Hume, changed his name from Strachan to make it more digestible in England⁵ (Sher 2006: 52); and (probably) Strahan's partner Thomas Cadell (Sher 2006: 330)⁶.

Co-publication in Scotland (usually Edinburgh) and London had multiple advantages for authors. It opened up two markets for each book. If there was a risk of censorship in one market, the book could still thrive in the other. The correspondence of Adam Smith and David Hume shows that this was still a concern of Scottish authors at least as late as 1759 (date of co-publication of Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments*) if not even 1776 (date of co-publication of Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, and of a painful correspondence between Hume and Smith, who resisted Hume's dying wish to have him sponsor publication of the posthumous *Dialogues on Natural Religion*⁷.)

Sher 2006, Tables 2 and 3, lists the principal works of the Scottish Enlightenment and their publishers. His Table 3 is the basis for determining whether a publisher is counted as 'London-Scots' in the final column of Tables 1, 3, and 4. For any of Jefferson's books published in London between 1740 and 1783 inclusive, the book is classed as 'London-Scots' iff the publisher or printer features in Sher's Tables 2 or 5, or the index to his Table 2; otherwise not.

This method is obviously prone to both false positives and false negatives, as discussed below. However, in the interests of replicability, and of not biasing the findings, I have resisted amending it even in the face of obvious anomalies. (For instance, Jefferson's copy, in the library sold to Congress in 1815, of Hume's *History of England* was the 1790 edition and of Smith's *Wealth of Nations* was the 1784 edition – in themselves interesting facts – so that two of the most important Scottish Enlightenment titles fall outside the calculations in these tables. He could have owned copies of earlier editions in earlier libraries).

A further development is not incorporated in the tables, but should be noted. Copyright law differed in England and Scotland, but both countries featured some copyright, which (of course) had the effect of raising the retail price of books. Also, as nowadays, publishers in some genres, such as history or (what we would now call) social science, tried to segment their market by issuing a book

⁵ But how was it pronounced? All of the Home/Hume family presumably pronounced their surname "Hume". This likely includes Henry Home, Lord Kames, and John Home the playwright, both cousins of David Hume. The present-day Earls of Home, who have not changed their ancestral spelling, pronounce the name "Hume". The surname Strachan is pronounced in Scotland as spelt (accent on first syllable; ch guttural as in "loch"). In England it is often pronounced "Strawn". Luckily, there is an 18th-century doggerel poem that runs:

Lord Chatham, with his sword drawn
Was waiting for Sir Richard Strachan;
Sir Richard, longing to be at 'em
Was waiting for the Earl of Chatham

So the English pronunciation "Strawn" goes back to William Strahan's time. I guess therefore that that is how he wanted his name to be pronounced, at least in England.

⁶ Cadell was brought up in Bristol. But his surname is Scottish, and he refers to his partner as "Strachan" in letters.

⁷ See Mossner and Ross 1987, letters between Smith and Hume in 1759 and 1776; AS letter to Andreas Holt Oct. 26 1780. The *Dialogues* were published in 1779 under the oversight of Hume's nephew. The first edition shows no place, printer, or publisher, although it was published in Edinburgh. Sher 2006 Table 2.

first in an expensive format (quarto or folio); and only later, if the book sold well, offering a cheaper, smaller-format edition (octavo, or smaller, e.g. duodecimo or sexagesimo: respectively 8°, 12°, and 16°.) However, there was no (effective) copyright in Ireland, nor in the American colonies / USA. Scottish Enlightenment titles were often therefore reprinted in Dublin and/or Philadelphia, in a smaller format and at a lower (sometimes much lower) price. Like other book buyers, Jefferson sometimes went for cheapness, and bought Dublin or Philadelphia editions of works originally produced in Scotland.

False positives and false negatives

The list of Scottish imprints is trustworthy, and it sets a lower limit for the Scottish component of Jefferson's library. The upper limit is harder to define with the available data. The set of titles classed as 'London Scots' include some that must be classed as Scottish on any reasonable system, e.g., Jefferson's copies of the mathematics and physics books of Colin Maclaurin (in his Chapters 25 and 27; Sher 2006 Table 2, ## 10, 11). However, not all the London-Scots publishers were themselves Scots; nor can one maintain that every title they published was connected with the Scottish Enlightenment. So the maximal estimate in these tables for the "Scottishness" of Jefferson's library is almost certainly too high. The set of false positives probably outnumbers the set of false negatives. Nevertheless, the technique used properly excludes some large London publishers, who published no Scottish books. An example is the law publisher Henry Lintot.

Possible false positives (books listed as Scottish which are not) therefore include:

- publications from a London house not run by Scots, and with no Scottish connection other than that the house also published Scottish titles. To be clear, I do not claim that every London house listed in Sher's tables was run by Scots; only that it published (possibly among other genres) books by Scottish Enlightenment writers;
- publications from a house with the same name as in Sher 2006 Table 3, but run by a different person

Possible false negatives (books not listed as Scottish which are) therefore include:

- Dublin or Philadelphia imprints originally produced in Scotland or by Scots;
- books for which no place of publication is given;
- self-published books
- possibly, imprints from other centres of Reformed Protestantism (chiefly Leiden and Geneva) which share a common intellectual background. This could be argued either way.

The effect of adding titles retained in 1815

Thus far, we have focused on the list of titles sold to Congress as the target list. The list is well-known, and establishing the Scottish influence on the founding library of Congress is worthwhile in itself. But if the focus is on the mind of Thomas Jefferson, it is arguably the wrong list. An alternative target is *Titles bought by Jefferson, whether or not he sold them to Congress*. It therefore includes titles that he held back at either Monticello or Poplar Forest), but not titles that he acquired as

unsolicited gifts, or in the 1806 bequest from George Wythe . This procedure adds 73 titles, of which 44 were published in the target date range 1740-83. The great majority of these (36 out of 44, or 82%), were a uniform set of 'British poets, from Chaucer to Churchill. Beautiful Frontispieces by Stothard, &c. 108 vols. 32mo,' printed in Edinburgh by the Apollo Press (cf Sher 2006, Index to Table 2). Jefferson kept these at Poplar Forest after 1815; the description is from the Poplar Forest sale catalog.⁸

The net effects (calculations available but not shown) are therefore:

- to raise the Scottish proportion of Jefferson's library by about 2.5 percentage points; and
- to elevate 'Pastorals, Odes, elegies' to top position in the rankings, while leaving the ranking of all other classes unchanged.

Disproportionate to what?

Any statement that Jefferson bought disproportionately many/few titles from some part of the world needs to tackle the difficult question 'disproportionate to what?' Table 5 represents the first attempt to tackle this question.

A book buyer in the Western world during Jefferson's active book buying life could only buy books from parts of the world where the buyer knew that books were being produced. It is reasonable therefore to restrict Jefferson's book-buying world to an "Atlantic world" comprising Europe and the Americas. He had a zero probability of buying books emanating directly from the rest of the world, although he did buy some Western translations of a few such, such as his copy of the Koran in English.

The naive null hypothesis is therefore that Jefferson had an equal probability of buying a book from any region in the Atlantic world. A better null hypothesis would condition this on a book's language. However, this would require the investigator to know the proportion of books produced in every language during the 18th century. So far as I know, such data are unavailable. For any buyer, there must be an unquantifiable bias in favour of books in languages that the buyer could read.

Fortunately, this imposes less of a restriction on Jefferson than perhaps on any other American book buyer. He read, Latin, Greek, French, Italian and Spanish; and bought books in other languages as well (e.g., Scots Gaelic) because of his interest in comparative philology (cf Gilreath and Wilson 1989, chapter 43, where Jefferson wrote: *Books in rare Languages are classed here, not according to their subject-matter, but philologically, as Specimens of the Language in which they are written*). Also,

⁸ One of the LibraryThing listings further explains that the title is "Part of a 109-volume set of John Bell's Travelling Poetic Library in petit format, purchased by TJ for his 12-year old daughter Martha from his Paris dealer, Goldsmith, in October 1785. According to his Memorandum Books, 87 volumes were purchased on 7 October 1785 for 156 francs, followed by the remaining 22 volumes on 13 October 1785 for 39 francs 12 sous (MB 1: 597). This set was not recorded by Jefferson in his 1789 Catalog, but he later recorded the entire set in his 1783 Catalog as 'Bell's English poets 109.v. Petit format.' "

until the 18th century, Latin was the language of scholarship. Many of Jefferson's early books and some of his contemporary ones are in Latin (occasionally Greek), regardless of the place of publication.

For want of better data, which would be very laborious and perhaps impossible to obtain, Table 5 therefore compares Jefferson's book-buying with the naive null hypothesis of equal probability of buying a book from any region in the Atlantic world.

Relative populations of the territories in question are dubious. A very small number of countries had censuses in the 18th century (Scotland being one of them; the figure of 1.3 million for the population of Scotland ca 1750 is from Alexander Webster's census of 1755)⁹. Many series do not attempt reliable populations until 1800 or later. Some of the population estimates in Table 5 are therefore extrapolations back from the earliest known series. As those series were affected by rapid population expansion during the Industrial Revolution, the extrapolation adds yet another level of fuzziness to the data.

The LibraryThing database was sorted on the place of publication/publisher field. Initially, it was hoped that there would be a mechanical way to count places of publication. Unfortunately, the vast variations in the way an imprint was presented in Jefferson's time made this impossible. The outcome was that a (doubtless error-prone) manual count was required. Unknown and dubious locations were checked with the help of a list of *Latin Place names...* produced by the Library of Brigham Young University. Fictitious locations, quite common in the 18th century, were ignored except where successive compilers of the LibraryThing database, or I, were reasonably certain of the true place of publication.

With all these caveats, the two final columns of Table 5 compare Jefferson's pattern of book-buying against the null hypothesis (equal probability of buying a book from anywhere in the Atlantic world). Column H compares it to the 1750 distribution of population; column I to the 1800 distribution of population. All the figures in these columns are ratios. Therefore a number above 1.00 signifies "over-representation"; a figure below 1.00 signifies "under-representation".

Some findings are unsurprising. He was most likely to buy books (many but not all of them in English) emanating from the main publishing centers of the Anglophone world: England, Scotland, and the USA; and within those emanating from the main publishing centers of London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dublin, Boston, and Philadelphia (data for cities not shown in Table 2, but available on request).

France is, as expected, over-represented, since Jefferson had unrivalled buying opportunities while in Paris from 1784 to 1789. In a later phase of this research I hope to replicate this table for books that Jefferson purchased before he left for Paris.

Scotland is over-represented, but not by as much as England or the USA. Here again, a replication on just the library that Jefferson owned before going to Paris may be revealing.

⁹ Mary Margaret Stewart, 'Webster, Alexander (1707–1784)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28939>, accessed 8 Feb 2011]

The other two over-represented territories are centers of what could be called “Protestant Enlightenment”, viz., the Netherlands and Switzerland. The category ‘Netherlands’ includes both the Dutch republics and the Spanish Netherlands (modern Belgium). If the Dutch Republics were taken in isolation, the overrepresentation would be more striking.

Catholic Europe is under-represented in Jefferson’s book-buying. So, strikingly, are the rest of the Americas. Unless I have missed some, Jefferson bought not a single book emanating from Canada, and only two from the whole of Latin America. Doubtless, publishing was in its infancy in both territories, but the numbers are none the less striking. The detailed provenance tables show that Jefferson bought twice as many books published in Haiti ($n = 4$) as in the whole of Latin America.

Finally, Table 6 illustrates the dual mapping in the Trist catalog, taking the small chapter on Anatomy as an example. The order of the books is Jefferson’s, which as he described it to the first Librarian of Congress was “sometimes analytical, sometimes chronological, & sometimes a combination of both”.¹⁰ It proceeds from the general to the particular and from the ancient to the modern. The numbers in the left-hand column map from the intellectual to the physical arrangement of the books. They are not random. There are eight titles (12 volumes) on an upper shelf. All except one of the titles is in a small format – octavo or duodecimo. One of them (*Anatomia del Cocchi*) is described as p.4^o. This is an abbreviation for “petit quarto” – quarto, but small for that size. The three titles on a lower shelf are all standard quartos. The arrangement is preserved in the displays of Jefferson’s books at both Monticello and the Library of Congress, although unfortunately Jefferson’s shelf labels do not seem to have survived.

Refinements and robustness checks; further work

Some issues remain to be explored.

- The number of titles sold to Congress in 1815 according to the union list used (4779 excluding the Wythe titles; 4917 including them) differs from the number given in the separate LibraryThing list of the 1815 sale (4892).
- This may result from keying errors, or from different categorisations of titles in the two lists. The LibraryThing union list has some titles in incompatible classes, e.g., both ‘Sold to Congress in 1815’ and ‘Retirement Library’.
- The list on LibraryThing is not yet complete. In particular, the conjectural Shadwell library is not fully incorporated. The spreadsheets should be updated (probably this will have to be done manually) with a “Shadwell” field.
- With more work, the number of ‘unknown’ provenance titles could be trimmed by intelligent guesswork.
- Table 5 should be replicated on titles bought before 1784 to see how the pattern changed over Jefferson’s lifetime.

¹⁰ TJ to George Watterson, 7 May 1815, quoted in Gilreath and Wilson 1989: 3.

Tentative conclusions

- There was a substantial Scottish enlightenment component to Jefferson's library as at 1783.
- A component of that, which might otherwise be missed, is his extensive purchases of Foulis editions.
- Conclusions from the rank-ordering in Table 3:
 - It's not all about Hutcheson, Smith, and Hume. The Scottish work that seems to have most interested Jefferson before Paris is in the fields of literary criticism, poetry, and agriculture.
 - The law lists are sharply distinguished. Scottish titles feature heavily in Equity and Foreign law (Jefferson correctly classes Scots law as 'foreign' because it is a predominantly Roman-law system rather than a common-law system). They are almost absent in Common law.
 - Scottish influence in a wide range of classes including Geometry, Antient History, and Ethics, though smaller than the above, is still disproportionate to the size/population of Scotland
- Conclusions from the rank-ordering in Table 4:
 - The class whose ranking changes the most from Table 3 to Table 4 is Medicine. This is consistent with the known fact that Scottish medics liked to practice/publish in London where there was a much larger market.
- Although the n is small, the proportion of putatively-Scots Polygraphical works is noteworthy.
- The classes 'American History' and 'American politics' are not empty, contrary to expectations. This may be because of the influence of London Scots on polemic (on both sides) in the Revolutionary War; or it may be an artefact (see False Positives, above)
- Although Scots prided themselves on their share in the revival of classical Architecture (e.g., Edinburgh New Town was laid out in 1759), Jefferson wasn't interested or didn't notice.
- Tentative conclusion from Table 5: Jefferson tended to buy books from the centers of the Protestant Enlightenment (England, Scotland, USA, Netherlands, and Switzerland).

Suggestions for corrections or future research are welcomed.

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Tables

Table 1: 1815 Library: Scottish titles by class (in TJ's catalog order of classes)

TJ'sclass	TJ's chapter no	Total titles	Of 1740-83 titles:								
			Titles pub after 1739	Titles pub after 1783	Titles pub 1740-83 incl	Core Scots	London Scots	Scots propn	Scots + London Scots propn	Including Wythe retained titles	
Antient history	1	136	55	8	47	8	4	17.02	25.53	17.02	25.53
foreign history	2	195	127	75	52	2	7	3.85	17.31	3.85	17.31
British history	3	122	71	38	33	1	13	3.03	42.42	3.03	42.42
American History, newspapers	4	139	127	92	35	1	7	2.86	22.86	2.86	22.86
ecclesiastical history	5	25	6	0	6	1	1	16.67	33.33	16.67	33.33
natural philosophy	6	58	52	37	15	2	2	13.33	26.67	13.33	26.67
Agriculture	7	132	121	95	26	10	7	38.46	65.38	38.46	65.38
Chemistry	8	30	30	25	5	0	2	0.00	40.00	0.00	40.00
surgery	9	7	6	5	1	0	0	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
medicine	10	134	106	81	25	3	13	12.00	64.00	12.00	64.00
Anatomy	11	11	9	4	5	0	1	0.00	20.00	0.00	20.00
zoology	12	48	41	20	21	0	3	0.00	14.29	0.00	14.29
Botany	13	36	27	19	8	0	0	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
mineralogy	14	5	4	3	1	0	0	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
technical arts	15	136	118	81	37	2	8	5.41	27.03	5.41	27.03
ethics - moral phil; law of nature & nations	16	211	148	71	77	12	11	15.58	29.87	16.67	30.77
religion	17	253	145	112	33	0	15	0.00	45.45	0.00	41.67
equity	18	40	21	8	13	4	1	30.77	38.46	30.77	38.46

Common law	19	306	180	44	136	4	4	2.94	5.88	2.94	5.88
merchant law	20	10	7	2	5	0	3	0.00	60.00	0.00	60.00
maritime law	21	26	21	18	3	0	0	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
ecclesiastical law	22	18	4	0	4	0	1	0.00	25.00	0.00	25.00
foreign law	23	168	141	125	16	4	0	25.00	25.00	25.00	25.00
Politics; Commerce (exc US politics)	24	803	654	517	137	9	35	6.57	32.12	6.57	32.12
politics: us	24	539	538	439	99	0	20	0.00	20.20	0.00	20.00
Arithmetic	25	34	24	13	11	0	4	0.00	36.36	0.00	36.36
geometry	26	14	9	4	5	1	0	20.00	20.00	20.00	20.00
physico-mathematics	27	61	56	44	12	1	3	8.33	33.33	8.33	33.33
Astronomy	28	35	28	14	14	0	1	0.00	7.14	0.00	7.14
geography	29	349	223	124	99	1	14	1.01	15.15	1.01	15.15
Architecture	30	50	22	8	14	0	0	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
gardening, painting, sculpture	31	24	15	6	9	0	3	0.00	33.33	0.00	33.33
music	32	13	11	1	10	1	1	10.00	20.00	10.00	20.00
epic poetry	33	38	26	6	20	6	7	30.00	65.00	30.00	65.00
tales and fables	34	71	53	16	37	1	10	2.70	29.73	2.70	29.73
pastoral	35	63	49	17	32	6	5	18.75	34.38	60.87	68.12
didactic	36	56	30	12	18	3	6	16.67	50.00	15.79	47.37
tragedy	37	45	38	5	33	3	15	9.09	54.55	9.09	54.55
Comedy	38	42	27	4	23	1	12	4.35	56.52	4.35	56.52
dialogue - epistolary	39	26	13	5	8	0	2	0.00	25.00	0.00	25.00
logic, rhetoric, orations	40	45	36	22	14	2	3	14.29	35.71	14.29	35.71
criticism, theory	41	12	8	1	7	3	1	42.86	57.14	42.86	57.14
Bibliography	42	24	18	9	9	0	5	0.00	55.56	0.00	55.56
languages etc	43	147	87	33	54	6	9	11.11	27.78	10.91	29.09
polygraphical	44	42	32	17	15	1	6	6.67	46.67	6.67	46.67
TOTAL		4779	3564	2280	1284	99	265	7.71	28.35	10.24	30.27

Table 2: 1815 Library: TJ's purchases and Wythe bequest additions

TJ'sclass	TJ purchases	Wythe titles	total sold to Congress
Antient history	136	6	142
foreign history	195	1	196
British history	122		122
American History, newspapers	139		139
ecclesiastical history	25		25
natural philosophy	58		58
Agriculture	132	2	134
Chemistry	30	1	31
surgery	7		7
medicine	134		134
Anatomy	11		11
zoology	48	2	50
Botany	36		36
mineralogy	5		5
technical arts	136	1	137
ethics - moral phil; law of nature & nations	211	5	216
religion	253	8	261
equity	40	10	50
Common law	306	26	332
merchant law	10		10
maritime law	26		26
ecclesiastical law	18	1	19
foreign law	168		168
Politics; Commerce (exc US politics)	803	1	804
politics: us	539	1	540

TJ'sclass	TJ purchases	Wythe titles	total sold to Congress
Arithmetic	34	4	38
geometry	14	3	17
physico-mathematics	61	1	62
Astronomy	35	1	36
geography	349	5	354
Architecture	50	1	51
gardening, painting, sculpture	24	1	25
music	13		13
epic poetry	38	4	42
tales and fables	71	3	74
pastoral	63	12	75
didactic	56	8	64
tragedy	45	6	51
Comedy	42	1	43
dialogue - epistolary	26	2	28
logic, rhetoric, orations	45	7	52
criticism, theory	12	2	14
Bibliography	24	2	26
languages etc	147	8	155
polygraphical	42	2	44
			0
TOTAL	4779	138	4917

Table 3: 1815 Library: Scottish titles by class. Descending order of Scots imprints

	TJ's chapter no	Total titles	Titles pub after 1739	Titles pub after 1783	Titles pub 1740-83 incl	Of 1740-83 titles:			Scots + London Scots propn
						Core Scots	London Scots	Scots propn	
criticism, theory	41	12	8	1	7	3	1	42.86	57.14
Agriculture	7	132	121	95	26	10	7	38.46	65.38
equity	18	40	21	8	13	4	1	30.77	38.46
epic poetry	33	38	26	6	20	6	7	30.00	65.00
foreign law	23	168	141	125	16	4	0	25.00	25.00
geometry	26	14	9	4	5	1	0	20.00	20.00
pastoral	35	63	49	17	32	6	5	18.75	34.38
Antient history	1	136	55	8	47	8	4	17.02	25.53
didactic	36	56	30	12	18	3	6	16.67	50.00
ecclesiastical history	5	25	6	0	6	1	1	16.67	33.33
ethics - moral phil; law of nature & nations	16	211	148	71	77	12	11	15.58	29.87
logic, rhetoric, orations	40	45	36	22	14	2	3	14.29	35.71
natural philosophy	6	58	52	37	15	2	2	13.33	26.67
medicine	10	134	106	81	25	3	13	12.00	64.00
languages etc	43	147	87	33	54	6	9	11.11	27.78
music	32	13	11	1	10	1	1	10.00	20.00
tragedy	37	45	38	5	33	3	15	9.09	54.55
physico-mathematics	27	61	56	44	12	1	3	8.33	33.33
polygraphical	44	42	32	17	15	1	6	6.67	46.67
Politics; Commerce (exc US politics)	24	803	654	517	137	9	35	6.57	32.12
technical arts	15	136	118	81	37	2	8	5.41	27.03
Comedy	38	42	27	4	23	1	12	4.35	56.52

foreign history	2	195	127	75	52	2	7	3.85	17.31
British history	3	122	71	38	33	1	13	3.03	42.42
Common law	19	306	180	44	136	4	4	2.94	5.88
American History, newspapers	4	139	127	92	35	1	7	2.86	22.86
tales and fables	34	71	53	16	37	1	10	2.70	29.73
geography	29	349	223	124	99	1	14	1.01	15.15
merchant law	20	10	7	2	5	0	3	0.00	60.00
Bibliography	42	24	18	9	9	0	5	0.00	55.56
religion	17	253	145	112	33	0	15	0.00	45.45
Chemistry	8	30	30	25	5	0	2	0.00	40.00
Arithmetic	25	34	24	13	11	0	4	0.00	36.36
gardening, painting, sculpture	31	24	15	6	9	0	3	0.00	33.33
ecclesiastical law	22	18	4	0	4	0	1	0.00	25.00
dialogue - epistolary	39	26	13	5	8	0	2	0.00	25.00
politics: us	24	539	538	439	99	0	20	0.00	20.20
Anatomy	11	11	9	4	5	0	1	0.00	20.00
zoology	12	48	41	20	21	0	3	0.00	14.29
Astronomy	28	35	28	14	14	0	1	0.00	7.14
surgery	9	7	6	5	1	0	0	0.00	0.00
Botany	13	36	27	19	8	0	0	0.00	0.00
mineralogy	14	5	4	3	1	0	0	0.00	0.00
maritime law	21	26	21	18	3	0	0	0.00	0.00
Architecture	30	50	22	8	14	0	0	0.00	0.00
TOTAL		4779	3564	2280	1284	99	265	7.71	28.35

Table 4: 1815 Library: Scottish titles by class. Descending order of Scots + London Scots imprints

	TJ's chapter no	Total titles	Titles pub after 1739	Titles pub after 1783	Titles pub 1740- 83 incl	Core Scots	London Scots	Scots propn	Scots + London Scots propn
Agriculture	7	132	121	95	26	10	7	38.46	65.38
epic poetry	33	38	26	6	20	6	7	30.00	65.00
medicine	10	134	106	81	25	3	13	12.00	64.00
merchant law	20	10	7	2	5	0	3	0.00	60.00
criticism, theory	41	12	8	1	7	3	1	42.86	57.14
Comedy	38	42	27	4	23	1	12	4.35	56.52
Bibliography	42	24	18	9	9	0	5	0.00	55.56
tragedy	37	45	38	5	33	3	15	9.09	54.55
didactic	36	56	30	12	18	3	6	16.67	50.00
polygraphical	44	42	32	17	15	1	6	6.67	46.67
religion	17	253	145	112	33	0	15	0.00	45.45
British history	3	122	71	38	33	1	13	3.03	42.42
Chemistry	8	30	30	25	5	0	2	0.00	40.00
equity	18	40	21	8	13	4	1	30.77	38.46
Arithmetic	25	34	24	13	11	0	4	0.00	36.36
logic, rhetoric, orations	40	45	36	22	14	2	3	14.29	35.71
pastoral	35	63	49	17	32	6	5	18.75	34.38
ecclesiastical history	5	25	6	0	6	1	1	16.67	33.33
physico-mathematics	27	61	56	44	12	1	3	8.33	33.33
gardening, painting, sculpture	31	24	15	6	9	0	3	0.00	33.33
Politics; Commerce (exc US politics)	24	803	654	517	137	9	35	6.57	32.12
ethics - moral phil; law of nature & nations	16	211	148	71	77	12	11	15.58	29.87
tales and fables	34	71	53	16	37	1	10	2.70	29.73
languages etc	43	147	87	33	54	6	9	11.11	27.78

technical arts	15	136	118	81	37	2	8	5.41	27.03
natural philosophy	6	58	52	37	15	2	2	13.33	26.67
Antient history	1	136	55	8	47	8	4	17.02	25.53
foreign law	23	168	141	125	16	4	0	25.00	25.00
ecclesiastical law	22	18	4	0	4	0	1	0.00	25.00
dialogue - epistolary	39	26	13	5	8	0	2	0.00	25.00
American History, newspapers	4	139	127	92	35	1	7	2.86	22.86
politics: us	24	539	538	439	99	0	20	0.00	20.20
geometry	26	14	9	4	5	1	0	20.00	20.00
music	32	13	11	1	10	1	1	10.00	20.00
Anatomy	11	11	9	4	5	0	1	0.00	20.00
foreign history	2	195	127	75	52	2	7	3.85	17.31
geography	29	349	223	124	99	1	14	1.01	15.15
zoology	12	48	41	20	21	0	3	0.00	14.29
Astronomy	28	35	28	14	14	0	1	0.00	7.14
Common law	19	306	180	44	136	4	4	2.94	5.88
surgery	9	7	6	5	1	0	0	0.00	0.00
Botany	13	36	27	19	8	0	0	0.00	0.00
mineralogy	14	5	4	3	1	0	0	0.00	0.00
maritime law	21	26	21	18	3	0	0	0.00	0.00
Architecture	30	50	22	8	14	0	0	0.00	0.00
Total		4779	3564	2280	1284	99	265	7.71	28.35

Table 5: TJ's book purchases, 1770-1826, by region of publication

Region	N of TJ's books with this imprint	% of known imprints	population c1750, m	population c1800, m	% of "atlantic" popn 1750	% of "atlantic" popn 1800	Under- or over- representation in TJ's book-buying, 1750 pop	Under- or over- representation in TJ's book-buying, 1800 pop
England	1751	34.78	5.77	8.90	3.19	3.80	10.91	9.14
France	1023	20.32	24.80	27.50	13.70	11.75	1.48	1.73
Germany	132	2.62	17.00	25.00	9.39	10.68	0.28	0.25
Ireland	62	1.23	3.20	5.20	1.77	2.22	0.70	0.55
Italy	107	2.13	14.70	17.20	8.12	7.35	0.26	0.29
Netherlands	301	5.98	2.67	5.70	1.48	2.44	4.05	2.45
Rest of Americas	10	0.20	16.00	24.00	8.84	10.26	0.02	0.02
Rest of Europe	25	0.50	83.54	99.50	46.15	42.52	0.01	0.01
Scotland	183	3.63	1.30	1.60	0.72	0.68	5.06	5.32
Spain	63	1.25	9.00	10.50	4.97	4.49	0.25	0.28
Swiss	84	1.67	1.02	1.90	0.57	0.81	2.95	2.05
USA	1294	25.70	2.00	7.00	1.10	2.99	23.26	8.59
unknown	287							
Total	5322		181.00	234.00	100.00	100.00		

Table 6: The Trist Catalog, Chapter 11: Natural-history – Animals – Anatomy

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1. Lassus, histoire des découvertes en Anatomie, 8
 2. L'Anatomie de Nogues, 12^o.
 9. L'Homme et le monde de Descartes, par De la Forge, 4^o.
 3. Anatomia del Cocchi, p 4^o
 4. Cheselden's Anatomy, 8^o.
 10. Winslow's Anatomy, translated by Douglas, 4^o.
 5. Anatomy of the human body, by John & James Bell, 4 v 8^o.
 11. Hunter's natural history of the human teeth, 4^o.
 6. Leçons d'anatomie compare. De Cuvier, 2 v 8^o.
 7. Blumenbach's short system of comparative anatomy, by Lawrence, 8^o.
 8. Ball's analytical view of the animal economy, 12^o.
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Methodological note to Tables

The sources for Tables 1 to 4 are (1), “Thomas Jefferson’s Libraries” on LibraryThing at <http://www.librarything.com/catalog/ThomasJefferson/yourlibrary>, data kindly extracted by Endrina Tay; (2), R. B. Sher, *The Enlightenment and the Book* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 2006); (3) J. Gilreath and D. L. Wilson, *Thomas Jefferson’s Library: a catalog with the entries in his own order* (Washington DC: Library of Congress, 1989).

The sources for Table 5 are (1) “Thomas Jefferson’s Libraries” as above; (2) Association of College and Research Libraries, Rare Books and Manuscripts Section, Bibliographic Standards Committee, *Latin Place Names found in the imprints of books printed before 1801 and their vernacular equivalents in AACR2 (Anglo-American Cataloguing Rules) form* at <http://net.lib.byu.edu/~catalog/people/rbm/latin/names.htm>; (3) United Nations Population Division, *The World at Six Billion* at <http://www.un.org/esa/population/publications/sixbillion/sixbilpart1.pdf>; (4) Örjan Martinsson, *Tacitus Historical Atlas* at <http://www.tacitus.nu/historical-atlas/index.html>.

The source for Table 6 is the Trist catalog (Gilreath and Wilson 1989), Chapter 11.

All Web links were tested and found live on November 16, 2010.

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