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KEEPING UP APPEARANCES

FURNISHINGS OF AMERICAN EMBASSIES IN EUROPE, 1778-1825

by

Juliet B. Chase

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Early American Culture

Spring 1996

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ABSTRACT

During the early federal period the United States struggled to establish a strong government and culture. The first generation of American diplomats were sent to Europe to represent the federal government in these matters. This study examines manuscripts and objects that reflect the material culture of American diplomacy from 1778 to 1825. Documents in the Library of Congress and those available on microfilm form the bulk of the evidence examined.

The group of diplomats examined expressed their culture and their position in their material surroundings. What they purchased for their temporary homes and the lifestyles they led demonstrated their interest in fitting into the diplomatic and foreign societies around them. Large amounts of federal and personal money were expended on their residences. Many of these ambassadors were conscious of the importance of their image as Americans abroad in conducting their business.

A more intensive examination of the documents and objects pertaining to the embassies of Thomas Jefferson
and John Adams provides an in-depth look at how two American diplomats were living during the 1780s. Both men lived in elegant surroundings that were not obviously American in appearance. Yet there are strong similarities between the two houses that may indicate patterns of behavior and purchasing which distinguished these residences from other homes in Europe.
Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

During the early national period, Americans struggled to create a sense of national identity. This necessitated a cultural separation from Europe, particularly England, which had had the strongest political and broadest cultural ties with the colonies. Subtle yet deliberate changes in spelling helped create American English, for example. That sense of a separate identity was harder to establish with objects, many of which were being imported in large numbers from England and other European countries. The task of expressing national identity was especially difficult for American ambassadors who were buying their material possessions once they were located at their foreign post. By examining the furnishings of early American embassies much can be learned about not only those embassies themselves, but the formation of an American culture.

Nationalism is ultimately the product of conceiving of oneself as a full member of a community which exists only in the imagination. Richard Rush
Minister to Great Britain, 1817-1825) expressed a sense of the different qualities of the American nation that, as he perceived, distinguished him from diplomats of other countries. On July 14, 1818 he wrote to his mother:

The American Minister at this court must be a man of business, if he executes faithfully all the twists placed in his hands, more frequently than a man of show; and the known simplicity of the institutions of his country, will be taken as the excuse for the frugality of his domicil. It is true, that his allowance is excessively small compared to the wealth of those with whom he associates in this vast metropolis, but I am happy to add, that the plain mode of life which this necessarily superinduces does not, from any thing I have yet seen, deprive him of those attentions and respect from the highest sources, which his rank guarantees.3

Rush recognized that as America struggled to establish itself as an independent country, diplomats and their surroundings were important portrayers of the character of the United States abroad. To Rush America's reputation for institutional simplicity excused a material frugality of her diplomats abroad.

American embassies in Europe, generally the same as the ambassador’s residence, served a number of functions both public and private. Whatever the occasion, the material culture of an embassy reflected back on the nation. Benjamin Franklin (Minister to France, 1778-1781) vocalized these sentiments in 1785.

... for I cannot conceive that the Congress, after promising a Minister 2500£ a Year; and
Franklin's use of the word "honour" did not refer to personal virtues such as honesty and integrity. Rather, Franklin was talking about homage paid to a government through material goods. The aspects of a diplomat's way of life which required expenditures included his residence, personal adornment, and entertaining. That these things were perceived as tangible expressions of Congress' honor abroad demonstrates their importance.

Franklin was not the only individual to recognize the diplomatic function performed by buildings and their furnishings. The concept of space and objects representing the United States was understood and expressed in 1818 by James Monroe when he described the furnishings of the White House as representing the American people to foreign visitors to Washington, D.C.

The furniture in its kind and extent is thought to be an object, not less deserving attention than the building for which it is intended. Both being national objects, each seems to have an equal claim to legislative sanction. . . . For a building so extensive intended for a purpose exclusively national, in which, in the furniture provided for it, a mingled regard is due to the simplicity and purity of our institutions and to the character of the people who are represented in it . . .

Monroe gave objects equal stature with the architecture in portraying the values, taste and purchasing power of the
new country. He echoed the sentiments of Richard Rush in describing the character of the United States as simple and pure. If the White House was considered to illustrate what America stood for to foreign visitors, then what roles did the newly established American embassies play in expressing what America stood for within a foreign country?

It could be argued that ordinary Americans living abroad would be equally important in establishing America’s image. Diplomats however, lived with certain circumstances and privileges that did not extend to other American citizens. Unlike Americans taking the Grand Tour who might spend a few years in Europe but were still moving from one locale to another, the Ministers were usually fixed in one location for a length of time with only occasional business trips to other places. Ambassadors had access to the Royal Courts and the elite circles of European society.6 Diplomats from America also became part of the culturally diverse diplomatic community, interacting both politically and socially with diplomats from other countries.

The association of American diplomats with high placed individuals of foreign countries meant that these men were exposed daily to high style architecture and objects. It also meant that high placed Europeans were
looking at and interacting with Americans with whom they might otherwise never have come in contact. American diplomats were conscious of that scrutiny and very quickly became aware that what passed for great wealth in the United States could not begin to compare with that of the established aristocracy of Europe.

The State Department did not establish a policy of permanent sites for embassies until the twentieth century. Because the majority of structures were borrowed or rented, the architecture of the early embassies will not be considered here in great depth. As tenants the diplomats were not necessarily free to make desired changes or to erect new structures. However, the individuals were free to redecorate and to furnish their residences as they saw fit within their monetary constraints.

Limitations of Study

Formal diplomatic relations for America began when Benjamin Franklin became the sole Minister to France in 1778. New embassies with attached diplomats were established in quick succession. This study deals with the furnishings of American embassies within a European context from 1778-1825. In this period precedents were set and protocol established. There are more surviving
papers in the Library of Congress archives for the diplomats of this period than for subsequent decades. This is possibly because, like four of the first six Presidents of the United States (1789–1829) who were appointed Ministers to nations in Europe prior to being elected President, many of them held other federal government positions.9

Due to time limitations, it was not possible to visit all collections of manuscripts pertaining to individual diplomats. Because the Library of Congress and the National Archives have extensive manuscript collections and are not regionally biased in their collections policies, I concentrated on those diplomats whose papers were at the Library of Congress or available on microfilm. Although historic State Department records are housed in the National Archives, the holdings for the period 1778–1825 are extremely limited and I could not locate any documentation for that period which referred to furnishings.

Identifying extant objects that were used in early American embassies is even more difficult than locating manuscripts. The provenance of any object can be easily obscured over time. When it is critical to identify not only the historic owner but also the time frame of acquisition and use, the search is made more complex.10
The extant objects included in this study were restricted to those belonging to John Adams (Minister to the Netherlands, 1780-1784) and Thomas Jefferson (Minister to France, 1785-1789) because of strong object provenance and related manuscripts.

Only a portion of those diplomats whose papers were examined are included in this study because much of the documentation did not include any references to material culture. For some individuals, the collections contained only a few documents while for others they were more extensive. The survival of documents or objects often says as much about what later generations deemed important enough to save as it does about the original participants. There are extensive papers for some diplomats, however, which still do not make reference to their material world. It is possible that this is due to a form of modesty on the part of certain individuals who may not have been comfortable discussing their material possessions in diaries or letters home. Others may simply not have been interested in these matters.

**Definition of Terms**

I am defining "European" as including Great Britain and Russia as well as those countries with mutual borders on that continent. Because of the intermarriage
of royal houses and the interaction of royal courts, Russia was grouped with the European nations rather than Asia. It should be noted that the United States did establish relations with governments in Asia and South America in the early nineteenth century, but the differences in culture and diplomatic goals require that those regions be dealt with at a different time. During this period America focused its diplomatic strength on Europe in an attempt to acquire much needed loans as much as to define sovereign rights.

In the twentieth century, there are clear differences between the Embassy where diplomatic business is conducted, and the Residence of the ambassador where official entertaining may or may not take place. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the ambassador’s residence was usually also his place of business. Unless otherwise stated, the use of the word "embassy" here is referring to the building or apartments where the ambassador and his family lived. Maintaining an office separate from his home led to difficulties for Richard Rush. Noted on a auction catalog in his papers was, "outrage upon the office of the Legation-August 1823." An explanation of the outrage followed. It "consisted in an attempt to ceiz upon the furniture of the office for rent due from a person who lived in another part of the House."
The matter was arranged."¹³ In addition to the frustration of the situation, this event suggests that maintaining a separate office may have had inherent security problems.

This paper looks at the furnishings of American Ministers, men who were appointed by the President, approved by the Senate and recognized by the receiving foreign government. The use of the word "ambassador" is used here to define a diplomatic agent rather than an official rank. The United States did not use Ambassador as a title until 1893 because it carried connotations of monarchy.¹⁴ Treaty commissioners, charges d’affaires and consuls are not considered here. Treaty commissioners were sent for a specific diplomatic purpose and for usually a relatively short period of time. Consulates were, during the early nineteenth century, run by Americans who bonded themselves to the government but who also could potentially make a profit for themselves by trading, and who interacted with a very different level of society than the Ministers did.¹⁵ Charges d’affaires interacted with the same socially elevated group and often served the function of the Minister when one was not in residence. They were however, secondary in rank and one individual might serve as charge d’affaires under several different Ministers in the same country. Consequently the
furnishings of the Minister would have been perceived very differently from those of lesser ranked diplomats.

Many of the diplomats examined whose papers do contain evidence of their surroundings demonstrated an awareness that, in their material surroundings, they represented America abroad. The types of objects chosen and how they were perceived by their owners says a great deal about how these diplomats viewed their roles as private individuals living in a foreign society and as representatives of their country. Despite similarities in their problems, diplomats had unique personalities and they found different solutions to those common grievances of lack of funds and being in the public eye.
Chapter II
FINANCES

Taxes have always been a sensitive issue for Americans. The need to use tax money to establish embassies and pay diplomats' salaries created new ethical questions for the fledgling American federal government. Questions of what were appropriate expenditures for government funds or what should be paid for by the diplomats were key to the formation of the diplomatic corps and ultimately affected the material culture of the embassies. Although the first generation of American ambassadors existed in a world with fewer bureaucratic rules than their successors, they did face ethical and financial dilemmas. It is difficult to stress adequately the desperate financial straits of the young Republic. Many of the early diplomats were sent on their missions in order to secure loans to pay off the cost of the war and to begin to establish a structured economy. It may have been difficult to justify the huge expense of outfitting and supporting an American in Europe when America was so cash and credit poor.
Benjamin Franklin found himself firmly in the middle of this moral dilemma as the first American Minister, recognized as Minister Plenipotentiary to France in 1778. Franklin was accused by John Adams of squandering federal funds in order to live in quarters at the Hotel de Valentinois, the Passy residence of Jacques Donatien Le Ray de Chaumont. Although Franklin was evidently under the impression that he was a guest of de Chaumont, he ultimately did pay rent for five years of residence at the Hotel de Valentinois. He does not appear to have been overly concerned with the federal government's financial health. In 1782 after Congress complained of the high diplomatic expenditures, Franklin defended his position to John Jay (Minister to Spain, 1779-?).

I wish not to be burthensome to our country and having myself no expensive habits, having besides no wife, or family to bring up and living out of Paris, perhaps I should be as little incommoded by a reduction of some of these charges as any of my brethren; but as we are to establish precedents, I would not have them as may be oppressive to another or to a successor differently circumstanced.

Franklin was quite right that once precedent was set it would be hard to break. While the rules were still flexible he included his coffee house bill, carriage hire, court mourning and table linens on his expense account, all things that future diplomats were not allowed to claim.
for reimbursement. Whether or not the government actually reimbursed Franklin for these expenses is not clear since the account was left for Jefferson to submit after Franklin had left France.²⁰

Although many of the first American diplomats seem to have been truly committed to the concept of public service, they were also interested in preserving their personal financial status. They rarely complained of the giving of their time and energies but were more hesitant to donate money. Jefferson brought up this dilemma in a letter to Abigail Adams in 1785.

In stating my accounts with the United States, I am at a loss whether to charge house rent or not. It has always been allowed to Dr. Franklin. Does Mr. Adams mean to charge this for Auteuil and London? Because if he does, I certainly will, being convinced by experience that my expenses here will otherwise exceed my allowance.²¹

This sort of question must have been arising more and more often as new embassies were established and more demands were put on the Department of State’s budget. Diplomats could never be sure what portions of their expenditures would be considered valid use of public monies. If the United States government had not deposited money in a foreign bank or arranged for credit, the diplomats were expected to have the money for the initial expenditure. Benjamin Franklin dealt with the resulting confusion in a letter presumably to the Secretary of State.
But the article of Salary with all the Rest of my Account will be submitted to the judgement of Congress, together with some other considerable Articles I have not charged, but on which I shall expect from their Equity some Consideration of for want of Knowing precisely the Intention of Congress, what Expences should be deem'd Public and what not Public, I have charg'd any article to the Public which should be defray'd by me, their Banker has my order as soon as the Pleasure of Congress shall be made known to him, to rectify the Error by transfering the Amount to my private account and discharging by so much that of the Public.22

If the auditors determined that any requests were not suitable use of public funds then the diplomat would bear permanently the burden of those expenses. American diplomats could not utilize all of the financial manipulations available to Europeans with similar financial problems. They lacked the credit and status of the poorer aristocracy who could maintain an elegant lifestyle by living in debt.23

These grey financial areas that Jefferson, Adams and Franklin faced were quickly put into black and white by the Department of State. A pay scale was derived based on the status of the diplomats and which daily expenditures would be reimbursed were carefully spelled out. For most of the diplomats discussed here, as Ministers Plenipotentiary, an annual salary of $9,000 was paid along with an initial one time outfit allowance of $9,000 and a one time return amount of $2,250. For diplomats of lower ranks the ratio remained the same.
They would receive an outfit equal to one year's salary and a return allowance of one quarter's salary. Only those expenses directly tied to the business of the embassy would be reimbursed by the government. The majority of the accounts submitted by diplomats and scrutinized by the Auditor's department show payments of sealing wax, stationary, candles, translations, postage and other such mundane day to day expenses. Furniture or other furnishings do not appear on these accounts and would have fallen under the expenditure of the outfit.

As America began to establish its own identity and bureaucracy, it was examining the customs of other countries for precedent. The diplomats themselves were especially conscious of what their colleagues from other nations were receiving and where they were living. Although there is no direct evidence that the Department of State was copying the established custom of the Netherlands, there are close parallels between the two governments in that Dutch ambassadors were expected to find their own lodgings while British ambassadors were either provided with a house or an extra housing allowance.

American diplomats were somewhat self-conscious as a group. Their European counterparts usually had aristocratic titles, thus bestowing honor on the country.
receiving the diplomat, and as a rule they had more political and financial clout behind them. So when Elbridge Gerry (treaty commissioner) remarked in a letter to his wife in 1797 from Paris that the rooms he was renting had been occupied by the British Ambassador, Sir Robert Does, he would appear to be indicating that the former occupant put the seal of approval on the apartment as appropriate for a diplomat.28

For the early nineteenth century, $9,000 for a salary and an outfit was a considerable amount of money. There does not, however, appear to be any records of any American diplomat who found the amount adequate for his needs. It was a select group of American men in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that could obtain the education and political sophistication necessary to conduct diplomacy on the international level. These men represented the concept of a natural aristocracy where intelligence and ability were presumed to advance an individual.29 That any one who could achieve that was also required to possess a personal fortune and to use it on behalf of his country must have been galling to many Americans’ sense of republicanism and to the diplomats themselves. John Quincy Adams (Minister to the Netherlands 1794-1797, Minister to Prussia, 1797-1801, Minister to Russia, 1809-1811, Minister to Great Britain,
1815-1817) detailed his expenditures carefully, and with the exception of 1811, he outspent his salary every year of his various terms, exceeding $13,000 in 1816. The quickly established federal bureaucracy was not overly flexible. The salary of $9,000 was not adjusted for inflation or cost of living at any time during this period nor was the variable cost of living of different countries taken into consideration.

The issue of court mourning gives an excellent demonstration of the universal financial stress placed on American diplomats. When the courts of Europe went into official mourning, it was expected that visiting diplomats would comply out of courtesy even if, like America, their government had no family ties with the deceased. Richard Rush in his published memoirs remarked in his entry for February 10, 1820:

At an informal assemblage of some of the diplomatic corps at the Saxon minister's, it was agreed that their servants, more especially their coachmen and footmen, should all be put in black for the late King. It was understood that the members of the corps not present, would all concur. The venerable Saxon minister remarked, that as it would be "an extra expense, of course, our courts would make a suitable allowance for it!" The American minister, who was at the meeting, made no objection to the step, and put his servants in black accordingly; but as to his "court," at Washington, it is certain that he never brought forward any such item of expense against it.
Richard Rush himself had to bear considerable cost of court mourning while Minister to Great Britain. While it is difficult to say whether the term he served was during particularly lethal years for European royalty, based on the number of mourning announcements that Rush saved and that then became part of the collection of his papers, Rush was spending considerable amounts of money on his costume for court mourning. While he was an ambassador the British court went into mourning for such a distant relation as the Princess of Saxe Hilbourghausen, niece of her Majesty the Queen. When Queen Charlotte died in 1818, several changes of mourning were decreed by the Court Chamberlain over a period of several months. While her death engendered the greatest number of mourning changes and extremes of visual grief, it is unlikely from the specified requirements that one could make do with articles of a normal wardrobe during official periods of mourning. The mourning instructions were structured so that the aristocracy would continue to spend money on clothing. In Britain the Court Chamberlain protected the textile industry from business losses during mourning periods by ordering several changes of mourning and requiring textile types that were manufactured in Britain. A portion of the mourning regalia for Queen Charlotte follows:
Orders for the Court’s going into Mourning, on Sunday next, the 22d Instant, for Her late Majesty, of blessed Memory, viz.

The Ladies to wear Black Bombazines, Plain Muslin or Long lawn Linen, Crape Hoods, Shamay Shoes & Gloves and Crape Fans.

The Gentlemen to wear Black Cloth without buttons on the Sleeves and Pockets, Plain Muslin or Long Lawn Cravats and Weepers, Shamay Shoes and Gloves, Crape Hatbands, and Black Swords and Buckles.

For the second stage of mourning decreed on Dec 8th, 1818:

The Ladies to wear Black Silk, fringed or plain Linen or Muslin, White Gloves, Black or White Shoes, Fans and Tippets, White Necklaces and Ear-rings, no Diamonds.

The Gentlemen to wear Black, full-trimmed plain or fringed Linen, Black Swords and Buckles.

The Court to Change the Mourning further, on Sunday the 24th of January 1819: viz.-

The Ladies to wear Black Silk or Velvet, coloured Ribbons, Fans, and Tippets.

The Gentlemen to continue in Black and to wear coloured Swords and Buckles.

And on Sunday the 14th of February, the Court to go out of Mourning."
I am in deep black, however, for the Princess Charlotte. Pray, ought not the government here to pay our tailors upon these occasions? It seems to me, that it would be quite possible to make out something of an argument upon this point. But as nobody would listen to me, the only course is to submit.35

Diplomats faced expenses like official mourning that they did not have to bear at home in the United States. The exorbitant cost of being a diplomat limited the potential pool of applicants and must have contributed to decisions of what family unit would travel to Europe.
Chapter III
LIFESTYLES OF DIPLOMATS

American diplomats left the United States not knowing how long they would be apart from their homes, friends, and family. Once in Europe they had to find lodgings and furnishings in addition to conducting their diplomatic business. As Americans they went with limited incomes and a cultural background of customs and aesthetics that was different from the societies they encountered. They entered diverse cultures and established societies with greater purchasing power. The choices they made in setting up house reflected their own culture and that of the society in which they were temporarily living. Foreign friends and connections presented the opportunity for the diplomats to have access to private, knowledgeable advice about local fashion and its implied statements of status and taste.

Where They Lived
One cannot really discuss furnishings adequately without giving some account of the spaces in which they
were used. The character of the diplomatic living and office spaces naturally affected the quantity and types of furnishings being purchased or rented. The number of rooms, their size and primary functions would all have been factors in purchasing items or assessing rented, furnished rooms.

Because American diplomats were responsible for finding their own residences, those dwellings varied in size, elegance, and location depending on a number of factors. Many of the diplomats studied rented furnished residences and consequently saved the expense as well as the time involved in furnishing the home. This may have been a difficult decision to make for the majority of diplomats who had no real idea of the time they would be abroad at the inception of their missions. If they were going to be in one location only for a short period of time renting furnishings made sense. Few missions extended beyond four years and many lasted less than a year due to diplomatic changes at home or abroad. When Jefferson went to Paris he decided that purchasing items was the more prudent choice. The size of the ambassador’s family abroad did not play a significant role in determining the size of the residence. Some diplomats were bachelors, others were married but left their families in the United States. A fewer number of
ambassadors brought their entire families to Europe. Both John Adams in the Netherlands and Jefferson in Paris went to Europe without their wives and yet occupied entire houses. Franklin essentially boarded with a family, while others merely occupied suites of rooms in larger establishments. Benjamin Franklin was not hampered by his living arrangements: he did much of his official entertaining at Versailles where facilities were available for a price.37

The most obvious and logical explanation for the size and location of residences was the cost in relation to diplomatic income. Both Adams' and Jefferson's missions date to before the formalization of outfit expenditures by the Department of State. William Crawford (Minister to France, 1813-1815) also maintained a bachelor residence in Paris; his wife stayed in America. In August of 1813, he rented apartments at 600 francs per month. "The apartments consisted of an Antechamber, a dining Room, a Salon or Hall, two bedrooms, and a room for an office."38 This is probably more typical of the size of apartments diplomats were renting after their salaries were fixed.

It is difficult to ascertain the material lifestyle of diplomats renting furnished quarters because of lack of surviving documentation such as accounts or
inventories. Although there is little information available for those diplomats living in furnished rooms, it is important to remember that those rooms most likely fit into the surrounding environment fairly well. Therefore, one can assume that they were not overtly American in furnishings.

Because the majority of diplomats were renting their quarters, there was no natural continuity from one ambassador to the next. No particular structure or section of a city was specifically identified as pertaining to the United States legation for any extended period of time. This affected not only the material culture but the way in which the residences were viewed. There does not appear to have been any concept of the diplomatic space being separate from the ambassador. John Adams may have been attempting to start a tradition of national identity by renaming his house in the Hague, L’Hôtel des États-Unis. But there does not appear to be any evidence that any other American diplomat occupied this house which was torn down sometime in the 1820s.39

**A Sense of Community**

Diplomatic circles in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were extremely small. Diplomats and government officials tended to know each other personally
as well as officially, judging by their correspondence. These associations made it easier for the second wave of American diplomats to find lodgings, furnishings and other aspects of life in a foreign city. As previously mentioned some houses were first rented by British diplomats, then American and it is not surprising that occasionally houses did serve more than one term as the residence of an American Minister. In 1815, for example, John Quincy Adams rented furnished lodgings previously rented by William Crawford in London. While this may seem to establish a pattern of continuity in diplomatic space, it does not appear to have been viewed as anything more than convenient for the parties concerned.

American ambassadors abroad did not exist in a personal vacuum. They had foreign friends and networks that may have directed many of them to specific shops and craftsmen. While in Europe, Gouverneur Morris (Minister to Great Britain, 1790-1791, Minister to France, 1792-1794) conducted a long-term affair with the married Madame de Flahaut (who, incidentally, also had an on and off again affair with Tallyrand). The intricacies of this affair occupied most of Morris' attention in his diary and thus the influence of Madame de Flahaut, referred to usually as Madame F or simply 'my friend', can not be dismissed lightly. Madame Flahaut lived at the Louvre where
Morris often visited her and she clearly played a role in the selection of Morris’ residence and its subsequent furnishings. In April of 1792 Morris recorded in his diary, "go with Madame F to look for houses," and again in June, "I take my friend to the Upholsterers where I buy furniture for the salon." Morris did record several shopping expeditions for furniture and china when Madame Flahaut was evidently not along but generally speaking, he records the affair in courtly terms that give the impression that her preferences would have been acknowledged.

John Adams’ residence was also influenced by a non-American, his housekeeper Madame Dumas, while he was serving as the ambassador to the Netherlands. She detailed some of her role in the house in her addendum to the inventory. She records the silver candlestick that she gave to Monsieur Adams and the decanters that she bought. Whether she meant that she bought them at the behest of Adams or whether they were hers but being used in the Adams household is unclear. Their inclusion in the inventory suggests that they were Adams’ property.

Adams’ son, John Quincy Adams, met and married his wife, Louisa Catherine, in London. Although her father was an American, she was raised in England and France and did not live in America until after the completion of
Adams' foreign missions. She may or may not have considered herself an American in her youth. But she was clearly exposed to European taste and interiors and that cannot but have affected her later decisions regarding her own home, especially before she actually resided in the United States. Since John Quincy Adams appears to have been the record keeper in the family and he did not differentiate in his records who actually did the selecting of goods, her exact role in the furnishings of the pertinent embassies is unknown.

These American diplomats abroad were doing more than just helping each other find accommodations. They were also helping each other furnish their homes with the best and/or cheapest that Europe had to offer. Certain countries had specific high-fashion items that were either unavailable elsewhere in the preferred style or much less expensive. Dining table plateaux and accompanying figurines from France were much sought after in the late eighteenth century. Jefferson made the purchase arrangements for one on the request of Abigail Adams, then living in London. Their correspondence shows that Abigail Adams and Jefferson exchanged purchases over a long period of time. Each took advantage of the other’s location in order to purchase wanted items. Consequently, Abigail and her daughter Abigail had silk shoes from Paris.
as well as lace and other small items, while Jefferson
received shirts and table linens from London.\footnote{48}

Gouverneur Morris, living in Paris prior to his
appointment as Minister to France, bought one plateau with
figurines to send to George Washington for the New York
President’s House and shopped for one on the request of
Thomas Pinckney (Minister to Great Britain, 1792-1796).
Morris employed agents to shop for other items that
Pinckney requested.

Your list is receiv’d and I will set about
procuring the articles immediately. In regard
to ornamental China with the plateauxs of Glass,
mine cost me seventy-five guineas and a Sett
which I sent out to General Washington about
three years ago cost about an hundred Guineas.
I do not think that any thing can be got worth
while under the Price I paid or perhaps two or
three hundred Guineas more or less. You must
judge I can say nothing about the Glasses ’till
I see the man I employ for that kind of
Business. And note also that I cannot estimate
the Cost of Transportation so that you must
still be at some Risque of Price on that
Account.\footnote{49}

Whether Pinckney actually decided to buy one is unclear.

A subsequent letter from Morris to Pinckney related his
progress.

With omission of the ornamental China I have
procurred everything you asked for except the
wine. . . . Glasses such as you described could
not be bought for the money at which you limited
them. I therefore employ’d a man to attend the
Sales and to get Glasses as near as possible to
those sizes. He has succeeded and having
received his account I agree to pay for the two
including the Charges on them to Havre eighty
pounds Sterling. The dimensions are English 89
Without knowing anything else about the appearance of Pinckney's residence, the two grand French mirrors indicate the level of his furnishings and expenditures. It seems clear from the expense, both of the objects and of the shipping, that the mirrors were either unavailable or unaffordable in London. The size of the mirrors indicates the society Pinckney encountered and the high-style furnishings of his residence or at least those of his public spaces. Morris' use of agents to shop for and purchase items was the method that many of these diplomats likely employed for the bulk of their purchases.

Rufus King (Minister to Great Britain, 1796-1803) acquired many of his goods from Paris. Through agents in Paris he ordered china, urns, vases, ornamental figurines and mirrors for his home in London.51 The components were clearly already in place for this type of long distance purchasing.

Americans and Cultural Preferences

The early generations of American diplomats clearly reflected the Anglocentric background of the
ruling American class. There were a few important exceptions: Gallatin (Minister to France, 1816-1823) was born and raised in Switzerland and Gouverneur Morris was educated in Montreal. Whether or not their early experiences with cultural diversity affected their later sojourns in Europe is impossible to state. The majority of the diplomats studied were at least second generation Americans and primarily of British descent.

There are a few references from ambassadors that suggest that for some, an English way of life and style of furnishings were both familiar and culturally comforting. In 1783, John Adams while on a trip to England was staying in a London hotel, more expensive than those in Paris but preferable. "The Rooms and Furniture are more to my Taste than in Paris, because they are more like what I have been used to in America." He did not place a value judgement on the rooms but merely stated his preference based on his cultural background. He was probably not the only ambassador who was subconsciously drawn to objects and styles which were familiar. For the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth century, "familiar" to an American meant a preponderance of English made or inspired objects.

William Crawford condemned Parisian culture in his diary entry of August 26, 1813. After visiting two
Parisian formal gardens, the garden of the Luxembourg and the Tuileries, he commented:

Throughout both gardens, you find a great number of naked statues. I am not pleased with these nudities. If I was supreme legislator of the United States I would prohibit the importation & even the manufacture of naked people, in marble, plaster or paper.53

These sentiments were apparently shared by many English consumers. Wedgwood found it necessary to 'improve' classical images by clothing the naked figures in order to sell his wares.54 Within that context Crawford's observations are not particularly surprising. They do however, reveal more than just one individual's attitudes towards naked statuary. It is plausible to conclude from this passage that Crawford was not purchasing candelabra, furniture, or other objects featuring unclad classical figures, which appeared so often during that period in French decorative arts.55 Despite the implied preference for American or English taste there is no evidence that American diplomats brought American furnishings with them beyond what was required on shipboard during this period.

Of all diplomatic sites, the geography of the Netherlands made it ideal for the transmission of objects and styles. The country's power and prosperity has been linked to its level of international trade.56 Having both many ports and many close neighbors, it is not surprising that both John Adams and William Eustis as
Ministers to the Hague purchased items from other countries. During the mid-eighteenth century, the Netherlands experienced a period of strong English influence in the decorative arts. Therefore the significance of John Adams’ inventory of 1782 listing several English carpets, English drinking glasses and a large service of Queen’s Ware may be demonstrating Adams’ adherence to local fashion rather than deviating from it. The French influence was seen in his residence with a set of imported chairs and an extensive use of toile for drapery.

The Papers of William Eustis (Minister to the Netherlands, 1815-1818) are not as extensive as Adams’. There are however, receipts and correspondence dealing with his coach and cutlery purchased in London. The bill of sale for his cutlery and an undated shopping list indicates that he purchased: three dozen table knives, one dozen two-pronged table forks, two dozen dessert knives without forks, and two carving knives with forks, all with white ivory handles. The heading of the bill of sale states that "Eddwd Stammers" was "Manufacturing Cutler Wholesale, Retail and for Exportation." The reference to exportation certainly suggests that English cutlery had a solid demand outside England. By the 1770s in Great Britain, merchandising was far enough advanced that

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manufacturers sent out pattern cards to shopkeepers who could then place orders.  

Eustis did make particular arrangements to import a used English coach. George Jay wrote from London and described the carriage in detail that he had purchased on behalf of Eustis in August of 1815.

I have your favor of the 1st and have purchased a Carriage that I think will suit you. It is a fashionable, yellow-bodied, light Landeau, with stronger wheels than the Roads of this country require but very light in comparison with those used in France. . . . It is as the fashion requires, without Arms or other ornaments, and if it pass in equal condition, as at present, will require neither paint nor other repair for immediate use.

Fashion and construction appear to have played equal roles in the decision to buy this particular vehicle. The two references to fashion in Jay’s description imply that this may have been an important consideration for Eustis. That the coach was purchased used and probably at a considerable discount should not be overlooked.

From the evidence mentioned above, London and Paris were the primary centers of exportation for those American diplomats buying objects outside of their countries of residence in Europe. These shopping preferences were not unique to Americans. As implied on the cutler’s bill of sale, exportation and importation of goods between European countries was not uncommon. England was the only supplier of cream wares (Queen’s
ware), and through Wedgwood’s innovative marketing strategies there was a high demand for these ceramics as far away as Russia by the 1770s. France dominated the high-style furniture market in the mid-eighteenth century and exported pieces to numerous European courts. London and Paris were the largest cities in Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries so it is not surprising that frequent references were made to purchases from these cities. That Adams, Jefferson, Eustis, and King imported items from other European countries would not have marked them as unusual in the societies with which they were interacting.

In contrast to the diplomats residing in western Europe, John Quincy Adams displayed a very different buying pattern when living in Russia from 1809-1811. The majority of items which did not originate in Russia were acquired from the more eastern European cities. In 1810 he purchased a piano forte from Vienna and in 1812 two different lots of porcelain from Berlin. During the eighteenth century the courts of Russia were looking towards France for style, importing Parisian silver, silks and porcelain in addition to furniture. There was a marked decline of imports from France after 1770 as the Russian craftsmen gained experience and, together with expatriate French cabinetmakers, began to satisfy the
market demands. The cost of shipping from a greater distance was probably an important factor in his purchasing decisions. He did however, purchase a Wedgwood teapot while in St. Petersburg. On his way through France in 1815 to England where he was to be Minister, John Quincy Adams purchased silver spoons and forks from Odiot in Paris. This silver purchase suggests a preference for French silver or Odiot’s workmanship since he could just as easily have waited until he arrived in London.

Most of the diplomats being considered appear to have been very conscious of the differences between European and American societies. For the most part, they took the attitude of ‘when in Rome . . .’. Although many of these diplomats used the occasion of furnishing their embassies to obtain items for their permanent homes in the America, at the same time some objects they were living with were perceived as inappropriate for the United States.

Gouverneur Morris was quite explicit on the differences between English and French material culture in the late eighteenth century, and clearly viewed most French furniture as both more expensive and less transferrable to America. In a letter written in 1792 to
Thomas Pinckney, ambassador to Great Britain, he records these sentiments:

In respect to Furniture there is no doubt but that rich and elegant Furniture can be had in this Town for much less than London, but plain and neat Furniture can be had rather cheaper and a great deal better with you. The Stile of living in the two Countries is so different that I have found myself as it were oblig’d to lay out a great Deal of money in Furniture which I should hardly know what to do with in America, Whereas you can in London get Articles which will answer well to take with you. -So much for general observation. But after that if you will let me know the size of your Rooms the number of windows and what you want I will exert myself to supply you as well and as cheap as may be-Another thing however to be considered is the Coal Smoke which ruins everything that cannot be wash’d and tarnishes Gilding-......Chamber clocks are made much better here than elsewhere.70

Morris implies that the choice between English or French styles goes beyond merely personal taste. That he considered ornate furniture inappropriate for America suggests that the choices made about objects both at home and abroad involved considerably more than accessibility and taste. Maintaining a sense of fashion was clearly important to many of these diplomats. Morris implies however, that standing out too much was not something to be desired.

**Uniquely American**

The interaction of a young republican government with the monarchical societies of Europe created problems
on both sides of the Atlantic. Not only did the American diplomats lack titles, they lacked the great wealth that supported the lifestyles of those with which they were interacting. The first American ambassador to Great Britain, John Adams (1785-1788), and his wife, felt themselves to be the recipients of a great deal of British animosity. This must have affected their perceptions of their status and of how they wished their material surroundings to be perceived. In 1785, Abigail Adams requested Jefferson to buy her a plateaux and figures in Paris for her dining table. Her reasons for requesting certain figures are unclear but that she had a preference among the numerous classical figures available is not insignificant. Jefferson in his letter of reply, is quite specific in the meanings he assigns to the figures.

I have also procured for you three plateaux de dessert with a silvered balustrade round them, and four figures of Biscuit. The former cost 192+, the latter 12+ each, making together 240 livres or 10. Louis. . . . With respect to the figures I could only find three of those you named, matched in size. These were Minerva, Diana, and Apollo. I was obliged to add a fourth, unguided by your choice. They offered me a fine Venus; but I thought it out of taste to have two at table at the same time. Paris and Helen were presented. I conceived it would be cruel to remove them from their peculiar shrine. When they shall pass the Atlantic, it will be to sing a requiem over our freedom & happiness. At length a fine Mars was offered, calm, bold, his fulchion not drawn, but ready to be drawn. This will do, thinks I, for the table of the American Minister in London, where those whom it may concern may look and
learn that though Wisdom is our guide, and the Song and Chase our supreme delight, yet we offer adoration to that tutelar god also who rocked the cradle of our birth, who has accepted our infant offerings, & has shewn himself the patron of our rights and avenger of our wrongs, the groupe was closed, and your party formed. Envy and malice will never be quiet.

Although much of this could be interpreted as intellectual rhetoric, Jefferson was clearly expecting people to note the attributes of the figures and piece together his unspoken message. His letter suggests that the Adams' residence was perceived as an American space rather than English rooms occupied by Americans.

Classical iconography was present in the decorative arts throughout Europe and America. The depth of understanding of the symbolism could vary widely within a group of individuals, depending on their education. Displaying these figurines not only illustrated knowledge of classical mythology but evidently cast political overtones onto objects that by themselves expressed no national identity in their iconography. There is little significance placed on the plateaux being of French manufacture, but rather their cultural importance occurred once they were in the home of an American. There they became conveyors of American culture and beliefs. Although there is no evidence that any American diplomat during this period was concerned with expressing identity through objects of American manufacture, there was a
consciousness of national identity and its expression in the material culture.

Keeping Costs Down

As previously mentioned, American ambassadors faced a heavy personal financial burden in maintaining their residences. Some of the diplomats considered here reduced the financial strain slightly by purchasing second-hand goods. This had a number of advantages besides cost. Purchasing used items generally meant that they were ready to use. For many diplomats time was an important factor especially in a period that was dependent on custom orders. In Gouverneur Morris' diary entry for April 24, 1792 he records, "Call at cabinetmakers who still puts off a trifle which should have been completed long ago." By buying some used things they could set up housekeeping that much faster. It is unclear if buying used furniture could damage one's social image, implying that the individual did not have the available resources to buy new. Used furniture was certainly widely available and could be acquired from different sources. In England for example, used goods could be found at street markets or from upholsterers who also rented furniture. Auctions were another source for second-hand items. Purchased items might need to be reupholstered or
repainted but the time factor was still less than placing an order and waiting for the craftsman to complete it. Large ticket items like William Eustis’ coach previously discussed could be had for much less than if purchased new.

High-style furnishings became more affordable when they were second-hand and slightly out of the current fashion. John Adams’ house in the Hague demonstrates this admirably. The majority of surviving furnishings from that house stylistically predate his residence there by approximately twenty years. Yet they were well-made and did not incorporate inferior materials.

John Quincy Adams resorted to renting furniture either for reasons of time or perhaps a large social gathering that required more extensive furnishings. He also continued his father’s practice and probably incorporated used furniture and furnishings into his embassies, primarily the one in St. Petersburg. On December 31, 1800, when he was Minister to Prussia, he recorded hiring furniture. Several other references in his expense accounts list purchasing items at auction. While that could refer to new items being auctioned off by the craftsman for a variety of reasons such as the commissioner’s failure to take the piece, it is more likely that these were estate sales or other types of
resale. In St. Petersburg on March 1 and June 16, 1810 he purchased a total of 1016 rubles of furniture at auction and again on June 24 a lustre (40 rubles) and five chests of drawers (42.5 rubles each). On July 5 of that year he again purchased furniture at auction, (87.9 rubles). The majority of J.Q. Adams' furnishings continued to be recycled as he recorded selling a large amount of it in 1815.77

Gouverneur Morris, having the unenviable position of being present in Paris during the Terror, had access to a series of nobles' estate sales and those surviving aristocrats who were desperate to raise cash. It is believed that he made purchases at some of these sales but exactly what pieces and whether he used the items in his residency or stored them for shipment to America or return to their original owners is unknown.78 Morris ceased his diary in 1793 because he believed it too dangerous to his friends and acquaintances.79 It is known that in 1792 he purchased items at the estate sale of the French Ambassador to Great Britain in London: plated ware, two orders of Cincinnatus and a steel watch chain.80 This certainly suggests that Morris did not perceive any social stigma attached to previously owned items.

When Abigail Adams purchased linens for Jefferson she "took the precaution of having them made & marked to
secure them against the custom House,‖. If any of these diplomats had actually been attempting to circumvent duties and importation laws illegally, they were not so unwise as to write it down. At least one diplomat of unknown nationality found the temptation too great in 1790. On June 1 of that year the London Times reported: "On Thursday last a seizure of lace, and other contraband goods, to an immense amount, was made in the house of a Foreign Ambassador, by Tankard, the Revenue Officer." The ambassador was probably from a country known for lace and the other contraband goods. The incident hints at the level of interest in certain products whether on the legal or black market and suggests that Americans were not the only diplomats with financial problems.

Richard Rush was one of the most verbose diplomats identified for this period, even publishing his memoirs in several different editions. His complaints, especially in letters home to his mother, were particularly specific grumblings and are therefore invaluable in understanding the life of early American diplomats. He found social conditions so different in London from what he expected that he apparently felt it necessary to renege on some earlier resolutions. In a letter home to his mother, Julia Stockton Rush, on January 26, 1818, he explained the social cachet of servants.
It may surprise you to hear, after all my resolutions, that I have three man servants, all finely dressed up in clothes of my purchasing, about my house. They are the very fewest possible that I can have. The worst of it is, that they do not, with four women to help them, relieve my wife from any of the labor, while they multiply all her anxiety of housekeeping.83

Clearly these servants are there for status, at least in Rush’s mind. That he felt that image was important enough to pay for out of his own pocket says a great deal about the importance of fitting in.

Understanding the significance of American ambassadors’ material purchases and their social obligations can be difficult. The line between what was unusual for an American, but perhaps more standard for a European, and what was expected of an ambassador representing America in Europe is sometimes blurry. That American diplomats were faced with entertaining and material requirements that exceeded those of most Europeans is clearly defined in the matter of tables and table linens in the written discussions between Abigail Adams and Jefferson.

... Be assured sir that I felt myself Honored by your commands, tho I have only in part executed them. For I could not find at any store table cloths of the dimensions you directed, the width is as you wisht, but they assure me that four yds, three quarters are the largest size ever used here which will cover a table for 18 persons. To these cloths there are only 18 Napkins, & to the smaller size only twelve. I was the more ready to credit what
they said, knowing that I had been obliged to have a set of tables made on purpose for me in order to dine 16 or 18 persons. Their rooms in general are not calculated to hold more and it is only upon extraordinary occasions that you meet with that number at the tables here. The Marquis of Carmarthan who occasionally dines the Foreign Ministers, & has a House furnishd him by his Majesty, cannot entertain more than 15 at once, & upon their Majesties Birth Days, he is obliged to dine his company at his Fathers the Duke of Leedes.4

It is evident that the Adams' in London were entertaining on a greater scale than most Englishmen, otherwise larger linens would be more readily available, and on something of an equal scale with English nobility. Unlike the Marquis of Carmarthan, the Adams' had no close relatives to assist them in their entertaining needs. Their political position had social obligations and their lack of local connections forced them to custom order items that they quite clearly felt were necessary.

The size of his residence and the length of the diplomat's stay were key factors in the amount of material possessions he and his family managed to accumulate. It is impossible to state with certainty whether those diplomats who purchased little felt their surroundings were adequate, or if those diplomats who made more extensive acquisitions did so solely for their image as diplomats. Status and image were not concepts restricted to the European societies. So many of these early American diplomats had important images, both in terms of
family and politics, to maintain in the United States. Consequently, it becomes difficult to determine how many of these purchases were deemed necessary for their immediate diplomatic situation and how many things were purchased because of the availability of goods but intended primarily for their American homes.

Convenience, price, personal preference, and fashion were all factors in purchasing decisions. In broad terms, keeping the price down and the fashion level high seems to have been important. It is more accurate to say that all four factors contributed to the ambassadors' decisions in varying amounts.
Chapter IV

THOMAS JEFFERSON AND JOHN ADAMS

The political differences between John Adams and Thomas Jefferson are well known. But, although the two men held different political views and had different visions for the United States, their lifestyles as American ambassadors in major European cities had much in common. Thomas Jefferson replaced Benjamin Franklin as the American ambassador to France in 1785 and served until 1789. In Adams' first term as a diplomat he went to the Netherlands (1780-1784) without his wife, so both he and Jefferson were without wives to act as hostesses. In the papers examined, the house inventory for John Adams and the packing list for Jefferson are the best evidence of the extensive furnishings required to support an appropriate lifestyle for an American diplomat. Because the two documents were executed within ten years of each other, it is possible to compare the two establishments and reach some useful conclusions on many different levels. Comparisons of these documents in particular are aided further by surviving objects at the Adams National
Historic Site and at Monticello. The two European residences were by no means identical, but there are some significant similarities in the descriptions of furnishings which can begin to establish a context for viewing other embassies for which such extensive records have not survived.

Although John Adams was appointed Minister to the Hague by the U.S. Congress in 1780, he resided in Amsterdam for two years before he was recognized as an ambassador by the Dutch government. The official recognition was given in 1782 and immediately Adams removed from rented lodgings in Amsterdam to his new house in the Hague.

John Adams is often portrayed as the quintessential New England conservative. The image of his surroundings that emerges from the inventories of his residence in the Netherlands is very different. Restrained European elegance best describes the textiles and furniture of that house. The Hôtel des Etats-Unis in the Hague is often characterized as the first official United States ambassadorial residence because it was actually purchased with government funds. This was an historical aberration since the building was no longer standing by the early nineteenth century and the State Department did not begin to acquire properties regularly
until the twentieth century. Since Adams presumably was responsible for furnishing the house and brought many of the items back to Massachusetts, his situation did not differ greatly from that of other diplomats living in unfurnished, rental properties.

The inventory that exists from Adams' Hague embassy is in two parts, the first recorded by Mr. Thaxter, his Secretary of Legation, in 1782 and the second consisting of corrections and addendum by Mme. Dumas in 1784 (see Appendix). The first section possibly represents the removal of items from Adams' residence in Amsterdam to the house in the Hague. The exact purpose for this inventory is unclear. In addition to having close personal ties to the Adams family John Thaxter, was John Adams' Secretary of Legation in the Netherlands. Mme. Dumas served as Adams' housekeeper and resided in the embassy with her husband, who worked for Adams, and their daughter. John Thaxter in a letter to Abigail Adams described the new domestic arrangements.

You will see by the Date of this, that We are removed from Amsterdam here into the Hotel des Etats-Unis. Madame Dumas takes exceeding good Care of the House and I hope will save much Expence. She is a great Economist. Her daughter is a very pretty young Lady of about 16 or 17.

Thaxter's inventory is concerned only with small, moveable objects such as porcelain, bedding, and draperies, and
makes no mention of furniture. It may be that Adams' rented Amsterdam residence was a furnished one and the items that were moved to the Hague represented the extras that he had purchased to augment the furnishings in the previous house. Mme. Dumas' inventory includes large amounts of furniture and paints a very detailed picture of the furnishings room by room.89

The first three rooms on the Dumas portion of the inventory are the antechamber, the grand salon and the dining room. There are no real indications of the floor plan but a logical method of conducting an inventory from room to room and the inclusion of the antechamber suggests that these rooms were in close proximity to each other and probably on the first main living floor. The furniture of the antechamber set the tone for the rest of the house:

16 chairs of green damask with their covers
2 armchairs dito with their covers
1 new Turkish carpet
2 drapes of grey toile
2 drapes of gauze with two rods of brass90

The chairs in the antechamber (see Fig. 1) are the only ones mentioned with slipcovers, suggesting that this was a less formal space where visibility of the damask was not critical. Although slipcovers could be used in formal spaces in order to cover worn upholstery, the repetition of green damask in Adams' residence implies that the upholstery was new. The chairs are of Dutch manufacture
inspired by the French Louis XVI style. The backs of the chair frames were open with a single vertical support. This required that additional fabric be used to upholster both sides of the chair back. The antechamber is the most likely space to have served as a waiting room for those individuals who were not of a sufficient rank to be directed into more restricted areas of the house.

The mostly highly ranked individuals would have likely gained access to the Grand Salon, the most elegant entertaining space both in its furnishings and its name.

The inventory lists:

1 large new Turkish carpet
2 large pieces dito added on to the large carpet at the corner of the chimney
1 settee and cushion of red damask
6 armchairs dito with their cushions of down
6 armchairs dito without cushions
4 drapes of damask with their two irons
8 [ ] with their cords
1 grand mirror with a gilt frame
1 marble table and its base

Dumas describes what is essentially wall to wall carpeting, a large turkish carpet with two large pieces added to it to fit around the chimney. Fitted carpeting on the floor appeared in other Dutch homes. The room was furnished with imported second-hand, French furniture stamped by Delauney (see Fig. 2) upholstered in red damask, a richly colored, expensive textile. A settee, six ladies' armchairs, and six regular armchairs made up the set. The ladies' chairs were upholstered over the
rail without the cushioning. The fabric merely acted as a support for the large, loose, down cushion which raised the level of the seat considerably. These chairs and settee were brought back to the United States and remain in the house in Quincy, Massachusetts. The pieces are not heavily ornamented; the carving is limited to small bunches of two to three flowers on the crest and seat rails and the knees and the serpentine curves of the frame. The original finish of the wood is unknown. The chair and settee forms and their decoration are among the standard types of French seating furniture for the third quarter of the eighteenth century.95

The dining room furnishings bear a marked similarity to those of the antechamber:

- 2 Turkish carpets attached together
- 1 gilt round mirror
- 2 large drapes of grey toile
- 2 drapes of gauze with their brass rods
- 12 chairs of green trip
- 2 armchairs dito96

The dining room, which had not yet become a standard room in the United States, was a designated space in the inventory. Its use is ambiguous however, because of the obvious lack of tables, desks or other furniture forms besides chairs. The chairs were upholstered in a slightly less luxurious textile than the Grand Salon; trip is a wool pile velveteen.
Fig. 1  Five chairs most likely from the set of sixteen sidechairs and two armchairs in the Louis XV style, c.1755-70; probably made in the Netherlands. Walnut, 38 3/4" x 20" x 16 1/2"
(Adams National Historic Site, photograph: author)
Fig. 2 One of the six chairs 'without cushions' from the Grand Salon c.1760-75, originally upholstered in red damask. Upholstery and paint date to the early twentieth century. France J. Delauney Beech, 35 1/2" x 23" x 19 3/4"
(Adams National Historic Site, photograph: author)
Either the dining room or the antechamber probably functioned as the waiting room for individuals seeking Adams in his official duties. The lack of a dining table does not indicate that this room was never used in that capacity. There were several large tables, some with removable leaves, in other rooms. Presumably, if the occasion demanded the appropriate furniture was moved into the dining room. These three rooms that appear first on the inventory are also the most clearly differentiated by the furniture they contain as public spaces.

The other major space where visitors were likely to have gone was John Adams' bed chamber. It was either an excessively large room by New England standards or was actually a connecting suite of rooms if it were to have even held even the large case pieces mentioned. The furniture recorded in the room follows:

3 mahogany bureaux with three drawers each
1 mahogany secretary with a locked drawer
1 marquetry secretary with a drawer
1 mahogany cabinet with three drawers
2 small mahogany tables with a drawer each
1 very large mahogany table with a drawer and a green carpet cover
6 chairs of green trip with the backs of same
1 large mirror with a gilt frame
2 dressing mirrors with three drawers each
1 brown thing for washing with two drawers, a bowl and pitcher of yellow porcelain and a hand towel
2 mahogany tables containing 17 large boards and 12 small
1 mahogany ladder that opens
Fig. 3 The marquetry secretary from Adams’ bedchamber in the Hague. Made in France or the Netherlands in the French style of Louis XVI, c.1770-1780. Oak with various veneers including satinwood, rosewood, tulipwood and ebony. 58 3/4" x 21 1/2" x 41 1/16"99
(Adams National Historic Site, photograph: author)
Fig. 4  The marquetry secretary closed.
(Adams National Historic Site, photograph: author)
Fig. 5 Detail of marquetry on side of secretary.
(Adams National Historic Site, photograph: author)
It is interesting to note that Mme. Dumas did not have a single word for a washstand. The descriptive entry for it here was repeated for other bedrooms so presumably that form was not part of her cultural world.

The marquetry secretary in the French style of Louis XVI is a representative example of the style that was current and fashionable at the time Adams was an ambassador to the Netherlands. The Netherlands balance of trade with France grew from 1750 to 1759 as the demand for French goods increased. Because French fashions and craftsmen were in such demand throughout Europe, and the craftsmen in Amsterdam began to imitate French marquetry by 1760 with considerable skill, it is impossible to state the desk’s origins with certainty.

The room or suite of rooms did have a bed which was the most richly dressed of any in the house. The expense of the textiles used not only paid tribute to Adams’ status as the head of the household but may also indicate that the room was more public than other bed chambers.

1 mahogany camp bed furnished with green damask drapes and the headcloth of same with the ceiling trimmed in fringe
2 straw mattresses
1 mattress green and white
1 feather bed
1 bolster
1 cushion
2 sheets marked IA 10
1 canopy marked IA 33
1 wool cover embroidered at the four corners red and yellow
1 cotton pique cover white ground and red flowers
1 bed cover of green damask doubled in taffeta

Like the salon, which was discussed earlier, there were "3 Turkish carpets attached together". The two windows had drapes of grey toile although there is no mention of gauze drapes and brass rods as there was for the antechamber. This room is one of the few with any description of paintings or ornament. Here, there were three portraits of family members:

- the portrait of J.E. Adams with a gilt frame
- the portrait of J.Q. Adams with a gilt frame
- the portrait of Mr. C. Adams with a gilt frame

Many of the pieces that eventually made their way to Massachusetts, such as the marquetry secretary, one of the bureaus, and the salon set, are stylistically dated earlier than the 1780's. This may indicate that much of this furniture was purchased used. The furniture that survives in Massachusetts is anything but drab or worn, even after two centuries. The large Dutch bureau (see Figs. 6-7) is an excellent example of the bombé form popular in the Low Countries for most of the eighteenth century. Although the scale and curves of the piece are most typical of the 1770's, the growing influence of the neoclassical can be seen in the ram's head carving on the
corners and the acanthus leaves that curve over the knuckles of the ball and claw feet. Without a detailed bill of sale or reference in accounts it is impossible to definitively state that Adam's purchased this as a second hand item as it stylistically dates to within ten years of Adams' arrival.

It is unclear where Adams or his agents acquired those pieces which were not made in the Netherlands. It is conceivable that such items were recycled among the diplomatic community living in the Netherlands or they may have been brought in from their place of origin by agents that specialized in international purchasing like those employed by Morris and King. In Mme. Dumas' introduction to the inventory she mentioned that she purchased many of the items but it is unclear how many or where those items were acquired.

The room listed as Adams' bedchamber was clearly functioning as Adams' office as well. And, judging by the number of tables, it may also have served as the informal sitting room and dining area. The remaining principle rooms in the house were bedrooms for John Quincy Adams, Mr. Thaxter, and one room containing only a furnished bed and a trunk.
Fig. 6 Bombé bureau from Adams' bedchamber in typical Dutch style c.1770-80.
Mahogany and Oak, 37 3/4" x 73" x 25"
(Adams National Historic Site, photograph: author)
1 cushion
2 sheets marked IA II
1 canopy marked IA 33
1 wool cover marked in the 4 corners red, black and green
1 dito of cotton pique white and red ground with flowers
1 coffer of black leather with a drawer

Chamber of Mr. J.Q. Adams
1 red flowered English carpet
1 round gilt mirror
1 dressing mirror with three drawers
1 mahogany bureau with four locked drawers
1 portrait of M. Washington with a gilt frame
1 small locked casket for writing
1 brown thing with two drawers for washing with a bowl and pitcher of yellow porcelain and a handtowel
1 complete grille
1 [balet]
1 tongs
1 brown oak table with two locked drawers with a desk above of green sheets also locked
1 complete secretary D’Etaing
6 chairs of red trip
3 locked coffers
1 small heartshaped box where I keep my seals, stamps
1 round painted table
1 armoire with the [Luives]
1 armoire
1 armoire with the clothes
1 upright mahogany bed
2 small straw mattresses
1 mattress green and white
1 feather bed
1 bolster
1 cushion
2 sheets marked IA 41
1 canopy marked IA 33
1 wool cover marked in the 4 corners yellow, black, green
1 cotton cover red ground and blue and white flowers
1 chamber pot of yellow porcelain
1 small silver candlestick that I gave to his Excellence Mr. Adams\textsuperscript{107}

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Among the items particularly worth noting are the six chairs in Thaxter's chamber which were upholstered in the same material as those in Adams' chamber. Presumably all of these chairs could be gathered together if an occasion warranted. That the upholstery colors in the bedrooms continue to echo those of the clearly public rooms seems anything but accidental. Six additional chairs upholstered in red trip were in J.Q. Adams' chamber along with a portrait of Washington in a gilt frame. It would be satisfying to be able to state the presence of Washington's portrait was an early expression of American patriotism and nationalism but the fact that it was hung in J.Q. Adams' bedroom suggests that the reasons for its presence were more personal. Both of these bedrooms had English flowered carpets on the floor and there was no mention of window hangings. The bed hangings are described only in terms of their laundry markings, indicating that they were not considered exceptional.\textsuperscript{108}

The list of furnishings contains many identical items that would not have been required to match from room to room. That they do may indicate large bulk purchasing and the necessity of completely furnishing a house quickly. The three fully furnished bedchambers have washbowls and chamber pots of yellow porcelain and all of the beds in these rooms (five total) have a wool cover
embroidered in the four corners and a quilted cotton cover with a flowered ground or backing.109 Only John Adams’ bed had the additional damask cover.

There is a notable lack of ornaments on furniture surfaces or the walls throughout the house. This is one of the clearest differences between the residences of Adams and Jefferson. Although the Adams inventory describes a small number of portraits in various rooms, Jefferson’s packing list records at least sixty-five pictures, four white porcelain vases, a plaster vestal virgin, a glass figurine, five porcelain figurines and a figurine from the mantle of the salon.110 Differences in personality, differences between Paris and the Hague, or simply the matter of available time may all have been factors that contributed to the sharp contrast between the two houses. It is also unclear what built-in forms of decoration may have existed in either home. Elements such as wallpaper, decorative plaster work, or tiles could have significantly contributed to the decorative impact of Adams’ residence without being mentioned on the inventory since they would not have been moveable.

Thaxter’s section of the inventory dealt extensively with the glass and ceramics of the household. Here, too, is a large variety of wares which are suggestive of elegance and expensive taste. English
Queen’s Ware formed the largest and least expensive service and may have been the everyday dishes.

Queen’s Ware
3 Doz & 9 Queens Ware soop Plates- 9 wanting
8 doz et 3 dito flat plates- 12 wanting
6 great round dishes
3 dito round dishes
8 dito
2 dito oval
3 dito round and deep- 1 broken
2 dito round Je.
1 Turen and its plate
4 baskets with their plates for strawberries
5 butter boats 2 wanting
2 three cornered plates
3 [jous] bowls
2 [fait a coeur]
4 cal
14 little dessert plates -1 wanting
2 Trowels

At this point a line drawn on the inventory separates this group from a further listing of serving pieces but there is no indication if these items are a continuation of the Queen’s Ware or if they are of miscellaneous materials. There was also a full service of blue porcelain which could have served a large number of people.

Porcelain Blue Service
4 great dishes deep
4 dito flat- 1 broken
8 dito flat
7 small
8 small dito
4 Dégoutieres
4 Turens with their tops
47 soop plates
9 doz and 8 plates flat- 5 wanting
23 little deep plates
12 sallad plates
8 butter boats
8 salt sellers

67
The wealth of porcelain continued with two tea services. One had a tea pot with saucer, canister, cream pot with saucer, bowl with saucer, sugar pot with saucer, six coffee cups, twelve tea cups and twelve saucers. The other set contained a tea pot, cream pot, two sugar pots, a bowl with saucer, twelve tea cups with saucers and twelve coffee cups with saucers. A third tea set lists only a tea pot, cream pot, bowl and twelve cups and saucers with no mention of their material or appearance. What the differences were between the sets besides the number of pieces is unclear. Whether the use of saucers for the larger objects was indicative of style or use is impossible to determine. All three sets could serve at least twelve people which is a respectable crowd. The size of the tea sets may pertain to local custom or to how they were sold by merchants. It is interesting to note that there is only one punchbowl on the inventory so it would appear that that was a less important beverage.

There is no indication of where the porcelain was coming from or what sort of decoration it may have had outside of the generic "blue" for the one service. The notation regarding glass ware is equally ambiguous and equally suggestive of elegance. Besides the variety of drinking glasses, some of which are differentiated as
English or Rhenish, there were "crystal" compotes with and without covers.\textsuperscript{15}

The inventory of the American Embassy at the Hague lists an eclectic mixture of European furnishings. Some of the furniture is French, some of Dutch manufacture but in French or Italian styles, and some more reflective of Dutch styles. It is likely that much of the furniture was purchased used since the objects reflect at least two different style periods. Buying second hand would have cut down on the cost, the time factor for receiving the goods and perhaps coincidentally presented a stylistically conservative appearance.

Besides the Dutch and French objects, there were English ceramics and English glassware listed with porcelain and glass from other regions. Considering where the Netherlands is located in relation to the major industrial centers of Europe, it is really no surprise that a variety of objects from different regions were being imported. Rather than giving the impression of a mismatched collection of second-hand goods the items listed on the inventory suggest a range of furnishings that blended into a cohesive whole.

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Fig. 8  Marble top table in Italianate style but of unknown manufacture, probably Dutch or French. May possibly be the marble topped table listed in the Grand Salon.  
34 1/2" x 29 1/2" x 68"
(Adams National Historic Site, photograph: author)
Fig. 9 Set of three Dutch porcelain cache-pots. These do not appear as an identifiable item on the inventory. They may have been listed under a generic term or have been purchased to bring back to America.
(Adams National Historic Site, photograph: author)
Although there is excellent documentation of the furnishings of the house there is very little documentary evidence for the official entertaining that may have taken place there. This was due in part to the relatively short period of time that Adams actually resided in the house. John Adams also noted a difference in the local customs that restricted entertaining.

The Foreign Ministers here all herd together, and keep no other Company, but at Court and with a few in this Way. – It is not from Choice but necessity. There is no Family, but Mr. Boreel that ever invites any of them to breakfast, dine or sup. Nor do any of the Members of the States General, the States of Holland, Bleiswick, Fagel any of the Lords of Admiralty, Gecommitteerde Raaden, Council of State, high Council of War, or any Body, ever invite Strangers or one Another.

Hospitality and Sociability are no Characteristicks here.¹¹⁶

While this diary entry gives a partial explanation for the lack of entries describing entertainments, it also suggests the wide variety of foreign ambassadors that Adams was socializing with. This passage also reveals one of the primary differences between American diplomats and private American citizens abroad. Adams was part of the diplomatic community which included representatives from many different nations. Understanding the protocol and interaction of diplomats, both personally and professionally, cannot have been easy for any member of that first wave of American Ambassadors. As British

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subjects, Americans had had no political rights to send or
receive diplomats so there was little or no prior
experience upon which these men might draw.

In a letter to Abigail Adams John Thaxter
described one formal entertainment that may have taken
place at the Hôtel des États-Unis.

Your dearest Friend is much better in
Health here than at Amsterdam. Dines to day
with the Spanish Minister, a great friend—sups
this Evening at Court, and tomorrow gives an
Entertainment to the French Ambassador and some
Members of the States General.117

This is the greatest level of detail related for the
entertainments Adams gave. Although it is not revealing
about the house and furnishings, it further supports
Adams’ comment regarding the constant social interaction
of the foreign diplomatic community. The relatively
extensive documentation for the Hôtel des États-Unis
provides a context for comparison when less information is
known about other embassies. When Adams’ embassy
interiors are compared with those of Thomas Jefferson
there are several significant similarities that begin to
establish implied standards for American Embassies.

Jefferson’s term as Minister to France is one of
the most widely recognized and revisited chapters in
diplomatic history. The furnishings of his embassy have
been less studied, in part due to the lack of
documentation and the near illegibility of the documents
that do exist. Outside of a handful of surviving objects with provenances tying them to the embassy in France, the major piece of documentation is a packing inventory of the items shipped from France to the United States. Not surprisingly, the itemized list is by box and not by the rooms of the house. Furthermore, some care must be taken in interpreting the packing list since it contained some items that had not been in use in the embassy but were intended for use in America. Also, some items are known to have been sold in France and others may have been left behind as well, giving an incomplete picture of the Paris interiors.

Jefferson did not feel it necessary to bring everything back that he had purchased in Paris. At the time of his return to the United States he had been under the impression that he was returning to France. Consequently, when he did not return to Paris all arrangements for packing and shipping his belongings had to be done by mail. In one letter to William Short, who had served as his secretary and oversaw the removal of Jefferson’s things, he implied that the availability or cost of replacement was the deciding factor in what was shipped.

Flag and cane bottomed chairs not worth sending, nor tables of common wood. Probably there are other things, which I cannot recollect, and which are not worth sending. This I leave to be
decided by your knowledge of this country. The two great iron stoves, made at Paris, not worth sending here.121

'Knowledge of this country' is an ambiguous phrase at best. In the context it was used it suggests merely cost but it may also refer to the areas of taste and regional style. That items such as the brass lock for Jefferson's bedroom door, kitchen basins, and servants' aprons were included in the eighty-six packing cases suggests that very little was left behind.122 The brief descriptions of the items being packed give tantalizing hints of the richness and elegance of Jefferson’s apartments.

His first year in Paris Jefferson lived in the cul-de-sac Taitbout. He moved to the Hôtel de Langeac in 1785 and remained there until he returned to the United States in 1789. This house was relatively new, having been begun around 1768. Among its architectural decorations was a ceiling painted by Berthelemy. Because of the site's location at the intersections of the Champs-Élysées and the Rue de Barry the house and some rooms were trapezoidal in plan (see Fig. 10). Extensive gardens were one of the advantages of living on the edge of town and it was here that Jefferson introduced American culture in the form of imported plants, rather than decorative arts in the interior.123
PLEASE NOTE

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UMI
One of the clearest images to emerge from the inventory is that of Jefferson as a well-educated and scholarly individual. The first fifteen packing cases contained books while tools for surveying and equipment for scientific experiments were sprinkled through other boxes. How much exposure these items would have had to visitors is uncertain but it seems likely that in that age of philosophical discussion and literary salons in Paris that people would have been aware of them.

In the eighteenth century upholstered furniture was an expression of status and expense because of the significant cost of textiles. In inventories upholstery is one of few areas in which color is mentioned. The large amount of upholstered items in Jefferson’s packing list not only indicates the social status of his furnishings but also gives some idea of the visual appearance of the rooms. There is a notable decorative scheme to Jefferson’s residence when the upholstered pieces of furniture are grouped together. A list of the packed upholstered objects follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Item</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>6 large crimson armchairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>6 blue chairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>6 red morocco armchairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>4 large blue armchairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 large blue damask curtains</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8 ? curtains of blue damask</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>6 chairs of D’Utrecht velvet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>6 chairs of crimson D’Utrecht velvet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>2 large blue armchairs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

77
2 crimson easy chairs with cushion
8 crimson cords and tassels
2 cushions for crimson settee
33 2 crimson armchairs
2 blue easy chairs with cushions
44 blue silk ottoman and cushion
45 red morocco ottoman and cushion
46 blue daybed and cushions
2 crimson armchairs

When the color of upholstery was mentioned it was either red or blue. When Jefferson’s choice of upholsteries is compared with Adams’ some striking similarities emerge. That John Adams had only three colors of textiles: red, green, and grey while Jefferson had red and blue may be a result of buying everything at once instead of over an extended period of time when textile availability and fashions could change. That both men had only two upholstery colors also allowed them to combine furniture to suit the specific need of the event while still having everything match and thereby giving an impression of extensive furnishings to visitors. All of these colors appear to have been popular ones based on period paintings of European interiors. Whether it was aesthetically acceptable to mix red and blue or red and green in the same room is unclear. The obvious division of color in Jefferson’s list with duplication of forms in each color and the separation of red and green in Adams’ room-specific inventory suggests that they were kept separate.
Although the shipping boxes were not packed according to the room of origin there are a few references to objects belonging to the dining room, the salon and Jefferson's bedroom. One of these is to nine pictures from the dining room.\textsuperscript{127} Even if it was a large room, this gives some indication of a room with well-decorated walls. There are other hints that suggest that the furnishings of Jefferson's embassy were not spartan and in fact were keeping up with the current fashions. He had at least one piece of furniture, a meridien, with decorative brass mounts. There were four marble topped tables with gilt borders on the marble as well as large mirrors in gilt frames (see figs. 11-12).\textsuperscript{128} The mirror frames are constructed of thin, simple moldings that do not draw the eye directly. The viewer's eye is allowed to focus on the reflection. Jefferson also evidently had had the time, money and interest to add strictly decorative touches such as paintings and figurines. There are mentions of figurines including a plaster vestal virgin with a covering glass, figurines from the mantle of the salon as well as figures for a dining table plateau (see Figs. 13-14).\textsuperscript{129} Although the paintings mentioned previously are the only ones that were mentioned in conjunction with a specific room, many boxes contained pictures or groups of paintings including ten large enough to be mentioned as
grand, fourteen of various sizes and a trunk containing thirty pictures.\textsuperscript{130}

There is further evidence that certain groups of furniture were kept separate in the style of the French chairs surviving at Monticello. The deceptively simple set of arm chairs attributed to George Jacob (see Fig. 15) anticipates the later Directoire style in the saber legs, minimal carving and ornamental mounts. Seven of these chairs survive at Monticello and have been linked with the set of ten armchairs and two easy chairs upholstered in crimson.\textsuperscript{131} When this design is compared with the more typical Louis XVI armchairs (see Fig. 16) there is a noticeably different aesthetic. These chairs of painted beach were most likely among those upholstered in blue, separated from the mahogany set by color as well as style.\textsuperscript{132}
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UMI
The ceramics in the packing list are the best indicators that Jefferson was prepared to entertain large numbers of guests. Unfortunately they were not broken down into distinctive sets or even described in appearance.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>4 porcelain radish dishes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 porcelain salt cellars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>10 dozen porcelain plates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 large porcelain soup tureens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>2 mustard pots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>large porcelain platter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 large oval platters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>42 cups and 39 saucers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>2 porcelain soup tureens and covers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With the exception of an earthenware teapot in case 35, there are no references to other services of earthenware or stoneware. If he had them and they were left behind because they were insignificant or inferior to what he owned at Monticello is unclear. It doesn’t seem likely that his servants would be eating off of porcelain, and there is evidence that it was customary for house servants to eat at a public dining hall.

Jefferson has developed an historic reputation as a whole-hearted Francophile who was quick to adopt French ways and things. The similarities between his residence in Paris and Adams' in the Hague suggests that Jefferson may not have been quite as deviant from 'American' culture as is sometimes implied. Rather Adams and Jefferson, who were resident in Europe during the same period, may have
been following the same set of unwritten rules. Both maintained limited color schemes within the embassy, possibly intentionally to allow for recombining rooms of furniture or perhaps simply symptomatic of large purchasing within a limited amount of time. Both men, in terms of furniture and ceramics, were prepared to entertain large numbers of people and in surroundings that, while ornate, can be considered restrained compared to other high-style European interiors.
PLEASE NOTE

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UMI
Chapter V

CONCLUSION

The furnishings of the diplomats studied here were all purchased in Europe. This is not too surprising because America was importing large amounts of decorative arts during this period. These diplomats did not however, simply live abroad for period of time and then return to their American homes as they had left them. Those diplomats who purchased items demonstrated a tendency to bring back many of those purchases to the United States.

The federal government would appear to have been expecting that pattern. Ministers Plenipotentiaries were allowed $2,250 for the costs of their return home. This, like the outfit allowance, was probably not sufficient but seems more than adequate for passage and personal baggage. Richard Rush paid £205 sterling for passage for himself, his wife and four children in 1825. That these diplomatic families felt it was important enough to further invest in these furnishings by shipping them home suggests that this was either cheaper than buying a comparable object in the United States or that such
objects were simply not available. Thomas Pinckney summed all of these problems up in a letter to his sister Fanny just prior to his return to America from London.

> that I shall bring with me my furniture and carriage; by seeing them and some drawings of carriages which I mean also to bring out you will be able to choose such as may suit you & I will so arrange matters both with the Coach maker & upholsterer that what you may choose shall be got ready and sent to you without delay. I shall adopt the same plan reflecting the Piano Forte for the Girls, as your Bill is protested & the two months expenses I must suffer here without salary & the heavy expenses of the voyage will render it inconvenient for me to pay for another at this time.\(^{136}\)

Despite the high costs of shipping, and living in Europe while awaiting a ship home, Pinckney still felt the need to bring his furniture and carriage back to the United States. He, and probably other diplomats, also took the opportunity to obtain sketches of European styles which could then be used for placing orders in America.

Considerations of what got brought or sent home continued to be a sensitive area into the nineteenth century. The inadvisability of possessing more objects or more stylish things than one’s neighbors was delineated in a letter among the Gallatin papers. Frances Gallatin accompanied her parents to France when her father became the ambassador. On July 13, 1822 she wrote to her brother Albert who stayed in the United States on the family properties in western Pennsylvania.
That a fashionable coat could cost a young man his popularity in the local community makes a strong statement about the significance of possessions. Such feelings may well have entered into diplomats’ decisions of what to bring back with them. If the equation worked both ways it may explain why individuals who maintained a plainer lifestyle in America apparently felt it necessary to imitate their more ornate European neighbors in their embassies.

That diplomats like Adams and Jefferson felt comfortable bringing European styles back to such different communities as Quincy, Massachusetts and Charlottesville, Virginia suggests that European furniture and objects were both more common and more popular in America than is often acknowledged. These imported objects were mixed in with American furnishings in their homes to present an overall eclectic combination of forms, materials and styles.

The expense of coming home and the expense of living in Europe was a universal theme among this group of diplomats. The need to keep up appearances contributed
greatly to the immense expense of being a diplomat. It is
sometimes difficult to interpret whether complaints of
great expense are directly linked to ambassadorial duties
or whether these diplomats would have laid out the money
and complained if they had been private citizens going
abroad for other reasons. Certainly ambassadors had
entertaining and image responsibilities closely tied to
their careers.

The period 1778-1825 is only the first chapter in
the study of diplomatic furnishings. Although this was
the period when the State Department was established and
setting up the bureaucratic structures that would
influence latter generations, the customs and furnishings
of these early embassies bear little resemblance to those
of the late twentieth century. Further research in this
area in the later decades of the nineteenth and early
twentieth centuries would contribute greatly to what was
found in this study. Research into diplomatic furnishings
of other countries would also help define in what ways
American diplomats resembled or deviated from their
foreign counterparts.

Tremendous amounts of money, both federal and
private, went to furnish the embassies of early American
ambassadors. The willingness to spend the money indicates
the level of support and the recognition of the importance

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of maintaining a certain lifestyle in Europe. There is no
indication that there was anything obviously American in
any of these early residences. The priority for these
diplomats was to furnish their embassies with elegant
objects in order to make a visual statement of the
American character, thereby giving honor to Congress and
the American people they represented.
Appendix

INVENTORY OF JOHN ADAMS' RESIDENCE IN THE HAGUE, 1782-1784

This inventory, written by John Thaxter and Marie Dumas, is copied in its original spelling and language as it appears in the Adams Papers of the Massachusetts Historical Society. In the second half of the appendix the inventory is repeated with the French words translated to the best of my ability.

-------------------
A true copy Inventory 14 may 1782
of the Inventory 16 oct 1782
made by Mr
John Thaxter—12 chafing Dishes
-------------------30 Bocale goblets—2 broken
-------------------4 salt sellers, ghrystal
-------------------22 English Wine Glasses flat—10 wanting
-------------------9 Dozen & 2 wine glasses small—14 gone
-------------------4 Decanters
-------------------11 dito flat
-------------------23 wine glasses bought by Mad: dumas
-------------------19 Rhenish glasses
-------------------12 small Decanters bought by Mad: Dumas
-------------------2 Castors
-------------------12 Liqueur Glasses bot by Mad: Dumas
-------------------1 Lantern
-------------------5 Beer Glasses this received in good order
-------------------(was signed) Lotter

-------------------8 yellow metal candlesticks
-------------------4 Weights of Copper
-------------------3 little Bells
12 water plates

1 pair scales

3 wash Basons, Queens Ware

6 Blue spitting pots

Queens Ware

3 Doz & 9 queens ware soop Plates—9 wanting

8 Doz et dito flat plates——12 wanted

6 Great round Dishes

3 dito round Dishes

dito

2 dito round

3 dito round and Deep——1 broken

2 dito round &

1 Turen & its Plate

2)

Queens Ware

4 panniers avec leur assiettes for strawberries

5 butter boats—2 wanting

2 Three cornered plates

3 jous coup

2 fait a coeur

4 cal

14 little dessert plates——1 wanting

2 Trowels

this Articles received in good order

(was signed) Lotter

1 fairo soupe

3 Doz et 9 small Bowls ——5 wanting

5 Doz Plates for the Bowls——6 wanting

5 Bowls for chocolate

13 Sugar Pots

4 Doz and 8 large cups

5 Doz saucers and 2

3 Doz and 8 ordinary Tea cups——11 wanting

4 Doz and 4 saucers——2 wanting

10 Tea pots——3 little broken

5 mugs

6 cream Pots

2 Larger Sorts Pots a creme

9 pieds aux oeufs—Egg Pots

8 pepper Pots

5 salt sellers

4 mustard pots

1 coffee pot——broken

2 sallad Plates

received this above articles in good Order

(was signed), Lotter
3) Porcelains Blue service

---------4 great Dishes deep
---------4 dito flat------------------------1 broken
---------8 dito flat
---------7 small
---------8 small dito
---------4 Dégoutières
---------4 Turens with their tops
---------47 soop plates
---------9 Doz and 8 plates flat-----------5 wanting
---------23 little flat plates
---------22 little deep plates
---------12 sallad plates
---------8 butter boats
---------8 salt sellers

the full content of this received in good order
(was signed) T. Lotter

Porcelaine de saxe.

---------1 Tea pot and its saucer
---------1 tea canister
---------1 cream pot with its saucer
---------1 Bowl with its saucer
---------1 sugar pot with its saucer
---------6 coffee cups
---------12 Tea cups
---------12 saucers

another set of porcelaine

---------1 tea pot
---------1 cream pot
---------2 sugar pots
---------12 tea cups
---------12 saucers
---------12 coffee cups
---------12 saucers
---------1 Bowl with its saucer

---------1 tea pot
---------1 cream pot
---------1 bowl
---------12 cups
---------12 saucers

---------1 Punch Bowl

this I have received in good order
(was signed) Lotter
4) Blue porcelaine

-------------1 tea pot with its saucer
-------------1 tea canister
-------------1 Bowl with its saucer
-------------1 sugar pot with its dito
-------------11 cups one broken
-------------8 saucers
  this Articles received in good order
-------------
-------------
-------------
-------------
-------------
-------------
-------------
-------------
-------------
-------------2 oval affairs for wine glasses
-------------2 round dito for Tea
-------------6 plattes for Bottles
-------------17 dito for wine glasses
-------------16 Blac.
  this 5 articles received in good order
  (was signed) Lotter
-------------
-------------
-------------
-------------Bought by Madam Dumas
-------------
-------------
-------------
-------------
-------------
-------------
-------------
-------------
-------------
-------------
-------------
-------------3 grand compots --chrystal
-------------6 dito avec leurs couvertes
-------------4 dito sans sans couverts
-------------2 Pots de moutarde avec Leurs cuilleres
  received this Articles in a good in a good order
  (was signed) T. Lotter

5) Mr A

1 Feather Bed
Mr T

-------------3 Feather Beds
-------------2 Feather Beds chamber opposite
-------------1 little chamber
-------------1 good Feather
-------------2 for servants
-------------
-------------
10
-------------
Mr A
-------------
-------------1 mattress
-------------3 little chamber
Mr T.
-------------
-------------
2--
-------------
-------------
6
Bolsters
------------
1---chamber
------------
3 little chamber

Mr T.
------------
2----
Mr A.
------------
1----
------------
2 servants

---
9
---

pillows
------------
8 little chamber

---------------
2 Mr T
---------------
1 Mr A
---------------
4 servants

---------------
15
---------------

strawbeds
Mr A
-------------
2
-------------
2 Mr T
-------------
4 servants

-------------
8
-------------

Blankets
-------------
1 Mr a
-------------
5 little chamber
-------------
1 little chamber
-------------
3 Mr T

-------------
4 Jacob & john
-------------
2 girls

-------------
16
-------------

coverlids
-------------
1 chamber
-------------
1 Mr A.--
-------------
2 Mr T chamber
-------------
1 little chamber
-------------
1 girls + C.

Alle the Bedding received as in the Lyst mentioned
(was signed) T Lotter
6)  

52 Drapes  
13 nappes fines  
5 nappes pour la cuisine  
59 serviettes fines dito 3 more  
11 essuimains  
3 petits dito  
19 toits de lits  
4 tablier pour Les Domestiques  
34 grosse serviettes (au nest passur l’inventaire des Mr T Thaxter)  
7 [tiugsin scopen]  
6 white waiscoats and 3 pair of breeches  
Received all well  
(was signed) T. Lotter

7)  

Inventoires de tout ce qui appartient a son Excellence Monsieur Adams Ecuyer & & tant, ce que j’ai rue D’amsterdam que ce que j’ai acchetté pour ordre de son Excellence Monsieur Adams. Come ausse ce que j’ai achette, qui effort absolument necessaire dans son Hotel, plusieurs articles qui ne se rouveront point sur les inventoires de Monsieur Thaxter, come chaises, tables, tapis, de tout Espere miroirs. lits de camp et fournitures de plusieurs articles que effort necessaire pour l’usage du minage.  
Fait par moi Marie Dumas  
a la staie le 22e juin 1784

meubles De  
L’antichambre—16 chaises de damas Verd avec leurs couvertures  
2 fauteuils dito avec leurs couvertures  
1 tapis neuf de turquie  
2 rideau de toile gris  
2 rideau de gaze avec deux barres de cuivre  

Grand Salon—1 grand tapis neuf de turquie  
2 grand morceau dito ajouté au grand tapis au coin de la cheminee  
1 canapé et coussin de damas rouge  
6 fauteuils dito avec leurs coussins de duvet  
6 fauteuils dito sans coussins  
4 rideau de damas avec leurs deux fers  
8 kwast avec leurs cordes
----------1 grand miroir avec un quadre Doré
----------1 table de marbre et son pied tout entier

Sale à Manger-2 tapis du turquie attaché ensemble
----------1 miroir rond doré
----------2 grand rideau de toile grise
----------2 rideau de gaze avec leurs deux barres de cuivre
----------12 chaises vertes de trip
----------2 fauteuils ditto

8) Chambre en haut
que Mr. Thaxter a occupes----------1 grand tapis D’angletterre a fleurs rouge
----------2 Lit de camp de mahony monté
----------1 miroir rond doré
----------1 table de chaine brun avec deux tiroirs
----------1 bureau de mahony avec trois tiroirs
----------1 miroir de toilette avec trois tiroirs et une clef
----------6 chaises de trip vertes avec le dos de meme
----------1 chose brune avec deux tiroirs pour mettre L’eau et ce qu’il faut pour se laver avec un Essuimaine
----------1 Ecuille jaune de porcelaine
1e Lit prepare-----1 matelat bleu et blanc
----------1 lit de plume
----------1 traversin
----------1 cousin
----------2 Draps marqué I.A. 41
----------1 toits de lits marqué I.A.33
----------1 couverte de laine brodée au 4 coins, rouge & jaune
----------1 dito de coton piquée fond rouge a fleurs

2d Lit prepare-----1 matelat bleu et blanc
----------1 lit de plume
----------1 traversin
----------1 cousin
----------1 Draps marqué I.A. 41
----------1 Draps marqué I.A. II
----------1 toits de lits marqué I.A. 33
----------1 couverte de laine brodée au 4 coins rouge & jaune
----------1 dito de coton piquée fond rouge a fleur
1 grille de fer
1 pince
chambre du Balcon—1 lit de camp de mahony monté
1 matelas bleu et blanc
1 lit de plume
1 traversin
1 cousin
2 Draps marqué I.A. II
1 toits de lit marqué I.A. 33
1 couverture de laine marquée au 4 coins rouge, noir & verte
1 dito de coton piquée fond blanc et rouge avec les fleurs
1 coffre de cuir noir avec un tiroir

9)
chambre de
Mr. J.Q. Adams---1 tapis de d’angletterre a fleurs rouge
1 miroir rond doré
1 miroir de toilette avec trois tiroirs
1 bureau de mahony avec 4 tiroirs fermée
1 Portrait de M. Washington avec un quadre doré
1 petite cassette pour ecrire fermé
1 chose brune avec deux tiroirs pour se laver avec une Ecuille et une cruche de porcelaine jaune et un Essuimains
1 grille complète
1 balet
1 pince
1 table bois de chaine brun, avec deux tiroirs fermé avec un pupitre dessus de draps verd aussi fermé
1 ecritoire complet D’Etaing
6 chaisses de trip rouge
3 coffres fermé
1 petit coffret condé ou j’ai posé mon cachet
1 table ronde peinte
1 armoire avec des Livres, et la liste auperés dont j’ai copié
1 armoire avec la liste de ce quelle [ven] fermé dont j’ai copié
1 armoire avec des habits ou il y a la liste dont j’ai copié
1 Lit de mahony dressé
2 petites paillasses
1 matelas verd & blanc
1 Lit de plume
1 traversin
1 cousin
2 Draps marqués I.A. 41
1 toits de lits marqué I. A 33
1 couverture de laine marquée au 4 coins jaune noir & vert
1 couverture de coton fond rouge, et fleur bleue et blanche
1 pot de chambre de porcelaine jaune
1 petit chandelier d’argent que j’ai remis à son Excellence Monsieur Adams.

10) chambre de son Excellence Monsieur Adams—3 tapis de turquie attaché Ensemble
3 bureaux de mahony avec trois tiroirs chacun
1 secrétaire marquetté avec un tiroir fermé
1 cabinet de mahonny avec 3 tiroirs
2 petites tables de mahonny avec un tiroir chacune
1 table de mahony plus grande avec un tiroir et un tapis de draps verd
1 grand miroir avec un quadre doré
2 miroirs de toilette avec 3 tiroirs chacun
Le Portrait de J. E. monsieur adams avec un quadre doré
Le Portrait de monsieur J.Q. Adams avec un quadre doré
Le Portrait de monsieur C Adams avec un quadre doré
1 chose brune pour se laver avec deux tiroirs une Ecuille et une cruche jaune de porcelaine et un Essuimains
2 tablas de mahony contenant 17 grandes planches et 12 petites
1 Echelle de mahony qui s’ouvre
1 boîte a thé de mahony avec 3 boites de cuivre
1 boîte a tabac de mahony
1 boîte pour les razoirs de mahony
1 boîte de fer blanc peinte
1 coffre de cuir noir entouré de cloux
6 chaise de trip vertes avec le dos de même
1 thermomètre
1 grille, 1 pincette, et un balet
1 petite caisse blanche
1 Epée d’argent, et un badine garné en argent
1 fouet et deux chapeaude
1 lit de camp de mahony monté avec le rideau de damas verd et le rabas de même
10 kwast avec le ciel garne in frange.
2 paillasser
1 matelas verd et blanc
1 lit de plume
1 traversin
1 coussin
2 Draps marqués I. A. 10
1 toits de lit marqués I. A. 33
1 couverture de laine brodée au 4 coins rouge & jaune
1 couverture de coton piquée fond blanc et fleurs rouge
1 couverture de lit de damas verd doublée en tafetas
2 rideau de toile grise au finetres
1 pot de chambre de porcelaine jaune
All this Articles I have found so as they are cited here
(was signed) J. Lotter

dans la chambre
2 Verres montés pour le dessert avec des fleurs
4 dito sans fleurs
2 bouteiteilles de [corniction]
1 dito de capres
1 bouteille Liqueur de marosquin
1 dito a la fleur D’orange
2 Lanternes pour durant la maison
2 couvertes dito verd & Doré
3 tapis D’angletterre
1 petit morceau dito
2 petit morceau de turquie
2 chausse pieds de fer
1 rechaud dito
1 panier de piper
2 rideau de gaze verd [cousi] ensemble avec une barre de cuivre
2 tapis rouge de table pour la chambre de S. Excellence

Vestibule----1 lanterne peinte en verd & doré avec une planche
1 morceau de mahonny de la table de mahony
1 tapis noir
Sur les Clegres-3 tapis D'angleterre
-------------------------------29 barres de cuivre pour les attacher
-------------------------------58 cuillet de cuivre attaché au Dégré
dans Lallee-----2 Banis Verds
---------------------3 mattes

Received these articles in good order

12)
Cuisine---------1 pot pour Le Savon
---------------30 formes de fer blanc
---------------1 grande table avec deux tiroirs
---------------1 chaudron de fer blanc pour boullir l'eau
---------------1 table ronde avec un tiroir
---------------1 chaudron de fer blanc pour monsieur pour
prendre le thé
---------------2 grande caisse blanche
---------------1 [vloot?] pour hacher les légumes
---------------1 planche dito pour hacher les Légumes
---------------1 grand poele avec son pied
---------------6 tamis
---------------une perse avec trois tiroirs
---------------1 boite de fer blanc peinte en rouge &
fleurs jaune
---------------1 pot de grève
---------------1 serinque pour les fenitres
---------------1 forme pour les Podings
---------------6 batons pour prendre le linge
---------------1 soufflet
---------------2 lanternes pour les Domestiques
---------------1 tourneau verd avec les bandes de fers
---------------2 spitzes

dans la 2de chambre
de Provission--1 lit de camp
---------------1 coffre ou est le linge

chambre a cote-1 pupitre en drap verd, un escritoire, et
une sonnette

chambre de la servante
---------------2 paillasse
---------------1 lit de plume
---------------1 traversin
---------------1 cousin
---------------2 Draps marqué I. A 41
---------------1 toits de lits marqué I.A. 8
---------------2 couvertes de lain marqué au quatre coins

104
1 couverte de coton fond rouge & fleurs blanche

Lit des domestiques
--------2 paillasse
--------1 lit de plume
--------1 traversin
--------2 cousins
--------2 Draps marqués I.A 41
--------1 toits de lits marqués I.A. 8
--------2 couvertes de laine marqués au quatre coins
received the same

Lit du Cuisinier
--------1 lit de plume
--------1 traversin
--------1 cousin
--------2 Draps marqués I. A 41
--------1 toits de lits marqués I. A. 8
--------2 couvertes de laine
received as stands here mentioned
(was signed) T. Lotter

13) Inventoires de la batterie de cuisine, selon que je l’ai de Monsieur John Thaxter et comme son Excellence Monsieur Adams, pourra toujours voir sur le compte du ferblantier que n tout Etainne la dite Batterie du cuisine selon L’accord que l’on avoit fait avec lui les comptes ont Ete Livres a son Excellence Monsieur Adams dans L’année 1782

---12 casseroles
---12 couvertes
---2 rond d’une tartiere
---2 tartieres
---2 couvertes
---1 degoutiere profonde
---1 dito platte
---3 marmittes
---3 couvertes
---1 grande avec son couvertes
---1 plaque ou l’on cuit le poisson dans le chaudron
---2 grand chaudron avec leurs deux couvertes
---1 dito sans couverte
---2 Ecumoir de fer blanc
---1 chocolatiere
---1 cazette
---1 Etouffoir avec deux couvertes
---1 couverte de cuivre
---1 chaudron pour L'eau
---2 chaines
---1 grille avec un trift
---2 petites cuillieres D'Etaing
---3 trepieds
---3 blaakers de cuivre
---1 dito de fer blanc
---1 Lechefrite de cuivre
---2 fers pour mettre devant le tourne broche
---1 tournebroche avec son appareil
---4 blakers peint
---1 mantin a caffe
---2 balance de cuivre le [ ] dito
---1 rol plank et un [ ]uleau
---2 fer pour la viande au tournebroche
---1 couteau pour hacher
---1 pot de fer pour les cendres
---1 secau pour aller au manche
---2 Ba[ ] mahonny pour couvrir la table
---7 cuillieres D'Etaing.

All this articles found in good order
(was signed) T. Lotter

14)

A true Copy of What is Wanting

---1 green carpet of the table
---1 oval affair for wine glasses
---1 blue flat Dish broken
---1 Wine glass of the 9 Dozen Wanting
---2 Decanter of the 11 Wanting
---2 Bowls of 3 Dozen 9 wanting
---1 saucer of 5 Doz. and 2 wanting
---3 cups of 3 Doz and 8 wanting
---7 saucers of 4 Doz and 2 wanting
---1 sugar pot of 13 wants
---1 milk pot of 6 wants
---1 mustard pot of the 4 wants
---1 salt seller of 5 wants
---1 Koffy pot of madame Dumas
---2 little dessert plates of 13 wants
---3 butter boats of 5 wants
---1 round Dish of 8 wants 3 [ ]
---2 plates of 7 Doz and 3 wanting amongst 3 Defect
---10 soup plates of 3 Doz wants
---1 saucer to the Bowl wants
---1 saucer of the sugar pot wants
---2 blue cups of 10 wants
---1 round looking glass
Je certifie moi marie Dumas, que ce que Monsieur Lotter a mentionné a dessus est vrai en foi de quoi je lui signe ceci pour lui servir pour sa justification louiquil levra vendre les [Yfets], qu'il a déclare par sa signature avoir recu de moi

Fait a la Staie Le 24 juin 1784
(ettoit signé) Marie Dumas
A true copy of the Inventory made by Mr. John Thaxter—
12 chafing Dishes
30 Bocale goblets---2 broken
4 salt sellers, ghrystal
22 English Wine Glasses flat---10 wanting
9 Dozen & 2 wine glasses small---14 gone
4 Decanters
11 dito flat
23 wine glasses bought by Mad: dumas
19 Rhenish glasses
12 small Decanters bought by Mad: Dumas
2 Castors
12 Liqueur Glasses bot by Mad: Dumas
1 Lantern
5 Beer Glasses this received in good order (was signed) Lotter
8 yellow metal candlesticks
4 Weights of Copper
3 little Bells
12 water plates
1 pair scales
3 wash Basons, Queens Ware
6 Blue spitting pots
3 Doz & 9 queens ware soop Plates---9 wanting
8 Doz et dito flat plates-------12 wanting
6 Great round Dishes
3 dito round Dishes
2 dito
2 dito oval
3 dito round and Deep-------1 broken
2 dito round &
1 Turen & its Plate
2)
Queens Ware
4 baskets with their plates for strawberries
5 butter boats---2 wanting
2 Three cornered plates
3 [ ] [ ]

108
2 heart shaped
---

4 cal
---

14 little dessert plates---------1 wanting
---

2 Trowels

this Articles received in good order
-----(was signed) Lotter

1 [ ] soup
---

3 Doz et 9 small Bowls ---------5 wanting
---

5 Doz Plates for the Bowls---------6 wanting
---

5 Bowls for chocolate
---

13 Sugar Pots
---

4 Doz and 8 large cups
---

5 Doz saucers and 2
---

3 Doz and 8 ordinary Tea cups----11 wanting
---

4 Doz and 4 saucers--------2 wanting
---

10 Tea pots--------3 little broken
---

5 mugs
---

6 cream Pots
---

2 Larger Sorts Pots a creme
---

9 Egg Pots
---

8 pepper Pots
---

5 salt sellers
---

4 mustard pots
---

1 coffee pot-------------------broken
---

2 sallad Plates

received this above articles in good Order
(was signed), Lotter

3) Porcelains Blue service
---

4 great Dishes deep
---

4 dito flat-------------------1 broken
---

8 dito flat
---

7 small
---

8 small dito
---

4 drip pans
---

4 Turens with their tops
---

47 soop plates
---

9 Doz and 8 plates flat--------5 wanting
---

23 little flat plates
---

22 little deep plates
---

12 sallad plates
---

8 butter boats
---

8 salt sellers

the full content of this received in good order
(was signed) T. Lotter

Porcelaine de saxe.
---

1 Tea pot and its saucer
---

1 tea canister

109
1 cream pot with its saucer
1 Bowl with its saucer
1 sugar pot with its saucer
6 coffee cups
12 Tea cups
12 saucers

another set of porcelaine

1 tea pot
1 cream pot
2 sugar pots
12 tea cups
12 saucers
12 coffee cups
12 saucers

1 Bowl with its saucer

1 Punch Bowl

this I have received in good order
(was signed) Lotter

4)

Blue porcelaine

1 tea pot with its saucer
1 tea canister
1 Bowl with its saucer
1 sugar pot with its dito
11 cups one broken
8 saucers

this Articles received in good order

2 oval affairs for wine glasses
2 round dito for Tea
6 platters for Bottles
17 dito for wine glasses
16 Blac.

this 5 articles received in good order
(was signed) Lotter

Bought by Madam Dumas

3 large compotes --chrystal
6 dito with their covers
4 dito without covers
2 mustard pots with their spoons
received this Articles in a good in a good order
(was signed) T. Lotter

5)
Mr A
1 Feather Bed
Mr T

3 Feather Beds
2 Feather Beds chamber opposite
1 little chamber
1 good Feather
2 for servants

Mr A
1 mattress
3 little chamber
Mr T.

2---
6
Bolsters
1---chamber
3 little chamber
Mr T.

2----
Mr A.

1----
2 servants
9
pillows
8 little chamber
2 Mr T
1 Mr A
4 servants

15
strawbeds
Mr A

---2
2 Mr T
4 servants
8
Blanckets
1 Mr a
5 little chamber
1 little chamber
3 Mr T
4 Jacob & john
2 girls
16
coverlids
1 chamber
1 Mr A. --
2 Mr T chamber
1 little chamber
1 girls + C.

Alle the Bedding received as in the Lyst mentioned
(was signed) T. Lotter

6)
52 Drapes
13 fine tableclothes
5 table clothes for the kitchen
59 fine napkins dito 3 more
11 handtowels
3 small dito
19 bed canopies
4 aprons for the servants
34 large napkins
7[ ] [ ]
6 white waiscoats and 3 pair of breeches
Received all well
(was signed) T. Lotter

7)
Inventory of all that belongs to his Excellency Mr. Adams,
esquire & & Much of that I have [ ] rue D’Amsterdam that I
bought by the order of his Excellence, Mr Adams. [ ] also
that I bought that were absolutely necessary in his house.
Several articles which are not found on the inventories of
Mr. Thaxter, like chairs, tables, rugs, all of Espere mirrors, camp beds and supplies of many articles that were necessary for the use of the household.

Made by me Marie Dumas
the 22nd June 1784

furniture of the antichamber--16 side chairs of green damask with their covers
----------------2 armchairs dito with their covers
----------------1 new turkish carpet
----------------2 curtains of grey toile
----------------2 curtains fo gauze with two bars of brass

Grand Salon----1 large new turkish carpet
----------------2 large pieces dito joined to large carpet at the corners of the chimney
----------------1 settee and cushion of red damask
----------------6 armchairs dito with their cushions of down
----------------6 armchairs dito without cushions
----------------4 curtains of damask with their two irons
----------------8 [ ] with their cords
----------------1 large mirror with a gilt frame
----------------1 marble table and its base all together

Dining Room----2 turkish carpets attached together
----------------1 round gilt mirror
----------------2 large curtains of grey toile
----------------2 curtains of gauze with their two bars of brass
----------------12 side chairs of green trip
----------------2 armchairs dito

8)
high chamber occupied by Mr. Thaxter
----------------1 large red flowered English carpet
----------------2 camp bed of mounted mahogany
----------------1 round gilt mirror
----------------1 brown oak table with two drawers
----------------1 mahogany bureau with three drawers
----------------1 dressing mirror with three drawers and a key
----------------6 side chairs of green trip with the backs of same
----------------1 brown thing with two drawers for putting water is used for washing with a handtowel
----------------1 yellow porcelain bowl

113

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1st bed prepared—-1 blue and white mattress
---------------------1 feather bed
---------------------1 bolster
---------------------1 cushion
---------------------2 sheets marked I.A. 43
---------------------1 bed canopy marked I.A. 33
---------------------1 wool cover embroidered at 4 corners
                   red & yellow
---------------------1 dito of cotton piqué red flowered
                   ground

2nd bed prepared—-1 blue and white mattress
---------------------1 feather bed
---------------------1 bolster
---------------------1 cushion
---------------------1 sheet marked I.A. 41
---------------------1 sheet marked I.A. II
---------------------1 bed canopy marked I.A. 33
---------------------1 wool cover embroidered at 4 corners
                   red & yellow
---------------------1 dito of cotton piqué red flowered
                   ground
---------------------1 iron grille
---------------------1 tongs

Balcony chamber —-1 camp bed of mounted mahogany
---------------------1 blue and white mattress
---------------------1 feather bed
---------------------1 bolster
---------------------1 cushion
---------------------2 sheets marked I.A. II
---------------------1 bed canopy marked I.A. 33
---------------------1 wool cover marked at 4 corners red,
                   black and green
---------------------1 dito of cotton piqué white and red
                   ground with flowers
---------------------1 black leather coffer with a drawer

9)
chamber of
Mr. J.Q. Adams—-1 red flowered English carpet
---------------------1 round gilt mirror
---------------------1 dressing mirror with three drawers
---------------------1 mahogany bureau with 4 locked drawers
---------------------1 Portrait of M. Washington with a gilt
                   frame
---------------------1 small writing case, locked
---------------------1 brown thing with two drawers for
                   washing with a bowl and pitcher of yellow
                   porcelain and a handtowel

114
1 grille complete
a [ ]
tongs
1 brown oak table with two drawers with a
desk above of green drapes also locked
1 complete secretary D’Etaing
6 side chairs of red trip
1 locked coffers
1 small heart shaped box where I keep my
seals
1 round painted table
an armoire with the book [cases] where
the list is that I copied
an armoire with the list of what I have
copied
an armoire with the clothes where there is
the list that I have copied
1 mahogany bed prepared
2 small pallates
1 green and white mattress
1 feather bed
1 bolster
1 cushion
2 sheets marked I.A. 41
1 bed canopy marked I.A. 33
1 wool cover marked in 4 corners yellow,
black & green
1 cotton cover red ground and blue and
white flowers
1 yellow porcelain chamber pots
1 small silver candelstick that I gave to
his Excellency Mr. Adams

10) chamber of his
Excellence
Mr Adams
3 turkish carpets attached together
3 mahogany bureaus with three drawers
each
1 marquettry secretary with a drawer
1 mahogany cabinet with three drawers
2 small mahogany tables with a drawer
each
1 very large mahogany table with a drawer
and a green carpet cover
1 large mirror with a gilt frame
2 dressing mirrors with 3 drawers each

115
the Portrait of J. E. Mr. Adams with a gilt frame
the Portrait de Mr. J. Q. Adams with a gilt frame
the Portrait de Mr. C Adams with a gilt frame
1 brown thing for washing with two drawers a bowl and pitcher of yellow porcelain and a handtowel
2 mahogany table containing 17 large boards and 12 small
1 ladder of mahogany that opens
1 mahogany tea box with 3 copper boxes
1 mahogany tabacco box
1 mahogany box for razors
1 painted tin box
1 black leather coffer covered in nails
6 side chairs of green trip with the backs of same
1 thermometer
1 grille, 1 tongs and a [ ]
1 silver Epée, and a scabard trimmed in silver
1 whip and two hats
1 camp bed of mounted mahogany with the curtains of green damask and the head cloth of same [ ] with the ceiling trimmed in fringe
2 straw mattress
1 green and white mattress
1 feather bed
1 bolster
1 cushion
2 sheets marked I. A. 10
1 bed canopy marked I. A. 33
1 wool cover embroidered at 4 corners red & yellow
1 cover of cotton piqué white ground with red flowers
1 bed cover of green damask doubled in taffeta
2 curtains of grey toile at the windows
1 chamber pot of yellow porcelain
All this Articles I have found so as they are cited here
(was signed) T. Lotter
11) 
in the Provision
room-----------------2 glasses mounted for the dessert with flowers
------------------4 dito without flowers
------------------2 bottles of [ ]
------------------1 dito [ ]
------------------1 bottle of Liqueur de marosquin
------------------1 dito of orange flower
------------------2 Lanterns for throughout the house
------------------2 covers dito green and gilt
------------------3 English carpets
------------------1 small piece dito
------------------2 small pieces of turkish
------------------2 iron heater bases
------------------1 warmer dito
------------------1 basket of [ ]
------------------2 curtains of green gauze [ ] together with a bar of brass
------------------2 red table carpets for the chamber of his Excellence
Vestibule--------1 lantern painted in green and gilt with a board
------------------1 piece of mahogany for the mahogany table
------------------1 black carpet

on the stairs----3 English carpets
-------------------29 brass bars for attaching
-------------------58 brass clips attached to the stair

in the alley-----2 [ ] green
------------------3 mats

Received these articles in good order

12)
Kitchen--------1 pot for the soap
-------------------30 forms of tin
------------------1 large table with two drawers
------------------1 tin kettle for boiling water
------------------1 round table with a drawer
------------------1 tin kettle for monsieur to take tea
------------------2 large white cases
------------------1 [ ] for mincing vegetables
------------------1 board for mincing vegetables
------------------1 large stove with its base
------------------6 sieves
---------------------a [ ] with three drawers

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1 box of painted tin with red and yellow flowers
1 pot of [ ]
1 [ ] for the windows
1 form for the puddings
6 sticks for taking the linen
1 soufflé
2 lanterns for the servants
1 green cask with iron bands
2 spitzes

in the 2nd Provision room
1 camp bed
1 coffer where the linens are
side chamber
1 desk with green [cover] a secretary and a bell
servants chamber
2 straw mattresses
1 feather bed
1 bolster
1 cushion
2 sheets marked I.A 41
1 bed canopy marked I.A. 8
2 wool covers marked in four corners
1 cotton cover red ground and white flowers

servants’ bed
2 straw mattresses
1 feather bed
1 bolster
2 cushions
2 sheets marked I.A 41
1 bed canopy marked I.A. 8
2 wool covers marked in four corners

received the same
Cook’s bed
1 feather bed
1 bolster
1 cushion
2 sheets marked I. A 41
1 bed canopy marked I. A. 8 received as
2 wool covers stands here mentioned
(was signed) T. Lotter

13) Inventories of the kitchen utensils, according to that I have [ ] from Mr. John Thaxter and like his Excellence
Mr. Adams, will be able to see on the count of tinware that all tin of the said kitchen utensils according to the agreement that was made with the counts made by him of books to his Excellence Mr. Adams in the year 1782

---12 casserole
---12 covers
---2 rounds of pie pans
---2 pie pans
---2 covers
---1 deep drip pan
---1 dito plate
---3 cooking pots
---3 covers
---1 large with its covers
---1 plaque for the fish in the kettle
---2 large kettles with their two covers
---1 dito without cover
---2 skimmer of tin
---1 chocolate pot
---1 coffee pot
---1 steamer with two covers
---1 cover of copper or brass
---1 kettle for water
---2 chains
---1 grille with a [ ]
---2 small spoons D’Etaing
---3 tripods
---3 [ ] of copper or brass
---1 dito of tin
---1 baster of copper
---2 irons for the roasting spit
---1 roasting spit with its apparatus
---4 [ ] painted
---1 [ ] for coffee
---2 scales of brass or copper [ ] dito
---1 [ ] and a [ ]
---2 irons for the viands on the roasting spit
---1 knife for mincing
---1 iron pot for the cinders
---1 [ ]
---2 Ba[ ] mahogany for covering the table
---7 spoons D’Etaing.

All this articles found in good order (was signed) T. Lotter

14)
A true Copy of What is Wanting

---1 green carpet of the table
--- 1 oval affair for wine glasses
--- 1 blue flat Dish broken
--- 1 Wine glass of the 9 Dozen Wanting
--- 2 Decanter of the 11 Wanting
--- 2 Bowls of 3 Dozen 9 wanting
--- 1 saucer of 5 Doz. and 2 wanting
--- 3 cups of 3 Doz and 8 wanting
--- 7 saucers of 4 Doz and 2 wanting
--- 1 sugar pot of 13 wants
--- 1 milk pot of 6 wants
--- 1 mustard pot of the 4 wants
--- 1 salt seller of 5 wants
--- 1 Koffy pot of madame Dumas
--- 2 little dessert plates of 13 wants
--- 3 butter boats of 5 wants
--- 1 round Dish of 8 wants 3 [sic]
--- 2 plates of 7 Doz and 3 wanting amongst 3 Defect
--- 10 soup plates of 3 Doz wants
--- 1 saucer to the Bowl wants
--- 1 saucer of the sugar pot wants
--- 2 blue cups of 10 wants
--- 1 round looking glass

I certify I, marie Dumas, that what Mr. Lotter mentioned above is true in faith of that I sign this for him to serve for his justification [ ] the [ ] that declared by his signature seen and accepted from me

the 24th June 1784
(was signed) Marie Dumas
NOTES


4Benjamin Franklin to unstated recipient, 19 June 1785, copy in Thomas Jefferson Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

5James Monroe, Message from the President upon the subject of the Furniture necessary for the President’s House (Washington, DC: U.S. Government, 1818).

6The Travellers Club in London was open to all members of foreign diplomatic corps. see Richard Rush, Memoranda of a Residence at the Court of London (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1845).


8Franklin went to Paris in 1776 as part of a commission to negotiate a treaty with France. Because that position was strictly treaty related, I have chosen 1778, the year he was named the sole Minister to France, as the beginning for this study.

9George Washington and James Madison were the two exceptions.
Curators at the Smithsonian Institution and the White House, two of the largest collections of politically related decorative arts, could not identify objects in those collections that are known to have been used by diplomats abroad.


Ranks and titles of diplomatic officials were established at the 1814 Congress of Vienna and the 1818 Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle. John Findling, *Dictionary of American Diplomatic History* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980), 104.

"The consul of the United-States is nominated by the president, by an with the advice and consent of the Senate. Age is not a qualification. Before he receives his commission from the president, he takes an oath of office, and gives a renewable bond, to the amount of two thousand dollars in which he is joined by two respectable merchants, for the faithful discharge of his duties according to law. This instrument of writing is deposited at the department of State." D.B. Warden, *On the Origin, Nature, Progress and Influence of Consular Establishments* (Paris: printed and sold by Smith, 1813), 1.

see Findling, *Dictionary of American Diplomacy*.


Ibid., 262–263.


Expense Account of Benjamin Franklin, copy in Thomas Jefferson Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

Benjamin Franklin to unstated recipient, 19 June 1785, copy in Thomas Jefferson Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.


Excerpt from *Instructions of the Secretary of State 1817*, included in Fifth Auditor’s Accounts (pertaining to Richard Rush), National Archives and Record Service (microfilm, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress).

Richard Rush maintained an office outside of his residence and the government reimbursed him for the rent. Ibid.


Accounts and Miscellany, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society (microfilm, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress).


34See Repository of arts, literature, commerce, manufacture, fashions and politics (London: R. Ackermann, 1809-1828).


37Accounts submitted by Franklin to Congress, 19 June 1785, copy in Thomas Jefferson Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.


40Accounts and Miscellany, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society (microfilm, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress).

41Gouverneur Morris Diary, Gouverneur Morris Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

42April and June, 1792, Ibid., Morris dated his diary with a running calendar in the left margin and often wrote summaries instead of individual entries making a specific date difficult to ascertain.

431782-84 Inventory, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society (microfilm, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress). Hereafter referenced as 'Adams Inventory', see Appendix.

There are references in the accounts to money and objects given to her. Accounts and Miscellany, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society (microfilm, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress).


Gouverneur Morris to Thomas Pinckney, 5 Nov. 1792, Gouverneur Morris Letterbook, Gouverneur Morris Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

Gouverneur Morris to Thomas Pinckney, 29 Nov. 1792, Gouverneur Morris Letterbook, Gouverneur Morris Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.


26 Aug. 1813, William Crawford Diary, William Harris Crawford Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.


C.B.A. Behrens, Society, Government and the Enlightenment (Thames and Hudson, 1985), 117.

58 Bill of Sale, William Eustis Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.


62 Bryding, The Dwight and Lucille Beeson Wedgwood Collection, 45.


64 Baugh, Aristocratic Government and Society, 62.

65 Accounts and Miscellany, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society (microfilm, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress).

66 Cheneviere, Russian Furniture, 26.


68 Ibid.

69 Ibid.

70 Gouverneur Morris to Thomas Pinckney, 23 Aug. 1792, Gouverneur Morris Letterbook, Gouverneur Morris Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.


24, Apr. 1792, Gouverneur Morris Diary, Gouverneur Morris Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.


For example, see Dawson and Cafe, Auction Catalogue, 5 Aug. 1823, Rush Family Papers, Princeton University Library (microfilm, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress).

Accounts and Miscellany, Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society (microfilm, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress).

Ibid.


5 Jan. 1793, Gouverneur Morris Diary, Gouverneur Morris Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.


There are no known images of the house or floorplan.
John Adams left the Hague in 1784. The Adams returned to the United States from England in 1788. Whether the objects from the Netherlands embassy were taken to France and then England or stored in the Hague is unclear. The object records at the Adams National Historic Site make reference to a packing inventory. The Adams Papers collection has no record for any other inventory for this period. Much of the Adams National Historic Site’s information on these objects is based on family recollection and Paige Smith’s two volume work *John Adams* (New York: Doubleday and Co. Inc., 1962). I was unable to reach many of his conclusions based on the evidence presented.


88*Adams Inventory.*


92*Family portrait showing interior of house, Leiden c.1775, Thornton, *Authentic Decor*, fig. 198.*

93Delauney was a little known Parisian cabinetmaker who died in 1778. Verlet, *French Furniture of the Eighteenth Century*, 83.

94*Adams Inventory.*


96*Adams Inventory.*


According to the files of the Adams National Historic Site, Richard Randall examined the desk and found an inscription SCHLo-z or SCHE-ze in the upper case beneath the drawer. This has been identified as possibly Fidelis Schey, Paris (master 1777) but this cannot be solidly attributed to that craftsman. The style of the marquetry and of the furniture form is definitely French in inspiration but was copied very closely in the Low Countries.


101 Reinier Baarsen, De Amsterdamse Meubelbouwers (Amsterdam: Gemeentearchief Amsterdam, 1992), 87.

102 Adams Inventory.

103 Ibid.

104 Ibid.


106 Adams Inventory.

107 Ibid.

108 Ibid.

109 Ibid.

110 1790 Packing List, William Short Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Hereafter this document will be referenced as 'Packing List'.

111 Adams Inventory.

112 Ibid.

113 Ibid.

114 Ibid.

115 Ibid.

117 John Thaxter to Abigail Adams, 3 Sep. 1782, *Adams Family Correspondence*, vol. 4, edited by Butterfield and Friedlaender, 375. An error occurred in the editing process of the Adams Papers. The word "point" was substituted for "friend" in the published work.


119 Ibid.


122 Packing List.


124 Packing List.

125 Ibid.,

Caisse
18 six grand fateuille
19 six chaisse bleus
20 six fateuille de maroqian rouje
21 quatre grand fateuille bleux
22 six grand ridaux de damas bleux
huit Moyeat [sic] rideaux de damat bleux
23 six chaisse de velour dutrecque
24 deux grand fateuille bleux
deux bergerre Cramoizy avec leur cousin
huit cordout et glaud cramoizy
deux coussin du canapé cramoizy
25 deux fateuille cramoizy
deux bergerre bleux et leur cousin
33 une otomanne de soij bleu et sou coussin
44 une otomanne de maroqie rouje et sou coussin
45 un lit de repotre et sou coussin de stoffe bleux
deux fateuille cramoizy

Packing List.

Caisse

25  neuf tableaux de la Salle a Manger

Ibid.,

Caisse

47  quatre desses de marbre de table avec bordure dorée
48  quatre glasses a parquet et bordure dore
56  un Meridien garuy la cuivre

Ibid.,

Caisse

42  une caisse coutenant une avec vestalle de platre
55  la figure du Salon
56  une caisse pour une figure quis etait de le[ ] da
Salone et talbot


Ibid., 302.

Packing List,

Caisse

35  quatre ravierre
    quatre Salierre de porceleine
    une theierre de terre
51  dix douzenne tassiette de porceleine
    deux grande soupiere de porceleine
52  deux cluche de moutarde
    un grand plat de porceleine
    quatre grand plat ovalle
    quarant deux tasse et trant neuf Sacoiyer de
    porceleine
54  deux caisse coutenant chaquine soupiere et leur
    couvecque de porceleine

Miscellaneous Account, 1825, Rush Family Papers, Princeton University Library (microfilm, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress).

Thomas Pinckney to sister Fanny, 1 Aug. 1796, Thomas Pinckney Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

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