An American Arrangement:
Understanding Jefferson's Public Displays of Art at Monticello, 1816-1826

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INTRODUCTION

The arrangement of art and art objects at Monticello typified the refinement of taste and public presentation of the arts in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century America. Thomas Jefferson and his family lived at Monticello, but the mountain-top estate was by no means exclusively a private residence. Its rooms attracted a constant and broad range of visitors throughout and following Jefferson's lifetime as visitors recalled, "Mr. Jefferson's retreat enjoys a high reputation for hospitality throughout Virginia…it was always open, not only to a great number of visitants from its environs, but also to all foreign travelers, who are attracted by curiosity or by the very natural desire for seeing the sage of Monticello." [1] Jefferson's design, construction, and use of his home demonstrate his awareness of Monticello's public function.

For the majority of Jefferson's life, the existing American fine arts collections and curiosities were restricted to the eyes, the homes, and the institutions of the elite. Consequently, American fine arts education and practices were largely limited, if not non-existent until the beginning of the nineteenth century. However, during the eighteenth century the accessibility and perception of the arts changed abroad, thereby catalyzing a slow but significant shift in the perception of the arts in America. Jefferson witnessed this change first-hand during his tenure as Minister to France from 1784 to 1789. As art audiences expanded abroad, the displays and the artistic practices developed to meet the new demands, in terms of both size and breadth. Jefferson returned to America in 1789 with a wealth of new experiences and acquisitions -

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[1] Auguste Levasseur, *Lafayette in America in 1824 and 1825; or Journal of Travels, in the United States* (New York: White, Gallaher & White, 1829), 214.; Thomas Jefferson quoted in Margaret Bayard Smith, *First Forty years of Washington Society,* ed. Gaillard Hunt (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906), 79.

transferring artwork and furniture as well as new methods of display and theory across the Atlantic to his home in Virginia. Focusing on two principal public spaces at Monticello - the Entrance Hall (Fig. 1) and the Parlor (Fig. 2) - this study examines how Jefferson's displays developed and departed from contemporary public displays both across the Atlantic and elsewhere in America. Based upon where Jefferson worked, travelled, and lived, both at home and abroad, it is possible to interpret what he was trying to achieve through the visual presentations at Monticello, as well as the potential impact these spaces had on early American visitors and the public arts scene in America more broadly.

Henry Adams maintained that Jefferson could not be depicted with "a few broad strokes of the brush…only touch by touch with a fine pencil, and the perfection of the likeness depended upon the shifting and uncertain flicker of its semi-transparent shadows."[2] In turn I agree. The portrait of Jefferson the American architect has been comprehensively crafted, as has the portrait of Jefferson the Founding Father, yet the portrait of Jefferson and the American arts is left wanting – especially within the context of his public displays at Monticello.

To better understand Jefferson's arrangements and display of fine arts at Monticello, it is instructive to consider the existing scholarship related to the history of fine arts, its collection, and its display in early national America. A range of scholars have tackled this topic, employing varying methodological approaches, relying on different sources of evidence, and establishing their projects within diverse set of theoretical frameworks. At present, architectural history, both in terms of the evidence used and the methods of analysis and interpretation employed by scholars, appears to be absent from these conversations about early American art. This is not to say that the existing scholarship fails to discuss important architectural examples or to attempt

[2] Henry Adams, *History of the United States during the First Administration of America, during the First Administration of Thomas Jefferson* (New York: Scribners, 1889), 1:277.

associated methodological approaches; however, approaches such as spatial analysis and the use of architectural models seem to be excluded from the subfield. This thesis intends to demonstrate how spatial analysis, the use of technology, and the creation of architectural drawings can be incorporated into the existing dialogue concerning early American art, its collections, and its display.

René Brimo's *The Evolution of Taste in American Collecting* (1938) represents an early contribution to this subfield. The book is a translation of Brimo's study of eighteenth and nineteenth-century patronage and art collecting in the United States entitled, "L'évolution du gout aux Étas-Unis d'aprés l'histoire des collections." The introduction by Kenneth Haltman, also the translator, offers a substantiating account of the history of private and public collecting in the United States, and Brimo focuses on the formation of "taste" in the collectors and collections in the United States from the colonial period to the twentieth century. Brimo's inquiry begins with individual collectors and their inventories, and draws connections between collecting and extra-artistic forces to show the role of collections as expressions of early American culture. Brimo underscores the critical relationships between the "sister civilizations," France and the United States, and how the "passion for possession" seen in early American collections appeared first in Europe. He also emphasizes how each piece in any collection "Bespeaks the personality of its collector," and recognizes collectors' desires to possess and display as a means of establishing connections with the outside world.[3] The final two points relate directly to the investigation of Jefferson's arrangements at Monticello, his time in France, and what his arrangements reveal about his character.

[3] René Brimo, *The Evolution of Taste in American Collecting*, trans. Kenneth Haltman (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2016), 90.

Russell Lynes, writing about a decade after Brimo's publication, similarly takes on the issue of "taste" in his book, *The Tastemakers: The Shaping of American Popular Taste* (1954). Lynes covers the history of American fine arts and its consumption in both private and public spheres from the 1830s to the early twentieth century. Like Brimo, Lynes looks at a selection of individuals, men and women, whom he believes represent the early American tastes. Richard Bushman's book on American taste, or in his words "refinement," entitled *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (1992) is also complementary in terms of topic, but his methodology marks a definitive break from existing scholarship. Instead of relying primarily on written word, Bushman mobilizes artifacts and images of houses, taverns, and churches in order to track what he understands as the refinement of America - beginning at the end of the seventeenth century. Bushman dissects the role of the parlor in the typical American house, as a nexus of pride, a middle-class imitation of a drawing room, and a space designed for genteel performance. He argues that in reality these spaces were out of place in republican America.[4] Bushman also notes that due to the general lack of public entertainment, public activities revolved around the domestic sphere.[5] While Monticello is anything but "typical," the parlor certainly functioned as a space of familial pride, genteel performance, and public entertainment. For this reason, Bushman is an essential reference for this project.

Limitations in Bushman's and Lynes' scholarship include a lack of engagement with the built environment and narrow social coverage. Although Bushman does include architectural evidence, his treatment is too timid and his applications tend to bolster his arguments rather than providing vehicles for original analysis. Lynes' treatment of architectural evidence shares similar

[4] Richard L Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Knopf, 1992), xviii.
[5] Ibid, 46; Ibid, 216.

shortcomings. In terms of social demographics both Lynes and Bushman primarily focus on elite white households even though their books mention different classes, genders, and race. In response to their omission, this project will attempt to include a broader demographic in its interpretation of the display spaces at Monticello, despite the limitations imposed by the provenance of the majority of surviving evidence. This issue is evident when measured in relation to the voices and views represented in previous scholarship concerned with Jefferson's displays at Monticello, such as Susan Stein's exhibition catalogue, *The Worlds of Thomas Jefferson at Monticello* (1993).

In, *The Artist in American Society: The Formative Years, 1790-1860* (1966), Neil Harris offers a history of American artists in an effort to explore "the legitimization of artistic energies in America." Like Brimo and Lynes, Harris's project focuses on the relationship between American art and American culture. His artist-focused approach enables a discussion of the changing role of the American artist and the limitations that patrons inflicted on the artists, such as forcing them to serve "conservative social goals." Harris also discusses how the arts changed after the Revolution and acquired a new purpose.[6]

Lillian B. Miller also looks at patrons, artists, and institutions connected to the formal arts and their influence on the social and cultural developments in early America in her book, *Patrons and Patriotism: The Encouragement of the Fine Arts in the United States, 1790-1860* (1966). To tackle the question of patronage, Miller investigates the role of the federal government, art academies, and wealthy collectors and art unions. Miller also discusses how the nationalist effort coincided with the rise of fine arts and arts patronage, both public and private, and that these efforts were catalyzed by an "apologia" rooted in eighteenth-century

[6] Neil Harris, *The Artist in American Society: The Formative Years, 1790-1860*, (New York: G. Braziller, 1966), x.; Ibid, 17.

Enlightenment and British theory.[7] Harris also speaks to the inadequate arts education and institutions in American during this period, particularly in comparison to cultures across the Atlantic. The issues raised by both authors situate the importance of Jefferson's display spaces within a larger national context. Similarly, Harris and Miller's attention to patronage is critical to appreciating Jefferson's strong professional and social relationships with many prominent American and foreign artists.

In *Citizen Spectator: Art, Illusion, and Visual Perception in Early National America* (2011), Wendy Bellion explores the visual culture of early America by focusing on the creation, display, and perception of trompe l'oeil pictures in Philadelphia. Bellion's work raises key questions and insights into the political importance of art, its collection, and its display in early America. The geographical focus on Philadelphia is relevant to the formation of Jefferson's arts attitudes based on his many personal and political ties to the city throughout his life.

Bellion relies on paintings for her material culture analysis and her exploration of early American arenas of display and the early American audience. She also considers issues of accessibility related to fine arts displayed outside of the domestic spheres of the elite. Bellion's aim to "reconstruct the physical environments of early national exhibitions," in order to understand how paintings were seen and experienced by eighteenth-century "spectators," is noble and partially fulfilled in her book.[8] However, her analysis is largely restricted to a set of paintings, leaving room for future scholarship to take on the use of spatial analysis in their discussions of early American art, its impact and its display.

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[7] Lillian B Miller, *Patrons and Patriotism: The Encouragement of the Fine Arts in the United States, 1790-1860* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), 20.
[8] Wendy Bellion, *Citizen Spectator: Art, Illusion, and Visual Perception in Early National America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 5.

Margaretta Lovell's material methodological approach to the topic of late-colonial artistic production and consumption in *Art in a Season of Revolution: Painters, Artisans, and Patrons in Early America* (2005) is also informative. Using paintings and decorative arts as historical evidence, Lovell's method "is to look at objects and images to understand culture, not to look at cultural background to better understand singular objects."[9] Lovell recognizes objects as active agents in shaping culture. Such an approach offers a new framework for earlier investigations conducted by historians like Harris, and is partially a response to the lack of contemporary American art theory and art criticism available in comparison to eighteenth-century British and continental art histories, to glean the "reception" of artwork and its ability to capture social and political attitudes of the time.[10] Lovell's framework is applicable to this project, as the second and third chapters will prove by looking at the arrangement of objects and their contemporary perception at Monticello to better understand Jefferson's curatorial decisions.

Thomas Crow's *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-Century Paris* (1985) and David Solkin's *Painting for Money: The Visual Arts and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century England* (1993) are critical to understanding the evolving fine arts environments Jefferson encountered while he was abroad. Additionally, Arthur MacGregor's survey of the evolution of the modern Museum in *Curiosity and Enlightenment: Collectors and Collections from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century* (2007), provides a bevy of essential reference points for display comparisons.

Previous scholarship related to Jefferson and the arts include Eleanor D. Berman's book, *Thomas Jefferson Among the Arts: An Essay in Early American Esthetics* (1947), which engages

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[9] Margaretta M. Lovell, *Art in a Season of Revolution: Painters, Artisans, and Patrons in Early America* (Early American Studies. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 2.
[10] Ibid, 3.

with Jefferson's personal correspondence and other writings to unveil Jefferson's aesthetic values related to painting, sculpture, architecture, gardening, and music. Although Berman's book does not directly relate to Jefferson's arrangement of art, her interpretations offer potential links between Jefferson and the intention behind his art displays. In my opinion, Berman's discussion of painting and literary criticism is strong even though her evidence and analysis appear to be limited to three principle eighteenth-century voices: Lord Kames' *Elements of Criticism*, Burke's *Treatise of the Sublime and Beautiful*, and Hogarth's *Analysis of Beauty*. If anything, this corroborates the overarching transatlantic influences expressed across existing scholarship.

The Eye of Th: Jefferson: Exhibition (1976), a catalogue edited by William Howard Adams for an exhibition at the National Gallery presents a series of approaches to understanding Jefferson's complex relationship and involvement with the fine arts in America and abroad. In particular, Harold E. Dickson's contribution, "Th:J. Art Collector," emphasizes Jefferson's interest in the moral aspects of fine arts, not just on the aesthetics.

Susan Stein's catalogue, *The Worlds of Thomas Jefferson at Monticello* (1993) builds on Adam's catalogue and my study would be unimaginable without her catalogue and the research and scholarship she completed for the exhibition at Monticello to celebrate Jefferson's 250th birthday. Stein's catalogue records the provenance and placement of about 150 of Jefferson's original pieces, and essential to Stein's investigation and to my interpretation are many of the primary records uncovered by Stein and included in the catalogue's appendix and in the room files at the Thomas Jefferson Library at Monticello. Where Stein's contribution falls short, or rather leaves room for future scholarship, is the interpretation of Jefferson's collection in situ.

Furthermore, as mentioned, where interpretation is included it favors the elite white male perspective.

Other historians such as Roger B. Stein in his essay, "Mr. Jefferson As Museum Maker," tackle the, "complex dramas in time and space," presented in the Entrance Hall at Monticello. Stein recognizes how Jefferson's museum spaces occupied a "liminal position both architecturally, structurally, and personally between the public and private worlds," and that the Hall helped to shape both the National and personal identities of contemporary visitors.[11] Joyce Henri Robinson's essay, "An American Cabinet of Curiosities: Thomas Jefferson's Indian Hall at Monticello," offers an alternative reading of the Entrance Hall.[12] Seymour Howard presents an important investigation of Jefferson's original plans for an art gallery at Monticello, as documented in list drafted c. 1771. Leanne Zaleweski also examines Jefferson's art collections both planned and realized at Monticello.[13]

Lastly, the cultural history projects by Merrill D. Peterson, *The Jefferson Image in the American Mind* (1962) and Gilbert Chinard's scholarship similarly help to situate Jefferson's involvement with the fine arts within larger context of Jefferson's public perception and life's work.

Substantial evidence related to Jefferson's arts collections survives due to his meticulous record keeping, diary entries, inventories and personal correspondence. Jefferson's insistence on

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[11] Roger B. Stein, "Mr. Jefferson as Museum Maker," in *Shaping the Body Politic: Art and Political Formation in Early America*, ed. Louis P. Nelson and Maureen McInnis (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011), 211-220.
[12] Joyce Henri Robinson, "An American Cabinet of Curiosities: Thomas Jefferson's Indian Hall at Monticello," *Winterthur Portfolio* 30 (1995): 41–58.
[13] Seymour Howard, "Thomas Jefferson's Art Gallery for Monticello," *Art Bulletin* 59, no. 4 (1977): 583–600; Leanne Zalewski, "Fine Art for the New World," *Journal of the History of Collections* 27, no. 1 (2015): 49–55.

generating copies of his letters, notes, and inventories also speaks to his recognition of his public presence, and his place in the history of the new nation. The many iterations of his designs for Monticello, the first and second versions, as recorded in his drawings and in the surviving architecture similarly enhance our understanding of Jefferson's intentions for these rooms as spaces of display. Financial documents record where, when, and for what cost Jefferson acquired much of his collection, both in Europe and in the United States. While auction details and family records dated after Jefferson's death help to piece together the value attributed to certain pieces once on display at Monticello, as well as their specific locations within the Hall and the Parlor.

Using these sources of evidence as well as contemporary visitor accounts and arenas of display in America and abroad, this thesis will also rely on a set of 3D laser scan data collected at Monticello. This data is represented in a series of elevations, illustrating the displays in the Parlor and the Hall as they existed in the years 1816 to 1826. The first chapter will introduce the spaces, necessary contextual information, and some of the characters who engaged with these public spaces at Monticello. Chapter two will introduce the technology employed to create the room elevations, the archival evidence used, and explain the reasoning behind the arrangements represented. The final chapter will engage with the reinterpreted spaces, as defined in the second chapter, in an effort to reveal the many messages embedded in Jefferson's displays, the overarching themes, and the impact that the rooms had on the arts culture in early national America.

Jefferson's public displays of art at Monticello demonstrate his involvement in the early national arts scene, and his understanding and appreciation of the advances in the arts culture across the Atlantic. Second to Charles Willson Peale's Philadelphia Museum, Monticello was one of the first museums in America. The Hall and Parlor rooms and their arrangements offered

nationalistic overtones, expressions of familial pride, Jefferson's interest in the natural world, science, philosophy, as well as a self-portrait. However, ultimately, his presentations reflected the apparent limitations in American arts. These included the lack of institutions, for both exhibition and education, the lack of native literature and popular response, and most importantly the absence of a domestic arts market. The economic constraints impacted the artist practices, patronage, and ultimately how, and in what ways the arts were presented at Monticello and across America in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

CHAPTER ONE
Jefferson's Art Arrangements in Context

Jefferson was a patron to the arts, from architecture and fine arts to gardening and music. It is therefore no surprise that art influenced Jefferson's earliest plans drafted for Monticello in 1771 and continued to do so across Monticello's many iterations. Tracking this evolution of public display at Monticello offers a lens for better understanding the format and function of early public art displays in America.

The American Context

Until the nineteenth century America lacked any established studios, exhibitions, arts education or native theory.[14] This was true for domestic art and European copies. William Dunlap in *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States*, first printed in 1834, relates the slow and struggling start of art institutions in America. Beginning in 1791, Charles Willson Peale tried and failed to establish The School for the Fine Arts in Philadelphia. He tried again four years later with The Columbianum, but according to Dunlap, Peale's endeavor proved "too few, and too poor probably, to establish an Academy."[15] Almost a decade after Peale, a group of gentleman in New York conceived the American Academy of the Arts with "a view to raising the character of their countrymen, by increasing their knowledge and taste."[16] Albeit a noble pursuit, this institution lacked any structure, as did the academies and

[14] Eleanor Pearson DeLorme, "Gilbert Stuart: Portrait of an Artist," Winterthur Portfolio 14, no. 4 (1979), 344.
[15] William Dunlap, Charles E Goodspeed, and Frank William Bayley, *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States*, 106.
[16] Wendy A Cooper et al., *Classical Taste in America 1800-1840*, 1st ed (Baltimore, Md: Baltimore, Md. The Baltimore Museum of Art; New York : Abbeville Press, c1993, 1993), 79.

athenaeums in Philadelphia and Boston which arrived soon thereafter.[17] Even by the beginning of the nineteenth century, the celebrated American artist John Trumbull expressed that, "the embarrassments of commerce affected the class of citizens by whom in this country, the fine arts are chiefly supported, and he determined to seek abroad that employment which he could not obtain at home."[18]

The earliest American art exhibitions showcased European paintings and antique casts, rather than displaying any contemporary American work. Consequently, American artists returning from Europe, "saw, with regret, the deficiencies of the Academy; the total inaptitude of the system upon which it was conducted; the want of energy in its management…the institution would ever prove a source of good to them, or the community." According to Dunlap, "it was to them, as if no academy existed."[19] In contrast, the contemporary Salon exhibitions in Europe and England displayed new works from their native artists. By the time the American institutions were attempting their inaugural exhibitions, the Hall at Jefferson's Monticello was completed, thus enabling the exhibition of his collection and arguably one of the first public arenas of display in the new Republic.[20]

Across the Atlantic

Jefferson lived in Paris from August 1784 through September 1789. Jefferson's engagements and offices abroad acquainted him with the changing eighteenth-century arts culture occurring in the salons, galleries, museums and domestic spaces in Paris. Jefferson was

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[17] Ibid, 81.
[18] William Dunlap, *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States*, 51.
[19] Ibid, 53.
[20] Ellen Wayles Randolph to TJ, 14 April 1808, (Query Reports, Entrance Hall Information File, Jefferson Library).

"violently smitten" with the art and architecture advancing around him while in Paris.[21] This he exclaimed to his friend, Madame de Tessé in response to the construction of the Hôtel de Salm, which Jefferson avidly tracked from his residence, the Hôtel de Langaec which stood at the intersection of the Champs Elysées and the Rue de Berri.[22] Jefferson's temporary home and new relationships in France greatly influenced how he participated in the exploding arts scene in Paris, and structured his lifelong participation with the arts following his return to America.

The Hôtel de Langaec offered an ideal excuse for Jefferson to acquire new furnishings, objects, and outfits available in the Parisian markets. These acquisitions and the architecture of the Hôtel de Langaec informed the interior décor at Monticello. When Jefferson returned from France he added many modern conveniences that were not common in most eighteenth-century Virginia houses such as lighting, privacy, and indoor privies.[23] These additions transformed the spaces of display at Monticello and impressed visitors with knowledge of American and European architectural traditions. Even prior to these additions the Marquis de Chastellux, an acquaintance of Jefferson's introduced to him by Lafayette, praised Jefferson as "the first American who has consulted the Fine Arts to know how he should shelter himself from the weather."[24] Chastellux, Lafayette, and Madame de Tessé represent some of the many important relationships Jefferson fostered in France. Such acquaintances allowed Jefferson to mingle with leading figures, patrons, and artists as well as to visit spaces of display in Europe.[25]

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[21] John McLaughlin, *Jefferson and Monticello: The Biography of a Builder* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1988), 290; Letter to Madame de Tessé, 20 Mar. 1787, *Papers of Thomas Jefferson,* 11:226.
[22] Howard C. Rice, *Thomas Jefferson's Paris* (Princeton University Press, 1976), 61.
[23] John McLaughlin, *Jefferson and Monticello: The Biography of a Builder*, 225.
[24] Marquis de Chastellux, *Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781, and 1782,* tr. And ed. Howard C. Rice, (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1963), 2:389-96.; H. C. Rice, *Thomas Jefferson's Paris,* 61.
[25] Marie Goebel Kimball, *The Furnishings of Monticello* (The Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, 1946), 7.

Jefferson also toured regions of England and Europe including the South of France and Northern Italy. In March and April, 1786, he visited London and toured the British Museum, Burlington House (later the Royal Academy), Leicester House, Tower of London as well as English gardens and estates. During this trip Jefferson collected guidebooks, maps, and books which undoubtedly informed his own designs in America. The extent of this influence is debated by historians. For instance, Gilbert Chinard posits that Jefferson's exposure to European culture actually strengthened his sense of American nationalism, arguing "there is little doubt that Jefferson's democratic theories were confirmed and clarified by his prolonged stay in Europe. But this was not due to the lessons he received from the French philosophers."[26] Others believe Jefferson returned from Europe with new and radical democratic agendas.[27] While the degree of influence on Jefferson's character and beliefs may be up for debate, Jefferson's time in Paris certainly informed his design and public displays of art at Monticello.

Domestic Influences

These discussions do not discount how domestic forces such as Jefferson's politics, personal taste, finances and or familial matters might have influenced his spaces of display. Jefferson's education in Virginia, his contact with American collections prior to and following his departure for France, and relationships with Americans throughout his lifetime likely shaped both his art collection and its arrangement at Monticello. Jefferson's earliest exposure to "good" architecture and the arts occurred not in France but in Williamsburg, Virginia as a student at William & Mary. His tutor William Small introduced Jefferson to prominent Virginian gentry -

[26] Gilbert Chinard in Merrill D Peterson, *The Jefferson Image in the American Mind,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), 415.
[27] Merrill D Peterson, *The Jefferson Image in the American Mind*, 415.

notably George Wythe under whose direction Jefferson studied law. Jefferson reminisces how with he dined with Virginia Governor Fauquier, "at his table, Dr. Small and Mr. Wythe, his *amici omnium horarum,* an myself formed a *partie quarrée,* and to the habitual conversations on these occasions I owed much instruction." [28] As this memory depicts, Jefferson frequented George Wythe's house, which was built in the Georgian style and showcases principals of symmetry, simplicity, and proportions which were trademarks of the European Georgian tradition and became cornerstones of Jefferson's architectural style. The interior of the Wythe house too gives an impression of what Jefferson might have encountered in early America. In fact, some of the surviving furniture at Monticello including a pair of Virginian chairs either came from the Wythe estate or were certainly inspired by pieces he encountered there.[29]

Clearly the spaces and the company in Williamsburg, like those in France, shaped Jefferson's tastes. In a letter to his former tutor Carlo Bellini, Jefferson described his impressions of Paris dated 1785, "Were I to proceed to tell you how much I enjoy their architecture, sculpture, painting, music, I should want words. It is in these arts they shine."[30] His letter hints that Bellini perhaps introduced or inspired Jefferson's interests in the arts, and that such interests were only strengthened by his experiences in Paris.

Jefferson's relationship with Charles Willson Peale and his nearly twenty-year engagement with the Philosophical Society in Philadelphia also crafted his aesthetic sensibilities. Prior to Jefferson's departure for France, Peale commenced the transformation of his Philadelphia home into an exhibition space. Yet, by the time Peale officially opened the first

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[28] Sarah N Randolph, *The Domestic Life of Thomas Jefferson* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1871), 27-28.
[29] John McLaughlin, *Jefferson and Monticello: The Biography of a Builder*, 41.
[30] Jefferson to Carlo Bellini, September 30, 1785 in John E Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1992), 78.

public museum in America, Jefferson was already immersed in the Parisian culture. Jefferson and Peale's friendship endured throughout their lives, enriching both Jefferson's displays at Monticello and Peale's public displays, as will be covered in this chapter.

Jefferson encountered contemporary architecture and the more developed artistic hubs in Philadelphia and along the eastern seaboard while making his way to Boston for his departure to France. A prior trip to Philadelphia for the second Continental Congress in 1776 likely served as an introduction and connected Jefferson with local craftsmen akin to those whom he later hired to work at Monticello. Jefferson's workmen, James Dinsmore and John Neilson, were described by Jefferson in his farm book as, "house joiners of the first order. They have done the whole of that work at my house, to which I can affirm there is nothing superior in the U.S."[31] These men were instrumental to the design and construction of the presentation spaces and highlight the fact that although Monticello and its interior spaces may have been the vision of one man, the realized house was the result of many hands and minds.

With regards to American fine arts collections in America, Jefferson came into contact with European paintings in Williamsburg, and during early visits to Annapolis, Philadelphia, and New York.[32] Still, his exposure was predominately filtered by and limited to the libraries, furnishings, architecture and education of an elite class of Virginian gentry. Gilbert Chinard aptly notes that although Jefferson may have been more mature and well-read than his peers in Williamsburg, "Jefferson, at the age of twenty-five, was not yet an American; he was distinctly a

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[31] Edwin M. Betts, ed. *Thomas Jefferson's Farm Book, with commentary and Relevant Extracts from Other Writings* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press for the American Philosophical Society, 1953) in McLaughlin, *Jefferson and Monticello: The Biography of a Builder*, 87.

[32] Graham Hood, *The Governor's Palace at Williamsburg: A cultural Study.* (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1991), 20-325; George G. Shakelford, *Thomas Jefferson's Travels in Europe, 1784-1789* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 2.

Virginian."[33] That is to say his personal experiences and exposure to culture were confined to one state.

A list of "*desiderata,* Statues, Paintings &c," assembled by Jefferson c. 1771 reflects this early filtered exposure, yet still cultivated taste (Appendix 1). Comprised of copies of Old Masters and statues from the Renaissance and antiquity, Jefferson's list of *desiderata* expresses the tastes of early American and British elite.[34] Plans from Monticello I indicate that Jefferson included explicit spaces for presentation in his earliest house designs (Fig. 3). The scale and orientation of two niches, carved on either side of the Parlor's east entrance, suggest Jefferson's intention to use the room as a space of display, perhaps by placing statues from his list of *desiderata* in the wall niches. Jefferson's prospective collection and art gallery were never realized, and the Parlor's niches were filled-in, plastered over, and covered with a pair of Pier mirrors. These physical changes, uncovered during restoration work (Fig. 4), reflect the changes to Jefferson's collecting and display ethos throughout his lifetime.

If Jefferson had realized his early gallery plans and list of *desiderata*, Monticello would have had the first known art gallery in the new nation. As Seymour Howard indicates in his essay, "Thomas Jefferson's Art Gallery for Monticello," Jefferson's early list demonstrates his, "acquaintance with the best esthetic judgements of European *virtuosi* of the age, specifically with the preferences of influential English gentlemen of taste."[35] Thus Jefferson's taste and ambition with regard to the arts far exceeded his British-American peers.

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[33] Gilbert Chinard, *Thomas Jefferson: The Apostle of Americanism* (Wellington: The Floating Press, 2011), 49.
[34] George G. Shakelford, *Thomas Jefferson's Travels in Europe, 1784-1789,* 3.
[35] Seymour Howard, "Thomas Jefferson's Art Gallery for Monticello," *The Art Bulletin* LIX (1977): 583.

The Entrance Hall at Monticello

The Entrance Hall was the first and most frequented room by visitors to Monticello during Jefferson's day. The Hall's double-story walls provided Jefferson with valuable and visible canvases for communication. With the exception of twenty-six windsor chairs, the Hall was sparsely furnished, offering visitors an optimal viewing of Jefferson's collection. The scale, furnishings, and relation of the Hall to the rest of the house certainly welcomed a public audience to Jefferson's private home. A plan of the ground floor reveals the volume of public space in comparison to the smaller rooms in the wings reserved for private use.

Surviving drawings and the existing structure at Monticello reveal how design books, eye-witness experiences, and Jefferson's personal relationships guided his designs for these spaces of display. Fiske Kimball notoriously stresses the important role that books played on Jefferson's architectural designs and their development.[36] James Gibb's treatise, along with Leoni's edition of Andrea Palladio's *Quattro Libri* and Robert Morris's *Select Architecture* (1755) were the earliest architectural books Jefferson acquired as a student at William & Mary.[37] Their influence on Jefferson's initial designs is not surprising. For instance, the octagonal geometries of Monticello's prominent public rooms are reminiscent of a garden pavilion design in Gibb's *Book of Architecture* (1728), that Jefferson copied (Fig 5).[38]

During the construction and planning period for Monticello II, the Duke de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt recognized Jefferson's advancing architectural style following his return from France noting that while "Monticello, according to its first plan was infinitely

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[36] William Howard Adams and National Gallery of Art (US), *The Eye of Th: Jefferson: Exhibition* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1976), 23.
[37] Susan R. Stein, *The Worlds of Thomas Jefferson at Monticello.* (New York: H.N. Abrams, in association with the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, Inc.:1993), 13.
[38] William Howard Adams, *The Eye of Th: Jefferson: Exhibition*, 23.

superior to all other houses in America, in point of taste and convenience," Monticello II would "certainly deserve to be ranked with the most pleasant Mansions of France and England."[39] A comparison between the plans for Monticello I and Monticello II highlights the immense expansion between his two designs (Fig. 6). The final Monticello II plan was double the depth of Jefferson's original plans and axially aligned a new Entrance Hall with the existing Parlor – uniting these two principal arenas for display. The double-glass door partition between the Parlor and the Entrance Hall furthermore intensified the public and social function of the central spaces, especially in contrast to the north and south wings which hosted smaller rooms with increasingly private functions. The clear sightlines from the east entrance of the Hall through the Parlor to the west lawn, also established a strong interior-exterior connection and heightened the public impression of these spaces. The Hall's painted green floors, per suggestion of the American artist Gilbert Stuart, only exaggerated this condition.[40] Jefferson's architectural choices immediately communicated the importance of these two central spaces to visitors.

Margaret Bayard Smith's contemporary account corroborates this interpretation: "You enter the hall through wide unfolding doors, which we never saw closed, and whose ever-open portals seemed indicative of the disposition of the master. Here a variety and multiplicity of objects offered themselves to our view, and so imposingly arranged as to excite surprise and admiration…"[41] Smith's account not only emphasizes the Hall's public condition, with doors "which we never saw closed," but she also conveys an overwhelming presence of Jefferson as

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[39] Duke de la Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *Travels through the United States of North America, in the years 1795,1796, 1797* (London, 1799) in John McLaughlin, *Jefferson and Monticello: The Biography of a Builder*, 259.
[40] "Entrance Hall Chronology: Design and Construction," (Query Reports, Entrance Hall Information File, Jefferson Library).
[41] Margaret Bayard Smith, August, 1809 in Margaret Bayard Smith, *First Forty years of Washington Society*, ed. Gaillard Hunt (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906), 71.

the "master" of the rooms and their contents. The latter observation endorses a common comparison between Jefferson's Hall arrangements to the arrangements of sixteenth and seventeenth-century European *Kunst – und Wunderkammer.*[42] These so called "cabinets of curiosities" showcased the same *artificilia* and *naturalia* and excited wonder, inspired scientific study, and ultimately promoted the values and wealth of their collectors.

Like the *Kunst-un Wunderkammer,* Jefferson's Hall can be read as a means of personal and political promotion. Prints and maps showcase his greatest political achievements with natural remains from the nation's native species and cultures. However, a closer examination of these pieces and their spatial relationships excites a patriotic sentiment, a distinctly American nationalist image. Without detracting from later analysis, it is clear that Jefferson's spaces cannot be simplified as singular translations of existing curatorial conventions.

The Hall hosted a series of juxtaposing objects with regard to medium, provenance, and style. These stark contrasts were immediately apparent to George Ticknor, a frequent visitor who observed, "on the fourth side, in off union with a fine painting of the Repentance of Saint Peter, is an Indian map on leather, of the southern waters of the Missouri, and an Indian representation of a bloody battle, handed down in their traditions."[43] The cultural variance detected by Ticknor between the "fine" Old Master's copies in "off union" with the ethnographic Native American objects, exposes how Jefferson's curatorial choices dramatized the contents of his collection. Any visitor could readily notice the incongruity between a framed canvas and a massive animal bone, yet how the arrangements were interpreted varied based on the education and experiences of the audience members. For instance, visitors sharing personal relationships with Jefferson

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[42] Joyce H. Robinson, "An American Cabinet of Curiosities: Thomas Jefferson's 'Indian Hall at Monticello,'" *Winterthur Portfolio* 30, no. 1 (1995): 44.
[43] George Ticknor, 4, February,1815, in *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 238.

might view the spaces with a different eye than Jefferson's political acquaintances, or even visitors from different countries.

Factors including where visitors where from, their age, gender, race and education all influenced how they encountered the displays at Monticello. Historian Thomas Crow notes how similar boundaries of knowledge characterized the broadening audiences in eighteenth-century Parisian salons. Crow argues that despite the expanding public reception and interaction with high culture, many paintings exhibited in the salons continued to speak through a repertoire of signs which were likely lost on the typical and new salon-goer.[44] Such a lens is important to consider if Monticello's spaces of display are to be interpreted like the salons and galleries Jefferson frequented while he was abroad.

Generally speaking, it seems safe to assume that most visitors at Monticello were familiar with Jefferson's interests and values, and they were therefore able to gather the social messages embedded in his presentations. This assumption of an "implied" audience was common across the eighteenth-century fine arts fields, both private and public. For example, even the British Museum, where Jefferson visited in April of 1786, despite being the first national public museum in the world, continued to restrict their admission to "studious and curious persons," not to mention the restriction imposed by the admissions fee.[45]

The Parlor at Monticello

The Parlor at Monticello presents a less chaotic but equally captivating and curious display of art and art objects. In comparison to the Hall, the Parlor's function was more

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[44] Thomas E. Crow, *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-century Paris,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).
[45] Arthur MacGregor, *Curiosity and Enlightenment: Collectors and Collections from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven [Conn.]: Yale University Press, 2007), 128.

exclusive. The space was reserved for family affairs and more intimate, yet still public functions such as family marriages, christenings, games, and musicals. The Parlor's axial alignment and unrestricted views to the Entrance Hall signaled to all visitors, whether invited into the room or not, that the room was by no means relegated to a private or purely familial gaze. Visitors reveled in the "noble salon…hung thick with the finest reproductions of the pencil-historical paintings of the most striking subjects from all countries and all ages; the portraits of distinguished men and patriots, both of Europe and America and medallions and engravings in endless profusion."[46] This memory of the "noble salon" communicates an elevated perception of the Parlor's contents and arrangement, especially in contrast the "curious" assemblages of the Entrance Hall. The mediums suggested in this account also contrast with the sensory overload experienced in the Hall. Notwithstanding, the Parlor still offered, "striking subjects from all countries and all ages."

Jefferson's approach to the arts was highly influenced not only by his travels and relationships but also by his contact with Enlightenment scholarship and theory.[47] At the time, arts theory was largely restricted to European and English circles. A list of recommended "Criticism on the Fine Arts" sent by Jefferson to Robert Skipwith in 1771, reveals some of the literature Jefferson was familiar with and deemed worthy.[48] The list included William Hogarth's *The Analysis of Beauty* (1753), Edmunds Burke's *A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas and the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757), and Lord Kames' three-volume *Elements of*

[46] Eleanor Davidson Berman, *Thomas Jefferson Among the Arts: an Essay In Early American Esthetics* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1947), 79.
[47] Ibid, 79.
[48] William Howard Adams, *The Paris Years of Thomas Jefferson*, 83.

Criticism (1762).[49] The critics represented in the Skipwith list were part of a greater cultural shift occurring across the Atlantic during the eighteenth century, where art was no longer determined exclusively from the top down. This relaxation in structure fostered new spaces that historian David Carrier describes as "markedly different from those in which painting and sculpture has served a public function in the past."[50] The changes in Jefferson's curatorial content and methodology can perhaps be understood as a response to these cultural shifts.

The décor in the Parlor evoked a distinct sense of place. Much of the Parlor's furniture, draperies, and architectural details were reminiscent of Jefferson's residence in Paris. In fact, Jefferson transported a great deal of his furnishings, silver, china, and fabric that he purchased in Paris to his home in Philadelphia and later to Monticello.[51] He quite literally transported the Parlor's window treatments from the Hôtel de Langeac. Records indicate that he bought "six large blue damask curtains, eight medium of the same, a drapery in two parts," as well as "six crimson curtains and eight cords with crimson tassels."[52] It is certain that some of these fabrics remained at Monticello as they were listed in Jefferson's memorandum of taxable property for Albemarle Country in 1815.[53] The current Parlor curtains are replicas based on this documentary evidence in addition to surviving drawings drafted by Jefferson. The much-celebrated parquet floor in Monticello's Parlor is also reminiscent of European interior decoration. When visiting Monticello in 1823, William Hooper was ushered the Parlor, where he remarked on the quality of the room's flooring, "the floor of that room first caught my attention. It was of polished

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[49] Harold E. Dickson, "TH..J" Art Collector" in *Jefferson and the Arts: an extended view,* ed. and with introductions by William Howard Adams, William Howard Adams, and National Gallery of Art (U.S.), (National Gallery of Art, 1976), 105.
[50] David Carrier, "The Display of Art: An Historical Perspective," *Leonardo,* Vol. 20, no.1 (1987): 83-86.; Thomas E. Crow, *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-century Paris,* 18.
[51] Eleanor D. Berman, *Thomas Jefferson Among the Arts: an Essay In Early American Esthetics,* 55.
[52] Marie Goebel Kimball, *The Furnishings of Monticello,* 31.
[53] Susan R. Stein, *The Worlds of Thomas Jefferson at Monticello,* 426.

mahogany or some such wood, and cut into diamonds with oblong pieces dovetailed between them."[54] Thus from floor to ceiling, the Parlor's décor demanded an elevated gaze and instilled an example of taste to be emulated.

Like the integration of domestic and foreign art and art objects in the Entrance Hall, Jefferson ingeniously integrated European and American pieces, as well as formal and informal décor in Monticello's Parlor. Eleanor Coolidge's account of the Parlor reflects this mixture of formality and provenance: "In the large parlor, with its parquetted floor, stood the Campeachy chair made of goatskin, sent to him from New Orleans, where, in the shady twilight, I was used to see him resting."[55] The stately Parisian parquet floors and the unpretentious Campeachy chair, a gift from Thomas B. Robertson of New Orleans to Jefferson, cast a mixed formal and vernacular atmosphere in the Parlor.[56] Eleanor's memory of her grandfather relaxing in the Campeachy chair, amongst the high art and décor speaks to the multi-layered meaning and function of the room as a space of entertainment and display as well as a space of reflection and repose. In a similar fashion to the Entrance Hall, it seems the Parlor colored a portrait of a new nation rooted in the cross-cultural exchange with Europe and England, yet equally grounded in its location in the New World.

The brass rods in Monticello's Parlor were reminiscent of the hanging mechanisms used in the galleries and salons in eighteenth-century Europe, signaling to visitors that the Parlor was as much as space of presentation as it was a space for entertainment. Visitors described the parlor as a "large and lofty *salon*," verbally comparing Jefferson's spaces to the public displays of

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[54] WLB, "William Hooper visits Monticello September 20, 1823," (Entrance Hall Information File, Jefferson Library, 10/31/02), 4.
[55] Ellen Wayles Coolidge to Henry Randall, May 16, 1857, Ellen Coolidge Letterbook, Jefferson-Coolidge Family Collection, University of Virginia, Acc. No. 9090, 75.
[56] Marie Goebel Kimball, *The Furnishings of Monticello*, 11.

eighteenth-century Europe.[57] The term *salon* originated from the salons and drawing rooms of the royal palace designed by Le Vau, and while Jefferson was in France he visited the Salon de 1787 at the Louvre where the biennial Académie Royale de Peinture et Sculpture exhibitions were held. It is also possible that he attended the 1785 and 1789 Salons as he was still stationed in France.[58] These exhibition spaces provided the eighteenth-century public with an arena for discourse and interaction between people of all classes. An eighteenth-century etching, *View of the Salon of 1785,* by Pietro Antonio Martini captures the salon hanging and social environment of these public spaces of display (Fig. 7). The effects of the expanding public audiences in Europe and England were "immediate and dramatic," and Jefferson undoubtedly enjoyed what Thomas Crow defines as the split between the "hierarchical culture" and "democratic reception."[59] By physically transporting presentation mechanisms and methods of hanging from these salon-spaces to his walls at Monticello, it seems that Jefferson was also able to transfer the intangible modes of thinking and interaction that occupied the salon spaces abroad. That said, the discourse and interaction between audience members associated with the European salons was markedly different from what occurred at Monticello. Most visitor accounts recount interacting with solely Jefferson, the curator of the spaces, or occasionally amongst small groups of familiar faces or members of Jefferson's family.

Jefferson acquired pieces for his displays at Monticello at private auctions in Paris. The first painting he purchased in 1784, a copy of *Herodiade with the head of John the Baptist,* came from the Saint-Séverin sale.[60] Jefferson also attended the De Billy sale in November at the *Sale*

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[57] Marquis de Chastellux, *Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781, and 1782,* tr. And ed. Howard C. Rice, Jr. (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1963), 2:389-96.
[58] Leanne Zalewski, "Fine arts for the New World: Thomas Jefferson, collecting for the future," *Journal of the History of Collections* vol. 27 no.1 (2015), 50.
[59] Thomas E. Crow, *Painters and Public Life in Eighteenth-century Paris*, 110.
[60] Susan R. Stein, *The Worlds of Thomas Jefferson at Monticello,* 146.

de Vente of M. Paillet located in the Marais.[61] These environs were akin to those of the Louvre's salons, as can be seen in Antoine de Machy's painting of a public art sale at Paillet's in the Hôtel Bullion **(**Fig. 8).[62] Yet the "democratic" ideals associated with these eighteenth-century arenas of public presentation were restricted to the hand and the vision of one person or small grouping of elite persons curating the spaces.[63] The same was true at Monticello.

Jefferson's interpretation of salon-style hanging at Monticello, like his transfer of European furniture and interior design, created a new and unique public presentation within the American context. The deliberate placement of art in Jefferson's Parlor is exemplified by an exchange between Jefferson and artist John Trumbull concerning three portraits described by Jefferson as the "trinity of the three greatest men the world had ever produced."[64] Trumbull's suggestion that Jefferson commission three "separate" and "common size portraits which he could then distinguish "by manner of hanging them," reveals the role that arrangement played in the relation to each piece's importance and desired interpretation.[65] In contrast to European salons where the top tier was considered the least desirable due to the poor visibility and lighting, it seemed that the top tier in Jefferson's Parlor was reserved for the most esteemed works including his "trinity." Thereby building off of European models of display in terms of mechanisms, tools, and aesthetic but creating new hierarchies of interpretation to fit the new nation. Other interpretations will be discussed in following chapters in conjunction with the re-representation of the Parlor and Hall arrangements in elevation.

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[61] Howard Rice, *Thomas Jefferson's Paris*, 40.
[62] Ibid, 40.
[63] William Sandby, *The History of the Royal Academy of Arts: From Its Foundation In 1768 to the Present Time, With Biographical Notices of All the Members* (Cornmarket Pr.: London, 1970), 128.
[64] Susan R. Stein, *The Worlds of Thomas Jefferson at Monticello*, 128.
[65] Ibid, 128.

CHAPTER TWO
Rearranging Monticello's Walls (1816-1826)

The desire to generate an accurate picture of how the Hall and Parlor likely appeared to visitors from 1816 to 1826, prompted the use of 3D laser scan technology for this project. The data enabled the creation of a set of set of wall elevations (Appendix 2), which depict the arrangement of art and art objects displayed in Monticello's Hall and Parlor during this ten-year period. These drawings incorporate data collected on site with Faro 3D terrestrial laser scan technology and found in archival records.

Technology: Faro 3D Focus Laser Scanning

The Thomas Jefferson Foundation graciously allowed me to scan the two principle rooms in February 2018, using two Faro 3D Focus scanners. These scanners were placed in twelve locations across the floor of the two rooms and along the Hall's balcony, as documented in a field drawing (Fig. 9). The benefit of using 3D scan technology in lieu of traditional field recording methods is the collection of objective data. Every surface that the laser from the scanner hits, it records as a cloud point – thus, eliminating any subjective interpretation.[66] In addition to accuracy, 3D terrestrial scanning is non-invasive and enables easy examination of otherwise hard to reach areas. For example, the scans of Monticello's Hall recorded the room's ceiling ornament in detail, as well as the room's frieze decoration (Fig. 10). In the Faro software, Scene, the cloud point data can be read, measured, and framed in traditional views including section, plan, and elevation.

[66] Stefano Campana, "3D modelling in archaeology and cultural heritage: theory and best practice," 8.

After aligning the data from the twelve scans in Scene, the initial aim of the project was to convert the cloud point data into mesh data in order to reconfigure the arrangements of the Hall and Parlor as they existed between 1816 and 1826. While mesh data was created (Fig. 11), the Geomagic Design software platform proved insufficient for re-arranging the spaces, and more importantly for representing these rearrangements clearly. Instead, I opted to view, measure, and frame the mesh data in Scene and in Geomagic, but to manipulate the elevations of the walls using a different program for clarity. To ensure the data presented in my room elevations remained accurate, I measured some important dimensions in the Hall and Parlor, as well as the dimensions of known paintings, furniture, and art objects before exporting to Abode Illustrator (Fig. 12). The specific details outlining my methodology for determining the size, content, and arrangement of the artwork and objects can be found in an annotated transcription of Jefferson's *Catalogue of Paintings &c. at Monticello* (c.1809-1815) (Appendix 3).

1816 - 1826

The static date range, 1816 to 1826, appealed for a few reasons. These ten years coincide with a relatively stable period of Jefferson's life at Monticello. After leaving public office in 1809, Jefferson's financial situation became increasingly precarious, and as historians recognize, most of Monticello's contents were acquired between 1770 and 1810. [67] Additionally, Jefferson died July 4, 1826, making this year a logical threshold for looking at the art arrangements at Monticello during his lifetime. This date range also corresponds with Monticello II, the model of the house encountered by the visitors included in this interpretation, as well as the model that survives today and was recorded in the scan data.

[67] Robert L. Self and Susan R. Stein, "The Collaboration of Thomas Jefferson and John Hemings: Furniture Attributed to the Monticello Joinery," *Winterthur Portfolio* 33, no. 4 (1998): 231.

Two important historic records related to this period include an inventory compiled by Martha Jefferson Randolph in 1826, as well as a drawing of the floorplan by Cornelia Jefferson Randolph (Fig. 13). These archival documents provide critical information about the contents of the two rooms and even indicate the location of certain pieces. Other key archival records related to Jefferson's arrangement and collection precede the static date range, but were integrated into the digital interpretations based on their relevance. These include a *Catalogue of Paintings &c. at Monticello* by Thomas Jefferson dating c.1809-1815, *A list of taxable property of the subscriber in Albemarle Mar. 1815*, a sixteen-page invoice dated July 17, 1790, detailing his shipments from Paris, as well as records related to art auctions and sales that Jefferson attended.[68] These lists, compiled and collected by Jefferson and his family, by no means offer a complete view of the Hall and Parlor arrangements. The drawings and lists omit celebrated natural and scientific artifacts recorded in various visitor accounts, and they give little indication of where exactly the pieces were arranged. This of course might mean that similarly to Jefferson's design and construction of Monticello, the presentation of artwork in the two rooms was an ongoing affair throughout his lifetime. Beginning with the Hall, I will outline the decisions made for my elevation drawings, which were used for my interpretation in Chapter Three.

Entrance Hall: Architecture and Furniture

A letter from Jefferson to James Dinsmore dated June 8, 1805, confirms the green herringbone flooring of the Entrance Hall, "After writing to you yesterday, I was at the painting

[68] *Catalogue of Paintings &c. at Monticello* by Thomas Jefferson dating c.1809-1815, Thomas Jefferson Papers (#2958-b), Special Collections Department, University of Virginia Library; *A list of taxable property of the subscriber in Albemarle Mar. 1815 [rates deleted] Thomas Jefferson, Massachusetts Historical Society.*

room of Mr. Stewart [Stuart] who had first suggested to me the painting a floor green, which he had himself tried with fine effect. He observed that care should be taken to hit the true grass-green." In this letter, Jefferson includes a paint sample which Gilbert Stuart apparently "instantly mixed up in his mind and I [Jefferson] spread it with a knife on the enclosed paper."[69] This instruction speaks to Jefferson's direct engagement with the presentation rooms at Monticello, as well as his trust in certain hands including Dinsmore to achieve his display designs. Furthermore, the specification of "grass-green," noted by Jefferson underscores his adherence to the Palladian principles of bringing the outside-in, through his architectural design and decoration. Although the floor is not visible in any of the two-dimensional wall elevations, it is a critical component of the Hall and there is important to consider when interpreting contemporary visitor experiences.

Similarly, the elevations do not show the Hall's ceiling ornamentation, but this is another important part of the Hall's architecture to consider as the data captured in scan data (Fig. 10), aligns with the ten-year date range. Paint analysis conducted in the twentieth-century, concludes the material properties of the plaster eagle and stars on the ceiling of the Hall are consistent with paints used in Jefferson's lifetime.[70]

A series of drawings and payment records substantiate the architectural ornament and other fixed architectural features in the Hall. Jefferson paid $74.72 "for frieze ornaments for the hall at Monticello" to George Andrews in December, 1803.[71] The design is based on a Frieze from the temple of Antoninus and Faustina at Rome, as can be seen in a sketch and note (Fig. 14)**.** Jefferson owned Jobert's edition of Antoine Desgodetz's *Les Edifices Antiques de Rome*

[69] Thomas Jefferson to James Dinsmore June 8, 1805 (Entrance Hall Information File, Jefferson Library).
[70] LCStanton, (Query Reports, Entrance Hall Information File, Jefferson Library, 13.vii.90).
[71] Memorandum Book, December 8, 1803.

(Paris, 1779), where this was likely copied from.[72] The same details were recorded in the scan data, and feature in the elevations (Fig. 10).

Martha Jefferson's 1826 Inventory lists "28 black painted chairs" While this seems like an overwhelming amount of seating, it is possible that not all of the chairs were consistently located in the Hall, but that they were spread throughout Monticello and used in intermediate spaces such as the entrance portico, the lawn, or other areas inside and outdoors. Alternatively, the quantity recorded by Martha reflects an effort to document items for sale, and perhaps all of the Windsor chairs were collected in the Hall in order to accurately count them. Notwithstanding, a great number of the chairs would have been placed in the Hall, offering visitors a place to rest and to wait. Their arrangement in the room elevations is based on the principle of "a room at rest," hence their positioning along the perimeter of the Hall's north, east, south, and west walls.

Additionally, my elevations arranged under the impression that Jefferson's Hall had an innovative map desk, for storing and viewing the many maps Jefferson collected throughout his lifetime. Mr. Hill, a nineteenth-century cabinetmaker describes such a desk, which he claims was, "in part the contrivance of Mr. Jefferson," as follows:

> A tall, deep frame is erected, in the upper part of which the maps stand, unrolled and extended, one before the other at a sufficient distance apart to allow them to pass without collision, as they are raised and lowered by cords, which, passing over pullies in the sides of the frame, are fastened outside of it. At a convenient height, there hangs a light frame, like the fall of a common desk, and which may be raised and fixed at any angle desired. The frame having been placed to suit the convenience of the person using it, when a particular map is to be consulted, he turns the cords, (each one of which has a label attached to it,) and loosening one of them from its hold, the map connected with it immediately descends, and extends itself over the frame, where it may be examined with perfect convenience.[73]

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[72] William B O'Neal, *Jefferson's Fine Arts Library: His Selections for the University of Virginia, Together with His Own Architectural Books* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1976).
[73] "Checklist of cabinetmakers and chairmakers of Washington, D.C., 1791-1840," *The Magazine Antiques,* (May 1975), 915.

The "perfect convenience," described by Mr. Hill and the clear organization offered by the pullies and labels, certainly align with Jefferson's utilitarian values, and interest in instruments which enabled efficiency and comfort. Such a desk in the Entrance Hall at Monticello would allow visitors to interact and to learn from the maps in a more intimate and thorough manner than a wall-hanging would allow. As Mr. Hill describes, although the map desk sounds intimidating, "the arrangement is very simple, costs little, and is so convenient, that no one having once made trial of it, can be insensible of the advantage gained by its adoption."[74] Thus any visitor would be able to use the desk and benefit from its inclusion in the Hall. Throughout his life, Jefferson acquired over 350 maps and geographically-based resources related to America and the rest of the world. Part of this vast collection, was a series of large-scale wall maps purchased from 1802 to 1805, from the celebrated London mapmaker Aaron Arrowsmith.[75] Arrowsmith's maps were known for their scale and readability, and Jefferson's purchase from 1805 details maps of Europe, Asia and Africa "on linen, with rollers and varnished," which would allow them to be fixed to the map table described above or hung on the Hall's walls. While no surviving example of this desk exists, the elevations were arranged with this piece in mind.

In contrast to the movable furniture and artifacts, the Hall's fixed architectural elements and ornamental features including the fireplace, various wall brackets, and Jefferson's double-faced clock, help to interpret surviving historic records in the context of the surviving space. For example, visitors associate the Pyramid and *Ariadne,* listed in Jefferson's *Catalogue of Paintings &c. at Monticello* as, "A fac similie of the largest of the Pyramids of Egypt, called Cheops" and "A Cleopatra in marble [later re-listed under the correct name Ariadne], " with the fireplace and

[74] Ibid.
[75] Susan R. Stein, *The Worlds of Thomas Jefferson at Monticello*, 284-389.

mantel on the south wall of the Hall, closest to the Parlor.[76] The consistency of the placement of these two pieces, is intimated in a visitor's account from 1824 which notes the displacement of the statue from its standard location, "The lofty hall of entrance with its Indian trophies … was today relieved of its somber aspect: a sleeping statue of Ariadne on the rocks of Naxos had been removed to another part of the hall: a fireplace had been revealed in which burned a cheery wood-fire, produced a somewhat incongruous effect for projecting over the mantel piece was a model of the Pyramid of Cheops, the base so contrived as to contain a portion of the sand and pebbles of the desert!"[77] Another visitor in 1816 recalls the spatial proximity of the pyramid, the statue, and the fireplace, "A statue of Cleopatra, reclining and supine to the stings of the asp. The busts of Voltaire and Turgot, in plaster, as well as the model of the Great Pyramid of Egypt."[78] Cornelia's drawing of the first floor of Monticello also places the pyramid and Ariadne in front of the fireplace on the south wall, and accordingly my elevation maintains this arrangement.

Cornelia's drawing and Martha's 1826 inventory record other fixed architectural elements such as, "7 marble slab on brackets," that can be oriented around the room in reference to surviving "ghosts" imprinted on the Hall's walls and in reference to visitor accounts. For instance, Cornelia's drawing places two busts, "5 Bust of Voltaire / 6 Bust of Turgot," on either side of the Hall's east entrance. These copies after Jean-Antione Houdon rest on wall brackets in my elevations.

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[76] *Catalogue of Paintings &c. at Monticello* (c.1809–15), reprinted in the appendix of Susan Stein, *The Worlds of Thomas Jefferson at Monticello* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1993). The original manuscript is at the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia, Accession #2958-b.

[77] Jane Blair Cary Smith, 1864, recalling the events of November 4, 1824 in Robert C Lautman, *Thomas Jefferson's Monticello: A Photographic Portrait* (New York: Monacelli Press in association with the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, 1997).

[78] Baron de Montlezun, "A Frenchman Visits Albemarle, 1816," 48.

Cornelia's drawing also records items not included in Jefferson's *Catalog*, such as two busts by the Italian artist Giuseppe Ceracchi, one of Alexander Hamilton and the other of Thomas Jefferson. According to Cornelia these busts were positioned opposite one another in the Entrance Hall - Hamilton on the south wall and Jefferson on the north wall. The Baron de Montlezun recalled seeing "several indian curios" in the same area that contained "also the colossal bust of Mr. Jefferson by [Ceracchi]." Montlezun also noted that Jefferson's bust was, "supported on a broken column, the pedestal of which has for ornament the representation of the twelve tribes of Israel and twelve signs of the zodiac."[79] This description corresponds with the bust and pedestal which Madame de Tessé presented to Jefferson, as recorded in a sketch drawn by Cornelia (Fig. 15). This series of data demonstrates how informative the historical records become when they are cross-referenced with each other and combined with the scanned architectural data. Unfortunately, neither Jefferson's bust nor the marble green pedestal survive, but a plaster cast of Ceracchi's Hamilton bust does survive. The north and east Hall elevations show a copy of Houdon's portrait bust of Jefferson in the same location where Ceracchi's version was displayed.

Entrance Hall: Artifacts

Jefferson's *Catalogue* records four "Indian" works, "Two busts of Indian figures male and female by Indians in hard stone. 18 I. high" and "An Indian painting of a battle between the Panis and Osages, on buffalo pelt./ An Indian map of the Southern waters of the Missouri, by a Ricara chief on buffalo pelt."[80] However, based on visitor accounts and letters there were many more natural and ethnographic artifacts dispersed around the Hall. The exact contents of

[79] Ibid, 49.
[80] *Catalogue of Paintings &c. at Monticello* (c.1809–15).

Jefferson's Native American artifact collection and natural specimens are unknown, but their placement around the Hall can be inferred from historic documentation and my elevations attempt to emulate this.

In reference to the Native American pieces, visitors in 1816 mention the "two busts man and woman sculptured by savages – very hideous, prob. religious," while Cornelia's drawing orients these heads on the north wall.[81] Using same passage from the visitor's account, which begins with the stone heads and culminates with *Ariadne* by the fireplace, it is possible to infer that the Indian artifacts were displayed primarily from the northwest to southwest of the Hall. Accordingly, based on the varied weight, size, and format of this collection the pieces may have been hung on the walls, displayed on tables, and arrange on and under the Hall's balcony.

To this end, a few accounts mention a "gallery" when describing the Hall, but it is difficult to discern whether "gallery" defines a specific architectural feature, or rather the Hall in its entirety. Jane Blair Smith recalls the Hall's "gallery decorated with enormous antlers," while Benjamin P. Richardson visiting in 1824 remembers the Hall, "surrounded by innumerable relics and curiosities, a white monument, the remains of reptiles and preserved insects, besides a gallery on one side which was devoted to like rarities."[82] Cornelia uses "gallery" to denote the Entrance Hall's balcony in her annotated floorplan (Fig. 13), "10 gallery in the upper part of the hall connecting the upper stories of the two wings of the house." Based on these descriptions and Cornelia's use of "gallery," the Hall elevations show pieces arranged on the Hall's balcony railings.

A different account from 1833 orients the, "horns of the moose, elk, and different varieties of American deer" to the "right" of the Hall, and "the bones of the mastodon and other

[81] Baron de Montlezun, "A Frenchman Visits Albemarle, 1816," 49.
[82] Jane Blair Smith; Benjamin P. Richardson

fossil monsters, disentombed on the Ohio," to the "left," as well as "massive specimens of minerals, and other natural curiosities."[83] The same visitor describes how the "Indian and Mexican antiquities, articles of costume, war clubs, shields, spears, bows, quivers of arrows," were "hanging from their antlers or tastefully grouped about." [84] While outside of the date range, this description corresponds with the placement of such objects in my elevations.

Two tables recorded in Cornelia's drawings also support this arrangement of artifacts and ethnographic material. According to Cornelia's drawing (Fid. 14), the tables were placed under the balcony-overhang on either side of the double-glass door of the Parlor and may have displayed artifacts or other three-dimensional pieces. Diane Ehrenpreis, the Curator of Decorative Arts at Monticello, suggests that two mirrors listed in Martha Jefferson Randolph's 1826 inventory might have been hung on either side of the entrance to the Parlor over tables.[85] The positioning of these mirrors, in direct opposition to the two large windows which flank the Hall's east entrance, would illuminate the darkest portion of the Hall under the balcony, and allow for extended views of any artifacts placed on the tables below.

The tables included the west elevation of the Hall are based on two of the right marble-topped tables that Jefferson purchased in France, although only one of Jefferson's rectangular marble trestle tables from France survives. A pair of round-headed pier mirrors, also shipped from France in 1790, are positioned above the tables in the west Hall elevation. It is believed that this pair (Fig. 16), was separated between Jefferson's Bedroom and the Dining Room, yet Ann Royal, a visitor in in 1830, reported viewing "two massy pier glasses attached to the partition one on each side of the opening into the round parlor," which were, "nearly the size of those in the

[83] Henry Stephens Randall, *The Life of Thomas Jefferson* (New York: Derby & Jackson, 1858), 3: 336.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Diane Ehrenpreis (Curator of Decorative Arts at Monticello), interview, February 2018.

east room."[86] Ann's use of "those," implies that a pair of mirrors, perhaps even a pair of pier mirrors, were arranged in the Entrance Hall, or in Ann's words the "east room." The dimensions of the round-headed pier mirrors in comparison to the pier mirrors in the Parlor (Fig. 17) correspond to the relative "size," indicated by Ann's description, and would reflect ample light from the Hall's east windows.

Accurately recreating Jefferson's "Indian Hall," is complicated largely due to the uncertainty surrounding what happened to Jefferson's Native American collection after his death. For example, even the items such as the stone "busts of Indian figures" included in Jefferson's *Catalogue,* vanished from any historic records. Efforts to recreate the Hall, by Monticello's curators in 2000, spearheaded by Elizabeth Chew for the bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark exhibition, highlight these challenges. Prior to 2002, the Thomas Jefferson Foundation displayed reproductions of Native American artifacts from the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Harvard University in Monticello's Hall. These curatorial decisions were based on an assumption that the collections donated to the Peabody Museum by a previous resident of Jefferson's Poplar Forest house must have contained artifacts from Jefferson's original Native American collection. In response to these findings and the inability to locate any of Jefferson's original artifacts, the curators at Monticello decided to commission a series of reproductions based on objects that Lewis and Clark likely collected during their expeditions along the Missouri.[87] For example, the Thomas Jefferson Foundation commissioned artist Joel Queen, from the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians, to carve reproductions of the figures described in

[86] Ann Royal, *Mrs. Royals Southern Tour* (Washington, D.C., 1830), 1:87-91, in Stein, 311.
[87] Elizabeth Chew, "Unpacking Jefferson's Indian Hall."

Jefferson's *Catalogue* for the Bicentennial exhibit.[88] These items are included the Hall elevations.

Visitors described viewing the stone heads in dialogue with Jefferson's fine arts, namely his portrait bust in the Hall by Ceracchi. In 1826, William Wirt recalled, "On one side [of the Hall], specimens of sculpture set out, in such order, as to exhibit at a coup d'œu, the historical progress of that art, from the first rude attempt of the aborigines of our country up to that exquisite and finished bust of the great patriot himself, from the master hand of Ceracchi." [89] To match this description, in the reproduced elevation, two surviving stone heads from "Palmyra, on the Tennissee [sic.]," are displayed on a table on the north wall near Ceracchi's portrait bust of Jefferson.[90]

Jefferson's *Catalogue* records eleven paintings, ten on canvas and one painted on wood under the heading "Hall."[91] His degree of specificity helps to identify what versions of the subject matter Jefferson displayed at Monticello, and where the Jefferson's originals no longer survive, the annotated version of his *Catalogue* (Appendix 3) helps to identify the choices made for my elevations. Additionally, although Jefferson's *Catalogue* was extremely detailed, it was not without fault. For example, Susan Stein corrects Jefferson's *Catalogue* entry that reads "Herodiade bearing the head of St. John in a platter, a ¾ length of full size on canvas, copied from Simon Vouett. Purchased from St. Severin's collection. Catal. No. 248" noting that his

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[88] Kristine K. Ronan, "'Kicked About': Native Culture at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello," *Panorama Journal of the Association of Historians of American Art,* 3, no. 2 (Fall 2017), http://journalpanorama.org/native-culture-at-monticello/.
[89] Benson J. Lossing, "Monticello," Harper's New Monthly Magazine, 8, no. 38 (July 1853): 148, referenced in Kristine K. Ronan, "'Kicked About': Native Culture at Thomas Jefferson's Monticello."
[90] The portrait bust of Jefferson included in the elevation is actually a copy of Houdon's portrait bust of Jefferson, but it is meant to resemble the celebrated Cerrachi portrait bust, recorded by visitors.
[91] *Catalogue of Paintings &c. at Monticello* (c.1809–15).

copy was instead a copy of Guido Reni's version of the same subject, which was much celebrated in the eighteenth-century arts circles.[92] That said, Jefferson did amend his *Catalog.* For instance, he incorrectly listed the marble statue in front of the fireplace as "Cleopatra" following its arrival to Monticello in 1805, yet after reading Augustine Legrand's *Galeries des Antiques* (1803) Jefferson realized his statue was a copy of *Ariadne*, not *Cleopatra,* and revised his *Catalogue* with a translation of Legand's comments in English.[93] This demonstrates Jefferson's active role as curator at Monticello throughout his life.

The arrangement of the paintings in the Hall elevations, proved to be difficult due to the lack of detail in any surviving inventories or visitor accounts. In contrast to the "tier" assignments for Parlor paintings listed in Jefferson's *Catalog,* he leaves no indication of the hierarchy or the location of the paintings in the Hall. Thus, if the bulk of the ethnographic and natural artefacts were arranged along the north and south walls, it seems logical that old Masters paintings would be dispersed on the surfaces of the west wall and portions of the south wall. Accordingly, visitors consistently describe how the paintings and artefacts were "appropriately interspersed," suggesting there were no clear boundaries or taxonomic regulations in Jefferson's Hall arrangement.[94]

Parlor: Paintings

A slightly different methodology was implemented to determine how the artwork was displayed in the Parlor. Instead of relying on surviving fixed architectural features and ornamentation to orient where items may have been placed, the contents and the records related

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[92] Susan R. Stein, *The Worlds of Thomas Jefferson at Monticello*, 146.
[93] Ibid., 238.
[94] Henry Stephens Randall, *The Life of Thomas Jefferson* (New York: Derby & Jackson, 1858), 3: 336.

to the Parlor did not require this framework. Instead, Jefferson's *Catalog* detailed general divisions of the paintings in his Parlor across three tiers: upper, middle, and lower. Additionally, the placement of pieces in my elevation were informed by William Hooper's visit. A diagram of his path is interpreted in a plan drawing (Appendix 4).

In the same way that Martha's inventory was read, as if scanning the room, wall-by-wall to document the contents after Jefferson's death, Jefferson's *Catalogue* can be read wall by wall in the Parlor to help orient the paintings. The Parlor elevations display the listed paintings in order starting with Jefferson's "trinity": Bacon, Newton, Locke, hung on the top of the east wall, to the right side of the Parlor's entrance. Subsequently, each tier, as listed in the *Catalogue*, begins on the east wall, and continues across the six walls, taking into account painting dimensions, visibility, and even content in coordination with the other hanging artwork.

The two busts listed at the bottom of Jefferson's *Catalogue* do not follow this path, and their inclusion at the bottom of Jefferson's list is interpreted as a cause of their medium, and three-dimensionality. Their placement on the west side of the room correlates with Cornelia's drawing and visitor accounts, who align the busts of Napoleon and Alexander with Jefferson's Campeachy chair.

William Hooper recalls being invited into the "Drawing Room," from the Hall to wait for Mr. Jefferson during a visit. He recalls touring the Parlor and talking with Jefferson about the "pictures and busts which hung and stood about the room," and with its absence of any natural or ethnographic items, this description certainly corresponds to the Parlor's contents as listed in Jefferson's *Catalogue.*[95] Hooper then mentions that he entered another room and saw more paintings and busts, which matches the description of the Dining Room, and would be a logical

[95] WLB, "William Hooper visits Monticello September 20, 1823," (Entrance Hall Information File, Jefferson Library, 10/31/02), 4.

trajectory for the two men to travel from inside the Parlor. He then remarks on, "The sacrifice of Jephthah's daughter," a piece that according to the 1815 *Catalogue* was in the Parlor, not the dining room. Thus, it seems that the two men traveled back through the Parlor and the Hall on their way to Jefferson's Library. Hooper's notice of "Peter weeping at the crowing of the cock," a piece that hung in the Hall, corroborates this view – demonstrating that Hooper was able to view all the walls of the Hall and Parlor rooms, facing west on his first pass through the rooms and east on his return. This trajectory is further authenticated by Hooper's mention of the "Dutch piece representing the Sacrifice of Isaac" which was also known to hang in the Hall.

Hooper's account also gives an indication of a piece on the top tier of Jefferson's parlor which is listed as "[space]" in his *Catalogue*. When discussing the artist Gilbert Stuart, Hooper remembers that Jefferson pointed to the Artist's hand in completing "that picture of mine and the same for that head on paper over the mantelpiece."[96] The "[Space]" likely references the fact that although Jefferson commissioned and sat for a portrait by Stuart in 1805, it was not delivered to Monticello until sometime after January 1820. Thus, in my elevation, the "Edgehill" portrait of Jefferson by Stuart hangs on the top tier between James Madison and John Adams.

Parlor: Architecture and Furniture

The elevations include a series of eighteenth-century French armchairs, or *fauteuils*, attributed to the acclaimed cabinetmaker, Georges Jacob. The elevations maintain the impression of color provided by the chairs' mahogany-wood frames and crimson upholstery, as well as the color of the Parlor's window treatment. A semicircular mirror, likely acquired by Jefferson in France, hangs over the mantelpiece in the south elevation of the Parlor. The form of the mirror

[96] Ibid, 4.

indicates its designated placement over a mantelpiece, while its scale corresponds with south wall's painting hang. However, the plain gilt decoration and simple brass candleholders do not match the otherwise formal characteristics of Jefferson's Parlor room, but it was among nine mirrors taxed in 1815 and therefore its inclusion in the south elevation provides context to the displays with pieces from Jefferson's surviving collection.[97]

Like the floors in the Entrance Hall, the floors of the Parlor were often discussed in visitor accounts and certainly informed how visitors experience the room, yet the Parlor's parquet floor is not captured in any of the room elevations.

[97] Susan R. Stein, *The Worlds of Thomas Jefferson at Monticello*, 310.

CHAPTER THREE
Interpreting the American Arrangement

Relying on the set of interior elevations, it is possible to glean how people visiting Monticello between 1816 and 1826 interpreted the displays in Jefferson's Entrance Hall and Parlor.

An American Cabinet of Curiosity

The deluge of content, as presented in the four elevations of Monticello's Hall from 1816 to 1825, can rightly be compared with the overwhelming sensibilities of the fifteenth and sixteenth-century European cabinets of curiosity. Three of the four walls, and the balcony host a mixture of natural and ethnographic artifacts. It is known that visitors enjoyed the natural, "horns of the moose, elk, and different varieties of American deer," as well as the ethnographic, "Indian and Mexican antiquities, articles of costume, war clubs, shields, spears, bows, quivers of arrows."[98] Such a variety of artifacts were common in traditional cabinet collections, yet in Monticello's case, as the visitors recognize, the objects were all related to the land and the peoples of the new nation.[99] Thus the Hall can certainly be viewed as an "American" *Kunst-un Wunderkammer*, as Joyce H. Robinson argues in her essay focused on Jefferson's Indian Hall at Monticello.[100] In fact, Jefferson even described the room in these terms, for example in a letter to

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[98] Henry Stephens Randall, *The Life of Thomas Jefferson* (New York: Derby & Jackson, 1858), 3: 336.
[99] Arthur MacGregor, *Curiosity and Enlightenment: Collectors and Collections from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century* (London: Yale University Press, 2007), 50.
[100] Joyce H. Robinson, "An American Cabinet of Curiosities: Thomas Jefferson's "Indian Hall at Monticello," *Winterthur Portfolio,* 30, no. 1 (Spring, 1995): 41-58.

Caspar Wistar in 1807, Jefferson writes, "There is a tusk and a femur which Gen. Clark procured particularly at my request for a special kind of Cabinet I have at Monticello."[101]

A Promotion: Personal, Political, and Patriotic

If we are to view the Hall as a cabinet, it is necessary to recognize that *Kunst-un Wunderkammer* often functioned as platforms for collectors to express their personal and political authority. In this vein, the natural and ethnographic artifacts in the Hall seem to call attention to Jefferson's achievements and encouragement of seminal American excavations, expeditions, and political triumphs such as the Louisiana Purchase. While the fine art pieces, such as the portrait busts on the east end of the Hall, place Jefferson within the context of a chosen set of peers and idols. William Hooper remarked on the proximity of Jefferson's bust to the busts of Voltaire and Volney, noting "He is not ashamed, it seems, to be in such company."[102] This jab suggests that visitors detected a touch of narcissism reflected in Jefferson's arrangement. However, Jefferson's spaces warrant a more nuanced interpretation, especially considering his keen interest in the native species and peoples of America, the Virginian landscape, and most importantly the young Republic's reputation abroad. Jefferson's only published work, *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785), presents a rather negative opinion of American arts and architecture, yet his discussion of the land and the native species is overwhelmingly positive. Pieces such as the Magalonyx hand-bones excavated in West Virginia in 1796 and items from the Big Bone Lick dig in Kentucky, reflect Jefferson's desire to learn about and to appreciate the native history of the new nation as well as to celebrate his hand in

[101] TJ to Caspar Wistar of December, 19 1807, Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.
[102] WLB, "William Hooper visits Monticello September 20, 1823," (Entrance Hall Information File, Jefferson Library, 10/31/02), 6.

making these discoveries possible.[103] The latter aspect, was cemented in history in 1822, not by Jefferson, but by the French naturalist Anselme Desmarest who formally named the extinct animal excavated in West Virginia: *Megalonyx jeffersonii.*[104] Thus, perhaps the Hall can be interpreted as an unapologetic self-portrait versus a shallow expression of vanity.

Jefferson also sent specimens from the Big Lick dig abroad to the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle in France. This action reflects the dualism in the intentions behind Jefferson's display of natural artifacts at Monticello. The curator of the King's Cabinet in Paris (which later became the Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle), was the Comte du Buffon, whom Jefferson revered as, "the best informed of any Naturalist who has ever written," in his *Notes on the State of Virginia.*[105] Jefferson consulted with Buffon throughout his lifetime, and maintained his respect and allegiance to the Naturalist even after Buffon's death in 1788, as the shipment of bones from Kentucky indicates. However, their relationship was not without healthy debate, and incidentally the Comte du Buffon's remarks about the inferiority of American species in his *Histoire Naturelle* (1761), inspired Jefferson to embark on his *Notes on the State of Virginia.* Jefferson advanced in a letter that, "Monsr. de Buddon [Buffon], the celebrated Physiologist of the present age, who has advanced a theory in general very degrading to America, has in this particular also adopted an opinion which I think not founded in fact."[106] While this controversy in part reflected Jefferson's personal pride in proving Buffon wrong, there was also a patriotic mission attached to safeguarding the reputation of the new American

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[103] Susan R. Stein, *The Worlds of Thomas Jefferson at Monticello*, 402.
[104] Silvio Bedini, *Thomas Jefferson and American Vertebrate Paleontology,* Virginia Division of Mineral Resources, Publication 61 (Charlottesville, VA: Department of Mines, Minerals and Energy, 1985), 10 in Susan R. Stein, *The Worlds of Thomas Jefferson,* 400.
[105] Howard C. Rice, *Thomas Jefferson's Paris*, 85.
[106] Jefferson to Ezra Stiles, June 10, 1784, "Location of Artifacts in the Entrance Hall," (Query Reports, Entrance Hall Information File, Jefferson Library).

nation. This patriotic mission reflected in Jefferson's display of native artifacts and art weakens any comparison of Jefferson's Hall to *Kunst-un Wunderkammer* displays. Historian Roger Stein's investigation of the spatial logic in Jefferson's Hall corroborates this interpretation. Stein refutes any comparisons drawn between Monticello's Hall and *Kunst-un Wunderkammer* assemblages and argues that the space stimulated personal and national identity for visitors.[107]

Arthur MacGregor also debunks the prevailing negative connotations associated with cabinets, revealing a link between these displays and the "encyclopedic aspirations of humanism."[108] In fact, Francis Bacon, one of three portraits in Jefferson's "trinity" believed that cabinets "in a small compass, a model of universal nature made private."[109]John Locke also recognized the noble role of cabinets in sparking meaningful intellectual discourse.[110]

An Encouragement of the Native Arts

Jefferson's inclusion of an engraved copy of John Trumbull's *Declaration of Independence,* published in 1823, offers a similar debate and resolution with regards to understanding how visitors might have encountered Monticello's spaces of display. As previously mentioned, at first glance the engraving of Trumbull's composition seems egotistical given Jefferson's authorship of the Declaration of Independence. However, the presence of this piece seems as much a historical document of the new nation's history and progress, as it is a

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[107] Roger B. Stein, "Mr. Jefferson as Museum Maker," in *Shaping the Body Politic: Art and Political Formation in Early America,* ed. Louis P. Nelson and Maureen McInnis (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2011), 197.
[108] Arthur MacGregor, *Curiosity and Enlightenment: Collectors and Collections from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven [Conn.], London: Yale University Press, 2007), 51
[109] Francis bacon, *Gesta Grayorum,* 123 as quoted in Arthur MacGregor, *Curiosity and Enlightenment: Collectors and Collections from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century* (New Haven [Conn.], London: Yale University Press, 2007), 11.

fond reminder of one of Jefferson's finest achievements. The medium of the piece and Jefferson's personal engagement with the development of Trumbull's original painting support this alternative view.

Visitors with a more intimate knowledge of Jefferson's life in France or his relationship with the artist, Trumbull, might read the engraving as a testament to Jefferson's encouragement of the native arts. Trumbull began his work on the *Declaration of Independence,* while staying at the Hôtel de Langaec, Jefferson's Parisian residence.[111] This also highlights Jefferson's direct involvement with the first attempts to document the history of the United States through visual representation. In fact, the same can be said about Jefferson's inclusion of a study of Trumbull's *Surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown* in the Parlor, as all fifteen French officers came to Trumbull's temporary studio at the Hôtel de Langaec to have their likenesses recorded.[112]

The historical accuracy of Trumbull's scene resonates with the rhetoric of Enlightenment critics such as Lord Kames who praised historical works for their ability to foster "deeper impression[s] than words."[113] The print medium of Jefferson's copy advanced this public intention in so much as the nationalist ideals and history captured in Trumbull's original picture could spread to wider audiences. The medium of Jefferson's *Declaration of Independence* is also important to consider within the larger context of early American Arts culture. Margaretta Lovell discusses how the emerging American printing culture offered broad range of consumers an equally broad range of visual experiences due to their lower costs, volume of sales, and range of subjects – from reproductions of Old Masters to military heroes and important events. Yet,

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[111] William Dunlap, Charles E Goodspeed, and Frank William Bayley, *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States*, 38.
[112] John E Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1992), 92.
[113]Eleanor D. Berman, *Thomas Jefferson Among the Arts: an Essay In Early American Esthetics*, 89.

unlike American painters, American printmakers were operating in direct competition with English and continental printmakers who were producing prints especially for the American audiences.[114]

With regards to the content of Jefferson's copy of Trumbull's *Declaration of Independence,* the piece would have been symbolically charged for visitors arriving at Monticello between 1816 and 1826. John Bodnar suggests that the Declaration of Independence was not considered a sacred document until the nineteenth century, and only acquired meaning through the political heat generated by the competing Republican and Federalist parties.[115] With Bodnar's notion in mind it is interesting to consider how the proximity of Trumbull's engraving, hung above the mantelpiece on the south wall, to the opposing busts of Hamilton and Jefferson by Ceracchi on the east end of the Hall, might have influenced how visitors received the engraving. The spatial dynamic of the two busts' placement in the Hall created an unequivocal political statement, and Jefferson's grandchildren described how: "the eye settled with a deeper interest on busts of Jefferson and Hamilton, by Ceracchi, placed on massive pedestals on each side of the main entrance – "opposed in death as in life," as the surviving original sometimes remarked, with a pensive smile, as he observed the notice they attracted.[116] These observations reveal Jefferson's awareness of how visitor's perceived his arrangements, as well as a clear intention behind his displays.

Gerald W. Johnson offers another impression related to Hamilton, Jefferson and Monticello. Johnson suggests that at Monticello the popular stereotypes of Hamilton and Jefferson were reversed, and that Monticello "is filled with a practical man's highly practical

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[114] Margaretta M. Lovell, *Art in a Season of Revolution: Painters, Artisans, and Patrons in Early America,* 23.
[115] John E Bodnar, *Remaking America,* 23.
[116] Susan R. Stein, *The Worlds of Thomas Jefferson at Monticello,* 210.

devices for eliminating small nuisances; and if there is anything characteristic of the poetic temperament, that thing is its incapacity to deal with the trivial disturbances of ordinary life."[117]

In the same way that the print of Trumbull's *Declaration of Independence,* pointed to the characteristics of the early American art market, the bust of Hamilton at Monticello also reflects an underlying commercial force which influenced early American artistic production. Ceracchi's portrait bust of Hamilton was repeatedly copied by artists such as Trumbull, who referenced Ceracchi's work in his full-length portrait of Alexander Hamilton commissioned by New York City.[118] However, despite Ceracchi's accuracy and even his commitment to the republican cause, felt forced to return to Europe in 1795 after spending four years in America due to the inadequate support from American peoples the government.[119] In light of this information, the patriotic meanings attached to early American arts must be checked by other forces such as the economic constraints pressuring American artists.

A Reflection of National Taste and Trends

The relationship between representations of founding fathers in historical contexts, such as in Trumbull's scenes of the signing of the Declaration of Independence in the Hall and his study for the *Surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown* in the Parlor, with individual portraits of the same men in both rooms, calls attention to the mixture of American and transatlantic influences acting on Jefferson's art collection and its arrangement. This relationship also highlights the connections, in content and in meaning, between the artworks in the Parlor and the

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[117] Gerald W. Johnson "The Challengings," in Peterson, *Jefferson Image in the American Mind,* 360.
[118] Eric Homberger, "Image-Making and the Circulation of Images: Peale, Trumbull and the Founding Fathers," 16.
[119] William Dunlap, , *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States*, 2:91.

Hall at Monticello – indicating that the two rooms should be read in dialogue, not as separate spaces of display.

As late as 1826, Trumbull felt the need to relay to President Adams that, "all civilized nations have made the arts useful auxiliaries of history," and that the United States should record in paintings the important historical events and fund these efforts by selling print copies to the public. Trumbull insisted that, "not only artists and manufacturers would derive great advantage from the adoption of some such plan, but that the honor and the essential interests of the nation would thereby be eminently advanced."[120] This letter highlights the diverging tastes of Americans with their English and European counterparts in terms of preferred artistic genres. Portraiture was by far the most popular form of painting produced and procured in early national America. Jefferson's Parlor, Hall, and Dining Room speak to this early American trend.

It is possible that Jefferson wished to create a shrine or homage to the great thinkers and leaders, and that he was concerned not in the medium or style but the content of the works as mediums for moral teaching. The arrangement of his many portraits in conversation with moral scenes from the New Testament in both the Hall and the Parlor rooms support this interpretation. Additionally, Jefferson's request to Philip Mazzei in 1787, for a copy artist who could "work cheap, and work well," based on his wording the former a principle concern over the latter.[121] This request corresponds with Jefferson's didactic approach to the fine arts as demonstrated by his displays, that is his favoring content over style. The explorers painted by said copy artist were

[120] John Trumbull to the President, in William Dunlap, *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States*, .2:69-70.
[121] Jefferson to Mazzei, Paris, January 12, 1789, in *Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, 12:245.

eventually placed on the top tier amongst Enlightenment thinkers to create what Zalewski terms as "intellectual ancestral lineage."[122]

American artists, like Trumbull, mixed the genres of portraiture with history paintings, whereas the two genres were "exclusionary practices" in British theory and practice. Portraiture was seen as fulfilling a more private purpose, whereas history paintings fostered public memory.[123] The history paintings were well received in the eighteenth-century salons and galleries abroad, but they were overpowered by the profusion of portraiture in the early American art spheres. Benjamin West, an expatriate but also the president of the Royal Academy in London, wrote of the, "indiscriminate waste of genius in portrait painting," and Joshua Reynolds too insisted that portraiture represented, "a lower walk in the profession."[124] However, in opposition to these sentiments, American-born artist Gilbert Stuart proclaimed that, "no man ever painted history if he could obtain employment in portraits."[125] Thus again, the content and presence of certain genres of artwork in early America and in Jefferson's spaces of display seem to relate back to economic factors, in addition to issues of taste, talent, or perceived patriotism.

Alternatively, Ross Watson suggests that perhaps it was Jefferson's contact with Houdon that influenced him to make copies of heroes.[126] Heroic portraits, according to John Adams who argued in a series of anonymous essays entitled *Discourses of Davila* (1790) in the *Gazette of the*

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[122] Leanne Zalewski, "Fine arts for the New World: Thomas Jefferson, collecting for the future," Journal of he History of Collections vol. 27 no.1 (2015), 50.
[123] Margaretta M. Lovell, *Art in a Season of Revolution: Painters, Artisans, and Patrons in Early America*, 47.
[124] Benjamin West to Charles Willson Peale, 1809, in Eleanor Pearson DeLorme, "Gilbert Stuart: Portrait of an Artist," *Winterthur Portfolio* 14, no. 4 (1979), 344.
[125] *Gilbert Stuart: A Portrait of the Young Republic*, 9 in Delorme, 344.
[126]Ross Watson, "The Progress of the Human Mind," in William Howard Adams and National Gallery of Art, *The Eye of Th: Jefferson: Exhibition* (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1976), 85.

United States, were "a means of exciting an Emulation in our Posterity."[127] Representations in all mediums, be it in paintings, ink, plaster, or silver medals, influenced how Americans perceived the Founding Fathers, as well as current and future leaders. Curiously, the majority of Jefferson's portraits of great men were relegated to the Parlor, with the exception of Jefferson and Hamilton's busts in the Hall. This seems odd given the Hall's more public audience. Perhaps, he wished to restrict the presence of other figures in the Hall as a means of maintaining a personal association with the achievements reflected in the artifacts, maps, and instruments in the Hall. Additionally, not all of the portraits at Monticello captured American heroes.

Jefferson described the busts of Alexander and Bonaparte to William Hooper as "two of the greatest scoundrels that ever existed. Bonaparte and Alexander."[128] He wrote to Adams about Bonaparte, "I had thought him the greatest of all military captains, but an indifferent statesman and misled by unworthy passions."[129] Perhaps this admiration arrived from the success of the Louisiana purchase. An interpretation strengthened by the proximity of Jefferson's favorite Campeachy chair from Louisiana, to the bust of Napoleon in the Parlor corner. Some historians also believe the Louisiana purchase influenced the ceiling motif plastered in the Hall. In this way, the portraiture at Monticello, even seemingly controversial pieces, all relate back to an expression of American growth, prosperity, and documenting the history of the new nation. The connections between the furniture, architectural ornament and art, like the relationships between

[127] Eric Homberger, "Image-Making and the Circulation of Images: Peale, Trumbull and the Founding Fathers," 11.
[128] Jefferson quoted by William Hooper, in WLB, "William Hooper visits Monticello September 20, 1823," (Entrance Hall Information File, Jefferson Library, 10/31/02), 4.
[129] TJ to John Adams, February 25, 1823.

the content and meaning of artwork across the Parlor and the Hall, speak to necessity to interpret the spaces in their entirety.

A Didactic Space

It is no secret that Jefferson inserted didactic tools and models for emulation by Americans, Virginians, and more specifically by students at his University. These tools, often manifested in architectural expression, for instance the varying orders and architectural details on the Pavilions of the Academical Village at the University of Virginia, or the Virginia State Capitol in Richmond, Virginia. More pertinent to this project are Jefferson's ornamental schemes for the interiors of the Hall and the Parlor. Detail drawings of the architectural elements demonstrate his attention to detail and his determination to set a precedent of taste in the new Republic. Such efforts were not lost on visitors like the Baron de Montlezun who described Monticello's architecture, the "exterior, in Doric style, is surmounted by balustrades. The interior of the house is decorated in the different styles of architecture, with the exception of the composite. The vestibule is Ionic; the dining room Doric, the drawing room Corinthian and the dome Attic. The rooms are decorated with various forms of these styles, in their true proportions, after Palladio."[130] These orders signified the hierarchy of space inside Monticello, and situated Jefferson's collections within elevated context of symbols. Even for visitors who lacked any background in classical architecture or the arts, the Hall and the Parlor would provide an introduction.

The many large-scale maps representing, "Europe, Asia, Africa, South America, Map of the World, United States, 2 of Virginia," that hung on the walls and were likely arranged on the

[130] "Baron de Montlezun, "A Frenchman Visits Albemarle, 1816," 49.

specially designed desk, also support a didactic interpretation of the Hall.[131] The maps would allow visitors to situate Monticello and Virginia in relation to the United States and the world at large, and Jefferson did argue that "a great deal is yet wanting to ascertain the true geography of our country," and to "this we have done too little for ourselves and depended too long on the ancient and inaccurate observations of other nations."[132] The language of Martha's *Inventory* entry also encourages this understanding, "these maps we should like to have for the school, and particularly the map of South America."[133] Jefferson's descendants clearly recognized degree of accuracy and potential for the maps to be used as teaching tools.

A more intimate interpretation of the maps relates to Jefferson's father, Peter Jefferson, who was a surveyor and mapmaker operating in Virginia in the mid eighteenth century.[134] Some historians argue this is where Jefferson's "eye" comes from, and it is known that Jefferson owned copies of his father's original 1752 Map of the Most Inhabited Parts of Virginia, created in partnership with Joshua Fry.[135] Perhaps Jefferson included maps of Virginia and the United States in Monticello's Hall to honor of his father's legacy, as well as to inform visitors.

Alternatively, a less encouraging view of the maps fosters a sentiment of dominance of Jefferson and the young nation over the indigenous cultures – especially if these domestic maps are viewed in relation to the "Indian map of the Southern waters of the Missouri, by a Ricara chief on a buffalo pelt" also hanging in the Hall.[136] Furthermore the language used by visitors to describe the Hall validates this view. Jane Blair Cary Smith description of the Hall, "with its

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[131] [Martha Jefferson Randolph] "Inventory of the furniture in the house at Monticello MHi (Massachusetts Historical Society), in Susan R. Stein, *The Worlds of Thomas Jefferson at Monticello*, 383.
[132] Susan R. Stein, *The Worlds of Thomas Jefferson at Monticello*, 382.
[133] [Martha Jefferson Randolph] "Inventory."
[134] John E Bodnar, *Remaking America*, 81.
[135] Susan R. Stein, *The Worlds of Thomas Jefferson at Monticello*, 384.
[136] *Catalogue of Paintings &c. at Monticello* (c.1809–15).

Indian trophies," certainly implies a dominance of the curator and collector over the collected materials – principally her use of "trophies." However, it seems Jefferson's interests in native American culture dated back to his childhood, and was not part of a new found political assertion of power, as his early introduction to Cherokee chief "Ontasséte," whom Jefferson met on a few occasions at his father's house.[137] Still, Jefferson's collection of natural specimens and Native American "tokens of friendship" which were well received by his many visitors, were left off of his otherwise thorough *Catalogue*, as well as Martha's later inventory.[138]

Jefferson also had all the artefacts excavated from the digs and exhibitions sent to the President's house, where he hand-picked items for his personal collection at Monticello before sending the remains to other individuals and institutions. For example, items sent in a shipment from Lewis and Clark's exhibition at Fort Mandan to Jefferson in 1805, included ethnographic articles, natural history items, plant specimens, and even live animals.[139] Jefferson then distributed the items to Peale's Museum and to the Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, but as he noted in a letter to Peale, "There are some articles which I shall keep for an Indian Hall I am forming at Monticello, e.g. horns, dressed skins, utensils &c."[140]In this view Jefferson must have had a greater purpose in mind if he was taking artifacts that would otherwise be sent to the Nation's first Natural History Museum - however, whether this purpose was personal or for the public is contestable. On the one hand, Jefferson certainly recognized the public role of his house and therefore his displays, but Peale's Museum was in the heart of a city, not the top of a

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[137] William Howard Adams and National Gallery of Art (US), *The Eye of Th: Jefferson: Exhibition*, 78.
[138] *Catalogue of Paintings &c. at Monticello* (c.1809–15).
[139] Invoice of shipment in Donald Jackson, ed. *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with Related Documents, 1783-1854*, 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 234-36
[140] Jefferson to Charles Willson Peale, October 6, 1805, Jackson, 260-61 quoted in Elizabeth Chew, "unpacking Jefferson's Indian Hall," 2009, http://www.discoveringlewisandclark.com/article/3086.

mountain in rural Virginia. Visitors such as the Baron de Montlezun suggest that Peale's Museum was inferior, or at least indebted to Jefferson and Monticello – noting the rarity in Jefferson's entrance Hall collection following his visit in 1816. Specifically, the mammoth jaw which, "could not be found anywhere else," and that "it was from it that Mr. Peale made the model with which he completed his mammoth in the Philadelphia museum."[141] In this view not only was Jefferson not only contributed to the content of early American art and natural history collections, but also their public presentation.

[141] Baron de Montlezun, "A Frenchman Visits Albemarle, 1816," 46.

CONCLUSION

The artist John Trumbull returned to America in 1816. Soon thereafter in Washington, Trumbull earned a commission for four pictures intended for the walls of the new capitol building. From the miniatures Trumbull offered, congress chose four scenes depicting the "Declaration of Independence," "The Surrender of Burgoyne," "The Surrender of Cornwallis," and "The Resignation of Washington." This commission was recognized as a "magnificent national encouragement of the fire arts, and tribute of gratitude to the sages and warriors of the Revolution."[142] Yet, half of these scenes were already on display at Monticello in both the Hall and the Parlor. Jefferson's displays and engagement with American artists foreshadowed the advancements in the early American fine arts, and likely influenced the direction in terms of tastes and display. This anecdote also highlights the issues facing Jefferson's displays at Monticello and the efforts of American fine arts to follow. These include the seemingly patriotic artists, like Trumbull and Stuart, who in reality were equally driven by economic pressures, transatlantic experiences, and education. Trumbull chose to paint scenes for Congress that he previously painted and sold in various iterations. This civic commission also highlights the delay, and inevitable adoption, of transatlantic culture in America, as Trumbull's commissions were history paintings, a genre not readily accepted in early stages of American arts. That said, the mixing of portraiture and history painting by Trumbull marks a definitively American genre, rooted in both English and American traditions. Similarly, Monticello's Hall and Parlor can be compared with transatlantic spaces of display, however ultimately, they reflect a distinctly American arena.

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[142] William Dunlap, Charles E Goodspeed, and Frank William Bayley, *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States*, 57.

With regards to evaluating the impact that Monticello's spaces of display had on visitors arriving between 1816 and 1826, the public function of the spaces and Jefferson's intentions must be reviewed. Jefferson never referred to his Hall or his Parlor as "museum" spaces, nor did he express a particularly positive attitude towards the contemporary arts scene in the new nation. This sentiment Jefferson expressed in his "Hints to Americans Traveling in Europe," dated June 19, 1788 where he advised that European architecture was "worth great attention," and that, "it is then among the most important arts: and it is desireable [sic] to introduce taste into an art which shews so much," but that European "painting, statuary. Too expensive for the state of wealth among us," and that it "would be useless therefore and preposterous for us to endeavor to make ourselves connoisseurs in those arts." Jefferson concluded that the arts were "worth seeing, but not studying."[143] However, in contrast, visitors frequently compared what they encountered in the spaces at Monticello to their contemporary impressions of museums: "a view of his rooms affords as much gratification as of a museum," "his hall - or rather museum," and the "curious assemblages of artificial or natural objects forming quite a museum."[144]

At the same time that visitors were drafting these remarks, Jefferson was speaking of the "enemies and spies, catching and perverting every word which falls from my lips, or flows from my pen," in conversations with Margaret Bayard Smith. He lamented to Smith, "I pant for that society, where all is peace and harmony, where we love and are beloved by every object we see,"

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[143] "Jefferson's Hints to Americans Travelling in Europe, 19 June 1788," *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, vol. 13, March–7 October 1788, ed. Julian P. Boyd, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1956), pp. 264–276.

[144] Salma Hale to Arthur Livermore, May 16, 1818, Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings, October, 1912-June, 1913.v. XLVI* (Boston, 1813), 404; George Ticknor, February 1815 Peterson, *Visitors to Monticello*, 62; Benjamin Rush Richard Rush to Charles Jared Ingersoll, Oct. 9, 1816, The Letters and Papers of Richard Rush, ed. Anthony M. Brescia, microfilm edition (Washington, DE, 1980) in Merrill Peterson, 72-73.

but that this desire was "hushed and suppressed by the eternal presence of strangers."[145] If we place this description in relation to views of the Hall and its arrangement, it might seem that Jefferson never desired to impress moral lessons or to reform the taste of his visitors, but instead he felt obliged by his public positions, or perhaps that these public and patriotic characteristics of Monticello's spaces of display were accidental. Architectural evidence similarly questions the public motives behind Jefferson's Hall and Parlor. Jefferson's rooms appealed to a wide audience and the contents displayed in the Hall and the Parlor provided models of emulation in favor of the progress of a new nation.[146] The house was inviting, rational, and open. However, in contrast to the visibility within and without offered by the large doors and windows, ceiling heights, and open floorplans, Jefferson at one point intended to fix venetian blinds on the windows of these rooms. Such an addition would enable Jefferson to close the interior spaces off from the outside world, and to block the "enemies and spies," that haunted him – however, these additions were never realized.

Instead, Monticello's architectural evidence speaks to the public function and ware on these public spaces of display. For instance, one visitor in 1823 commented on the Hall's, "floor covered with a glossy oil-cloth," which signals an effort to protect the floor and ergo Jefferson's awareness of the constant flow of visitors that Monticello attracted. Whether or not Jefferson wanted his house to be a public arena of display, it became one, and he rose to the challenge. Jefferson continued to collect, commission, and curate art at Monticello throughout his lifetime, as demonstrated in his record keeping and amendments to his inventories such as his *Catalogue.* He toured many visitors and conversed with them about the contents in his collections. His arrangements of art at Monticello were grounded in his

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[145] Margaret Bayard Smith, *The First Forty years of Washington Society,* ed. Gaillard Hunt (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906), 78.
[146] David Carrier, "The Display of Art: An Historical Perspective," *Leonardo,* Vol. 20, no.1 (1987): 83-86.

pursuit of knowledge, reason, and the betterment of the nation; and the architectural details, furnishings, decorations, and arts collection all at Monticello constituted a unique public display that was explicitly American.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1: Entrance Hall facing east, Monticello, Photograph, Robert Lautman, Thomas Jefferson Foundation.

Figure 2: Parlor facing west, Monticello, Photograph, Carol Highsmith, Thomas Jefferson Foundation.

Figure 3: Monticello: Parlor east wall, outline of the front door of the first house and blocked niches. Photograph, ca. 1953-54.

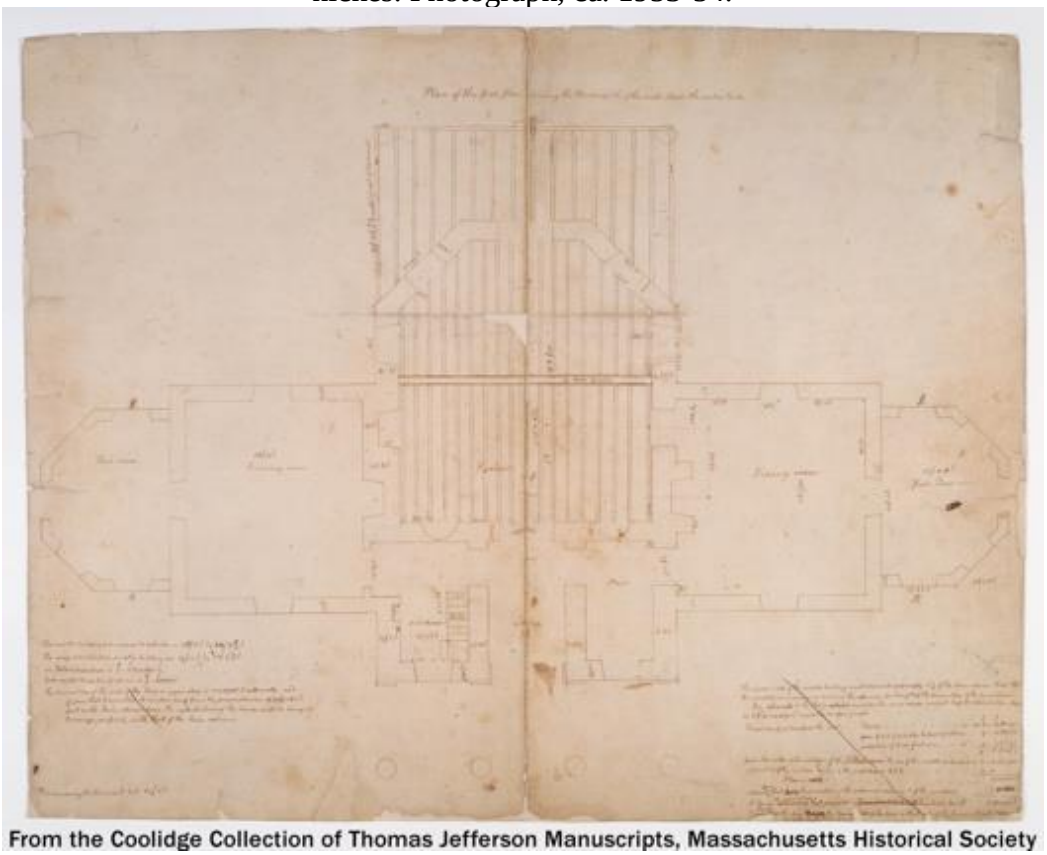


Figure 4: Monticello: Final version of the first floor of Monticello I (plan), probably before March 1771, by Thomas Jefferson. N49; K24 [electronic edition]. *Thomas Jefferson Papers: An Electronic Archive.* Boston, Mass.: Massachusetts Historical Society, 2003.

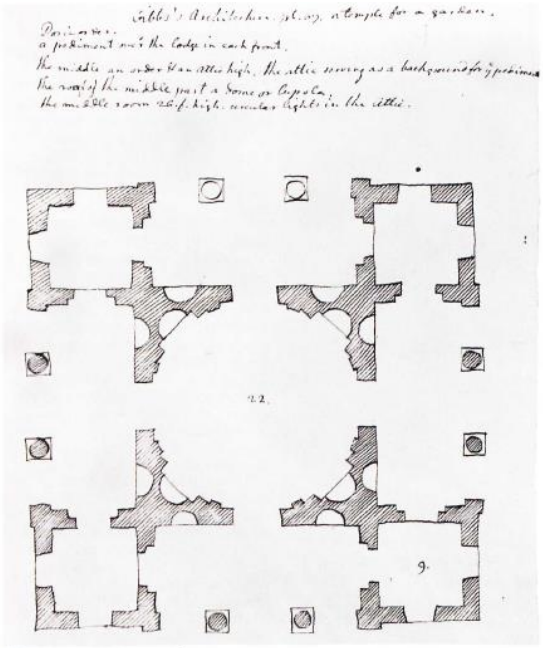


Figure 5: Thomas Jefferson, A temple for a garden traced from James Gibb's *Book of Architecture* (Plate 67), ink on laid paper, c.1778, 19.3 x 25.1, Massachusetts Historical Society.

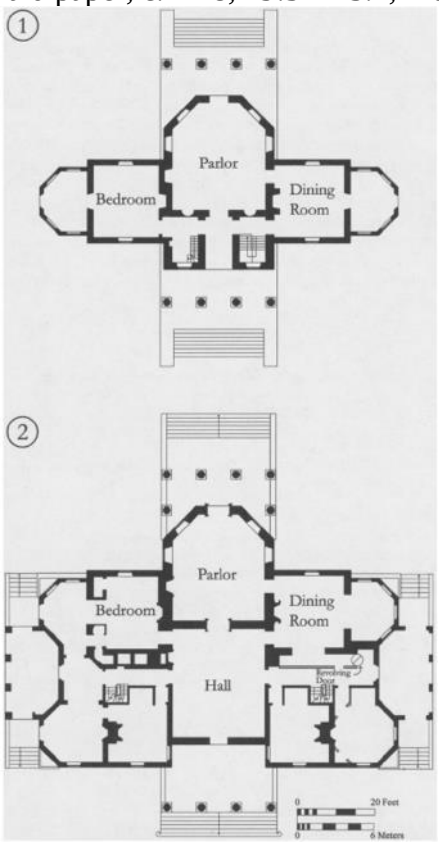


Figure 6: Comparison of floorplans from Monticello I and Monticello II, Frasier D. Nieman, "The Lost World of Monticello: An Evolutionary Perspective," *Journal of Anthropological Research*,64, 2 (Summer, 2008), 187.

Figure 7: View of the Salon of 1785, Pietro Antonio Martini (1738-1797), etching, 1785, 27.6 x 48.6 cm, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Figure 8: Public sale at the Hôtel Bulion, oil on canvas, Pierre Antoine de Machy (1723-1807).

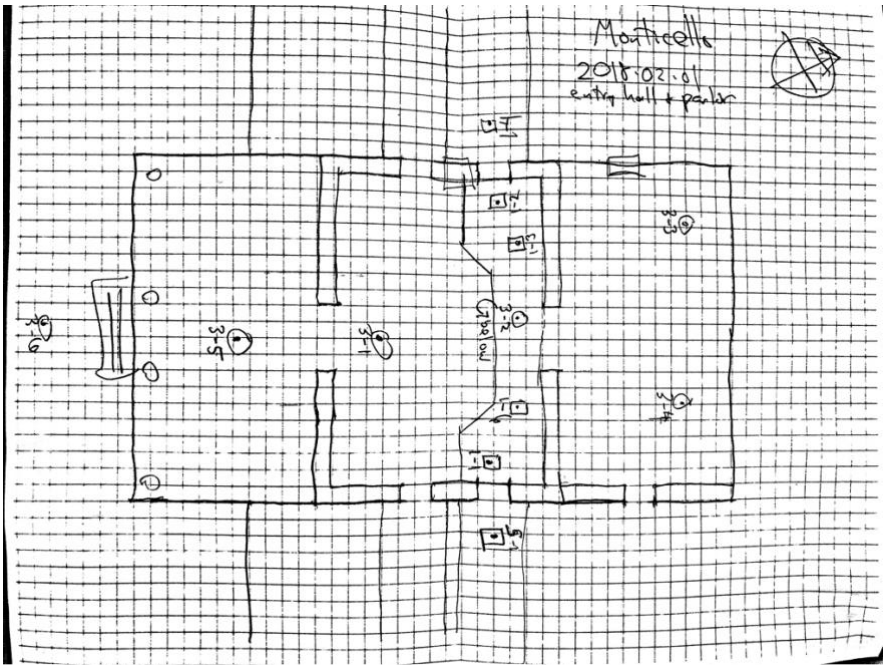


Figure 9: Field drawing, recording the scanner placement at Monticello, February 2018.

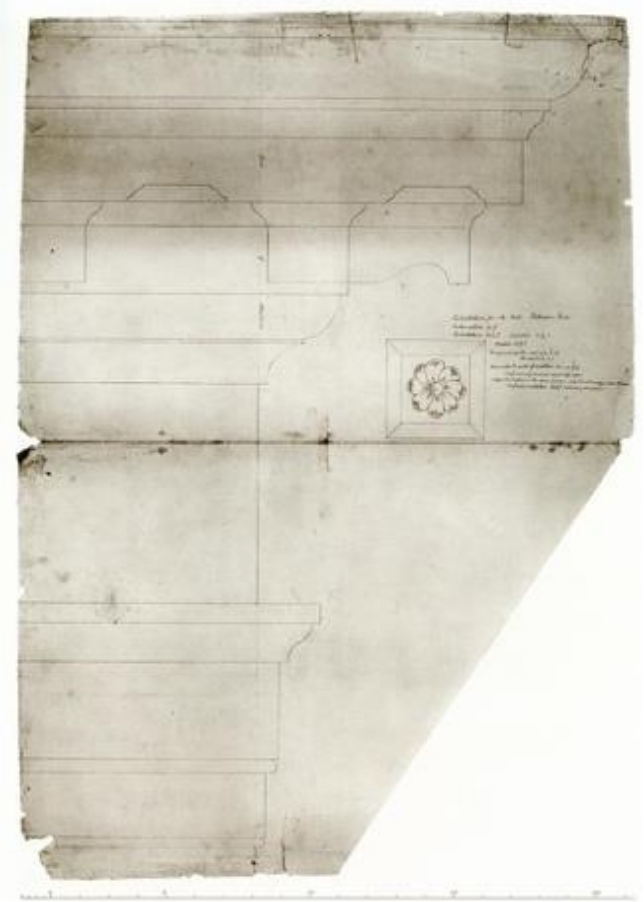


Figure 10: Thomas Jefferson, drawing, Hall entablature, Monticello, Nichols: N175. c. 1805.

Figure 11: Measured cloud point data of the Hall entablature at Monticello, screenshot from Faro Scene, Eliza Hodgson, April 2018.

Figure 12: Mesh data, south wall elevation of Hall and Parlor, screenshot from Geomagic Design, Eliza Hodgson, April 2018.

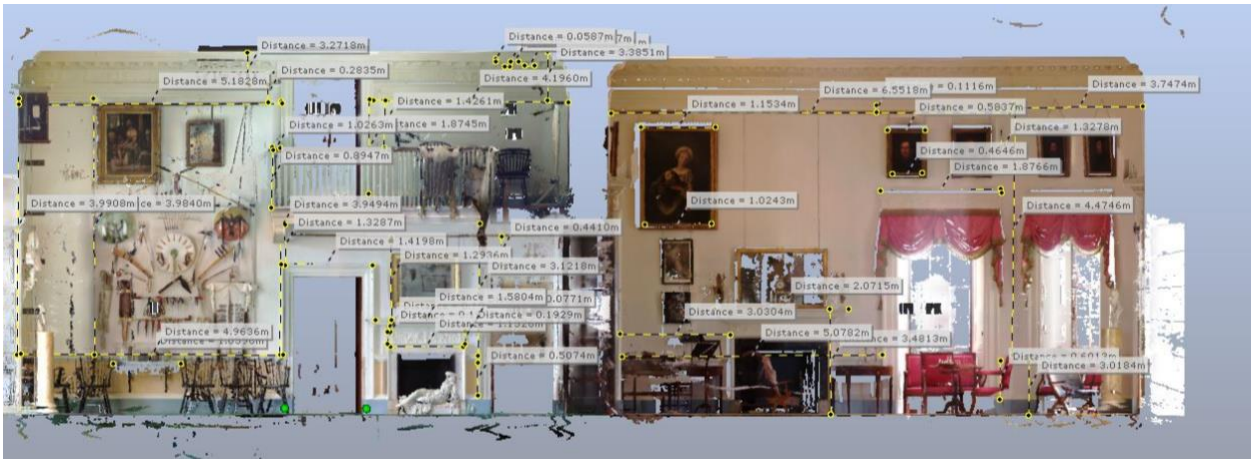


Figure 13: Measured cloud point data, south elevation of Hall and Parlor, screenshot from Faro Scene, Eliza Hodgson, April 2018.

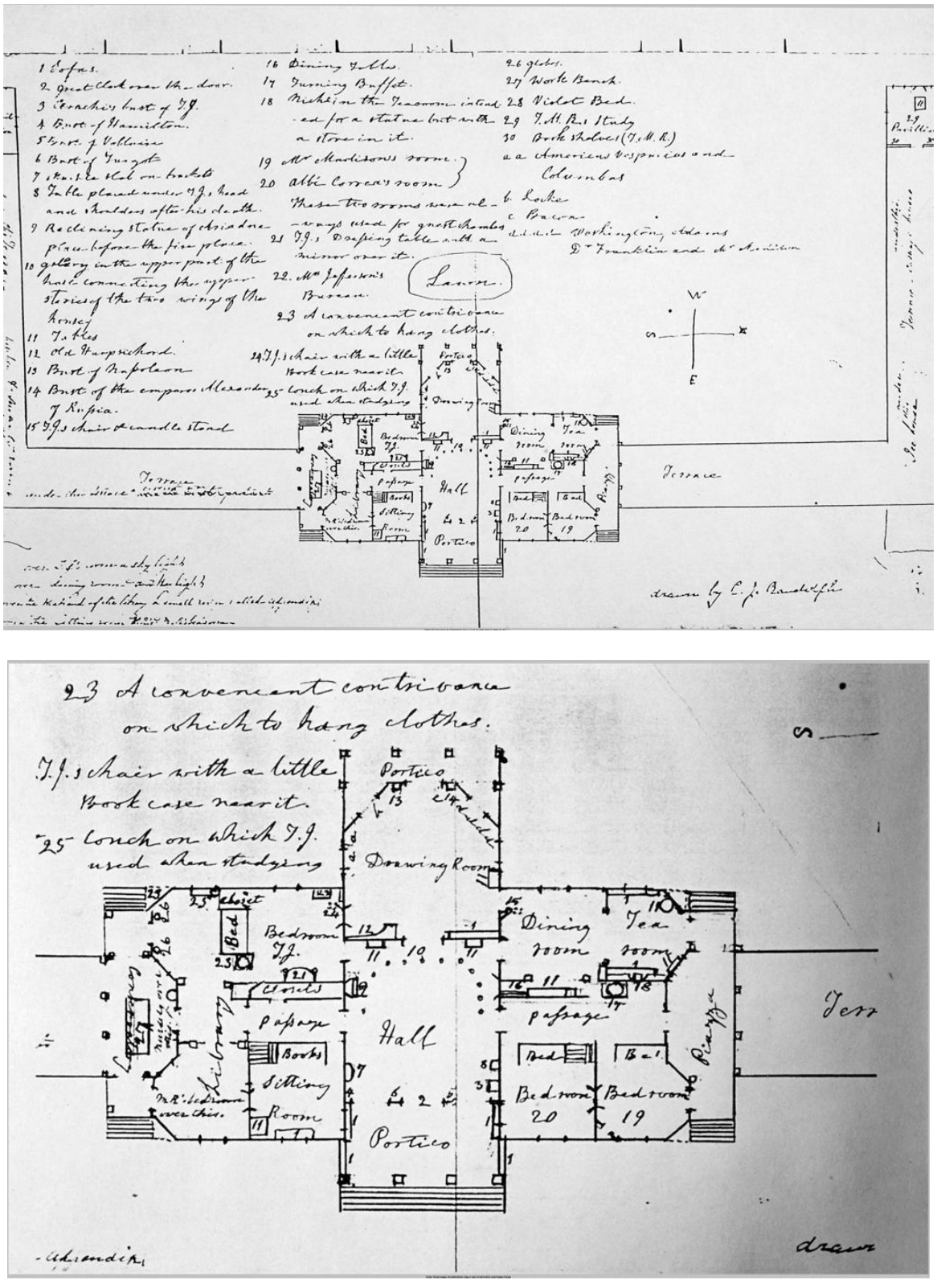


Figure 14: Cornelia Jefferson Randolph (1799-1871), floorplan of Monticello first floor, c.1826, drawing with notes.

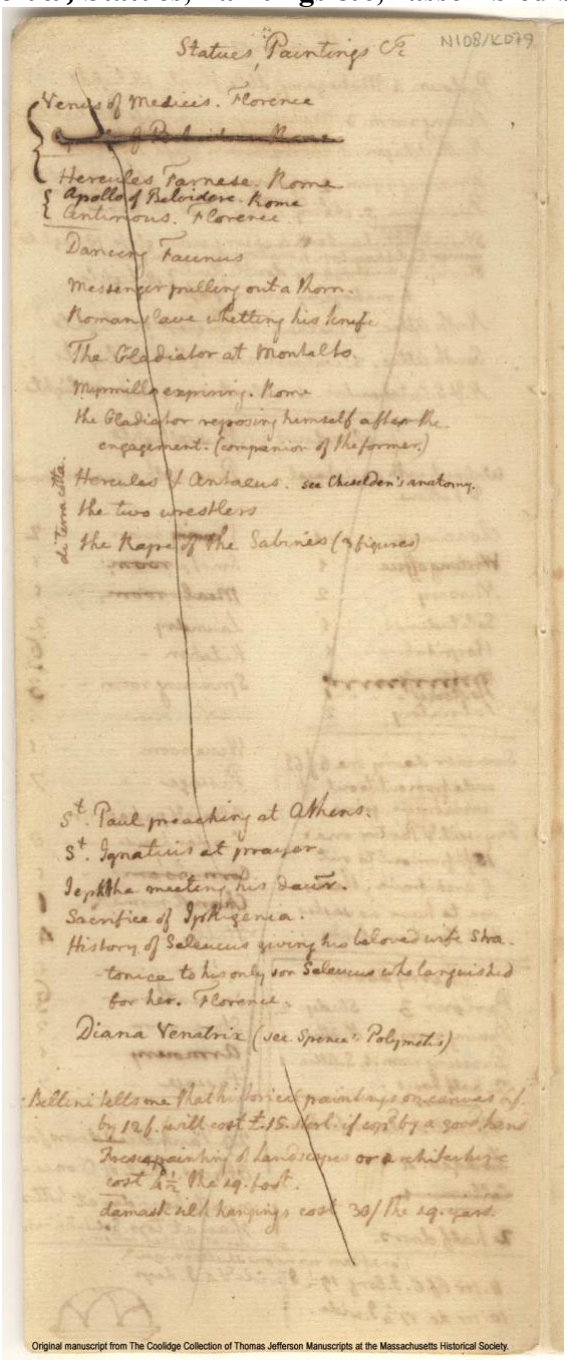
Figure 15: Cornelia Jefferson Cornelia Jefferson Randolph (1799-1871), pedestal for Ceracchi's Bust of Thomas Jefferson, general view. Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation Papers (American repository, Charlottesville, Va., contemporary).

Figure 16: Round-headed pier mirror, showing sconces and marble-topped table, all originally at Monticello, now at Redlands. ca. 1785, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Carter, Redlands, Albemarle County, Va.

Figure 17: One of a pair of pier mirrors in the Parlor at Monticello, Paris, France, gilt, gesso, wood with mirrored glass, 284.5 x 121.9 cm, c. 1785, photo: Thomas Jefferson Foundation.

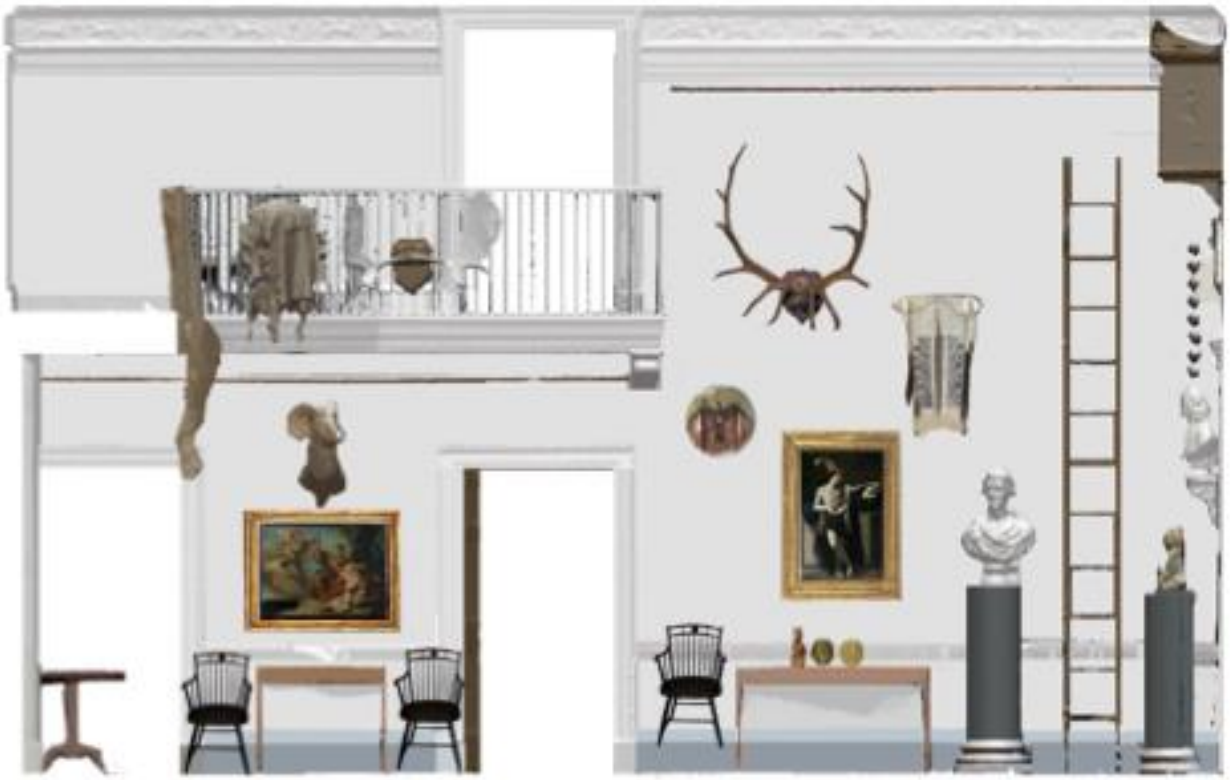
APPENDIX

1. A list of "*desiderata,* Statues, Paintings &c," assembled by Jefferson c. 1771[147]



[147] Monticello: building notebook, page 12 of 52, [1771], by ThomasJefferson. N108; K79 [electronic edition], Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, MA. http://www.masshist.org/thomasjeffersonpapers/doc?id=arch_N108&mode=lgImg

2. Elevations



3. Annotated *Catalogue of Paintings &c. at Monticello* by Thomas Jefferson (c.1809-1815)

Catalogue of Paintings &c. at Monticello[148]
[page 1]
Hall

1. An Ecce homo. a bust of Jesus of about 2/3 the natural [scale 1]/ on canvas. he is clothed with a robe of purple, & a crown of thorns/ on his head. copied from Guido.

- Included original Ecce Homo, Guido Reni, c. 1639-40, Musée du Louvre, .60 x .45 m, (http://cartelen.louvre.fr/cartelen/visite?srv=car_not_frame&idNotice=1672&langue=en)

2. A bust of St. Jerom in meditation, his head reclined on/ his right hand, and a book in his left. of full size, on Canvas. copied from Goltzius.

- Surviving: unknown copyist after Hendrick Goltzius, oil on canvas, 62.2 x 49.5 cm, Thomas Jefferson Foundation.

3. Jesus driving the money changers out of the temple. 7. [fi-]/ -gures of full length, & about half the natural module, the [sub-]/ -ject Matthew 21.12. on Canvas. copied from Valentin.

- For the purpose of content – chose to display the orginal by Valentin de Boulogne, Christ Driving the Money Changers out of the Temple, c. 1618, Oil on canvas, 195 x 260 cm, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica, Rome

4. St. Peter weeping. his hands are pressed together, and nea[r]/ him the cock shews it was in the moment of Matthew 26.75/ 'and Peter remembered the words of Jesus, which said unto h[im]/ before the cock crow thous shalt deny me thrice. and he wen[t]/ out & wept bitterly'. a half length figure of full size, on/ Canvas, copied from Carlo Lotti. purchased from St. Severin['s]/ collection. Catalogue No. 36.

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[148] Transcription from: Seymour Howard, "Thomas Jefferson's Art Gallery for Monticello" *The Art Bulletin* LIX(1977): 597-600. The original manuscript is at the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia, Accession #2958-b.

- Saint Severin Catalogue entry reads No. 36 “St pierre pleurant fa faute; il est à mains jointes & de grandeur naturelle; il a les mains jointes & paroît pénétré de la plus profonde doleur : hauteur 3 pieds 1 pouce, largeur 2 pirds; toile.” Listed in the sale Catalogue under “Ecolde de Bologne,” Jefferson attributes the canvas to one copied adter “Carlo Lotti,” the version showing is Carlo Dolci scaled to align with the dimensions listed in the sale Catalogue. Carlo Dolci, oil on canvas, 41 x 31 cm, (https://library.artstor.org/asset/ARTSTOR_103_41822000818276)

5. John Baptist, a bust of the natural size. the right hand/ pointing to heaven, the left, deeply shaded, is scarcely seen/ pressing his breast, which is covered by his hair flowing/ thickly over it. it is seen almost in full face. on canvas/ copied from Leonardo da Vinci.

- For purpose of content: Leonardo da Vinci, 1513-16, oil on walnut wood, 69 x 57 cm, Louvre, Paris.

6. Jesus among the Doctors, & disputing with them. the subject Luk/ 3.[2.]46. his right hand pointing to heaven, the left pressing his breas[t] the drapery/blue & purple, the hair flowing loose. a half length fi[-]/ -gure of full size, seen in profile, on Canvas.

- For purpose of content:

7. St. Joseph the husband of Mary the mother of Jesus. a 3/4 len[gth]/ of full size on Canvas. a book is laying open before him. h[is]/

[page 2]

hands interlocked with energy, his head & eyes turned up/ to heaven, & his mouth open, as in the act of fervent prayer.

- (Unkown)

8. Jesus in the Praetorium, stripped of the purple, as yet/ naked & with the crown of thorns on his head. he is sitting./ a whole length figure of about 4. feet. the persons present/ seem to be one of his revilers, one of his followers, & the su-/-perintendent of the execution. the subject from Mark 15./16.-20. an original on wood, by [Malbod]ius.

- Surviving: Copy after 1527 Jan Gossaert or in Jefferson’s word’s “Malbodius,” Oil on wood, 95.3 x 71.1 cm Thomas Jefferson Foundation.

9. David with the head of Goliah, copied on canvas from/ Guido, who has given his own picture in the person of/ David. a whole length of 2.f.6.I.

- Surviving: unknown copyist, after c. 1631 original by Guido Reni, after 1692, oil on canvas, 143.5 x 102.9 cm, Thomas Jefferson Foundation.

10. The sacrifice of Isaac. he is placed on the pile, on his knees,/ his wrists bound, Abraham with his left hand grasping/ the back of his neck, a naked sworn [sic] in his right, uplifted/ & ready to strike the fatal stroke. in that instant an Angel/ hovering above him, stays his hand, and Abraham looks/ up with distraction to see by what power his his [sic] hand is/ witheld. in a bush on the right hand is seen the ram./ the figures are whole length: that of Abraham on a scale/ of not quite half the natural size. on canvas, an ori-/-ginal. the subject Gen. 22.

- Copy for content:

11. Jesus before Pilate. the subject Mark 27.27.28.[Matthew 27] on can-/-vas, copied from Pordononi.

- Copy for content:

12.&15. two busts of Indian figures, male & female by Indians, in hard stone./ 18.I. high. they were dug up at a place called Palmyra,/ on the Tennissee.

- Mandan Buffalo Robe, general view. ca. 1798, Era: CE. Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (American repository, Cambridge, contemporary). http://library.artstor.org/asset/UVA_FISKE__1067_15632251. Web. 12 Apr 2018.

13. a bust of Turgot in plaister, by Houdon. [6]
14. a bust of Voltaire in plaister, by Houdon. [5]
16. a fac simile of the largest of the Pyramids of Egypt, called Cheops.
17. *a Cleopatra in marble. [*see this corrected pa. 11.] an Indian painting of a battle between the Panis & Osages, on a buffalo pelt. an Indian map of the Southern waters of the Missouri, by a Ricara chief on a buffalo pelt.

- Ariadne (formerly listed as Cleopatra), unknown copyist, c. 1800-1809, marble, 68.5 x 95.3 x 34.3 cm, Thomas Jefferson Foundation.

Parlour. Upper tier.

[page 3]

18. Lord Bacon. [c.]
19. Sr. Isaac Newton.
20. John Locke [b]

[Mr. Trumbull (the painter) procured these co-/-pies [numbers 18,19, 20] for Th. J from originals in England]

- For these works: chose to show the Lord Bacon portrait, now at the Royal Society: Portrait of Francis Bacon, Studio of Paulus van Somer, Oil on Panel, c.1618, 1120 x 850 mm (likely after Kneller’s portrait). (https://pictures.royalsociety.org/image-rs-9655), Sr. Isaac Newton: portrait by Sir G. Kneller , the same artist that painted the original of Locke copied by Trumbull, Oil on canvas, feigned oval, 1702, 756 mm x 622 mm, NPG 2881, (https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw04660/Sir-Isaac-Newton), John Locke, surviving copy made by John Trumbull, copied from Sir Godfrey Kneller’s portrait of Newton.

21. Doctr. Franklin. an original drawn for the Abbe Very by Greusz. [d]

- The painting chosen is a copy after Jean-Baptiste Greuze at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Oil on Canvas, 72.7 x 57.5 cm, (https://www.nga.gov/collection/art-object-page.53104.html)

22. Herodiade bearing the head of St. John in a platter. a 3/4/ length of full size on canvas, copied from Simon Vouett,/ purchased from St. Severin's collection, Catal. No. 248. the/ subject Matt. 14.11.Mark. 6.2.8 [28].

- Surviving: St. Severin Catalogue entry for No. 248 reads under the title *Simon Vouët* "248 Héodiade portant la tête de St Jean dans un plat, elle est représentée à mi-corps & de grandeur naturelle. Ce Tableau est d'une touche légère, d'une harmo-nieuse couleur, & l'un des plus beaux de ce Maître : hauteur 3 pieds 5 puces, largeur 2 pieds 9 pouces 6 ligne ; toile."[149] Have dimensions of original and the description as stated in the Catalogue, Unknown copyist, after c. 1631 original by Guido Reni, after 1692, oil on canvas, 143.5 x 102.9 cm, Thomas Jefferson Foundation.

23. Democritus & Heraclitus, or the laughing & weeping philoso-/ -phers, the former smiling, the latter railing, at the follies/ of mankind. the figures are 3/4 lengths, larger than life./ on canvas. an Original. purchased from the collection/ of St. Severin. Catal. No. 215.

- The St. Severin Catalogue entry for No. 215 is listed under *Maitre Inconnus*, thus I chose an example that corresponds with Jefferson's' description and the dimensions listed in the Sevrin Catalogue. Entry No. 215: Démocrite & Héraclite; Figures à mi-corps sur un fond de paysage : hauteur 3 pieds 8 pouces, largeur 4 pieds 6 pouces: toile."

24. Christopher Columbus. [a]
25. Americus Vesputius. [a]
26. Ferdinand Magellan.
27. Fernando Cortez. ***[Copied from Originals in the gal-/-lery of Medicis, for Th. J. [24,25,26,27]]

- The three portraits chosen for these copies based on works in Uffizi collection. Christopher Columbus copy by Giuseppe Calendi survives, 1788, oil on canvas, 61.2 x 47.2 cm, New-York Historical Society. Jefferson wrote to Philip Mazzei in 1787 expressing his desire to commission portraits of "Aerican Vespucius, of Columbus, of Megellan and Cortez." He wrote to Trumbull that the four portraits were copied from ones hanging in "the gallery of the Grand duke at Florence."[150]

28. Sr. Walter Raleigh. copy from an Original of Holben.

- Surviving: Painting of Sir Walter Raleigh, possibly Edward Alcock, 1787, Oil on canvas, 64.8 x 50.2cm. Thomas Jefferson Foundation.

29. La Fayette. original. done in 1789 for Th. J.

- Surviving: Copy by Bradley Stevens of original by Joseph Boze (1745-1826), 1790, oil on canvas, 92.1 x 72.4 cm, Thomas Jefferson Foundation.

30. James Madison. an original by Pine. taken in 1790. [d]

- Cannot locate this original – chose to display a portrait of Madison by Gilbert Stuart. Portrait of James Madison and frame, 1804, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Gift of Mrs. George S. Robbins. http://library.artstor.org/asset/AWSS35953_35953_39006122.

[space]

- Propose: Gilbert Stuart Edgehill Portrait hung here. Jefferson sat for this portrait in 1805, but he waited over fifteen years for this painting to arrive at Monticello, thus he left a "space" for his portrait between Madison and Adams on the top tier. The Edgehill Portrait, Gilbert Stuart, 1805-1821, oil on mahogany, 66.4 x 53.3 cm, National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution; owned jointly with Thomas Jefferson Foundation. (http://npg.si.edu/media/8200232A_1.jpg)

32. John Adams. an original by Brown. taken in London in 1785. [d]

- A copy of Mather Brown's original portrait of Adams by Bradley Stevens now hangs in Monticello's Parlor, the original: John Adams, Mather Brown, 1788, oil on canvas, 90.2 x 71.3 cm, Boston Athenaeum.

33. George Washington. an original by Wright. taken in Philada in 1784. [d]

- A copy of Joseph Wright's original portrait of Washington by Bradley Stevens now hangs in Monticello's Parlor, the original: Joseph Wright, completed by John Trumbull, 1784, oil on canvas, 94.5 x 77.5 cm, Massachusetts Historical Society.

34. the Prodigal son. he is in rags, kneeling at the feet of his/ father, who extends his hands to raise him. the mother and/ sister appear shocked at his condition, but the elder son views/ him with indignation. the figures of full size on Canvas/ purchased from St. Severin's collection. Catal. 306. an Original.

- St. Severin Catalogue reads No. 306 "L'Enfant Prodigue aux pieds de son Père, qui lui pardonne. Composition de trois Figures de grandeur naturelle : hautenr 3 pieds 8 pouces, largeur 4 pieds 8 pouces: toile."

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35. A Magdalen penitent, sitting, her hair dishevelled, her eyes/ looking up to heaven, a book in her right hand, & the left rest-/ -ing on a skull. a 3/4 length of full size on Canvas, copied from Joseph de/ Ribera, called Espagnolet, purchased from St. Severin's collection./ Catal. No. 59

- St Severin Catalogue reads under *Joseph de Ribera, Surnommé l'Espagnolet* No. 59 "La Magdeleine pénitente; elle est assise & vue jusqu'aux genoux ; les cheveux sont épars & elle est revêtue d'un cilice; d'une main elle tient un livre & a

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[149] Catalogue from estate sale of Dupille De St-Severin, Février 1785, Rue St-Louis, au Marais, 24.

[150] Jefferson to Mazzei, Paris, January 12, 1789, in *PTJ*, 12:245. ; Jefferson to Trumbull, Paris, January 12, 1789, in ibid., 14:440: Library of Congress.

l'autre appuyée sur une tête de mort. ce tableau est du bon temps de ce Maitre: hauteur 3 pieds 8 pouces, largeur 3 pieds; toile." The painting shown today, not the version Jefferson had, and was actually from the Madison collection.

Middle tier

36. a Transfiguration. copied from Raphael. whole length figures/ of 6.I. on Canvas. the subject Matt. 17. 1-8. see 4. Manuel du/ Museum. PI. 1.

- The painting included is Raphael's *The Transfiguration* commissioned by Cardinal Giulio de'Medici, Rafaello Sanzio, The ransfiguration, 1516-1520, "Tempera grassa" on wood, 410 x 279 cm, Musei Vaticani (http://www.museivaticani.va/content/museivaticani/en/collezioni/musei/la-pinacoteca/sala-viii---secolo-xvi/raffaello-sanzio--trasfigurazione.html) – Based on the dimensions of this work and Jefferson's description of the figures being 6I – estimated the dimensions to scale.

37. the Baptism of Jesus by John. figures whole length of 10.1./ on wood. from Devois. the subject Luke 3.21.22.

- (Unkown)

38. a Crucifixion. whole length figure on wood. an Original/ by Gerard Seggers. the moment is that of Luke 23.44-45.

39. Liberty. a print. designed & engraved by Savage.

- Surviving: Edward Savafe, 1796, stipple engraving, 62.7 x 38.1 cm, Thomas Jefferson Foundation.

40. Daphne transformed into a laurel. Apollo is siesing her/ round the waist to bear her off: but her father, the river-god/ Peneus, who is present, transforms her, in that instant, into a/ laurel, the branches of which are seen shooting from her fingers./ on the left are two female figures, struck with dismay, & above/ a Cupid flying off in consternation. the figures are whole length./ that of Daphne of 12.I. on canvas. an Original. the subject/ is from Ovid's Metamorphosis L. 1. -tergoque fugaci/ Imminet: et crinem sparsum cervicibus afflat./ Viribus assumptis expalluit illa citaeque/ Victa labore fugae, spectans Pene'das undas./ Fer, pater, inquit, opem; si flumina numen habetis./ Vix prece finita torpor gravis alligat artus:/ Mollia cinquntur tenui praecordia libro./ In frondem crines, in ramos brachia crescunt.

- Chose to include version by Nicolas Poussin. It matches Jefferson's description to a degree- lending an impression of the content displayed during Jefferson's time, the original, 1625, Oil on Canvas, 97 x 131 cm, Alte Pinakothek (Munich, Germany).

[page 5]

41. Susanna and the elders. three figures of about an eighth/ of the natural module. on Canvas, copied from Coypel.

- Included Coypel, impression off dimensions based on Jefferson's description and the dimensions of a second version – Susannah Accused by the Elders, Antoine Coypel, 1710, Oil on Canvas, unknown dimensions, Musée Antoine Lécuyer (Saint Quentin, France).

42. Louis XVI. a print. a present from the king to Th. J.

- Surviving: Charles-Clément Bervic, after Antoine-François Callet, 1790, engraving, 70.5 x 52.7 cm.,Thomas Jefferson Foundation.

43. Bonaparte. a print.

- For purpose of content – chose to display a print of Bonaparte

44. Castruccio Castracani.

45. Andrea Doria.

[[44 & 45] copied from the originals in the/gallery of Medicis, for Th.J.]

- Copies based on the original Medici portraits for content

46. Hoche. a print.

- For purpose of content – chose to display a print of Louis Lazare Hoche, Christiaan Josi, 1798, engraving, 379 x 285 mm, (https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/nl/zoeken/objecten?q=hoche&p=1&ps=12&st=Objects&ii=3#/RP-P-1906-1755,3) Rijks Musuem, Netherlands.

47. David Rittenhouse. a print.

- Surviving: Edward Savage, after Charles Willson Peale, 1796, mezzotint, 54.8 x 39.4, Thomas Jefferson Foundation.

48. Jesus bearing his cross. a half length on wood. scale/ about 2/5 of the life. subject John 19.17.

- For content: matches description of Christ Carrying the Cross, Sebastiano del Piombo, Oil on Slate, 43 x 32 x 7 cm, Museo del Prado.

49. Jephtha leading his daughter SeYla to be sacrificed./ on one side is the altar & the high-priest with the implements/ of sacrifice: on the other the mother, sisters, & by-standers weep-/ -ing & holding the victim by the one hand, while Jephtha/ pulls her towards the altar by the other. there are 17. figures/ the principal of which is 16 1/2 I. on Canvas. copied from/ Coypel. the subject from Judges. 11

- For content: drawing by Copyel, scaled to correspond with Jefferson's dimensions, The Daughter of Jepthah, Charles Antoine Coypel, 1710-50, Black chalk and stumping, heightend with white chalk, squaring in black chalk, on blue paper, 31.7 x 47.7 cm (https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/426515); William Hooper mentions seeing this before returning into the Hall, thus placement on the north wall, it also terminates the Middle tier section.

Lower tier

50. the Prodigal son from West. done on canvas in the/ manner called Polyplasiasmos, or the Polygraphic art.

- Presumably the original or the same version, The Return of the Prodigal Son, Benjamin West, 1772 (signed and dated), Oil on Canvas, 127 x 102 cm (http://www.steigrad.com/west-the-return-of-the-prodigal-son/)

51. a Descent on Copper. the Christ is of about 10.1. behind him/ is the virgin weeping. on each side angels. it is copied from/ Vandyke by Dispenbec. see Rubens' management of the same/ subject. 3. Manuel du Museum. 483.

- For purposes of content: a Descent by Van Dyck that TJ had a copy in copper, dimensions are unclear, an original, Oil on canvas, 195 x 166 cm, (http://www.gallery.am/en/database/item/691/)

52. a Descent from the cross on wood. a groupe of 5. figures. the bo-/ -dy of Jesus is reclined on the ground, the head & shoulders supported/ in the lap of his mother, who with four others, women from Galilee,/ are weeping over him. the figures are whole lengths; the principal/ one 13.I1. it is an original by Francis Floris.

- Surviving: Frans Floris (1516-1579), oil on wood, 44.1 x 34.9 cm, Thomas Jefferson Foundation.

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53. The Cyclops forging thunderbolts. a groupe of 9 fi-/ -gures of about 8. I1. on wood.

- Content: print Léon Davent, after Luca Penni, Venus at the Forge of Vulcan, 1550, etching, 32.7 x 44.5 cm (plate mark), https://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/32996)

54. The surrender of York by Trumbul. it was the premiere/ ebauche of his print on that subject. on canvas.

- Surviving: Trumbull, John (American painter, 1756-1843). Study for the Surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, general view. 1787; 1791, Era: CE. Private Collection. http://library.artstor.org/asset/UVA_FISKE__1067_15632253.

55. the Medals given by the revolutionary Congress to the/ officers who distinguished themselves on particular occasions./ to wit Gen'. Washington, Gates, Stewart, Wayne, De Fleury,/ Paul Jones. Colo. Washington, Morgan, Howard, Greene & [space]/ tin proofs.

- Medals printed in Susan R. Stein, *The Worlds of Monticello,*

56. Zenobia. a print.

- Surviving copy

57. Hector & Andromache, in water colours. an original by/ West. the scene is their meeting in Homer 6.494.&c. given by West/ to Gen'. Kosciuzko, & by him to Th. J.

- Surviving copy

58. Kosciuzko. a print.

- Surviving copy

59. Thomas Paine. an original on wood by Trumbul.

- Surviving

60. Count Rumford. a print.

- Surviving copy

61. Two inedited birds of Virginia & the Snow sparrow.

62. The Singing birds of Virginia, the uppermost inedited.

[[61 & 62] water/colors by Wilson]

- For content: two copies of Wilson's bird watercolors, one of the pieces depicts sparrows, the other domestic songbirds

63. Volney. in pencil.

- Surviving

64. a Cutting in paper.

65. Bonaparte a bust in marble. [13]

66. Alexander of Russia. a bust in Plaister. [14]

[page 7]

Dining-room. upper tier.

67. A sleeping Venus in plaister. small

68. Diogenes in the market of Athens. Laertius in the life of this/ philosopher tells us that appearing in a public place in mid-day/ with a lanthern in his hand, he was asked by the crowd what/ he was doing? he answered that he was seeking if he could/ find a man. this anecdote is the subject of this piece. it is a/ groupe of 6. figures, half lengths, of full size on canvas. copied/ from Rubens. see 3. Manuel du Museum. 495.

69. The Sacrifice at Lystra, by the priest of Jupiter to Paul &/ Barnabas, on canvas, copied from Le Sueur. see Acts of the/ Apostles. 14.8.-13.

70. An Accusation, a groupe of 9. figures of about 1/3 the natural/ height. it is an original on canvas, known to be by Solimeni,/ but the subject not certainly known. it is believed however/ to be taken from Ecclesiastical history, and to be the story of/ a young woman accusing a young man of violence comit-/ -ed on her, before a bishop, who is sitting in judgment on/ him and raises a person from the dead to be a witness.

71. Diogenes, visited by Alexander. an Original on canvas./ being desired by Alexander to ask from him whatever he chose,/ he answered 'stand out of my light.' Laertius VI.38.

72. an Ascension of St. Paul into the third heaven. from Domi-/ -niquin. on canvas. the original is in the collection of the king/ of France. the principal figure is 22.I. the head is inspired./ the Saint sees the heavens open, and expands his arms towards/ the glorious light he sees. he is supported by angels. the groupe/ is no longer ascending, but in a state-of rest to give him/ time to contemplate the scene. see 2. Manuel. 778.

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73. The holy family copied from Raphael on canvas./ the figures are whole lengths, the Virgin & infant Jesus,/ Joseph, Elizabeth & the infant John & 2. angels. see the 4. Manuel du Museum. PI. 3.

74. A crucifixion. the instant siesed is that of the expiration,/ when the sun is darkened, the temple rent, the atmosphere/ kindled with lightning, the tombs open & yield their dead./ on one side is the Centurion, struck with awe, & seeming/ to say 'verily, this was a righteous man.' on the other/ the two Marys, one of them her hair bristled with fear,/ the other in adoration. the subject is taken from Matt. 27./ 51.52. & Luke 23.45. the figures are whole lengths, the lar-/ -gest of 16.1. copied on canvas from Vandyke. see [space]
75. a Flagellation of Christ, a groupe of 10. figures, the/ principal of which is 21.1. he is bound to a post, two soul-/ -diers whipping him with bundles of rods, and third bind-/ -ing up another bundle. on the right are the Superintend-/ -dents & Spectators. the subject. Matt. 27.26. it is copied/ on wood from Devoes. see the same subject treated very/ similarly by Rubens. 3. Manuel du Musee. 501.
76. A Market piece on canvas, to wit, fruit, vegetables,/ game &c.
[page 9]
Lower tier.
77. Vandernost. a print.
78. Washington. a print from a drawing of Made de Brehan.
79. New Orleans a print.
80. Colebrook-dale bridge. a print.
81. the Natural bridge of Virginia on Canvas by mr. Roberts.
82. the passage of the Patomak through the Blue ridge. do.
83. a distant view of the falls of Niagara from the Indian ladder
84. a view of the falls of Niagara from the table rock. both of/ these are prints, from designs of Vanderlin.
85. the President's house at Washington, in water colours/ by King.
86. Mount Vernon. a print from a design of Birch
87. an elevation of the house at Monticello. by Mills.
88. the Diocletian Portico, a print. (vice the Environs of N. Orleans)
[page 10]
the Tea-room.
Paul Jones.
Franklin [d]
Washington
Fayette
[these 4 busts in plaister by Houdon./size of the life.]
Moncada. a print remarkeable for it's execution.
Le bon Odeur
Le bon Gout
[models of fine execution with the pen]
Date obolum Belisario. a print. from Rheberg at Rome.
Morgan's & Col?. Washington's medals. tin proofs.
infant America proteted by Minerva from the lion. a medal/ designed by
Dr. Franklin
L^0. Botetourt. a medallion in wax.
Franklin. a medal of bronze by Dupré.
Louis XVI. a medal. tin-proof.
Gen'. Gates. a miniature print.
the Entry of the King (Louis XVI.) into Paris. a medal bronz
the Taking of the Bastile. a medal in bronze.
Dr. Barton. Franklin. Granger.
Rodney. Burwell Gallatin
[miniatures]
Tiberius. a cast bronzed.
Capt Lewis. Th. J. a print. Th. J. by Doolittle. Miniatures.
Nero. a cast bronzed
Gen^1. Clinton. Nicholson. Madison. miniatures
Otho. a cast bronzed.
J. W Eppes. Dickerson. Dearborne. miniatures
Vespasian. a cast bronzed.
Pius VII. Gouvr. Morris. Washington by [space] at/ Paris, from Houdon's bust.
[page 11]
No. 17. corrected. Ariadne reclined on the ro[c]ks of Naxos, where The/ -seus had just abandoned her. she is represented asleep, as in the/ moment when Bacchus discovers, & becomes enamoured of her./ her tunic is half loosed, her veil negligently thrown over her head./ the disorder of the drapery in which she is wrapped manifests the anguish/ which had preceded this moment of calm. on the upper part of her left/ arm is a bracelet in the form of the small serpent called Ophis: this/ bracelet taken for an asp, long occasioned the belief that this figure/ represented Cleopatra procuring death by the bite of this reptile.

This statue was placed by Julius II. in the Belvedere of the Vatican,/ of which it was, for three centuries, the principal ornament./ see Notice de la Galerie des Antiques du Musee Napoleon. No. 60. [9]

Other inclusions in the elevations:
Frames:

- Neoclassical frame. 1772-75. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, http://www.metmuseum.org. http://library.artstor.org/asset/SS7731421_7731421_11108273. (Accessed 12 Apr 2018); and other contemporary frames
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4. Diagram/interpretation of William Hooper's Path