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THE WHITE HOUSE FURNISHINGS OF THE MADISON  
ADMINISTRATION, 1809-1817.

University of Delaware (Winterthur Program),  
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THE WHITE HOUSE FURNISHINGS  
OF  
THE MADISON ADMINISTRATION

1809 - 1817

by

Katharine Conover Hunt

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.

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## Preface

The early furnishings of the White House have traditionally been a subject of interest to historians. In the literature treating the domestic arrangements of the first five Presidents, however, the administration of James Madison has received little scholarly attention. It is the purpose of this study to examine the furniture used during the Madisons' eight years in the White House, 1809-1817.

In 1907, Esther Singleton's The Story of the White House presented an introduction to the problem of Madison furnishings.<sup>1</sup> In 1959, Robert L. Raley published Benjamin Latrobe's 1809 designs for the oval drawing room furniture.<sup>2</sup> Finally, in 1965, Margaret Brown Klapthor presented "Benjamin Latrobe and Dolley Madison Decorate the White House, 1809-1811," a thorough examination of the decoration of Mrs. Madison's parlor, and the drawing room.<sup>3</sup> To date, the 1811-1817 period remains virtually unexplored.

The present examination of the Madisons' White House furnishings will begin with a chapter devoted to

the problem of Madison taste. Chapter II treats the furnishings purchased for the Executive Mansion between 1809 and 1814, when the British burned the building. Chapter III discusses the Madisons' furnishings from 1814 until the retirement of James Madison in 1817. Chapter IV offers an introduction to the problem of authenticating extant Madison furnishings, and outlines the method used to select objects for the Catalogue.

The writer would like to thank the individuals who have so generously given their assistance with this project. Mrs. Caroline Holmes Bivins has spent several years studying the history of Madison furnishings. Her extensive research has located many objects scattered from Florida to New York state and west to California. Without her enthusiastic interest, and her copious notes, this study would have been impossible.

Mrs. Margaret Brown Klapthor, Associate Curator, and the staff of the Division of Political History at the Smithsonian Institution, have provided valuable information about nearly every aspect of the problem. Mrs. Klapthor brought the Treasury accounts to the attention of the writer.

My advisor, John A. H. Sweeney, has offered helpful advice about every part of the manuscript. Thanks are

due to the staffs of the Manuscript Reading Room at the Library of Congress, and the Manuscript Division at the Alderman Library, University of Virginia, for help with the numerous manuscripts under their care. The staff at Independence National Historical Park was generous with both information and documents relating to the Todd and Payne families. William Moore, Director, Greensboro (North Carolina) Historical Museum, gave me an opportunity to study the Kunkel Collection. The staffs of the Legislative, Judicial, and Diplomatic Records Division at National Archives, and the Washington National Records Center, Suitland, Maryland, located many obscure documents. James Bear, Curator of Monticello, was helpful with the Monticello Archives. William Rachal, Editor, The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, gave valuable information about the Papers of James Madison project. My thanks to the staff of The Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum, for their continued interest and assistance. Finally, my deep appreciation to the museums and private owners who allowed me to examine their Madison furniture.

Wherever possible, the original spelling and capitalization have been preserved in the text. All abbreviations are followed by a period. Raised letters have been dropped, and are followed by a period. The now obsolete "sf" has been changed to "ss." It is generally agreed that

the correct spelling of Mrs. Madison's name is "Dolley."<sup>4</sup> Some books and manuscript collections use the designation "Dolly," "Dorothy," or "Dorothea." The writer has continued the spelling employed by a particular author or collection.

## Notes to the Preface

<sup>1</sup>2 vols. (New York: The McClure Company), 1907, pp. 55-89, et. passim. (Hereafter, Singleton).

<sup>2</sup>"Interior Designs by Benjamin Henry Latrobe for the President's House," Antiques, LXXV (June, 1959), 568-571. (Hereafter, Raley).

<sup>3</sup>United States National Museum Bulletin 241: Contributions from The Museum of History and Technology, Paper 49, 153-164. (Hereafter, Klapthor).

<sup>4</sup>In his comprehensive biography of James Madison, Irving Brant wrote: "That name--the only one she ever owned, knew or used during eighty-one years--was too plain to suit early biographers. So, just as Eleanor Rose was invented for Madison's mother Nelly, Dolley had to be Dorothea or Dorothy. The 'e' was then knocked out and the triumph of convention was complete." See James Madison, 6 vols. (Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company), 1941-1961, III, p. 401. (Hereafter, Brant).

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## Introduction

In 1907, Esther Singleton complained:

No nation has been so niggardly in its provision for the expenses to which its Chief Magistrate is put in upholding the dignity and hospitality of the White House than the United States.<sup>1</sup>

She was correct. The Executive Mansion is the most important "house" in the country; in many respects, it is the most interesting. The White House is both private and public, personal and official.

Like the building itself, the furnishings of the White House serve a double function. In one respect they reflect the taste of the Presidents and their families; in another respect they symbolize the dignity of the Presidential office.

During each Presidential administration, Congress appropriates money for White House furnishings, and places it in the "President's furniture fund." These funds are spent

under the President's own eye and recommendation in accordance with his own and his wife's tastes.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, White House furnishings are public property.

There is an element of conflict inherent in this system. Although each President is free to exercise his taste in selecting furniture for the Executive Mansion, Congress maintains a firm grip on the purse strings. The free expression of "taste" varies in direct proportion to the amount of money in the furniture fund. It is the purpose of this thesis to examine the relationship between Madison taste and government money.

James Madison was born on March 16, 1751, N.S., at Port Conway, Virginia. He was the son of James Madison and Nelly Rose Conway, who had ten children. The younger Madison was raised on his father's estate in Orange County, where James Madison, Sr. was sheriff, a successful planter, and the County's wealthiest citizen. After graduating from Princeton in 1771, Madison, Jr., began a distinguished career which led from the Virginia Legislature to Congress, and finally to the positions of Secretary of State (1801-1809), and President (1809-1817).<sup>3</sup> On September 15, 1794, he married Dolley Payne Todd of Philadelphia; he was forty-three, she was twenty-five.<sup>4</sup>

Dolley Payne, daughter of Quakers John Payne and Mary Coles, was born on May 20, 1768, in Guilford County, North Carolina. She was the second of nine children.



John Payne, originally from Goochland County, Virginia, converted to Quakerism in 1764. Breaking all ties with the Paynes, he moved to Guilford in 1765, and returned to Virginia in 1769, settling in Bird Creek. In 1775 he bought "Scotchtown," an estate in Hanover; it was located near "Coles Hill," the home of his wife's Quaker parents, William Coles and Lucy Winston.

In 1783 the family moved to Philadelphia, where Payne became a starchmaker. By 1789 he was forced into bankruptcy, and was dismissed from the Quaker meeting. Upon his death in 1792 he left virtually no estate.

In January, 1790, Dolley Payne married John Todd, Jr. (b. 1763), a Quaker attorney from Philadelphia. He was the son of schoolmaster John Todd, and Mary Durbarrow, both originally from Chester County. The attorney, his parents, and Dolley Todd's younger son, William Temple, all died during the yellow fever epidemic in the summer of 1793. Her other son, John Payne Todd, survived.<sup>5</sup>

After her marriage to Madison in 1794, Dolley Madison was expelled from the Quaker meeting.<sup>6</sup> She went on to become the most popular woman in the early history of the White House.

In terms of Madison taste, historians have

traditionally given most of the credit to Dolley Madison. In the opinion of one authority:

She was the most commanding figure in Washington for half a century, and completely dwarfed her husband both physically and socially.<sup>7</sup>

Admittedly, the historical image of James Madison is less exciting than that of his gregarious wife. Retiring, sickly, and small in stature, Madison has never emerged as one of the dynamic heroes of the early Republic.

Nevertheless, he must have had a significant influence on the taste of Dolley Madison. In the opinion of the writer, there is a need to further explore James Madison's taste; he was heir to the rich cultural traditions of the Virginia aristocracy. During his lifetime, the Old Dominion reached its peak of influence, and elegance. By comparison, elegant displays were alien to the beliefs of the Quaker Paynes; furthermore, they could not afford luxury.

Because of his political connections, James Madison was associated with many of the nation's cultural leaders; he moved in an atmosphere of "good" taste. The Paynes were strict Quakers; while they associated with such respectable Philadelphia Quaker families as the Drinkers and

the Pembertons, they were not cosmopolitan.<sup>8</sup> Dolley Madison must have learned much from her husband and his circle.

When the Madisons moved into the White House in 1809, Dolley Madison was placed in charge of the furniture fund accounts.<sup>9</sup> Strictly speaking, the story of Madison White House furnishings is an examination of her taste. In the opinion of the writer, however, Madison taste was the product of mutual cooperation.

Chapter I is devoted to a discussion of the taste of James and Dolley Madison as reflected in their selection of works of art and furnishings for Montpelier, the family estate in Orange.<sup>10</sup> An examination of the furniture and art at Montpelier offers an opportunity to witness the free expression of Madison taste without the influence of government money. Montpelier provides a standard of comparison for the White House.

Chapters II and III examine the Madisons' use of public funds for White House furnishings. After the burning of the Executive Mansion in 1814, Congress took a negative attitude towards the furniture fund. The change is reflected in the choice of furniture for the President's house. Unlike any other First Lady, Dolley Madison had to decorate two houses with different furniture. The fire marks the break between the two chapters.

The Catalogue represents a visual statement of Madison taste. In terms of the Introduction to the Catalogue, it is understood that the method suggested for determining the authenticity of Madison furnishings is subject to considerable refinement. Jewelry, small decorative objects, fine art, and costumes have been omitted. Although brass, copper, glass, and textiles qualify as furnishings, no authentic examples have been found.

## Notes to the Introduction

<sup>1</sup>Singleton, I, p. xviii. The term "White House" was used as early as May 19, 1809, by Henry Dearborn. See Brant, V, pp. 32-33. However, during the early years of the Republic, the official residence of the Chief Executive was usually called the "President's House." In the interest of consistency, only three terms will be used to describe the house on Pennsylvania Avenue: 1) The White House; 2) the President's House, and 3) the Executive Mansion. In addition, these names apply to the houses occupied by the Madisons after the 1814 fire.

<sup>2</sup>Singleton, I, p. xvii.

<sup>3</sup>For a complete discussion of Madison's family background and career, see Brant, I-VI. Also, Reginald Buchanan Henry, Genealogies of the Families of the Presidents (Rutland, Vermont: The Tuttle Co.), 1935, introduction and pp. 137-148. (Hereafter, Henry).

<sup>4</sup>Allen C. Clark, Life and Letters of Dolly Madison (Washington, D.C.: W. F. Roberts Company), 1914, pp. 19-26. (Hereafter, Clark).

<sup>5</sup>The Winstons were prominent Virginians; Mary Coles' aunt, Sarah Winston, was the mother of Patrick Henry. For the most comprehensive discussion of Dolley Madison's background, see Katharine Anthony, Dolley Madison (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc.), 1949, pp. 5-38. (Hereafter, Anthony). Also, [Lucia B. Cutts, ed], Memoirs and Letters of Dolley Madison (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company), 1886, pp. 3-16. (Hereafter, L. B. Cutts). Caroline Holmes Bivins, (copy) "Geneological Notes on the Payne and Todd Families," February, 1971 (typewritten manuscript), in possession of the author, Greensboro, North Carolina. For the Cutts genealogy, see Clark, p. 501.

<sup>6</sup>The Society of Friends condemned marriages made outside the membership. She was dismissed on December 12, 1794. See Anthony, p. 92.

<sup>7</sup>Singleton, I, p. xx.

<sup>8</sup>Anthony, pp. 23, 43.

<sup>9</sup>Klapthor, p. 158.

<sup>10</sup>The first use of the name "Montpelier" appeared in a letter to Madison from Dr. William Thornton in 1803. Madison began using it in 1807, but preferred the French spelling "Montpellier." Brant, IV, p. 45.

## Chapter I: The Problem of Madison Taste

In August, 1823, Margaret Bayard Smith visited the Madisons at Montpelier. To the former President and his wife, Montpelier, more than any other house, was home. Here they spent part of nearly every year of their married life. After James Madison's retirement from the Presidency in 1817, Montpelier became a storehouse for the objects collected during his long and distinguished career.

On the seventeenth of August, Mrs. Smith wrote:

The drawing-room walls are covered with pictures, some very fine, from the ancient masters, but most of them portraits of our most distinguished men, six or eight by Stewart [Stuart]. The mantlepice, tables in each corner and in fact wherever one could be fixed, were filled with busts, and groups of figures in plaster, so that this apartment had more the appearance of a museum of the arts than of a drawing-room. It was a charming room, giving activity to the mind, by the historic and classic ideas that it awakened.

This was Madison taste, but Mrs. Smith's comments raise a variety of questions. What motivated the Madisons to create a "museum of the arts?" Who chose the objects, and the paintings, busts, and furniture--when, where, from whom, for how much, did they acquire them?

The substance of Madison taste is difficult to define. It is a complex puzzle. Many pieces--documents and objects--are still missing. It is the purpose of this chapter to discuss the pieces that have been found.

The Madison period cuts through several styles, from late Georgian Chippendale to early Victorian. In the opinion of the writer, however, they purchased most of their furnishings between 1798 and about 1830. The earlier date marks the beginning of Madison's long-term program of remodeling and expansion at Montpelier.<sup>2</sup> By about 1830, most of his fortune was exhausted.<sup>3</sup> Their main buying period encompasses the Federal and Empire styles.

What about money? Before she married James Madison, Dolley Todd wrote to her attorney, William Wilkins, for counsel. He described Madison as "a man of genteel tho not of large property."<sup>4</sup> Dolley Payne's family was poor. Although her first husband, John Todd, had prospered in his business, the Quaker attorney's estate was relatively small.<sup>5</sup> James and Dolley Madison were never outstandingly rich.

By virtue of political status, the Madisons were in a position to set the taste of the American public at large. It is unlikely, however, that they influenced the taste of their immediate circle. Unlike Jefferson, Monroe,



the Joel Barlows, the Gallatins, the Adamses, and the John Quincy Adamses, the Madisons never went abroad.<sup>6</sup> They had no direct experience with European fashions. They were merely exposed to the fashions of their friends. Madison taste was an effort of studied imitation.

As an enthusiastic imitator, Dolley Madison had few rivals. She was quick to adopt the newest fashions. During one summer at Montpelier, she wrote to her sister:

We shall stay a week or 10 days longer--& perhaps come back in octr. or before--I dont care about the furniture so much now that I find it difficult to obtain the sample of orange stripe at 5 Shill. . . . but the J. Monroes have arrived [from France?] full of fine things, perhaps I may get silk for furniture . . .<sup>7</sup>

Dolley Madison's desire for fine goods seems to have emerged only after her marriage to Madison, after she left the Society of Friends. In 1805 she returned to Philadelphia to receive treatment for a tumor on her leg. Many friends visited her sickroom.<sup>8</sup> On one occasion, two Quaker acquaintances criticized Mrs. Madison's lively social life. Shortly after the incident, she complained:

This lecture made me recollect the times when our Society used to control me entirely and debar me from so many advantages and pleasures, and although so entirely from their clutches, I really felt my ancient terror of them revive to disagreeable degree.<sup>9</sup>

Dolley Madison was "an odd bird for a Quaker nest."<sup>10</sup> The shopper's impulse must have been present, but suppressed,

during her youth. The former Quakeress was delighted with Madison's circle, high society with high style.

Two aspects of Madison taste show imitation at its best. The first is the choice of works of art for Montpelier. The second is their participation in the vogue for things French.

At an unspecified date, Dolley Madison made a list of the oil paintings at Montpelier. and in Washington. There were fifty-five works in the inventory. (Appendix I). The list included portraits of the first five Presidents of the United States, thirteen religious paintings, plus mythological scenes, landscapes, portraits, still life, and genre. Such variety indicates a well-rounded interest in the arts.

The same variety appears in the Madisons' engravings; there were thirty-six prints in the dining room at Montpelier. (Appendix II). More than half of these were political portraits, both foreign and domestic. In addition there were landscapes and historical scenes.

Politics was the key to the Madisons' choice of statuary. In 1816, Madison sent an order to Paris for busts of Washington, Jefferson, Lafayette, and Baron Humboldt.<sup>11</sup> In the "Clock room" at Montpelier visitors saw statues of John Adams, John Paul Jones, Baldwin, Barlow,

Gallatin, Henry Clay, the famous profile bust of Madison by Ceracchi, and the busts of the Emperor Alexander and his Empress.<sup>12</sup>

Many of the Madisons' art objects were purchased between 1814 and 1815 by Payne Todd, Mrs. Madison's son, who accompanied the Peace Commission to Ghent.<sup>13</sup> In addition to his pocket money expenditures, Todd drew \$6500 on account from Baring Brothers, London; much of this went for objets d'art.<sup>14</sup>

In acquiring these works of art, the Madisons were following an established pattern among the Virginia aristocracy. George Washington owned a landscape by Claude; when Jefferson was in Paris, he commissioned several copies of master paintings--among others, a Raphael, a Vouet, and a Guido Reni.<sup>15</sup> While abroad in 1815, Joseph C. Cabell bought copies of great pictures, several busts, and no less than 145 marbles.<sup>16</sup>

So common was this practice, that historian Richard B. Davis has been able to summarize the aristocratic taste of the period:

Virginians owned some good portraits, and animal pictures and water colors, and many indifferent landscapes or copies of the great masters. They showed their best taste in the engravings of great originals they could not own, especially of American historical scenes and events. Their tastes were

consonant with their view of politics and morality. . . . Though in later years romantic subjects and treatments began to appear, the Jeffersonians usually still favored the neo-classic, with a preference for the statuesque and commemorative.<sup>17</sup>

The Madisons fit perfectly into this scheme.

In terms of the French vogue, the Madisons' circle offered numerous models for imitation. Two of James Madison's good friends, Jefferson and Monroe, were among the innovators of the French taste in America. They returned from France with ample supplies of furniture, recipes, and objets d'art.<sup>18</sup> James and Dolley Madison enthusiastically adopted the fashion.

In acquiring French objects, the Madisons used a variety of intermediaries. In the late 1790's, James Monroe, then in Paris, was commissioned to send furniture to Montpellier; he sent chairs, couches, and an iron bedstead which had originally stood in the Tuileries.<sup>19</sup> Upon his return to America, he brought mattresses, table cloths, and napkins.<sup>20</sup>

When Monroe went on his second mission to France, Madison purchased some of his French furnishings. On March 13, 1803, Madison wrote to Samuel Coleman, Monroe's agent in Richmond:

With the enclosed from Col. Monroe, I have rec'd. a list of his furniture at Richmond, from which, by an agreement between

us, I am to take such articles as I may choose  
 . . .<sup>21</sup>

Fortunately, the list survives. Most of the articles were silver:

- 2 Dozen and half Tea Spoons
- 3 Dozen Forks
- 2 Dozen and Ten Table Spoons
- 1 Dozen great Spoons
- 1 Soup Spoon, the other in Albermarle to be had of Hannah
- 1 and half dozen English Desert Spoons
- 1 Box for Desert in which there is 1 and half dozen spoons, and 4 Sugar Spoons
- 1 and half dozen Forks
- 1 and half dozen Knives

---

- 1 coffee pot
- 1 Sugar pot and Tongs
- 1 Tea pot
- 1 Tea caddee
- 6 Candlesticks
- 2 Chamber Candlesticks with Snuffers & Extinrs.
- 5 salt spoons
- 2 Castors for the Table
- 2 Porter cups

---

...  
 Some wine glasses and goblets &c.  
 3 dozen Seve [Sèvres] Porcelain Plates

---

6 Plated Coolers & 2 for wine glasses

a number of porcelain figures chiefly in alb. [Albermarle]; some busts in Richmond of infr. value.

a plattau for the table in albermarle.<sup>22</sup>

Madison bought all the silver and china, but there is some confusion about the glass and porcelain figures.<sup>23</sup> On May 24, Coleman wrote about the latter:

The glass, which you desire may be sent in lieu of the porcelain figures, is so ordinary in quality and there is so little of it, that the expense of packing and shipping &c. would exceed the value of it . . .<sup>24</sup>

Perhaps Madison took the porcelain figures instead.

Apparently Monroe used the money to finance his personal expenses in Paris.<sup>25</sup> Whatever Madison's motives for buying these articles, he overstretched his budget and had to borrow a month's rent from a friend.<sup>26</sup>

In 1806, James and Dolley Madison purchased two sets of French china. Fulwar Skipwith, a Virginian acting as Consul in Paris, wrote to Madison on September 3,

Mr. Nast, the China Manufacturer, has at last executed the order which I gave him on my arrival here for your Table and Dessert sets of China, & they have lately been forwarded to my Correspondents at Nantes Messrs. Sherburne & Eakin who will profit of the earliest safe opportunity to convey them to you. This china in whiteness is not much inferior to the China of the celebrated Manufactory of Sêve, & is just 40% cheaper. I might have pleased myself better in my choice among much dearer sets of China, say at from five to eight thousand Francs, but in no one of the Manufactories could I select a Table & Dessert set so good & so neat at the prices paid by me for yours. You have inclosed the Invoice amounting, with the commission of 2 pr. Ct. to be paid my Correspondents in Philadelphia

for receiving &. remitting, to F.3125.12.5 or  
\$595.37 cts. to the order of these Gentlemen  
(Maclure & Robertson) . . .<sup>27</sup>

The sets arrived in late November or early December;  
duties and shipping charges amounted to \$122.62 $\frac{1}{2}$ .<sup>28</sup>

The Monroe silver and the Nast porcelain are important in several respects. The story of Madison taste is one of conflict between extravagant taste and limited funds. It is also the story of compromise; the Madisons were willing to take elegant used silver and good "imitation Sèvres." They wanted the best at bargain prices.

They did not always succeed. In the case of Monroe's silver, Madison exceeded his budget. There are other examples of the conflict inherent in Madison taste.

In 1816, Dolley Madison sent an order for furniture to Hannah Gallatin, then in Paris. On June 2, Mrs. Gallatin wrote to her from New York:

I shall certainly my dear friend attend to the commission you have given me to make you purchases when I arrive in Paris, we shall have to get furniture of the same kind that you want for ourselves and it shall be done altogether. As to the cheap part, I fear for it seems to be well understood in this place, that every thing is monstrous dear in Paris--and that cheap and handsome cannot be united, but we will promise to do our best.<sup>29</sup>

The outcome is unknown.

By anyone's standards, Dolley Madison was fashion conscious. Madison must have strained to keep up with his wife's demands for French costumes. At any rate, she kept friends and agents busy in the Parisian shops.

Mrs. Madison's attitude towards French fashions is clear in a letter to Mrs. Joel Barlow (in Paris), in 1811:

As you have everything that is beautiful and we have nothing--I will ask the favor of you to send me by safe vessels--large head-dresses--a few flowers, feathers, gloves and stockings, black and white and any other pretty things suitable to an Economist, and draw upon my husband for the amount.<sup>30</sup> (emphasis mine).

William Lee, Consul at Bordeaux, played a significant role in selecting articles for the Madisons. In June, 1808, he wrote to Madison:

. . . I have been round . . . and purchased a number of articles for Mrs. Madison . . . It would give Mrs. Lee infinite pleasure if Mrs. Madison would allow her to send out from time to time such fancy articles, as would be thought to please in America . . .<sup>31</sup>

In 1811, Mrs. Madison sent a large commission for clothes. Lee was hard-pressed to fill the order with haste; the First Lady was impatient to receive the goods.<sup>32</sup> In an attempt to pacify her, Clara Baldwin wrote from Paris:

I am sure you will be pleased with Lee's purchases, we think them chosen with a great deal of taste and judgement--never a poor fellow worked harder or took more pains to



endeavor to give satisfaction. He has done nothing else this two months but waddle round Paris & cutt from the magazines of fashion.<sup>33</sup>

When the clothes arrived, Dolley Madison was pleased, although the turbans were too small.<sup>34</sup> The duties alone amounted to two thousand dollars; Madison must have balked, because his wife was moved to complain, "I am afraid that I never shall send for anything more."<sup>35</sup>

It was only a temporary setback. By 1812, Mrs. Barlow was volunteering to buy high style "embroideries."<sup>36</sup> In 1813, Lee sent more clothes.<sup>37</sup> In 1815, Lee sent some spiral French lamps, and, in a letter to Madison, expressed fear that "the Trifles . . . occasionally sent to Mrs. Madison . . . may not all have arrived safe."<sup>38</sup>

In some instances, Dolley Madison's turbans came wrapped up in politics. In 1811, David Warden wrote to the First Lady for help in getting the appointment as Consul at Paris; accompanying the request were an engraving of Napoleon and some specimens of Paris porcelains.<sup>39</sup> Apparently, Mrs. Madison was pleased with these French gifts. At any rate, on March 12, Warden acknowledged the appointment; four days later, he again wrote to the First Lady:

On my arrival here [Newport] I received your favor, of the 8th. Inst. with the enclosures. I will have great pleasure in pur-

chasing and sending you the articles of which I  
received the list.<sup>40</sup>

The grateful Warden must have filled her order with considerable care.

The Madisons' "museum of the arts" was not the casual expression of the taste of an opulent planter. The classical, elegant atmosphere at Montpelier was skillfully created through a careful compromise between extravagance and practicality.

Ingenuity is a major theme in the story of Madison taste. When Dolley Madison moved into the White House in 1809, she began a task that challenged nearly every aspect of this talent. In 1817, she finished her task, and "left an imprint which no other President's wife has ever made" in the history of White House taste.<sup>41</sup>

## Notes to Chapter I.

<sup>1</sup>The First Forty Years of Washington Society, ed., Gaillard Hunt (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons), 1906, p. 233. (Hereafter, Hunt, Forty Years).

<sup>2</sup>In 1797, James Madison briefly retired from public life, and returned to the family estate in Orange. Shortly thereafter, he began updating the house, which was built by his father ca. 1760. Madison, Jr. "federalized" the building, cutting French windows into the walls, and adding two porticos to the exterior--one on the front, the other on the back of the house. The latter faced elaborate gardens designed by the younger Madison. The building was enlarged after plans by Dr. William Thornton. In 1809, one-story wings were added by Latrobe. Brant, I, p. 54; III, p. 458; IV, pp. 12, 43. Also, [Mary E.E. Cutts], memoirs [ca. 1855], pp. 3, 5-9, Cutts Collection of the Papers of James and Dolley Madison, microfilm, Library of Congress. (Hereafter, Mary Cutts memoir, CP,LC). Miss Cutts was Dolley Madison's niece.

<sup>3</sup>Brant, VI, pp. 418-532.

<sup>4</sup>Clark, p. 23.

<sup>5</sup>Paul G. Sifton, "What a Dread Prospect . . . Dolley Madison's Plague Year," The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LXXXVII (April, 1963), 182-188. (Hereafter, Sifton).

<sup>6</sup>A detailed discussion of the Madisons' circle is beyond the scope of this paper. Margaret Bayard Smith mentions most of their friends; see Hunt, Forty Years. Also, Anthony Clark. Gaillard Hunt, Life in America One Hundred Years Ago (New York and London: Harper & Brothers), 1914. Anne Hollingsworth Wharton, Salons Colonial and Republican (Philadelphia & London: J.B. Lippincott Company), 1900. (Hereafter, Wharton, Salons). By the same author, Social Life in the Early Republic (Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company), 1902. (Hereafter, Wharton, Early Republic). For the Madisons' circle in Orange, see W. W. Scott, A History of Orange County, Virginia (Richmond: Everett Wadley Co.), 1907.

<sup>7</sup>n.d., CP,LC.

<sup>8</sup>Brant, IV, p. 280.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 281.

<sup>10</sup>Mary Ormsbee Whitton, "Dorothea Madison, a Study in Popularity," First First Ladies, 1789-1865 (New York: Hastings House), 1948, 54-70, p. 56.

<sup>11</sup>Brant, VI, p. 397.

<sup>12</sup>Mary Cutts memoir, p. 10, CP,LC.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid, pp. 16-17. Also, Brant, VI, p. 390.

<sup>14</sup>Brant, VI, pp. 396-397.

<sup>15</sup>Richard B. Davis, Intellectual Life in Jefferson's Virginia, 1790-1830 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press), 1964, pp. 227-228.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 227.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., pp. 219-220.

<sup>18</sup>Marie Kimball, "The Furnishings of Monticello," 2 Parts: Part I, Antiques, XII (November, 1927), 380-385; Part II, Antiques, XII (December, 1927), 482-486. By the same author, "Thomas Jefferson's French Furniture," Antiques, XV (February, 1929), 123-128. Also, Celia Jackson Otto, "French Furniture for American Patriots," Antiques, LXXIX (April, 1961), 370-374. For Monroe, See Lucius Wilmerding, Jr., James Monroe: Public Claimant (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press), 1960. By the same author, "James Monroe and the Furniture Fund," New York Historical Society Quarterly, XLIV (April, 1960), 133-149.

<sup>19</sup>Anthony, p. 261, The bed was still in Orange as late as 1855. See Mary Cutts memoir, p. 8, CP,LC.

<sup>20</sup>Monroe brought six dozen napkins and four table cloths, "2 of the size for a room of 18 feet--2 others of great length wh. may be cut either in two or three . . ." James Monroe to James Madison, February 6, 1798, Virginia Historical Society.

<sup>21</sup>The Papers of James Madison, Presidential Papers Microfilm, 27 Reels, series 2, Reel 7, LC. (Hereafter, JM,LC.).

LC. <sup>22</sup>[January or February] , 1803, JM, s.2, Reel 7,

<sup>23</sup>Brant, IV, p. 111.

<sup>24</sup>JM, s.2, Reel 7, LC.

<sup>25</sup>Brant, IV, p. 111.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 420.

<sup>27</sup>Madison Group, McGregor Collection, #2988, Box 21, Alderman Library, University of Virginia. (Hereafter, #2988, MC, AL).

<sup>28</sup>Samuel H. Eakins to James Madison, November 22, 1806, #2988, Box 21, MC, AL (shipping charges).

<sup>29</sup>#2988, Box 21, MC, LC.

<sup>30</sup>November 15, 1811, CP, LC.

<sup>31</sup>June 26, 1808, Miscellaneous Dolley Madison Letters, #8707, AL.

<sup>32</sup>A Yankee Jeffersonian: Selections from the Diary and Letters of William Lee of Massachusetts, 1796-1840, ed., Mary Lee Mann (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press), 1958, pp. 135, 139, 144. (Hereafter, Mann).

<sup>33</sup>January 1, 1812, The Papers of Dorothy Payne Madison, 13 vols., 1797-1851 and undated, vol. marked "20 Letters, 1797-1817 and undated", LC. (Hereafter, DMP, LC. For this vol.; hereafter, "20 Letters").

<sup>34</sup>D.P. Madison to Mrs. Barlow, 1811, CP, LC.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid.

<sup>36</sup>Mrs. Barlow to D.P. Madison, March 4, 1812, Dolley P. Madison Collection, #8392, AL.

<sup>37</sup>D.P. Madison to [Mrs. Barlow?], December 28, 1813, CP, LC.

<sup>38</sup>Mann, p. 171.

<sup>39</sup> January 19, 1811, Monroe Papers, #8005, AL.  
(Hereafter, #8005, MP, AL.).

<sup>40</sup> #8005, MP, AL.

<sup>41</sup> Anthony, p. xx.

## Chapter II: The Pre-Fire White House, 1809-1814

### Washington Society

On Saturday, March 11, 1809, Mrs. William Thornton recorded in her diary: "Mr. and Mrs. M[adison] went to the Great House."<sup>1</sup> One of the most brilliant phases of Washington society had begun. Dolley Madison was the first woman since Abigail Adams to reside continuously in the President's House.<sup>2</sup> She made some changes.

During his eight years in office, Thomas Jefferson pursued a course of studied informality. Summarizing Jefferson's approach to entertaining, John Adams remarked:

I held levees once a week that all my time might not be wasted by idle visits. Jefferson's whole eight years was a levee.<sup>3</sup>

The Madison administration witnessed a swing towards the more formal etiquette of the days of Washington and Adams. Every Wednesday evening, Mrs. Madison held a drawing room. It was not difficult to gain admission to these "levees" and in this respect, Jefferson's liberal policy towards visitors was partially continued.

To better understand Madison etiquette, one might turn to Washington Irving. In 1811, the author attended one of Mrs. Madison's drawing rooms. His famous "levee" account bears repeating:

. . . I arrived at the Inn about dusk; and, understanding that Mrs. Madison was to have her levee or drawing room that very evening, I swore by all the gods I would be there. But how? was the question. I had got away down into Georgetown, and the persons to whom my letters of introduction were directed lived all upon Capitol Hill, about three miles off, while the President's house was exactly half way. Here was a non-plus enough to startle any man of less enterprising spirit; but I had sworn to be there, and I determined to keep my oath, and like Caleb Quotem, to 'have a place at the Review.' So I mounted with a stout heart to my room; resolved to put on my pease blossoms and silk stockings; gird up my loins; sally forth on my expedition; and like a vagabond knight errant, trust to Providence for success and whole bones. Just as I descended from my attic chamber, full of this valorous spirit, I was met by my landlord, with whom, and the head waiter, by-the-bye, I had held a private cabinet council on the subject. Bully Rook informed me that there was a party of gentlemen just going from the house, one of whom, Mr. Fontaine Maury of New York, had offered his services to introduce me to 'the Sublime Porte' . . . In a few minutes I emerged from dirt and darkness into the blazing splendor of Mrs. Madison's drawing-room. Here I was most graciously received; found a crowded collection of great and little men, of ugly old women and beautiful young ones, and in ten minutes was hand and glove with half the people in the assemblage . . .?

Most contemporary accounts agree with Irving's appraisal of the "blazing splendor" of the drawing room, but, politics is politics. If Madison was a Republican, then Mrs. Madison's drawing room was, by extention, a Repub-



ican drawing room. In the eyes of the Federalist opposition, it was a logical target for attack.

An excellent example of such criticism appears in two letters from Harrison Gray Otis, a staunch Federalist, to his wife. During a visit to Washington, he wrote:

. . . I could not go to the drawing room, a circumstance which I do not regret, as I believe it resembles an assembly composed pell mell of the contents of forty stage coaches than any other Congregation of bipeds . . .<sup>6</sup>

His attack on Madison etiquette soon expands into a general condemnation of Washington society:

. . . If all the houses were concentrated, the place would wear the semblance of a city and possess its comforts. If all the genteel people who live here permanently or temporarily were united into a social mass, there would be enough of them to give some coloring of taste and fashion and decorum to the motley throng which now fill drawing rooms and levees, or at least sufficient to hide the grossness of the vulgarity which now predominates over all the assemblages.<sup>7</sup>

Criticism is one thing; action, quite another.

Apparently, members of both parties mingled regularly at the drawing room.<sup>8</sup> Otis' letters confirm the success of Mrs. Madison's weekly gatherings: the "contents of forty stage coaches," the "motley throng," represent--in simple mathematics--crowds. In terms of both the social impact and the importance of the drawing room, it matters little that Harrison Gray Otis did not approve of Mrs. Madison's guests. It is significant, however, that a considerable

number of people--from diverse geographic locations--appeared at the President's House for these receptions.

Once inside the "Sublime Porte," these visitors met the President and his First Lady. They socialized; and, save in cases of extreme insensitivity, they took note of the furnishings in the reception rooms. Then, as now, visitors to the White House were generally curious to see "how the President lived."

Simple curiosity and the Madisons' liberal etiquette do not fully explain the popularity of Dolley Madison's drawing room. Other drawing room boycotts are not unknown in the history of the White House.<sup>9</sup> Mrs. Madison had many social talents; she gave good parties. Furthermore, in the second decade of Washington society, entertainments in the Federal City were still at a premium.

The charm, tact, and gracious hospitality of "Queen Dolley" are legendary.<sup>10</sup> They require no further elaboration, but few scholars have stressed the problems that confronted the First Lady at her weekly drawing rooms.

Sir Augustus John Foster offers some clues. The aristocratic Foster was British Minister from 1811 until 1812. In his memoirs, he complained about the difficulties involved in giving parties in Washington:

. . . especially as there were several hot-headed Irishmen in Congress who would have desired no better sport than to shoot at Randolph or any other leading member of the opposition.<sup>11</sup>

If the inhabitants were difficult to control, the city itself provided few comforts. At the end of the Madison administration, one English traveler offered a grim report:

The increase of the federal city cannot be rapid. Here is fine natural scenery, but no decidedly great natural advantages; little external commerce, a barren soil, a scanty population . . . and no direct means of communication with the Western country.<sup>12</sup>

Earlier, the general attitude was worse. In 1805, Latrobe called Washington a "wretched and desolate place."<sup>13</sup> By that date, the speculation craze had already produced a quantity of tumbling buildings in the Capitol.<sup>14</sup> Ministers and members of Congress often had trouble finding lodgings.<sup>15</sup>

In 1809, the city of Washington was only 19 years old. It had been carved out of a wooded swamp, and could hardly offer the rich cultural advantages of such vintage cities as Philadelphia, New York, or Boston. Albert Gallatin so disliked the Federal City that he even questioned the infallibility of George Washington; according to one reporter:

Mr. Gallatin thought the only instance of defective judgement in him [George Washington]

was his fixing the site of the capital of the United States where it is.<sup>16</sup>

In 1809. the President's House was one of the few elegant buildings in Washington. Small wonder that Congressmen and visitors looked to the Madisons for amusement, just as they had looked to Jefferson earlier. According to Foster, Jefferson had the entire legislative body dependent upon him for amusement,

his house and those of the Ministers  
being in fact almost necessary to them,  
unless they chose to live like bears.<sup>17</sup>

#### White House Furnishings

During the Madisons' pre-fire period, Congress appropriated \$20,000 for the furniture fund. Margaret Klapthor's discussion of the purchases made during the agency of Benjamin Latrobe accounts for \$12,669.31 of the total \$20,000.<sup>18</sup> Two more accounts--one belonging to Latrobe--among the Miscellaneous Treasury Accounts, list additional expenditures totalling \$6347.32.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, prior to the fire, the Madisons spent \$19,016.63 for White House furnishings. It is the purpose of this chapter to summarize Mrs. Klapthor's findings and offer a discussion of the other accounts.

When the Madisons moved into the Executive Mansion, they did not find an empty house. The building contained a substantial amount of furniture collected during

the administrations of Washington, Adams, and Jefferson. Two surviving White House inventories offer valuable insights into both the quantity and quality of these furnishings. The first is a list of government furnishings compiled shortly before John Adams left office in March, 1801. (Appendix III). The second is an inventory taken by Thomas Jefferson in 1809. (Appendix IV).

When Dolley Madison surveyed the contents of her new home, she must have rejoiced that it would not be her responsibility to furnish the entire house. In light of the decision to re-institute weekly drawing rooms, the appearance of the reception rooms must have caused her some alarm.

According to Jefferson's inventory, the President's drawing room (now the Blue Room), and the small dining room (the Green Room), sported chintz curtains. Apparently, Jefferson had devoted most of his energies and funds, to making the house "structurally habitable."<sup>20</sup> Therefore, during his eight years in office, architecture, not interior decoration, was his chief concern.

There is evidence to support this notion. In 1804, the poet Thomas Moore visited Jefferson at the White House. He reported:

The President's House, a very noble structure, is by no means suited to the philosophical humility of its present possessor, who inhabits but a corner of the mansion himself, and abandons the rest to a state of uncleanly desolation, which those who are not philosophers cannot look at without regret.<sup>21</sup>

Dolley Madison was not a philosopher. During her first year in the President's House, she and Benjamin Latrobe redecorated two of the public reception rooms.

The first was the President's Sitting Room, now the Red Room. Known then as Mrs. Madison's parlor, this room was the setting, on May 31, 1809, for the first Wednesday night drawing room.<sup>22</sup> The second was the oval Drawing Room (now the Blue Room), opened to the public on New Year's Day, 1810.<sup>23</sup>

In selecting furniture for the White House, Latrobe turned to the markets in Philadelphia, New York, Baltimore, and Georgetown-Alexandria. On May 29, 1809, he submitted an account of miscellaneous expenditures:

To this Sum paid him on account by Warrent	Dr.	
on the Treasury	\$5,000	
Per Contra		Cr.
By this sum pd. Louis Deblois for two		
Mirrors and expenses	1,060	
By do. . . do. . . to settle small accts.	550	
Mem: This sum has been nearly expended		
for articles of household use and repairs,		
and is to be accounted for by Mr. Deblois.		
By do. . . do. . . Louis Mark of New York		
for Table Linnen and Looking Glass,		
on acct.	1,225	
By do. . . do. . . Paul F. Brown for China	556.15	
By do. . . do. . . Charles Bird for knives,		
forks, bottlestands, Waiters, Andirons,		
etc.	220.90	
By do. . . John Cox for sundries		
(remittance to Peter Harvie, Pa.)	840.70	
By do. . . George Blake for Guitar	28.00	
By do. . . Andrew Hazelhurst for a Piano-		
forte	458.00	
By commission at 2 per cent <sup>24</sup>	100.00	
	<u>\$5,038.75</u>	

It is remarkable that Latrobe managed to redecorate Mrs. Madison's parlor in only two months. Activity in the White House must have been frantic. The room was decorated in the fashionable Sheraton style:

The curtains in the room were made of sunflower yellow damask with a valance of swags and draperies topping each window. This valance continued all around the top of the room, the stiff festoons looping up to a pole placed near the ceiling line. The fringe with which all the draperies and valances were trimmed . . . was made of long and short drops, silk over bits of wood. . . .

In front of the fireplace, 'on a fireboard' beneath the mantle the same yellow damask was arranged in a fluted pattern known as a 'rising sun.' The furniture of the room was upholstered in bright yellow satin, the high-backed sofas and stiff chairs were elegant with no pretense of comfort. The room's furnishings were com-

pleted with a new carpet, a few pier tables and card tables, plus a pianoforte and a fine guitar . . .<sup>25</sup>

It was the oval drawing room that received the most lavish treatment. Latrobe designed both the architectural features and the furniture.<sup>26</sup> Here his inspiration was not the late neo-classicism of Sheraton, but the Greek style of Thomas Hope.<sup>27</sup>

Latrobe sent designs for klismos chairs and Grecian sofas and settees, to the Baltimore shop of John and Hugh Finlay, who made and painted the furniture for \$1111.<sup>28</sup> Red velvet curtains and upholstery were made by John Rea of Philadelphia.<sup>29</sup> The large looking glass designed for the space above the mantel was broken en route from New York; it was replaced by two smaller ones, costing \$1060.<sup>30</sup>

A Brussels carpet (cost, \$464.75), and a dozen patent lamps in a "mixture of Egyptian, Grecian, and Birmingham taste," completed the decor.<sup>31</sup> A diorama in the First Ladies Hall at the Smithsonian Institution shows the room as it must have looked. The effect was decidedly archaeological, intended to evoke the ideal of antiquity. It was a fitting design for the most important house in the "second Rome."



The parlor and the drawing room were the only rooms completely redecorated during the 1809-1811 period, but considerable sums were spent to repair or replace articles left in the house by earlier administrations.

In October, 1810, the Madisons sold some of the old White House furnishings at public auction. (Appendix V). The sale brought \$447.88 for the furniture fund.<sup>32</sup> Recalling the large number of articles in Jefferson's inventory, it was a trifling sale.

In the fall of 1809, Dolley Madison decided that the White House silver needed refurbishing. As was the custom, new pieces were fashioned from old ones. Between October, 1809, and February, 1810, George W. Riggs, a Georgetown silversmith, supplied and repaired the plate:

1809			
Oct. 8	Repairing 2 Tea Pots some time past		.50
	-1 Coffee Pot wt. 33oz. @ 2.50	82.50	
	Gadroon Border	1.00	
	Handle	<u>2.00</u>	
			85.50
	to Punching up & Burnishing 1 doz. tea spoons		1.00
	Burnishing and repairing 2 Sugar dishes		2.00
	Repairing & polishing 2 dishes with covers		1.50
	Repairing Silver Can with Silver piece		.75
	do. . . Candlestick		.50
	" large plated urn with silver piece and putting on handle		.50 1.00

	Repairing & Soddering large Plated urn	2.50
	Silver foot to Waiter	1.50
	Taking out bottoms and sundry repairs to 2 large waiters	2.50
	Repairing and Sodering edges of 2 Dishes with tops	2.50
Nov. 28	1 doz. Silver tea spoons very strong 7 oz.	12.50
	to mending Silver Ink stand and adding silver	2.00
Dec.	Cleaning & polishing clock	8.00
	1 Small Ladle returned 10 oz. 15 dwt.	1.00
1810		
Feb.	2 Silver Cream Pots 17 oz. 15 @ \$3	54.25
	2 Sugar Dishes 41 11 @ \$3	124.65
		<u>\$304.23</u>
	1809--Cr.---	<u>119.--</u>
		\$185.23
Oct 10	By Sundry Old Silver	
	105 oz. 17 dwt. @ 1.13...119.00 <sup>33</sup>	

The bill from George Riggs is important in several respects. First, it suggests the fate of some White House silver: it was returned to the melting pot. Secondly, it illustrates the role of "general upkeep" in depleting the White House budget.

The story of Madison White House furnishings is not simply the story of red velvet curtains and Finlay chairs. It is also the story of chamber pots, sheets and towels, and scrub brushes. There is something mundane about a scrub brush. The fact remains, however, that these, and other equally common articles consumed a substantial portion of the furniture fund.

Consider the kitchen. Under the Madison administration, John Achmann acted as presidential coppersmith. During Latrobe's agency alone, he charged \$173.70 $\frac{1}{2}$ --this sum was spent for repairs to candlesticks and pots, as well as making and tinning stew pans and other kitchen equipment.<sup>34</sup>

Lewis Deblois acted as Latrobe's assistant, of sorts, between 1809 and 1811. Dealing with several merchants, he supplied an amazing variety of articles for the President's House. One bill for \$80.78 included: a \$15.00 carpet for the President's cabinet, a chess set, brooms, chamber pots, dimity for bed covers, and nails.<sup>35</sup>

Apparently, the supply of china and glass was inadequate for the stream of company that came to the White House. During the fall and winter of 1810-1811, Latrobe purchased some inexpensive articles from the merchant John Thompson:

1810

Nov. 5

5 Chamber pots	.67
2 basons & Ewers	1.25

Dec. 5

2 doz. China dinner plates	10.00
2 doz. do....breakfast do....	7.00
2 doz. do....dessert do....	6.00
11 do....dishes	
6/\$3 3/\$3 $\frac{1}{2}$ 2/\$4	36.50
1 doz. tumblers	4.62 $\frac{1}{2}$
Box and drayage	.50 64.62 $\frac{1}{2}$

Dec. 7	3 large tea pots red	2.25	
	1 doz. pewt [er] bowls	.75	
1811			
Jan. 16	1 doz. tumblers	4.62 $\frac{1}{2}$	
	1 doz. wine glasses	3.50	
	1 $\frac{1}{2}$ doz. lemonade cans	6.75	14.87 $\frac{1}{2}$
Feb. 8	1 doz. China soup plates	5.00	
	3 doz. do....flat do....	15.00	
Feb. 11	2 doz. Liverpool china plates	5.00	
	2 doz. white do....	1.50	
Feb. 23	2 doz. large china do....	10.00	
	4 doz. China breakfast	14.00	
Feb. 23	2 doz. liverpool China plates		
	returned	5.00	
		\$ 129.92	36

Latrobe bought two dozen punch tumblers from the shop of A. L. Joncherez, a successful Georgetown merchant.<sup>37</sup> John Cox supplied chintz to cover furniture, and large quantities of linen for sheets and pillowcases.<sup>38</sup> Finally, David Kennedy of Philadelphia charged \$75.00 to re-gild a pier table that stood in the antichamber to the drawing room.<sup>39</sup>

In 1812 the Treasury did not appropriate any money for the President's furniture fund. However, three warrants, totalling \$6000, were issued between August, 1813, and February, 1814.<sup>40</sup> Lewis Deblois replaced Latrobe as agent. Although the Treasury had not appropriated money in 1812, Dolley Madison had continued to

purchase articles for the White House. When Deblois took over the agency, there were several bills to be paid. Deblois spent \$4783.89.<sup>41</sup> Most of this amount went towards general upkeep--replacing china and glass, mending furniture, replacing kitchen equipment, etc. He patronized the local market.

Dolley Madison ordered very little standing furniture. In January, 1814, William Worthington, one of the area's leading cabinetmakers, was commissioned to make a pair of firescreens, costing \$10.00.<sup>42</sup> During the same month, the merchant Thomas C. McKenney supplied two dressing glasses for \$10.00, and \$9.00, respectively.<sup>43</sup>

In the fall and winter of 1813-1814, Dolley Madison gave several commissions to Charles Burnett, the well-known Alexandria silversmith. His bill mentioned:

Oct. 27th. 1813

to 1 set punch strainers	\$ 6.00	
to 1 pair of plated Chamber		
Canl. Sticks	14.00	
Novr. 2		
to 1 plated wine funnel	3.50	
...		
to 1 Large fluted Tea pot	70.50	
3rd.		
to Mending Coffee pot	.50	
March 15		
to 1 Silver nut meg grater	3.50	
	<u>\$98.00</u>	44

Also in March, 1814, Thomas W. Pairo supplied two dozen pewter plates for \$14.50.<sup>45</sup> During Deblois' agency, John Achmann continued as Presidential copper-smith, charging \$166.46 for utensils and repairs.<sup>46</sup>

It was not until the fall of 1813 that the Madisons made any major changes in the state dining room. Apparently, furnishings left over from Jefferson's administration were used there. In the summer of 1813, young Elbridge Gerry, son of the Vice-President, made a visit to the White House. In his diary, he recorded his reaction to the dining room:

The corner is the dining room and is very spacious, and twice the height of modern parlours and 3 times as large. This is finished in the most elegant manner and the furniture is so large, that Mrs. Cutts says, the side-board would cover the whole side of a large parlour. At the head of the room, General Washington is represented as large as life.<sup>47</sup>

In November, 1813, Thomas W. Pairo delivered 151 yards of carpeting--at \$2.00 per yard--for \$302.00.<sup>48</sup> This carpet was placed in the dining room. During the same month, the upholsterer Lewis Labille charged \$12.50 for

cutting out a carpet for the dining room,	
attending to the making of it, laying	
the same tack &c.	\$10.00
1 piece of twild. binding	2.50 <sup>49</sup>

The accounts relating to the President's Sitting Room are even more confusing. Now the Green Room, it had been the small dining room during Jefferson's administration. Obviously, Dolley Madison furnished this room with articles borrowed from other parts of the house. When Elbridge Gerry made his tour through the White House in 1813, he noted that

Next to the drawing room is the President's sitting-room, which has no communication with the former and opens to the hall. This corresponds to Mrs. Madison's parlour, and is handsomely furnished.<sup>50</sup>

The only clues to the appearance of this room come from the accounts of the upholsterer Lewis Labille. In September, 1810, he submitted a bill for \$15.00 for:

Taking Down the Curtains of the Sitting Room,  
Taking of the Trimming & Lining, Washing and  
Bleaching the said curtains, Putting on the  
Trimming and Lining and Hanging the Same. . .<sup>51</sup>

Perhaps these curtains were left over from Jefferson's administration. Whatever the case, they must have been made of a relatively inexpensive, durable material.

In April, 1813, the President's Sitting Room received a new look. Once again, Labille was called upon to do the work. His bill mentioned:

## Setting Room:

taking down the Curtains. Cutting out the silk for the trimming and Lining.	
making the small draperies and putting up the curtains	10.00
8 yds. furniture binding	.50
cutting out a baize carpet	
laying the same tack &c.	6.00
...	
3 pieces Bucking baize 69 yds. at \$1.40	96.00
Carriage for the same	1.00
Expenses for going to Alexandria	2.00 52

The writer is at a loss to explain this bill. The Treasury accounts do not mention any purchases of drapery materials--silk or otherwise--that could have been used for these curtains. Perhaps Labille made these curtains from pieces of draperies left over from an earlier administration.

In terms of china and glass--Mrs. Madison's lavish hospitality is reflected in the large amount that was spent for these articles during Deblois' agency. The net expense to the furniture fund was approximately \$975.95½, the largest amount spent on any type of household articles.

Deblois purchased in a piecemeal fashion. He bought china plates and glass tumblers by the dozen, not from one or two merchants, but from several. Some articles were expensive, others cheap.

In 1811 the Madisons spent \$166.30 at the shop of



Charles Moxley. In addition to \$3.60 for milk pots, his bill mentioned:

April 15		
6 China Dishes @ $2\frac{1}{2}$ \$		15.00
May 13		
4 large china Baking Dishes @ $2\frac{1}{2}$ \$		10.00
2 China Sallad Bowles	3\$	6.00
2 Ditto Sauce Tureens	3\$	6.00
2 Ditto Sauce boats	1 $1\frac{1}{3}$ \$	3.00
Oct. 28		
2 doz. cut wine glasses @ 4\$		8.00
1 pare cut Decanters		5.00
1 doz. cut tumblers		6.00
Nov. 4		
2 " " wine glasses @ 4\$		8.00
$\frac{1}{2}$ doz. china custard cups & covers		3.00
4 China Dishes @ 3\$		12.00
4 Ditto Ditto $2\frac{1}{2}$ \$		10.00
4 Ditto Ditto 2\$		8.00
2 doz. large china plates 5\$		10.00
2 Smaller Ditto Ditto 4\$		8.00
2 Ditto Ditto Ditto $3\frac{1}{2}$ \$		7.00
2 doz. edged Dinner plates @ $1\frac{1}{3}$		3.00
$\frac{1}{2}$ " c.c. qt. Bowls @ $1\frac{1}{3}$		0.75
$\frac{1}{2}$ " End. pint Ditto $1\frac{1}{3}$		0.75
2 blue chambers . . .		1.75
4 white Ditto . . .		1.50
2 doz. best cut tumblers 6\$		12.00
1 pare " " qt. Decanters		6.00
1 large Blue printed Teapot		1.50
1 Ditto red Ditto		0.50
6 milk crocks		1.50
pd. cartage		0.75
		<u>\$ 166.30</u> 53

Less than a year later, Deblois returned to Moxley for \$63.75 worth of inexpensive china and glass-while he paid \$45.00 for china plates of various sizes, a set of tea cups cost only \$.50.<sup>54</sup> Also in 1812, John Thompson supplied cheap china and glass-a "tea set, china," costing only \$17.50.<sup>55</sup>

In early November, 1813, the Madisons' stock of better ceramics and glass must have hit a low note. During that month, the shop of Woodward & Hooke delivered goods worth \$266.37½. The bill listed:

Nov. 3		
51	China Dishes... [various sizes]	178.00
2	Doz. Large plates china	10.00
3	Doz. B. & K plates china	12.00
2	Doz. small plates china	7.50
4	Sauce Boats, stands	8.00
12	Blue & Green E. Dishes	
"	" " " " "	17.87½
1	Doz. B. Co plates	3.00
3	Doz. cut & E. wine Glasses	13.50
1	Doz. tumblers Best English Glass	6.00
	to Amt. of Thomas Robertson's bill	10.00
	Drayage	.50
		<u>\$266.37½</u> 56

The most elegant china and glass were bought at auction. It is significant that this purchase was also made in November, 1813. On November 26, Deblois spent \$272.97 for

1	Sett of blue and white dining china	230.00
2	doz. blue and white dessert plates	5.00
33	tumblers 7.80 30 smaller ditto	
	4.80/100	12.60
2½	doz. wine glasses @ 7.25	18.12
6	glass salts 4.25/100 11 claret	
	Glasses 3\$	
		<u>7.25</u> 57
		\$272.97

Obviously, this set of blue and white china was meant to supplement the state service supplied by Paul S. Brown in 1809. Unfortunately, there is no record of the appearance of the earlier set. It might be presumptuous

to suggest that the two services were easily coordinated.

In July, 1814, Deblois went to another auction, paying \$20.00 for "20 elegant beer goblets."<sup>58</sup> The only other "good" articles purchased that year were "1 set of Elegant water goblets, \$20.00," from the shop of Samuel Cox.<sup>59</sup>

A variety of designs must have appeared on Mrs. Madison's table during the course of an evening. If patterns clashed, no one seems to have noticed. Mrs. Seaton, wife of one founder of the National Intelligencer, dined at the White House in 1812; her main concern was the food:

The dinner was certainly very fine; but still I was rather surprised, as it did not surpass some that I have eaten in Carolina. There were many French dishes, and exquisite wines, I presume, by the praises bestowed on them; . . . Comment on the quality of the wine seems to form the chief topic after the removal of the cloth, and during the dessert, at which, by the way, no pastry is countenanced. Ice-creams, maccaroons, preserves and various cakes are placed on the table, which are removed for almonds, raisens, pecan-nuts, apples, pears, etc.<sup>60</sup>

The dining room table was covered with some fine cloths during the Madisons' years in the White House. In addition to the cloths ordered from New York by Latrobe in 1809, Deblois made some purchases. In February, 1813, he bought three damask cloths, and one dozen matching napkins for \$132.00; in July, another dozen napkins for \$40.00.<sup>61</sup>

In late December, 1813, the Madisons installed a "Pettibone Stove" in the Executive Mansion. The appearance of this invention--if it was an invention--remains unknown. At any rate, the installation cost \$165.51, and required 2040 bricks.<sup>62</sup> Shortly thereafter, the White House sent an order to Baltimore for "1 large tin bathing tub painted green . . . \$30.00".<sup>63</sup>

The Treasury accounts raise interesting questions about Madison taste. First, bills for French furnishings are entirely absent. Yet the Madisons' Master of Ceremonies was French. Dolley Madison served French food to her guests. She wore French costumes at her weekly drawing rooms. Indeed, the drawing room was an informal version of the French salon. In light of this Gallic atmosphere, one expects to find a bill for a few chairs, a pier table, or some French lamps.

There is a logical explanation for this enigma--money and politics. French furniture was expensive. The War of 1812 was imminent. The purchase of French furniture was not likely to boost the morale of infant American manufactures. Finally, consider the attitude of the American public. When it comes to heavy expenditures for seemingly superfluous items, the voters usually speak their minds.

When the Englishman Henry Fearon visited the Federal City in 1817, President Monroe was buying French furniture for the White House. Fearon must have heard the current gossip:

The Americans, however, are not content with the productions of their own country . . . and so anxious is even the President himself for 'foreign ornament,' that he has imported chairs at one hundred dollars each, though the cabinet-makers of Baltimore would have equalled, and I believe surpassed them in every particular, at the price of sixty dollars.<sup>64</sup>

At his inauguration, James Madison wore a suit of American manufacture.<sup>65</sup> It was worn as a gesture of good faith in the future of native industries. That Dolley Madison dressed and served meals in the French taste was one thing; but the President paid for it. In terms of the public funds, the Madisons' "buy American" policy was both economically wise, and politically safe.

If Dolley Madison was unable to buy French furniture, she did manage to bring the archaeological atmosphere of Montpelier to the Executive Mansion. Like the drawing room at Montpelier, the oval drawing room at the White House was designed to give "activity to the mind, by the historic and classic ideas that it awakened." Apparently, the Madisons did not object to Latrobe's use of the English Regency designs of his native country, rather than those of the French Empire. He achieved the antique, "museum"

atmosphere that they desired.

Unfortunately, nothing is known of the Madisons' use of personal furnishings in the White House. The facts indicate that they had little need for their private possessions. In the first place, the house had furnishings in twenty-three rooms when they arrived. In the second place, the Madisons did not live in the White House throughout the year. During James Madison's eight years in office, he was away from the Executive Mansion a total of 637 days.<sup>66</sup> Most of these absences were spent at Montpelier during the summer months. This "summer White House" must have been well-stocked with furniture. Whatever private furnishings were used in the Executive Mansion, they--along with all the public furniture, china, and the dozens of tumblers and wine glasses--were destroyed in the 1814 fire.

## Notes to Chapter II.

<sup>1</sup>The Diary of Mrs. William Thornton, 1783-1861, 7 vols., III, LC.

<sup>2</sup>During Jefferson's administration, Dolley Madison frequently acted as hostess at important dinners and receptions. Jefferson's daughters, Martha Randolph and Maria Eppes, spent only two seasons in Washington. Both were present in 1802-1803. Mrs. Randolph returned for the 1805-1806 season. See Singleton, I, pp. 39-40; 59.

<sup>3</sup>Jefferson abolished the weekly drawing room. Ibid., pp. 25, 27-54.

<sup>4</sup>Public receptions were also held on July 4 and New Year's Day. Ibid., pp. 3-90.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., pp. 64-65.

<sup>6</sup>February 17, 1815, Harrison Gray Otis Collection, Box 6, No. 12, Massachusetts Historical Society. (Hereafter, HGOC, MHS).

<sup>7</sup>February 22, 1815, Box 1, No. 14, HGOC, MHS.

<sup>8</sup>Singleton, I, p. 60.

<sup>9</sup>For example, during President Monroe's first term, his wife's drawing room was boycotted by the ladies of Washington. Ibid., pp. 131-144, esp. p. 141.

<sup>10</sup>During the Madison administration, the First Lady employed Jean Pierre Sioussa (or Sioussat) as Master of Ceremonies. A French emigré, Sioussa had served as Doorkeeper to Jefferson. The Frenchman proved to be a valuable assistant in regulating entertainments in the White House. Ibid., pp. 59-60.

<sup>11</sup>Jeffersonian America: Notes on the United States of America, Collected in the Years 1805-6-7 and 11-12, ed., Richard B. Davis (San Marino, California: The Huntington Library), 1954, p. 87. (Hereafter, Foster).

<sup>12</sup>Henry Bradshaw Fearon, Sketches of America, 2nd, ed. (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown), 1818, p. 291. (Hereafter, Fearon).

<sup>13</sup>The Journal of Latrobe (New York: D. Appleton and Company), 1905, p. 131. (Hereafter, Latrobe, Journal).

<sup>14</sup>"Thomas Moore," America Visited, arranged by Edith I. Coombs (New York: The Book League of America), n.d., 9-31, p. 30. (Hereafter, "Moore").

<sup>15</sup>Wharton, Salons, pp. 179-180.

<sup>16</sup>Foster, p. 120.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>18</sup>Klapthor, pp. 155-164, esp. p. 158.

<sup>19</sup>Statement of the Account of Benjamin H. Latrobe entered May 11, 1815, #28.634, vouchers 1-13, Reel 90, frames 0232-0299, 0301-0332, Miscellaneous Treasury Accounts, Record Group 217, Microfilm, National Archives (Subsequent accounts will be designated as follows: MTA, 217, NAR. For #28.634: hereafter, Latrobe). Statement of the Account of Lewis Deblois, entered December 31, 1814, #29.494, vouchers 1-55, Reel 100, frames 0650-0841, MTA, 217, NAR. (Hereafter, Deblois). Latrobe spent \$1553.44; Deblois' expenditures totalled \$4783.89. Both worked on a 2% commission, which was subtracted from the furniture fund.

<sup>20</sup>Klapthor, p. 156. Little is known about Jefferson's use of the furniture fund. Traditionally, scholars have assumed that he used a substantial amount of his own furniture in the Executive Mansion. See Marie G. Kimball, "The Original Furnishings of the White House," 2 Parts: Part I, Antiques, XV (June, 1929), 431-486; Part II, Antiques, XVI (July, 1929), 33-37. Also, Singleton, I, pp. 27-54.

<sup>21</sup>"Moore," p. 30. The writer does not imply that Jefferson's furnishings were inelegant, only that there is little evidence that he "decorated" the apartments.

<sup>22</sup>Klapthor, p. 156.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 162.

<sup>24</sup>Raley, pp. 570-571. Also, Singleton, I. p. 18.



- <sup>25</sup>Klapthor, p. 157.
- <sup>26</sup>Raley, pp. 568-571.
- <sup>27</sup>Ibid., pp. 569-570. Also, Klapthor, p. 158.
- <sup>28</sup>Klapthor, p. 158.
- <sup>29</sup>Dolley Madison wanted to use silk damask in the drawing room. Ibid., p. 160.
- <sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 161-162. Also, Raley, p. 571.
- <sup>31</sup>Klapthor, p. 162.
- <sup>32</sup>Bill of Peter Lenox, October 20, 1810, \$12.50, Latrobe, voucher 10, frame 0324 (inventory and hauling).
- <sup>33</sup>Romulus Riggs for George Riggs, Ibid, voucher 11, frames 0329-0331.
- <sup>34</sup>Ibid, vouchers 4, 8, frames 0316, 0325-0328.
- <sup>35</sup>May 12, 1809-June, 1811, Ibid, voucher 6, frame 0320. See also, Bill of Lewis Deblois, March 24, 1809-June 23, 1810, \$229.79<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>, Ibid, voucher 7, frames 0240, 0251, 0253, 0255, 0261, 0263. (Hereafter, Deblois for Latrobe).
- <sup>36</sup>entered in Deblois, voucher 6, frame 0682.
- <sup>37</sup>January 2, 1811, \$6.00, Deblois for Latrobe, voucher 7, frame 0288.
- <sup>38</sup>November 6, 1809-December 28, 1812, \$255.25, Deblois, voucher 5, frame 0686.
- <sup>39</sup>John T. Ought for Kennedy, August 11, 1809, Ibid, voucher 4, frames 0689, 0692.
- <sup>40</sup>each warrant was for \$2000. Auditor's Report, January 10, 1815, Ibid, frames 0654, 0730-0731.
- <sup>41</sup>Ibid, frame 0731.
- <sup>42</sup>January 4, 1814, Ibid, voucher 36, frame 0793.
- <sup>43</sup>January 17, 1814, Ibid, voucher 51, frame 0823.
- <sup>44</sup>Ibid, voucher 39, frame 0799.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid, voucher 38, frame 0797.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid, vouchers 24, 25, 43, 48, frames 0720-0721, 0839-0840.

<sup>47</sup>The Diary of Elbridge Gerry, Jr., preface and footnotes by Claude G. Bowers (New York: Brentano's), 1927, p. 180. (Hereafter, Gerry).

<sup>48</sup>November 5, 1815, Deblois, voucher 34, frame 0789,

<sup>49</sup>Ibid, voucher 27, frame 0774. (Hereafter, Labille, 0774).

<sup>50</sup>Gerry, p. 181.

<sup>51</sup>Deblois, no voucher number, frame 0708.

<sup>52</sup>Labille, 0774.

<sup>53</sup>Deblois, voucher 8, frames 0676-0677.

<sup>54</sup>March 11-July 3, 1812, Ibid, voucher 9, frame 0673. Other notable purchases were: a large gilt pitcher, \$2.25; 3 dozen cut wine glasses, \$12.00; 2 dozen ice cream glasses, \$3.00.

<sup>55</sup>October 27, 1812-March 1, 1814, \$89.06, Ibid, voucher 7, frame 0679.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid, voucher 14, frame 0746.

<sup>57</sup>Bill of George Beale, Ibid, voucher 23, frame 0766.

<sup>58</sup>Bill of David Bates, auctioneer, July 6, 1814, Ibid, voucher 40, frame 0801.

<sup>59</sup>March 10, 1814, Ibid, voucher 46, frame 0815. Other purchases in Deblois' account were: Bill of Woodward & Hooke, September-October, 1813, \$5.50, voucher 13, frame 0744; Bill of Michael Kromenacker, January 25, 1812-January, 1813, \$116.56, voucher 1, frames 0733-0734 (including cleaning and garden equipment).

<sup>60</sup>Singleton, I, p. 62.

<sup>61</sup>Bill of Thomas McKenney, Deblois, voucher 52, frame 0824.

<sup>62</sup>In Deblois: Bill of John Douglas, December 22, 1813, voucher 52, frame 0826; Bill of David Tweedy, December 24, 1813, voucher 53, frame 0830.

<sup>63</sup>Bill of Richard Forrest, January 11, 1814, included in Statement of the Account of George Boyd, entered May 19, 1817, #28.634, 3 voucher accounts: 1) vouchers 1-34; 2) vouchers 1-49; 3) vouchers 1-34, Reel 90, frames 0300, 0339-0571, MTA, 217, NAR, 3rd. acct., voucher 1, frame 0516. (Hereafter, Boyd).

<sup>64</sup>Fearon, p. 287.

<sup>65</sup>Singleton, I, p. 56.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid, p. xv.

### Chapter III: The Post-Fire White House, 1814-1817

#### The Fire

On the evening of August 24, 1814, British forces burned the White House. At that time, nearly every article accumulated during four Presidential administrations went up in smoke. In order to understand the Madisons' post-fire White House purchases, a discussion of the effects of the fire is essential.

In the first place, Dolley Madison had been poorly advised regarding the imminent danger of British invasion; she was unprepared for the attack. Madison's valet reported that, on the morning of the fire, "General Armstrong assured Mrs. Madison there was no danger."<sup>1</sup>

Therefore, it is not surprising that the First Lady did not have time to pack heavy furniture, fragile china, and glass. Instead, on August 23 she wisely filled one carriage with cabinet papers.<sup>2</sup>

At about three o'clock on the afternoon of the twenty-fourth, she received word to evacuate the house. On that day she procured another wagon, and filled it with

White House furnishings.<sup>3</sup> After placing General Washington's portrait in the hands of Jacob Barker and Robert DePeyster of New York, she left the house.<sup>4</sup>

The question remains: what furnishings went into that wagon? Fortunately, Dolley Madison provided the answer in a letter to Mrs. Benjamin Latrobe on December 3, 1814:

Two hours before the enemy entered the city, I left the house where Mr. Latrobe's elegant taste had been so justly admired . . . and on that very day, I sent out the silver (nearly all)--the velvet curtains and Gen. Washington's picture, the cabinet papers, a few books, and the small clock--left everything else belonging to the publick, our own valuable stores of every description, a part of my clothes, and all my servants' clothes . . .<sup>5</sup> (emphasis hers)

History will always wonder why Mrs. Madison chose to save the red velvet drawing room curtains. They took up a considerable amount of valuable space in the wagon.

When the British marched to the White House, they were bent on destroying not only the house itself, but all the articles associated with the dignity of the Presidential office.<sup>6</sup> They accomplished their task.

#### The Post-Fire White House

Between September, 1814, and March, 1817, there were two official Executive Mansions. The "White House" proper was not re-occupied until 1817--in September of that year, President Monroe moved into the building; in

January, 1818, he held his first public reception.<sup>7</sup> In discussing the domestic aspects of the Madison administration, most scholars have neglected or ignored the post-fire period.<sup>8</sup> But, during the two and one half years following the fire, Dolley Madison's drawing room continued to be the city's chief social attraction. Visitors flocked to the President's House. It is the purpose of this chapter to discuss the furnishings they saw in the temporary residences.

On September 8, 1814, the Madisons moved into the Octagon House, the residence of Colonel John Tayloe of Virginia. Located on the corner of New York Avenue and 18th. Street, the house was designed and built by Dr. William Thornton between 1798 and 1800.<sup>9</sup>

By moving into the Octagon, the Madisons made a virtue of necessity. Tayloe enjoyed an annual income of about \$75,000, three times the salary of the President of the United States.<sup>10</sup> He was a wealthy man. The house was already famous for its architectural quality; the furnishings were no less outstanding.<sup>11</sup>

Traditionally, scholars have assumed that the Madisons occupied the Octagon for about a year, until the fall of 1815.<sup>12</sup> Two receipts among the Treasury accounts provide the exact dates of residence. The first is a re-

ceipt from Colonel Tayloe for "\$800. Rent from Sept. 1814 to Mar. 1815--6 mos."<sup>13</sup> The second is a bill and receipt from Peter Ham, owner of the corner house at the Seven Buildings:

1815. For six months rent of my house commencing the 4th. of March 1815 and ending 4th. September following at the rate of 500 Dollars pr. an. \$250.<sup>14</sup>

The Madisons lived in the Octagon only until early March, 1815.

These receipts are significant in other respects. Note the difference in rates. Rent at the Octagon was approximately 69% higher than the rate for the Seven Buildings. In terms of architecture alone, the Seven Buildings house and the Octagon were hardly comparable, but, part of the \$800 must have gone towards rent of Tayloe's furniture.

There is ample evidence to support this assumption. First, the furniture fund spent very little money during the Octagon period; the Madisons bought no standing furniture. Indeed, the largest single expense was \$140.00; shortly after the fire, the Madisons went to the shop of merchant Thomas McKenney, and purchased a table cloth (\$50.00), and a set of knives and forks (\$90.00).<sup>15</sup>

The other expenditures were trifling. Between September 14, and December 18, A. L. Joncherez supplied some china--2 dishes and six plates (\$4.25), three chambers

and a basket (\$4.37 $\frac{1}{2}$ ), four dozen china tea cups and saucers (\$20.00), and four dozen china coffee cups and saucers (\$28.00).<sup>16</sup> The Madisons purchased a small amount of lamp glass,<sup>17</sup> and Thomas Rigdon charged \$26.39 to repair a clock.<sup>18</sup> Perhaps this was the clock rescued from the fire.

Between March and December, 1815, the Treasury issued three warrants, totalling \$7577.50, for the President's furniture fund.<sup>19</sup> George Boyd was appointed agent. Money for rent and repairs was taken from a separate warrant for \$3550.00.<sup>20</sup> Payne Todd, Dolley Madison's son, was given control of this account. During the post-fire period, \$1550.00 was spent on repairs; a small portion of this amount was used to clean the well, repair the kitchen fireplace, etc., at the Octagon.<sup>21</sup> The rest was spent at the Seven Buildings.

The corner house at the Seven Buildings, Pennsylvania Avenue and 19th. Street N.W., was the product of the building craze during the early years of the Federal City.<sup>22</sup> According to Eberlein and Hubbard,

. . . General Walter Stewart and Major Moore started the 'Seven Buildings' . . .; the Morris and Nicholson syndicate then took up and, it seems, completed the job. As there is no available evidence to the contrary, William Lovering was presumably the architect . . .<sup>23</sup>



Prior to the Madisons' occupancy, the house was used by such notables as John Marshall, French Minister Louis Turreau, British Minister Sir Augustus John Foster, and Vice President Elbridge Gerry.<sup>24</sup>

Unfortunately, there is no information about the interior arrangements of the house. Before its destruction in 1957, it was used as a cut-rate drug store.<sup>25</sup> There is some indication that the reception rooms were on the second floor; according to tradition, this was the location of the drawing room, where Mrs. Madison received guests beneath a chandelier suspended by a chain.<sup>26</sup>

Whatever its interior arrangements, the house was repaired and partially redecorated during the summer of 1815. Boyd, drawing from Payne Todd's account for rent and repairs, spent \$537.93  $2/3$  refurbishing the building.<sup>27</sup> Todd spent the remainder.<sup>28</sup>

The drawing room and passage received new wallpaper. In May, 1815, Andrew Coyle charged \$37.05 for

20 pieces of paper @ 1\$	20.00
13 ditto ditto @ 1.25	16.25
1 piece ditto	.80
	<u>\$ 37.05</u> <sup>29</sup>

Lewis Labille, the upholsterer, was again called in to work for the President. In April, 1815, he submitted a bill for

Putting up 20 pieces of paper in passage	12.00
Ditto 12 pieces in drawing room putting up borders	7.20 1.50
Taking down old paper in passage and drawing room	2.50
Cash for carriage of paper from Coyle's store	.25
18 iron hooks for window board	2.25
cash pd. for altering said board	.75
mending and patching the paper of the two houses [Octagon and Seven Buildings]	5.00
a proportion of the 14½ days work and attendance	<u>19.12½</u> \$ 50.47½ 30

Isaac Randolph was in charge of painting and glazing. Many of the window panes were replaced; the doors were painted white, the Venetian blinds green, and the front door, imitation mahogany.<sup>31</sup>

Once again, Dolley Madison took charge of the domestic arrangements. In March, 1815, she went to Montpelier.<sup>32</sup> While she was in Virginia, Mrs. Madison sent instructions either directly to Boyd, or through her sister, Anna Cutts. The instructions: buy fashionable, readily-available, cheap furnishings.

In March, 1815, Boyd wrote to Dolley Madison:

As yet I have made no purchases for your household--I shall see Mrs. Cutts however on that subject in the course of this day or tomorrow.<sup>33</sup>

Probably in early April, the First Lady replied:

I have written to my sister Cutts to consult you on the advantage of purchasing Drawing

Room chairs, Sofas, &c., in Baltimore.<sup>34</sup>

Either Boyd did not like to deal with an intermediary, or Anna Cutts' instructions were unclear. At any rate, on May 5, he again wrote to Dolley Madison:

I feel very anxious about the furnishings [of] the House for the President--May I beg the favor of a particular answer to that part of Mrs. Cutts letter relating to purchases of standing furniture in Baltimore? There can be no doubt but it may be had more fashionable and cheaper there, than in this place or George Town, and I only wait your commands to go there and purchase it.<sup>35</sup>

By mid-May, Boyd was in Baltimore. On the seventeenth, he visited the shop of cabinetmaker Edward Priestly (working 1810-1820), and purchased a pair of card tables (\$80.00) and a breakfast table (\$45.00).<sup>36</sup> Priestly might have had them in stock, because they arrived in Georgetown within two weeks. On May 31, Isaac Redman charged \$8.71 3/4 "for freight from Balti[more] on Schooner James--1 Case furniture at 568 $\frac{1}{4}$  lits., 1 Do. 315 $\frac{1}{2}$  lits."<sup>37</sup>

When Dolley Madison selected the Baltimore market, she must have had fancy furniture in mind. Not only was it fashionable, but painted furniture was cheaper than mahogany. Therefore, it is not surprising that Boyd went to the shop of John and Hugh Finlay, the city's leading manufacturers of fancy chairs, tables, and settees.

On June 5, Boyd purchased a dozen chairs for

\$60.00.<sup>38</sup> Again, these pieces probably came from stock, because they arrived in Georgetown, by water, within a week.<sup>39</sup> \$5.00 per chair is a far cry from \$20.00, the Finlays' price for each of the chairs they executed according to Latrobe's designs in 1809.<sup>40</sup>

It is curious that Boyd did not buy more than twelve chairs from the Finlays. Actually, he purchased no more standing furniture in Baltimore. Late in 1815, he received a bill for more fancy furniture, but it came from William Palmer, a cabinetmaker working at 2 Nassau Street in New York City.

In 1802, Palmer had advertised "black and gold fancy chairs with cane and rush seats."<sup>41</sup> In his bill to the White House, he listed:

18 chairs, grey and gold	6.60	118.80
2 settees to match	39.60	79.20
Patching to match		14.12 $\frac{1}{2}$
		\$ 202.12 $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>42</sup>

The set must have been handsome. Dolley Madison purchased the chairs from the government.<sup>43</sup>

There is some evidence that the First Lady placed the fancy furniture in the drawing room. In November, 1815, one visitor noticed "two little couches covered with grey patch" in this apartment.<sup>44</sup> Obviously, these were the Palmer settees. Logically, the grey and gold chairs,

and possibly the Finlay chairs were used in the same room. Perhaps Dolley Madison was attempting to recreate, however dimly, the classical elegance of the great oval drawing room at the White House.

Despite all comments on the economy of shopping in Baltimore as opposed to Georgetown, Georgetown was the major market. Between March, 1815, and March, 1817, Boyd made 118 purchases for furnishings; most of these transactions took place in the Washington area.

Once again the Madisons patronized the shop of William Worthington. Between March 13, 1815, and December 20, 1816, he supplied a variety of articles for the Executive Mansion. Among the more expensive items were: two settees, covered in linen (\$90.00); a couch on castors (\$32.00), which was kept by Dolley Madison; a cloth-covered table (\$28.00); a writing table (\$15.00); a case for medals (\$8.00), and a double firescreen (\$25.00).<sup>45</sup>

Priestly, the Finlays, Palmer, and Worthington were the only cabinetmakers who provided furniture for the post-fire White House. The rest of the Madisons' furniture was purchased second-hand--either at auctions, or through private sales.

The Georgetown-Washington market was unusually

rich in second-hand goods. The peculiar nature of American politics produced a heavy turnover in Senators, Congressmen, and foreign dignitaries. Some of these government officials kept furnished houses in the Federal City. Often they sold the contents of their houses when they left office.

This was the case with Albert Gallatin. While he was in Europe with the Peace Commission at Ghent, Mrs. Gallatin stayed in Philadelphia. In 1815, she decided to sell the furnishings in their Washington house. On January 18, Hannah Gallatin wrote to Dolley Madison:

I hasten to tell you you may have what you may want of my furniture, at the same time I wish it would suit you to take all that is in the house at Washington, I have written to Mr. Cazenove to have the things valued, he is our agent, and will give you all the necessary information about them.<sup>46</sup>

Local merchants and craftsmen handled some of this traffic in used goods. William Worthington sold the Madisons a large dining table (\$25.00), a "secretary desk" (\$40.00), four pine tables (\$9.50), and six chairs (\$9.00).<sup>47</sup>

He also supplied eleven bedsteads, ranging in price from \$22.00 to \$5.00.<sup>48</sup> From the auctioneer Nicholas Queen, Boyd acquired "2 Beds 88½ ins.-Bols" for \$53.10.<sup>49</sup> William Dixon, another auctioneer, charged \$75.60 for three

beds, complete with bolsters and pillows.<sup>50</sup> Richard Cutts added a foreign touch by selling Boyd "1 down Feather Bed imported from Russia--\$55.00."<sup>51</sup> At another auction, Boyd bought a bed from Thomas McGrath for \$32.28; finally, at the Gallatin sale, he found a \$6.00 bedstead.<sup>52</sup>

The Madisons needed a large number of chairs. During the post-fire period, they purchased 115, including the fancy furniture and the six chairs supplied by Worthington. Boyd gathered second-hand chairs from a variety of sources:

- |    |  |                     |
|----|--|---------------------|
| 1. | From Thomas Gantt--April 25, 1815                              |                     |
|    | "20 chairs . . . @ 6.00"                                       | \$120.00            |
| 2. | From Nicholas L. Queen, auction--May 25, 1815                  |                     |
|    | "1 dozen white chairs"   | 19.20               |
| 3. | From Thomas McGrath, auction--June 27, 1815                    |                     |
|    | "14 chairs"  | 14.00               |
| 4. | From M. Serrurier--November 11, 1815                           |                     |
|    | "1 dozen arm chairs and a sofa"                                | 250.00              |
| 5. | From Maria Dallas--December 20, 1815                           |                     |
|    | "a large armchair"   | 28.00               |
| 6. | From A.L. Joncherez, William Jones' auction--February 22, 1816 |                     |
|    | "20 chairs . . . @ 2.75"                                       | 55.00 <sup>53</sup> |

If the Madisons were buying cheap, at least they

were buying with good taste. Serrurier, the French Minister, was a man of luxurious taste; the chairs and sofa were undoubtedly French, and according to the price, quite elegant. Maria Dallas was the wife of Alexander Dallas, Secretary of the Treasury, 1814-1816.<sup>54</sup> William Jones was Secretary of the Navy from 1813 until 1814.<sup>55</sup>

In addition to the Worthington and Serrurier sofas, Boyd purchased a mahogany sofa--kept by Dolley Madison--for \$30.00 from the Gallatin sale.<sup>56</sup> That makes a total of six couches and settees bought for the post-fire White House.

The house had twenty-two tables, including two sideboards, three dining tables, four card tables, two breakfast tables, and two pier tables. Again, M. Serrurier commanded the highest price; Boyd paid \$550.00 for "2 pier glasses and tables."<sup>57</sup>

At William Jones' auction, Boyd spent \$158.75 for tables; the list included a sideboard (\$60.00), dining tables (\$83.00), a breakfast table (\$12.00), and a washstand (\$3.75).<sup>58</sup> From Nicholas Queen, the agent acquired another sideboard for \$56.00, and a mahogany table for \$13.25.<sup>59</sup>

In addition to the card tables from Priestly, Boyd



purchased a second-hand pair for \$20.50 in Washington.<sup>60</sup> The Gallatins offered a bargain, charging only \$1.62 $\frac{1}{2}$  for a 'toylet table.'<sup>61</sup> During the summer of 1815, Boyd paid \$21.50 for a secretary and bookcase; one can only speculate about the condition of this piece.<sup>62</sup>

The house must have had closets, because the Madisons bought few storage cabinets. There is only one reference to a bureau, purchased from Maria Dallas for \$23.00.<sup>63</sup> In May, 1815, Lewis Deblois supplied

1 large closet in two parts painted--\$12.00,  
and 1 large Red painted Closet \$3.00.<sup>64</sup>

The post-fire White House offered musical entertainment. In November, 1815, F. H. Wagler charged \$310.00 for a pianoforte.<sup>65</sup> In 1809, Latrobe had paid \$458.00 for a pianoforte. The Wagler instrument was probably second-hand.

Dolley Madison was fond of looking glasses. According to the record, however, she was forced to cut down on her supply. Serrurier's "2 pier glasses and tables" were probably the most elegant glasses purchased for the house.

The other glasses must have been small by comparison. When Boyd was in Baltimore, he bought two used looking glasses from the shop of George W. Riggs; they cost

\$28.00, and \$13.00, respectively.<sup>66</sup> A silversmith by trade, Riggs had moved to Baltimore from Georgetown in 1810.<sup>67</sup> It was not unusual for silversmiths to carry a variety of items in addition to silver.

In Washington, Boyd found a second-hand "large looking glass \$50.00," which Mrs. Madison kept for herself.<sup>68</sup> Isaac Cooper, a Georgetown merchant, supplied a chamber glass for \$5.50, and a dressing glass for \$12.00.<sup>69</sup> That was the extent.

Because most of the silver survived the fire, the Madisons made no major purchases during the post-fire period. Boyd obviously went to the shop of George Riggs in search of silver. In May, 1815, Riggs submitted a bill for \$12.00 for two waiters.<sup>70</sup>

Charles Burnett, the Alexandria silversmith, continued to receive the Madisons' patronage. Burnett bought more White House silver than he supplied. Between 1815 and 1817, he sold a variety of small items to the President:

1 pair of sugar tongs	3.00
2 dozen plated tea Spoons @ 4	8.00
" " " " " "	8.00
1 pair plated candlesticks	11.00
1 pair Chamber ditto	12.00
2 dozen knives and forks @ 7	14.00
$\frac{1}{2}$ dozen plated table spoons	7.00
2 dozen Desert knives & forks 4.50	9.00
12 Silver lables at 1.50	18.00

2 Dozen Table knives & forks	8.00
2 Dozen Deserts	5.40
1 Waiter	.87 $\frac{1}{2}$
1 Ditto	.75
1 Ditto	.50
$\frac{1}{2}$ Doz. Curtain pins at 18.	9.00
	\$ 105.52 $\frac{1}{2}$ 71

Between December, 1815, and November, 1816, the Madisons turned in old silver worth \$140.26: this consisted of 61 oz. 5 dwt. of silver worth \$76.62 $\frac{1}{2}$ , an "old Sil. Bread Basket, \$33.56," and 7 oz. 15 dwt. of silver for \$10.76.<sup>72</sup>

Recalling the Madisons' 1814 purchase of knives and forks from Thomas McKenney, it becomes clear that a considerable amount of flatware was destroyed in the fire. In keeping with the general trend, Boyd purchased second-hand silver for the President's House. Nicholas Queen charged \$2.85 for five knives and forks.<sup>73</sup> Between November 1 and November 17, 1815, John Peabody supplied more flatware: knives and forks (\$8.00), "4 setts containing knives & Forks, \$30.00," and a dozen spoons (\$1.37 $\frac{1}{4}$ ).<sup>74</sup> In 1816, William Hollenback charged \$1.70 for a pair of sugar tongs.<sup>75</sup>

The White House received a touch of elegance from Isaac Cooper; in November, 1815, his shop charged \$38.00 for a pair of gilt brackets mounted on eagles.<sup>76</sup> For \$12.50, Dolley Madison acquired a pair of gilt branches from one Mr. Genivers of Alexandria.<sup>77</sup>

Boyd purchased a variety of metal objects. The coppersmith John Achmann was once more commissioned to make kitchen equipment for the White House.<sup>78</sup> While much of Achmann's talent went into pots and pans, he also supplied fireplace equipment and lamps. Included in one of his bills were charges for

making brass heads on three firetongs	
2 shuffel and poker	\$ 4.00
two new andirons	5.00
one new shuffel	.50
to making 2 Dozen lamps @ 3\$	6.00
	<u>\$15.50</u> 79

A considerable amount of fireplace equipment came from the shop of silversmith Charles Burnett:

a pair steel snuffers	2.00
shovel tongs & poker	11.00
ditto Do. Do.	6.00
1 fender	12.00
to Ditto	11.00
to Ditto	7.75
to 1 Ditto	7.50
to 1 Ditto	7.25
1 pair shovel tongs & poker	1.00
to 2 pair of shovel & tongs @ 2.75	5.50
	<u>\$71.00</u> 80

In May, 1815, Lewis Deblois charged \$16.00 for "1 pair brass knob'd. Andirons, 1 pr. Do. Shovel & Tongs, and 1 Brass mounted fender," plus \$5.00 for a copper coal hod.<sup>81</sup>

In addition to the lamps supplied by Achmann, Boyd purchased several at auctions. At the Gallatin sale, he

bought two pairs of lamps for \$25.00 and \$5.25, respectively, and an entry lamp for \$15.00.<sup>82</sup> From William Jones' auction came a single lamp for \$38.00.<sup>83</sup> The most expensive lamps were purchased in 1816; in that year Boyd paid E. J. Hay \$90.00 for "two Pr. elegant lamps."<sup>84</sup> According to Boyd's accounts, most of these lamps used globe glasses.<sup>85</sup>

The Treasury accounts for china and glass are plentiful, and confusing. In both cases, much was purchased second-hand. In 1816, Harriet Campbell sold the Madisons "a sett of dining china & a sett of waiters" for \$183.00.<sup>86</sup> For all practical purposes, this second-hand set represents the Madisons' state service.

Unfortunately, there are no clues to the appearance of this service. Mrs. Campbell was a prominent figure in Washington society. She was the wife of George W. Campbell, Senator from Tennessee and Secretary of the Treasury after Gallatin.<sup>87</sup> Chances are, the set was elegant.

During the entire post-fire period, the furniture fund purchased only two other "sets" of china. In October, 1815, Mrs. Tobias Lear, third wife of General Washington's secretary, sold Boyd "one sett breakfast ware--\$20.00."<sup>88</sup> In May, 1816, J. Doyne supplied a set of tea china for \$50.40.<sup>89</sup>

Mrs. Madison's brother-in-law, Richard Cutts, supplied the best glass. His bill, dated December 20, 1815, included:

5 doz. of usable flint cut glass tumblers	45.00	
2 " " " " " water goblets @ 8		16.00
2 doz. of usable flint champagne glasses @ 6		12.00
4 doz. of usable flint wine glasses @ 5	20.00	
2 " " " " " jelly glasses @ 5	10.00	90
	<u>\$103.00</u>	

The designation "usable" implies that all this glass was used, perhaps part of Cutts' own supply.

The other "good" glass was purchased at auction during the summer of 1815. To Mrs. Buchanan, Boyd paid \$32.00 for a pair of cut glass pitchers (\$10.00), a pair of cut glass decanters (\$12.00), and a pair of water decanters (\$10.00).<sup>91</sup>

The Madisons turned to merchant A. L. Joncherez for a large quantity of miscellaneous china and glass. One of his bills, totalling \$224.48, included both elegant and cheap articles:

1815

June 2d.

6 china plates 3.00	12 white Ditto 1.75	4.75
2 white dishes 1.75	12 wire glasses 1.50	3.25
2 pr. decanters 10.00	2 Fruit Baskets 9.00	19.00
6 Dessert plates 2.50	2 Doz. China plates 10.00	12.50
2 Doz. tumblers 16.00	2 Doz. Ditto 6.00	22.00
2 Doz. Custards 10.00	3 " Preserve pots 4.50	14.50
2 Pitchers 2.00	1 pr. shades 20.00	22.00
Cart & Drayage		.31

July	12 Brown Coffee Cups & 12 tea cups & Saucers	5.50	
	1 Teapot 1.50 1 sugar dish .75	2.25	
	1 Creampot .37½ Box .25	.62½	
Oct. 26	6 Chambers 2.92½ 2 Basins & Ewers 2.50	5.42½	
Nov. 9	6 China Dishes 24.00 6 Ditto 12.00	36.00	
Nov. 20	3 Doz. plates 13.00 1½ Doz. Ditto 7.50	25.50	
	12 Dishes 28.00 2 Porringers .12½	28.12½	
	2 Doz. wine glasses 8.00 Drayage .25	8.25	
Dec. 26	3 Plates 1.00 1 pr. China fruit Baskets 14.00	15.00	
		\$ 224.48	92

During the summer of 1816, silversmith Charles Burnett supplied more glasses for the White House; his bill listed a dozen tumblers (\$8.00), 2 dozen wine glasses (\$10.00), one dozen champagne glasses (\$6.00), and another dozen tumblers (\$6.50).<sup>93</sup>

Finally, in November, 1816--four months before leaving office--the Madisons spent \$98.00 on china and glass at the shop of Samuel McKenney. These articles were: six glass dishes for \$24.00, four dozen china snifters, \$16.00; two dozen finger tumblers, \$12.00; six Canton china dishes, \$13.50; two dozen blue printed custards, \$6.00, and two pairs of salts for \$2.50.<sup>94</sup>

Obviously the effect of such piecemeal buying was thoroughly undesirable. In December, 1815, Mary Boardman Crowninshield attended a tea at the White House. She offers some clues:

There were three rooms open, so we walked through and through as the company chose. We had tea and coffee on a small waiter, with four plates and a little confectionary; cake, one little frosted cake, fluted. After . . . we had punch, wine, etc., sent round a number of times. Ice cream, put in a silver dish, and a large cake--not good--on the same waiter; and saucers instead of plates--very common ones, like your old china cup--all put on the same one waiter . . .<sup>95</sup>

If Mrs. Crowninshield found fault with the china, she was probably no better pleased with the White House table cloths. The \$50.00 cloth purchased in 1814 represents the most expensive table textile. On January 27, 1816, Boyd bought two table cloths, \$9.00, from the shop of Riggs and Gaither.<sup>96</sup> Finally, on February 12, 1816, Miller and Potts charged \$32.50 for twenty-six damask napkins.<sup>97</sup>

The remaining textile accounts are confusing. On April 4, 1815, A. L. Joncherez sold Boyd "a set of curtains complete for 3 windows--\$125.00--10 yds. red silk fringe--\$10.00"<sup>98</sup> During the same month, the Madisons purchased cornices and curtain pins; Lewis Labille put up the curtains.<sup>99</sup>

These curtains were used in the drawing room. On her first visit to the White House in 1815, Mrs. Crowninshield noticed that

It was a large room, had three windows in front, blue window curtains, which appeared to



be of embossed cambric, damask pattern, red silk fringe.<sup>100</sup>

With the grey and gold fancy furniture, this must have been an interesting combination.

Of course, there were other windows in the house. There is no evidence that Dolley Madison cut up Latrobe's red velvet curtains for use in another room. On May 15, 1815, John Peabody delivered "28 yds. furniture, \$14.00," and another, unspecified quantity worth \$66.92 $\frac{1}{2}$ .<sup>101</sup>

In February, 1816, Boyd paid \$34.25 for five window cornices at William Jones' auction.<sup>102</sup> In April of that year, John Peabody's shop submitted a bill for \$71.16 $\frac{1}{2}$ , which included "furniture for curtains, thread and trimming."<sup>103</sup> Unfortunately, there is no record indicating that any curtains were actually made; if they were, the color, style, and location are left to the imagination.

The Madisons used calico for some of the furniture, or for curtains. In December, 1815, Miller and Potts supplied fifty-seven yards of furniture calico for \$17.81 $\frac{1}{4}$ ; in January, 1816, another fifty-seven yards for \$32.06 $\frac{1}{4}$ .<sup>104</sup>

In terms of floor coverings--there was not enough money to buy Brussels carpets. Actually, the post-fire White House had a carpet only in one major room. On Dec-

ember 27, 1815, John Peabody's shop charged \$134.50 for a "south sea flammed and ingraind. carpeting."<sup>105</sup> One month earlier, Mrs. Crowninshield had found the drawing room floor "covered with a dark grey cloth."<sup>106</sup> No doubt, the ingrain carpet replaced it.

On December 30, 1816, W.S. Nichols supplied fifteen yards of carpeting at \$2.50 per yard.<sup>107</sup> This was probably used for a bedroom or passage. The only other "carpets" came from John Peabody, who charged \$32.00 for two fire rugs.<sup>108</sup>

The Madisons could afford only cloth coverings for the remaining rooms. Baize coating, which was used primarily to cover and protect carpets, was placed on the floors of the post-fire White House. Between May and December, 1815, Boyd spent \$445.52 $\frac{1}{2}$  in seven different purchases of baize coating.<sup>109</sup> Apparently, the majority was either blue or green.<sup>110</sup>

Cloth had a short life-span in the busy White House. One guest at the New Year's reception in 1816 moaned,

Such a crowd I never was in. It took  
us ten minutes to push and shove ourselves  
through the dining room. . . .<sup>111</sup>

Therefore, it is not surprising that by October, 1816, the Madisons had to send to the shop of Riggs and Gaither for "1 pce. coating for covering floors, 52

yds. . . . \$61.87 $\frac{1}{2}$ ."112.

During warm weather, one room was covered with straw carpeting. When Boyd went to Baltimore in 1815, he bought thirty-two yards of it for the President's House.<sup>113</sup>

In terms of the Treasury accounts, these ill-suited floor coverings complete the list of post-fire furnishings. The question remains: how much furniture did the Madisons borrow from Montpelier? Again, there is virtually no information about their use of personal property in the White House.

In all probability, they used one or more of their own dinner services, at least until Boyd purchased the Campbell china in 1816. Other gaps in the public supplies, such as table linens, serving dishes, etc., might have been filled with articles shipped from the Virginia estate. Still, the public accounts indicate that for the most part, the Madisons tried to stock the house with government furniture.

It was a difficult task. On August 29, 1790, Abigail Adams had written to her sister:

I know more injury may be done to furniture in one year than a House can easily sustain in several. A Hundred dollars goes but a little way in good furniture.<sup>114</sup>

She was correct. The 1815 government appropriation was

only 38% of the amount allowed the Madisons during the early years of James Madison's administration.

From a financial standpoint, any attempt to recreate the elegance of the pre-fire White House would have been impossible. From a political standpoint, it would have been unwise. The country was recovering from an expensive war, a war in which James Madison had been severely criticized. Restraint was the order of the day. The rebuilding of government buildings in the Federal City involved tremendous outlays of public funds; Congress saw no reason to spend large sums furnishing the corner house in the Seven Buildings.

The First Lady was placed in an unpleasant situation. In the spring of 1815, her supplies for the Seven Buildings consisted of little more than silver, a clock, some china and lamp glass, a table cloth, and the red velvet drawing room curtains. The house needed everything from beds to curtain pins.

Furthermore, as the official residence of the President, the Seven Buildings was supposed to express the dignity and elegance associated with James Madison's office. With less than \$7600.00 to spend, it was Dolley Madison's responsibility to create a suitable setting for official entertainments, a "palace," out of ashes and thin

air.

Other First Ladies might have balked at the prospect. The decoration of the Seven Buildings demanded an approach that was practical, imaginative, and ingenious. Fortunately, Dolley Madison was well-suited to the task.

The Madisons' two years in the Seven Buildings represent the lowest point in the history of White House furnishings. Justifiably, decorative arts historians prefer their pre-fire period, where the house, "Queen Dolley," Latrobe, and \$20,000 combine to create a brilliant and exciting story. By comparison, the story of the post-fire White House is dull and depressing.

From a different standpoint, the story of the post-fire White House is extremely important. It is a crucial chapter in the history of Madison taste. The taste of the pre-fire period is difficult to define. Earlier furnishings, the taste of Latrobe, and the sizeable \$20,000, combine to prevent a clear understanding of the attitudes of the Madisons. The \$20,000 appropriation makes it particularly difficult to separate good taste from ample funds.

In contrast, the story of the post-fire White House offers rare insights into the basic principles of Madison taste. Latrobe is gone; money is scarce. There is nothing

to confuse or enhance Dolley Madison's ideas. The paltry budget serves to strip Madison taste to its essentials.

The story of the Seven Buildings White House is a testament to Dolley Madison's ability to stretch the buying power of the dollar. Her approach to the decoration of the post-fire residence mirrors an important aspect of the policy pursued by the Madisons at Montpelier. In nearly every instance, she tried to buy the best, at bargain prices.

The decision to purchase used goods was logical, if not inevitable. However, it illustrates the 'practical' aspect of Madison taste, characterized by a willingness to compromise in order to resolve the conflict between their desire for elegant, expensive, furnishings, and their inability to pay elegant prices.

The second-hand furniture at Montpelier was elegant; it was carefully selected. Similarly, the abundance of political dignitaries listed in the Treasury accounts indicates that Dolley Madison was careful in selecting used goods for the White House. It is significant that the Madisons purchased some of these furnishings from the government.

The purchases of fancy furniture represent the

practical Dolley Madison at her best. Probably made in the style of the English Regency, this painted furniture, however cheap, was fashionable; it was totally in keeping with the Madisons' preference for archaeological classicism, and revived the dignified spirit of Latrobe's drawing room. Again, it is significant that the Madisons kept the Palmer chairs.

Two other aspects of Madison taste--extravagance, and devotion to the French vogue--are illustrated by the purchase of Serrurier's furniture. Dolley Madison spent approximately 9.5% of the budget for fifteen pieces of second-hand furniture. At the post-fire rates, this \$800.00 would have purchased 160 Finlay chairs, to say nothing of better quality china, glass, or floor coverings.

In the opinion of the writer, these few pieces of furniture express "Queen Dolley's" desire for luxury and elegance in her surroundings. In contrast to the baize carpets and cheap ceramics, Serrurier's furniture was conspicuously expensive, a brilliant highlight to the interior. It reminded visitors that the President still had elegant taste. Characteristically, Mrs. Madison chose French furniture to convey this message.

Basically, Dolley Madison's makeshift "White House" was a restatement of two ideas expressed before the fire--

the elegance of fashionable, expensive furniture, and the dignity of archaeological classicism. Both themes indicate that the Madisons possessed refined aesthetic sensibilities. The significance of the Seven Buildings White House lies in the fact that Dolley Madison was able to express \$20,000 ideas on a \$7600 budget. The dignity and elegance of the post-fire White House was the result of ingenious and careful financial compromise. It is the realization of refined ideas through compromise that represents the essence of Madison taste.



## Notes to Chapter III.

<sup>1</sup>Paul Jennings, A Colored Man's Reminiscences of James Madison, Bladensburg Series, No. 2 (Brooklyn: George C. Beadle), 1865, pp. 10-11.

<sup>2</sup>The day before the fire, Madison sent her a message to "be ready at a moment's warning to enter [her] carriage and leave the city." Clark, p. 164.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 165-166.

<sup>4</sup>This was the famous Lansdowne portrait by Gilbert Stuart. At the time of the British invasion, it was screwed to a wall in the state dining room. The portrait was removed by breaking the frame. Ibid., p. 164-166.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 166.

<sup>6</sup>The number of articles removed from the White House by British troops remains unknown. According to Margaret Bayard Smith, there was very little looting. See Hunt, Forty Years, pp. 111-112.

<sup>7</sup>Singleton, I, p. 98.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., pp. 73-90; Clark, pp. 157-202.

<sup>9</sup>Harold Donaldson Eberlein and Cortlandt Van Dyke Hubbard, Historic Houses of George-Town & Washington City (Richmond: The Dietz Press, Incorporated), 1958, pp. 301-316. (Hereafter, Eberlein and Hubbard). See also, Glenn Brown, "The Octagon," n.d. (typewritten manuscript), American Institute of Architects, Washington, D.C. (Hereafter, Brown).

<sup>10</sup>Brown, p. 1.

<sup>11</sup>Sara Jameson, "Inventory of the Octagon House," May, 1970 (typewritten manuscript), Octagon House.

<sup>12</sup>Brown, p. 3; Eberlein and Hubbard, p. 311; Singleton, I, p. 78.

<sup>13</sup>Statement of the Account of John Payne Todd, entered April 4, 1817, #34.354, vouchers 1-25, Reel 192, frames 0195-0270, MTA, 217, NAR, voucher 25, frame 0256. (Hereafter, Todd).

<sup>14</sup>Ibid, voucher 25, frame 0253. See also, Bill of Peter Ham, September 3, 1816, #500.00, Ibid, voucher 25, frame 0251.

<sup>15</sup>September 2; October 20, Bill of Thomas McKenney, January 3 - October 20, 1814, Deblois, voucher 52, frame 0824.

<sup>16</sup>\$56.62½, Boyd, 2nd. acct., voucher 17, frame 0446.

<sup>17</sup>Extract from Bill of John Otts, January 4, 1815, \$.37½, Ibid, 3rd. acct., voucher 26, frame 0571. (Hereafter, Otts, 0571.)

<sup>18</sup>January 16, 1815, included in Second Auditor's Report of the Account of Lewis Deblois, entered December 31, 1817, #36.143, Reel 229, frames 0432-0433, MTA, 217, NAR.

<sup>19</sup>Auditor's Report and List of Expenditures for the Account of George Boyd, entered May 19, 1817, #34.714, Reel 198, frames 0448-0504, MTA, 217, NAR.

<sup>20</sup>Auditor's Report of the Account of John Payne Todd, entered April 7, 1817, Todd, frames 0195-0196.

<sup>21</sup>In Todd: Bill of George Miller, November, 1814, \$7.00, voucher 9, frame 0217 (bricks); Bill of David Tweedy, November, 1814, \$6.00, voucher 9, frame 0217 ("sundry repairs"); Bill of William Coltman, December 11, 1815, \$1.37, voucher 10, frame 0219 (brickwork); Bill of Seyle & Long, November 28, 1814, \$5.00, voucher 12, frame 0223 (cleaning well).

<sup>22</sup>Eberlein and Hubbard, p. 317.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., pp. 317-326.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 329.

<sup>26</sup>Clark, pp. 189-190.

<sup>27</sup>Bill and Account of George Boyd, April 8-Nov-

ember 25, 1815, vouchers 3-7, 12, 20, 22-23, 27, 30-31, 34-35, 38-39, 49, Todd, voucher 24, frames 0265-0300. (Hereafter, Boyd for Todd).

<sup>28</sup>In Todd: Bill of King and Langley, March 10-April 7, 1815, \$31.06 $\frac{1}{2}$ , voucher 16, frame 0237 (planks and joists); Bill of William Coltman, May 25-October 17, 1815, \$36.75<sup>1</sup>, voucher 22, frame 0249 (mason work, setting up grates in fireplaces); Bill of Coltman, February 6-October 3, 1816, \$8.25, voucher 10, frame 0219; Bill of James Kennedy, August, 1815, \$41.25, voucher 20, frame 0245 (planks and lime); Bill of Robert Miller, January 19-February 22, 1816, \$41.00, voucher 21, frame 0247 (carpentry); Bill of Miller, October 25, 1816, \$37.00, voucher 8, frame 0215 (materials and repairs).

<sup>29</sup>May 10-May 31, Boyd, voucher 35 for Todd, frame 0296.

<sup>30</sup>Boyd, voucher 27 for Todd, frame 0286.

<sup>31</sup>August 25, 1815, \$57.08  $\frac{2}{3}$ , Boyd, voucher 49 for Todd, frame 0298 (painting). See also, December 24-October 4, 1816, \$63.72<sup>1</sup>, Todd, voucher 7, frame 0213 (painting).

<sup>32</sup>George Boyd to D. P. Madison, March 29, 1815, DMP, "20 Letters," LC. Traditionally, scholars have assumed that the Madisons remained in Washington until July 19, 1815. See Brant, VI, p. 390. Although James Madison might have remained until July, Mrs. Madison was already at Montpelier.

<sup>33</sup>March 29, 1815, DMP, "20 Letters," LC.

<sup>34</sup>n.d., #8005, MP, AL. The name of the recipient does not appear on this letter. At present, it is catalogued, "Dolley Madison to Edward Coles." In the opinion of the writer, the content of the letter suggests that it was written to Boyd.

<sup>35</sup>DMP, "20 Letters," LC.

<sup>36</sup>Boyd, 1st. acct., voucher 8, frame 0361.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid, 1st., acct., voucher 17, frame 0379.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid, 2nd acct., voucher 38, frame 0490.

<sup>39</sup>Bill of Joseph Nevett, June 12, 1815, \$6.25, Ibid, 1st acct., voucher 19, frame 0383 (freight).

<sup>40</sup>Klapthor, p. 158.

<sup>41</sup>Ethel Hall Bjerkoe, The Cabinetmakers of America, (New York: Bonanza Books), 1957, p. 166.

<sup>42</sup>December, 1815, Boyd, 3rd. acct., voucher 12, frame 0539. (Hereafter, Palmer, 0539). See also, Bill of T. Caldwell, December 27, 1815, \$22.95, Ibid, 2nd. acct., voucher 24, frame 0461 (freight from New York).

<sup>43</sup>Palmer, 0539.

<sup>44</sup>Singleton, I, p. 81.

<sup>45</sup>Bill of William Worthington, June 15, 1814-June 14, 1815, \$396.00, Boyd, 1st. acct., voucher 25, frame 0398 (including repairs). Bill of Worthington, July 17, 1815-December 20, 1816, \$94.75, Ibid, 3rd., acct., voucher 24, frame 0566 (including repairs). (Hereafter, Worthington, 0398, 0566).

<sup>46</sup>#2988, Box 21, MC, AL.

<sup>47</sup>Worthington, 0398, 0566.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid.

<sup>49</sup>Bill of James L. Gordon for Queen, April 12, 1815, Boyd, 1st. acct., voucher 4, frame 0348.

<sup>50</sup>March 1, 1815, Ibid, 2nd. acct., voucher 3, frame 0418.

<sup>51</sup>July 10, 1815, Ibid, 1st. acct., voucher 6, frame 0352.

<sup>52</sup>In Boyd, resp.: June 27, 1815, 1st. acct., voucher 20, frame 0385 (hereafter, McGrath, 0385); Bill of A. L. Joncherez, November 7, 1815, 1st. acct., voucher 34, frame 0300. (Hereafter, Joncherez, 0300).

<sup>53</sup>In Boyd, resp: 1) 1st. acct., voucher 5, frame 0350; 2) 1st. acct., voucher 6, frame 0353 (hereafter, Queen, 0353); 3) McGrath, 0385; 4) 2nd. acct., voucher 11, frame 0434 (hereafter, Serrurier, 0434); 5) 2nd. acct., voucher 21, frame 0455 (hereafter, Dallas, 0455); 6) 2nd. acct., voucher 37, frames 0487-0489. (Hereafter, Joncherez, frames 0487-0489).

<sup>54</sup>John H. Edmonds, in DAB, s.v. Dallas, Alexander James.

- 55 John H. Frederick, in DAB, s.v. Jones, William.
- 56 Joncherez, 0300.
- 57 Serrurier, 0434.
- 58 Joncherez, 0487-0489.
- 59 James L. Gordon for Queen, November 23, 1815, Boyd, 2nd. acct., voucher 16, frame 0444 (sideboard); Queen, 0353 (table).
- 60 McGrath, 0385.
- 61 Joncherez, 0300.
- 62 McGrath, 0385.
- 63 Dallas, 0455.
- 64 May 23, 1815, Boyd, 1st. acct., voucher 14, frame 0373. (Hereafter, Deblois for Boyd, 0373).
- 65 Ibid, 2nd. acct., voucher 13, frame 0438.
- 66 May 17, 1815, Ibid, 1st. acct., voucher 16, frame 0377. (Hereafter, Riggs, 0377).
- 67 Southern Silver, An Exhibition of Silver made in the South prior to 1860, compiled by David B. Warren (Houston: The Museum of Fine Arts), 1968, G-18-A--G-18-C.
- 68 Bill of Mrs. Buchanan, July 14, 1815, Boyd, 1st. acct., voucher 23, frame 0391. (Hereafter, Buchanan, 0391).
- 69 December 16, 1815; April 15, 1816, Ibid, 2nd. acct., voucher 43, frame 0501. (Hereafter, Cooper, 0501).
- 70 Riggs, 0377.
- 71 October 23, 1815-January 22, 1817, Boyd, 3rd. acct., voucher 31, frames 0584-0585. (Hereafter, Burnett, 0584-0585).
- 72 Ibid.
- 73 Queen, 0353.
- 74 Boyd, 2nd. acct., voucher 33, frame 0479. (Hereafter, Peabody, 0479).

<sup>75</sup> April 20, 1816, Ibid, 2nd. acct., voucher 44, frame 0503.

<sup>76</sup> Cooper, 0501.

<sup>77</sup> June 8, 1815, Boyd, 3rd. acct., voucher 10, frame 0535.

<sup>78</sup> October 22, 1814-March 4, 1815, \$55.02 $\frac{1}{2}$ , Ibid, 2nd. acct., voucher 3, frames 0345-0346. (Hereafter, Achmann, 0345-0346). See also, Bill of Achmann, December 18, 1815, \$182.10, Ibid, 2nd. acct., voucher 18, frames 0447-0449.

<sup>79</sup> Achmann, 0345-0346.

<sup>80</sup> Burnett, 0584.

<sup>81</sup> Deblois for Boyd, 0373.

<sup>82</sup> Joncherez, 0300.

<sup>83</sup> Joncherez, 0487-0489.

<sup>84</sup> December 20, 1816, Boyd, 2nd. acct., voucher 48, frame 0511.

<sup>85</sup> January 4, 1815-February 18, 1817, \$5.87 $\frac{1}{2}$ , Otts, 0571.

<sup>86</sup> December 20, 1816, Boyd, 2nd. acct., voucher 49, frame 0513.

<sup>87</sup> Philip May Hamer, in DAB, s.v. Campbell, George W. See also, Wharton, Early Republic, pp. 156-157.

<sup>88</sup> October 15, Boyd, 1st. acct., voucher 28, frame 0401. (Hereafter, Lear, 0401).

<sup>89</sup> Ibid, 2nd. acct., voucher 46, frame 0507.

<sup>90</sup> Ibid, 2nd. acct., voucher 20, frame 0453.

<sup>91</sup> Buchanan, 0391. Mrs. Tobias Lear sold Boyd an unspecified number of tumblers and wine glasses for \$10.00. See Lear, 0401.

<sup>92</sup> Boyd, 2nd acct., voucher 29, frame 0471.

<sup>93</sup> April 2-July 18, 1816, Burnett, 0584.

<sup>94</sup>November 2-November 6, 1816, Boyd, 3rd. acct., voucher 22, frame 0562. Also in Boyd: Bill of Robert Miller, May 30, 1816, \$19.85, 2nd. acct., voucher 47, frame 0509 (wash basins, pitchers, chamber pots); Bill of Miller, December 30, 1816, \$5.00, 3rd. acct., voucher 30, frame 0581 (4 pitchers); Bill of A. L. Joncherez, January-April 18, 1816, \$60.62½, 3rd. acct., voucher 23, frame 0564 (china); Joncherez, 0300 (punch cans, basins, and ewer).

<sup>95</sup>Singleton, I, pp. 84-85.

<sup>96</sup>Boyd, 3rd. acct., voucher 18, frame 0553.

<sup>97</sup>Ibid, 2nd. acct., voucher 40, frame 0494. (Hereafter, Miller & Potts, 0494).

<sup>98</sup>Ibid, 1st. acct., voucher 1, frame 0341.

<sup>99</sup>\$65.95, Ibid, 2nd. acct., voucher 7, frame 0426. Also, Bill of Miller and Potts, April 28, 1815, \$5.04, Ibid, 1st. acct., voucher 6, frame 0353 (18 yds. curtain muslin).

<sup>100</sup>Singleton, I, p. 81.

<sup>101</sup>Boyd, 2nd. acct., voucher 12, frame 0436. (Hereafter, Peabody, 0436).

<sup>102</sup>Joncherez, 0487-0489.

<sup>103</sup>April 17, 1815, Boyd, 2nd. acct., voucher 22, frame 0457. (Hereafter, Peabody, 0457).

<sup>104</sup>Miller and Potts, 0494.

<sup>105</sup>Peabody, 0457.

<sup>106</sup>Singleton, I, p. 81.

<sup>107</sup>\$37.50, Boyd, 3rd. acct., voucher 21, frame 0559.

<sup>108</sup>Peabody, 0436.

<sup>109</sup>May 9, 1815, \$36.07½, Peabody, 0436 (coating); also in Boyd: Bill of Peabody, May 9, 1815, \$54.62½, 2nd. acct., voucher 33, frame 0479 (baize and coating); Bill of Richard Anderson, September 6, 1815, \$83.88½, 1st. acct., voucher 26, frame 0397 (blue coating); October 17, 1815, \$85.00, Miller and Potts, 0494 (south

sea baize); Bill of Romulus Riggs--October 18, 1815, \$65.00, October 20, 1815, \$65.95, December 1, 1815, \$65.00, 2nd. acct., voucher 31, frame 0475 (blue coating "for covering floors").

<sup>110</sup>Singleton, I, p. 89.

<sup>111</sup>Ibid., p. 85.

<sup>112</sup>October 27, 1816, Boyd, 3rd. acct., voucher 15, frame 0546.

<sup>113</sup>Bill of Seth Sweetster, Jr. for William and James Wilkins, May 15, 1815, \$32.25, Ibid, 1st. acct., voucher 10, frame 0365 (20 $\frac{1}{2}$  yds.). Bill of Wilkins, June 2, 1815, \$12.25, Ibid, 1st. acct., voucher 18, frame 0381 (11 $\frac{1}{2}$  yds., and linen).

<sup>114</sup>New Letters of Abigail Adams 1788-1801, ed. Stewart Mitchell (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company), 1947, p. 58.



## Introduction to the Catalogue: Problems Involved in Authenticating Madison Furnishings

This catalogue represents the beginning of a growing list of authentic Madison furnishings. It is not a checklist of objects whose authenticity is based entirely on a tradition of Madison ownership. Every object has been tested for written proof of direct Madison association. In the opinion of the writer, each entry has a valid claim to Madison ownership. Few can be readily identified in the vague bills, inventories, and descriptions which survive. Many of the well-documented objects are "lost." In short, determining the authenticity of Madison furnishings is difficult. However, it is not impossible. It is the purpose of this discussion to outline the numerous difficulties and aides involved in the process of authentication.

The history of the Madisons' personal furnishings is spotty. A detailed discussion of these objects will be the subject of a future study. For the present, one is left with very few bills, some descriptions, and a series of inventories. The latter have been included in the Appendices. It is the inventories that comprise the bulk

of written information about Madison furnishings. They are not highly descriptive.

In addition to the dearth of written documents, there are other problems arising from the peculiar character of the Madisons' domestic situation. In terms of time, the Madison period spans forty-two years of marriage. Also, they inherited furnishings. Finally, Dolley Madison survived her husband by thirteen years. Therefore, furnishings made any time between ca. 1750-1849--a period of ninety-nine years--could have a Madison association, although it is unlikely that any expensive articles were purchased after about 1830.

Consider their consumer market places. The Madisons lived in Philadelphia, Washington, and in Orange. All of these areas offered domestic items. Also, they had access to the markets in Baltimore, Richmond, and Fredericksburg.

But the Madisons were among the nation's leading citizens. The members of their circle provided links with all the major cities in the country, plus England and the Continent. They also purchased used furnishings. In short, one cannot impose strict geographic boundaries on their furnishings. Articles made in Boston, Paris, the valley of Virginia, cannot be ruled out.

The furnishings that the Madisons inherited pose a particularly thorny problem. After the death of John Todd and his parents in 1793, Dolley Todd inherited two lots of furniture--all that had belonged to her husband, and two-thirds of her father's-in-law estate.<sup>1</sup> With her marriage to Madison in 1794, she probably carried some of these articles into her new home.

The problem remains: how many? The Todd estate inventories (Appendices VI, VII) indicate that Dolley Todd had more than enough articles to furnish a single house. Some things were probably sold; unfortunately no record of a sale has been found.<sup>2</sup>

When James Madison, Sr. died in 1801, he left a large estate. (Appendix VIII). The furnishings were left for his widow's use.<sup>3</sup> Although Nelly Madison lived under the same roof with the younger Madisons at Montpelier, she kept completely separate apartments.<sup>4</sup> At her death in 1829, she willed all of her furnishings to James Madison.<sup>5</sup>

There are several eighteenth-century objects with James Madison, Jr. association, which have passed through Madison family descendants. Such histories imply that these objects were acquired from the younger Madisons, sometime after 1829. Here, there is a distinct

possibility of confusion through time. Nelly Madison had twenty-eight years to give furnishings to her other children. No doubt, some objects with Madison association have ties only with the Senior Madisons. Because there is no inventory of Nelly Madison's estate, it is virtually impossible to determine which objects were finally inherited by James and Dolley Madison.

When tracing the history of these early Madison objects, it is very difficult to pinpoint Todd, or Madison, Sr., ownership. While the inventories offer some help, there are many similarities in the lists. Of course, it is unlikely that the Philadelphia Todds patronized craftsmen in the valley of Virginia. But, in the case of James Madison, Sr., the reverse is not necessarily true. Certainly he had access to the markets in Philadelphia and Maryland.

Hopefully, many of the problems mentioned above will eventually be eliminated. Meanwhile, there is a crude method for testing the validity of histories which associate furnishings with Madison ownership. The key to this method lies in the details of the dispersal of the Madisons' personal property, largely after James Madison's death in 1836.

In terms of geography, most Madison objects have

histories that can be traced either to Orange or Washington. Chronologically speaking, the majority of the estate was broken up between 1836 and 1852.

In the opinion of the writer, the bulk of the Madisons' possessions did not pass into the hands of relatives. Many entries in the catalogue have family histories. These objects came to light through geneological research. A considerable number of Madison articles, with no family connections whatsoever, have not yet been found.

That relatives did not inherit the bulk of the Madisons' estate can be explained in terms of simple economics. During the nineteen years of James Madison's retirement, his fortunes declined sharply.<sup>6</sup> After his death, his widow's situation became critical. Dolley Madison's final poverty can be ascribed to a variety of factors--her own inability to manage funds wisely, the paltry sums offered by Congress for her husband's papers.<sup>7</sup> The single most important factor, however, was the extravagance of her son, Payne Todd.

Spendthrift, playboy, and alcoholic, Payne Todd milked his mother's inheritance in order to pay his debts, and to build Todd's Berthe, his unusual "house" in Orange.<sup>8</sup> At his death, Todd's uncle, James C. Payne,

offered an appropriate eulogy:

Mr. Todd it seems was not satisfied with crowding into the space of his life all the injury, shame, & mortification which he par excellence could accomplish . . . Pity it is that Providence did not relieve the earth of its burthen a little sooner.<sup>9</sup>

The dispersal of the estate took place over a period of years. In 1837, Dolley Madison decided to leave Montpelier. and return to Washington, where the Madisons owned a house on Lafayette square.<sup>10</sup> Between 1837 and 1843, she returned periodically to Montpelier.<sup>11</sup> Finally, in the fall of 1843, she settled permanently in Washington, with her niece and companion, Annie Payne.<sup>12</sup>

Mrs. Madison furnished the house with articles from Montpelier.<sup>13</sup> Obviously, she was working under considerable financial strain, for in August, 1842, she mortgaged the Washington house to John Jacob Astor for \$6000.<sup>14</sup> In November and December of that year, she sold some of the Montpelier property to Henry W. Moncure of Richmond.<sup>15</sup>

In August, 1844, she sold the rest of the estate, including Montpelier mansion, to Moncure.<sup>16</sup> On August 12, she wrote to Moncure from Washington:

No one, I think, can appreciate my feeling of grief and dismay at the necessity of transferring to another a beloved home.

I have expressed to Payne my readiness to

return for a short time in order to assist in the arrangement of the household contents which must be in confusion some of which I wish to retain . . .<sup>17</sup>

She never returned to Montpelier. Part of the furnishings, those that she did not "wish to retain," were left in the house. In 1848, Moncure sold the house to Benjamin Thornton of York, England.<sup>18</sup> Several Madison pieces were inherited by Thornton's daughters, who eventually settled in Herndon, Virginia. In the 1930's the Thornton sisters sold these objects, each accompanied by an affidavit attesting to the authenticity of Madison ownership.

In the opinion of the writer, some of these objects do not have a valid claim to Madison association. For example, there are several elegant pieces made in the style which prevailed in America from about 1830 until 1860. The Madisons could not have afforded such expensive furniture. It is a matter of common sense. Nevertheless, some of the affidavits are valid. Again using common sense, one may assume that Thornton did not bring any early nineteenth-century American furniture from England. The well-meaning Thornton sisters simply assumed that all of their "old" furniture had originally belonged to the Madisons.

The remainder of the Montpelier furnishings were removed by Todd to Toddsberthe. Dolley Madison sent a list of articles to be shipped to Washington. In October, 1844, Todd wrote to his mother:

I propose to send the list of what in provisions . . . [is] to be sent and a waggon (large) will be loaded as soon as the things from MtPelier are taken away. All furniture of your lists will be sent but the two large glass-plates mirrors which will require boxing rail-road & steamboat and may if not carefully handled then brake.<sup>19</sup>

For some reason it took Todd over a year to remove the furnishings from Montpelier; in a letter to his mother dated November 25, 1845, he wrote:

Becky attends every day to the removal of the furniture from Montpellier to Toddsberthe.<sup>20</sup>

With the Montpelier articles safely under his roof, Todd proceeded to sell them in payment of debts. In July, 1844, he had persuaded Dolley Madison to sign a Deed of Gift to him for all the Montpelier furnishings.<sup>21</sup> Because he did not enter this transaction at the Court House, the deed was never legal.

However, legality, to Todd, was a matter of little importance. The entires in his diary indicate that he had practically no contact with reality, and was, in fact, insane. As his Toddsberthe inventory testifies, by 1852 he had sold nearly everything, piecemeal, to a variety of



buyers. (Appendix IX).

Some of these transactions were recorded in his diary. On February 18, 1846, he wrote:

I sold a carpet 2 get cash & Bureau & plank settee for 6 more on account with Mr. Omohandro.<sup>22</sup>

Dolley Madison was not completely aware of Todd's actions during much of this period. In 1843, she made him recover some spoons that he had sold.<sup>23</sup> In April, 1846, she complained:

. . . a part of the furniture I wished to divide with you, & a part of it I desired to sell, but I wished to be with you & together choose what best to dispose of . . .<sup>24</sup>

By 1847, Mrs. Madison was forced to go along with her son. In May of that year, Todd received a visit from Mr. Hawkins, who offered to sell him a sorrel mare for \$20.00. Todd recorded in his diary:

I promised the Bedstead should I not trade notwithstanding at his own price.<sup>25</sup>

On the same day, he made a note to write to his mother "about Mr. Madison's medallion . . . write for bed."<sup>26</sup>

In Washington, Dolley Madison's financial situation continued to get worse. In 1844, she wrote to her banker, Richard Smith, to offer security on an overdue loan:

I am willing to enter into this arrangement immediately and can add . . . personal property. My furniture & everything of a personal description is free from incumbrances. The last is now insured for 2500\$.<sup>27</sup>

Fortunately, Mrs. Madison managed to hold on to her Washington possessions until 1848; during the summer of that year, she agreed to a raffle, to sell some paintings and silver.<sup>28</sup> The sale never took place; instead, she and Todd pawned 22½ lbs. of silver for \$250.00.<sup>29</sup>

On July 12, 1849, Dolley Madison died at the age of 81. In her will she left all of her personal possessions to Payne Todd.<sup>30</sup> Todd and her niece Annie Payne were to split the \$20,000 trust given by Congress in 1848 for the remainder of the James Madison papers.<sup>31</sup>

Shortly after the death of James Madison in 1836, his widow had taken a partial inventory of the contents of Montpelier. (Appendix X). In 1842, Dolley Madison made a list of the contents of the Lafayette Square house. (Appendix XI). The 1842 inventory was compiled before the sale of Montpelier, before Mrs. Madison sent her list of articles to be shipped from Virginia. There is a slight possibility that Todd finally sent the articles. Unfortunately, there are no documents confirming the shipment, and the list is lost. For the present, the 1842 inventory provides the most complete list of the contents of the house.

The history of the dispersal of Mrs. Madison's estate revolves around the actions of several key figures. They are: Payne Todd; Annie Payne and her husband, Dr. James H. Causten, Jr., a physician from Washington; Mrs. Madison's niece, Mary E. E. Cutts, and James C. McGuire. Miss Cutts and McGuire lived in Washington. The latter was an auctioneer, and one of Payne Todd's creditors. Conveniently, he was chosen by Todd to administer Dolley Madison's estate.<sup>32</sup>

The executors waited nearly a year before settling the estate. In March, 1850, W. E. Kennaugh wrote to Payne Todd:

I sent, by express, the articles named in yours of the 10th. inst.. I should have written you previous, except Mr. McGuire informed me he was going to Baltimore, from whom you could have learned full particulars concerning the appraisement. I placed the list of articles in his hands, agreeably to your directions, was there on the day they were appraised, but, from private motives, declined to act as an appraiser. Mr. W. F. Bayley and a Mr. Clinton, I think, were the gentlemen. The whole house was valued at \$7000 or near that, as I am informed. Everything was put down, (at value) except some articles, (piano, looking glass, and side-board) claimed by Miss Cutts . . . the silverware was valued by weight, and everything conducted the same as you could wish, had you been present.<sup>33</sup>

This letter is important in several respects. First, Kennaugh's reference to articles "sent, by express," suggests that Todd was selling some of his mother's Wash-

ington furnishings. In terms of Todd's earlier conduct at Montpelier, such a conclusion is logical.

Second, Kennaugh's letter illustrates the relationship between Mary Cutts and her aunt's estate. Mary Cutts had a claim to some of Mrs. Madison's effects. Ten years earlier, Dolley Madison had sent a memo to John Sioussa, instructing him

please to let Mary E. E. Cutts have the looking glasses from my drawing room--and any other furniture she may wish for out of my house.<sup>34</sup>

In 1840, Dolley Madison had not yet decided to settle permanently in Washington. Mary Cutts waited until her death to claim these articles.

Payne Todd made matters extremely difficult for Mrs. Madison's relatives. He tried to get Annie Payne's share of his mother's estate, fortunately, without success.<sup>35</sup> The other members of the family were treated with equal disdain. In November, 1849, Mary Cutts wrote to Todd at Toddsherthe:

I wished . . . to ask you to bring on for me one of those silver cups marked M that is if you can spare it. I want to give one to my little niece, and it would be so much more valuable from having belonged to your dear mother! Of course, I do not ask it as a gift, but will gladly pay what you think its value--as I would at the Jeweler.<sup>36</sup>

Nothing more is known about the cup. However, Todd generally refused to allow Dolley Madison's relatives to purchase her possessions privately.<sup>37</sup> Instead, sometime between March, 1850, and March 1851, the contents of the Lafayette Square house were sold at public auction; the furnishings brought \$1496.77.<sup>38</sup>

Unfortunately, there is no record of the individuals who purchased articles at this sale. When McGuire submitted his account to the Court of the District of Columbia, he included no vouchers. Although every auction in the Federal City was filed at the Court House, these records were destroyed, by act of Congress, in 1902.<sup>39</sup> Only a rough draft of the advertisement, undated, survives:

Until Wednesday the 30th. the late residence of the Late Mrs. Madison will be open to view the remaining [Xed. out] articles unsold [Xed. out] in the lower rooms of the house for sale. . . .<sup>40</sup>

Dolley Madison's relatives were forced to purchase her effects at the sale. In March, 1851, Mary Cutts wrote to Dr. James Causten:

Will Dr. Causten be so kind as to send me the cracked cup & saucer with the initial, which he got for me with his own--and the price, which I have forgotten--it will save me the trouble of referring to the auctioneer.<sup>41</sup>

Annie Payne Causten also had a claim to several

articles from the estate. Dolley Madison gave her most of her jewelry;<sup>42</sup> in addition, she received:

2 gravy spoons  
1 tea spoon  
24 forks  
A knife & fork  
a strainer  
A tumbler  
1 pr. sugar tongs  
4 Salt spoons  
1 Mustard spoon  
A Pitcher  
A sugar Bowl<sup>43</sup>

Although Payne Todd tried to reclaim these objects, Dr. Causten interceded successfully in his wife's behalf.<sup>44</sup> As Mary Cutts' letter to Causten indicates, they also attended the sale.

James McGuire acquired several of Mrs. Madison's effects. Apparently, these objects were not purchased at the sale. According to Mary Cutts:

The bond of union between Mr. Todd and the administrator [McGuire] was a mutual fine taste for paintings, and, we may add, an accomodating spirit on the part of the latter with respect to loans, as well as a desire for souvenirs and autographs . . . belonging to the estate . . . Upon these . . . advances were made, as the necessities of Mr. Todd increased, never to be redeemed.<sup>45</sup>

McGuire's relationship with the Madison estate did not end with the sale of Dolley Madison's effects. On January 16, 1852, Payne Todd died in Washington. Again ignoring his family, Todd appointed McGuire, Dr. Cornelius

Boyle, and Charles S. Wallack as administrators.<sup>46</sup>

At the time of his death, Todd was still in possession of some of his mother's effects.<sup>47</sup> It is interesting that McGuire tarried twenty years before submitting his administrative account to the District of Columbia Court.<sup>48</sup> In 1872, he submitted a supposed inventory of Todd's Washington possessions. (Appendix XII).

This inventory consists of a list of articles sold by McGuire at public auction, on February 24, 1852.<sup>49</sup> Causten must have questioned the completeness of the inventory, because, in 1852 he wrote to James C. Payne regarding "the effects and personal property left by him [Todd] which is known . . ."<sup>50</sup> (emphasis mine). In settling Todd's estate, how many "souveniers" did McGuire keep for himself?

In 1852, Todd was still the owner of Toddsberthe. In September of that year, an inventory of the estate was compiled. (Appendix IX). On November 11, 1852, a public sale, under the direction of Dr. James Hiden of Orange, was held at the house; Causten went to Orange for the sale, but purchased only a few articles--a looking glass, tureen, candlestand, paper press, and busts of Mrs. Madison, Todd, and the "Emperer and Empress."<sup>51</sup>

The Toddsberthe auction was the last important Madison sale until 1899. In May of that year, Mary Causten Kunkel, daughter of Annie Payne and Dr. James Causten, sold the Madison effects that had been inherited and purchased by her parents. The sale took place in Philadelphia; pertinent excerpts from Mrs. Kunkel's personal catalogue--with the sale price of each item--are included in Appendix XIII.

The articles which were not sold returned to Mrs. Kunkel; in 1959, the Dolley Madison Memorial Foundation purchased them from the estate of her heirs.<sup>52</sup> In 1962, the Foundation gave the collection to the Greensboro Historical Museum.

The Kunkel Catalogue is the largest published list of Madison furnishings. Unfortunately, it has several defects. First, there are few illustrations. Second, many of the catalogue descriptions are vague; several are incorrect. Finally, some of the objects in the catalogue were never owned by the Madisons; they belonged to the Caustens.

Mary Causten Kunkel had become an orphan when she was little more than an infant. Like the Thornton sisters, she assumed that all the old furnishings had once belonged to the Madisons. Fortunately, there is one document which



describes the Caustens' private property. It is included in Appendix XIV.

Gifts were an important factor in the dispersal of the Madisons' estate. Throughout their married life, James and Dolley Madison must have given mementos to their friends. During her widowhood, Mrs. Madison's financial situation prevented the purchase of many gifts; she gave away her personal possessions.<sup>53</sup>

The question of authenticating Madison furnishings with White House histories deserves detailed discussion. These objects fall into two categories: 1) those privately owned by the Madisons, and used in the White House; 2) those owned by the government, and purchased by the Madisons for the White House. The first group of furnishings returned to Montpelier with the Madisons in 1817; the second remained in Washington.

By virtue of their direct association with the Executive Mansion, authentic White House furnishings are the most important Madison objects. Most Madison furnishings carry the following history: "This object belonged to James and Dolley Madison, and was used by them in the White House." Unless an object dates after 1817, it is extremely difficult to either prove, or disprove, the White House association.

The Madisons' private property remains the major problem. At present, there is virtually no information about the use of Montpelier furnishings in the Executive Mansion. Furthermore, information relating to the public furnishings is profuse, but hardly precise.

In light of the 1814 fire, there can be no doubt that practically all extant White House objects--except silver, the clock, etc.--belong to the post-fire period, 1814-1817. Because the Madisons purchased second-hand furniture, and scattered pieces of china and glass, it is usually difficult to pinpoint any one object in the accounts.

One can test the validity of a White House history against public sales. As noted previously, the Madisons sold some old White House furnishings in 1810, and used the profits to purchase new ones. Succeeding Presidents did the same. For example, in 1833, Congress voted \$20,000 to President Jackson,

in addition to the proceeds of such decayed furniture as he may direct to be sold.<sup>54</sup>

Between December, 1833, and December, 1837, the furniture fund collected \$5680.40 from the sale of "decayed furniture."<sup>55</sup> All of the appropriations between 1829 and 1853 contained a similar provision.<sup>56</sup> From 1857 until

1882, there were no sales; however, in April, 1882, General Arthur sold twenty-four wagon loads of furniture.<sup>57</sup> Certainly, by 1882 the post-fire Madison furniture had been sold.

The problem remains--how much Madison furniture was actually moved into the restored White House in 1817-1818? In 1818, William Lee, Monroe's agent, submitted a report to Congress on the state of the Madisons' furnishings:

There was not a single carpet in the house. The floor had been covered with green and blue baize, which was so completely worn out as to be of no use, except in lining new carpets.

The chairs, tables, bedsteads, etc., had been so long in use as to be fit only for servant's rooms. All we have collected were a few chairs for the dining-room, which have been repaired to accord with the new ones that were ordered, and a set of old French chairs for a chamber, which remain to be repaired.

There were but two glasses in the house, and those being too small for the lower apartments in the Government House, have been placed in the chambers.

The two pier-tables and one ordinary side-board have been placed in the dining-room.

There were no bed-curtains, and those to the windows were worn out and totally unfit for use.

There was no recourse in the remnants of glass, earthenware, china, linen, etc., of which scarcely an article would serve; indeed, we may say, there remained none of these articles fit for use.

The few pieces of plate have been so bruised and injured that they could only be considered as so much old silver, and as such be exchanged for new plate; and there were very few articles of kitchen furniture, and most of little use.<sup>58</sup>

On the basis of this report, the Monroe administration inherited:

1. the baize carpets
2. chairs, tables, bedsteads--for servants' rooms
3. chairs for the dining room
4. Serrurier's 12 French chairs for a chamber
5. Serrurier's two pier tables for the dining room
6. a sideboard for the dining room
7. two looking glasses for chambers
8. the plate

These items could have been placed quite unobtrusively in the White House. Indeed, in the same year, Monroe issued a statement regarding the scarcity of usable Madison furnishings:

All the public furniture provided before 1814 having been destroyed with the public building in that year, and little afterwards procured owing to the inadequacy of the appropriation, it has become necessary to provide almost every article requisite for such an establishment.<sup>59</sup>

With the Madison furniture tucked away in the mansion, Monroe spent \$50,000 redecorating the White House.<sup>60</sup> The only reception room to receive any Madison objects was the dining room.

It is unusual that John Quincy Adams was startled by the amount of Madison furniture in the White House, when he became President in 1824. Shortly after taking office,

the cautious Adams made a complete listing of the contents of the house. At the end of the list, he made notes on the condition of the furniture:

The furniture of the President's house, having been seven years or upwards in use, is of necessity more or less injured and defaced . . . . A large portion of it, hastily collected for Mrs. Madison in 1814, at auctions, etc., never was suited to the house in which it was placed, and where it has become altogether useless.<sup>61</sup> (emphasis mine).

In light of Monroe's expenditures, and the small number of items in Lee's report, it is difficult to believe that Madison furniture made up "a large portion" of the contents of the White House. There is a contradiction, which can best be explained by reading between the lines.

Traditionally, Congress has appropriated large sums for furnishings only in cases of pronounced necessity. Obviously, Lee's report was an attempt to convince Congress of the need for a large appropriation. Adams' comments follow in the same vein. In short, Madison furnishings were considered an effective means to squeeze money out of Congress.

This explains the exaggeration in both reports. But Adams' comments are significant in another respect; they indicate that a considerable amount of Madison furniture was still in the White House in 1824. That is, it had

not yet been sold at auction.

To date, the writer has found no record of sales during the administrations of Monroe or Adams. If these records exist, it might be possible to pinpoint the period when the Madisons' furnishings left the White House. If not, the earliest sales must have occurred during the administration of Andrew Jackson, probably between 1833 and 1837.

If a Madison object can be traced to a White House sale, it should relate, however vaguely, to the Treasury accounts. In terms of the dispersal pattern for the Madisons' private property, public White House objects belong to the Washington group. With the addition of these articles, there is a crude historical sequence for the dispersal of all Madison furnishings:

Orange County Group

- |                   |   |
|-------------------|---|
| 1. 1837-1843      | Dolley Madison moves some Montpelier furniture to Washington. |
| 2. 1843-1852      | Todd conducts private sales of Montpelier furniture.          |
| 3. August 1, 1844 | Henry W. Moncure buys Montpelier and part of furniture.       |
| 4. 1849-1851      | Todd conducts private sales of Lafayette Square furniture.    |

5. November 11, 1852

Public sale at Todds-  
berthe.

Washington Group

1. Beginning in 1833 (?)

White House sales.

2. July, 1849-January, 1852

Todd conducts private  
sales of Lafayette Square  
furniture.

3. March, 1850-March, 1851

Public sale at Lafayette  
Square house.

4. February 24, 1852

Public sale of Todd es-  
tate.

The acceptance of the authenticity of a Madison ob-  
ject is ultimately a matter of personal conviction. If  
every object in the catalogue has a valid claim to Madison  
ownership, every claim is not equally valid. In the  
majority of cases, it has been impossible to prove that a  
given chair, table, etc., did, beyond doubt, belong to  
James and Dolley Madison. Therefore, the objects have been  
classified according to their probable authenticity.

These objects with excellent documentation carry,  
for want of an imaginative symbol, the designation "A."  
These objects belong in the same class with George Washing-  
ton's Miderviller dinner service, and James Monroe's  
Bellanger chairs. They are the aristocrats of Madison fur-  
nishings. The catalogue contains only three such entries.

It follows logically that those objects with less  
documentary support carry a designation of "B." Here,

there is evidence that the Madisons owned something "like" the articles in question, if not the objects themselves. As more documents come to light, many of these objects will join the "A" group.

The "C" group must be viewed with extreme caution. These objects have a nebulous claim to Madison ownership. Some have little or no written documentation, but, their histories are unusually sound. Others have written support, but poor histories.

The writer has omitted many objects with histories of Madison ownership. While many of these articles might have belonged to the Madisons, there is, at present, no support for the association.

Those objects with White House histories have also been classified according to probable authenticity, in this case, "a", "b", and "c". Articles with improbable, or impossible histories have received no designation whatsoever.



## Notes to the Introduction to the Catalogue

<sup>1</sup>Sifton, pp. 182-188. See also, Todd Family Papers, Independence National Historical Park, Philadelphia. (Hereafter, TP, INHP).

<sup>2</sup>The settlement of the Todd estates was hampered by James Todd, Dolley Todd's brother-in-law. The documents which point to a sale are addressed to James, and refer to his unlawful retention of Dolley Todd's inheritance. See D. P. Todd to James Todd, February 7, 1794, TP, INHP; D. P. Todd to James Todd, n.d., TP, INHP. On January 27, 1795, James Madison wrote to James Todd: "I conclude you have disposed of the property which has to be sold, and are otherwise prepared to favor me with an immediate settlement." TP, INHP.

<sup>3</sup>(copy), Will of James Madison, Sr., September 17, 1787, JM, s.4, Reel 27, LC. A few articles were left to the "house." See also, Brant, IV, pp. 37-39.

<sup>4</sup>Mary Cutts Memoir, p. 5, CP, LC. Also, Brant, IV, p. 39.

<sup>5</sup>(copy), Will of Nelly Conway Madison, May 7, 1818, JM, s.4, Reel 27, LC.

<sup>6</sup>Brant, VI, pp. 418-532.

<sup>7</sup>In 1836, Congress paid \$30,000 for part of James Madison's papers. The sum was less than Madison had anticipated, and left his widow only \$9000 after she had paid his bequests. Brant, VI, pp. 523-524.

<sup>8</sup>Brant, VI, p. 525. Mary Cutts Memoir, pp. 17, 25, CP, LC.

<sup>9</sup>John C. Payne to Dr. James H. Causten, Jr., March 12, 1852, Kunkel Collection, Greensboro Historical Museum. (Hereafter, KC, GHM).

<sup>10</sup>The house still stands at the south-east corner of H Street and Madison Place. James Madison had purchased it from his brother-in-law, Richard Cutts. The

house has undergone extensive alterations; originally, it had two stories and an attic with dormer windows, and an entrance on Lafayette Square. See Anthony, p. 338; Eberlein and Hubbard, pp. 275-284.

<sup>11</sup>During several of her absences from Washington, Dolley Madison rented the house. See Eberlein and Hubbard, p. 279. Also, Cornelia Roosevelt to D. P. Madison, November 12, 1842, DMP, II, LC; D. P. Madison to Richard Smith, November 30, 1842, #4889, Coles Collection, AL. (Hereafter, #4889, CC, AL).

<sup>12</sup>Annie Payne was the daughter of John C. Payne, Mrs. Madison's brother. Dolley Madison returned to Washington in late November, 1843. See John Sioussa to D. P. Madison, November 15, 1843, DMP, III, LC; Mary Cutts to D. P. Madison, [probably November], 1843, DMP, III, LC.

<sup>13</sup>D. P. Madison to Richard Cutts, May 7, n.d., CP, LC.

<sup>14</sup>(copy), Agreement between D. P. Madison and John Jacob Astor, August 16, 1842, DMP, III, LC.

<sup>15</sup>Earlier, she had sold some land to Thomas Newman of Orange. For the most complete account of sales, see Deed between D. P. Madison, J. P. Todd, and Henry W. Moncure, August 1, 1844, Deed Book XXXIX, pp. 416-418, Orange County Court House. (Hereafter, OCCH).

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>(copy), DMP, IV, LC.

<sup>18</sup>Deed between Henry W. Moncure, Catharine Cary, and Benjamin Thornton, October 14, 1848, Deed Book XLI, pp. 42-48, OCCH. In 1854, Thornton sold the estate. See Deed between Benjamin Thornton and William H. Mcfarland, January 4, 1854, Deed Book XLIII, pp. 102-103, OCCH. Mcfarland was from Richmond.

<sup>19</sup>October 22, 1844, DMP, IV, LC.

<sup>20</sup>November 25, 1845, DMP, V, LC. Also, J. P. Todd to D. P. Madison, January 31, 1844, DMP, III, LC.

<sup>21</sup>(copy) Deed of Gift of Household Furniture at Montpelier & Toddsberthe between D. P. Madison and J. P. Todd, July 16, 1844, #2988, Box 22, AL.

<sup>22</sup>John Payne Todd, Letters and Memoranda, 1844-1847, p. 56, LC. (Hereafter, Todd Memoranda).

<sup>23</sup>J. P. Todd to D. P. Madison, December 31, 1843, DMP, III, LC.

<sup>24</sup>April 23, 1846, DMP, VI, LC.

<sup>25</sup>Todd Memoranda, p. 89, LC.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid, p. 90.

<sup>27</sup>November, 1844, DMP, IV, LC. Also, D. P. Madison to Richard Smith, June 2, 1845, #4889, CC, AL.

<sup>28</sup>Richard Smith to D. P. Madison, July 6, 1848, DMP, VIII, LC; D. P. Madison to Richard Smith, July 7, 1848, DMP, VIII, LC; D. P. Madison to J. P. Todd, July 10, 1848, DMP, VIII, LC.

<sup>29</sup>Agreement between D. P. Madison, J. P. Todd, and Charles W. Pairo, August 18, 1848, Lincoln Collection, Chicago Historical Society. (Hereafter Madison-Pairo silver agreement, LC, CHS).

<sup>30</sup>Clark, pp. 503-504.

<sup>31</sup>Congress paid \$25,000 for the papers, but released only \$5000. The remainder was placed in trust, to keep it out of the reach of Payne Todd. Brant, VI, p. 524.

<sup>32</sup>Account of James C. McGuire, entered July 8, 1851, Estate of Dolly P. Madison, #2986, O. S., Record Group 21, Washington National Records Center, Suitland, Maryland. (Hereafter, DPM Estate, WNRC).

<sup>33</sup>March 16, 1850, DMP, IX, LC.

<sup>34</sup>February 4, 1840, CP, LC.

<sup>35</sup>Brant, VI, p. 525.

<sup>36</sup>November 15, 1849, DMP, IX, LC.

<sup>37</sup>(copy), Dr. James H. Causten, Jr. to John C. Payne, February 12, 1852, KC, GHM.

<sup>38</sup>DPM Estate, WNRC.

<sup>39</sup>Information from the Municipal Building, July, 1970, Washington, D.C.

<sup>40</sup>DMP, IX, LC.

<sup>41</sup>n.d., KC, GHM. See Causten's reply to Mary Cutts, March 3, 1851, KC, GHM.

<sup>42</sup>Annie Payne Causten, List of Articles given to her by D. P. Madison, n.d., KC, GHM.

<sup>43</sup>Annie Payne Causten, list entitled "Ours," n.d., KC, GHM.

<sup>44</sup>Joseph H. Bradley to Dr. James H. Causten, Jr., March 14, 1851, KC, GHM. Also, Bradley to Causten, July 7, 1851, and reply, Causten to Bradley, July 7, 1851, KC, GHM.

<sup>45</sup>Brant, VI, p. 525.

<sup>46</sup>Will of John Payne Todd, December 31, 1851, Will Book XI, p. 476, OCCH.

<sup>47</sup>These articles included some of Dolley Madison's clothing. See Dr. James H. Causten, Jr. to John C. Payne, February 12, 1852, KC, GHM. Also, Causten to Payne, February 25, 1852, KC, GHM.

<sup>48</sup>Account of James C. McGuire, entered January 3, 1873, Estate of John P. Todd, #5499 O.S., Record Group 21, WNRC. (Hereafter, JPT Estate).

<sup>49</sup>Dr. James H. Causten, Jr. to John C. Payne, February 25, 1852, KC, GHM.

<sup>50</sup>(copy) February 16, 1852, KC, GHM.

<sup>51</sup>Causten went to Orange before the sale, and arranged to purchase these items. See Dr. James H. Causten, Jr. to Annie Payne Causten, Montpelier, September 20, 1852, KC, GHM. Dr. James Hiden to Dr. James H. Causten, Jr., Mount Peloso, October 10, 1852, KC, GHM. List of articles purchased by Dr. James H. Causten, Jr., n.d., \$20.30, KC, GHM. For information on Hiden, see Scott, p. 129.

<sup>52</sup>James Goodin, "Inventory of Articles and Documents in the Neva Kunkel Estate," rev., February 21, 1957 (typewritten manuscript), KC, GHM.

<sup>53</sup>Mary Cutts Memoir, pp. 17-18, CP, LC.

<sup>54</sup>Singleton, II, p. 220.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., p. 34.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., p. 179.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., I, pp. 89-90.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., p. 122.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., p. 91-154, esp. 109-130.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., p. 187; for the inventory, see pp. 178-

187.

## Catalogue

1

SIDE CHAIR (one of a pair)--1770-1785 (B)

Probably Virginia

Mahogany. Secondary wood, southern pine.

H: 34; W: 20 $\frac{1}{4}$ ; D: 17 $\frac{1}{4}$

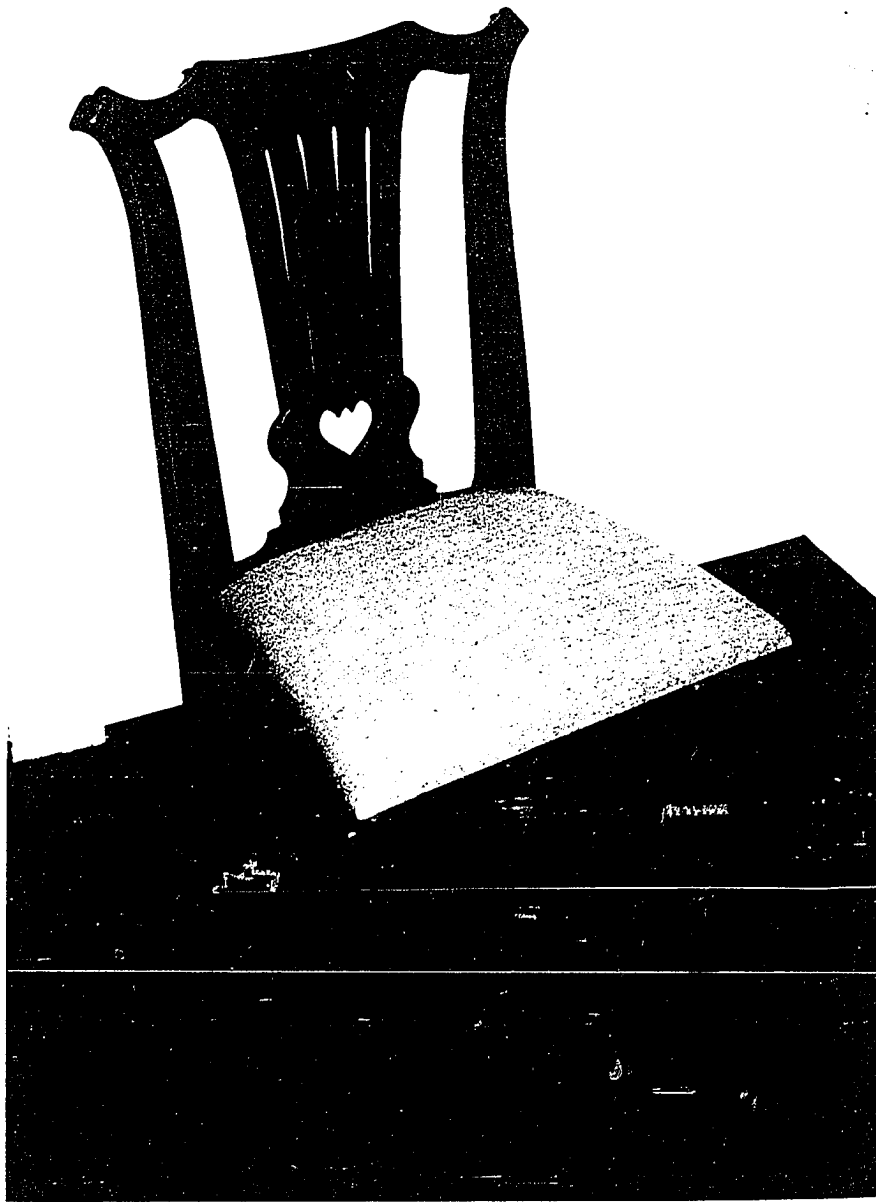
Comment: The legs of these chairs have been shortened. In both cases, the upholstery is not original.

Collection: 1) The Greensboro Historical Museum (loan).  
2) Mrs. N.K. Lyons, Willows, California  
(shown here).

Photograph by the writer.

The early date and southern character of these chairs suggest Madison, Sr. ownership. The elder Madison owned "3 Leather Bottomed [chairs];" this pair could have belonged to the trio. (Appendix VIII).

The Lyons chair descended through the family of President Madison's niece, Nelly Conway Madison Willis (d. 1865); to John Willis, her son; to Nelly Conway Willis, his daughter; to Lewis Byrd Willis, her son, who gave it to his niece, Dorothy Madison Mulick Lyons.<sup>2</sup> The matching chair belongs to Mrs. Whitfield Cobb of Blacksburg, Virginia. Mrs. Cobb (née Margaret Lee Pollock) is the great-great granddaughter of Nelly Conway Madison Willis; like Mrs. Lyons, she inherited the chair from the descendants of this ancestor.<sup>3</sup>



2

## SIDE CHAIR--1773

Fredericksburg or Falmouth, Virginia

(B)

Black walnut

H: 38; W: (seat) 20½; D: 16½

Comment: The seat has been re-upholstered.

Collection: Mrs. N.K. Lyons, Willows, California.

Photograph by the writer.

Among the manuscripts at Winterthur there is an account book kept by an unidentified cabinetmaker, who worked in Fredericksburg or Falmouth during the 1760's and 1770's. In 1773 he received a commission from James Madison, Sr.:

Col. Jame's Madison	Dr.
1773 june 27th.	
To one Chircetree Clock case	£3-10=0
<hr/>	
July 12th. To 2 four foot Dinning Tables wt. [walnut] six legs	2- 0=0
<hr/>	
Jully 20th.	
finisht. a Pine Book case	1- 5=0
<hr/>	
Septr. 2d. 1773	
finisht. 12 marlborough Chairs Walnut	6= 6=0
<hr/>	
Septr. 11th.	
finisht a Corner Table 2-6	0=12=6
<hr/>	
Sept. 22d.	
To one maple Bedstead with Lathed Bottom	0=15=0
<hr/>	



Jenry 13th.

finisht. one Cabinet of Chirritree 8= 0=0

15th.

finisht. one maple Bedstead  
Lath Bottom

0=15=0  
23=03=6

To 2 Pickter frames

0= 3=0  
23= 6=0

to Mr. James's Riding  
Chair 10 days

. . .

Aprill

28 To one Chist of D \_\_\_\_\_ [Xed. out]

Drawers

1774

2= 5=0  
25=11=0  
7= 9=8  
18= 1=8

Mr. James's Riding Chair

1  
19= 1=8

Cr. By Cash

Ballance due

0=12=0  
£18= 9=8 4

All of this furniture was included in James Madison's 1802 inventory. The "1 Doz. walnut chairs (hair bottoms)" must have been the "12 marlborough Chairs Walnut" listed in the account book. (Appendix VIII). In all probability, this side chair came from that set.

Like the side chairs discussed in the preceding entry, this chair descended through the family of Nelly Conway Madison Willis: to Mary Lee Willis, her great-granddaughter: to Mrs. Lyons, her niece.<sup>5</sup>



3

SIDE CHAIR--1775-1785

(C)

France

European beech

H: 34; W: (seat) 18 1/8; D: 16 1/4

Comment: The chair has been completely stripped.

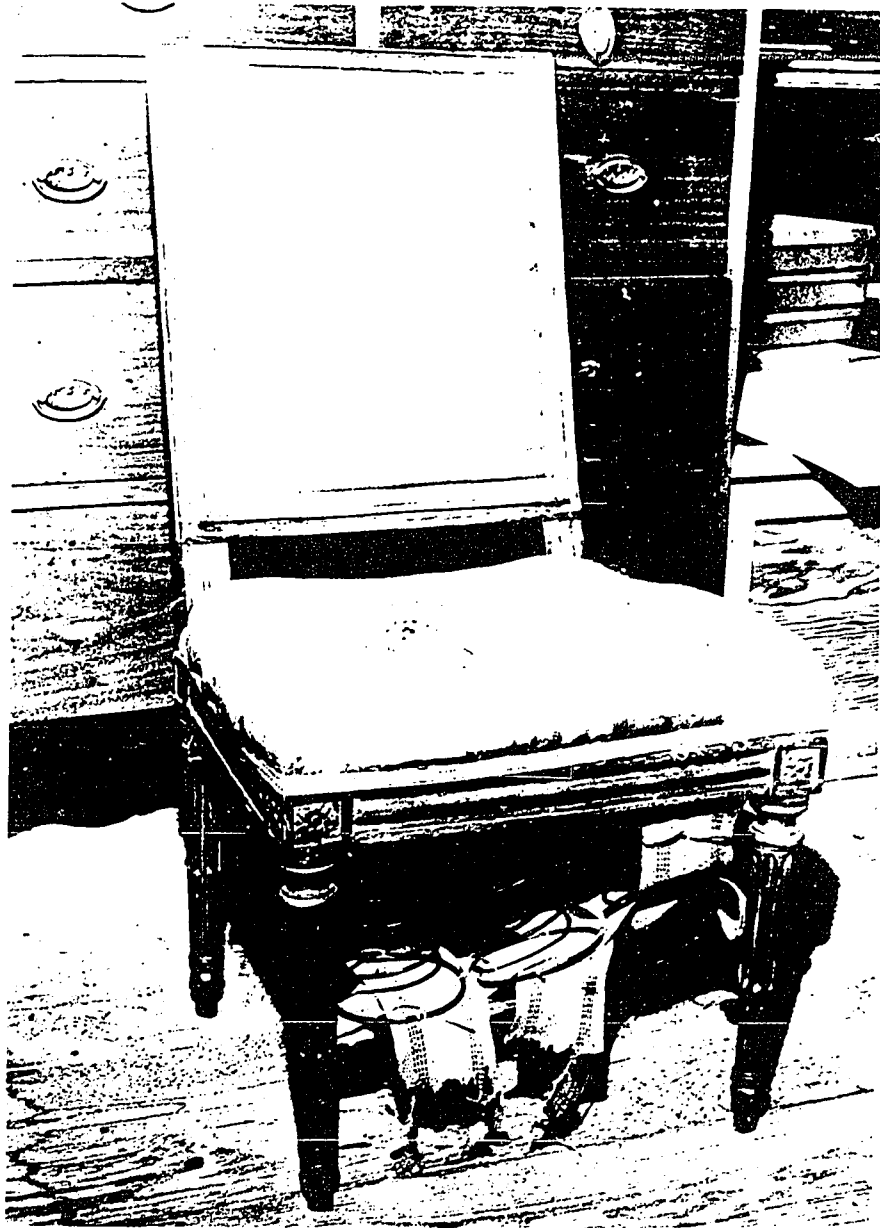
Upholstery and seat stuffing are not original.

Collection: Mrs. Thomas Delashmutt, "Oak Hill," Aldie  
Virginia.

Photograph: Allen, Middleburg, Virginia.

This Louis XVI chair could have been among the articles sent from France by James Monroe in the 1790's. When Dolley Madison sold Montpelier in 1844, it remained in the house, and passed into the hands of Benjamin Thornton. Ann and Ellen P. Thornton, his daughters, inherited the chair.

In 1927 the Thornton sisters sold it to Frank C. Littleton, then the owner of "Oak Hill." In 1952, Mrs. Delashmutt acquired the chair at a sale of Littleton's furniture.<sup>6</sup>



4

SIDE CHAIR-- 1790-1810

(C)

Maryland

Mahogany

H: 40 1/8; W: (seat) 21 3/4; D: 17

Comment: The casters, stuffed seat, and upholstery  
are not original.

Collection: The Smithsonian Institution.

Photograph: The Smithsonian Institution, Negative  
#67297.

When Dolley Payne married John Todd in 1790, the Federal style was coming into fashion. This simple heart-back chair could have been among the "Thirty-six Mahogany & Windsor Chairs" listed in the attorney's inventory. (Appendix VI).

Todd, Sr., probably owned some Federal furniture at the time of his death. Dolley Todd inherited "6 Mahogany Chairs with hair bottoms-- £15" from his estate. (Appendix VII). The high value assigned to these chairs suggests that they were "new." This mahogany chair could have belonged to that set.

The side chair has a McGuire history: James C. McGuire; to Joseph McGuire, his son; to Major James C. McGuire, his son. In 1931, Major McGuire gave it to the Smithsonian Institution.



5

ARMCHAIR--1790-1820

(B)

Possibly Virginia

Painted wood. Secondary wood, tulip (seat).

H: 31 $\frac{1}{4}$ ; W: (seat) 20; D: 18  $\frac{3}{4}$ 

Comment: Original dark green ground with striped yellow trim on stiles, crest, arms, and legs.

Collection: The Smithsonian Institution.

Photograph: The Smithsonian Institution, Negative #76173.

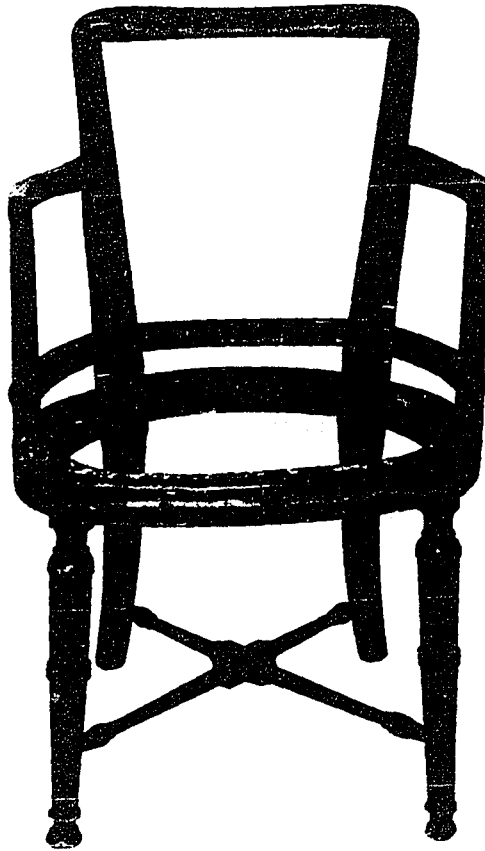
This entry and No. 4 have identical histories. According to Major McGuire, the chair originally belonged to Thomas Jefferson. When it was inherited by Joseph McGuire, the Jefferson history, written in James Madison's hand, appeared on a label pasted to the bottom of the seat. Unfortunately, this document has disappeared.

The Jefferson-Madison association is logical. Jefferson might have given the chair to his friend; or, Madison could have purchased it at the 1827 Monticello sale of Jefferson's furniture.<sup>7</sup>

In terms of design and construction, this armchair exhibits an interesting combination of elements borrowed from the French Louis XVI style and the American Windsor chair tradition. Jefferson designed some furniture and had it made in the cabinet shop at Monticello.<sup>8</sup> Perhaps this chair was made in his shop.

In the front chamber of Dolley Madison's Lafayette Square house there was "An old arm chair of Mr. Jefferson's." (Appendix XI). Presumably, this was the painted armchair in question.





6

ARMCHAIR--1800-1820

(B)

American?

Mahogany

H: 39 3/4' W: (back) 21 1/2'; D: 19 3/4'

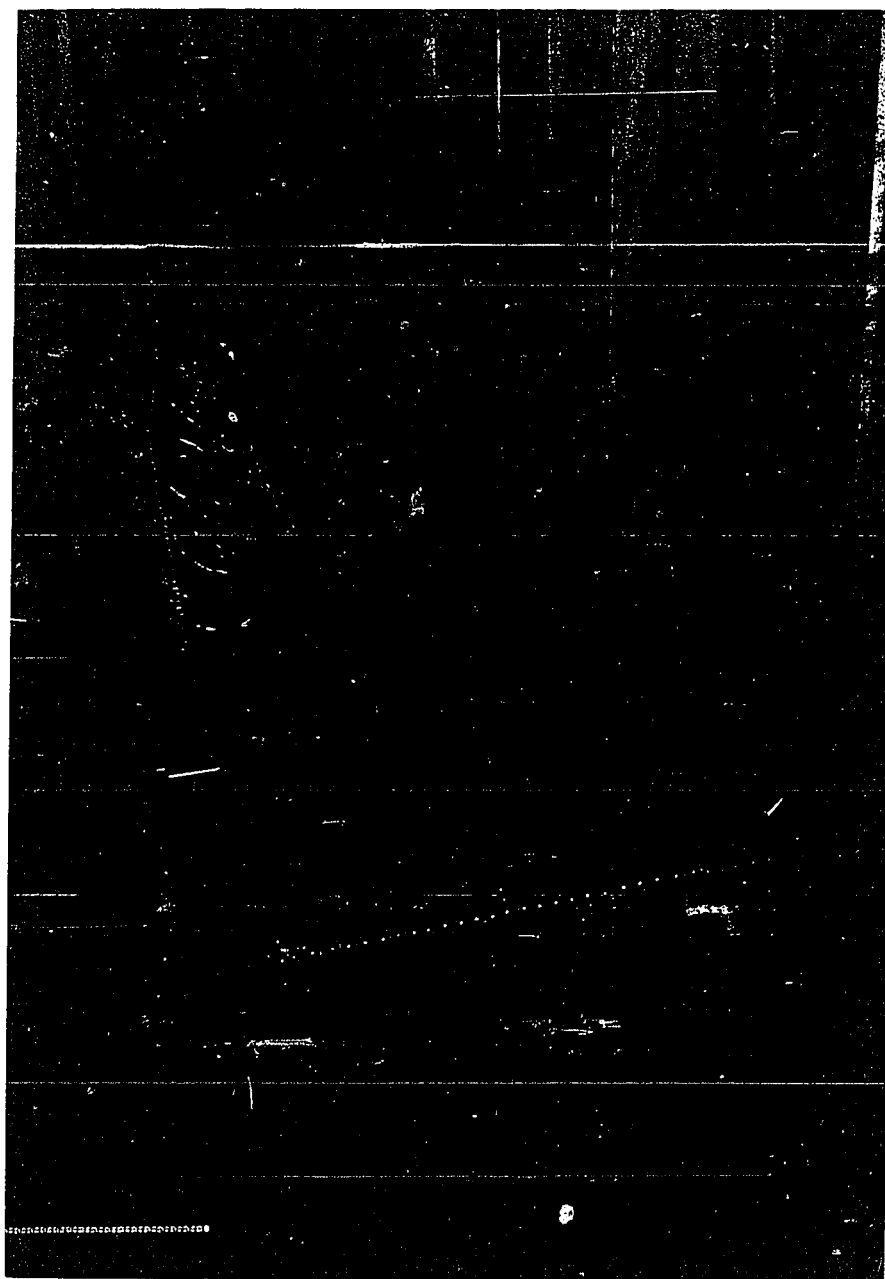
Comment: The seat and lower back have been reinforced  
with leather straps.

Collection: Mrs. N.K. Lyons, Willows, California.

Photograph by the writer.

Describing the furnishings of the drawing room at Montpelier, Mary Cutts wrote: "Mr. Madison's favorite seat was a campeachy chair."<sup>9</sup> By comparison with other American chairs of this type, the Madison example adheres more closely to original Spanish models.<sup>10</sup> The "Spanish" tooled leather is original; only the simple stringing on the arched crest suggests the possibility of American manufacture.

The chair descended through the family of James Madison's niece, Nelly Conway Madison Willis; to Ambrose Madison Willis, her great-grandson; to the present owner, his great-niece.<sup>11</sup>



7

DROP-LEAF TABLE--1790-1815

(C)

Maryland or Virginia

Mahogany. Secondary wood, southern pine.

H: 28 3/4; W: (closed) 20 1/2; D: 42

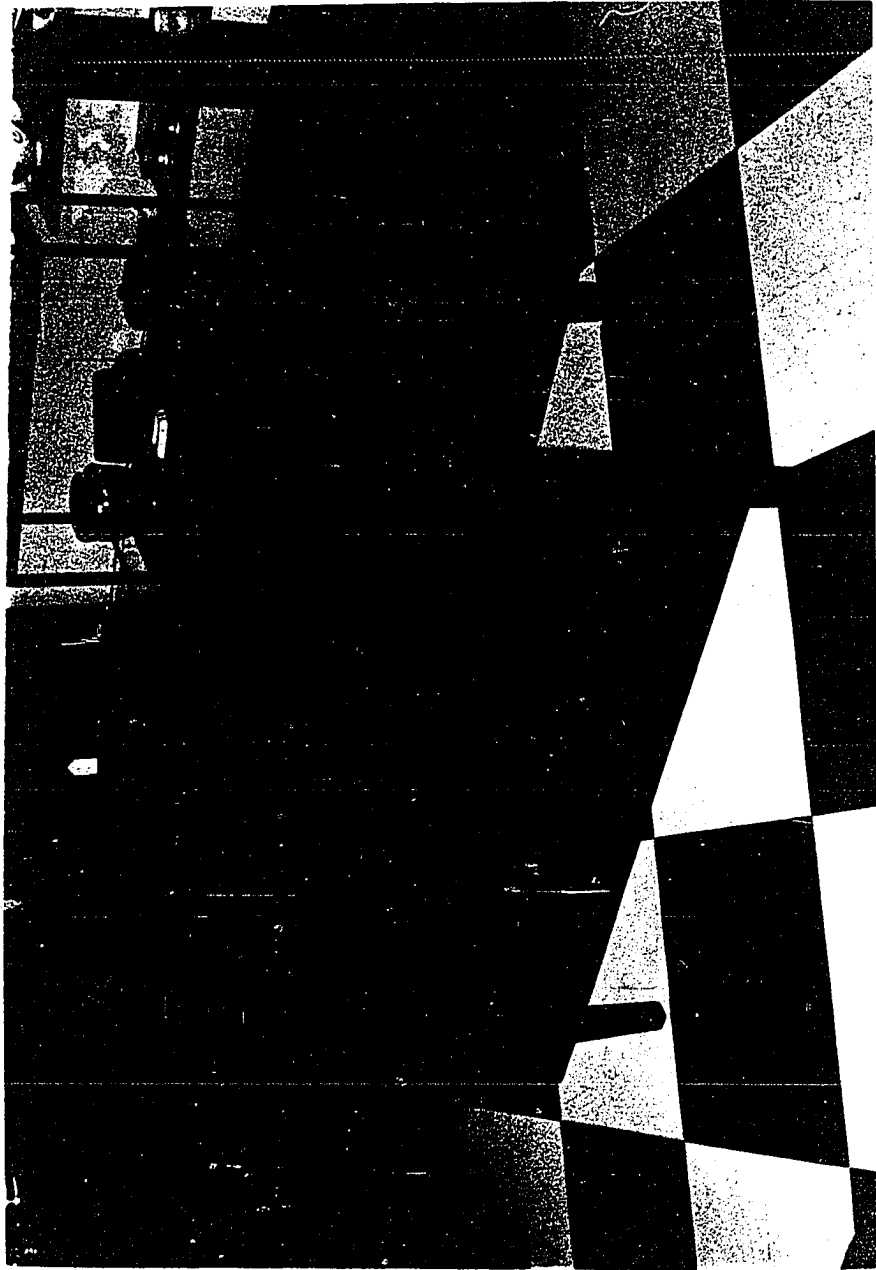
Collection: Mrs. Charles Henry Paulson, Santa Cruz,  
California.

Photograph by the writer.

When the leaves are extended, this table has a width of 62 1/4", indicating that it probably served as a dining table. James and Dolley Madison entertained a large number of visitors at Montpelier. In 1828, Margaret Bayard Smith found twenty-three guests staying in the house.<sup>12</sup>

Obviously the Madisons needed tables which could be extended to accommodate large groups, then closed for efficient storage. This table could have been among the "3 folding-leaf mahogany sidetables" in the dining room at Montpelier. (Appendix X).

It descended through the family of James Madison's sister, Sarah Madison Macon; to James Madison Macon, her son; to Reuben Conway Macon, his son; to Kate Conway Macon, his daughter; to Charles Henry Paulson, her son by her first marriage; to his widow, the present owner.<sup>13</sup>



8

SEMI-CIRCULAR END TABLE (one of a pair)--1790-1815 (C)  
Maryland

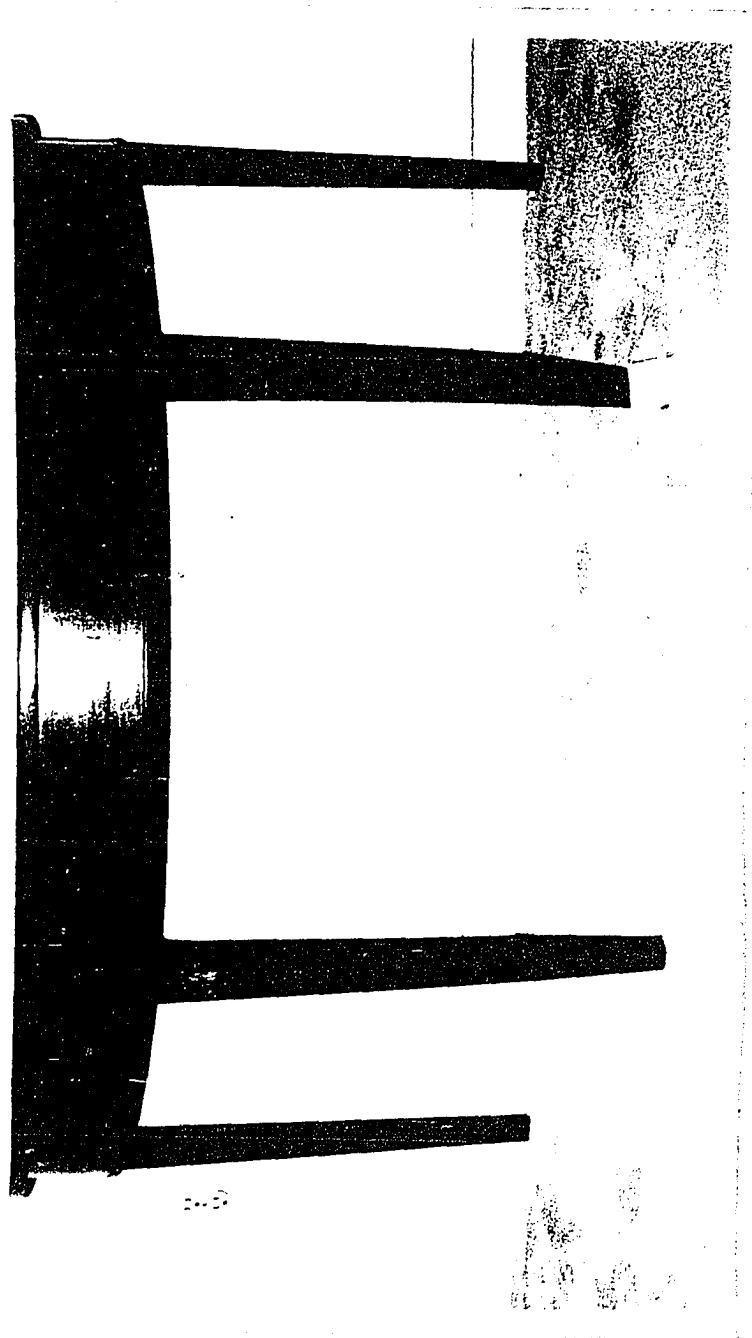
Mahogany and mahogany veneers. Secondary woods: (rear  
of frame) southern pine; (front of frame) tulip.  
H: 28 1/8; W: 54 1/4; D: 26 9/16

Collection: Dr. and Mrs. Owen Shull, Reston, Virginia.

Photograph by the writer.

Notches, and holes for pegs on the back panel  
of the frame of each table indicate that they were once  
the ends to a dining table. Unfortunately, the central  
section is lost.

These tables could have been the "1 pair mahogany  
sidetables" in the dining room at Montpelier. (Appendix  
X). When Dolley Madison moved to Washington in 1842,  
they remained in Orange. Like No. 3, they have a Thornton  
history. In 1938 the Thornton sisters sold them to Dr.  
Ernest Shull of Herndon, Virginia, father of the present  
owner.



9

SEMI-CIRCULAR CARD TABLE--1790-1810

(C)

Maryland

Mahogany and mahogany veneers. Light and dark wood inlays. Secondary wood, white pine.

H: 27 3/4' W: 36 1/8'; D: (closed) 18

Comment: Both rear legs swing out to support the top.

Collection: Mrs. L. R. Rogers, Orange, Virginia.

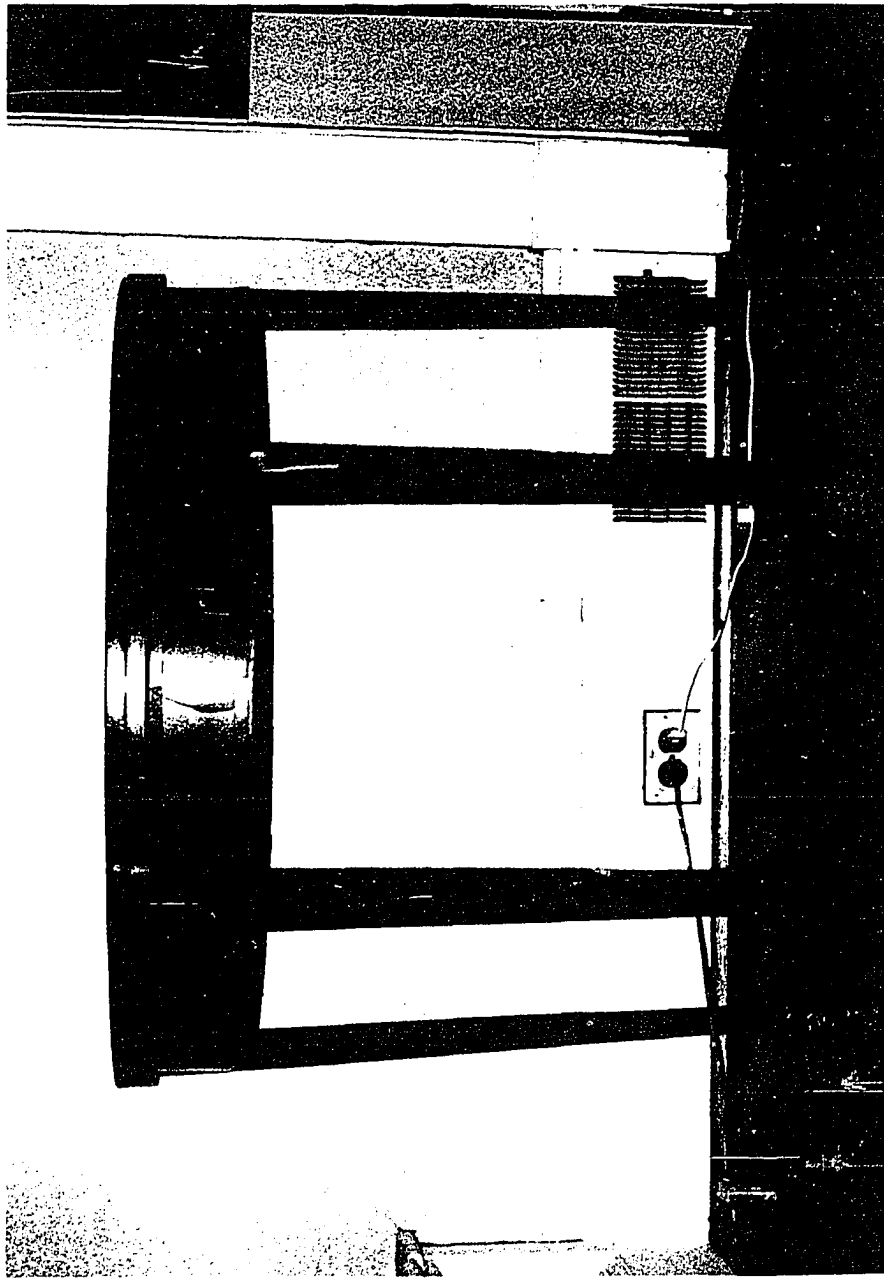
Photograph by the writer.

It is difficult to pinpoint the original owner of this table. It could have been among the new furniture purchased by John and Dolley Todd after their marriage in 1790. The attorney's inventory listed "Eleven Mahogany & Pine Tables." (Appendix VI). Similarly, the Senior Todd's "1 Mahogany Card Table" valued at £2.10.0, might describe this example. (Appendix VII).

Finally, there were six tables in the chambers in the Lafayette Square house, and the Toddsberthe inventory mentioned "1 folding Table."<sup>14</sup> (Appendix IX).

The card table descended through the family of Robert Davis Twyman (moved to Orange, 1835--d. 1867), who purchased it at a sale of Madison furniture. It is not known whether Twyman acquired the table from one of Todd's "private" sales, or from the Toddsberthe auction in 1852. Mrs. Rogers is Twyman's great-granddaughter.





10

PEMBROKE TABLE WITH DRAWER--1790-1810

(C)

Maryland

Mahogany and mahogany veneers. Light and dark wood inlays. Secondary wood, tulip.

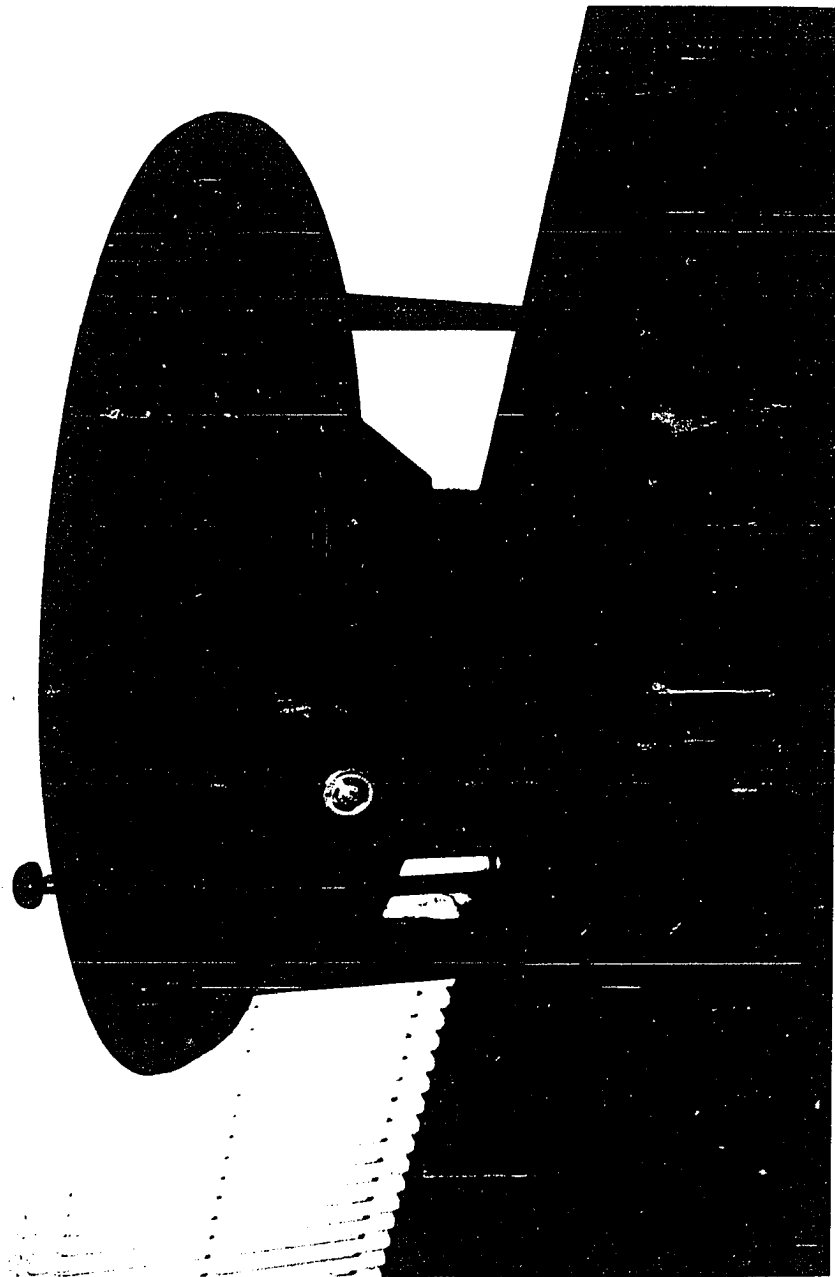
H: 28; W: (open) 40 7/16; D: 27½

Comment: The oval fan inlay above the right rear leg has been replaced.

Collection: Mrs. Nikolas Faulconer, Lynchburg, Virginia.

Photograph by the writer.

Like No. 9 this table was purchased by Robert Twyman at a Madison sale in Orange. Mrs. Faulconer is Twyman's great-great granddaughter.



11

CORNER TABLE--1790-1830

(C)

Virginia

Southern pine.

H: 30<sup>1</sup>; W: 46; D: 21

Comment: The top is old, but not original to the frame.  
The table has been stripped. Round pegs join  
the frame.

Collection: Mrs. Roxana Lyons Lord, Willows, California.

Photograph by the writer.

This simple table could have enjoyed a variety of uses at Montpelier. There was a steady demand for sturdy, utilitarian furniture on the busy estate. The Toddsberthe inventory listed four "pine" tables and a "Table frame," ranging in value from 50¢ to 12¢. (Appendix IX). This table might have been among those mentioned in the list.

Like No. 1, the table has a Lyons history.

Dorothy Madison Mulick Lyons gave it to her daughter, the present owner.



12

CARD TABLE--1805-1817

(B)

New York City

Maker: Charles Honoré Lannuier (1779-1819)

Mahogany and mahogany veneers. Secondary wood, white pine.

H: 30; W: 35½; D: 17½

Marks: "H. LANNUIER/ NEW-YORK" stamped on interior of frame above both rear legs. Printed label pasted to bottom of frame:

"HONORE LANNUIER, [sic] / CABINET MAKER/ (FROM PARIS)/ Keeps his Ware-house and Manufactory/ AND CABINET WARE OF THE/ NEWEST FASHION,/ AT No. 60 BROAD-STREET./ HONORE LANNUIER/ EBENISTE/ (DE PARIS)/ LIENT SON MAGAZIN/ DES MEUBLES, LES PLUS/ A-LA-MODE,/ BROAD STREET No. 60/ NEW-YORK."

Collection: The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum.

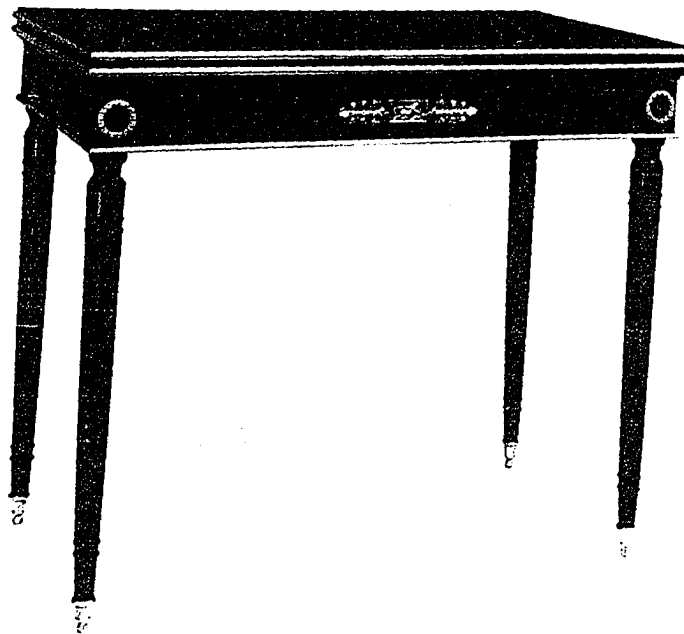
Photograph: Courtesy, The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum.

Lot 185 in the Kunkel catalogue listed a "Mahogany Antique Folding-top Card Table, fluted legs. (\$8.50)."

(Appendix XIII). The history accompanying this New York table stated that it was purchased at a sale in Philadelphia in the 1800's by Judge Hiram G. Bond. In 1958, Henry Francis du Pont acquired the table from Mrs. Lewis W. Bond, the daughter of Judge Bond.

According to Mrs. Sidney S. Warner, daughter of Mrs. Bond, there is no record to indicate that the table was definitely purchased in the 1800's. Furthermore, there is no record of a "sale" of Madison furniture in Philadelphia before 1899. In the opinion of the writer, this card

table was acquired at the Kunkel sale. The difference in dates is a logical error of tradition.





13

CARD TABLE--1810-1820

(C)

Philadelphia

Mahogany and mahogany veneers. Secondary wood, white pine.

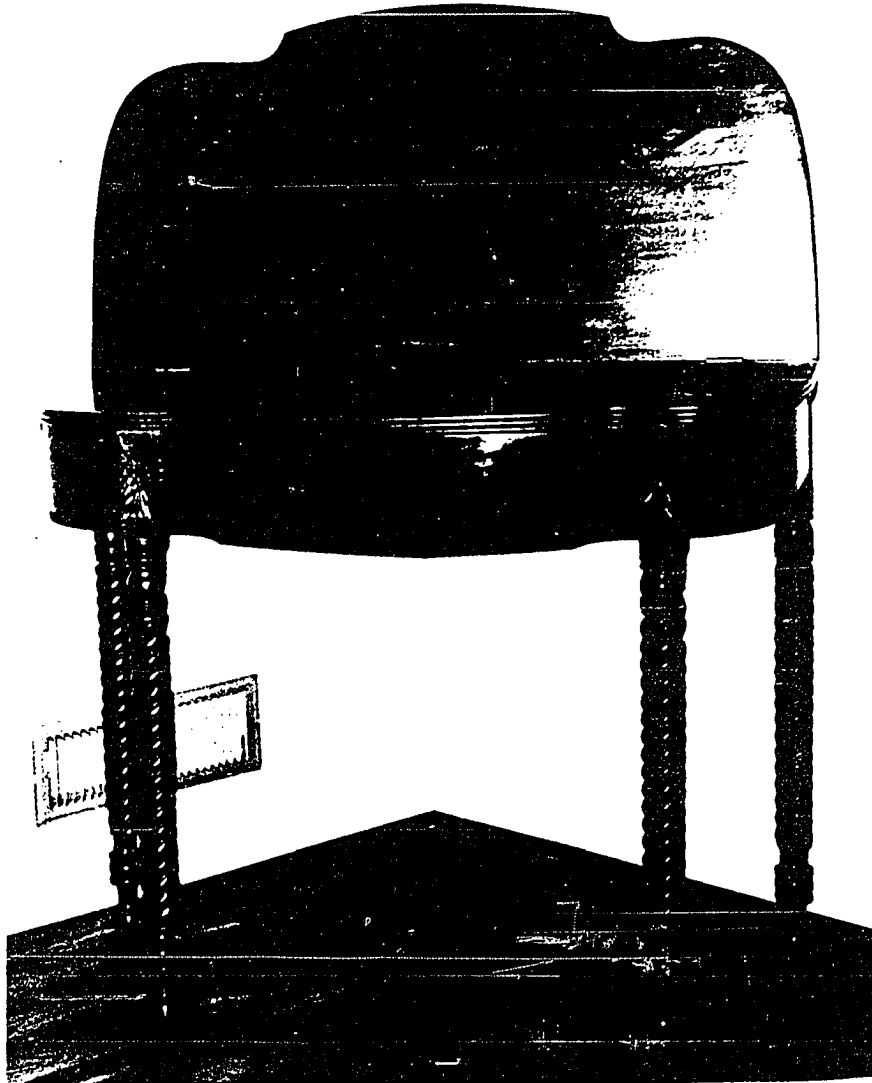
H:  $26\frac{1}{2}$ ; W:  $36\frac{3}{8}$ ; D: (closed)  $17\frac{1}{2}$ 

Collection: Mr. and Mrs. William E. Davis, Carmel, California.

Photograph: supplied by Mr. Davis.

This table and No. 7 have identical histories.

Mr. and Mrs. Davis acquired it from Mrs. Charles Henry Paulson.



14

CARD TABLE--1815-1825

(C)

New York

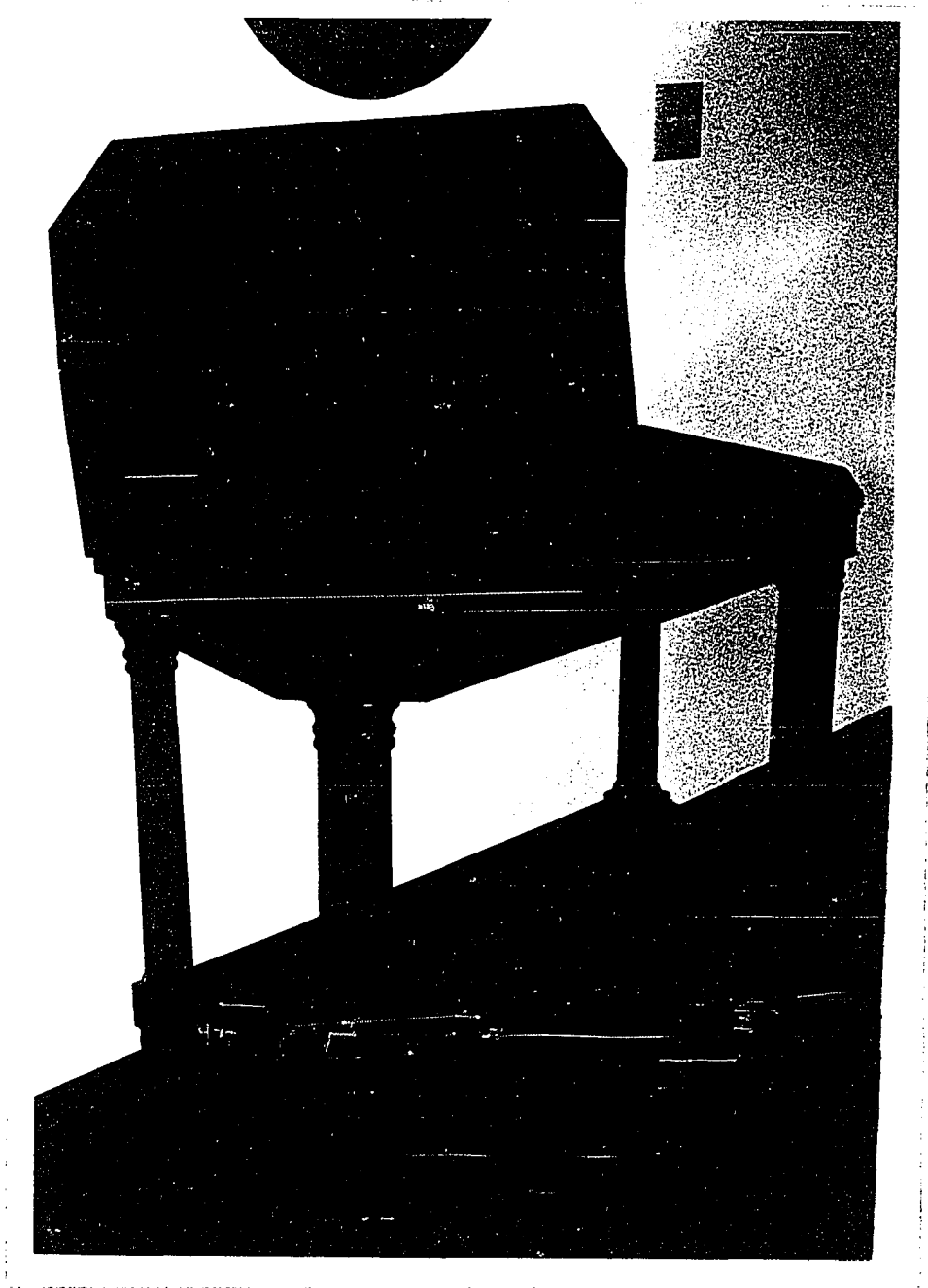
Mahogany and mahogany veneers. Secondary wood, white pine.

H:  $30\frac{1}{4}$ ; W:  $38\frac{1}{2}$ ; D:  $18\frac{3}{4}$ 

Collection: Mrs. N.K. Lyons, Willows, California.

Photograph by the writer.

This table and No. 1 have identical histories.



15

FOLDING-LEAF TABLE--1820-1830

(C)

Philadelphia

Mahogany and mahogany veneers. Secondary wood, white pine.

H: 28 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; W: 40; D: (closed) 21 $\frac{1}{4}$ Collection: Mrs. Charles Henry Paulson, Santa Cruz,  
California.

Photograph by the writer.

This five-legged table and No. 7 have the same history of ownership. Like the earlier table, this example could have been one of the "3 folding-leaf mahogany sidetables" in the dining room at Montpelier. (Appendix X).



16

DROP-LEAF WORK TABLE WITH TWO DRAWERS--1820-1835 (C)

New England?

Mahogany and mahogany veneers. Secondary wood, white pine.

H:  $30\frac{1}{2}$ ; W: (closed) 16; D: 19

Comment: The shelf is a later addition.

Collection: The Smithsonian Institution.

Photograph: The Smithsonian Institution, Negative  
#10457-B.

No "work" or "sewing" tables were mentioned in any of the later inventories, but the Lafayette Square house had "A painted case, on a table," and "a small table." (Appendix XI). The Smithsonian Institution was given the table in 1931 by Miss Mary Madison McGuire, granddaughter of James C. McGuire.





17

DESK--1765-1785

(C)

probably Maryland

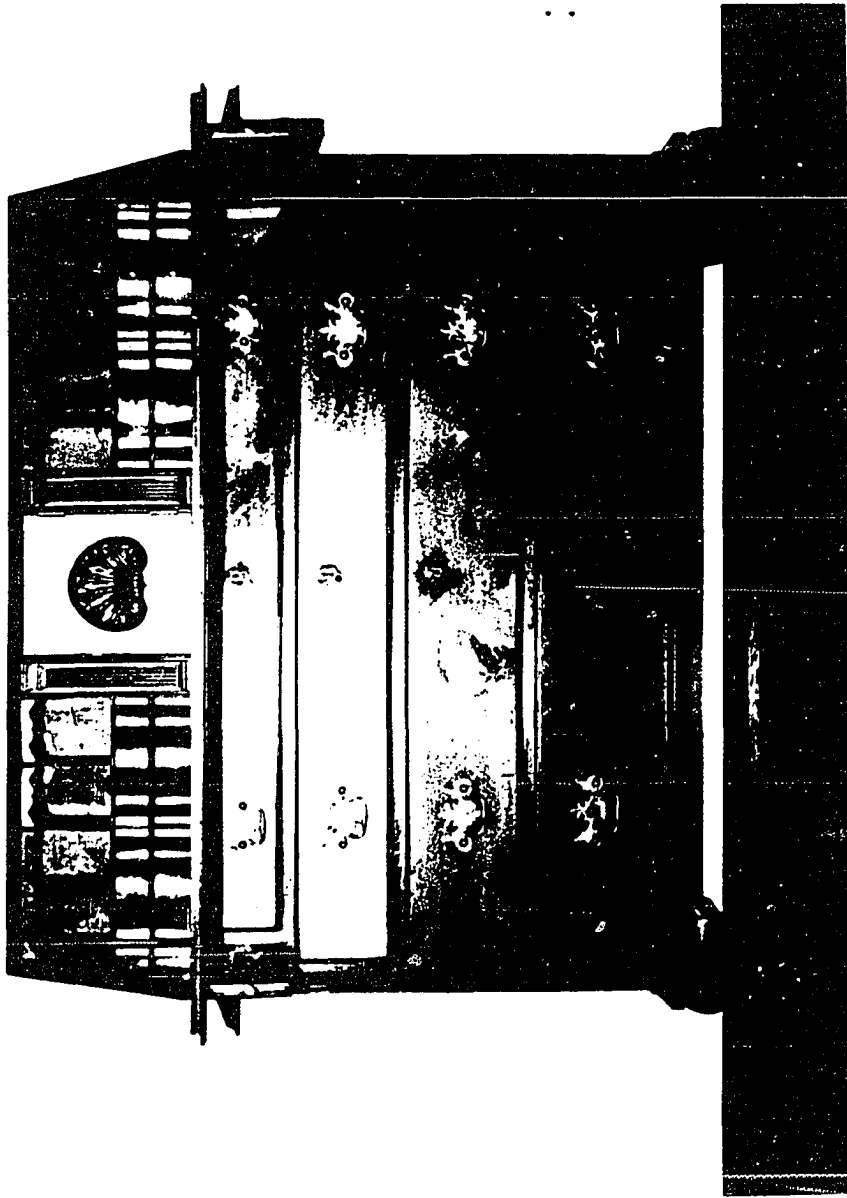
Mahogany. Secondary woods; tulip (drawer bottom);

aspen (drawer back).

H:  $44\frac{1}{2}$ ; W:  $43\frac{3}{4}$ ; D: 21Collection: Mr. and Mrs. William E. Davis, Carmel,  
California.

Photograph supplied by Mr. Davis.

In 1842, Dolley Madison listed "A desk bureau" among the furnishings in the front chamber of her Lafayette Square house. (Appendix XI). Like No. 7 it passed from the descendants of Sarah Madison Macon to Mrs. Charles Henry Paulson, who sold it to Mr. and Mrs. Davis.



18

LOOKING GLASS--1780-1790

(C)

Philadelphia

Mahogany and glass.

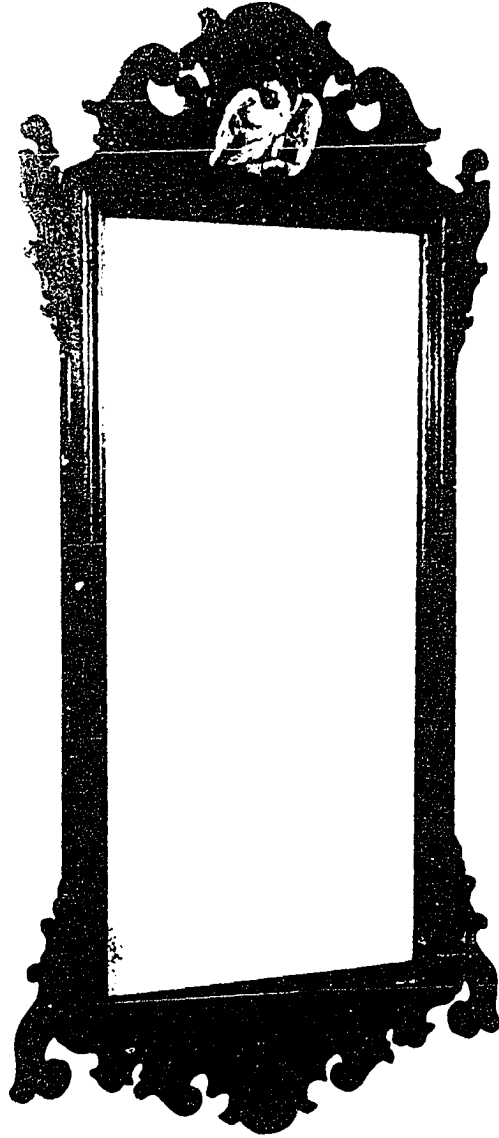
H: 42; W: 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; D: 3/4

Comment: The back has been replaced. The glass is not original.

Collection: Mr. and Mrs. William E. Davis, Carmel,  
California.

Photograph supplied by Mr. Davis.

The presence of a gilded eagle in the crest suggests a late date for this Chippendale looking glass. Both the Todd and Madison families could have owned this example. Todd, Sr., and Todd, Jr., each owned three looking glasses. (Appendices VII, VI). The elder Madison had seven looking glasses at Montpelier. (Appendix VIII). Dolley Madison is known to have had an abundant supply in Orange, although there were only two "looking" glasses in the house on Lafayette Square.<sup>15</sup> (Appendix XI). The Toddsberthe inventory mentioned one "looking glass" worth \$2.00. (Appendix IX). This entry and No. 17 have identical histories.



19

BRANCH CANDLESTICK (one of a pair)--1770-1790 (B)

England

Silver plate on copper.

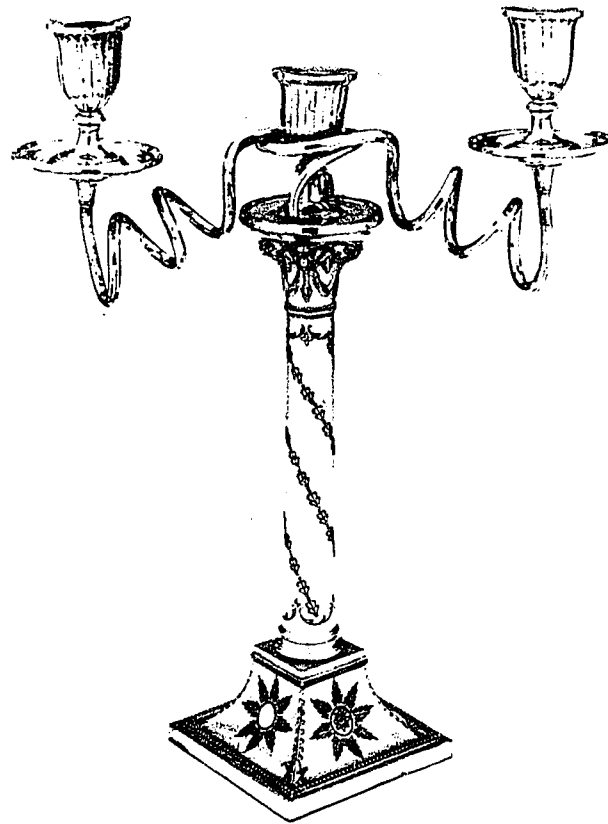
H: 15  $\frac{3}{4}$ ; W: (top) 13  $\frac{5}{8}$ ; D: (base) 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ Comment: Candlesticks and arms are contemporary, but  
might not be original to each other.

Collection: The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum.

Photograph: Courtesy, The Henry Francis du Pont  
Winterthur Museum.

These branches were sold as Lot 54 in the 1899 Kunkel sale. (Appendix XIII). Although the Catalogue described them "Style of the Empire," they were included among the few illustrations in the book. When Henry Francis du Pont gave them to the Museum in 1965, they were accompanied by a sworn affidavit, signed by Mrs. Kunkel.

At the time of the Kunkel sale, the arms and candlesticks were together in a unit. In 1836 there was "a pair Branches" in the dining room at Montpelier. (Appendix X). This entry could refer to the branches in question.



20, 21

FORK AND SPOON--ca.1789

(B)

Paris

Silver

Makers: (Fork) Gerard Duru (w. 1783-1806); (Spoon)

"ji".

W: (fork)  $8\frac{1}{4}$ ; (spoon)  $8\frac{1}{4}$ 

Marks: (fork) Four marks on back: 1) (maker's mark), "GD," a mitre, 2 pellets, a fleur-de-lis and a crown within an ornate lozenge; 2) illegible; 3) illegible; 4) (discharge mark, 1789-1792), leaf within a circle.

(spoon) Three marks on back: 1) (maker's mark), "ji," a mouton, 2 pellets, a fleur-de-lis and a crown within an ornate lozenge; 2) illegible; 3) (discharge mark, 1789-1792) leaf and No. "4" in a circle.

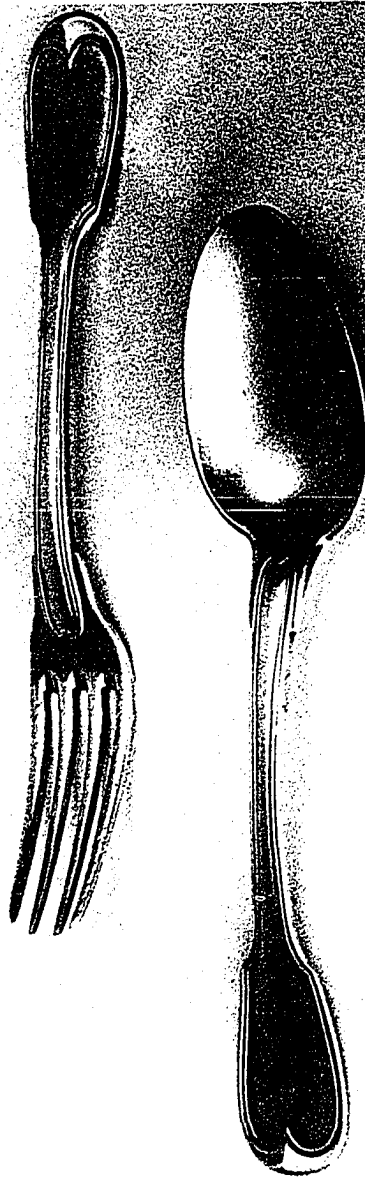
Comment: The backs of both fork and spoon have an engraved "M."

Collection: The Smithsonian Institution.

Photograph: The Smithsonian Institution, Negative "75177.

These pieces of flatware could have been among the silver purchased from James Monroe in 1803. The Richmond list contained many articles of this type. In the 1836 inventory of Montpelier, Dolley Madison listed "35 forks," "6 common silver spoons," "6 ditto marked M," and "2 old french Tea spoons." (Appendix X.) The Madison association is strong for these silver articles.

The fork and spoon descended through the family of Rebecca Madison Chapman, the niece of James Madison; to Mary Ella Brown, her granddaughter; to Glenn Madison Brown, her son.<sup>16</sup> Mr. Brown gave them to the Smithsonian Institution.





22

CRUET STAND WITH BOTTLES (one of a pair)  
ca. 1789

(A)

Paris

Silver and cut glass.

Maker: Roch-Louis Dany

H: 13; W: 10 3/4; D: 6 3/8

Marks: four marks on bottom: 1) (maker's mark),  
"RLD," 2 pellets, a fleur-de-lis and a crown,  
in an ornate lozenge; 2) (charge mark, 1789-  
1792), script "A" in circle; 3) (Warden's  
mark, 1789), crowned "P" and "80"; 4) (dis-  
charge mark, 1786-1789), Parrot's head.<sup>17</sup>

Comments: one stand has the original bottles.<sup>17</sup>

Collection: The White House.

Photograph: The White House Collection.

Among the Madison papers at the University of  
Virginia is a list of silverware ordered by James Monroe,  
probably in 1789; the list is written in French and  
signed "Dany." At the bottom of the list, Monroe wrote:

The original of the above was sent by  
Mr. Butler, son of P. B. [Pierce Butler?]  
of whose arrival I have not yet heard; but  
hope that he has before this.

Dany was commissioned to make the following:

6 square candlesticks	F. 1369
1 covered casserole	1361
1 vase-shaped sugar bowl on a square base	213
1 12-cup coffeepot on a square base	350
1 teapot	227
1 tea caddy	227
2 columnar cruets	644

12 ragout spoons	)	
12 ordinary spoons	)	
2 soup spoons	)	
18 dessert spoons	)	
18 coffee spoons	)	
18 silver-plated (or	)	2426
bladed) knives	)	
4 sugar spoons	)	
6 salt spoons	)	
2 cups	)	
		<hr/> F. 6817 18

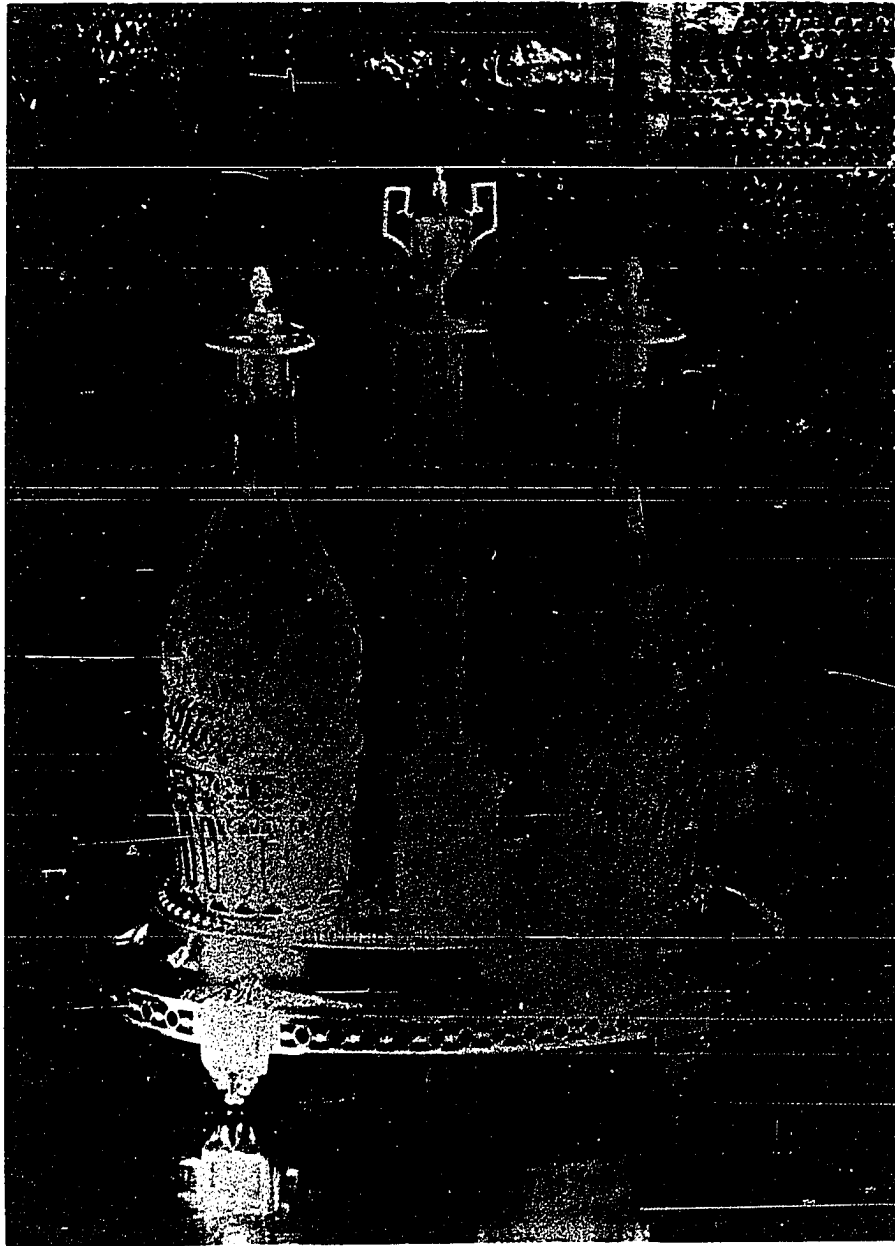
All of this silver appeared in the Richmond list of Monroe's possessions, sold to James Madison in 1803. In the opinion of the writer, the Dany list was sent by Monroe as a part of the 1803 transaction with Madison. This explains its survival among Madison's papers.

In the Richmond list the cruets were entered as "2 Castors for the Table." "Castor" is merely another term for "cruet." Dolley Madison listed "a pair Castors" among the articles in the dining room at Montpelier. (Appendix K). When she and Payne Todd pawned some silver in 1843, "two Castors" were included in the list.<sup>19</sup>

In 1931, Major James Clark McGuire willed the cruet stands to the government. One year later, his sister, Mary McGuire, wrote to the White House:

The silver candlesticks and casters, bequeathed to the White House by my late brother . . . were the property of President James Madison . . . .

After the death of Mrs. Madison her son, Paine Todd sold this silver to my paternal grandfather James C. McGuire of Washington who gave it, in his lifetime to my mother, as she was the great-granddaughter of General William Madison brother of the President. My mother gave it to my brother.<sup>20</sup>



23

CANDLESTICKS (pair)--ca.1789

(A)

Paris  
silver

Maker: Roch-Louis Dany

H: (left)  $11\frac{1}{4}$ ; (right)  $10\frac{15}{16}$ ; W: (base) 4;

D: (base) 4

Marks: same as No. 22.

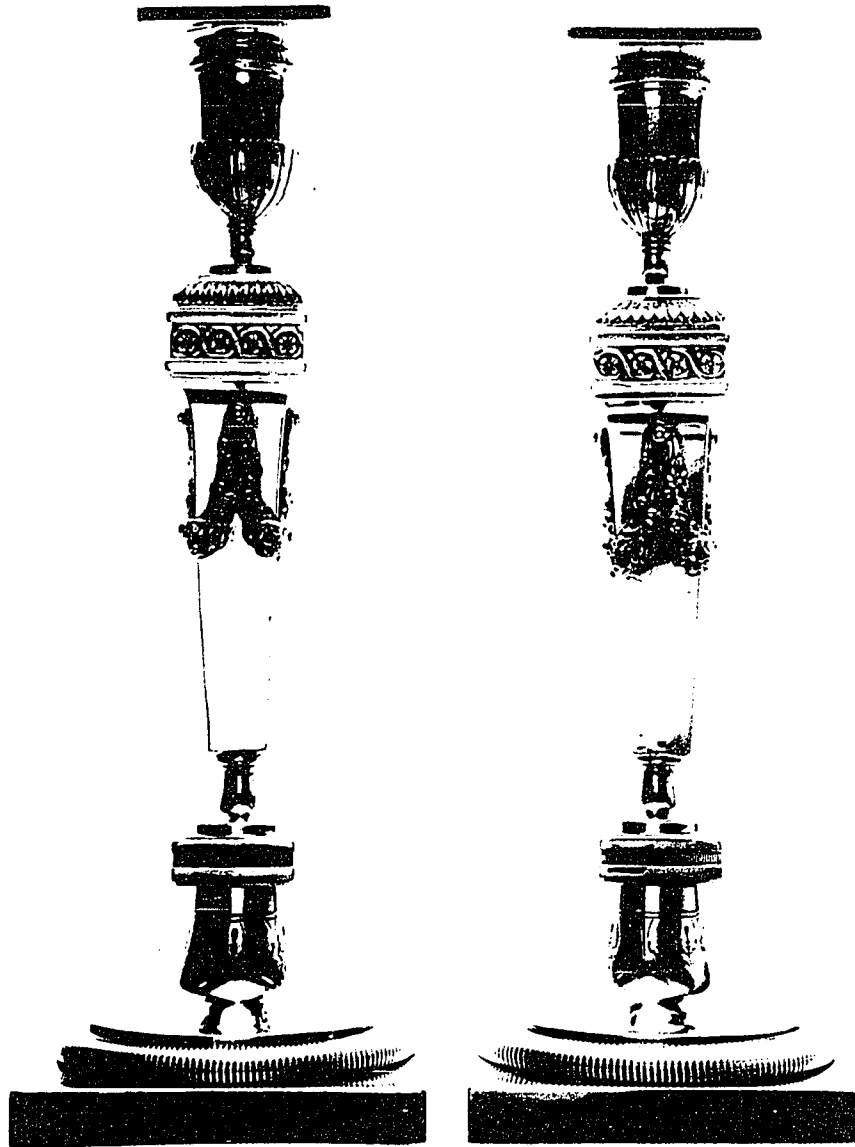
Comment: the difference in height occurs at the base of the shaft on the shorter candlestick. A dent remains where the shaft was<sub>1</sub> apparently broken, cut down, and repaired.<sup>21</sup>

Collection: The White House.

Photograph: The White House Collection.

Like the cruet stands, these candlesticks were among the silver made for Monroe in 1789. Dany's list mentioned "6 square candlesticks;" similarly, the 1803 Richmond list included "6 Candlesticks." In 1836 there was "a pair candlesticks" in the dining room at Montpelier. (Appendix X). "Six candlesticks" appeared in the list of silver pawned to Charles Pairo in 1848.<sup>22</sup>

There can be no doubt that the candlesticks in question belong in the group of six mentioned above. These were the candlesticks mentioned with the casters in Miss McGuire's 1932 letter to the White House; Major McGuire willed them to the government in 1931.



24

CAKE OR BREAD BASKET--1804

(C)

London

Silver

Maker: Robert Garrard

H: 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; W: (top) 12; D: (top) 9 5/16

Marks: 5 marks on side of base: 1) "R.G" in rounded rectangle; 2) lion passant in rounded rectangle; 3) crowned panther in shield; 4) "H" in irregular pentagon; 5) profile bust of King in oval.

Comment: Engraved "M" in center of bowl.

Collection: The White House (loan).

Photograph: The White House Collection.

There was "a basket" listed under the "Elsewhere" category of Montpelier furniture. (Appendix X). Dolley Madison was somewhat vague with many of the descriptions of her furnishings. Fortunately, she loaned articles to her friends.

At an unspecified date Mary F. Coles wrote to Mrs. Madison:

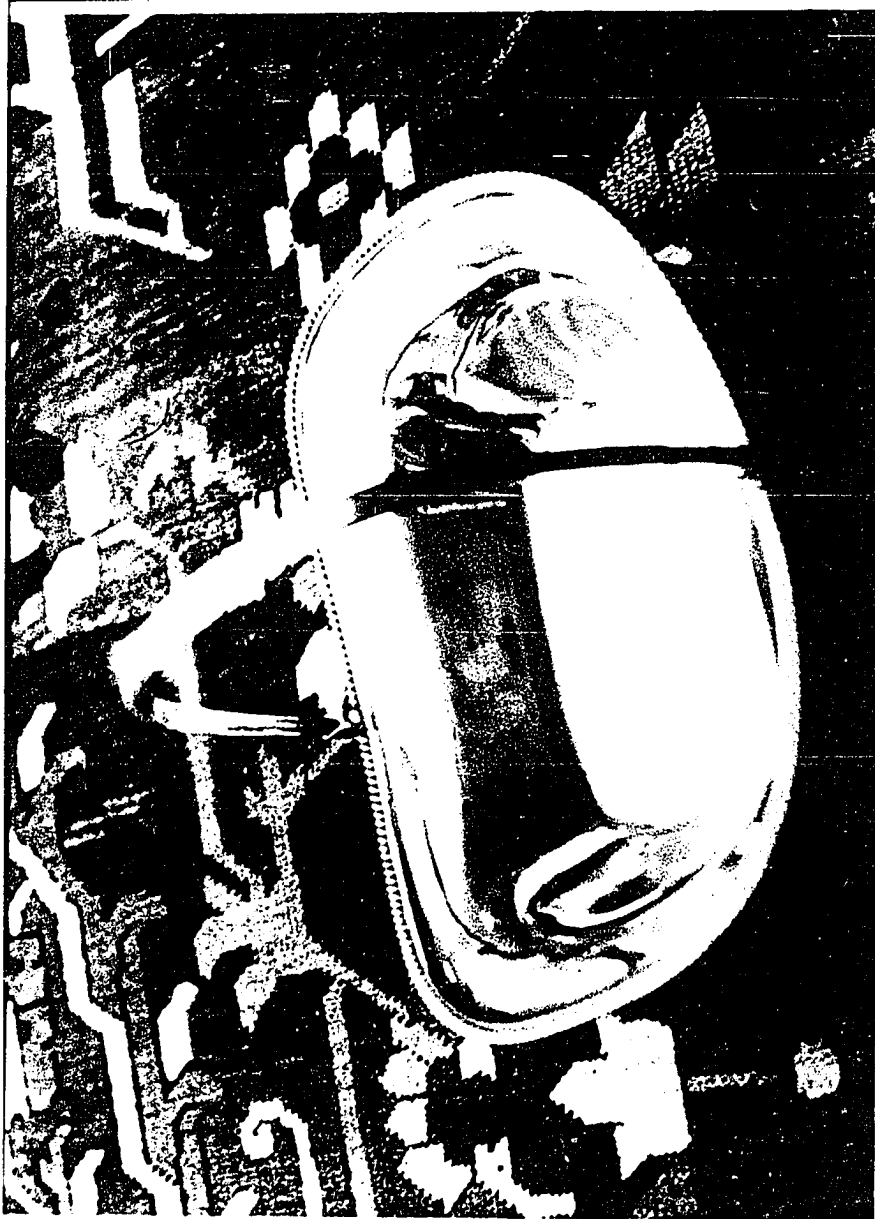
Mr. Todd was so kind & friendly as to call the other morning and offer me the use of anything I might require for the occasion, I truly appreciate his affectionate regard. & will be much obliged to you for the use of your Silver Candle sticks and bread baskets.<sup>23</sup>

This English example could have been one of the silver baskets borrowed by Mary Coles.

It descended through the family of James Madison's sister, Sarah Conway Madison Macon; to James

Madison Macon, her son; to Reuben Conway Macon, his son; to the Reverend Clifton Macon, New York City, his son; to Margaret Bruce Macon, his daughter; to Mrs. Marton Park Iler, Wycoff, New Jersey, her daughter.<sup>24</sup> Mrs. Iler lent them to the White House.





25

PITCHER--1804-1809 (B)  
 Hartford, Connecticut  
 Silver  
 Makers: Ward and Bartholomew  
 H: 13 3/8  
 Marks: "W & B" in rectangle on bottom.<sup>25</sup>

Collection: The New-York Historical Society.

Photograph: Courtesy of The New-York Historical Society,  
 New York City.

In 1886, James C. McGuire wrote in his will:

I will and bequeath to my son Frederick Bauders McGuire. . . the tall old silver pitcher known as the 'Madison pitcher' . . . .<sup>26</sup>

In 1939, Mary Madison McGuire, niece of Frederick McGuire, gave the pitcher to the Historical Society.

McGuire's will and the subsequent history offer substantial support for the authenticity of this pitcher. The Madisons had access to the Connecticut market through their friends. For example, Freneau and Barlow were natives of that state. Unfortunately, no bill of manufacture for the pitcher has been found.

In 1836, Dolley Madison listed "a pitcher" among the articles of plate in the dining room at Montpelier. (Appendix X). In all probability, this was the McGuire pitcher.



26

TEA AND COFFEE SET (5 pieces: coffeepot, teapot, creamer, sugar bowl, slop bowl)--1804-1809? (B)  
 Hartford, Connecticut  
 Maker: attributed to Ward and Bartholomew<sup>27</sup>  
 H: (creamer)  $7\frac{1}{2}$ ; (sugar bowl)  $9\frac{3}{8}$ ; (teapot)  $9\frac{7}{8}$ ;  
 (coffeepot) 11; (slop bowl)  $6\frac{1}{2}$   
 Collection: The New-York Historical Society.  
 Photograph: Courtesy of The New-York Historical Society,  
 New York City.

Like No. 25, this tea and coffee service was given to the Historical Society in 1939 by Mary Madison McGuire. Miss McGuire inherited it from her father, Joseph D. McGuire.

The early history of this set is intriguing. James C. McGuire wrote in his will:

I . . . bequeath to my son Joseph Deakens McGuire the coffeepot, teapot, cream jug, sugar bowl, and slop jar made from the silver of Bishop Madison and General Washington . . . .<sup>28</sup>

One does not expect to find a tea and coffee service made from the silver of these particular men. Nevertheless, McGuire was an auctioneer and collector; he must have been cautious in selecting his furnishings.

The Bishop (d. 1812) was James Madison's cousin; Washington was the President's good friend. James Madison was among the most likely recipients of their silver.

In terms of the inventories, it is difficult to recognize any silver tea and coffee "sets." Furthermore, one must allow for the 1803 Monroe silver. Both the Dany and Richmond lists mentioned a coffeepot, a sugar pot, a teapot, and a tea caddy. The slop bowl and cream pot distinguish the McGuire service.

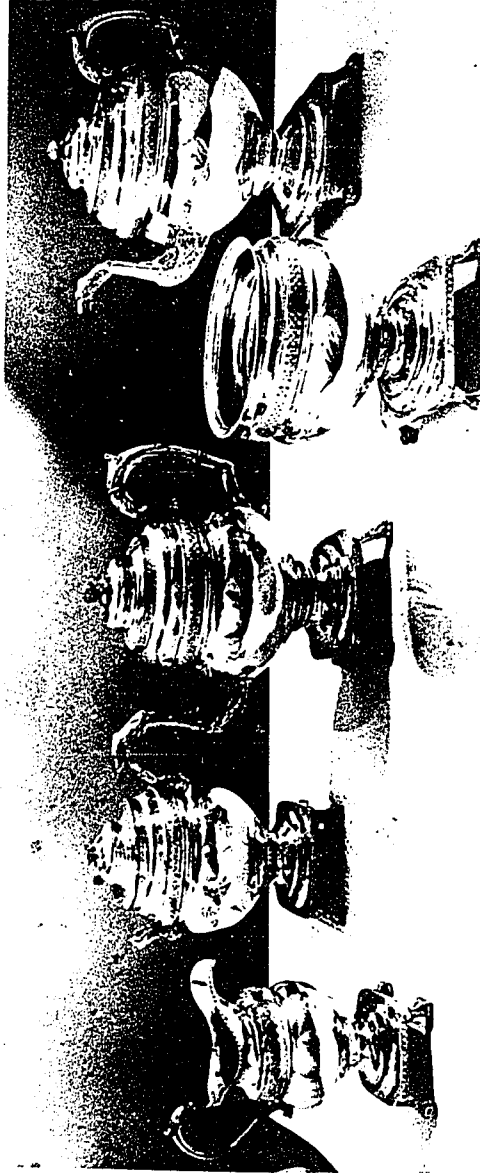
In the dining room at Montpelier, there were two coffeepots, a "Tea Pot & Cream. . . a slop Bowl," and a "silver Tea Caddy." Elsewhere in the house, there was a "sugar bowl." (Appendix X). There is evidence to indicate the existence of two sets.

Other documents support the authenticity of the McGuire service. On July 7, 1848, Mrs. Madison sent Richard Smith a list of articles to be sold in a proposed raffle. The plate consisted of

A set of silver	
consisting of a Coffee pot	) Sugar Bowl
Tea Pot	) and slop bowl <sup>29</sup>
Cream Pot	)

Nevertheless, when she pawned the candlesticks and casters, Dolley Madison included "One Coffee Pot- One Tea Pot-One sugar dish- One Wash dish & Tongs- One Cream Pot. . ."<sup>30</sup> This must have been the same set, plus tongs.

Mrs. Madison and Todd pawned a total of sixteen pieces of silver to Charles Pairo; to date, nine of those articles, or 56%, have come to light through McGuire descendants.<sup>31</sup> Four of the nine--the Dany candlesticks and casters--are undisputably authentic. Hopefully, a bill of manufacture for this tea and coffee service will eventually be found.



27

SNUFF BOX--1815-1825  
 Alexandria, Virginia  
 Silver

(B)

Maker: Charles A. Burnett (1785-1849)

H: 3/4; W: 2 7/8; D: 1 5/8

Marks: "C.A. BURNETT" in rounded rectangle on bottom.

Comment: The engraved "James Madison" is a copy of the President's signature.

Collection: The Mable Brady Garvan Collection,  
 Yale University. Gift of Francis P.  
 Garvan

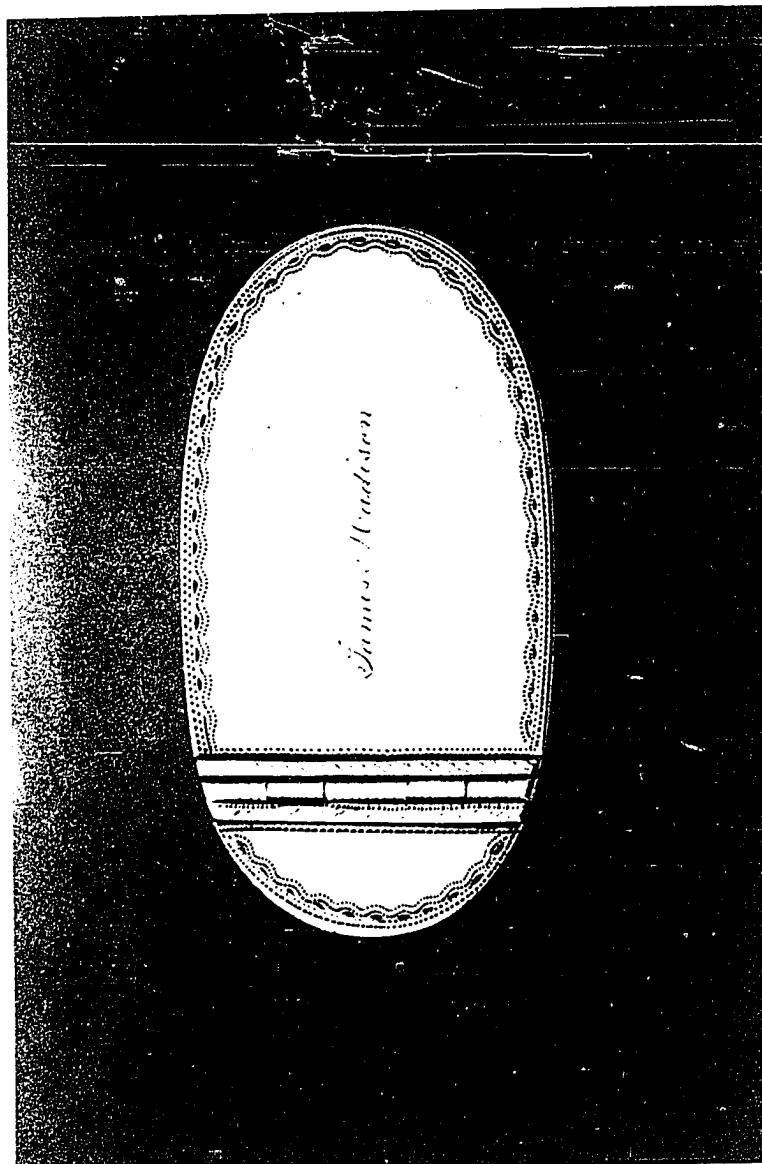
Photograph: Yale University Art Gallery.

Although the Alexandria silversmith did a substantial amount of work for the White House during the Madison administration, this snuffbox must have been a private commission. There is no mention of it in the Treasury accounts.

Snuffboxes do not qualify as "furnishings;" however, this example has been included in the catalogue as the only piece of silver--known to the writer--which illustrates the Madison-Burnett association.

The history of the snuffbox is vague: Madara Buck Little, Fredericksburg, Virginia; to Annie Buck Fondé, Mobile, Alabama, her niece; to George C. Geberlein, Boston, 1929; to Francis P. Garvan, New York City, 1930.<sup>32</sup>





26

COVERED PITCHER--ca.1782

(B)

France

Porcelain

Maker: Niderviller

H: 5

Marks: double "C" over No. "19" in overglaze black on bottom.

Comment: White ground with multi-color floral decorations and gilt borders. Interlaced "GW" on golden-brown cloud, crowned with chaplet of flowers.<sup>33</sup>

Collection: The Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union.

Photograph: The Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union.

On July 21, 1782, the Comte de Custine-Sarreck, owner of the Niderviller factory, presented a dinner service to George Washington. This covered pitcher belonged to that service.<sup>34</sup>

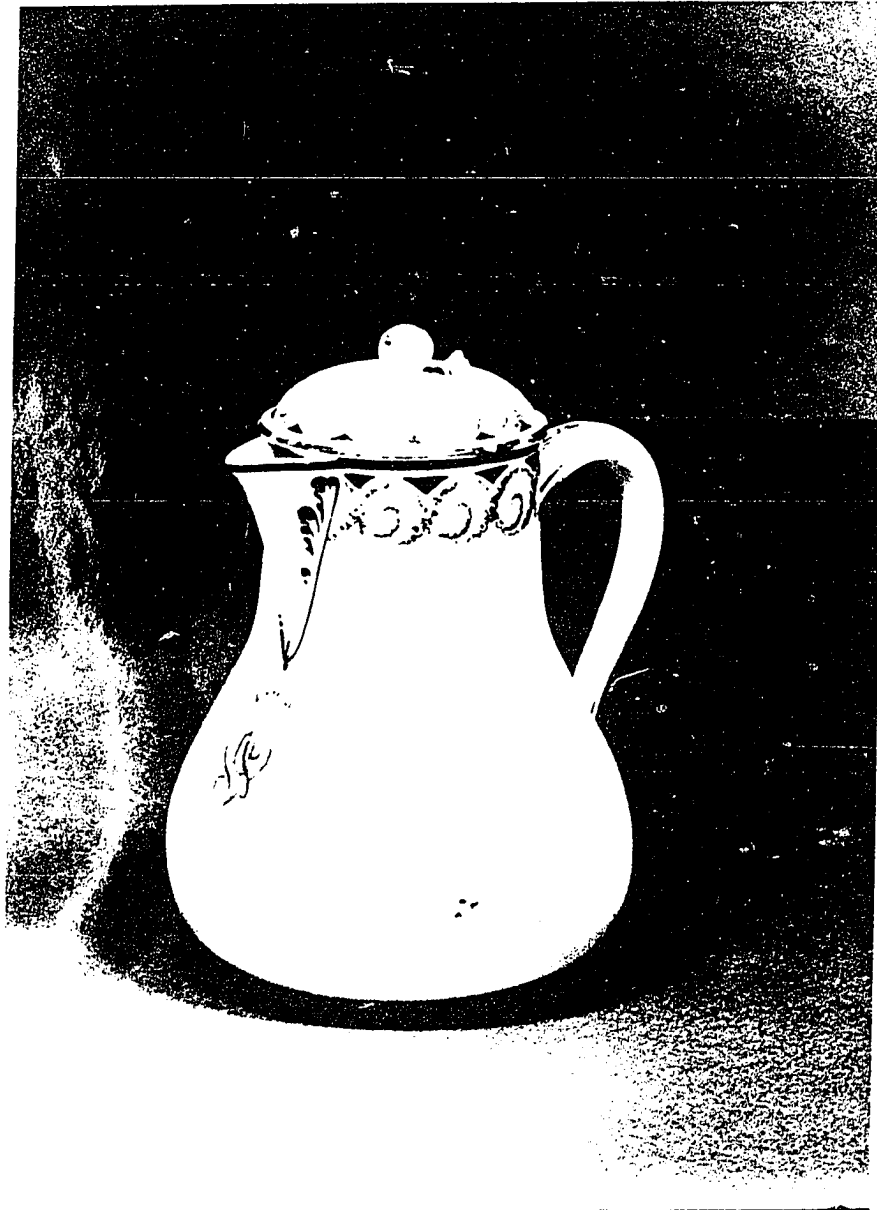
According to tradition, Martha Washington gave the pitcher to Dolley Madison. This story is in keeping with Mrs. Washington's habit of presenting mementos to friends after the death of her husband.<sup>35</sup> Washington and Madison were friends; furthermore, Dolley Madison's sister Lucy had married George Steptoe Washington, nephew of the General.<sup>36</sup> James and Dolley Madison were married at Harewood, the younger Washington's estate.<sup>37</sup> Considering these ties, the idea of the gift is sound.

In the "In addition to the Inventory" section of the Lafayette Square list, there was a reference to "a white pitcher." (Appendix XI). If this pitcher was the Washington gift, then it is logical that Dolley Madison did not include it with the household china.

In 1899 the covered pitcher brought \$102.50 at the Kunkel sale. (Appendix XIII):

66 Dresden China Cream Pitcher, with  
Lid . . . monogram 'G.W.' on front.  
Presented to Dolly Madison by  
Martha Washington . . . .

Fortunately this "Dresden" object was included among the few illustrations in the catalogue. It was the Nider-viller pitcher. In 1941 The Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union acquired the pitcher from the Hearst Collection sale at Gimbel Brothers.



29

COVERED CUSTARD CUP--1780-1830

(C)

China

Porcelain

H: (with cover) 3 3/16; DIAM: (rim) 2 7/16

Comment: White ground with blue decoration. Canton borders. Landscape designs on body with floral designs on lid.

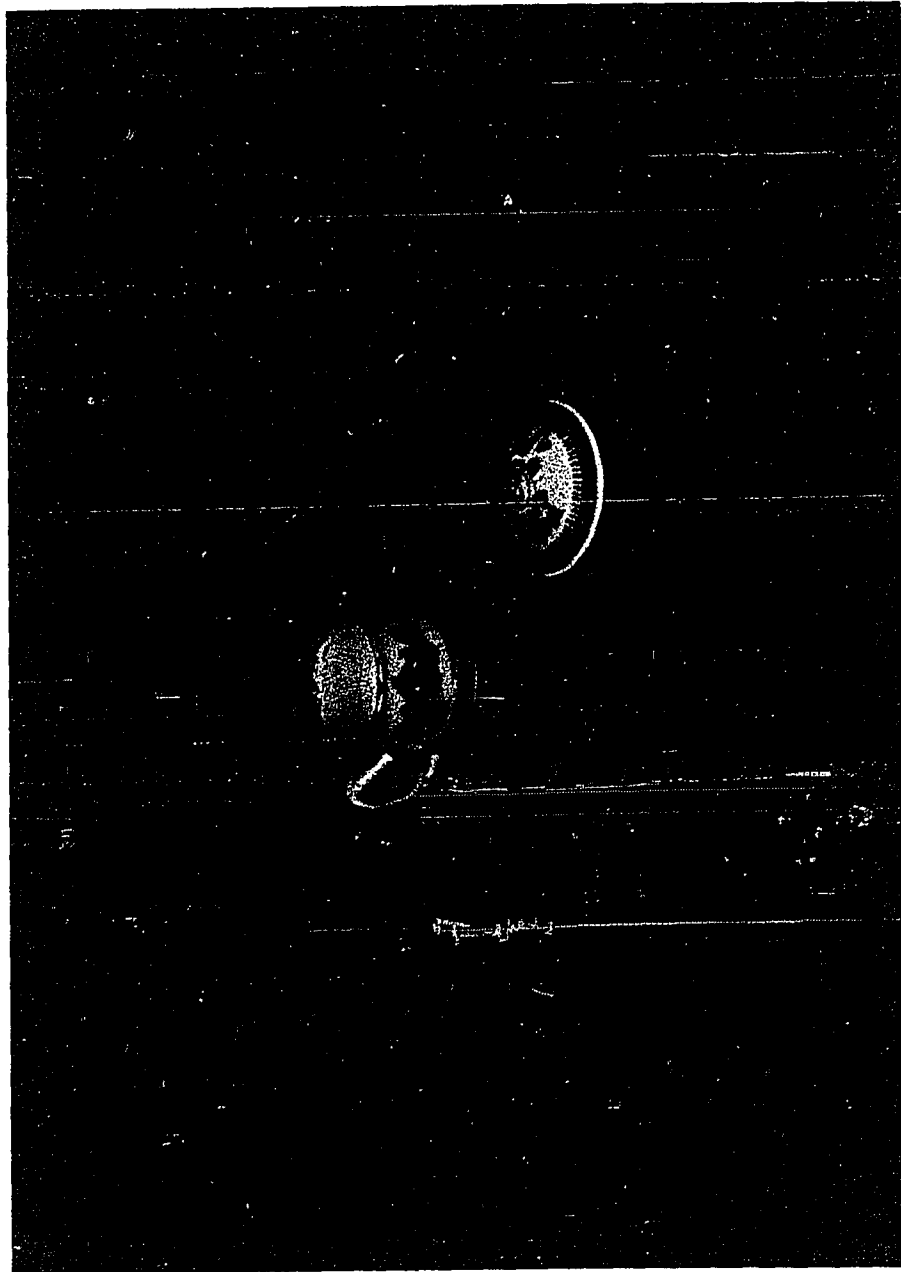
Collection: The Greensboro Historical Museum (loan).

Photograph by the writer.

The Madison period coincided with the American craze for Chinese export porcelains; blue and white "common" wares were found in the homes of rich and poor alike.<sup>38</sup> It is not surprising to find examples of this inexpensive porcelain with a Madison association.

The custard cup was lent to the Greensboro Historical Museum by Mrs. Whitfield Cobb. The Cobb history was discussed with entry No. 1.

..



30

SAUCEBOAT--1780-1830

(C)

China

Porcelain

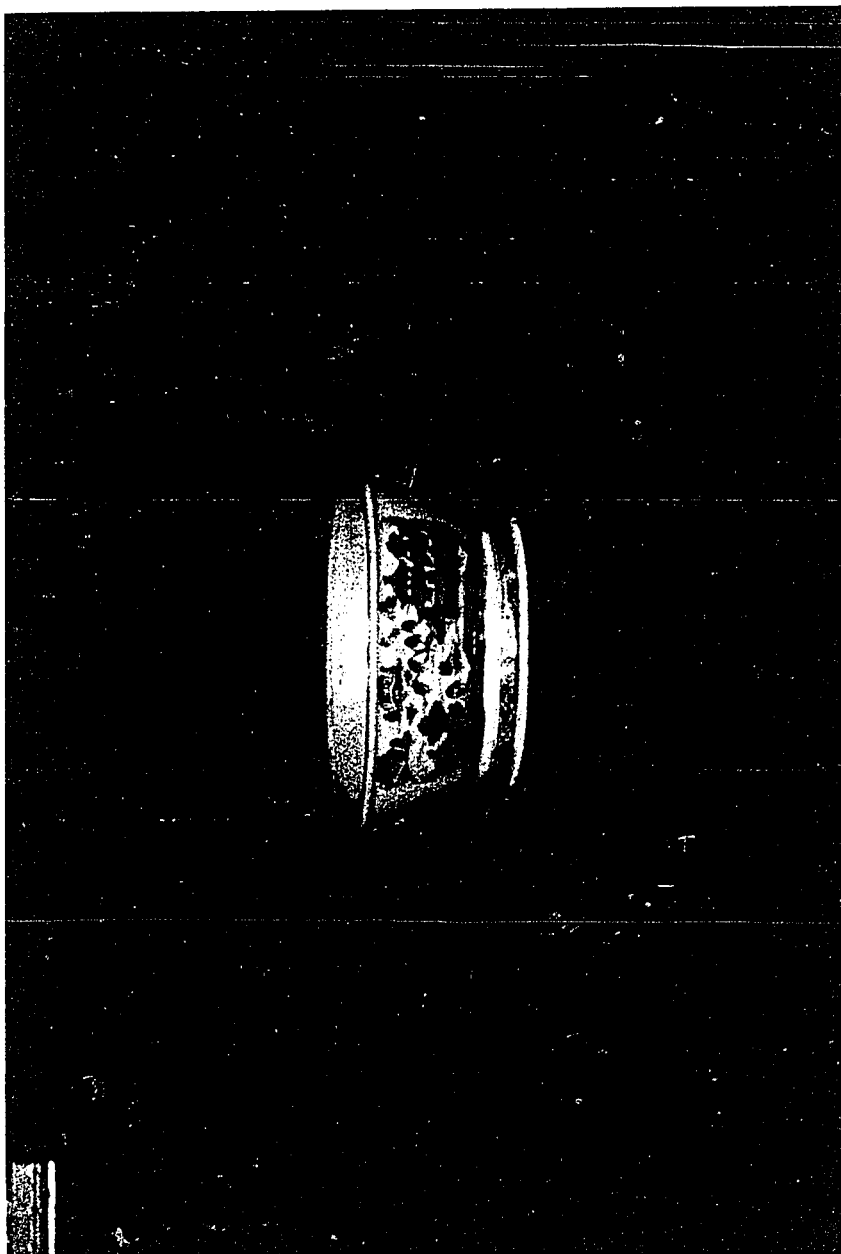
H: 2 7/16; W: 6 3/8; D: 4 7/16

Comment: White ground with blue decoration. Canton  
          borders. Landscape scenes on body; the  
          handles are boars' heads.

Collection: The Greensboro Historical Museum (loan).

Photograph by the writer.

          This sauceboat and No. 29 have identical  
histories.





31

PLATE (one of a pair)--ca. 1805-1806 (Ac)  
 Paris  
 Porcelain  
 Maker: Nast  
 DIAM:  $8\frac{1}{2}$   
 Marks: "NAST/ à/ Paris" painted in deep orange on bottom.  
 Comment: White ground. Rim: orange ground with  
           white and black circles, stars, ferns and  
           vines. Gold borders.

Collection: The Smithsonian Institution.

Photograph: The Smithsonian Institution, Negative #62239.

In 1806, James Madison paid \$595.37 for a dinner and a dessert set of Nast china. This plate is one of ten pieces which survive from the dinner service. No examples from the dessert service have been found.

These ten pieces represent only a shadow of the original service. In the "Garret Closet" at Montpelier there were 144 plates, two custard dishes "10 Cups & 16 Tops," fourteen oval and nine round dishes, two tureens, two pickle dishes, two salad bowls, and "4 sauce boats with stands." (Appendix X).

In the 1842 inventory these items appeared under "French China."<sup>39</sup> (Appendix XI). Ten pieces (lots 75-81) "with salmon-colored bands" were sold at the Kunkel sale in 1899; a sauce boat numbered among the illustrations. (Appendix XIII).

Traditionally, it has been assumed that the Nast china represented the first "state" service ordered for the White House.<sup>40</sup> There is no evidence which indicates that the Madisons used this set in the Executive Mansion; however, during the post-fire period, the furniture fund did not purchase a dinner service until 1816. There is a possibility that the Nast was used in the Seven Buildings between 1815 and 1816.

Unfortunately there is no information regarding the appearance of the dessert service. Hopefully, a signed example will come to light. These plates were given to the Smithsonian Institution in 1964 by Frances Washington Weeks and Nancy Hunter Weeks. Other pieces from the Nast dinner service can be found in the following collections:

1) The Greensboro Historical Museum.

LID TO SAUCE BOAT (broken)

W: 6½; D: 4½

Gift of The Dolley Madison Memorial Foundation, 1962. Ex. Coll. Neva Kunkel.

2) Private owner.

PLATE

3) The Smithsonian Institution.

BOWL

H: 3; DIAM: 9 1/8

PLATTER (cracked)  
W: 14; D: 10 1/8

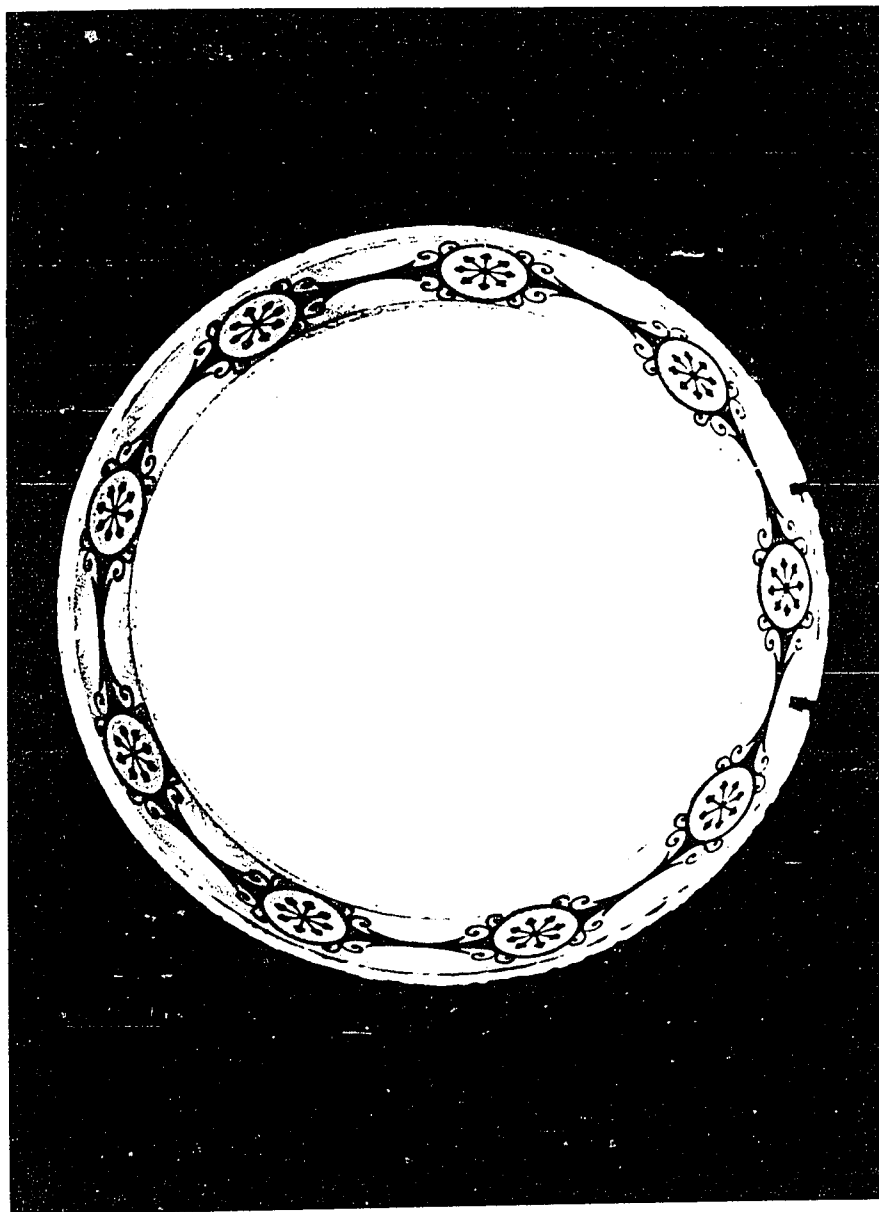
PICKLE DISH (or vegetable dish)  
DIAM: 8 7/8  
Gifts of Miss Mary Madison McGuire, 1930.

4) The White House

PLATES (two)  
DIAM: 9 1/4; 9 3/16  
Gift of J. Henley Smith, 1905

5) The Woodrow Wilson House, Washington, D.C.

PLATE  
DIAM: 9  
Gift of Mrs. Woodrow Wilson.



32

FRUIT BASKET--1824-1838

(C)

Philadelphia?

Porcelain

H: 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ ; W: (top) 13  $\frac{7}{8}$ ; D: (top) 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ 

Comment: White ground with gilt decoration, much worn.

Collection: Miss Margaret Lee Mulick, "Williston,"  
Orange, Virginia.

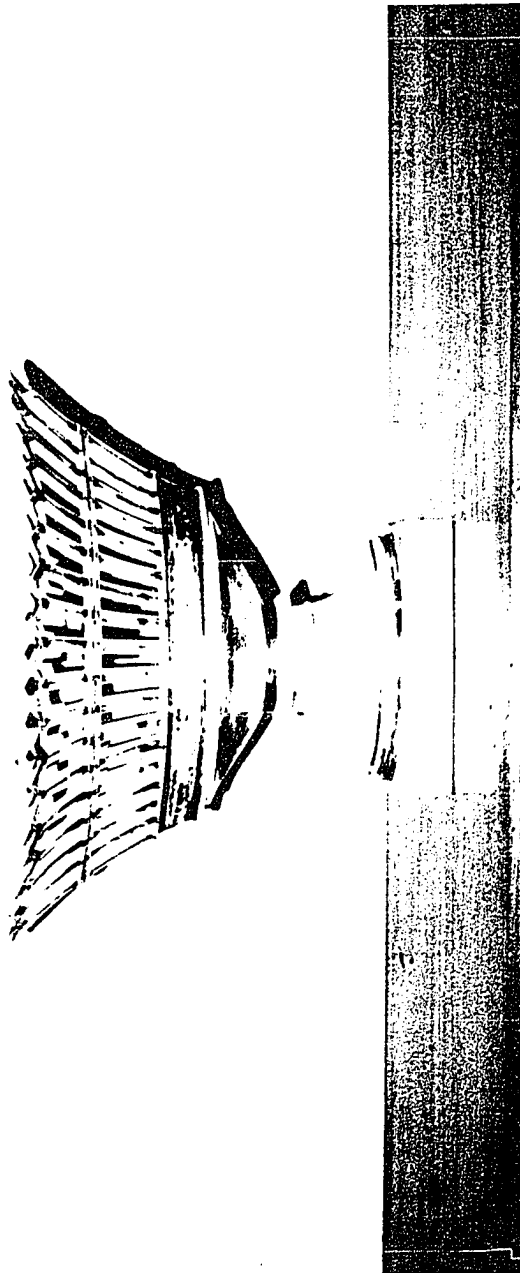
Photograph by the writer.

In terms of form and ornament, this basket follows French designs of the first half of the nineteenth century. A French origin is distinctly possible; however, there is some evidence that it was made at the Philadelphia Tucker manufactory (1825-1838), famous for its "French" style porcelains.<sup>41</sup>

There were only two patterns for fruit baskets in Tucker's design book, now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art; the pierced top of No. 17 is virtually identical to that of the basket in Orange, and the base of the Madison piece follows the contours of Tucker's No. 15.<sup>42</sup> It is significant that the Philadelphia baskets retailed for only \$3.00 and \$3.25, respectively.<sup>43</sup> They were within the Madisons' budget at a time when James Madison could no longer afford expensive French porcelains.

The Toddsberthe inventory mentioned a "Fruit basket, box chessmen--25¢." (Appendix IX). This basket

could have been the one which survives in Orange. Miss Mulick is the twin sister of Mrs. N.K. Lyons. Like the Lyons furniture, the basket descended through the family of Nelly Conway Madison Willis; to Lewis Byrd Willis; to Miss Mulick, his niece.<sup>44</sup>



## Notes to the Catalogue

<sup>1</sup>The entries in the catalogue have been assigned dates according to their most likely period of manufacture; in some instances the date does not agree with the style of the object. Measurements are in inches; materials such as brass drawer pulls, metal hinges, etc., have been omitted.

<sup>2</sup>Geneological data for Madison descendendants has been taken from Henry, who employed a numerical system of identification. To fascilitate the location of each descendant in the catalogue, the appropriate number will be given in the notes, e.g.: Nelly Conway Madison Willis, #31, John Willis, #311, p. 137; Nelly Conway Willis, #3115, Lewis Byrd Willis, #31152, Dorothy Madison Mulick Lyons, #311513, p. 139. The Lyons history represents the most direct route of inheritance. The Willis and Madison families intermarried several times.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., Margaret Lee Pollock, #311212, p. 137.

<sup>4</sup>1767-1774, #1554, Joseph Downs Manuscript Library, The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum.

<sup>5</sup>Mrs. Browning, #31153, was the sister of Lewis Byrd Willis, Henry, p. 139.

<sup>6</sup>C. G. Sloan & Co., auctioneers, Catalogue from the Estate of Frank C. Littleton, Removed From "Oak Hill," Loudoun County, Virginia, Former Home of President James Monroe: By Order of Joseph J. Mathy, Executor with Additions from Other Prominent Estates and Owners (Washington, D.C.: C.G. Sloan & Co., Inc.), 1952, #55, p. 7.

<sup>7</sup>Frederick D. Nichols and James A. Bear, Jr., Monticello (Monticello, Virginia: The Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation), 1967, p. 74.

<sup>8</sup>Marie G. Kimball, The Furnishings of Monticello (Charlottesville, Virginia: The Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation), 1949, p. 24.

<sup>9</sup>Mary Cutts memoir, p. 8, CP, LC.

<sup>10</sup>Celia Jackson Otto, American Furniture of the Nineteenth Century (New York: The Viking Press), 1965,



Nos. 35-38, p. 21.

<sup>11</sup>Ambrose Madison Willis, #3117, Henry, p. 139.

<sup>12</sup>Hunt, Forty Years, p. 81.

<sup>13</sup>The Macon line was not completed in Henry, p. 146. This information was provided by Mrs. Charles Henry Paulson, [Charles Henry Paulson], (copy) "Macon Family," n.d. (typewritten manuscript), collection of Mrs. Paulson. (Hereafter, Paulson, Macon geneology).

<sup>14</sup>Indenture Between D. P. Madison and Richard D. Cutts, September 28, 1846, #2988, Box 22, MC, AL. (Hereafter, Madison-Cutts indenture).

<sup>15</sup>D. P. Madison to Richard Cutts, May 7, n.d., CP, LC.

<sup>16</sup>Rebecca Madison Chapman, #61, Henry, p. 142. Glenn Madison Brown was not listed.

<sup>17</sup>The writer was unable to examine these objects.

<sup>18</sup>entitled "Projet L'argenterie à faire pour Mr. Monroe," n.d., #2988, Box 21, MC, AL.

<sup>19</sup>Madison-Pairo silver agreement, LC, CHS.

<sup>20</sup>April 29, 1932, White House Accession Records. Miss McGuire's mother was Anne Madison Chapman (1844-1904), #6141, Henry, p. 144.

<sup>21</sup>The writer was unable to examine these objects.

<sup>22</sup>Madison-Pairo silver agreement, LC, CHS.

<sup>23</sup>DMP, X, LC.

<sup>24</sup>Paulson, Macon geneology.

<sup>25</sup>The writer has not examined this object.

<sup>26</sup>Will of James C. McGuire, entered February, 1888, Will Book XXVI, p. 187, WNRC. (Hereafter, JCM will, WNRC).

<sup>27</sup>The attribution has been made by the Historical Society; the writer has not examined the set.

<sup>28</sup>JCM will, p. 188, WMRC.

<sup>29</sup>DMP, VIII, LC.

<sup>30</sup>Madison-Pairo silver agreement, LC, CHS.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid. Four candlesticks, two spoons, and the tongs have not been found.

<sup>32</sup>Kathryn C. Buhler and Graham Hood, American Silver: Garvan and Other Collections in the Yale University Art Gallery, 2 vols.. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press), 1970, II, No. 970, p. 252.

<sup>33</sup>The writer has not examined this object.

<sup>34</sup>Mount Vernon China, 2nd. ed., rev. (Mount Vernon, Virginia: The Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union), 1962, No. 18, p. 28, Nos. 15-17, pp. 25-27.

<sup>35</sup>Christine Meadows, Curator, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union, to the writer, September 25, 1970.

<sup>36</sup>They eloped in 1792. See Clark, p. 15.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., pp. 25-26.

<sup>38</sup>Jean McClure Mudge, Chinese Export Porcelain for the American Trade, 1785-1835 (Newark, Delaware: University of Delaware Press), 1962, pp. 77-80, 139-142, et passim.

<sup>39</sup>The fruit baskets, dessert dishes, and ice-cream vases might have belonged to the Nast dessert service; however, there is some evidence which suggests that these objects were "French" china of a different pattern. Further research is necessary.

<sup>40</sup>The White House: an Historic Guide, rev. (Washington, D.C.: The White House Historical Association), 1970, p. 89.

<sup>41</sup>Tucker China, 1825-1838: An Exhibition of Examples of Porcelain Made in Philadelphia by William Ellis Tucker, Tucker and Hulme, Tucker and Hemphill, Joseph Hemphill, and Thomas Tucker (Philadelphia: The Philadelphia Museum of Art), 1957.

<sup>42</sup>The writer wishes to thank Phillip Curtis, a Winterthur Fellow, who supplied drawings of these designs. The subject of Mr. Curtis' thesis is the Tucker manufactory.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid.

<sup>44</sup>Margaret Lee Mulick, #311512, Henry, p. 139.

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Appendix 1

Oil Paintings at Montpellier

1. The bloody garment of Joseph thrown to Jacob.
2. Proserpine carried off by Pluto.
3. Card Players.
4. 5. 6. 7. Flenish paintings, subjects unknown.
8. A landscape.
9. The Roman daughter.
10. Landscape with the figure of an anchorite.
11. Monastery of St. Bernard & Monks.
12. A fish piece.
13. A descent from the cross.
14. Siege of Gibraltar.
15. A figure of the Saviour, half length.
16. Landscape, with figures.
17. Expulsion of Adam & Eve from Paradise.
18. Annunciation of the Virgin.
19. Crucifixion.
20. A descent from the cross.
21. A fruit piece.
22. The flight into Egypt, landscape.
23. The persecution of the Saviour.
24. A poultry yard.
25. Portrait of Charles the 12th. in armour.
26. Interior of a kitchen.
27. Arrival of Ulysses in the Island of Calypso.
28. representation of Game.
29. Blacksmiths in a forge.
30. persons drinking.
- 31.
32. Landscape with a hunting party.
33. A storm at sea.
34. A magic lantern.
35. 36. portraits of Mr. & Mrs. Madison.
37. portrait of Jefferson by Peele.
38. A magdalen.
39. Pan-youths & Nymphs.
40. A fruit piece.
- 41.
42. Interior of a dutch church.
43. 44. 45. 46.
47. Chinese painting of the Emperor & family.

- 48. View of Ghent.
- 49. 50. Mr. & Mrs. Madison by Wood.
- 51.

In Washington City -

Jesus appearing to his disciples Peter & Cleophas.  
 Ferdinand Cortez. Magellan. C. Columbus.  
 Americus Vesputius. Raleigh. Bard & Saint.  
 Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Monroe.<sup>1</sup>

## Appendix II

"Engravings in the Dining Room" at Montpelier, n.d.

Genl. Jackson  
 Jn. Adams  
 Jas. Monroe  
 Geo. Washington  
 Thos. Jefferson  
 Louis XVIII.  
 Mrs. Madison  
 Napoleon le Grand  
 David Rittenhouse  
 Benjn. Franklin  
 Ed. Coles  
 Jn. Vaughan  
 Martin Van Buren  
 Queen Denmark  
 Queen Holland  
 Wm. Madison  
 Judge Duval  
 2 Seperate views of the Falls of Niagra the sorte made by  
 the garrison of Gibraltar the 27th. Nov. '81  
 Death of General Montgomery  
 Likeness of a Negroes Head  
 The Lord's Supper  
 Mrs. Washington's Monument  
 Battle near Eunker Hill  
 Mr. Jefferson taken by Kosciusko  
 Albert Gallatin  
 Wm. Bartram  
 A view of Switzerland  
 View of New-Orleans  
 The seat of Hon. Jas. Madison  
  
 Vue de Stockholm prise a l'entree du Parc  
 Vue de la Cathedrale de Upsal avec une partie de la Vill-  
 2 framed engravings of honerary membership of [illeg.]  
 A memorial and Remonstrance written by Mr. Madison  
 Confucius-the Philosopher of China<sup>2</sup>



## Appendix III

"Inventory of the Furniture in the President's House,  
the property of the United States, Taken February 26,  
1801."

## First Floor

## No. 1 Dining Room, North Front, West End

- 5 Window curtains
- 2 Side Boards with table ornaments
- 4 dozen chairs, black and gold
- 1 Brussels Carpet with Green Baize Cover
- no glasses

## No. 2 Levee Room, South Front, West End

- 5 Window Curtains
- 23 Mahogany chairs
- 2 Mahogany Side Boards
- 2 Mahogany Card Tables
- 2 Small looking glasses
- 2 Sconces and Chimney ornaments
- 5 Patent lamps
- 1 pr. Andirons, fender, shovel and tongs
- 1 Brussels carpet

## No. 3 Breakfast Room

- 2 Easy Chairs
- 13 Mahogany Do.
- 1 Side Board
- 1 Double Breakfast table
- 1 Small Do.
- 2 Window Curtains
- 1 Looking Glass
- 3 Girandoles with lamps
- 1 Brussels Carpet
- 2 Japanned Plate warmers
- 1 Pair Shovel and tongs, fender

## No. 4 President's Drawing Room

(now serving as the South Entrance of the House)

- 1 Mahogany dining table in 4 parts
- 1 common carpet

This room is vastly deficient in furniture

## No. 5 Lodging Room

- 1 Bed Compleat
- Window curtains
- 5 Mahogany chairs
- 1 Sopha
- 1 Bureau
- 1 Small Glass
- 1 Night table
- 1 pair Andirons, Shovel & Tongs--Fender
- 1 Brussels carpet

## No. 6 Grand Hall

- 1 Pine dining Table in 7 parts
- 2 Ten Plate stoves
- 1 Clock
- 1 Side board table--Floor laid with common carpeting

## Second Floor

## No. 7 Common Bed Room, East end--North Front

- 1 Field Bed--compleat
- 1 Sopha
- 3 Mahogany chairs
- 1 table
- 1 small looking glass
- 1 Washing stand
- 1 common carpet

## No. 8 Bed Room

- 1 Bed Compleat
- 5 Mahogany chairs
- 1 Wardrobe
- 1 Bureau
- 1 table
- 1 Washing stand
- 1 Looking Glass
- 1 pair Andirons, Fender--Shovel & tongs
- 1 window curtain
- 1 common carpet

## No. 9 Store Room (containing)

Cornice for Windows, pieces of Carpeting etc., etc.

## No. 10 Dressing Room, West End, South front

- 1 Bed Compleat (excepting curtains)
- 1 Sopha
- 1 wardrobe
- 2 Chairs
- 1 night table
- 1 Common carpet

## No. 11 President's Bed Room

- 1 Bed compleat
- White Dimity curtains
- 1 Easy chair
- 5 Mahogany chairs
- 1 Washing Stand
- 1 Wardrobe
- 1 Night table
- 1 Bureau
- 1 Breakfast table
- 1 Pair Andirons--Shovel & Tongs--Fender
- 1 Brussels carpet
- 1 Chamber glass ) in tolerable order
- 1 Dressing Do. )

## No. 12 President's Office

- 2 Mahogany tables, covered with green cloth
- 1 Wardrobe
- 1 Desk
- 1 Washing stand
- 1 Small table
- 1 pair Shovel & Tongs--Fender
- Window Curtains
- Brussels carpet
- Chamber Looking Glass

## No. 13 Ladies Drawing Room

- 32 Mahogany Chairs
- 2 Sophas
- 2 Card tables
- 1 pair brass Andirons--Shovel & Tongs--fender
- 1 Brussels Carpet
- 5 Damask Window Curtains
- 2 Looking Glasses--too small for the Room
- 1 pair lusters
- 4 Girandoles with lamp compleat
- Belonging to this room is a chandelier of considerable value, not yet unpacked

## No. 14 Secretary's Office

- 1 Bed compleat
- 1 Desk and Book Case
- 7 Mahogany chairs
- 2 Do. Tables, covered with Green cloth
- 1 Card table
- 2 Pine Cases for Papers
- 1 Washing stand
- 2 Window Curtains
- 1 pair shovel, tongs--Fender
- 1 Brussels Carpet

- No. 15 Hall  
     1 Common Carpet  
     1 Sopha
- No. 16 Back Stair Case  
     Carpetted compleat
- Basement Story
- No. 17 Room, East end, North Side  
     Tubs, Buckets, and a variety of Lumber
- No. 18 Room  
     1 Painted Cloth floor, not in use  
     1 Safe
- No. 19 Kitchen  
     Furniture of all kinds in abundance
- No. 20 Washing Room  
     Benches, Tables, etc., etc.
- No. 21 Steward's Room--West end, South front  
     1 Bed compleat  
     1 Looking Glass  
     1 Bureau  
     1 Mahogany Table  
     1 Writing Desk  
     1 Dozen Common Windsor Chairs  
     1 Carpet--Fender--Grate, etc.
- No. 22 Servants Bed Room  
     4 Beds and Bedsteads  
     1 Small Looking Glass  
     a few old chairs  
     1 Small Grate & fender
- No. 23 Servants Hall  
     1 Pine Table  
     1 Grate & fender
- No. 24 Housekeepers Room  
     1 Bed compleat  
     2 Window curtains  
     1 Old Looking Glass  
     1 Breakfast Table  
     1 Desk and Bookcase  
     1 dozen Windsor Chairs  
     1 common carpet

## Solid Plate

- 2 large Punch Urns & Ladles
- 2 Cream Urns
- 2 Sugar Urns
- 2 Bread Baskets
- 4 Bottle stands
- 10 salts
- 3 Castors
- 5 Soup Ladles
- 6 Sauce Do.
- 8 Ragout Spoons
- 2 Fish Trowels
- 2 dozen and two desert spoons
- 11 smaller of same kind
- 6 dozen and nine Table spoons
- 13 Silver handled knives
- 5 dozen Tea Spoons
- 2 pair Sugar tongs
- 18 Spoons & 18 French forks
- 2 Cream spoons
- 10 salt Do.
- 4 Bottle Stands
- 3 Mustard spoons
- 17 Wine Labells

## Plated Ware

- 1 Tea Caddy with Silver Spoon
- 4 Bottle stands
- 1 Sett of Casters, complete
- 1 Tea Urn
- 2 Coffee Do.
- 2 Large Waiters
- 6 Small Do.
- 16 Beer Goblets
- 1 Lamp with two branches
- 4 Glass Baskets
- 4 Wine Coolers
- 4 Beer Cans
- 3 Dish Crosses
- 24 Candlesticks
- 10 Branches
- 6 Snuffer Plates

## Table Linen

- 39 Table Cloths, in tolerable condition
- 36 Napkins, good
- 33 pair of Sheets, generally good
- 23 pair of Pillow cases
- A large quantity of coarse and fine towels
- 5 large Trunks containing a variety of Household Linen

China

3 Table setts complete  
Tea China, a considerable quantity

Queen's Ware

A plentiful quantity<sup>3</sup>

. . .

## Appendix IV

## "Jefferson's White House Inventory"

## Northwest Corner--Lady's Dressing Room

4 Night Tables and 8 Mahogany Chairs

## Large Room--North Side

1 elegant bedstead with white dimity curtains  
 2 Chints Window Curtains  
 1 Sofa 12 fashionable Chairs, crimson and Gold  
 2 Mahogany Tables. 1 wash stand. 1 looking Glass  
 1 elegant Lady's dressing Table. 1 toilet with  
 trimmings Brussels carpet on the floor--1  
 Stool to ascend the Bed.

## President's Dressing Room

11 Chairs Crimson and Gold  
 3 suits dimity Window Curtains with cornices  
 1 Bidet and a mahogany Table--common carpet on  
 floor

## Passage Adjoining the President's Bed Room

6 fashionable Chairs--crimson and Gold  
 1 large Mahogany Wardrobe  
 1 elegant Couch  
 1 Mahogany Window Stool--a Brussels carpet on  
 the floor

## President's Bed Room

Bedstead--Bed curtains with cornice  
 2 Suits of dimity window curtains with cornice  
 1 Bureau 1 dressing & one looking Glass  
 1 small Mahogany Table and wash Stand  
 5 fashionable Chairs--crimson and Gold  
 1 Window Stool stuffed Seat & white dimity cover  
 2 Mahogany wash Stands  
 3 Prints--Washington--Adams. Jefferson  
 a Machine to hang Clothes on  
 1 Mahogany fire screen--Brussels carpet  
 on the floor

## Large Chamber--South Front

- 1 large mahogany Couch
- 14 Mahogany Chairs--crimson damask bottoms
- 2 Small Mahogany Sofa's covered with hair cloth
- 3 Small Mahogany Tables.--1 looking Glass
- 2 Suits dimity window Curtains with cornices

## Lady's Drawing-Room

- 22 Mahogany Chairs Crimson Damask bottoms
- 5 Crimson Damask window curtains with cornice
- 2 Mahogany Sofa's--crimson bottoms
- 4 Girandoles with elegant brass lamps
- 1 elegant Glass Chandelier
- 2 large looking Glasses. 1 pair Mahogany Card Tables
- 7 pieces elegant Chimney Ornaments
- a Brussels Carpet

## Large Bed Room--South Front

- 1 elegant Mahogany bedstead, chints Curtains & elegant cornice
- 12 fashionable Chairs Gold and Green
- 1 Mahogany Wardrobe
- An elegant Mahogany Commode
- 2 Small Mahogany Tables & wash stand
- 1 looking Glass and dressing Glass
- 2 suits dimity window curtains with cornice
- Brussels carpet & wire fender

## Small Bed Room--South Front

- 1 Bedstead. 2 Beds. chints curtains and cornice
- 1 Suit chints Window curtains with cornice
- 5 fashionable Chairs--Gold & Green
- 2 Small Mahogany Tables & wash stand
- 1 Mahogany side board--1 looking Glass
- 1 Machine for hanging clothes on
- 1 large easy Chair with Chints cover
- 1 Night Table and an elegant Brussels carpet

## Dressing Room Adjoining the Above

- 8 fashionable Chairs--green and Gold
- 1 Chints window Curtain with cornice
- Toilet Table and common Carpet

## Bed Chamber--South East Corner

- 1 Mahogany bed Stead, white dimity curtains, gilt cornice
- 5 fashionable Chairs, Green and Gold
- 1 Small mahogany Table and wash Stand
- a toilet table & dressing Glass
- 3 Suits Chints window curtains with cornice
- one Night table & common carpet



## Great Passage on the Second Floor

- 2 Suits circular window curtains--Yellow
- 35 Mahogany Chairs--1 Mahogany Table
- 2 large passage Lamps
- common carpet covering the whole

## Principal Stairs

- Carpet covering the whole

## Private Stairs &amp; Passage

- Common carpet and small Globe lamp

## Bed Chamber--North Front

- Bedstead, chints curtains and cornice
- 6 fashionable Chairs--black and Gold
- 1 elegant Mahogany Commode & small Mahogany Table
- 1 Chints window curtain with cornice
- Brussels carpet

## Dressing Room Attached to the Above

- 6 fashionable Chairs--Gold and Green
- 1 Mahogany Wardrobe
- 1 Lady's elegant Mahogany table wash Stand & Glass
- common carpet
- 1 large Mahogany Table
- a Machine for hanging clothes on
- a Childs small Mahogany bedstead with curtains

## Bed Chamber--North Front

- 1 elegant Mahogany bedstead, white dimity curtains
- Chints drapery and Gilt cornice
- 6 fashionable Chairs--blue and Gold
- 1 Mahogany Bureau & small table
- 1 Toilet Table, dressing Glass & wash stand--
- night Table
- Looking Glass and Brussels carpet
- Dimity window curtains with cornice

## President's Cabinet

- 6 small Mahogany paper cases
- Small Mahogany writing Tables
- 3 long Mahogany Tables covered with green cloth
- 2 Mahogany Window Stools, covered with hair cloth
- 1 Set of Mahogany Steps for library
- 1 Letter press, a Desk and Book case
- 1 large folding Screen & wash Stand
- 12 Chairs--black and Gold
- 1 Sofa & two Mahogany arm chairs
- Shovel Tongs and Poker

## President's Sitting Room

- 2 elegant Girandoles
- 2 Glass Shades and a looking Glass
- 2 Mantel ornaments--an elegant time piece
- 1 Globe Inkstand
- 3 Sofa's covered with black hair cloth
- an elegant Mahogany drink Table with a Marble Top
- 1 Mahogany Card Table & two Small Tables
- a Chinese pipe
- 16 fashionable Chairs--black and Gold
- 2 Suits elegant window Curtains with cornice
- 1 elegant Brussels carpet and fire rug

## President's Drawing-Room

- 5 Suits Chints window Curtains with cornice
- 4 Elegant Girandoles & Glass lustres
- 1 large Chandelier and 2 Glass shades
- 3 alabaster Chimney ornaments
- 2 china and Silver Do.
- a full length picture of Genl. Washington
- Gilt frame
- 4 large Mahogany Sofa's covered with hair cloth
- 24 fashionable Chairs--blue and Gold
- 2 large Mahogany Card Tables
- 2 Square Mahogany Tables with leaves
- an elegant Brussels carpet--Shovel tongs
- poker

## Small Dining Room--S. Front

- 1 large Mahogany Dumb waiter
- 4 small Do.
- 1 extra large Mahogany Dining Table in 6 pieces
- 1 Small dining Table in three parts
- 1 large Mahogany Square Table
- 15 Chairs--black and Gold
- 1 elegant side board with pedestals, & urn
- knife cases
- 2 Glass Cases to contain the Silver and platedware
- 3 fire Screens. 2 elegant Girandoles and
- 2 looking Glasses
- 1 Oval breakfast Table
- 2 Suits of chints window curtains and cornice
- a canvass floor cloth, painted Green
- 2 large green cloth covers for the dining Tables
- 3 large Japaned waiters

## Silver Ware in the Small Dining Room

- 6 Casseroles with dishes--Silver
- 2 bread baskets
- 1 Small Globe Coffee Urn Silver
- 2 large Punch Urns & Ladles Silver
- 1 large Sugar Pot & Cream Pot Silver
- 3 large Castors Silver
- 10 Salt Stands Silver
- 8 large Ragout Spoons
- 5 Gravy Spoons
- 5 Soup ladles 1 Small Cast
- 18 french Table Spoons & forks
- 32 french Tea Spoons
- 82 Table Spoons
- 38 dessert Spoons
- 1 Tea pot, Cream pot Sugar pot. Silver
- 4 Doz: Common Tea Spoons
- 2 fish trowels Silver--2 Cream Spoons
- 13 french Knives 2 Doz: fruit knives
- 8 Bottle Stands
- 1 pair elegant Tea & Coffee Urns Plated ware
- 1 large and 2 small common urns
- 2 large waiters 1 pair Chamber Candlesticks
- 2 Sallad dishes with glasses
- 8 Small waiters. 8 coolers--4 oval 4 round
- 16 Goblets 3 Can's 3 Dish warmers
- 10 Barrel tumblers
- 3 Candlesticks with branches
- 1 Candlestick with a double Lamp
- 2 branches on the side board
- 1 Castor. 2 Silver Terrines 2 Silver Pudding Dishes

## Secretary's Bedroom

- 1 Mahogany bedstead & dimity curtain
- 2 Suits of window Curtains--chints
- 1 Mahogany Bureau & wash Stand
- a common carpet 3 Common Chairs
- 1 looking Glass

## Secretary's Office

- 2 large cases for Papers
- 2 Suits chints window Curtains
- 7 Arm Chairs--black & gold
- 1 Mahogany table covered with green cloth
- 1 Common Carpet, fire rug--Shovel tongs & poker

## Large Unfinished Room--East End

- 34 armed Chairs black and Gold
- 1 Mahogany Side Table 1 cooler
- 1 Table & Kettles for washing Tumblers
- 1 large Dumb Waiter
- 1 pair large Brass Andirons

## The Great Hall of Entrance

- 2 side Tables
- 2 large Mahogany Tables with leaves
- 3 elegant Globe lamps 8 fire Buckets
- 2 Suits Window Curtains with cornice
- 4 Girandoles with Brass lamps
- 1 Eight day Clock
- 4 Common Settee's
- 28 Mahogany Chairs with hair cloth bottoms
- the whole floor covered with Canvass
- painted Green

## Large Dining Room--N.W. Corner

- 1 elegant side board with pedestals & urns
- 2 Do. Common
- 1 Large Dumb Waiter
- 2 Japaned plate warmers
- 3 Mahogany knife cases 1 Dining Table
- 1 fire Screen 2 Japaned Costors
- 2 plated Candlesticks with branches
- 2 Do. without branches
- 3 Alabaster Chimney Ornaments
- 2 elegant Girandoles
- 5 Suits dimity window Curtains with cornice
- 15 fashionable Chairs--black and Gold
- an elegant Brussels carpet
- 3 fire Shovels and three pair of Tongs

## Small Room--North Side

- 1 pair of plated Candlesticks with branches
- 2 pairs of brass Lamps
- 3 pair of high plated Candlesticks
- Do. of Chamber Do.
- 1 pine Closet and 2 large common Tables
- 1 fender--tongs and Poker
- 1 Common Waiter & 1 small looking Glass
- 2 Coal Scuttles & a lantern
- painted floor cloth
- 1 suit common curtains with cornice

## China .

2 large Punch Bowls. 2 Terrines for Soup  
 16 Dishes different sizes--3 Do. round Pudding  
 52 plates--16 Do. for Soup 30 Do. Dessert  
 18 Coffee Cups & Saucers  
 18 Tea Cups Do. 2 small cream Terrines  
 2 Sauce bowls. 24 Saucers  
 3 Gilt Teapots 4 blue gilt bowls for preserves  
 6 different sizes Glass  
 8 dishes for apples--compote dishes Glass  
 30 Decanters 9 Water bottles 4 Do. small  
 72 Tumblers 75 Jelly Glasses  
 72 Wine Glasses  
 13 Oval crystals for Sweet Meats  
 27 Do. Do. . . . Small  
 48 Wine Glasses  
 20 liqueur Glasses  
 2 Water Pitchers<sup>4</sup>

## Appendix V

## "An Account of Goods Sold Belonging to the President's House"

1810 October 22

2 brass lamps	to Judge Truston	9.75
2 Jappaned do.	to W. Long	8.50
2 brass lamps	to Labille	9.25
2 do.	to Long	10.75
1 do.	do.	6.75
2 do.	to Docker	11.00
2 do.	to Labille	9.25
a small pair of andirons	to Labille	9.00
a long do.	to Labille	6.50
a large do.	to McCormick	13.00
a do. do.	to Docker	17.75
a small do.	to Labille	6.50
a kitchen andiron	to Colliselle	.90
a long brass pair A.T.	E. Vardin	5.50
a short pr.	Dixon	8.00
a do.	Labille	7.50
a long do.	do.	7.00
a do.	McCanna	8.50
an Iron pr.	Orr	.65
5 doz. and 10 plates		
@ 162 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> - 6 half doz.	Long + Dixon	18.95
2 doz. and one small		
do. @ 160 pr. $\frac{1}{2}$ doz.	Long + Dixon	6.27
a small table	Wm. Smith	7.00
one pr. of knife		
cases @ 3.50	Truston	7.00
one small do.	Labille	2.75
one oval table	do.	3.50
a sett of china		
dishes	Dixon	26.50
2 sideboards @ 22	Gardner	44.00
2 hoses with grates		
@ 13.25	Timms	26.50
one do.	Wm. Smith	12.00
one lot of lamps &c.	McCormick	7.25
6 Chafing dishes	do.	7.25
1 pr. of Kranes	Hickey	11.00

old Iron Kitchen	Wm. Smith	11.25
a lot of old		
bottles	Timms	4.25
a fish kettle	Wm. Smith	1.80
a stove not complete	McCormick	3.10
a card table	Truston	3.00
a Wight chair	G. Belle	6.25
a tete a tete	Collwell	8.25
6 mahog. F. chairs		
@ 2.25	Latrobe	13.50
5 do. plain		
backed @ 1.00	Long	5.00
6 stuffed cottons		
@ 3.05	Docker	18.30
4 do. @ 2.30	Truston	9.20
5 do. @ 3.00	Gardiner	15.00
one arm chair	Cooper	8.25
one sofa	Judge Truston	40.25
		<u>\$475.67</u>

Andrew Jones  
auctioneer

by commission on \$475.67 @ 5%      \$23.79  
 advertising and handling      4.00  
 . \$447.88 5

## Appendix VI

"Inventory and Appraisement of the Goods and Chattles &c.  
late the Property of John Todd Junior."

Compiled, December 7, 1793

One large Side Board	£ 9. 0.6
One Settee	10. 0.0
Eleven Mahogany & Pine Tables	17.17.6
Three looking Glasses	14. 0.0
Thirty-six Mahogany & Windsor Chairs	27.12.6
One Case of Knives & Forks	5. 0.0
And-Irons Shovels & Tongs	9. 2.6
Window Curtains & Window Blinds	12. 0.0
Carpets and Floor Cloaths	11.15.0
Bed Bedstead & Bed Cloathes	30. 0.0
Sundry Setts of China Articles of Glass	0. 0.6
Ware and Waiters &c.	9. 7.6
Glass Lamp Pr. Sconse & six Picture	3.17.6
Sundry Articles Plate and Plated	
Ware also Sett of Castors	14. 7.6
Sundry kitchen Furniture	12.10.0
Desk and Book Case	5. 0.0
	<u>£191.10.0</u>
 An Open Stove	 2. 5.0
Two Watches	9.15.0
One Fowling Piece	3. 0.0
One Horse and Chair	40. 0.0
Library	187.15.0
	<u>£434. 5.0</u> 6



## Appendix VII

Excerpts: "List of House-hold Furniture & Plate belonging to the Estate of John Todd the elder and by him bequeathed to his wife Mary Todd, valued by Alexander Tod & Jeremiah Cresson and divided by them according to an agreement between Dolly Todd & James Todd into three parcels & Lists marked A. B. & C."

[The following list contains the items received by Dolley Todd, Lots A. and C., December, 1793.]

	£ /s /d
1 large looking Glass	4.10 -
1 Mahogany Card table	2.15
1 do. Tea-Table with claw feet	2
6 Mahogany Chairs with hair bottoms	15.
1 Tea Urn & 1 Tea Chest	1.15
1 pr. brass endirons, shovel, tongs, & hooks	2.10
1 Walnut Stand	10
4 green Windsor chairs ( 1 Betsy Blair ( ded. at foot 3/6	14
7 Rush-bottom do.	17.6
1 pair house Bellows	2.6
1 Corner Cupboard painted Mahogany door	2.
1 Walnut Desk	6.
4 Fire Buckets	1.10
1 high post Bed-sted & Sacking	1.15
1 small painted Stand & fire screen	15
1 pr. small Endirons	7.6
1 small Bureau (mahogany)	3.10
1 looking Glass	2. 5
1 close stool chair (walnut) & pan	3.
1 large hair Trunk	17.6
2 Framed Pictures	2
1 Old dressing Table (Walnut)	7.6
1 dressing Glass	12.6
1 green painted Chest	7.6
1 Couch & Couch Bed	1.10
1 corner Cupboard (lead clrd.)	2.
1 old chest of Drawers	1.10
1 Bedsted & Sacking (spanish brown)	1. 5

	£/s /d
2 old fashioned rush bottom Chairs	3
1 dressing table	7.6
1 Small Looking Glass	1. 5
2 Bird Cages	2.6
1 barrel (Sundry articles Lumber)	15
1 Walnut Tray	1
5 Chimney boards 1 Sap board & 2 Stockg. do.	3.9
3 old leather bottomed Chairs	2.6
1 small dutch oven copper	10
1 brass clothes kettle	2
1 Churn	5
Sundry old Casks in Cellar	2.6
1 bakestone & trivet	5
1 Goblet	1
3 odd wine Glasses	3
1 tin & 1 Glass Canisters	2
1 blue china Dish & 13 plates	11.8
1 Tumbler & 3 Glass Mugs	3
1½ doz. cups & Saucers China	1. 5
1 sugar Dish & Cover	2.6
4 Tea pots	15
34 Queens-ware plates	8.6
7 do. Dishes	10
1 Queens ware Tureen & 3 bowls	5.0
1 Sauce Cup & 8 custard do.	2.6
1 pair small scales (brass) & weights	3
1 dough trough	7.6
1 small pine stand	2.6
1 Fench	1.3
7 [pewter] Dishes	3.9
4 pewter Basons	5
7 [pewter] water plates	1.15
1 lot tin ware	10
3 Copper teakettles & 2 Sauce pans	15
1 brass wash kettle	1.15
7 iron Candlesticks	5
1 box Coffee-Mill	2.6
1 Steel Yard	7.6
1 ladle 1 skimmer, 1 Toaster & 1 Choppg. knife	7.6
1 pr. kitchen Endirons Shovel & Tongs	1
1 Dutch Oven	10
3 pr. pot hooks	3
4 Tubs 2 pails & 2 Buckets	9
1 lott earthern Ware	1.3
1 Box knives & forks (odd Ones)	1.6
4 pot hangers	9
1 Glass Lantern	5.6
3 damask table clothes	2.15

	£/s /d
5 diaper do.	3. 2.6
3 breakfast do.	1
10 Towels	7.6
12 Sheets	10
19 pillow Cases- 4 Bolster Cases	1.10
2 Bed Quilts- 1 small do.	3
6 Blankets	3.
1 Steel field Bed & 2 Window Curtains	7.10
2 Window Curtains	1.15
1 Suit Bed do. (old fashioned)	1.10
1 odd Window Curtain	10
2 Rugs	3.
1 old Carpet	.11.3
Womens wearing Apparel (first appraise- ment)	42. 5.9
8 table spoons )	
1 Soup Ladle ) oz. dwts.	
2 pr. tea Tongs) 26 17.....8/9	
1 pepper box )	14.15.113/4
1 Silver Scissors Chain	10
1 do. tooth picker Case	6
1 Gld. Sleeve Button	17.6
1 pr. Salt Shovels Silver	10
1 Bed Pan	1
1 wrought pocket Book- 2 scissors	10
1 old silver thimble & pincushion Silver hoop	7.6
1 blk. leather travelling Trunk & 2 old ones	10
3 Umbrellas	1.10
1 large Map of Pennsylvania	2
1 carpet in parlor	1.15
1 Feather Bed...52 lb...at 4/	10. 8
1 do. 60 3/	9
2 do. tainted 126 18d.	9. 9
1 do. 75 18d.	5.12.6
	<hr/> £201 9 8¼ 7

## Appendix VIII

Excerpts: "Inventory of the Estate of James Madison,"  
 Sr. July 26, 1802. Furnishings

- 1 Razor case with 4 razors complt.
- 1 old - with two razors
- 1 Set backgammon tables
- 3 Walnut dining tables
- 3 Do. dressing Do.
- 1 Tea table
- 2 Small pine do. painted
- 2 Irong. tables
- 1 Candlestand
- 1 Small round table
- 1 Doz. walnut chairs (hair bottoms)
- 1 Desk & book case
- 3 Fine Presses
- 1 Chest of drawers
- 1 Cabinet
- 1 Eightday clock
- 1 Spy glass
- 7 Looking glasses
- 1 Magnifying Do.
- 3 Carpets
- 6 Mattresses
- 3 Large Beds 12 Boulters
- 2 Small do. 10 Pillows
- 1 Doz. Rush bottomed chairs
- 3 Leather Bottomed do.
- 1 Doz. & 9 flay bottomed do.
- 5 White Virg. Counterpanes
- 1 Turfted Do.
- 1 Calico coverlid
- 6 Virg. Wool & cotton Do.
- 6 Bed quilts
- 5 Silk rugs
- 27 Bed Blankets
- 2 Dutch Do.
- 18 Pr. Virg. sheets
- 11 Do. Linen do.
- 10 old Do. Do.
- 3 Damask table cloths

3 Huckaback Do.  
 1 Byrd eye do.  
 6 Virg. Do.  
 2 Dowlas do.  
 27 Towels  
 18 Dowlas Pillow cases  
 6 Cotton do.  
 10 Linen do.  
 5 White Toilets  
 3 Coloured do.  
 2 Tea Boards  
 4 Waiters  
 2 Bread Baskets (Japannd.)  
 1 Sett Blue & White tea china  
 1 Do. Green & White do.  
 2 Doz. silver table spoons  
 1 Doz. & 10 tea Ditto  
 1 Broken set  
 1 Silver ladle  
 1 Do. Soup spoon  
 1 pr. Sugar tongs  
 7 pr. fire dogs  
 6 pr. Tongs  
 5 Shovels  
 1 pr. Bellows  
 10 Bed steads  
 1 Small Do.  
 1 Plate warmer  
 3 Cases with bottles  
 1 Leather bottomed chair with arms  
 7 Brass canlesticks  
 1 Tin Ditto  
 5 pr. Snuffers  
 2 Calico window curtains  
 1 Dimity Do.  
 4 Stuff Do.  
 1 Doz. calico chair covers  
 2 Bed curtains  
 2 Patent lamps  
 6 Candle moulds  
 7 Large Decanters  
 5 Small do.  
 2 Water do.  
 15 Wine glasses  
 3 Beer do.  
 15 Glass tumblers  
 3 Goblets  
 2 Glass cans  
 3 Vinegar cruits  
 2 Rims and castors

4 Salt sellars & shovels  
 2 Tin Knife Cases  
 1 Wooden Do.

. . .  
 Bottles in 2 cases in window seats

5 Chimney screens  
 1 Coffee mill  
 1 Passage carpet  
 14 Pewter Basins  
 6 Tin milk pans  
 4 Do. Buckets  
 3 Frying Pans  
 2 Iron tea Kettles  
 1 Tin Do.  
 1 Large Wine chest  
 1 Clothes Do.  
 2 Chair Boxes  
 3 Doz.  $\frac{1}{2}$  pewter plates  
 9 Pewter dishes  
 101 Black Bottles  
 15 Large stew pots  
 12 Small Do.  
 5 Earthen Do.  
 34 Stone Jugs

. . .  
 94 Earthen plates  
 28 Do. dishes  
 2 China Bowles  
 1 Sauce Boat  
 1 Pickle crock  
 1 Tea Cadi  
 1 Warming pan  
 1 Fire pan  
 2 Brass chaffing dishes  
 1 Iron do.  
 1 Pewter Ink stand  
 1 Wedgwood do.  
 1 Doz. large green handled knives and forks  
 1 Doz. Small green handled knives and forks  
 2 Grid irons 3 Trivets  
 1 Large copper Kettle  
 1 Small Do.  
 2 Bell mettle skillets  
 2 Iron Kettles  
 1 Roasting spit and fork  
 3 Large Iron pots  
 2 Small Do.  
 3 Iron Bakers 1 griddle  
 3 Tin covers for dishes  
 1 Tin safe 1 wood do.

1 Brass wash basin  
 1 Spice mortar  
 8 Mugs 11 Bowles  
 Half doz. green china cups and saucers  
 4 Funnels  
 6 Tin cannisters  
 1 Pocket Bottle  
 1 Honey Tub  
 1 Walnut sugar box  
 1 Doz. Tin tart moulds  
 4 Tin plates  
 1 Tin crane  
 4 Pot hooks  
 4 Pot racks  
 1 Knife for cutting cucumbers  
 8 Chamber pots  
 1 Bed pan  
 3 Wine glasses 8  
 . . .

## Appendix IX

Excerpts: "An Inventory and Appraisement of the goods & chattels taken at Toddsbirth on 28th. of September, 1852, belonging to the estate of John P. Todd." Furnishings.

## 1st. Room

2 covered Dishes	1.00
Walnut table with a drawer	.25
3 Curtain Rods	.12½
. . .	
Map hanging against wall	.50
5 Chairs	2.50
2 pine presses	1.00
1 stand	.50
. . .	
Glass stand	1.00
Picture frame	.12
2 Window Curtains, 1 over the door	.25

## 2nd. Room

1 lounge	2.00
Chest of drawers	1.00
Bed stead	5.00
Walnut-press	12.00
large Gilt frame	2.00
Metal clock	10.00
Brass Andirons	2.00
Carpet	.50
Window Curtain	.03

## Entry

2 Wash stands & Bowl	.75
Marble Mortar & pistle	2.00
large bedstead	.50

## 3rd. Room

1 folding table	2.00
pine press & contents	5.00
2 pine tables	1.00
4 Busts	.25
Spy glass (micrometer)	1.00
Picture frame	.50
. . .	



2 Candlesticks	.25
Sand box truss picture frame	.12
1 Gilt frame	.25
Todd's likeness	.03
pr. brass andirons & fender	3.00
hand bellows	.01
. . .	
looking Glass	2.00

## 4th. Room

Frigate Constitution in Glass Box	2.00
2 Busts Coverd. with Glass	2.00
Mantle Glass, Gilt frame	2.00
Brass Andirons, Fender & Shovel	4.00
7 Dishes	3.50
Tureen	1.00
2 Sauce Bowls	.25
Decanter, stand & Tumbler	1.50
2 sets Casters	1.00
14 plates and [illeg.]	1.00
Waiter, 2 saucers, 2 Cups	.06
½ doz. dutch silver forks	.25
1 " Common spoons	.50
1 Silver ladle	3.00
. . .	
Eggstand, Coffeepot, Bottle stand, teapot	.50
Fruit basket, box chessmen	.25
spy Glass, large one	5.00
Water stand	.50
2 Busts	2.00
Walnut press	3.00
Pine Press	1.50
Round table (Mahogany)	1.00
Pine table	.50
2 knife Boxes	2.00
Walnut candlestand	.25
Side board	1.00
Waiter & a lot of Vials	.12
Box & Copper measure	3.00
2 lamp Glasses	2.00
3 Window Curtains	.25
. . .	

## 5 Room

Busts in frame	.50
Case & Bottles & contents	5.00
. . .	
Bed, Mattress Bed	15.00
Statuary	2.00
2 Window Curtains	.12
. . .	

## Upstairs 1st. Room

Sett of Drawers	1.00
11 Busts	20.00
Thomas Jefferson's Picture	5.00
Remonstrance	.25
3 pictures	1.50
5 Gilt-Picture frames	1.00
Stephen Girard's picture	.25
African Picture & Glass	1.00
1 Black Picture frame	.12
2 Yellow Busts	.50
1 Table	.12
Table frame	.12
Bench	1.00

## Garrett

. . .

## Little House

4 pannel doors	2.00
2 picture frames	.12
pine table	.25
pair andirons	.25

. . .

## Summer House

pine press	.50
Stand with drawr.	.50
2 Benches	.50
2 Butterpots	.50

## Kitchen

[all, \$15.00]

## Meat House

[all, \$2.00]

## Tools belonging to the lot

[all, \$45.43]

## Rotundo

Candlestand	1.
1 portable des'	2.
1 do.do.do. small	.50
French Bedstead	10.
Paper press	4.

. . .

Library	Books Papers &c.	700.00
Servants	[10, worth, total, \$1650.00]	
104 Acres Land, White Oak Run		208.00
9½ Acre Toddsbirth		500.00

appraisal done & signed by

Jas. Newman  
Peyton Grymes  
Jno. Welch  
John Willis 9

recorded 27 Dec. 1852

## Appendix X

"List of articles in Dining Room at Montpelier  
July the 1st. '36"

2 Mahogany sideboards  
3 folding-leaf mahogany sidetables  
1 pair mahogany sidetables  
1 small tea table (mahogany)  
1 pair mahogany cases-for knives and forks  
a Filtre--two plated coolers  
A glass ship--2 alabaster vases

Plate -  
a pair Branches--a pair Castors--a pair candle sticks  
a Pitcher--a coffee pot--Small Castors  
Decanter sliders  
An. . . .  
a cut-glass bowl--a pair cut-glass goblets--a pair glass  
pitchers.  
A live-oak vase--part of the ship Constitution. 2 Mats  
made of [illeg.] bit of the P.U.S. Carpet.

- In new side board--A silver Coffee--Tea Pot & Cream.--  
White and Brown sugar bowls--also a slop Bowl, a silver  
Tea Caddy. 1 doz. White and Gilt china cups and saucers.--  
15 cordial glasses--port wine glasses--9 cut-glass Tumblers.  
1 doz. white pink and gilt china saucers--a china bowl.

A pair cut-glass Decanters--2 silver ladles--5 gravy spoons  
3 table spoons--35 forks--2 sugar tweezers.

In old sideboard--  
6 black and white decanter sliders  
12 tablemats. 1 doz. blue china cup & saucers--2 larger  
1/2 doz. common blue cups and saucers. 9 green chairs.  
a . . . Tub.

6 common silver spoons  
6 ditto marked M  
2 old french Tea spoons 10

## Inventory of Perishables at Montpelier.

## In the Garret Closet

10 doz. 24 Plates  
 2 Custard Dishes- 10 Cups & 16 Tops  
 14 Oval Dishes  
 9 round do.  
 2 Tureens with one top  
 2 pickle Dishes  
 2 Salad Bowls  
 4 sauce Boats with Stands  
 3 Fruit Baskets  
 4 Shallow Bowls or Leaf desert dishes  
 2 Deep Bowls & Tops--one broke  
 One small China cruet, filled with pepper  
 2 ice cream vases.

## Elsewhere

(11 Saucers & 12 Coffee cups 3 with handles off  
 White & gold (10 do. 10(or 12) Tea do. do. do.  
 "M" china (1 Tea or Coffee Pot & Bowl

11 Pink & Gold Saucers  
 5 Large & 4 Small Decanters  
 2 Dozn. Claret Glasses  
 10 Champn. Do.  
 3 Wine Glasses & 2 drinking Goblets )  
 14 Punch Tumblers ) same pattern  
 10 Jelly Glasses )

15 Tumblers  
 4 Champn. Glasses  
 1 set of Castors  
 1 Blue Pitcher  
 5 or 6 pieces of common crockery  
 3 salt-cellars

## Of Green

12 Soup plates  
 22 Large dinner plates  
 13 2nd. size do.  
 7 green Dishes  
 1 Tureen  
 1 covered Dish  
 1 Salad Dish  
 2 Gravy & 2 Butter boats  
 4 Pickle Dishes  
 9 Custard Cups

A few knives & forks the knives much worn.  
Three or four bottles of preserves, partially injured from  
being open.

Two old decanter stands & a basket-sugar bowl  
Cork Screw and a few empty bottles.

In the Press in the Chamber there are the Front  
Parlor curtains. 9 Blankets 7 Sheets & 1 Table cloth.

On the mantles-10 small busts  
2 Wash basons & 1 Pitcher in the chambers. Pitcher in-  
jured.

Which I think is a list of articles most liable  
to distruction from use at present in the house.<sup>11</sup>

## Appendix XI

"Inventory of Mrs. D. P. Madison's furniture in House in Washington--Nov. 15, 1842."

## In front chamber -

A Mahogany Bedstead, feather bed, & bolster  
 A desk Bureau  
 Looking glass  
 Wash stand basin & Ewer  
 A painted case, on a table  
 A pigeon hole case, with a small Mahogany desk on it  
 An old arm chair of Mr. Jefferson's  
 Andirons, shovel & tongs  
 A pair blankets  
 Bed-cover, valence & window curtains of Calico  
 A carpet & an old settee

## In back chamber -

2 bedsteads (a large, & small one)  
 2 hair Mattresses  
 A small feather bed & a Mattress  
 A bolster--a coverlid  
 Mahogany chamber chair  
 A wash stand & a candle do.  
 A pigeon-hole chest for papers  
 A large Ward-robe & a small table

## note:

In bottom drawer [of wardrobe?] a pair  
 linens & 2 pr. cotton sheets. a scarlet  
 velvet & an embroidered dress, a velvet  
 screen & a tunesian mantle- some old  
 fashioned bodies [sic].

## French China:

10 doz. & 4 plates  
 13 round &  
 14 oval dishes  
 2 custard dishes--10 cups & 16 tops  
 A pickle dish  
 A covered vegetable dish  
 2 salad bowls  
 2 covered sauce boats

2 do. without covers  
 3 fruit baskets  
 2 square &  
 4 leaf desert dishes  
 2 ice-cream vases  
 2 tureens-one top

Gilt China marked M

1 doz. coffee cups & saucers  
 9 tea-cups--10 saucers  
 a Bowl  
 A tea-pot & biggin

---

2 large waiters  
 14 champaign.  
 22 claret &  
 12 jelly glasses  
 11 punch tumblers  
 4 decanters

12 bottles, 3 of wine, 2 of gin, 2 of catsup.  
 A case, & box of papers belonging to the Randolphs

In Parlor -

A wilton carpet  
 Brass fender, andirons, shovel & tongs  
 A mahogany screen covered with blue  
 A marble top stand  
 Two mahogany wings belonging to dining table  
 A mantel glass &  
 pair of Lamps-  
 A black hair sofa,  
 rocking chair & chaise lounge  
 Blue damask window curtains  
 Gilt cornice & nobs  
 10 chairs covered with red moreen  
 A divided lounge, covered with red.

In dining-room--

A wilton carpet-  
 A mahogany sideboard-  
 dining-table & two wings  
 Brass fender-andirons, shovel & tongs.  
 2 gilt brackets- a lamp  
 A large stone jug-  
 1 doz. yellow bottom rush chairs



## In Entry-

A large stove  
 Lamp &  
 Hat rack  
 Oil cloth covering  
 Passage & stairway carpeted.

## In small chamber-

A bureau  
 Looking-glass  
 Case for books  
 Large wardrobe in upstairs entry  
 A broom & turk's head

## Paintings

Jesus appearing to his disciples Peter &  
 Cleopas at Emuraus - by Carlo Springt,  
 which took the prizes at Ghent in 1814.

A Saint Helena by Titian.<sup>12</sup>

A Bard of Ossian

Columbus )

Vespucius )

Magellen )

Raleigh / )

Cortez )

Copies from the Escorial

## Presidents:

Washington, by Stuart

Adams (the elder) by Trumbull

Jefferson, by Stuart

Madison, by Stuart

Monroe, by Vanderlyn

& Mrs. Madison, by Stuart

---

	(Napoleon crossing the Alps
in	(Bust of Washington
alabaster	(8 small heads, of Ancients
	(2 figures, of goddesses. <sup>13</sup>

---

## In addition to Inventory

6 brown wooden chairs  
 2 pillows, hay  
 A flowered bowl & a white pitcher  
 A coal Hod  
 A poker  
 A fire shovel  
 Green moreen window curtains

a broken pickle dish at  
 Gaithers

a broken covered vegetable dish

a bundle of papers of J. P. [Todd's?]

Green china  
 10 pink & gilt saucers  
 A cask-a tin canister  
 & 3<sup>1</sup> doz. empty bottles  
 A hearth broom  
 An old screen  
 brass knobs in dining room

2 Plated decanter stands  
 A little sugar bowl

Street lamp  
 Step ladder. 14

## Appendix XII

Estate of John Payne Todd: List of Furnishings sold at Auction, February 24, 1852.

Washington, D.C.

2 Figures 25¢	1 Figure 13¢	.38
1 Brush &c. 20¢	2 Basins &c. 50¢	.70
1 Hydrometer 1.50	1 Mattress 1.12	2.42
35 lbs. Mattress 9.50	1 Bedstead 3.00	12.50
Box [illeg.] 1.00	Slop pail 40¢	1.40
Pitchers &c. 35¢	Stone Pitcher 24¢	.60
2 Shades 40¢	Table Cloth &c. 30¢	.70
1 Trunk 12¢	3 Blankets 66¢	.78
1 Box 35¢	1 Pr. Coasters 15¢	.50
1 do. 90¢	1 Hat 20¢	1.10
1 Hat 12¢	Castor &c. 50¢	.62
Basket 85¢	Baskets 45¢	1.30
Plate Shell 65¢	do. 13¢	.78
2 Baskets 1.00	7 Goblets 1.58	2.58
Wine Glass 30¢	7 Champ. 70¢	1.00
Keg [illeg.] 12¢	Glass Warre 30¢	.42
76 lbs. Feathers 19.00	48 lbs. Feathers 12.00	31.00
Carrall &c. 27.00	Cart 8.00	35.00
M.T. Table 3.00	Washstand 65¢	3.65
Table 45¢	2 R.S. Chairs 62¢	1.07
Bidette &c. 1.87	1 Settee 1.62	3.49
Desk 3.12	1 Light-Stand 37¢	4.00
1 Cupboard 1.12	Shelves 27¢	1.39
		<u>\$107.58</u>
	Less Commission &c.	<u>9.10</u>
		\$ 98.48 15

## Appendix XIII

Excerpts from the Kunkel Catalogue: Furnishings

## SOLID SILVERWARE

- 46 Beautiful Solid Silver Antique Urnshape Vase, with lid. Beautifully engraved, and with monogram of President Madison. Very handsome piece of workmanship, and evidently made in America during the Colonial times. (\$70.00)
- 47 Antique Solid-silver Cream Pitcher.  
Beautiful shape. Made to order for James Madison, after pattern of Porcelain Pitcher, much admired by Dolly Madison. Made by celebrated J. Anthony. (\$25.00)
- 48 Antique Solid-silver Cup. Beautifully engraved; Monogram and Crest of President Madison (\$19.00)
- 49 Antique Solid-silver Gravy Ladle. With engraved Monogram of President Madison. (\$12.00)
- 50 Antique Solid-silver Strainer. (\$5.50)
- 51 6 Antique Solid-silver Dinner Forks. Very heavy. Belonged to President Madison.
- 52 6 Antique Solid-silver Dinner Forks. To match.
- 53 5 Antique Solid-silver Dinner Forks. To match

## SILVER-PLATED WARE

- 54 Pair Old English 3-light Candelabra. Beautifully Engraved, Style of the Empire.  
Very rare pattern. (\$24.00)
- 55 Pair Old English Silver-plated-on-copper Candlesticks. (\$9.00)

- 56 Pair Old English Silver-plated-on-copper Candlesticks.  
(\$6.00)
- 57 Antique Silver-plated-on-copper Extension Stand for  
Chafing Dish. (\$5.00)
- 58 3 Antique Silver-plated-on-copper Open-work Wine  
Coasters. (\$10.50)
- 59 2 Antique Silver-plated-on-copper Open-work Wine  
Coasters. Damaged. (\$1.00)
- . . .
- 60 Antique Silver-plated-on-copper English Cake or  
Bread Basket. (\$5.50)
- 61 Antique Silver-plated-on-copper English Cake or  
Bread Basket. (\$11.00)
- 62 Antique Silver-plated-on-copper English Cake or  
Bread Basket. (\$6.00)
- 63 Antique Silver-plated English Soup Ladle. (\$2.75)
- 64 Antique Silver-plated English Candle Snuffer and  
Tray. (\$6.50)
- . . .

## CHINAWARE

- 66 Dresden China Cream Pitcher, with Lid. Beautifully  
decorated with flowers in colors and gold, and  
with monogram "G. W." on front.

Presented to Dolly Madison by Martha Wash-  
ington. The initials are those of Geo. Washing-  
ton. A very rare piece of old Dresden China,  
and a fine cabinet specimen. (\$102.50)

- 67 Antique French China Teapot, with Lid. Pink back-  
ground with artistic gold decorations.

Presented to Dolly Madison by Martha Wash-  
ington. A very beautiful and quaint old colonial  
shape. (\$22.50)

- 68 Antique China Marmalade Dish, with Tray and Cover. Beautifully and highly decorated with red roses in full bloom, interwoven with delicate lace-work in blue and gold.

A choice specimen of piece de Luxe, of the original old Royal Sèvres, of the time of Louis XVI. Formerly owned by Marie Antoinette. A finer specimen from the royal factory at Sèvres could hardly be met with.

- 69 Antique Dresden Bon-Bon Box. Decorated with panel, both top and bottom of various colored flowers, dark blue background, with artistic gilt decorations.

Choice specimen. (\$16.00)

- 70 An Antique Wedgwood Pin Tray or Box, with Lid.

. . . the traditional blue figures with cameo background in white. (\$16.00)

- 71 Antique Pitcher, with Lid. Decorated with flowers in colors.

Choice old specimen of Lowestoft, unfortunately with a chip off the lid; very curious design presented by General Van Ness, to Dolly Madison. (\$34.00)

- 72 Antique Lowestoft Cake Plate. Decorated with flowers in colors.

Presented by General Van Ness to Dolly Madison. (\$2.50)

- 73 French China Cup and Saucer. Decorated with gold band.

Each piece decorated with letter M., from a design by Mrs. Madison. (\$14.00)

- 74 \_\_\_\_\_ Same as 73. (\$14.00)

- 75 Antique French China Sauce Boat, with Tray. Beautifully decorated with salmon-colored band, upon which are artistic designs of fern work in white enamel, delicate black tracery in gold borders. (\$8.00)

- 76 \_\_\_\_\_ Another, to match. (\$8.00)  
 77 Sauce Tureen, to match. (\$3.25)  
 78 Sauce Tureen, to match. (\$3.25)  
 79 Large Meat Dish, to match. (\$2.00)  
 80 4 Large Dinner Plates, to match. (\$8.00)  
 81 Cake Plate, to match. (\$3.00)  
 82 Antique French China Teapot. Decorated with gold  
     band.

Quaint, old colonial shape. (\$2.50)

- 83 \_\_\_\_\_ Another, to match. (\$2.50)  
 84 Consommé Tureen, to match. (\$1.50)  
 85 Cream Pitcher, to match. (\$6.50)  
 86 to 93 8 Quaint Shaped Teacups and Saucers, to match.  
     (\$34.00)  
 94 to 95 2 Quaint Custard Cups and Saucers, to match.  
     (\$10.00)  
 96 4 Dinner Plates, to match. (\$4.00)  
 97 2 Bread Plates, to match. (\$1.50)  
 98 2 Soup Plates, to match. (\$.60)  
 99 Tea Plate, to match. (\$.50)  
 . . .  
 103 Decorated French China Inkstand. Bronze-brass  
     mountings. (\$5.00)

#### GLASSWARE

- 104 Old English Cut-glass Salt Cellar, with Tray.  
     Diamond and fan pattern.  
     Handsome specimen. (\$5.75)

. . .

- 106 Old English Heavy Cut-glass Brandy Decanter.  
(\$2.25)
- 107 Old English Heavy Cut-glass Madeira Decanter.  
(\$2.25)
- 108 Old English heavy Cut-glass whiskey decanter.  
Damaged. (\$.50)
- 109 Old English Cut-glass Celery Holder. (\$.50)
- 110 Two Old English Cut Madeira glasses. (\$2.20)
- 111 Antique Cut-glass Brandy Bottle, gilt decorations.  
(\$1.50)
- 112 Antique Cut-glass Whiskey Bottle, gilt decorations.  
(\$1.50)
- 113 Antique Cut-glass Wine Bottle, gilt decorations.  
(\$1.50)
- 114 Antique Wine-glass, gilt decorations. (\$.70)
- 115 Antique Cut-glass Pitcher. Damaged.
- 116 Antique Cut-glass Salt Cellar. (\$.25)

. . .

- 121 Antique Bronze Call Bell. (\$6.50)

. . .

- 123 Antique Horn Drinking Cup. (\$.50)
- 124 Antique Horn Drinking Cup. Damaged. (\$.50)

. . .

- 126 Antique Tortoise Shell Box.

Beautifully decorated in gold lacoue, and  
presented to Mrs. Madison by a member of the  
Chinese Legation. (\$1.50)

- 127 Antique Papier-maché Snuff Box. (\$1.00)

. . .



- 140 Antique Brass Taper Holder. (\$1.25)  
 141 Antique Copper Hot-water Kettle, quaint shape.  
 142 Lady's Antique Mahogany Dressing Case.

. . .

- 147 Antique Mahogany Writing Case, used by President  
 Madison. (\$2.00)

. . .

- 150 Antique Lacquered Tea Caddy.  
 151 \_\_\_\_\_ Another, to match.

Presented to Mrs. Madison by the Chinese  
 Legation.

. . .

- 153 4 Brass Curtain Holders. (\$.40)

. . .

#### FURNITURE

- 185 Mahogany Antique Folding-top Card Table,  
 fluted legs. (\$8.50)  
 186 Walnut Candle Stand. Made by President Madison.  
 (\$5.50)  
 187 Cherry Side Table. (\$.50)  
 188 Antique Mahogany Clock Stand. (\$.50)  
 189 Mahogany Bookcase, with drawers and base,  
 fluted column corners.  
 190 Antique Mahogany Wardrobe.  
 191 Antique Mahogany Bureau-Secretary. Flat brass  
 handles.

Five Drawers. A piece of President Madi-  
 son's own cabinet-work.

- 192 Antique Mahogany Bureau-Secretary and Bookcase.

- 193 Antique Mahogany Haircloth Arm Rocker.
- 194 Antique Cherry Sleepy Hollow Chair.
- 195 Antique Bronze Lamp Stand. (\$1.00)
- 196 Pair Massive Antique Brass Fire Dogs. (\$26.00)
- 197 Antique Brass Tongs and Poker. (\$2.25)<sup>16</sup>

. . .

## Appendix XIV

Excerpts from the "List of Bridal Presents" Presented to  
Annie Payne Causten--Furnishings.

List Compiled, April 9, 1850.

From Mr. Causten           A Mahogany Dressing table and wash-  
stand with Marble tops.

From Mr. Carvallo       A silver card-case & a set of  
Bohemian Glass, consisting of a  
waiter, pitcher, Liquori bottle,  
a bowl, & two tumblers.

From Mrs. Wm. T. Carroll  
A papier maché Desk.

From Mr. Jacob Albert  
to Dr. Causten       A silver Pitcher.  
From J.H. Causten, Jr.

Silver handled Pen-knife.  
Silver handled Scissors.  
Silver Lancet Case-(for my needles.)  
Silver Pencil.

From Miss Harriette Jones  
A silver Fruit-knife.

From [illeg.] Corcoran  
A Silver Basket.<sup>17</sup>

...

## Notes to the Appendices

- <sup>1</sup> [probably 1837-1842], #2988, Box 22, MC, AL.
- <sup>2</sup> Martha Gandy Fales, "James Madison's dining-room prints, 1836," Antiques, XCVIII (August, 1970), p. 200. For the original, see DMP, I, LC.
- <sup>3</sup> Margaret Brown Klapthor, "A First Lady and a New Frontier, 1800," Historic Preservation, XV (1963), 90-93.
- <sup>4</sup> Kimball, "Original Furnishings," I, pp. 485-486. Kitchen and servants' furniture and bedding were not included in the List.
- <sup>5</sup> Latrobe, voucher 14, frames 0337-0338.
- <sup>6</sup> Estate of John Todd Papers, #5482, AL. (Hereafter, #5482, TP, AL).
- <sup>7</sup> TP, IHMP. Mary Todd's wearing apparel was divided on the same 2:1 principle. Of the 42. 5.9, Dolley Todd received goods worth \$28. 3.0. See Account of James Todd, March, 1794, Estate of John Todd, jun., TP, IHMP. For a complete inventory of the Todd, Sr., estate, See "Inventory of the goods and chattles of John Todd, deceased, November 21, 1793," #5482, TP, AL.
- <sup>8</sup> JM, s.4, Reel 27, LC.
- <sup>9</sup> Will Book XII, pp. 18-20, OCCH.
- <sup>10</sup> DMP, I, LC.
- <sup>11</sup> n.d., DMP, I, LC.
- <sup>12</sup> Madison-Cutts indenture, #2988, Box 22, MC, AL.
- <sup>13</sup> DMP, II, LC.
- <sup>14</sup> The list is undated, and not bound with the 1842 inventory. It repeats much of the Montpelier inventory; therefore, it has been included with the Washington list. DMP, I, LC.
- <sup>15</sup> JPT Estate, WARC.

<sup>16</sup>Catalogue, Important Sale. . . Estate of Dolley  
P. Madison, compiled by Stan V. Henkels (Philadelphia:  
Stan V. Henkels), 1899.

<sup>17</sup>KC, GHM.