

Inventory Continued.

1 hair sieve strainer:

1... Coffee ... do

1... wooden trowel -

1 head hoop / apron under
covered with

1-wooden rest-a-stay

1... Wooden Crotch. case

Monaco leather. S.B.

Also -

1 very large leather p.

Apparently,

1... do square ... do



Philad^a. May 1798.

(THADDEUS KOSCIUSKO,)
General of the Poles.

THADDEUS KOSCIUSZKO NATIONAL MEMORIAL
FURNISHINGS PLAN

ROBERT LEWIS GIANNINI, III
SEPTEMBER 1988

THADDEUS KOSCIUSZKO NATIONAL MEMORIAL
FURNISHINGS PLAN

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October, 1988

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313 WALNUT STREET
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
19106

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Statement of Interpretive Purpose

The following bedchamber furnishings plan provides a guide to the installation of the decorative arts at the Thaddeus Kosciuszko National Memorial. This furnishings plan should be looked upon as a research tool. It will help the Interpreter reconstruct Thaddeus Kosciuszko's bedchamber surroundings during his American visit from August 1797 to May 1798.

Basically, we are looking at a man's bedchamber. But in this room, we must portray the man's numerous complexities, the city of Philadelphia, the many personalities that surrounded him, his socio-economic status, and his place in Philadelphia's social milieu. All of these considerations affected Thaddeus Kosciuszko and will be expressed in the refurnishing of his bedchamber.

When Kosciuszko rented his room, in the boardinghouse, at Third and Pine Streets it already had the basic necessities such as a bed, chest of drawers, washstand, curtains, wallpaper, etc. All of which are a reflection of an upper class Philadelphia boardinghouse of the 1790's. The room houses documented and replicated personal belongings of Thaddeus Kosciuszko such as his clothing, his own foot-rest and kitchen furniture would have been evident to a certain degree. Emphasis is placed on the fact that Kosciuszko was an invalid and would leave his bedchamber only on a momentous or grand occasion. Because of Kosciuszko's physical limitations his bedchamber becomes more than just a place to sleep. It becomes his office, rehabilitation room, dining room, parlor, storage area, and recreational area. For example, Kosciuszko used his bedchamber as a recreational area, where he could retreat to his hobbies of painting with

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watercolors and carving bone and wood into personalized pill or snuff boxes. "...Despite all these visits, Kosciuszko found time enough to turn boxes for snuff and other trifles as souvenirs for his friends...Kosciuszko to Henry Gahn, counting merchant of New York, September 1797...."¹ He took great pride in making these items and then passed them on to visitors as a memento of his friendship.

His ante-chamber located opposite his bedchamber also served as a storage area. The ante-chamber was filled with mostly storage items and trunks. This room possibly served as a sleeping area for Kosciuszko's servants.

Kosciuszko's bedchamber, when completed with furnishings, will accomplish two goals: It will leave the visitor with a better understanding and broader knowledge of a late 18th century boardinghouse; but more importantly a living feeling for the tenant Thaddeus Kosciuszko.

Statement of Archival Resources

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An introduction to the vast amount and sources of information concerning Mrs. Relf's boardinghouse and Thaddeus Kosciuszko's bedchamber seems vital to the function of this report. The next few paragraphs deal with establishing a resource guide to Kosciuszko's bedchamber and the furnishings therein.

To interpret Thaddeus Kosciuszko's presence in Philadelphia during 1797-1798, it is important to understand his past. Just who was this Thaddeus Kosciuszko? A brief glimpse into Kosciuszko's life reveal that he was a profound believer in human freedoms. Kosciuszko arrived in Philadelphia in June 1776, as an educated military engineer, who volunteered his skills to the American cause. He survived the American Revolutionary War with distinction, at Saratoga N.Y. and throughout the Southern Campaign, and was awarded the Order of the Cincinnati. Thereafter, he returned to his native Poland in 1784, eventually to unify his country. Territorial and boundary disputes concerning Poland eventually led Kosciuszko's army and government to defeat at the hands of the Russians. In 1794, Kosciuszko was imprisoned by the Russians. He gained his freedom in 1797, and was exiled to the United States. Hopeful of reunifying Poland with Napoleon's aid, he returned to Europe only to meet disillusionment and despair for the remainder of his life.

The better documented and researched works on Kosciuszko were written by Miecislau Haiman in 1943 and 1946. In two of Haiman's volumes: Kosciuszko In The American Revolution¹; and Kosciuszko Leader And Exile,² an enormous amount of information exists. Haiman reveals Kosciuszko's early developed characteristics and habits that followed him throughout his life. The transformation of Kosciuszko's vibrant personality into personalized objects, in his bedchamber, help to convey a sensation that he just stepped out of the room. It is through Haiman's works that we learn of Kosciuszko's love for coffee. This is reflected in the bedchamber with an 18th century pewter quart coffee pot, as is his fondness for strawberries that can be seen in a blue and white Chinese export porcelain bowl, c.1790.

Between the months of January and May 1798, Thaddeus Kosciuszko and Thomas Jefferson, then Vice President of the United States, developed a bond of friendship which was to last for two decades. Kosciuszko's invalid condition led Jefferson, along with many other noted people, to visit him at Mrs. Ann Relfs' boardinghouse³ at Third and Pine Streets. During one visit Jefferson was joined by his financial advisor John Barnes, who also became a good friend to Kosciuszko. Barnes later aided the exiled Polish Army General as his personal and financial adviser in America. His association with Barnes and Jefferson have proved most rewarding towards the Kosciuszko bedchamber furnishings plan. Due to Jefferson's system of keeping the majority of his correspondence, both Barnes' and Kosciuszko's letters have survived in Jefferson's papers.⁴ Included among these papers are numerous financial statements between Barnes and Kosciuszko from 1798, until Kosciuszko's death in 1817.

Kosciuszko's hasty departure⁵ for Europe in May of 1798, occasioned the most important documentation of his bedchamber, at Third and Pine Streets. John Barnes was called upon to provide an inventory of Kosciuszko's personal effects. The enumerated inventory of kitchen furniture, clothing, household effects, including a magnificent set of plate (silver) survived in Jefferson's papers.⁶ Two more appendices to the above inventory, by Barnes, followed and were subsequently continued as late as 1799. At Kosciuszko's request his belongings that remained in Philadelphia, and were not sent to him in Europe, were to be sold at public vendue. Only a few articles of clothing, several yards of damask, and an old carpet were sold at vendue. Eventually the articles on Barnes' inventory (and not sold at vendue in Philadelphia) were returned to Kosciuszko in France.

Julien Ursyn Niemsewicz (a friend) and Stanislas Drombroski (Kosciuszko's aid) accompanied Kosciuszko during his American Journey from 1797 to 1798, and resided with Kosciuszko at Mrs. Ann Relf's boardinghouse. It is recorded that Niemcewicz lived in the garrett of the house. This is the only exact documentation of room use. As to which floors and rooms were used by Kosciuszko and Drombroski, the second floor is purely speculation and conjecture. Niemcewicz kept a diary which has been translated into English and published by the New Jersey Historical Society at Newark. This work, Under Their Vine and Fig Tree,⁷ was most helpful in establishing the nature, character and certain household effects of Kosciuszko. The diary is also a great historical reference for Philadelphia and its environs, c. 1797-1800.

Before coming to America in 1797, Kosciuszko was in London long enough to have his full-length portrait painted by Benjamin West.⁸ This painting is a good tool to use in furnishing Kosciuszko's American bedchamber. It reveals Kosciuszko fully dressed and depicts his London bedchamber with wallpaper, textiles, furniture and personal accessories. West not only captured Kosciuszko but also his crowded room which only compliments the inventories and accounts of his American boardinghouse. The furnishings within West's painting should be considered strongly and applied as models for the furnishings of Kosciuszko's bedchamber in Philadelphia.

As for Mrs. Relf's household furniture there is no information. Mrs. Relf rented the house from the family of the late William and Grace Allison. William died in 1787, and Grace in 1794, leaving a large estate to be divided between four surviving children. The daily accounts of the

Allison family for the 1790's, as well as an inventory and three wills have survived and are located in the Philadelphia City Hall Department of Wills and Administrations.⁹ The Allison administration includes a rather lengthy inventory of the family's household belongings in 1794. The Allison's backroom (or hand-down) furnishings may be the closest surviving record of how Ann Relf may have furnished her boardinghouse. Since Ann Relf leased the property from the Allisons,¹⁰ it is possible that the Allisons, as landlords, could have maintained the properties and also to a certain degree furnished them? Even though the above hypothesis is conjectural there is no reason that some articles from the estate of the late Mrs. Grace Allison would not have been used to add value to the property and enrich the Relf boardinghouse. We can assume that the owner of the boardinghouse provided minimally furnished rooms to her boarders.

According to Niemcewicz, Mrs. Ann Relf ran a good boarding house. Although the house accommodated several medical students and young apprentices it was in a quiet section of the city. One of these young apprentices was most likely Mrs. Relf's son Samuel, who was learning the newspaper trade.

To establish the nature of Ann Relf and decide what socio-economic factors may have guided her life and played an important role on the furniture she would have maintained we have no evidence except the financial status of her extended family. No wills or administrations have surfaced in her name. There is plenty of information concerning her son, Samuel, and his family. Samuel Relf's family, including mother Ann, are buried in Saint Peter's churchyard just across Pine Street from the

boardinghouse. The monthly pew rents at Saint Peter's church indicate that Ann Relf paid for a seat in the northeast balcony and was a member in good standing.¹¹

On July 2, 1799, Samuel Relf was admitted to partnership with Andrew Brown to publish the "Philadelphia Gazette." By 1802, Relf had become the sole proprietor (publisher and editor) and changed the name of the paper to "Relf's Philadelphia Gazette."¹² He also published a country edition using only the title of "Philadelphia Gazette." Both newspapers continued after his death in 1823. Samuel Relf was married to Sarah Poyntell the oldest daughter of William Poyntell. Her father was a well known wallpaper manufacturer and merchant in Philadelphia.¹³

Probably on the advise of his young medical students, Dr. Benjamin Rush helped Niemcewicz locate lodging for Kosciuszko.¹⁴ As an invalid what better accomodations could Kosciuszko receive? He would have young doctors near him both night and day. With Rush's endorsement it can be concluded that Mrs. Relf ran a rspectable quiet boardinghouse. Niemcewicz had followed Kosciuszko's instructions. "...With the help of Dr. Rush I found a lodging as small, as remote (quiet), and as cheap as my instructions directed...."¹⁵

Acknowledgements

Acknowledgements

The National Park Service and Independence National Historical Park in cooperation with Mr. Edward Piszek of the Copernicus Society and President of Mrs. Paul's Kitchens have jointly restored and opened a small museum at the N.W. corner of Third and Pine Streets in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The Museum which is made up of two 18th century row-houses was dedicated on February 4, 1976, as the Thaddeus Kosciuszko National Memorial. During the opening ceremonies the deed to the property was turned over to the National Park Service by Mr. Piszek. The Museum consists of two photo-visual memorial rooms, a small audio-visual room and a restored second floor bedchamber filled with period furnishings. This report will deal only with the above mentioned bedchamber and justification for the Antique furnishings used therein.

However, such a project could have never come to life without the aid of a number of associates and friends. And it is to these people that this report is dedicated. First I would like to thank Mr. John C. Milley, Supervisory Curator at Independence National Historical Park, for giving me the opportunity and guidance to work on such an interesting project as the Thaddeus Kosciuszko National Memorial and also for keeping the faith during my trials and tribulations - mostly trials! Many thanks are due Mrs. Constance Hershey and Mr. Charles G. Dorman, staff curators, for their always welcome advice and support; Mrs. Doris Fanelli for her advice concerning textiles and editing. Special thanks are due Mr. Preston James, Museum Specialist, for his endless help in setting up the bedchamber Mrs. Gloria McLean, Mrs. Youla Pritchett, and Mrs. Dorothy Spungen, our staff

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A special acknowledgement belongs to Ms. Donna Streets, and Ann Dadura the last secretaries to work on this report.

HISTORICAL NARRATIVE

INTRODUCTION

The historical narrative for the Thaddeus Kosciuszko National Memorial, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania was completed in October of 1974, and can be found in the Historic Preservation Report for the Thaddeus Kosciuszko house Philadelphia, Pennsylvania co-authored by Mr. James D. Mote (historic narrative) and Mr. David G. Henderson (architect) of the Denver Service Team (National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior: Denver, Colorado, October, 1974). The only additional information I feel should be added to Mr. Motes' report begins with and under the heading of, "Historical Data, A., Chain of Title, p. 14, "...In 1970 Pinkowski transferred the property to E. J. McAleer and Co....", should be added that the property was bought by one Mr. Edward J. Piszek, who on March 4, 1976, turned the deed and title to said property over to the National Park Service, Independence National Historical Park, Philadelphia, PA. This was a most generous gift on the part of Mr. Piszek.

Mr. Mote's research is a superb piece of information and should accompany this work. A parallel narrative based on historical fact and mixed with quotes relevant to Thaddeus Kosciuszko's second sojourn to Philadelphia and the furnishings which surrounded him follows.

KOSCIUSZKO (KOS-CHOOS-KO), TADEUSZ ANDRZEJ BONAVENTURA.

FEBRUARY 4¹⁷⁴⁶_Λ to OCTOBER 15, 1817.

American Revolutionary Soldier and Polish Patriot.

Thaddeus Kosciuszko was born February 4, 1746, on the Saint's Day of Andrew. Sometimes the date of February 12, 1746, is thought to be Kosciuszko's birthdate, but the 12th is the day he was christened. Kosciuszko's place of birth was in the family manor in Mereczowszczyzna, in the palatine of Brzesc, part of the Polish Commonwealth known as the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (now eastern Poland). Thadeusz and his brother Jozef, ages 9 and 12, first attended a school run by Jesuits at Lubieszow near Pinsk, Poland. Shortly after his father's death, and at the age of 12, he was sent to the Jesuit College at Brzesc. Kosciuszko's mother died in 1765, and he was befriended by Prince Adam Casimir Czartoryski. The noble Czartoryski helped Kosciuszko to enroll in the Royal Military School at Warsaw. Kosciuszko was the 79th cadet accepted out of a class of 80. While Kosciuszko was at the Royal Military School he proved his intellect and graduated with honors. He was one of four recipients to receive King Stanislaw August Poniatowski's scholarships to continue his studies in military engineering at Mezieres, near Paris, France. His return to Poland in 1774, was coupled with little need for his talents and a broken romance, discontented he returned to Paris. News reaching France of the American Revolution enticed Kosciuszko to borrow money and leave for Philadelphia to offer his services.¹

He arrived in Philadelphia near the end of August 1776. On the 30th of

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August 1776, at the Pennsylvania State House, his "memorial" or petition was read in Congress requesting an assignment in General Washington's army. While awaiting a decision by Congress, The Philadelphia Council of Safety pressed Kosciuszko into service. The city expected an assault, New York had fallen as Washington was retreating across New Jersey, British gunboats were sailing into the Delaware River. Kosciuszko helped to draw plans to fortify the Delaware and engineered the building of fortifications to the south of the city at Fort Mifflin and on Billingsport Island. The defenses on the New Jersey side of the Delaware River at Red Bank and Fort Mercer were also strengthened. Partially due to the success gained during the defense of Philadelphia, on October 18, 1776, Kosciuszko was commissioned a colonel of the engineers in the Continental Army.² With his new commission, he joined the Continental Northern command of the Army under General Horatio Gates. At Ticonderoga, in the spring of 1777, his advice to fortify Mount Dificance (Sugar Loaf), was not heeded. The failure to fortify this position eventually led to British General John Burgoyne's victory. However, his advice to fortify Bemis Heights, on the Hudson River, was heeded and his defenses and fortifications greatly contributed to the American victory at Saratoga over General Burgoyne. The surrender of Burgoyne on October 17, 1777, is considered by many to be the turning point of the Revolutionary War. This victory led to the intervention of France on the side of America. In the spring of 1778, Kosciuszko was assigned the task of fortifying West Point, which was to continue through June 1780. While at West Point, he became a close friend of General Gates, who later as commander in the south, asked Kosciuszko to accompany him as chief of engineers.

Following the battle of Camden, South Carolina, General Gates was replaced by General Nathaniel Green. During the winter campaign of 1780-1781, Green sent Kosciuszko to explore the Catawba River which paid off through the proper placement of pontoon bridges during Green's hasty retreat from Lord Cornwallis. Near Charleston, South Carolina, Kosciuszko served as a cavalry officer rather than as an engineer and received his baptism under fire. He was among the first of the Americans to enter Charleston after the British evacuation.³

In the spring of 1783, he returned north with General Green, and at Newburgh, New York, he became one of the founders of The Society of the Cincinnati. On October 13, 1783, Congress promoted Kosciuszko to the rank of brigadier general.

On July 15, 1784, Kosciuszko left New York for Paris and from there continued home to Poland. After a brief retirement he returned in October 1789, to an active political and military life. As major general of the small Polish army, he fought against Russian aggression in 1792, but resigned his commission when Polish King Stanislaus made concessions to the Russians. He went to France in 1794, returned to Poland, and led the famous peasants uprising. As a benevolent dictator, Kosciuszko pushed through a series of liberal reforms. However, in October 1794, he was defeated by the Russians in the battle of Maciejowice, where he was severely wounded, captured, and eventually imprisoned under house arrest. In December 1796, after two years of imprisonment and upon the death of Catherine the Great, Kosciuszko was conditionally released by Catherine's son Czar Paul I.⁴

Exiled from Poland, Kosciuszko returned to America and eventually to the boarding house of Mrs. Ann Relf, in Philadelphia, where he resided from November 29, 1797, to May 5, 1798. Kosciuszko kept the promise that he had made to Czar Paul I, that he would never again return to Poland.

His return to American was two fold. First, he had come to see his old friend Dr. Benjamin Rush for medical advice and, second, to lay claim to his back pay, including interest due, for his services during the Revolutionary War. Kosciuszko was virtually an invalid from his defeat and capture by the Russians in 1794.

Enroute to America he stayed in London long enough for a number of British doctors to evaluate his condition and write a rather lengthy letter to Dr. Benjamin Rush concerning their findings.⁵ Kosciuszko's physical condition was clearly evident in the presence of certain items mentioned in his "Kitchen Inventory" from 1798. They included; 1 Iron Mortar and Pestal, 1 wooden rest or stay for the foot, 1 wooden crutch covered in red marocco leather and brass nails.⁶ A Sheraton style rush seat foot rest and a wooden crutch appear together in Benjamin West's painting of Kosciuszko done in London in the spring of 1797.⁷

Regarding Kosciuszko's financial predicament it can best be summed up in a letter to General Washington written on October 2, 1797, while visiting with General Gates in New York.

"...From the United States, I have not received neither the Procent (interest) for fourteen years nor the sum due me; formerly was independent, but now my only resource is in the justice of Congress; having lost my certificate and wyth my country lost my all. I must request Sir, you will be so kind to mention my situation to that August Body and entreat, that I may be paid my just demand; without the trouble of making other application...."⁸

Washington answered him on October 15, 1797.

"...Your rank and services in the American Army are too well known to require that testimony of your claim; and the books of the Treasury will shew that you have received nothing in discharge of it, or if any part, to what amount...."⁹

His Congressional appropriation amounted to \$12, 260.54, plus with added interest totaled \$15,227.87. Congress also gave him his military due awarding 500 acres of land on the Scioto River in Perry Township, Franklin County, or present day Columbus, Ohio.¹⁰

With a somewhat triumphant celebration, Thaddeus Kosciuszko returned to America on August 18, 1797. He arrived on the ship Adriana, under Captain Lee and was accompanied by his military aide named Libiszewski; a close friend Julian Niemcewicz; and the chaplain, Correa Da Serra. After a barge of eight shipmasters, headed by a Captain Lockwood, towed Kosciuszko to shore, he was greeted by the President of the Philadelphia Emigrant Society. Captain Lockwood was chosen to lead the group because he was in charge of building the new vessel "United States." After his welcome which consisted of numerous huzzas, cannon fire and bands playing, Kosciuszko was lifted up and carried away by the jubilant Philadelphia citizens to a boarding house in Fourth Street.¹¹

"...Rose Hill 20 September
Gentilmen,

I received your favor and am entirely of yours opinion to leave my baggage in the hands of the Custom House officers until I will return to Philadelphia - be pleased to receive my warmest thanks for the trouble I gave you with this baggage and believe Gentilmen.

Your Most Humbel and
Obedient Servant
T. Kosciuszko

the charge for Transporting my baggage is according to the letter I received from Tho. Peters' Bonar £. 2: 11 if you have paid it I will send a bill to draw upon me in the Bank of the U. States "12

For the next few months Kosciuszko was to become a visitor in north Jersey and New York. There he convalesced at the homes of his old military commanders, General Anthony Walton White and General Horatio Gates. During this retreat he enjoyed being entertained and showed a great interest in the ladies, chess, painting, and reading.

The selection of a good boardinghouse was of great importance when Kosciuszko returned to Philadelphia in December of 1797. His first stay in Philadelphia had not been an enjoyable occasion according to his companion Julian Niemcewicz. Referring to Mrs. Ann Lawson's boardinghouse, Niemcewicz states: "...The agreement had been ten dollars per principal and five for the servant per week. Mrs. Lonsson [Lawson] found a way, however, to make us pay 50 dollars for 12 days. One can judge from this the excessively high prices of the country...."13 Kosciuszko did not have a chance to really access the boarding houses available in Philadelphia. This is best acknowledged in the newspaper account of his arrival which appeared in "Claypool's Advertiser" for August 19, 1797, which reads as follows:

"...Claypool's Advertiser
Aug. 19, 1797,

In the ship Adriana, Captain Lee, arrived here last evening, from Bristol, came passenger that illustrious Defender of the Rights of Mankind, the brave, but infortunate Kosciuszko, the Polish General, accompanied by two Polish Gentlemen.--On the arrival of the vessel at the Fort, the Commander of the Garrison being informed that the veteran General was on aboard, welcomed him by a Federal Salute;

and when the vessel came to anchor in our harbour, the Sailing Master of the Frigate and its Barge manned with eight Masters of Vessels, and waited upon the General to take him on shore, on his landing, he was received with three cheers, and, a further mark of popular respect for his great character the Citizens insisted upon drawing him to his lodgings. The General appears to be in good Spirits; but has suffered very materially from his wounds and inhuman imprisonment. We trust, however, he will long live to enjoy on these peaceful Shores, that Liberty and Happiness which he assisted in fighting for, but which he sought in vain to obtain for his native country.

We understand the General is personally known to most of the leading characters in our Revolution.--He speaks in the handsomest terms of the treatment which he has received from Captain Lee, during his voyage.

Mr. Joshaua Sutcliffe, of this city, also came passenger, in this vessel....¹⁴

Philadelphia had anticipated his arrival as early as May of 1797. At that time his likeness along with the following statement appeared in the "American Universal Magazine" published in Philadelphia, May 1, 1797.

"...With a Portrait Of/ General Kosciuszko/ A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH of this illustrious character is reserved for a future number, as a correspondent has kindly promised to favour us with several important particulars not generally known...."¹⁵

Moreau de St Mery's entry on taverns, boardinghouses and French boarding-houses give an idea of what choice the committee in Philadelphia had.

"... Taverns and boarding-houses, French boarding-houses included, have greatly increased in number in Philadelphia. Some cost from eighteen to seventy-two francs a week. There are eighty of these. These boarding-houses are the sole means of existence of American men and American women who have no other way of earning a living. Their inefficiency obliges them to demand payment in advance from the boarders, and they never fail to ask payment for anything not part of the ordinary supplies which the boarders may desire.

In spite of the low standing of this trade, a boarding-house Keeper considers himself as a personage entitled to consideration from his boarders, and seldom thinks of giving his boarders any of the consideration that he expects from them...."16

Even the road tavern keepers took advantage of those afflicted in the worst way: "...Further on we stopped at Washington Tavern [Washington House erected in 1796, in what is now Holmesburg, known before 1801, as Washington or Washingtonville; see S. F. Hotchkin, The Bristol Pike (Philadelphia, 1893), pp. 122, 126.] To refresh our horses. There we met a family driven from Philadelphia by the Yellow fever, who had come to seek refuge. The innkeeper had profited greatly from their distress; he had charged them 50 piasters a week for only two small rooms not including food, etc...."17 Back in Philadelphia, there was also the case of some lively night life in the vicinity of Mrs. Lawson's: "...Since 1806, (possibly a misprint since the date does not correspond with dates of the diary [1793-1798]) there are street walkers of a new sort in Philadelphia... These are very young and very pretty girls, elegantly dressed, who promenade two by two, arm in arm and walking very rapidly, at an hour which indicates that they aren't just out for a stroll. They are found most commonly on the south side of Market Street beginning at Fourth Street and coming up this street. Anyone who accosts them is taken to their home. They pretend to be small dressmakers. They fulfill every desire for two dollars, half of which is supposed to pay for the use of the room...."18 Without any reservations of mind, Americans must have been used to this type of behavior since Thomas Jefferson relates in his memorandum of expenses in Philadelphia for June 1798, in which he mentions Mrs. Lawson's.

"...Expences. Philade./ Dawson gives for 2. furnished rooms on the second floor in 8th street 7. Doll. a week, without board. [sic] Innes and his son give 14 D. a week for board and 2 excellent rooms furnished at Mrs. Lawson's 4th Street. 2 very good rooms I have for (?) furnished without board may be paid 10 Bossie (5th Street) will furnish a coupe, a dishes of meat [entries] (of which one may be Borislles if desired) 2 dishes of vegetables (?) for one person 2 D. a day, per week 14. 2 butter .50 7 bread .50 coffee .18 sugar .18--- 1.36 2 servants board-----5. wages for one of them, being extra. 2.50----- 7.50/32.86/ I pay Francis for rooms, & board for self & servt. -- 30./ Expences Phila./ estimate/ June 1798...."19

Here Mrs. Lawson's is endorsed by the Vice President of the United States! The next three pages contain a list of boardinghouses in Philadelphia between 1799 and 1800. Noted the third page contains under asterisks the two boardinghouses Kosciuszko and his party stayed in during his second American journey. Kosciuszko departed Mrs. Lawson's boarding house "...Wednesday morning at 6 o'clock, 30th of August [1797]...."

A LIST OF BOARDINGHOUSES IN THE NEW TRADE DIRECTORY FOR
PHILADELPHIA ANNO 1800. PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR, BY WAY AND
GROFF, 48, NORTH THIRD STREET. PHILADELPHIA 1799.

[A copy of the original is at the Library of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, PA.]

BOARDING HOUSES

13

Adams Martha, South Fourth near Shippen St.
 Anderson Mary, 2 Greenleafs Alley
 Archbold Martha, Parms Alley
 Ashmead Jacob, 265 North Front St.
 Bashford Mary, 237 Arch At.
 Baxter John, 6 Dock St.
 Beatty Elizabeth, 125 South Water St.
 Besley John, 28 South Water St.
 Betaugh Thomas, 22 Combes alley
 Berryman Charles, 20 South Fifth St.
 Benningdollar Catharine, 36 Race St.
 Bruce Edward, 22 Strawberry St.,
 Bryson James, Greenleafs Alley
 Bristol Sarah, 3 Laetitia Court
 Bringhurst Mary, Fayette St.
 Burke Mrs., 78 North Water St.
 Buros Mary, 90 North Water St.
 Carlton Ann, near 7 Dock St.
 Carson Jemima, 59 North Alley
 Carson Mr., 39 North Sixth St.
 Chapman Jane, 61 Cherry St.
 Christie Euphemia, 11 South Sixth St.
 Clarke Susanna, 192 Arch St.
 Clinton Ann & Elizabeth, 5 South Fourth St.
 Collett Elizabeth, 69 Swanson St.
 Corryall Amelia, 9 Norris Alley
 Courtney Mary, 135 South Water St.
 Corbett Archibald, 92 Norris Alley
 Cooks William, 11 North Sixth St.
 Currin William, 66 Spruce St.
 Curry Mary, 66 Spruce St.
 Davis Catharine, near Prime in South Front St.
 Dean Hanna, 83 North Third St.
 Dougherty John, 9 Elbow Lane
 Dolby Mary, Frombergers Court
 Dow George, 12 Shippen St.
 Duffield widow, 44 South Fifth St.
 Duan Daniel, Farmers Row

B

14

Dunn James, 170 Market St.
 Dutton 25 South Fourth St.
 Duvarit Mary, 96 South St.
 Eastburn Esther, 43 Lombard St.
 Easton David, 200 Arch St.
 Edgar Mary, 324 South Front St.
 Ennis Ann, 21 South St.
 Etwine Dorothy, above Callowhill
 in Fourth St.
 Evans Sarah, 205 Arch St.
 Farcy Manus, near 2 in Catharine St.
 Farran Mary, South Front St.
 Fenton Martha, 19 North Seventh
 Fisher Catharine, 192 North
 Second St.
 Finch Mrs., 64 North Eighth St.
 Flemming Charles, 391 North
 Front St.
 Fletcher Elizabeth, 30 Strawberry St.
 Freno Paul, 131 South Water St.
 Fullerton Eleanor, 20 Queen St.
 Franklinbury Sarah, 35 Keys Alley
 Fullerton Valeria, 113 Arch St.
 Gardner Ann, 4 Prune St.
 Gardner Hetty, 30 North Eighth
 Groombridge Catharine, corner of
 Catharine and Eleventh St.
 Hadengrant Mrs., 158 Market St.
 Hains Catharine, 12 Christian St.
 Hammitt Barbara, 34 Strawberry St.
 Hannah Margaret, South Water St.
 Hand Margaret, 10 Spruce St.
 Harbourn Joseph, 18 Shippen St.
 Hardy John, between Fourth and
 Fifth in German St.
 Harrington Hanah, 32 Stampers
 Alley
 Henderson Mary, 158 South Third
 Hersnotard Catharine, 7 Elbow
 Lane
 Higginbottom Elizabeth, 116 North
 Front St.
 Hoffner Lucy, 63 South Third St.
 Homberg Ann, 56 Race St.
 Howell widow, 13 North Fourth St.
 Hubbell Mary, 10 Queen St.

Hughes Elizabeth, North Sixth St.
 Hutton Mercy, near Sixth in South St.
 Hunter Sarah, 154 South Front St.
 Jarvis Elisha, 25 North Ninth St.
 Irwin Robert, 39 North Eighth St.
 Jordon Margaret, 6 Queen St.
 Jordan Mary, 114 North Sixth St.
 Kennedy John, 352 North Front St.
 Kelsey Jane, 175 Arch St.
 Kerr Susanna, 15 Dicksons Court
 Kitts Elizabeth, Market Between
 Second and Third St.
 Kimber Jeffe, Oak St.
 Kness Ann, 131 Oak St.
 Lafferty James, 162 Spruce St.
 Lapse Mrs., 50 Spruce St.
 *Lawson Sarah, 7 South Fourth St.
 Lewis Elizabeth, 92 South Third St.
 Lee Hannah, 4 Elbow Lane
 Leshar Barbara, 300 North Second St.
 Litman Elizabeth, corner Front and
 Queen St.
 Linn Elizabeth, 35 Walnut St.
 Linton Susanna, Pewter Platter Alley
 Lloyd Mary, 12 Shippen St.
 Louderback Henry, 25 Prime St.
 Ludwick Charles Christian, 105 North
 Front St.
 Lydia and Simpson, 132 South Water St
 Lyelly widow, 16 Lombard St.
 Lynn Elizabeth, 35 Walnut St.
 McCrea Margaret, 17 Filbert St.
 McCully Margaret, 152 South Front St.
 McFall Rosanna, 163 Arch St.
 McFarlane Andrew, 149 North Third St.
 McGill Margaret, 51 South Wather St.
 McGrath Thomas, 55 New St.
 McLaughlin John, near Shippen in
 Fourth St.
 McIntire Isabella, 72 South Fifth St.
 McIntosh Esther, Mead Alley
 McKenzie Mrs., 76 North Third St.
 McKoy Isabella, Bringhurst Court

Mahony Mary, 46 South St.
 Marache Solomon, 53 North Fourth St.
 Martin Mrs., 33 Spruce St.
 Martin Charles, 4 Swanson St.
 Matthews Lucy, 50 Arch St.
 Matlack Sarah, 130 South Second St.
 Maxwell Elizabeth, 80 South Third St
 Metlock Sarah, back of 130 South
 Second St.
 Miller Mrs., 5 North Sixth St.
 Morgan Susan, 35 Pewter Platter Alley
 Naglee Elizabeth, 363 North Front St.
 Palmer Elizabeth, 47 North Fourth St.
 Parker Isaac, near the Swedes Church
 Payne Barney, 66 Penn St.
 Pequett Antonia, 132 North Second St.
 Petrie Ann, 34 Plumb St.
 Powell Francis, 3 North Alley
 Pyles widow, 147 South Third St.
 Pyle Michael, 12 Pear St.
 Rain John, Combes Alley
 **Ralph Mrs., 172 South Third St.
 Ramsey Mrs., 96 North Third St.
 Randall Sarah, 26 Shippen St.
 Randsford Henry, 4 Chestnut St.
 Reed Reuben, 15 Small St.
 Reedy Rachel, 112 North Fifth St.
 **Relf Ann, 172 South Second St.
 Ritter widow, 24 North Fifth St.
 Richmond Margaret, Oak St.
 Ritchee Mary, 13 Carters Alley
 Roberts Martha, 25 Pine St.
 Rogers Mary, 67 Pine St.
 Roth Mary, 33 Crown St.
 Rumsey Rachel, 438 North Front St.
 Russell Hannah M., 9 Small St.
 Rutherford Agnes, 50 Walnut St.
 Sanders Maria, 55 North Second St.
 Senix Arcadia, 10 South Eighth St.
 Shober widow, 99 Swanson St.
 Singleton Sarah, 152 South Front St.

** Mrs. Ralph, at 172 South Third St. and Ann Relf, at 172 South Second St., listed above on page 16, in THE NEW TRADE DIRECTORY, FOR PHILADELPHIA, Anno 1800, are undoubtedly the same person. Another Philadelphia City Directory printed in 1800, by Cornelius William Stafford, listed Ann Relf as "widow boarding-house 56 Walnut St." Number 56 Walnut St. was the home of Ann Relf's son, Samuel, who was listed in the same directory as "one of the proprietors of the Philadelphia Gazette." The correct address for Ann Relf was 172 South Third St.

17

Sivert Barbara, 26 North Ninth St.
 Slade Ann, 34 Arch St.
 Smith Margaret, 32 Arch St.
 Smallwood Isaac, 7 Callowhill St.
 Smith widow, 128 North Second St.
 Smith Mary, Stalls Court
 Stall John, 29 North Third St.
 Stamm John R., 10 South Fifth St.
 Stanley Susanna, 239 Market St.
 Starr Mary, 32 Arch St.
 Stephenson Mary, 77 South St.
 Stephens Robert, 108 South Second St.
 Steward Andrew, 132 North Water St.
 Stewart Margaret, 303 Arch St.
 Stewart William, 46 Spruce St.
 Stille Rebecca, 23 South St.
 Stoy Patience, 60 Vine St.
 Stonley Susanna, 239 Market St.
 Storltdt Margaret, 326 North Front St.
 Strider Hannah, 410 North Front St.
 Taylor Mary, 21 Callowhill St.
 Taylor Ann, 29 Elfriths Alley
 Tear Philip, 259 198 South Front St.
 Thomas Rachel, 258 South Front St.
 Thomas Mary, 226 Race St.
 Thompson Atchinson, corner of Swanson
 and Water St.
 Thompson Mary, 112 Spruce St.
 Thompson Mary, 109 South Fifth St.
 Turner Mary, in South above Fifth St.
 Turner John, Race near Fifth St.
 Vermilea Elizabeth, 255 North Second St.
 Vicker Elizabeth, 64 Spruce St.
 Wadman Praise, 158 South Front St.
 Wallace Robert, 77 North Third St.
 Wallace Catharine, 298 North Third St.
 Waters Catharine, 198 North Second St.
 Ware Ann, 176 Water St.

B₂

18

Warner Martha, 66 Arch St.
 Webster Catharine, 5 Shippen St.
 Weed Mary, 181 Arch St.
 White Rosanna, 9 North Eighth St.
 Williams William, back of 9
 Laetitia Court
 Wilson Mary, 46 Walnut St.
 Wilson Mary, 209 North Second St.
 Wilson Sarah, 100 North Third St.
 Wirtz Sarah, 10 North Alley
 Witaker Mary, near Poplar Lane in
 North Third St.
 Wood Sarah, Mifflins Court
 Wooths Sarah, 15 North Alley
 Woodward Susanna, 55 North Second St.
 York Mary, 62 North Second St.

By mid-winter the yellow fever was over in Philadelphia and Kosciuszko could return without fear. On November 20, 1797, he sent his friend Niemcewicz from New Brunswick to Philadelphia. Niemcewicz writes in his American diary "...The next day, which was I believe the 20th. of November, I took the stage in order to go to Philadelphia to look for lodgings for G. Kos'c.... I arrived in Phil[adelphia] Sunday morning and found lodging at Eagle and Harpe, 2nd Street North, in a dirty and wretched Inn. Not knowing a soul I roamed the streets, a little like Benjamin Franklin when, coming from Boston and being nearly as rich as I, he walked the streets with his loaf of bread under his arm. With the help of Dr. Rush I found a lodging as small, as remote, and as cheap as my instructions directed...."²⁰ The remoteness, probably referring to a quieter neighborhood, was broken according to Niemcewicz. "...In the evening these Cries (of the little negro chimney sweeps) are replaced by those of the oyster vendors...."²¹ The new residence that Niemcewicz described was a boardinghouse located at the Northwest corner of Third and Pine Streets. In 1797, Mrs. Ann Relf, a widow, ran the boarding house. The address at that time was #172, South Third Street or the present day 301 Pine Street. Joseph Few built the house in 1775-1776, on one of two lots he acquired from Jacob Duché. In November 1776, William Allison purchased the property from Joseph Few. Allison, described as a "Captain" and a "Merchant," bought the two houses, probably for investment purposes.²² Apparently a prosperous retired sailor, Allison resided on the west side of South and Front Streets between Gray and Norris Alley just north of present day Samson Street. Located within the boundaries of area F, the site of Allison's home is now Independence National Historical Park's new Parking

facility. Prior to 1787, the year of Allison's death, the property on Pine Street was known as Allison's "Messuages." The property remained in the Allison family until 1811. The first entry in the Allison's receipt book for Mrs. Relf appears on Nov. 7, 1789, "...To Cash rec. of Mrs. Relf -- 6.. - . -" By 1797, inflation had arrived in Philadelphia. This factor can be seen in Mrs. Relf's rent for half of that year, "£35.. - .. -" On February 27th, and December 24th of 1798, Mrs. Relf paid "£45.. - .. -"²³ A brief survey of the Philadelphia Directories for the period 1794-1798, reveals that no less than 14 boardinghouses were located within a few blocks of Mrs. Relf's house.

Young medical students and apprentices occupied the house which probably was the reasoning behind Dr. Rush's choice of this particular boardinghouse. The medical students could have kept an eye on the ailing Kosciuszko and reported back to Dr. Rush. Niemcewicz reports that the house was very small, "...where medical students and a few other young apprentices shared common lodging. Its cheapness had made the choice for us. The Gl. had a small room where he could receive only four people at a time. I had one even smaller; since no fire was made there, I could use it only for sleeping; this was extremely inconvenient to me. There is nothing more dreary than not having a place of your own, to be obliged to roam the streets or to watch for a moment when there would be a little table vacant in the parlor where you can read and write...."²⁴

On March 18, 1798, Moreau de St. Mery visited Kosciuszko and reported that his lodging was a bedroom with a little antechamber before it "...his bed and couch left no room for more than two or three people, only two or

three of us could see him at a given time...."²⁵ The mention of a bed and couch bring to mind the painting of Kosciuszko executed in his London boardinghouse by Benjamin West in 1797. (See illustrations). Too many articles of a personal nature appear in the West painting to be discounted. For example, inventories drawn up for Kosciuszko concerning his personal belongings in America could conceivably appear in West's painting. Articles such as Kosciuszko's crutch and two bordered damask tablecloths, his Polish Peasant's cap, a foot stool, and his style of dress to just mention a few. The West painting in London and the bedchamber in Mrs. Relf's boardinghouse were probably very similar in appearance. Using documented inventories along with the West painting a very realistic picture can be developed concerning the furnishings for Kosciuszko's bedchamber. The assumption that the house was furnished with late Chippendale and early Hepplewhite furniture with some transitional pieces of the forementioned styles can be considered a valid statement. Kosciuszko continued to attract a considerable number of the citizens, more than 40 visited him on one day.²⁶

Two of the visitors to Kosciuszko's bedchamber included the Indian Chiefs Little Turtle and Chief Joseph Brant; Niemcewicz's inner circle of friends included Mr. Bache, Matthew Cary, Dr. Collins (a Swedish minister), Captain Daungman, Benjamin Latrobe, Mr. Kaleb Launs, Dr. Logan (of Germantown), Dr. Marssillac, the Mitchell family, Mr. Patterson, Mr. James Pemberton, Maria Prayers, Dr. J. B. Scandella, and a Mr. Van Braam.²⁷

Of all the visitors who paid their respects to Kosciuszko, his newest and closest friend was Thomas Jefferson. "Jefferson had returned to Philadelphia in December of 1797, as Vice President. Whether the two men

then resumed an acquaintance made in Philadelphia in the beginning years of the Revolution, or, as seems more likely, met for the first time, a friendship developed between them in the early months of 1798, which led Jefferson to call the Polish patriot, "...the purest son of liberty of...all...."²⁸ Jefferson introduced his financial adviser, John Barnes, to Kosciuszko to take care of his financial affairs in America. After his departure to Europe, Kosciuszko and Barnes continued a lasting correspondence until the General's death in 1817.

The most interesting visitor, to call on Kosciuszko, was an Indian Chief to the Nation of Miamis. He was called "Me-She-Kun-Nogh-Quah" in English "The Little Tortel" or turtle. Julian Niemcewicz was impressed with Little Tortel enough to write about the respect he held for this Indian. Included in this passage, Niemcewicz wrote about a meeting between Kosciuszko and the Little Turtle that became a highlight of Kosciuszko's and Niemcewicz's American visit.

"...The Little Tortel [Turtle], Indian chief, was seated in a loge. They had dressed him in an American uniform with enormous epaulets. He appeared very content with the entertainment. He is an extremely sensible man. All his ideas are sound and correct, not at all perverted by misconceptions and wrong arguments. He has come here in order to negotiate with the government on the boundary line which must be drawn and on other problems relative to his nation, which is the Miamis. The point on which he insists the most is to urge the American government to forbid under the pain of the most severe punishment the importation of spirituous liquors among the Indians. He feels this is their bane. He is equally aware of all the perfidy in the politics of the Whites who foment divisions among them, involve them in all their quarrels, brutalize them with drink, finally, using every means to keep them in ignorance and to exterminate them in turn. He recognizes extremely well the superiority of the civilized state to that of the savage. This discussion itself saddened him. "Do not speak to me," he said, "of your superiority if you do not want to

furnish me the means by which my nation may attain the same advantages." He came to see Gl. Kosc[iuszk]o and brought him a tomhawk, a kind of small hatchet made by the English. Kosc[iuszk]o gave him in return his bourka. (A sleeveless, loose fitting cloak of felt or wool). He noticed a pair of spectacles and appeared to be very taken by them. Nothing could equal his joy when Kosc[iuszk]o made him a present of them. He could not conceive how it was done, nor tire of the pleasure of looking at objects grown larger by means of these glasses. "You have given me new eyes," he cried. It is the only moment when I saw a little of the savage in him. Other Indians, the Chicksaws and the Six Nations, have come to Philadelphia but they were in all respects far different from the Little Turtle. The government provided for all their needs during their stay...."29

The tomahawk, mentioned by Niemcewicz, is listed in the Inventory of Kitchen Furniture as "...I wrought Tomihawk...Silver mounted...."30
See illustration on p. 209.

Also on the Philadelphia scene in 1798, there was another chief who visited Kosciuszko. "...Once greatly feared but now interested in peaceful accommodation. This was Joseph Brant, Thayendanegea of the Mohawks, holder of a captain's commission in the British army who had led the warriors of the Iroquois (against Kosciuszko) in [a] terrible raid and massacre during the Revolution. - ...His power had been broken, and Adams' administration,...had no interest in him, thus he became something of a social lion and curiosity in Philadelphia...."31

John Fenno, who apparently kept close account of Kosciuszko's activities, reported in his United States Gazette, dated 6 November 1798, that the most frequent of Kosciuszko's visitors on Third Street were Dr. George Logan, Judge Thomas McKean, Governor Thomas Mifflin and Senator Stevens Thomson Mason of Virginia.

Kosciuszko's invalid condition continued and by all indications he only left the house on special occasions. "...He used to wear around his head a black ribbon to hide the scar of a gastly sabre cut across his forehead...."³² Kosciuszko wrote, "... I cannot even move from one place to the other without support and help of my crutches and a servant...."³³ He continued to amuse himself through visitors, hobbies and reading.

Niemcewicz visited a number of institutions in Philadelphia and was also made a member of the American Philosophical Society. He reports on a number of his visits which were also of great interest to Kosciuszko.

"...Mr. Peale busies himself also with useful things. He has just constructed a model in wood of a bridge with a single arch, which is to be thrown across the Skulkhil. It combines strength with lightness and elegance. He gave us a brochure which explains its construction...Another of Peale's inventions is a chimney with a metal plate in it which increases or decreases the smoke, duct, and with pipes to increase the heat and prevent it from escaping from the top. The description of this chimney is also to be published...."³⁴

On May 4, [1798] Niemcewicz described a meeting of the Philosophical Society where, "...its President, Mr. Jefferson, communicated to us several letters received from different parts of the Union concerning the discovery of bones of mammoths or other unknown animals...."³⁵

Both Kosciuszko and Niemcewicz showed a great deal of interest in the Philadelphia Prison system which to many was proving a good example for the European system.³⁶ Kosciuszko's concern for social reform was not only obvious with his interest in the prison system but he also showed a genuine feeling for the blacks and the plight of the abolitionist. His sympathy is best exemplified in his handwritten American Will which appears in the Appendix of this report. See p. 119.

By April of 1798, Kosciuszko was begining to feel the surge of American politics. His friendship with Jefferson was tortured by newspapers in favor of the Adams' administration and the Alien and Sedition Act. War clouds broiled over Europe with Napoleon ready to conquer all. Kosciuszko saw his chance to regain Poland and gracefully bowed out of an awkward situation in America. He first had to secure, with the aid of Jefferson, a secret passport so not to alert the Russians of his return to Europe. His passport read Thomas Kanberg (T.K. for Thaddeus Kosciuszko) and was eventually secured through the Chevalier 'de Freire, French Minister in Philadelphia.

Kosciuszko's departure came as a shock to Niemcewicz.

"...On my return from this meeting at half past ten in the evening Stanislas Dombrowski, the General's servant, told me that his master asked to speak to me. Here is the extraordinary confidence that I received when we were alone. Mr. Niem[cewicz] you must give me your word of honor that you will tell no one what I am about to confide in you. And that you will do what I ask of you." "You ask nothing dishonorabile?" "No, I give you my word." "Then, tell me." "I leave this night for Europe. I leave alone; I leave 100 doll. for my servant. You will dismiss him tomorrow. I leave 200 doll. for you. You may also dispose of my clothes that I leave here, as well as some plate that is at the house of Dr. Rush." He had a portmanteau brought to him and put there a few effects, and said that he wanted to rest. I withdrew. Too moved, too agitated by all that I had just heard, I could not close an eye. At one o'clock in the morning I left and roamed the streets, weighed down by grief and by most sad thoughts. At 4 o'clock a covered carriage arrived with Mr. J[efferson] inside. K[osciuszko] got in without embracing me...With my eyes I followed the carriage as far as I could...They took a route completely opposite from that to the harbor. I do not know for whom this precaution was taken for all the world still slept. I learned later that they had gone by land up to New Castel, where a boat awaited him...."37

Thus ended Kosciuszko's second visit to America. The secrecy of his hasty departure left many unanswered questions. Was Kosciuszko leaving America for Europe to act as Jefferson's eyes and ears in Napoleon's France? Most certainly, Kosciuszko wanted to return to his native Poland. Was his departure the beginning of a hopeful return to his beloved homeland? these questions will continue to keep alive the mystique of Thaddeus Kosciuszko's multifaceted last nine months in America. However, Kosciuszko's American odyssey did not end with his departure for Europe. His objects, his material value, and his kitchen furniture remained behind in America. Through John Barnes' inventories these objects were recorded as late as 1800. It wasn't until 1840, that Kosciuszko's American estate was properly settled. Although Kosciuszko had left America his presense was felt for many years through the possessions he left behind and this report deals with those objects.

Furnishings

Documented Accounts of Historic Furnishings

I. Narratives

II. Appendices

Documented Accounts of Historic Furnishings

I. Narratives

- A. Amusements & Diversions
- B. Ante-Chamber Furnishings
- C. Books & Periodicals
- D. Boxes & Containers
- E. Coins, Currency & Badges
- F. Ceramics
- G. Eating Utensils & Food
- H. Fireplace Equipment
- I. Furniture
- J. Gifts & Personal Effects
- K. Glass
- L. Lighting Devices
- M. Metalware
- N. Newspapers
- O. Passports
- P. Prints & Maps
- Q. Textiles
- R. Venetian Blinds
- S. Wallpaper
- T. Writing Accessories

AMUSEMENTS AND DIVERSIONS

Hampered by his invalid condition, Kosciuszko turned to a number of hobbies to keep his mind occupied. His main interests when not reading were games such as backgammon, chess and whist. Jefferson wrote to Kosciuszko, from Philadelphia, regarding some of Kosciuszko's personal items, "...June 1, 1798,...Niemsevioz...He desired me to have some things taken care of for you. There were some kitchen furniture, backgammon table, and chess men...."¹ Kosciuszko's backgammon and chess games are listed in the 1798 "Kitchen Furniture Inventory," which appears in the appendix of this paper. From this inventory we see, "...1 very small backgammon Table & men -- Neither Box or Dice/ 1 small box containing -- a Set of figures for the game at chess --...."² Toward the end of Kosciuszko's life, Xavier Zeltner remembers: "...At dusk he liked to sit and chat with his hosts and friends, and when the candles were lighted, he played chess or a game or two of whist...."³ A letter from Mrs. Susannah Willett to Kosciuszko dated September 1797, describes the ladies' attraction to him and his game of chess.

"...It is sufficient to Conquer! Generous minds never exult. The victory gained over General Gates & Stuben, was not superior Play, but their politeness that gave me the superiority at Chess. "to receive a lesson from General Kosciuszko, will be doing me a great favor and I am willing to sacrifice my fame as a Chess player if it can possibly contribute to his amusement one half hour -- but I must pray his indulgence as I have not been in the habit of playing for many months. "Shou'd our intentions not be prevented we intend drinking Tea w^t Mrs. Gates this afternoon -- You know General I must say a civil word to Mary -- or at some lone hour when Spectre's Walk, the men may haunt me for my attachment to you.

"S. W."...."⁴

Kosciuszko approached his artistic ability as a hobby. According to Niemcewicz, Kosciuszko enjoyed his hobby and the dispersal of the finished product.

"...In the last beautiful days of March the visits of the Young ladies to Gl. [Kosciuszko] increased. They were truly flowers appearing at the first puff of the zephyr. All came in order to have him paint them. It is impossible to see a greater number of beautiful women than those one meets in Philadelphia, superb complexion, beautiful eyes, beautiful hair, beautiful teeth. They are not figuratively but literally flowers; they have their brilliance and life span. A woman of 26 is already faded, but on the other hand at 14 she is formed...."⁵

One of the young ladies to have her portrait executed by Kosciuszko was Miss Lucetta Pollack.⁶ The original, a watercolor ink and pen drawing, is owned today by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. A silk screened copy of Miss Pollack's picture by Kosciuszko will grace the ante-chamber exhibit area.

Thaddeus Kosciuszko's most famous contribution to art was finished probably in April of 1798. As a memento to their freindship, Kosciuszko made a pastel drawing of Vice President Jefferson. Unfortunately, within the next few years the original pastel was lost. However, in 1799, before the portrait disappeared an engraving, of the original pastel, was completed by Michel Sokolnicke in Paris. The aquatint print was restruck in the 1820's and a few examples from both printings still exist. Dr. William Thornton, an architect of the United States Capitol, wrote Jefferson in 1816, concerning the above likeness: "...Never was such an injustice done to you except by sign-painters and General Kosciuszko...when I say it I did not wonder that he lost Poland...."⁷ Jefferson, thought little of

Dr. Thornton's judgment and treasured the likeness as a token of Kosciuszko's friendship.

Kosciuszko had Niemcewicz bring him a set of turning instruments back from New York City. They were purchased for his hobby of wood carving. Kosciuszko enjoyed making favors such as snuff boxes to give to his admirers. One of Kosciuszko's snuff boxes is described in The Anderson Galleries Exhibition Catalogue [1929], Part Two, Relics, numbers 128-131: "...SNUFF-BOX MADE BY KOSCIUSZKO, #128, SNUFF-BOX OF BLONDE TORTOISE-SHELL, made by Kosciuszko. Inset in the cover and in the bottom is a Polish gold ducat, and a Polish silver coin, both minted in 1794, the year of the [Polish] Rising. The box is completely lined with heavy gold, and inscribed, in Polish: "Tadeusz Kosciuszko, Commander-in-Chief of the National Army. Carved by his hand as a token of remembrance, for Stefan Sokolowski, anno 1803...[Circular. Size: 3 3/4" inches in diameter. Exhibited in Warsaw, 1881, by Alexander Lesser, the painter.]...."⁸

THE ANTE-CHAMBER

General Kosciuszko's lodging, at Mrs. Relf's boardinghouse, "... was a bedroom with a little antechamber before it...."⁹ It is believed that the antechamber was located on the second floor and was occupied by Kosciuszko's servant, a young Polish military officer, Stanislaw Dombrowski. This area would have also been used for storage. Kosciuszko probably left his two portmanteaus here along with books and articles purchased in America. The antechamber would have contained a cot or bed, toilet articles and a chest of drawers for Dombrowski. Kosciuszko's servant would have remained at arms length to lend assistance and comfort to the invalid General. There shall be no effort to restore or furnish the antechamber to its 1797-1798, appearance. The room will be utilized as an audio and exhibit area with a glass partition wall to view Kosciuszko's bedchamber.

AND
THE GARRETT

The garrett remains virtually unchanged from its 1797-1798, appearance. It is divided into two rooms. The flooring, lathe and plaster are all original to the period 1776, the year the house was built.¹⁰ From November 29, 1797, to May 5, 1798, the garrett became the home of Julian U. Niemcewicz. Referring to his room, Niemcewicz compares his quarters to Kosciuszko's.

"...I had one [a room] even smaller; since no fire was made there, I could use it only for sleeping; this was extremely inconvenient to me. There is nothing more dreary than not having a place of your own, to be obliged to roam the streets or to watch for a moment when there would be a little table vacant in the parlor where you can read and write. I have scarcely had time to jot down a few notes in disorder on what I have seen...."¹¹

BOOKS AND PERIODICALS

Thaddeus Kosciuszko maintained a library wherever his travels carried him. He loved to read and had mastered English and French in addition to his native Polish. Only on one occasion was he taken away from his books, and that came during his imprisonment at St. Petersburg, Russia.

"...Warsaw, March 9
KOSCIOSKO, and his few friends still remain prisoners at Petersburg. Their firmness and consistency, gain them the esteem even of their enemies. They are well treated; and that, 100, by the immediate orders by the Imperial Catherine--but she will never work on the affections of Kosciuszko. He lives in a palace, has a table everyday of 16 covers, and is attended by a physician of the court daily, who has orders to inquire respecting his health in the name of the Empress; but he has not liberty to write. He does not read, speaks little, and will sit still for hours together leaning his head on his hand. In his misfortune one companion remains with him; and that is a negro which came with him from the United States of America, and has been his inseparable companion...."¹²

Kosciuszko met Joshua Sutcliffe, on the ship "Adrianna," during their Atlantic passage. "...Mr. Joshua Sutcliffe, of this city, also came passenger, in this vessel...."¹³ Mr. Sutcliffe was a merchant in 1797, working at 100 Spruce Street in Philadelphia.¹⁴ Sutcliffe evidently was selling or auctioning off books, since Niemcewicz records: "...7 May (1798), I had the effects of Gl. [Kosciuszko] carried to Mr. Jeff[erson], the books to Sutcliffe, My things to Dr. Bache...."¹⁵

Once back in America Kosciuszko had the opportunity to use the libraries of General Gates in New York, and General White in New Brunswick, New Jersey.

Before visiting his old comrade in New York, Kosciuszko wrote from New Brunswick to John Dickinson, in a letter dated November 3, 1797. "...I send you my warmest thanks for so generous invitation to your [home ?] and am more sensible of the honour you do me, as I am not yet^t known by you; my painful and weak state of health not allow me travell so far but stay near the chimney corner with the book...."¹⁶ Kosciuszko was impressed with the works of John Dickinson, a leading figure of the Revolution, and on November 24, 1797, he wrote the author.¹⁷ "...not accustomate to express my Ideas in so simple and conformable maner to every man's understanding; yet I am of the same opinion, and if the exterior not corespond, in my heart I am a Kwaker too, will do anything for the hapiness of Human Kind --"¹⁸

Another Letter followed:

"...Your answer to my letter came to my hands at New Brunswick the 20 of November, when it was so long I cannot tell, otherwise you should have sooner my thanks...I hope my wishes and of the others friends in Poland where you have many, amongst whom your Character is in very estymation...I shall not be deprivate of so desid satisfaction to shake you by the hand, and convers wyth you; whoes habilities and good heart rendered so many services to the Public -- you Improved Sir their Mind to virtue, love of the Country and Humanity -- I shall stay two days under your roof if you will allow me, that I may reap the advantage of your instruction, and fashion my own Mind by yours...."¹⁹

Kosciuszko saw himself as somewhat of a vagabond and related with J.J. Rousseau's experiences. Of Rousseau's works, his Confessions probably had the greatest impact on Kosciuszko. In a letter from Samuel Harrison Smith to Margaret Baynard, dated February 9, 1798, Smith suggests, "...I beheld with regret that Kosciuszko placed himself in the situation of Rosseau...."²⁰ Jean Jacques Rosseau's works were translated from French

and published as a first American edition in 1796. His works included: The Confessiosns of J.J Rousseau, Citizen of Geneva, New York, 1796;²¹ Eloisa, Philadelphia, 1796;²² and Letters of an Italian Nun and an English Gentlemen, Philadelphia, printed for Matthew Carey, 1796.²³

Matthew Carey, the publisher, also belonged to Kosciuszko's inner circle of friends. In an undated letter, probably March 1798, Kosciuszko wrote to Matthew Carey. "...By a mistake my servant put the Card you had the hounour to send me in my letter -- I beg you would be so kind to take this amiss...."²⁴

Mieczislaus Haiman wrote that Kosciuszko was absorbed in Dickinson's new series of Letters of Fabius, written in 1788.²⁵ In Fabius, Dickinson strongly condemed the Partitions of Poland. Kosciuszko was also deeply impressed with Dickinson's eloquent arguments on the political situation in the United States. Beside the Letters of Fabius, written on the Federal Constitution, John Dickinson published The Present Situation of Public Affairs, printed in 1797.²⁶ The latter is no doubt what Kosciuszko was referring to when he wrote to Dickinson with a request. "...Your friends have received a pamphlet from you, which you wrote not long ago...send me one, Kosciuszko...."²⁷ In January he again wrote to Dickinson, In Wilmington, Delaware, and mentioned books.

"...I have spend my time few days in the most agreeable manner by the perusal of your books --It is wrot wyth great force, energy, perspicuity and the knowledge of the human nature --I cannot tell you precisely now, what time I shall have the honour to see you, but I will give you notice befor hand...."²⁸

Julian Niemcewicz, who was to become a member of the American Philosophical Society, introduced Kosciuszko to pamphlets and publications

of the Society. Niemcewicz was careful to list the pamphlets of the American Philosophical Society in his diary, Under Their Vine and Fig Tree.²⁹ Niemcewicz wrote at length concerning the transactions of the Philosophical Society.

"...Mr. Peal busies himself also with useful things. He has just constructed a model in wood of a bridge with a single arch, which is to be thrown across the Skulkkil. It combines strength with lightness and elegance. He gave us a brochure which explains its construction...Another of Peale's inventions is a chimney with a metal plate in it which increases or decreases the smoke, dust, and with pipes to increase the heat and prevent it from escaping from the top. The description of this chimney is also to be published...."³⁰

Assuming that Kosciuszko and Niemcewicz would have had access to the same libraries, Niemcewicz's diary also gives an idea of what was available to Kosciuszko. Niemcewicz wrote, "...I have begun to read The History of the American Revolution. There are two of them, one by Dr. Ramsay...the other by Gordon...."³¹ Dr. David Ramsay's (1749-1815) book, The History of the American Revolution, in two volumes was published at Philadelphia in 1789.³² And Wiliam Gordon, D.D. (1728-1807), published The History of the The Rise and Progress and Establishment of Independence of the United States in four volumes, London, 1788.³³

Reflecting to the section within this report on PRINTS AND MAPS, Thomas Condie's View of the Pentitentiary House in Philadelphia³⁴ comes to mind. A corresponding pamphlet, written by Robert James Turnbull (1775-1833) and titled, A Visit To The Philadelphia Prison published in Philadelphia in 1796,³⁵ is also listed in Niemcewicz's diary.

In writing the Polish Act of Insurrection in 1794, it seems likely that Kosciuszko used Samuel Adams' Rights of the Colonists, 1772, "...in which

the Massachusetts leader defined "personal security, personal liberty and private property" as the "absolute Rights of...all freemen...."³⁶ Sam Adams' paper was titled, Report of A Comittee of the Inhabitants of Boston on The Rights of The Colonists, printed by Edes and Gill in Boston, 1772.³⁷

Kosciuszko was so opposed to slavery of any type that he drew up his American Will³⁸ to free Jefferson's slaves and to establish funds for their education. With this in mind, and Philadelphia being the focal point of the abolition movement, it is safe to assume Kosciuszko was familiar with the publications of the Abolition Society. One of the Societies' publications was released during the year that Kosciuszko returned to America, titled the "Abolition Societies in the United States. Minutes of The Proceedings of The Fourth Convention of Delegates From the Abolition Societies Established in Different Parts of The United States, Assembled At Philadelphia, On The third Day of May, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Ninety-Seven, And Continued, By Adjournment, Until The Ninth Day Of The Same Month, Inclusive." Printed by Zacharia Poulson, Jr., Philadelphia, 1797.³⁹

Two more observations recorded by Niemcewicz may give us a hint to publications reviewed by Kosciuszko. First a publication about Peale's Museum is described. Charles Willson Peale published a catalogue covering the exhibits in his museum titled, "A Scientific and Descriptive Catalogue of Peale's Museum" at Philadelphia in 1796.⁴⁰ The second reference by Niemcewicz concerns a dinner party he attended at the home of Dr. Collins.

"...I dined yesterday at the home of Dr. Collins, a Swedish minister, an honest old man, a talker and having his hoby horse as everybody. He is engaged on a work on languages; he finds that they all resemble each other; that even in Polish there were many Greek, Latin, and Swedish words. I saw with surprise at this house the dictionary of Trotz and a polish Telemaque...."⁴¹

During Kosciuszko's American visit a copy of The Adventures of Telemacus by Francois de Salignac De La Mothe Fenelon was translated and printed in New York by David Longworth.⁴² Kosciuszko thanked Longworth in a letter dated September 20, 1797. "...you lay me under great obligation by sending a book of Telemacus; a testimony of your friendship for me...."⁴³

BOXES AND CONTAINERS

After Kosciuszko's release from imprisonment at St. Petersburg he became a worldly traveler. His migrant status followed him throughout Europe and America. Eventually he stopped briefly in London and Bristol before continuing on to the United States. After spending almost eight months in America he returned to Paris via Amsterdam. His travels required him to carry a large amount of luggage. Some of these personal belongings are identifiable in a major inventory of household and kitchen furniture.⁴⁴ Kosciuszko mentioned in a letter from Rose Hill, dated September 20, 1797, that he had decided to leave his "...bagage in the hands of the Custom House Officers until I will return to Philadelphia...."⁴⁵ A practical move on Kosciuszko's part especially when one considers the amount.

In May of 1798, while drawing up the inventory of the sundry kitchen furniture for General Kosciuszko, John Barnes noted; "...also/ 1 very large leather portmantua apparently full/ 1 very large square leather portmantau...."⁴⁶ By September 15, 1799, Kosciuszko wrote to Thomas Jefferson stating, "...Mr. Barnes has send me likewise two cases loaded with my things...."⁴⁷ Apparently the large leather portmanteaux were Kosciuszko's main pieces of luggage. He also carried a box of turning instruments purchased in New York City ⁴⁸ and a large mahogany box of plate weighing 216 oz., plus 16 pennyweight.⁴⁹ Kosciuszko had wished to sell the plate in the United States; however, Jefferson thought the items to personal and decided against their sale. In regards to the plate Jefferson wrote Kosciuszko' "... I had them weighed and found they weighed 216 ounces

which are worth here exactly so many French crowns of 6 livres as therefore it was nearly as convenient to remit them in this form as in that of money I determined they should go with the clothes to Amsterdam...."50

Other items of interest that would have needed containers were discussed in a letter from John Barnes to Kosciuszko and dated April 2, 1799. "... -- your planes, saws, Box of plants, coffee and Rice are all ready for Sloop Sally...."51

One wooden camp chest and a hair covered, wallpaper lined, chest should be placed in Kosciuszko's bedchamber to illustrate his migrant nature. Emphasis should be placed in Kosciuszko's main goal of eventually returning to Poland.

COINS, CURRENCY & BADGES

The United States Mint was only a few years old when Kosciuszko arrived in Philadelphia, in 1797. Since the U.S. Mint was so new it encouraged the use of its new coinage. Not only was the U.S. coinage new, but it must have been looked upon as somewhat of a novelty. The market places in Philadelphia were filled with Spanish, English and French, silver and copper coins and tokens, that were generally accepted at face value. The revelation of a mixture of American and European coins is easily documented by the archaeological excavations conducted at Independence Hall and the State House Yard during the 1950's and 1960's. These excavations revealed that an abundance of foreign coinage of the late 18th century was present in Philadelphia. Archaeological excavations conducted in several other areas of Philadelphia's Old City have produced the same results, a mixture of foreign and American coinage. Perhaps Kosciuszko, with his love for his native land, carried a reminder of home in the form of Polish coinage. It would be safe to say that Kosciuszko carried with him a mixture of Foreign and American coinage.

A catalogue of the Memorial Exhibition on Thaddeus Kosciuszko, held at the Anderson Galleries in 1929, noted the following objects associated with the American and Polish patriot.

"...#197, Cross for Military Valor, with Ribbon. Obverse: The Polish Eagle and wreath; reverse, in Polish: Honor and Fatherland...#198, Silver Coin, six groszy. Struck during the rising although post-dated 1795, from silver donated by the churches, in response to Kosciuszko's mandate of May, 1795...#199, Three Bills of 4 Polish Zloty Each; Two bills of 5 and 10 Groszy each, these latter with the Polish and Lithuanian emblems. All are dated July and August, 1794...."52

Kosciuszko wore the Cross for Military Valor (also known as the Virtuti

Militari), along with the Order of the Cincinnati. Shortly after his arrival in America Kosciuszko was visited by Captain Shepard Kollock, publisher of the New Jersey Journal. Captain Kollock admired the Pole so much that he named his son Shepard Kosciuszko Kollock. This action pleased General Kosciuszko and upon meeting the youngster, "...he took him up in his arms, Kissed him and fastened to his coat his own cross of the Virtuti Militari...."53

The Polish Cross for Military Valor and the American Order of the Cincinnati are visible in almost every period engraving of Kosciuszko. No doubt, the Society of the Cincinnati medal was available through Philadelphia jewellers. In 1784, Jeremiah Andrews, a Baltimore jeweller, advertised that he had for sale 'Medals' for the society of the Cincinnati, "...which are allowed by many of the Society to be preferable to those imported...."54

In March of 1798, Kosciuszko attempted to settle his business affairs before departing America. In a letter to Col. Biddle written on March 11, 1798, he stated, "...I had not the honour to here from you long ago about my Shares in Pennsylvania Banck. I beg you would be so kind to finish this week...."55 Blank bank checks from the Pennsylvania Bank would be appropriate for Kosciuszko's bedchamber.

The Military medals along with various period denominations of U.S. and foreign coinage and U.S. bank notes would have been present in Kosciuszko's bedchamber. They should be placed on top of a Federal Philadelphia chest of drawers in a position suggesting that Kosciuszko had just emptied his pockets, removed his medals, and briefly vacated his bedchamber.

CERAMICS

The most noticable ceramic object, that may have been in Kosciuszko's Philadelphia bedchamber, appears in Benjamin West's painting of Kosciuszko in the General's London bedchamber. Sitting on a writing table, in the London bedchamber, is a brown or black glazed earthenware urn or boat shaped inkwell with feather quills protruding upward (this item will also be mentioned under Writing Accessories). Whether a prop for West's painting or an actual article that belonged to Kosciuszko's London boarding house, it is the type of inkwell that Thaddeus could have brought with him from England and used in Philadelphia.⁵⁶ Although not ceramic, the kitchen inventory mentions one very small chaffing dish for lighting pipes.⁵⁷ This was most likely European in origin and metalware, preferable brass with feet and a wooden handle. After use the clay pipe would have deserved a resting place. Although a conjecture a Chinese export porcelain bowl would have adapted easily as a pipe bowl or an equivalent to the twentieth century ashtray. Also conjectural, but very important, would have been a few pieces of tea service and coffee cups in Chinese export porcelain c. 1790-1820. For his own use a cream-colored, salt-glazed or creamware paint cup, the size of a finger bowl, to use with his paint set would have filled out the room.

EATING UTENSILS AND FOOD

General Kosciuszko's inventory of "Sundry Kitchen" furniture reveal that he was prepared to eat well. The evidence, in the inventory, of 1 waffle or pancake making iron with cover; several different size stew pans; 1 large indented pudding bowl; 1 quart pewter coffee pot; 1 quart pewter teapot; 1 half pint pewter milkpot; pewter dishes, plates and soup bowls of various shapes and sizes; 10 small knives and 10 three prong forks with pressed horn handles; and 1 large 12" japanned tea waiter, top a list that describes numerous other utensils. But the most impressive item in the inventory is an elegant silver tea service contained in a mahogany case and consisting of 15 pieces.⁵⁸ The tea service was given to Kosciuszko by the Friends of Liberty, when the General visited Bristol, England in the Spring of 1797. Whether the silver tea Service followed Kosciuszko to the boarding house of Ann Relf is unknown. However, we do know that when Kosciuszko departed Philadelphia in May of 1798, that the tea service was at the Third and Walnut Street residence of Dr. Rush.⁵⁹ Throughout Kosciuszko's entire second visit to America the silver tea service probably remained with Dr. Rush for security reasons.

Archaeological and architectural evidence found at the Third and Pine Street residence revealed that the basement was used as a cooking and eating area. Beneath an added 19th century brick floor several late 18th century wine bottles and fragments of slip decorated red earthenware were excavated. One of the wine bottles will be reconstructed and exhibited in Kosciuszko's bedchamber.⁶⁰ The boardinghouse was very small, leaving little if any room for a formal dining area. It is reasonable to assume,

based on archaeological evidence, that the boarders at Mrs. Relf's boardinghouse took their meals in the basement. However, Kosciuszko's invalid condition would have made daily dinning trips to the basement almost impossible. It is highly possible that his meals were prepared in the basement and delivered to his bedchamber. The bedchamber, where he stayed, had a fireplace. Using steel tongs hot embers could have been removed from the fireplace and placed in a copper or brass footed brazier or iron pot [similar type vessels are listed in Kosciuszko's "Kitchen Inventory."] A pot containing hot stew, brought up to the bedchamber from the basement kitchen, would have been placed on top of the brazier to keep warm. Eating in this manner was not new to Kosciuszko, having been a military officer in two wars on two continents, he was used to taking his meals as circumstances provided. His kitchen inventory attests to the old adage that an army travels on its stomach and that Kosciuszko came well prepared to eat.

Kosciuszko's favorite drink was coffee. His thirst for coffee is documented in a letter to Alexander Garden of Charleston, South Carolina, written on December 17, 1797. In this letter he sent regards to a former comrad, from the Southern Campaign of the American Revolution, Major Lewis Morris. Kosciuszko complimented Major Morris' wife, jestingly he begged her to send him "a dish of coffee and such as I tasted at Accabee." Accabee being the Morris' plantation near Charleston, Where Kosciuszko had dinned in 1781.⁶¹

The evidence of a one quart pewter coffeepot in Kosciuszko's 1798, kitchen inventory is enough proof that coffee was consumed in his

Philadelphia bedchamber. However, a description of what this particular one quart coffeepot looked like, or if its origin was American, English or European is unknown. Pewter coffeepots of these three parts of the world and of the late eighteenth century are extremely rare. In 1736, Aaron Smith of Philadelphia advertised London made coffeepots, but today no English pewter coffeepots of the eighteenth century are known. The only American examples, to have survived, are the two quart pewter urn-shaped coffeepots, c.1785-98, that were produced by William Will of Philadelphia.⁶² Only seven of Will's two quart variety are known to have survived into the twentieth century. The one quart variety, listed in Kosciuszko's inventory is virtually unknown.

A one quart pewter teapot is listed in Kosciuszko's inventory of 1798.⁶³ English teapots of this period and earlier, in the one quart variety, have survived in fairly good quantity. An English teapot of the late eighteenth century would be relatively easy to acquire and placed in Kosciuszko's bedchamber.

Aside from the fact that Kosciuszko loved and came well prepared to drink coffee and tea, he was certainly attracted to other treats. Oysters would have been available to Kosciuszko, when they were in season. Shortly after Kosciuszko's arrival in Philadelphia, following a visit to northern New Jersey and New York, Niemcewicz [Kosciuszko's traveling companion] described two aspects of life on Market Street in Philadelphia. Between January 25th and February 15th Niemcewicz wrote, "...The silence is interrupted only by the cries of the little negro chimney sweeps...In the evening these cries are replaced by those of the oyster vendors...."⁶⁴

Oysters were in season from December to April. Archaeological evidence also supports Philadelphia's long standing love affair with oysters, nearly all of the excavations of eighteenth century sites have revealed numerous discarded oyster halfshells. A dozen fake oysters on the halfshell placed on a large pewter plate, at a convenient location in the bedchamber, would be appropriate.

Kosciuszko also loved strawberries.⁶⁵ At the end of his second American visit strawberries were available in Philadelphia. Thomas Jefferson shipped Alpine and Chili varieties to Monticello from Philadelphia in March 1798.⁶⁶ These two varieties produced a large hearty strawberry from late spring to the end of summer. Unfortunately, for Jefferson and Kosciuszko, Virginia had a late spring frost and Philadelphia had a quarter inch of snow on April 18th 1798.⁶⁷ This type of freak climatic event would have prevented early flowering of the strawberry plants. Considering that the temperate climates of Piedmont Virginia⁶⁸ and Philadelphia were very similar one wonders if strawberries planted outside would have been ripe in time for Kosciuszko's enjoyment. Strawberries grown outside probably wouldn't have been ready when Kosciuszko departed Philadelphia on the morning of May 5, 1798. However, strawberries were also produced artificially by using hotbeds, glasses, etc. Strawberry sweetmeats or preserves were available in Philadelphia during Kosciuszko's visit. A shipment of ripe strawberries to Philadelphia from warmer climates wouldn't have been unusual.⁶⁹ Surely, imported strawberries would have been available in America's capital city during the spring of 1798. With strawberries in the Philadelphia marketplace, as fresh fruit, sweetmeats,

or preserves, Koscuishko would have paid the price for this small delectable. Keeping the above in mind, an export porcelain bowl of large sugar glazed strawberries should be placed in Kosciuszko's bedchamber. Kosciuszko's fancy for the exotic and different were definately a mark of his style throughout his entire life.

FIREPLACE EQUIPMENT

The hearth and fireplace mantle would have already been equipped by Mrs. Relf when Kosciuszko arrived at the Third and Pine Streets boardinghouse. Supplied with andirons, bellows, a brass bellows hook, iron or steel fireplace tools, a iron and tin "U" shaped screen with fine wire mesh, and a good supply of wood, the fireplace would have kept Kosciuszko comfortable. Of greatest importance was the tinder box or a striking device, consisting mainly of a flint and a piece of iron, that would provide the spark to ignite the kindling. Concern for Kosciuszko's physical well being required that he live in a comfortable and warm dwelling. This fact, coupled with his transient circumstances, necessitated Kosciuszko carrying with him, his own insulation, a bedroom carpet.

Philadelphia houses and boardinghouses were noted for being drafty. A fireplace would normally keep a room warm during the winter months. However, the loose pine floorboards contributed significantly to the loss of heat. A good carpet would generally remedy this problem. Kosciuszko owned what was probably a carpet of Turkish origin, and he would have used it to insulate the drafty floorboards where he resided. A carpet is depicted in Benjamin West's painting of Kosciuszko's London bedchamber. Could the carpet in West's painting be the same listed in John Barnes' inventories of Kosciuszko's possessions after the General's departure from Philadelphia in May of 1798? The answer to this question remains unanswered. However, Barnes' inventories tell us that he bought

Kosciuszko's bedroom carpet for the appraised value of \$6.50.⁷⁰ Based on other objects sold from the above inventories, the carpet brought a very low price, suggesting that it may have been old and was of little value. It would be appropriate to place an old Oriental or Turkish carpet, dating from the mid to late eighteenth century, in Kosciuszko's Philadelphia bedchamber. The carpet in West's painting would be stylistically correct for the period.

The type of wood used in Philadelphia fireplaces is a subject rarely touched upon. However, for authenticity in the recreation of Kosciuszko's bedchamber it is a topic worthy of an explanation. Moreau de St. Mery described in his American Journey what kind of wood to use and not to use in a Philadelphia fireplace. "...In Philadelphia they burn black spruce logs, which shoot out sparks like chestnut,...which is bad; large acacia logs,...are good for back logs because they burn slowly...But the best woods are sugar maple, birch, live oak, white oak and, best of all, Northern walnut or hickory. Nothing can be compared to hickory...."⁷¹ Logs of the aforementioned type were laid across two andirons with blade posts which were crowned with either a flame or hexagon finial. The screen to catch embers would have been painted with stoveblack and topped off with a polished brass rail. The shovel and tongs, of black wrought iron, were ballooned at the center of each shaft and topped with a brass urn finial. With proper use these necessities would keep the fire going.

FURNITURE

The bedchamber that Thaddeus Kosciuszko moved into, at Mrs. Relf's boardinghouse, had the basic furnishings, a bed, a chest-of-drawers, and a few chairs. There were also a few pieces of furniture that Kosciuszko brought with him. These additional items of furniture were a writing table and a footrest.⁷² Some of Kosciuszko's baggage, several large portmanteaus, was not furniture in the strictest sense, but these pieces would have been treated as such because they were used like an extra chest-of-drawers. These portmanteaus contained everything from clothing and linens, to Kosciuszko's "Kitchen," or "camp" furniture. A few pieces of furniture such as a sofa, may have come to the house through the kindness of Dr. Benjamin Rush, or as a token of the Allison families admiration for Kosciuszko.

In the case of Mrs. Relf's boardinghouse, Ann Relf was merely a caretaker or landlady for the wealthy Allison family. Inventories for boardinghouses do surface from time to time but they usually deal more with the personal belongings of the caretaker, such as clothing. The Allison family owned and rented the twin house properties at Nos. 170 and 172 South Third Street, renting No. 172 to Mrs. Relf.⁷³

The thought that Mrs. Relf brought some of the furnishings to the boardinghouse did cross my mind. Her son Samuel became a wealthy newspaper publisher⁷⁴ and raised a family. Perhaps some of her furniture survived the last century, having been passed down through several generations. So

far, the search for surviving pieces of furniture that Mrs. Relf may have brought to the boardinghouse has proved unsuccessful. What little we know about Ann Relf is very sketchy.⁷⁵ We know that she paid her dues for a balcony pew in Saint Peter's Church.⁷⁶ It appears that she ran a quiet boardinghouse and was accepted and respected by her neighbors.

The social and economic structure of the neighborhood lent little help towards establishing a list of furniture for a boardinghouse. There were several boardinghouses nearby and they were all in the same economic structure as Mrs. Relf's. Inventories of these boardinghouses mentioned little about furniture. Due to these circumstances it became more productive to turn to the upperclass inventories of the Allison family. Taken in 1794, the Allison inventory was most helpful.⁷⁷ It is not unrealistic to visualize furniture from the Allison's back rooms or storage areas, turning up in Mrs. Relf's boardinghouse. For example, the Allison's "Back garret" lists several items that could have eventually been used in Mrs. Relf's boardinghouse; two feather beds, one green painted bedstead and one brown painted bedstead are listed. The "Back Room" upstairs lists; one walnut chest of drawers, one walnut bureau table, one field bedstead and sacking, two washstand basins and bottles, and furniture check curtains for a field bedstead.⁷⁸ The values for all these furnishings, and numerous other pieces, can be seen in appendix, III, A-I, of this report, pp. 122-155.

Taverns, coffee houses, and inns throughout the eighteenth century were the subjects of colorful cartoons and written descriptions. There were of course the houses of ill-repute which sometimes were stationed in

boardinghouses, and naturally drew their share of attention. Yet, descriptions of these brothels seldom if ever revealed the furnishings therein. The respected houses drew little if any attention. They did not need or want the notoriety possessed by the more notorious institutions. In short it would have been bad for business! Kosciuszko experienced two types of boardinghouses in Philadelphia. When he first arrived in Philadelphia in September of 1797, he had little choice of where he would reside because as Moreau de St. Mery described the event, Kosciuszko was received by the Americans "...with a great demonstration of joy, unhitching the horses from his carriage and drawing it from the point where he had debarked to the lodging that had been reserved for him...."⁷⁹ The jubilant crowd of well wishers literally carried Kosciuszko from the ship he had arrived on to Mrs. Lawson's boardinghouse, located on the east side of Fourth Street just below Market. Mrs. Lawson's boardinghouse may not have been a house of ill-repute, but it was located in the heart of the red light district.⁸⁰ Vice President Thomas Jefferson listed Mrs. Lawson's boardinghouse as a good place to stay. Kosciuszko and Niemcewicz's opinions differed from the Vice Presidents, together they were displeased with the excessive expense incurred at Mrs. Lawsons. Niemcewicz recorded in his diary, "...when it came to pay for the room, it was even worse. The agreement had been ten dollars per principal and five for the servant per week. Mrs. Lonsson [Lawson] found away, however, to make us pay 50 dollars for 12 days. One can judge from this the excessively high prices of this country...."⁸¹ However, Kosciuszko also left Philadelphia at the urging of Dr. Rush, due to an outbreak of the dreaded yellow fever. When he returned

Part C-I-I, 4

to Philadelphia, a few months later, he made sure that he would dwell in a more modest and respectable atmosphere. He found this solitude at Mrs. Ann Relf's boardinghouse. Niemcewicz wrote that Dr. Rush helped to find a lodging "...as small, as remote, and as cheap as my instructions directed... Its cheapness had made the choice for us...."⁸²

Perhaps the best two descriptions of what Kosciuszko's bedchamber would have looked like are revealed in a painting of his London bedchamber, completed in the spring of 1797 by Benjamin West;⁸³ and an inventory of his belongings drawn up by John Barnes after he left Mrs. Relf's in the spring of 1798.⁸⁴ Both of these historically accurate descriptions either show or mention several items or pieces of furniture that were with Kosciuszko during that episode of his life. The West painting reveals a table, a sofa, and a footrest. The Philadelphia inventory describes a footstool or "one wooden rest or stay for the foot."⁸⁵ This is the only piece of furniture that can actually be attributed to Kosciuszko while he resided at Mrs. Ann Relfs, and it may also be the footrest that appears in the 1797, oil painting of Kosciuszko by Benjamin West. The painting reveals a rush bottom Sheraton style, footrest. This piece of furniture should be considered as an important element regarding style along with the fact that it is in a contemporary setting with Kosciuszko.

Another piece of furniture that appears in the West painting is a straight back sofa that is obviously covered with a bordered damask cloth. It seems unlikely that this piece of furniture belonged to Kosciuszko. However, the bordered damask covering this sofa may be the same bordered

damask that is listed in a 1799 inventory of Kosciuszko's belongings that were sold at vendue.⁸⁶ From Moreau de St. Mery and various other accounts we know that a sofa⁸⁷ was in Kosciuszko's bedchamber at Mrs. Relfs. To answer the question of a sofa in Kosciuszko's bedchamber we should respond by placing a Sheraton style straight back or camel-back sofa in his bedchamber covered with a bordered white damask cloth.

A mahogany bow front chest of drawers with french feet, with or without fine highlight inlay, will store Kosciuszko's clothing. Several small personal items should be placed on top of this piece of furniture.

Kosciuszko carried with him a small box for the game of backgammon or chess.⁸⁸ To highlight his love for these two games, a medium size Chippendale gaming table with folding leaves and an inlaid gaming board should be placed in the bedchamber. This will help to illustrate the crowded conditions that were described by Moreau de St. Mery. The gaming table will also double as a writing table. The table should be arranged with period chess or backgammon pieces in place, and also have a few letters, books and personal writing accessories arranged around or to the side of the game.

Kosciuszko's bed should be a very simple pine bed, painted brown, green or black, with a roof shaped headboard and straight or round Sheraton style legs. A small period field bed with blue or red checked curtains would also be acceptable.

Other prominent pieces of furniture in Kosciuszko's bedchamber would have been a round pie crest mahogany tea table, supported by a turned Philadelphia shaft and three slipper footed legs. A Sheraton style corner night stand with a bason and bottle rack and a compartment for storing medicines, wash cloths, etc., will fill out the room for major pieces of furniture. The tea table and wash stand should be covered with objects related to their own particular use.

Last but not least three Philadelphia branded bow back windsor chairs with bamboo turned spindles and legs should be placed in the bedchamber. These chairs can be painted either black, green or ocher in color. Moreau de St. Mery described the middle class as having "...Walnut furniture and wooden chairs painted green like garden furniture in France...."89

Describing, not the boarding houses but rather the fashionable homes in Philadelphia Niemcewicz makes a rather notable observation. His statement would apply more to the Allisons' main residence which was located on the west side of Front Street between Chestnut and Walnut. The present day situation is located in Area F of Independence National Historical Park.

"...You enter into a corridor and you walk on a narrow carpet. There is a parlor below for receiving, another for dining. In the houses of opulence you find drawing rooms. In all of these apartments there is the greatest cleanliness, all the furniture is mahogany, a large sideboard with a case on top filled with knives, forks, spoons, etc. Some beautiful English engravings, and often some very beautiful porcelains, decorate the mantelpieces and little tables. Luxury already extends to mirrors. I have seen some very large ones. In general it appears to me that the greatest luxury here is in the furniture...."90

Certainly some of this elegance was imitated and reflected at Mrs. Relf's boarding house. The point to be made is that Ann Relf's boarding house at 172 S. Third Street was a reflection of the past, the present, and the merchant social class. As long as the furniture conveys the above hypothesis, Kosciuszko, most certainly, would be at home.

GIFTS AND PERSONAL EFFECTS

Kosciuszko was a man with a benevolent heart and unselfish generosity, who cared little for worldly gifts. He gained great satisfaction through giving gifts. Thomas Jefferson best described Kosciuszko's character when writing to General Haratio Gates on February 21, 1798, the Vice President noted, "...I see him often, and with great pleasure mixed with commiseration. He is as pure a son of Liberty, as I have ever known, and of that liberty which is to go to all, and not to the few or rich alone...."⁹¹ Aligned with his own Republicanism, Jefferson felt that the main purpose of Kosciuszko's life was "the freedom and happiness of man."⁹²

The first two wills for his American estate show Kosciuszko at his best. The final document, drawn up by Jefferson, is within the required legal terms and form. However, the original will written by Kosciuszko sometime before April 20, 1798, had all the simplicity and crudness of his style, his imperfect command of the English language, and it reflects more vividly his generosity and his ideas for raising the social position of the Negroes. The text of this original will follows:

"...I beg Mr. Jefferson that in case I should die without will or testament he should give out of my money so many Negroes and free them, that the restant Sum should be Sufficient to give them education and provide for their maintenance. That is to say each should know before, the duty of a Citizen in the free Government, that he must defend his country against foreign as well internal Enemies who would wish to change the Constitution for the worst to enslave them by degree afterwards, to have good human heart sensible for the sufferings of others, each must be married and have 100 acres of land, with instruments, Cattle and tillage and know how to manage and Govern it as well to know how behave to newbours, always with kindness and ready to help them--to them selves frugal to their Children give good education I mean as to the heart and the duty of their Country, in gratitude to me to make themselves happy as possible.
T. Kosciuszko...."⁹³

Part C-I-J, 2

Kosciuszko had extended to his own personal body servant, who was a free black, all of the freedoms spelled out in his will. The intentions of this will was to buy, out of bondage, any number of slaves at random that proceeds of his will would allow.

A third will written in 1816, shortly before his death, unfortunately canceled his earlier wills and good intentions. His sisters disputed the third will and his estate became entangled in litigation. The United States Supreme Court finally ruled in 1852, that the estate be distributed among the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of Kosciuszko's sisters, Anna Estko and Catherine Zolkowska. They received the estate plus interest, which came to about, \$50,000.00. The 1816 will had been "...written by a professional lawyer employed by Kosciuszko and the invalidation of the American will was obviously against Kosciuszko's intent, a fact which the Court itself admitted. 'After my death, you know the fixed destination' of the money, he wrote to Jefferson a month before his death...."⁹⁴ In the opinion of the Court, however, Kosciuszko's bequest for freeing and educating of Negroes could not take effect, "...because of the uncertainty of its disposition and objects of the bounty...Though his intentions were not carried out, he nevertheless justly deserves the title of a pioneer of...emancipation...."⁹⁵

Kosciuszko's generosity is well documented from his stays in London and Bristol in the spring of 1797, and throughout his American journey from August 1797 to May 1798. Eliza Cooper Vanderhorst mentions four of five articles that were given to her by Kosciuszko. In Mrs. Vanderhorst's will, dated September 7, 1842, she wrote:

"...I also give and bequeath to my said dear Brother...Also two drawings by the immortal Kuscinszko given to me by himself and so

Part C-I-J, 3

inscribed on the [sic.]. Also a curious pen and ink Drawing of the Paraclyto...In the Articles given to my Son William and his son Albert I find I have ommitted to include...a ring with a Rosette of Rose diamonds, and "KOSCIUSZKO" engraved on the inside, having been given by that Great Man to my Mother...."96

Kosciuszko entertained himself working with his turning instruments that were purchased from Henry Gahn, who was a friend of Niemcewicz and a well known New York merchant. The Gernerall used these instruments to turn snuff boxes and other small objects that he gave to his friends as souvenirs.⁹⁷ At present it is impossible to describe what the box of turning instruments looked like. Perhaps sometime in the future a set of instruments with Mr. Gahn's label will find its way to Kosciuszko's bedchamber. Such an item would be a most important addition to Kosciuszko's accessories.

While Kosciuszko was in New Brunswick, New Jersey, Mrs. Anthony Walton White was noted for collecting his sketches in pencil, india ink and water-color. Kosciuszko would throw his fancy pieces on the floor, knowing Mrs. White's intentions to retrieve his art work to give to her friends.⁹⁸

Kosciuszko gave gifts to several other favorite friends just before leaving Philadelphia in the spring of 1798. These gifts included a pair of fur-boots to the Comte de Beaujolais. He also gave Thomas Jefferson a "...Bear Skin as a Token of my veneration, respect and Esteem for your ever...and a costly sable fur...."¹⁰⁰ Furs were also presented to Mrs. Anthony Walton White, along with "...a lot of trinkets, among which was a necklace of vegetable coral from Siberia...."¹⁰¹

The "sable fur" that Kosciuszko gave to Jefferson in 1798, was described in a 1943 press release when the bronze statue of Jefferson was unveiled at the Jefferson Memorial in Washington, D.C. The press release attributed the sable fur on Jefferson's coat, as a gift to Jefferson from Kosciuszko.

Part C-I-J, 4

This statue of Jefferson, by the sculptor Rudolph Evans, was modeled after the standing portrait executed by Thomas Sully and is now located at West Point. An earlier version of the Sully portrait, from the waist up, is in the American Philosophical Society Collection, in Philadelphia. Miss Olivia Taylor, a direct descendant of Jefferson in Charlottesville, Virginia, bequeathed a coat and a fur collar to Monticello. The fur collar along with other pieces of Jefferson's clothings have been in the collections of the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation since 1984.¹⁰² The coat was described in a letter from Mrs. William Mitchell to Mr. Edward P. Alexander, Professor of Museum Studies at the University of Delaware, Newark, Delaware dated March 10, 1972. Mrs. Mitchell stated: "...I quote from a letter from James A. Bear, Jr. - and believes she (Mrs. Taylor) has the coat herself. What she has is a rose colored wool coat lined with wool flannel. Jefferson's initials are cross-stiched into the material...."¹⁰³ We will assume that Jefferson's sable fur and bear skin presents were in Kosciuszko's bedchamber at Mrs. Relf's boardinghouse in 1798.

After Kosciuszko's departure for Europe a present arrived from him, in Philadelphia, from the Whig Club of England. One June 9, 1798, Niemcewicz wrote, "...I have this day received the sword for General K. I will leave it in care of my landlord, Mr. Francis if you would be so kind as to accept the saber from Cpt. Lee and place it with the other effects which you are so graciously keeping for him...."¹⁰⁴ According to the inventories that were kept by John Barnes this particular sword was never in Kosciuszko's possession while he was in America or England. Another sword appears in Benjamin West's painting of Kosciuszko in his London bedchamber. What happened to this sword is unknown. However, knowing Kosciuszko's penchant

Part C-I-J, 5

for giving away his personal belongings, we can assume that the sword may have become a gift to one of the many visitors he received in American between September 1797 and May 1798. With this thought in mind, a sword similar to the one in the West painting should be placed in Kosciuszko's Philadelphia bedchamber.

GLASS

Kosciuszko was the ideal host and enjoyed having people around him. He probably kept wine, port and spirits in his bedchamber for the enjoyment of his visitors. The containers were bottles of black¹⁰⁵ or olive colored glass, sealed with cork stoppers and secured with this wire. Sometimes the cork stoppers were covered with red sealing wax, an added precaution against evaporation. When not in use the bottles would have been laid flat on their sides and stored in a cool place. For shipping the bottles received a long cylindrical sleeve made of straw Canton matting which was used before they were boxed. An almost complete period bottle, as well as many sherds of spirits bottles, was excavated below the cellar basement floor at 172 South Third Street in 1974. This area served as the kitchen for Mrs. Relf's boardinghouse. Along with the spirits bottles will be displayed five trumpet bowl wine glasses, ¹⁰⁶ a few colorless plain fluted and pontiled drinking glasses and a dark green gin case bottle. All of these objects are identifiable to the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

Kosciuszko's invalid condition required a certain amount of exercise and medication. He had a choice of a number of carminatives, cordials, cure-alls, and elixirs. The medications would have come in eighteenth century pharmaceutical vials of pale green glass or tall slender round vials of plain colorless glass. All examples for the period would have been freeblown with a shallow kick and pontil.¹⁰⁷

Part C-I-L, 1

LIGHTING DEVICES

The boardinghouse owner would have supplied brass candlesticks in the Federal style and a brass chamberstick.¹⁰⁸ In Kosciuszko's case, candlesticks were a necessity due to his invalid condition and the vast amount of reading that he pursued. A tin or hogscraper type candlestick was popular in the 1790's and would be appropriate for the General's bedchamber. A chamberstick made of brass or copper, with a dish and a loop handle is another type of candlestick that Kosciuszko may have used. Chambersticks were more often used in taverns and boardinghouses.

Part C-I-M, 1

METALWARE

John Barne's 1798, "Inventory of Kitchen Furniture" is almost wholly made up of metalware. The different types of metalwares in the "Kitchen Inventory" include iron, pewter and tin-ware. The forms included in this inventory range from a large 12" inch Japanned tea waiter to a "waffel or pan Cake making Iron w: cover." Included along with the "Kitchen Furniture Inventory" was also "Particulars of G.K. (General Kosciuszko's) Plate (silver service) contained in an Elegant, Mahogany, Case viz."¹⁰⁹ The location of Kosciuszko's plate, at this time, is unknown. We do know that the plate was returned to Kosciuszko, by John Barnes, in 1798. The latest mention of the plate is recorded in a letter from Kosciuszko to Jefferson, dated September 15, 1799, in which Kosciuszko states, "...Mr. Barnes has sent me likewise two Cases loaded with my things, which are now upon the road to Paris...."¹¹⁰ It is believed that the silver plate never was at Mrs. Relf's boardinghouse because Niemcewicz mentions in his writings that Kosciuszko left some plate at the house of Dr. Rush.¹¹¹ Bewildered by the quick turn of events and Kosciuszko's secrete departure from Philadelphia, Niemcewicz wrote two notes in his diary. First he described his feelings of hurt and abandonment because Kosciuszko did not confide to Niemcewicz the reason for a secrete departure. Niemcewicz's second note described what he sent to Kosciuszko.

"...I have had your effects, clothes, etc. packed and had them sent to Mr. J [efferson]. I will not touch anything, not even the silver...."¹¹²

The silver mentioned by Niemcewicz was in the form of money and not the plate mentioned earlier. In his haste to condemn, Niemcewicz only saw Kosciuszko's kind jesture of leaving him money as an insult.

Part C-I-M, 2

A few pewter plates for taking meals or entertaining would have been in evidence in Kosciuszko's bedchamber. He also had a chauffer (a small portable stove or heater) which could be used to warm food brought up from the basement kitchen. The hearth of the fireplace in his room provided enough heat to keep a chauffer containing stewed meat hot.

Although not mentioned in the "Kitchen Inventory" a steel pipe tong to fetch hot embers to light a clay smoking pipe would add a nice interpretive touch. However, the call for a steel pipe tong is supported in the "Kitchen Inventory" with "one very small chaffing dish to light pipes by." The steel pipe tong would have hung from the wooden mantle of the fireplace, dangling from a L-shaped brass hook with a diamond or acorn finial.

Appearing in his "Kitchen Furniture Inventory" are three very important items in pewter. These items were: a one quart pewter coffee pot; one quart pewter tea pot; and a half-pint milk pot. Xavier Zeltner, the son of Francis Xavier Zeltner, whom Kosciuszko had lived with in Switzerland some years later, wrote that "...He [Kosciuszko] rose early,...dressed and prepared his coffee over a spirit lamp. It seems that he became a habitual coffee drinker during the American Revolution. A diarist remembered that during the Insurrection he drank, at all times of the day, much coffee differently prepared, "hot, cold and iced...."¹¹³ Although not of metal, one hair sieve strainer (possibly for tea) and one hair coffee strainer, in his "Kitchen Inventory, "indicate he was well prepared to consume plenty of coffee.¹¹⁴

This section also compliments an earlier section devoted to eating utensils and food, C-I-G.

Part C-I-N, 1

NEWSPAPERS

The Majority of Philadelphia's taverns and boardinghouses were well stocked with the newspapers of the day. At Mrs. Relf's, Kosciuszko would have had a variety of foreign and domestic newspapers to choose from. The American papers and their editorials were usually political in nature following the Federalist or Republican point of view and also contained a wide range of advertisements. The papers most likely to be in evidence at Mrs. Relf's would have been; the Aurora published by Benjamin Franklin Bache in Franklin Court (The Allisons, Mrs. Relf's landlords, subscribed to the Aurora at \$6.00 per annum).¹¹⁵ The Aurora was probably the most popular newspaper at Mrs. Relf's especially since Niemcewicz uses it as a direct illustration his diary. Niemcewicz described Benjamin Franklin Bache and the Aurora when he wrote "...N.B. Newspaper.

The Barbary treaty cost the United States nearly 9 million doll. The advantages gained from the Mediterranean trade must be immense in order to counterbalance this onerous tribute. It is the journalist Beach (Bache) who has made public disclosure of this. This is one of the advantages of the freedom of the press: the government does not commit a fault but it is immediately criticised and denounced in the terrible tribunal of public opinion. Of all the means of enlightening a nation that of public newspapers seems to me the best and the most easily accomplished. A tome scares off the indolent, but a page by exciting curiosity instructs without tiring. Diffusing everywhere, it carries enlightenment into the most remote corners. Directed by the right-minded, the impartial, without hatred, party spirit and passions; its effects resemble those of a brook which fertilizes and invigorates the fields through which it flows; but in the hands of a violent mass, one imbued with prejudice, blinded by passions, it is a torrent which carries everywhere havoc and destruction. The public sheets or newspapers are of such importance in a free country that it appears to me indispensable that the authors should be elected by the people. The writer should be rather a magistrate than a merchant...."¹¹⁶

Mrs. Relf's son, Samuel Relf was apprenticed to one of the local newspapers. On July 2, 1799, young Relf was admitted to partnership with Andrew Brown, Jr. to publish The Philadelphia Gazette and Universal Daily

Part C-I-N, 2

Advertiser under the firm name of Brown and Relf. After December 31, 1802, Relf became sole publisher and changed the name of the newspaper to Relf's Philadelphia Gazette.¹¹⁷ Samuel Relf, as an apprentice, would have brought home issues of the paper he worked on.

Political turmoil influenced a brisk newspaper trade in 1790's. Federalist newspapers of the day included papers such as William Claypoole's American Daily Advertiser, John Fenno's The Gazette of the United States, and Major Benjamin Russell's Columbian Centinel. Philip Freneau published The Time Piece, a Republican paper, and William Cobbett published Porcupines Gazette which was an anti Democrat-Republican paper. Cobbett's Porcupines Gazette may have made its way to Kosciuszko's bedchamber simply because of its vicious attacks on the invalid general. However, Cobbett was the only publisher who dared to attack Kosciuszko openly, and even he acknowledged that this was disapproved by many men of his party.¹¹⁸ William Cobbett,

"...raised a discordant note immediately after the receipt of the news of Kosciuszko's liberation. In his (Cobbett's) opinion, the Tsar had acted "very inadvisedly" in freeing Kosciuszko; Cobbett attacked Benjamine Franklin Bache of the Aurora for praising Tsar Paul and his liberal ideas. The presentation of Kosciuszko with a sword by the British Whigs also scandalized Cobbett. The Whigs, he said, were "the very offal of both Houses of Parliament," and he scoffed at Tarleton: "You present the Polander with a sword, as a token of your approbation of his labours in the cause of what you call liberty, when it is well known that you owe your present rank and pay to your having fought against him, having sought his destruction, when he was engaged in that very cause." So even before his landing and quite innocently, Kosciuszko became embroiled in the American party strife...."¹¹⁹

Every tavern, Inn and boardinghouse in Philadelphia, during the 1790's, carried numerous newspapers that documented the factional strife.

Part C-I-N, 3

We know of the one early newspaper which Niemcewicz acquired and there is a strong possibility that Kosciuszko also received a copy. Niemcewicz wrote that he had been given a piece of history when he visited the farmer, Mr. Logan, who was the grandson of James Logan the secretary of William Penn. "...He gave to each of us a letter in the hand of that great man (William Penn), and a newspaper published by Benjamin Franklin when he was a printer...This material was placed on exhibition in Pulawy the Czartoryski seat in Poland...."¹²⁰ Niemcewicz is unclear if Kosciuszko made the trip to Mr. Logan's. But when he wrote "He gave to each of us," letters and newspapers of those great men, it seems very likely that Kosciuszko even in his invalid condition had accompanied Niemcewicz. The above mentioned objects would have been displayed in Kosciuszko's room for all to see. Mrs. Relf's boardinghouse was becoming a museum before its time!

Part C-I-O, 1

PASSPORTS

In an effort to secretly move Kosciuszko out of the United States, Thomas Jefferson tried to enlist the aid of several consulates in Philadelphia. Jefferson wrote letters to the Chevelier de Yruijo (Spanish Minister), Mr. Letombe (French Consul), a Mr. Liston, and The Chev.'de Freire. The Vice-President finally succeeded when The Chev. 'de Freire sent "...his respectful compliments to the Vice-President of the United States, and has the honour of enclosing to him the Passport for Mr. Thomas Kanberg, desired by his note of this morning. Franklin Court. The 26th April 1798...."¹²¹ Thomas Kanberg was an alias name for Thaddeus Kosciuszko. In all of the quiries Jefferson wrote, he noted that his friend Thomas Kanberg was a native of North Europe whom he had known for twenty years in America and is of a most excellent character. Jefferson also wrote that he was not afraid to be responsible for Mr. Kanberg's political innocence "...as he goes [To Europe] entirely for his private affairs. He will sail for Baltimore if he finds there a good opportunity for France...."¹²² The back of this letter was marked, in Jefferson's hand, "March 27. 98 for Kosciuszko." To this day it is not clear whether Kosciuszko was on a secret mission for Jefferson or if Jefferson was merely helping a friend who urgently wanted to return to Europe. In any case Kosciuszko, remained in France until 1814, and then removed to Solethurn, Switzerland. There he lived out his last days, always hoping to return to his beloved Poland.

A reproduced copy of the above mentioned 'Passport' would be a good interpretive tool to place in Kosciuszko's bedchamber.

Part C-I-P, 1

PRINTS & MAPS

The only known pictures that could have possibly hung at Mrs. Relf's, in Kosciuszko's bedchamber were "Hector's Departure,"¹²³ (a pen and ink, sepia colored drawing) by Benjamin West, and a watercolor of the Swedish Castle of Gripsholme.¹²⁴ West gave the sepia pen and ink drawing to Kosciuszko; and one of Kosciuszko's military officers painted the watercolor. Kosciuszko probably received the pen and ink drawing along with a sepia print entitled "Hector and Andromache," when his portrait was painted by West in London in the spring 1797, just before Kosciuszko's 1797-98, visit to America.¹²⁵ During the spring of 1798, Kosciuszko presented the sepia pen and ink drawing and the watercolor to Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson probably received the gift during one of his many visits to Kosciuszko at Mrs. Relf's boardinghouse. The sepia print was bequeathed to Jefferson, along with various medals and miniatures, after Kosciuszko's death in 1817.¹²⁶ The print, which was made in London prior to 1797, gives a feeling of Kosciuszko's taste in art. The drawing later hung in the entrance room to Monticello and the sepia engraving in Jefferson's tea room.¹²⁷

The location, of these treasures were lost with time. However, in 1980, the sepia pen and ink drawing of "Hector's Departure" resurfaced at a New York auction-house. The drawing has since changed hands several time. However, as of 1986, the drawing is owned by the J. Paul Getty Museum, located in Malibu, California.

Other prints appropriate for the room would be scenes or items that reminded Kosciuszko of Europe. A map of Poland, made in Poland, England or America is appropriate. Matthew Carey's map of Poland (Philadelphia, c.

Part C-I-P, 2

1794) is suitable. Until the site acquires a sepia print of West's "Hector and Andromache," we will display two English Mezzotint engravings printed in London on December 1, 1790. These are "Black Monday, or the Departure for School," and "Dulce Domum, or the Return From School." They were engraved by John Jones after an original painting by W. R. Bigg, at Gate Street, Lincolns Inn Fields. These prints were picked for the clothing documented in each scene and their ability to fit the period. They also reflect the mood of the American market for prints during the 1790's. Although neither print has any association with Kosciuszko, they are included to imply Mrs. Relf's taste. Since she had medical students and a few young apprentices sharing a common lodging, the two school scenes are appropriate.

Niemcewicz mentioned in his diary "...I must buy a view of the Penitentiary house in Philadelphia at Thomas Condies, No. 20 Carter's Alley..."¹²⁸ Both Niemcewicz and Kosciuszko were impressed with the American Prison in Philadelphia. They shared a similar idea on social reform. Although it is not known that Kosciuszko owned "A view of the penitentiary house in Philadelphia," Niemcewicz would have shared his copy with the General.

The American press anticipated Kosciuszko's return to the United States long before his arrival. As early as, May 1, 1797, The American Universal Magazine ran a print of Kosciuszko engraved by T. Clark of Philadelphia.¹²⁹ The print illustrates Philadelphia's excitement at the prospect of Kosciuszko's return. Only two weeks earlier the following notice appeared in Claypoole's Advertiser, requesting "...the return of [a] print of Kosciuszko lately taken by someone...."¹³⁰

Part C-I-Q, 1

TEXTILES

The Kosciuszko bedchamber textile list includes everything from bed-covers, curtains, and clothing, to linens and a carpet. Kosciuszko's inventories and Benjamin West's painting of the General in his London bedchamber in 1797, are the best visual source of information concerning the textiles that surrounded him. Supporting this information are numerous Philadelphia period household inventories and paintings that have survived, providing additional data.

Bedcoverings

A striped or checked tie mattress cover made from a coarse cotton fabric covered Kosciuszko's mattress. Plain white linen sheets and pillow slips were also a necessity. The Benjamin West painting depicts large pillows on a sofa with Kosciuszko resting against them. This scene is repeated in most all of the contemporary prints of Kosciuszko, c. 1797-1820.¹³¹ The pillow slips were made of linen or cotton and covered a coarse cotton casing stuffed with feathers. Coverlets were a common sight usually folded at the foot of the bed or stored away from the room. In the winter months the coverlets came in handy. They were usually home-made in a checked or plain wool material and sometimes a glazed chintz fabric.

Clothing

Kosciuszko's clothing is illustrated in West's painting as well as in a number of lesser known prints. All show the General fully dressed and usually reclining on a sofa. His clothing consisted of knee breeches, boots, ruffled shirt, waist-coat and a high collared dress coat. Most obvious among his clothing was his Polish peasant's cap, his crown of distinction. He had worn the cap during the Polish Insurrection and it had

Part C-I-Q,2

become a symbol of Kosciuszko and Polish freedom. Although not textile, he had a pair of riding boots and probably a pair of buckeled walking shoes, both were dyed black leather. At vendue in 1799, a pair of his 'nanken' breeches brought \$1.75, and a waist and short plain coat went for \$4.75.¹³² His traveling companion Julian Niemcewicz listed expenses, accounts and calculations on the back cover of his "notebook no. III." The articles enumerated were "...Breeches, \$3.00; Neck hanker [chiefs], \$2.00; shirts, \$3.00; vestcot, \$1.00; stockings, \$2.00; Pocket Hanker [chiefs], \$3.00; and night caps [?], \$1.00...."¹³³ A night gown and night cap would have served as his sleeping attire. The majority of his clothing was not sold, but packed and sent on to Paris by way of Nicholas and Jacob Van Straphorst & Hubbard at Amsterdam, The Netherlands. His clothing was shipped, from Philadelphia to Amsterdam on April 2, 1799.

Floor Covering

Kosciuszko's inventory for May 3 & 6, 1799, mentions a bedroom carpet bought by J. Barnes for the appraised value of \$6.50. A second inventory mentions the same on May 6, 1799.¹³⁴ A colorful carpet appears in Benjamin West's painting, however, there is no way of proving any relationship between the one in the painting and the one in the inventory. The carpet in West's painting appears to be a wall to wall Wilton type carpet, whereas Kosciuszko's carpet, mentioned in the inventory, was definitely a portable item. The carpet in West's painting does have some design elements that suggest it could be a Turkey or Oriental type carpet which would identify strongly with Kosciuszko's origin. But too little of the carpet is revealed in West's painting to make a positive identification. The best solution is an Oriental carpet or portable English ingrain carpet. Moreau

Part C-I-Q, 3

de St. Mery described Philadelphia homes as having spacious rooms and plank floors. He also noted that "...good carpeting tends to concentrate the heat, which is an advantage in a country, where, as I have said, rooms are drafty...."135

Napkins and Bandages

The frequent listing of napkins and linens in Kosciuszko's 1799 inventories leaves a lot of conjecture. A number of linens were sold at vendue, as follows: 6 napkins at \$4.61, and 10 napkins at \$1.33 ea. brought \$13.33.¹³⁶ These items probably served dual functions. Kosciuszko probably used linens in his bedchamber for entertainment. Serving tea or coffee to his guests he would require an ample supply of napkins. Secondly, he could have used the napkins as a dressing for his wounds or, moistened with hot water, as a compress. In a letter to Dr. Rush several English doctors had suggested that Kosciuszko's bath "...should be properly tempered, with the heat not exceeding ninety two degrees of Fahrenheit's thermometer...."137

Kosciuszko also wore a black ribbon tied around his head to hide the scar of a ghastly sabre cut across his forehead.¹³⁸ The black ribbon is evident in West's 1797 painting of Kosciuszko. Through Haiman, a noted authority on Kosciuszko's life, we learn that "...The General received his visitors..., always with his head bandaged...."139

Sofa Covering

West's painting reveals a bordered damask covering draped over a sofa. In John Barnes' inventory of 1799, "1 very large square damask tablecloth 7½ yards Bord [ered]," was sold at vendue for \$22.50.¹⁴⁰ Although it has not been proven that the two are the same this issue provokes a question.

Part C-I-Q, 4

Could these two damask covers be the same? Aside from the fact that these two covers may be the same cover, we should not lose sight of a very important point, both coverings are documents of the period. Since a damask cover appears in the same painting with Kosciuszko, the relationship between the two is strong enough to suggest a damask bordered covering for the sofa in his American bedchamber.

Window Hangings

Julian Niemcewicz described the window hangings in the new parlor of Dr. Logan's home in Germantown, Pennsylvania. "...We returned finally to the house (of Dr. Logan) and were shown into a new parlor. The curtains, the covers for the sofas and the chairs were made of a cotton cloth in blue and white squares; and all was homemade...."¹⁴¹ This cloth was known as furniture tick which was available in a variety of colors. When used to cover a chair, the checked fabric mentioned above was usually only a dust cover that protected a more expensive upholstery beneath. These covers were pulled over the seat and had draw strings or ties to secure them. The market for this item is best illustrated in numerous newspaper advertisements, household inventories and period prints and paintings. Coverings of this type were very popular in America throughout the last half of the eighteenth century.

Part C-I-R, 1

VENETIAN BLINDS

It is not known whether venetian blinds would have been in Kosciuszko's bedchamber. A modern problem of light damage from the anti-chamber (exhibit area) warrants the use of blinds. To maintain a uniform feeling between the two rooms, and the remainder of the house, venetian blinds should be used throughout.

Reproduction venetian blinds such as those in the Todd House, and Graff House, painted green with a green wooden valance are appropriate for the Kosciuszko House.

Part C-I-S, 1

WALLPAPER

The wallpaper used in Kosciusko's bedchamber will be a twentieth century reproduction of an authentic late eighteenth century wallpaper. The question of whether or not bedchambers were wallpapered in the eighteenth century has long been a topic of discussion. In recent years several authorities theorized that wallpaper would have been used only in rooms where guests were received, such as drawing rooms, dining rooms and parlors. The most frequent argument is why would anyone go to the trouble of papering a room that was usually unseen by the public. However, in the case of a boardinghouse, inn, tavern, or Kosciuszko's bedchamber, we are dealing with a room that would have been seen. The pros and cons of a wallpapered bedchamber in any house, be it a tavern or a private dwelling, can be laid to rest. Ann Warder adequately answered this nagging question in a journal she wrote in 1788. Writing about her house at No. 27 Vine Street, Ann revealed that "...the workmen would be compleated this day...puting up a few yards of bordering in the room we have had papered & in which we purpose sleeping...."¹⁴² At last, wallpaper in a bedchamber has been documented! Ann Warder purchased her wallpaper during a visit to William Poyntell's where she went, "...to choose a paper & see his (Poyntell's) wife & family...we soon went to his Warehouse there fixing on what we wanted...."¹⁴³

William Poyntell (1756-1811), was one of the more recognized wallpaper manufacturers and hangers in Philadelphia. The daily receipts of William Allison, who was the owner of Mrs. Relf's boardinghouse, reveal that on several occassions during the 1790's, William Poyntell was paid for work performed. On June 12, 1796, he received "...£ 2...5...6...."¹⁴⁴ Although there is no indication of where the work took place, or the nature

Part C-I-S, 2

of the work, we can justifiably entertain the thought that Poyntell was hanging paper, persumably at one of the Allison properties. Poyntell was one of six wallpaper manufacturers and hangers in Philadelphia in 1790's. He listed his address in 1799, at No. 68-70 Chestnut Street.

Several large and small fragments of wallpaper were uncovered during the 1974 rehabilitation of the twin structures, known today as the Thaddeus Kosciuszko National Memorial. Two different vine pattern wallpapers, dating from the late eighteenth century, were among the samples retrieved from the twin houses. Some small wallpaper fragments, from the late eighteenth century were found below layers of plaster on the first, second, and third floors of the structure that Kosciuszko resided in. The evidence of wallpaper fragments suggest that both houses had wallpaper in 1797-1798.

A vine pattern piece of paper removed from behind an early nineteenth century stair runner at 170 South Third Street (next door to Mrs. Relf's), resembled a wallpaper in the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum at Wilmington, Delaware. A much larger identical sample of the vine pattern wallpaper removed from 170 South Third Street, was also removed from a similar period context at 318 Market Street, Franklin Court in the early 1970's. This wallpaper was made of laid rag paper, printed in squares and glued together, and displayed an elegant floral and vine design, c. 1790-1800. A similar period wallpaper at the Winterthur Museum is located in what is known as the "Imlay Room." This wallpaper has been reproduced and is available commercially.¹⁴⁵

The story about how the Imlay-Poyntell wallpaper was salvaged from a farmhouse in Allentown, New Jersey and eventually exhibited at the Winterthur Museum is unique. In 1968, Horace L. Hotchkiss, Jr., had his thesis on the above subject published in the Winterthur Portfolio No. 4,

Part C-I-S, 3

under the title, "Wallpaper From the Shop of William Poyntell." The original bill of sale between John Imlay and William Poyntell, dated April 18, 1794, is today in the archives of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Mr. Hotchkiss' thesis and the bill of sale are important to understanding the documentation and basis for using the Imlay-Poyntell reproduction wallpaper in Kosciuszko's bedchamber. The rarity of the finds like these is indeed unusual. The brilliance of color that the wallpaper will bring to the bedchamber is very exciting. The introduction of such an extraordinary and documented wallpaper will really help to bring the Kosciuszko bedchamber to life.

Could Mrs. Relf have had an elegant vine pattern wallpaper in her boardinghouse? The answer to this question at first appears to be no, but it is definitely a resounding yes when everything is considered. It may seem somewhat unrealistic to have a fancy wallpaper in a middleclass eighteenth century boardinghouse. Many middleclass families could not have afforded the luxury without the assistance of an upperclass friend. However, in the case of Mrs. Relf we are dealing with a middleclass widow, who had a lot of drive and pride. To Ann Relf's credit, her son was an aspiring apprentice learning the newspaper trade. By 1803, young Sam Relf was the editor of Relf's Philadelphia Gazette and Daily Advertiser. But probably more important, than any of the forementioned documentation, is the fact that Samuel Relf's sweetheart was Sarah Poyntell, who was the daughter of William Poyntell, jeweler, merchant, stationer, and wallpaper manufacturer! Samuel and Sarah were married at Saint Peter's Church just across the street from Mrs. Relf's boardinghouse. They raised a large family, of which one son was named William Poyntell Relf. They all are buried in the family plot at Saint Peter's cemetery, next to Samuel's mother Ann Relf.

Part C-I-S, 4

For all of the documentation mentioned in this section a reproduction of the Imlay—Poyntell wallpaper should be placed in Kosciuszko's bedchamber. If it can ever be proven that the vine pattern paper removed from the Kosciuszko Memorial in 1974, was made by William Poyntell, then a copy of that wallpaper should be reporduced and replace the Imlay-Poyntell wallpaper that is now suggested for the bedchamber.

WRITING ACCESSORIES

There exists a number of letters at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania between John Dickinson and Thaddeus Kosciuszko. The letters from Kosciuszko reveal that he used black sealing wax and carried a fob. The impression in the wax shows an oval fob, with a standing Greek or Roman soldier, was used. He is carrying an armored shield which covers most of the body and he wears a helmet. Although a small item, the fob seal exhibits Kosciuszko's identification with his role of general. All of the stationery is made of laid rag paper and several pieces reveal the watermark EDMEADS & PINE and the date 1795. Edmeads and Pine were British paper makers in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.¹⁴⁶ There is a possibility that Kosciuszko could have bought the paper as an imported item in Philadelphia or New York. However, he most likely brought his own supply from England.

In West's painting of Kosciuszko, there appears to be a black inkwell in the shape of a canoe with two quill pens inserted. The inkwell seems to be a ceramic piece, possibly in a black manganese glaze. Papers and ledgers are scattered throughout the room indicating Kosciuszko kept his mind occupied with correspondence. For his trip to America, a small traveling inkwell in an oblong leather case with a lid and a compartment for quills would be appropriate. With the quills would have been a brass or steel quill cutter of European or English origin. To absorb the residue ink after writing, Kosciuszko would have used a brass or pewter, square or round shaped sander. For sealing the letter and to accompany the fob, Kosciuszko would have had a small round or square wooden box with corresponding lid to contain wax sealing wafers. All of these items should be dispersed throughout the room to give an appearance that Kosciuszko is nearby.

DOCUMENTED ACCOUNTS OF HISTORIC FURNISHINGS, APPENDICES.

Introduction

- I. Appendix I, A-K. Archives related to Kosciuszko's property in America.
- II. Appendix II, A & B. Kosciuszko's American Will, 1798, through May 1819
- III. Appendix III, A-I. Representative Philadelphia household inventories, 1791-1794.
- IV. Appendix IV, A & B. Representative Philadelphia Newspaper Advertisements 1791-1794.

INTRODUCTION

The appendices for the Thaddeus Kosciuszko National Memorial contain typescripts, taken from original documents, that are important to this report and the furnishings in Thaddeus Kosciuszko's bedchamber. The next several pages will help to interpret and better understand the furnishings therein. The appendices will also give a complete typescript of original materials where I generally used brief excerpts in the main body of the text.

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- C. Note by Kosciuszko, Kosciuszko to Henry Galn, Counting Merchant of New York, September 1797. (Massachusetts Historical Society, Jefferson Papers).
- D. John Barnes inventory for "Particulars of G. K. (General Kosciuszko) plate, c. 1798; and John Barnes inventory of Kosciuszko's Sundry Kitchen furniture and personal items. May, 1798. (Massachusetts Historical Society, Jefferson papers).
- E. Letter from Kosciuszko to Thomas Jefferson, (regarding sword). October 1798. (Massachusetts Historical Society, Jefferson Papers).
- F. Letter from Thomas Jefferson to Kosciuszko. February 21, 1799. (Library of Congress, Jefferson Papers).
- G. Letters (3) from John Barnes to Kosciuszko (concerning furniture and personal belongings). April 2, 1799 and April 6, 1799, and a letter from Barnes to Jefferson dated April 6, 1799.
- H. Two pages from John Barnes inventory book (related to Kosciuszko's property). November 15, 1799 and April 4, 1800. (Massachusetts Historical Society, Jefferson Papers).
- I. Letters from Kosciuszko to Thomas Jefferson, (regarding money and belongings). September 15, 1799. (Archives and Museum of the Polish Roman Catholic Union, Kosciuszko papers, No. 10A.).
- J. Letters from Thomas Jefferson to Kosciuszko, (regarding land and money). May 7, 1800. (Library of Congress, Jefferson Papers).
- K. Letter from Kosciuszko to Thomas Jefferson, (regarding money and American estate). August 14, 1800. (Massachusetts Historical Society, Jefferson Papers).

DIAGNOSIS OF KOSCIUSZKO'S PHYSICAL CONDITION
BY BRITISH PHYSICIANS

(Library Company of Philadelphia, Ridgway Library, Rush Papers, 7246 F.39)

General Kosciuski received a wound at the lower part of the hind head, with a blunt Sabre, which both bruised, and most probably divided the Nerve, upon the right side that supplies the posterior portion of the Scalp with sensibility. Since that time the Scalp at the upper and the posterior part has been without feeling. The stroke of the Sabre, it is also probable produced some degree of concussion of the Brain, by which the General was rendered insensible for a short time after the accident, and has since been often subject to considerable pains in the head.

The effects of the Injury done by the wound on the head are gradually wearing off, and the Scalp will probably in time recover it's sensibility, tho, that we do not think a matter of much importance. It is of more consequence that while any pain is felt in the head, he should continue to live with great temperance, not drinking any wine that is not mixed with water and eating of any thing that is heating or high-savoured.

He should further be attentive to the state of his Body, to procure daily the proper Evacuation; and for that purpose we recommend the continuance of the present opening Medicine of Sulphur and Cream of Tartar, which he has found to have the desire effect.

The Paralytic state of the Thigh and Leg is owing to another wound he received at the same time in the Hip, with a Cossack pike. This instrument had penetrated deep so as to divide, or injure extremely, the Sciatic Nerve, near the place where it passes out of the great Sciatic Notch.

The Paralytic state of the Thigh and Leg, as well as the irregular action of the Bladder, are the consequence of this wound.

Nerves, which have been rendered useless in consequence of any external injury are capable of being restored more perfectly to their Functions, than Nerves which have become paralytic from internal causes.

It is a good while however, before Nerves which have received a great external injury begin to show signs of recovery at all.

The reason of it is this; that if Nerves have been lacerated or cut through by external violence, it is a considerable time before the injured parts are regenerated.

When they are fully regenerated the Nerves, recover their functions but by degrees, and more or less perfectly according to the magnitude of the original injury.

Their restoration to their Functions is greatly promoted by the following means, which we would recommend to General Kosciuski.

1st The Limb should be exerised in every possible way, and that the General may more readily understand what we mean by this, we will shortly state what should be the management of it for one day. It should be rubbed well three times a day for twenty minutes or half an hour at a time. The rubbings will be more easy and perhaps more effectual from the use of a Liniment, and we have accordingly annexed a prescription for one. Besides rubbings with the hand for the time mentioned, the Flesh of the Thigh and Leg should be gently pressed between the hands, and all the Joints, (the hip, knee and Toes) should be bent, to give them their natural motion, and to preserve the pliability of the Limb. After each rubbing the General should try to move his Toes, his foot, his Leg and Thigh as much as possible, be it ever so little and should continue some time to repeat his efforts in this way.

These efforts and trials frequently repeated, contribute much to the gradual restoration of motion and strength in the Limb.

2nd The Recovery of Sense and motion of the Limb will probably be promoted by the use of tepid Bathing; nor do we apprehend at present any inconvenience similar to what the General experienced when he formerly made trial of it. But the Bath should be properly tempered, with the heat not exceeding ninety two degrees of Farenheit's Therometer.

The General should not at first stay long in the Bath, but the time may afterwards be gradually encreased. He may begin with five minutes and by degrees go as far as half an hour.

It will be enough to bathe every other day and it is not material at what hour of the day the Bath is used - it may be either in the morning or Evening.

He should try to move and exerise the limb while in the Bath.

The Douche or pumping warm Water on the limb may likewise be tried, if a favorable opportunity offers.

3rd Besides exerising the Limb in the manner directed, and using the tepid Bath, we would further recommend the use of Electricity to promote the restoration of the action of the Muscles.

The Electricity should be made to pass in gentle sparks, through the Muscles of the Legs and Thigh, so as moderately to excite their contraction. And this may be done everyday at any time that is convenient.

In exerising the Limb in Bathing and in applying Electricity, we have one general caution to give, which is that none of these means be used so as to excite pain.

There is still considerable pain felt upon pressing on the part where the wound was received in the Hip, and there is also an acute pain that frequently shoots through the whole Limb to the Toes - these symptoms pro-

Part C-II
Appendix I-A, 3

bably indicate an imperfect restoration of the Nerve, and therefore the friction and other means recommended, should be used with that moderation, that would not excite pain.

By following the plan we have laid down for the General, we are of opinion that he will probably recover in considerable degree, the use of the Limb, but the progress will be slow, particularly at first, and this he must not be discouraged by.

We feel peculiar interest in the success of the plan above used. It give us the most heartfelf satisfaction to think, that we may possibly contribute to the comforta of a man, whose Character and Exertions in behalf of his country, have called for the admiration of the whole civilized world.

Lond, 3d 6/97

G. Baker
J. Hunter
Wm. Farquhar
M. Baillie
Gil Blane
Dav. Pitcairn
W - Saunders
T. Cline
T. Heate
Chilver

Rose Hill 20 September

Gentilmen

I received your favor and am intirely
of yours opinion to leave my baggage
in the hands of the Custom house Officers
until I will return to Philadelphia --
be pleased to received my warmest thanks
for the trouble I gave you wyth this
bagage and believe Gentilmen the charge
of transporting my baggage is acording to
the Letter I received from Tho. Peters
Bonar L. 2.11 if you have paid it I will
send a bill to draw upon me in the
Bank of the U. States.

your Most Humble and
Obedient Servant

T. Kosciuszko

Be so good to order your Servants for
delivering my two boxes wyth turning
instruments to W. Niemcewicz wyth
my best thanks for you.

T. Kosciuszko

Particulars of GK. Plate contained in an Elegant, Mahogany Case -- viz:

4 HIGH Candlesticks - wrought deduct for mahogany bottoms	Ea w 21.5.. 84 oz - pwt. <u>2.5 - 9</u> 75 -
4 Bottle stands open worked deduct for Bottoms	Ea 6.6 - 25.4 <u>1 " - 4 "</u>
1 large oval waiter with with four feet	In 16 by 12.. Wt 41.15.
2 smaller d° .. Equal Size 10 3/4 by 7 3/4	oz Ea./15.:30
1 large Bread basket with handle 14 by 9 1/4 with handle -- 14 by 9 1/4	 21 .. 9.
1 pair wrought snuffers stand for d°	2.. 18 <u>4.. 10</u> ----- 7 .. 8
2 half or 3/4 pint goblets wrought 7 gilt all over	wt 10 each 20.
& Ingraving on each plate or piece	Oz.. 216 .. 16

The Friends of Liberty

In Bristol to

The Gallant Kosciuszko 1797

(or Camp.)
Inventory Sundry Kitchen furniture G. K.

Iron Ware

Kitchen
Furniture

1 round sheet iron pott with cover & wire	
bail containers all	3 qts
1 d° d° d°.....	2 qts
1 d° d° without covers	1 qts

wt

1 (Waffel or pan Cake making) Iron w: Cover

1 large old grid. Iron

1 d° Sheet Iron plate to Bake bread on

1 small axe, Iron

1 Wt (wrought) Tomihawk ... Silver mounted.

1 middle size Stew pan

1 Iron Ladle

1 ...d° Mortar & pestal

1 very small Backgammon Table & men

- neither Box or Dice

1 small Box containing - a Set of figures

for game at Chess --

1 small rough Bras Bale & wire for door -

Inventory continued

Cooper Ware...

1 large Stew pan & cover -

1d° size less ... d°

1d°d° without d°

1 d° d° d° d°

1 d° d° d° d°

1 ...d° indented Pudding Bowl.

1 Tea Kettle

1 very small Chafing dish/to light pipes by

Tin Ware

1 large Kettle or Stew pan & Cover

1d° or size less

1d°d° -- d°

1d°d° -- d°

1d°d° -- d°

1d°d° -- d°

2 large pudding pans - or dishes

1 bread grater -

4 plate Iron handles for tin Kettles
to fix on occasionally --

Inventory continued

Pewter Ware

1 large soup Kettle cover & handles

1d°d° size less "

1dd°d° "

2 ...d° oval dishes --

2 ...d° ...round ...d°

2 ...d° ...d° size less.

14 .. small plates.....

6 ...d° soupe.....

1 ... quart Coffee-pott

1d° Tea - d°

1 ... half pint - milk -d°

10 small Knives pressed horn handles
10 3 prong fork
1 large chopping - or Carving Knife
1 12 Inch - Japan tea waiter
1 small wooden butter tub. (1P^t) hooped.
1 Iron Wire - horse Comb -

Inventory Continued

1 hair sceive strainer
1 Coffeed°
1 ..wooden trencher --
1 broad hoop/a foot in diameter.....
covered with green baize
1 wooden rest-or stay - for the foot
1 wooden Crutch covered in red -
Morraco leather & Brass Nails

also

1 very large leather portmantua
apparently full
1 ...d° squared°d°

Philad^a May 1798

John Barnes

My dear Friend

The Amicable disposition of the Gouvernement of France are really favorable to the interest of the United States, by the recent prouves they give, you ought not to doubt that they choose to be in peace and in perfect harmonie with America. Before it was misrepresented by Some the facts relative to your Country, but now they are perfectly acquiented wyth yours and their interest and Mr. Logan eyewitnes of the Sentymet they have towards the Nation Of the United States. At present it is a duty of every true American as you, to publishe and propagate their friendship, and to Compele your Gouvernement by the Opinion of the Nation to the pacifique Mesures with Republique of France, otherwise you cannot but to loose every thing even your Liberty by a conexion so intimet wyth England which increasing son influence can easily subdue and exercise son despotique pouvoir as before. Write me soon as possible of the effects which the news by Logans arrival will produce in America, as well of by the Election of the members for Congress, you may rely upon my indevours here but you most work in American wyth your friends and Republicans and (one word illegible) their reall interest. I will not hasard my Opinion concerning the affaires of different Nations of Europe. Mr. Logan, can give some Scachess as to my pecuniary affaires. I beg you would pay a friendly attention that I may receive punctually my money here at Paris. Inclosed I send a letters received from Amsterdam by which it apear that the money was returned to the Treasury long ago, but they had not inclination to pay me. Now I beg you would receive from Mr. Wolcott and to send me immidiatly by Amsterdam to Paris. If you will find a difficulty to receive the money please to publishe thos letters that the public should know their Characters. If the sword which was ofered to me by Patriots in England arived in America be so good to Send me to Paris.

Your for ever
Sincier Friend
T. Kosciuszko

The Compliments to all
my friends Matt
and fernell

(Mass. Hist. Soc., Jefferson Coll. Undated, but written about the beginning of October, 1798).

Jefferson to Kosciuszko

Philadelphia, February 21, 1799

My dear Friend

Your two letters by Mr. Gerry came to my hands not till Dec. 25. Mr. Gerry who arrived in September, delivered them to a person to bring to this place and here they were kept till I should arrive here which was expected to be the 1st of December at the meeting of Congress; but I did not come till the 25th of December, about 10 days after I received a third letter from you, without a date. Not knowing by what conveyance it came. We were then within a month of having your 2d dividend drawn. 6 int February. Since that time river being frozen up, no vessel has sailed. This must account for the very long interval between your first letter & this answer, and even now we do not know of any vessel bound for Amsterdam; but as I leave this place in a few days, I write this letter and leave it with Mr. Barnes to be forwarded by the first conveyance.

Mr. Barnes into whose hands all the details of your affairs are confided, has drawn your two dividends of 480 Dollars each. He will therefore with this letter remit to Mr. Van Staphorst & Hubbard 1000 Dollars, including the proceeds of sales. We attempted to sell at auction some of the articles you left, such as kitchen furniture etc. and they sold for next to nothing. I therefore directed that such other articles were of greater value should be estimated by some person of skill and sold at private sales. In this way your fur was valued by an honest furrier here at 25. Doll. According to the price of Martins here it would not have fetched 10 D. At vendue some silver spoons were sold at their weight. The table linen & some other articles will be attempted to be sold on valuation. But as your clothes could not be sold in any way, worth attention, and may be useful to yourself, I have directed them to be sent to Amsterdam. The freight will be trifling. As I had never seen Mr. Niemcewicz from the time I left this, last summer, I know nothing respecting your box of plate. I supposed he had accepted it answering to your desire. But the night before last he arrived here, and in conversation mentioned that he had left it in the care of Dr. Rush for you. I pressed him to take it, but he declined and yesterday delivered it to Mr. Barnes. I immediately examined it. It consisted of 4 candlesticks and a pr. of snuffers. 4 bottle slides, 2 goblets, 3 waiters and a bread basket with inscriptions on every article which could suit only yourself, and consequently that they could be sold only for the value of the metal, sacrificing the workmanship. I had them weighed and found they weighed 216 ounces which are worth here exactly so many French crowns of 6 livres as therefore it was nearly as convenient to remit them in this form as in that of money I determined they should go with the clothes to Amsterdam. There you can take them either as they are or sell to as great if not greater advantage. At the same time shall go the sword sent for you by the Whig Club of England. The whole will be shipped as your baggage to Van Staphorst & Hubbard. I have obtained from

Part C-II
Appendix I-F, 2

the Secretary of the Treasury a positive authority to Williams, Van Straphorst & Hubbard as banker of the U. S. to pay you that part of your demand which has from misunderstandings been so long unreceived. It is for 7162 florins banco. I did very much wish to have received the money here and invested it in bank shares as it would have added near a fourth to your annual income from hence. But this could not be obtained. You will therefore consider this sum as an additional remittance now made, over & above the thousand dollars before mentioned. If you chuse to have it invested here Mrss. J. Staphorst & Hubbard can easily transmit it here, where it can be placed so as to bring in 8 per cent interest. I desire them to send you a copy of Mr. Wolcott's letter. I am now, I think, through the whole of your affairs to this time, and Mr. Barnes will write you more in detail. He will also hereafter remit your dividend half yearly as it is received, to wit, in August & February.

Barnes John Apr. 2.99

rec. Apr. 11

Covered his a/c of sales and a/c of his remaining articles
on hand, Le - addressed under cover to Mrs. Nichols &
Jacob Van Straphorst & Hubbard -- Amsterdam
to whom also, I have added. Bill Lading & Bill of Ex -
for (\$) 2631.11 (?) at 38 Cts. equal to \$1000. to Ship
Stadt Hamburg, Capt. Heer Sjoerds for Hamburg
as well your three several packets. Letters to sail
the other copies, & Ship Juno - for (?) in abt. 14 days
-- your planes, saw, Box of plants, Coffee
and Rice all ready for Sloop Sally. Ed. Potter
who I expect will sail for Richmond 8th or 10th --

with much Esteem

I am Sir

your Obedt. Servant

John Barnes

Thomas Jefferson Esq.

Monticello

Philada. Also 6th April 99

Sir

Since my letter of this date I have to add,
assurances of your three several letter packages
being on Board the Ship Stadt. Hamburg. (not in
the least doubting by they would be received/
It was however with difficulty I got permission
thru the influence of a particular Mercht. to Ship
the Two Boxes -- On delivering my single package
which covered Bill Lading & Bill of Ex: - Under Cover
of which was my letter directed to G. K. the Ship Owners
hesitated - and withal Questioned me - hoped there
was nothing on Politics - for that they refused receiving
other letters than the Shippers of those merely on
mercantile Business -- I assured them mine was
solely releative to the Contents of the two Boxes of
cloaths & few trinkets, Bill of ex. La. belongly - to
a Gentleman

Barnes John, Apr. 6. 99

recd. Apr. 17

A Gentleman & friend of W. Van Staphorst; --
they consented & rec'd. said packet. --

I withheld your three packages without
mentioning them - and after three days inquiry
I just now, luckily met with W. Adamson
at the Coffee House - to whom I present (Card
and your Complaint, informed him of my embarrassment
and requested the favor of his forwarding them as well
my Seconds - with, a return of his best respects
to you. He Assured me of his particular attention
either to forward them from Lewes or Baltimore
to which place he was going in a few days.

I am Sir,
your Obedient Servant
John Barnes

Thomas Jefferson Esq.
Monticello - Virginia

Genl. Kosciuszko Inventory a/c with John Barnes

1799

Mar 23	By Balance due Gen. K. (?) a/c send.....	\$ 15..58
"	By W. Niemcewicz.....	6..--
"	By Benson & Yorke for proceeds of 6 Napkins at ven.....	4..61
May 3&6	By C. C. Brown for 2 damask Table Cloths & 10 Napkins.....	46..63
	By J. Barnes for the Appraised Value of a Bedroom Carpet.....	6..50
July 15	By 3 ^d dividend on 30 shares in Bank Penna. 16 \$ each \$480. less my commission \$ 2.40.....	<u>477..60</u>
		556..92
	deduct postage of 3 letters from Amsterdam	<u>42</u>
		\$ 556..50

E E Philada. 15 Nov. 1799

/When I rec'd payment for C.C. Brown/

John Barnes

Genl. Kosciusko Inventory Account with John Barnes

1799

Mar. 23	By Amount due G. K.rendered.....	\$	15..58
" "	By W. Niecewicz 1 pr. Nanken breeches	\$	1..75
" "	(?) waist & short plain coat.....	<u>4..75</u>	6..--
May 3	6 Napkins.....at vendue.....		4..61
" 6	By C. C. Brown for 10 Napkins @ 1.33.....		13..33
" "	1 large sq. damask Table Cloth.....		12..--
" "	1 very large.... d°d° 7½ yd. Bord.	<u>22..50</u>	
			47..83
" "	deduct Commision on.....d°.....	<u>1..20</u>	46..63
" "	For a Carpet J. B. took.....at.....Value		<u>6..50</u>
			79..32

July 15	By Bank Penna. 3 ^d div ^d on 30 shares at \$16.480		
	deduct ½ for Commission.....	<u>2..40</u>	
			477..60

1800

Jan. 14	deduct ½ for Commission.....	<u>2..70</u>	
			<u>537.30</u>
" "	deduct paid postage of 3 letter from Mrs. V. S. H.		1094..22
			<u>1..40</u>
			\$ 1092..82

E E. Philada.
4th April 1800 J. Barnes

\$1082..& Bill of ex. & Com. (?) at 40 -

Kosciuszko to Jefferson

15th of September (1799)

Dear Sir

I had the honor of receiving a letter from you dated the 25th of March,¹ with a bill from the Treasury of the United States for which I send you my Pennsylvania Bank. Mr. Barnes has send me likewise two Cases loaded with my things, which are now upon the road to Paris. Before I came from America Mr. Clay² has been appointed by me to acte as my proxy at the meeting of Stok Holders upon Pensylvania Bank. The desir of Mr. Barnes to be apointed in his place I refere to you you may do as you please because you have sufficient Power from me. The Theatre of the World is of such kind that I cannot sai nothing in favor. Be so good howev to beliee that my affection Friendship and Esteem for you will be everlasting.

T. Kosciuszko

¹Evidently this endorsement pertains to the foregoing letter which Barnes had no chance to send earlier.

²Perhaps Matthew Clay of Virginia, at that time a Republican member of Congress.

Jefferson to Kosciuszko

May 7, 1800

My dear General

I have duly received your letter of Sept. 15 and with that pleasure with which I always hear of your health. Mr. Barnes remits by this conveyance to Mrss. Van Staphorst & Hubbard for you 1082 Dollars, being the last dividends. I have got your land warrant located and have received for you the patent for 500 acres of land on the Scioto river. I am informed they are fine lands, and I believe it the rather because they were located by Col. Armstrong who is well acquainted there and has done a great deal of business for others in consequence of his knowledge of the country. He refused to receive anything for you for this service, saying he had done a great deal of duty with you and under you during our war, and was sufficiently rewarded by the pleasure of doing anything to serve you. I send you a plot of the land. You know the fever in which you left us. All that is subsiding. The public opinion is running fast back into its ancient and natural channel; which one twelvemonth from this time it will exactly what you & I would wish. Our great quadrennial elections comes on in about 6 months even now there would be no question of its result but that, from peculiar circumstances, there is danger that Pennsylvania will not be able to give any vote. However, independent of that, a victory just obtained by the republican party in the elections of New York is considered by both parties as going far toward deciding the great election, even should Pennsylvania not obtain it's vote. An accomodation with France will entirely tranquilize our affairs.

Kosciuszko to Jefferson

(August 14, 1800)

My dear Sir

I have the honor to receive your letter of 7th of May in which you gave me notice of 1082. Dollars being the last dividends for me and that you sent over by Mr. Banres likewise a skitch of my land. I beg of you to send Thousands thanks from me to Colonel Armstrong for his goodness. This land require som settlement. Can you procure one or more farmers of good reputation each for a Hundred acres. I should give them land for nothing five years on condition that after the terme will pay me the rente one procent lesse than authers in that part of the Country, or upon any condition you thing proper. You have so many friends her that I most beforehand pay you the first my respects as to the Presidents of the United States. I hope you will be the same in that new station always good, true Americane a Philosopher and my Friend, it may hapen under your helme I shall returne to America, but not otherwise. I do not see a great difficulty for yourself to make accomodation with France what I know. I send you by this conveyance a new book to remember me by. Accept my thanks for the troubles I gave you and be assured of my friendship Esteem, Consideration, respect and Constant love for ever Adieu

T. Kosciuszko

Paris 26 Thermidor
rue de Lille N 545
the peace kwrite made with Austria
I have received a letter of exchange from Mr. Barnes for 1082 Dollars

KOSCIUSZKO'S AMERICAN WILL

Two Versions of the Same Will

- A. Will dated April 20, 1798. (Power of Attorney dated April 30th. and affidavit to the identify of this document sworn by John Dawson at Philadelphia dated June 15, 1798). (Massachusetts Historical Society, Jefferson Papers).
- B. Will dated May 5, 1798. (Jefferson refuses to execute will at Circuit Court held for Albemarle County (Va.) the 12th day of May 1819, attested by John Carr, C.C. Will book, No. 1, Circuit Court, p. 42. (University of Virginia Library, Jefferson papers Box: TB-607)).

Part C-II
Appendix II-A, 1

"I beg Mr. Jefferson that in case I should die without will or testament he should by out of my money so many Negroes and free them, that the restant Sum should be Sufficent to give them education and provide for their maintenance. That is to say each should know before, the duty of a Cytyzen in the free government, that he must defend his Country against foreign as well internal Enemis who would wish to change the Constitution for the vorst to inslave them by degree afterwards, to have good and human heart sensible for the sufferings of others, each must be married and have 100 ackres of land, with instruments, Cattle for tillage and know how to manage and Gouvern to help them -- to them selves frugal to their children give good education I mean as to the heart and the duty to their Country, in gratitude to me to make themselves happy as possible.

T. Kosciuszko

I Thaddeus Kosciuszko Being just in my departure from America do hereby declare and direct that should I make no other Testamentary disposition of my property in the United States, I hererby authorize my friend Thomas Jefferson to employ the whole thereof in purchasing Negroes from among his own or any others and giving them Liberty in my name, in giving them an education in trades or otherwise and in having them instructed for their new condition in the duties of morality which may make them good neighbours good fathers or mothers, husbands or wives and in their duites as citizens teaching them to be defenders of their Liberty and Country and of the good order of society, and in whatsoever may make them happy and useful, and I make the said Thomas Jefferson my executor of this 5th day of May 1798.

T. Kosciuszko

At a Circuit Court held for Albemarle County the 12th day of May 1819

This Instrument of writing purporting to be the last will and Testament of Thaddius Kosciuzko deceased was produced into Court & satisfactory proof being produced of its being written entirely in the hand writing of the said Thaddius Kosciuzko the same is orderd and there upon Thomas Jefferson the executor therein named refuses to take upon himself the burthen of the execution of the said Will.

Teste

John Carr C.C.

INTRODUCTION

Thaddeus Kosciuszko's visit to America in 1797-98, revealed the suffering he had sustained during battle and imprisonment in Russia. His invalid condition allowed him to venture from his residences in America very briefly and only upon important occasions. Usually Kosciuszko could be found resting, painting or receiving visitors in his bedchamber. This area should reflect a room used for sleeping, eating, entertaining and amusement. It should also reflect the furnishings and decor of a boarding house in Philadelphia, c. 1791-98. With this in mind a number of representative Philadelphia household inventories for 1787-1796, are presented in the following pages.

Special attention should be given to the will and estate of William Allison, No. 193 for the year 1787, p. 1, and also the will and inventory of his wife Grace Allison for August 1791. Both of these wills are on file at City Hall, Philadelphia, Pa. They are of considerable importance since the corner house rented by a widow, Mrs. Ann Relf from the Allison family became the residence of Thaddeus Kosciuszko between November 1797 and May 1798. The wills also give a better understanding for this particular house by revealing the Allison family as an upper class and prosperous Philadelphia family who would indeed maintain the up-keep and image of their properties. With the above thought in mind relevant excerpts from the estate of William and the entire context of Grace's will are presented.

APPENDIX III TABLE OF CONTENTS

- A. William Allison - four pages [excerpts] from his Will and Estate, 1787-1789, 1796.
- B. Grace Allison's Will, proven 1795, (typescript taken 1975).
- C. Grace Allison's Inventory, described in earlier INHP furnishing reports (c. 1960) as an "Unidentified Inventory, 1791," new typescript taken 1975).
- D. Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant, inventory, c. 1792.
- E. Samuel Massey's Inventory, c. 1794.
- F. Cornelius Barnes' Inventory, c. 1795.
- G. Alexander Murray's Inventory, c. 1793.
- H. Katherine Kepple's Inventory, c. 1794.
- I. Robert Allison's Estate, 1793.

Part C-II
Appendix III-A, 1

Dr. The Account of John Bleakley Surviving

1787

The said Accomptant chargeth himself with all & Singular the Goods Chattels Rights & Credits of the said dec^d which have come to his hands to be Administered, as follows, to wit.

June	20	To Cash Rec ^d	of John Carson.....	£ 15..17..6	
	25	"	of -- D ^o	9 .15.--	
	26	"	of Col. Summers.....	13.--.--	
	29	"	of Josiah Brendon.....	1.. 7..5	
July	8	"	of Thos Craig.....	31.--.--	
Augst	4	"	of David Rittenhouse.....	8..16..4	
	21	"	of Robt. Craig.....	25.--.--	
Sept.	1	"	of Edw ^d Fon.....	1..17..6	
	10	"	of William Young.....	2.--.--	
		"	of Daniel King.....	20..16.--	
Oct.	6	"	of John Donaldson.....	35.--.--	
Nov.	2	"	of J. Richardson.....	4.. 2.--	
	10	"	of Fred ^h Phile.....	16.--.--	
	16	"	of Robt. McKnight.....	22..10.--	
Dec.	4	"	of David Rittenhouse.....	41.. 6 .9	
	15	"	of Sales of Auction.....	1.. 5..4	
	17	"	of Capt. Collins.....	20.--.--	
		"	of Robert Coleman.....	37..10.--	
	27	"	of Fred ^h Phile.....	<u>3.. 1.--</u>	310.. 4..10

1788

Jan.	7	"	of Mrs. Thompson.....	3..10.--	
	14	"	of E. Pennington.....	26.. 8..4	
Feb.	11	"	of Stewart Thesbit.....	33..15.--	
		"	of John Murdock.....	9.--.--	
	26	"	of Israel Paxson.....	7..10.--	
Mar.	18	"	of James Moore.....	6..6	
Apr.	16	"	of Wharton & Lewis.....	52. 5..7	
	17	"	of Mrs. Jackson.....	6.. 5.--	
	29	"	of Daniel King.....	7..10.--	
May	29	"	of Stewart Thesbit.....	33..15.--	
June	9	"	of Fred ^h Phile.....	7..10.--	
	19	"	of Davide Denny.....	1..15.--	
		"	of Terrence Donnelly.....	1..10.--	
	30	"	of Dan King.....	6..14.--	
July	3	"	of John Fromberger.....	43..19..9-	
	22	"	of Col. Beele.....	20..19.--	
	25	"	of W. McCauly.....	6.. 1..3	
Augst	1	"	of R. Smith.....	15.. 1..5	
	15	"	of Stewart Thesbit.....	33..15.--	
		"	of Co. Vanhorn.....	10.--.--	
		"	of Nath. Smith.....	10.. 3.--	
		"	of John Fromberger.....	<u>21.. 5.--</u>	
				£ 358..18.10	£310.. 4..10

Part C-II
Appendix III-A, 2

Excecutor of William Allison deceased

1787	The said Accomptant craves Allowance as follows to wit.		
June 27	Pd. Thos. Dobson.....	£ 5..6	
28	Pd. Adam Kerr.....	3..--..--	
July 10	Pd. for hawling.....	2..--	
	Pd. Geo. Claypoole for Coffin.....	12..--..--	
21	Pd. John Greer, expences at the death of ye Testador.....	4..10..9	
24	Pd. Miss Lowrey.....	17..6	
Augst 7	Pd. Michael White for Posting Books.....	4..10..--	
13	Pd. Geo. Campbell for Proving Will.....	1.. 5..9	
17	Pd. Mrs. Flowers Tuition.....	1.. 2..6	
24	Pd. Mrs. Rhea ... in full.....	6..10..9	
	Pd. James Boylan for Gloves.....	3.. 3..9	
28	Pd. Isabella Tarbett for mourning.....	3.. 7..6	
Sept. 4	Pd. J. Hull Tanes.....	3..16..5	
10	Pd. Anne Dunkin in full.....	8..13..11	
24	Pd. J. Ingersoll Atty. for S. Mease.....	180..14..8	
28	Pd. J. B. Smith.....	13..1	
Oct. 11	Pd. Elizabeth Cook for laying out Wm. Allison Jun.....	3..--..--	
Nov. 2	Pd. Adam Kerr.....	2..15..--	
15	Pd. Jacob Hull Tanes.....	1..13..8	
16	Pd. W. Tempest.....	2.. 3..9	
	Pd. Marble & Masons Bill.....	4..10..--	
Dec. 10	Pd. Thos. Fisher Tanes.....	18..16..--	
14	Pd. Robert Allison.....	2..12..6	
15	Pd. Fra ^s Donnelly.....	2..16..2	
31	Pd. Sundry House expences.....	108..10..4	381..13..6
1788			
Jan. 7	Pd. Mrs. Allison.....	37..10..--	
28	Pd. Mrs. Cook for laying out Miss Allison.....	3..--..--	
31	Pd. E. Evans Tanes.....	5..11..5	
Feb. 5	Pd. D. Varden Ground Rent.....	9.. 2..6	
11	Pd. Stewart Thesbitt.....	3.. 6..8	
	Pd. John Murdock.....	7..6	
12	Pd. Sam ^l Lowry for taking down & putting up Wm. Allisons Tomb Stone...	3.. 3..11	
Mar. 3	Pd. David Kennedy.....	14..--	
	Pd. McCulloch & Peterson.....	1..--..--	
14	Pd. Mrs. Allison.....	37..10..--	
19	Pd. J. Rowan.....	1..13..3	
Apr. 14	Pd. G. Claypoole for Coffin for Wm. Allison Jun.....	11..--..--	
	Pd. Ditto -- for D ^o for Mary Allison.....	11..--..--	
16	Pd. J. Vanhorn.....	1..10..--	

Part C-II
Appendix III-A, 3

May	5	Pd. Anne Dunkin funeral expences			
		of W. A. Jun.....	8.. 5..--		
		Pd. Ditto -- D° -- of M. A.....	9..12..8		
	6	Pd. Jn ^s Mitchell Adam ^d . of Mat. Mease....	37..14..7		
	16	Pd. John Mune for sand.....	19..--		
	17	Pd. N. Spencer for hawling sand.....	10..--		
	20	Pd. Alex Miller for Brich.....	1..17..6		
	22	Pd. Robt. Allison.....	<u>17..1</u>		
				<u>186.. 5..1</u>	
				±567..18..7	
1788		To Amot. brot. forward ----	± 358..18..10	±310.. 4..10	
Sept.	23	To Cash Rec. of Mr. Douglass.....	22.. 2..6		
Oct.	24	" of Mrs. Jackson.....	6.. 5..--		
	27	" of Doct. Phile.....	1..17..6		
	29	" of -- D° --	3..--..--		
Nov.	17	" of George & David Poe.....	10.. 3..4		
		" of Mr. Wilson.....	22.. 4..--		
Dec.	2	" of Dr. Phile.....	2..12..6		
	8	" of Steward Thesbit.....	<u>38..15..--</u>	465..	
1789					
Jan.	2	" of Robt. Coleman.....	35..--..--		
	8	" of John Montgomery.....	4.. 4..10		
	10	" of Mrs. Smith.....	6..--..--		
Feb.	27	" of Mr. Wools.....	13..10..--		
Mar.	5	" of James Moore.....	1.. 5..--		
Apr.	13	" of David Rittenhouse.....	40..13..4		
	18	" of Mrs. Smith.....	6..--..--		
July	23	" of ---D° ---	6..--..--		
	25	" of Col. Vanhorn.....	5.. 8..9		
Augst	1	" of Mrs. Towers.....	7..10..--		
	4	" of Col. Beele.....	18..15..--		
	8	" of Doct. Phile.....	3..16..8		
	15	" of James Crawford.....	61..17..6		
Oct.	12	" of Morris Shipley.....	40..--..--		
	14	" of E. & J. Pennington.....	6..19..2		
Nov.	6	" of Elias Wampole.....	5..--..--		
		" of Jas. Budden & J. Witcraft	30..--..--		
	7	* of Mrs. Relf.....	6..--..--		
	10	" of J. Crawford.....	20..12..6		
		" of Elias Wampole.....	1.. 7..2		
	23	" of Mrs. Towers.....	7..10..--		
Dec.	16	" of David Denny.....	2..10..4		
	25	" of Thos Craig.....	100..--..--		
	28	" of Wm. Shipley.....	138..10..--		
	31	" of Col. Beele.....	<u>10..15..1</u>		
				<u>579.. 5..4</u>	
				± 1355.. 8..10	

Part C-II
Appendix III-A, 4

1796		By Amount brot. forward.....		£6663..15..11
Jan.	7	Pd. Henry Clymer Ground Rent.....	£ 10.. 5..--	
	11	Pd. Wm. Rawle.....	6..--..--	
	21	Pd. Edw ^d . Bonsall.....	1..10..--	
	26	Pd. John Caldwell under the Will of Grace Allison.....	402.. 3..9	
	26	Pd. John Caldwell.....	13..9	
		Pd. expences to Bucks.....	10..8	
Feb.	3	Pd. Skerreth & Bonsall.....	18..9	
	4	Pd. James Mazurie of order of Hugh McCurdy.....	748..17..9	
	15	Pd. for shares in Turnpike.....	258..19..8	
		Pd. Clem ^t . Biddle.....	201.. 1..10	
	23	Pd. Robt. Lollar for surveying.....	1.. 2..6	
Mar.	14	Pd. Jane Allison.....	30..--..--	
	16	Pd. for Pennsylv ^a . Bank Stocks.....	195..--..--	
	19	Pd. Matthew Irwin.....	9..4	
	28	Pd. Sam ^l . M. Fox.....	1204..14..--	
Sept.	1	Pd. John Caldwell.....	1.. 9..9	
	9	Pd. Nicholas Hicks.....	15..--	
	16	Pd. Wm. Linton Costs.....	5..12..4	
	21	Pd. expences to New London.....	1..13..8	
	27	Pd. James McCrea.....	9..14..7	
May	10	Pd. John Adlum.....	18..15..--	
	23	Pd. John Stock in full for Painting.....	19.. 4..3	
		Pd. Wm. Ruddock.....	19..--	
	27	Pd. Jane Allison.....	37..10..--	3155..--..7
June	12	Pd. Wm. Poyntell.....	2.. 5..6	
	29	Pd. Expences to Baltimore.....	6.. 9..4	
July	16	Pd. for Copies of Wills.....	18..9	
	27	Pd. Lewis Teas for fencing.....	14.. 7..10	
	28	Pd. Caleb Carmalt.....	15..--	
Agust	24	Pd. Thos. Cave.....	11..--..6	
	25	Pd. Wm. Rawle.....	6..--..--	
Sept.	21	Pd. J. Winchester.....	3..15..--	
	26	Pd. Thos Biddle 541.35/100 three pc. for Accot. of Jane Allison £107..13..8 deduct this Sum being interest..... 13..17..6 rec ^d . on her Acct. now invested. note: this is Bal. of Crawford's 1st. instalment on her share.....	93..16..2	
Oct.	5	Pd. Matthew Irwin.....	3..--	
	10	Pd. James Pearson.....	1.. 6..3	
		Sent James Crawford.....	1600..--..--	
		Pd. Matthew Irwin.....	1..6	
		Pd. John Caldwell under the Will of G. Allison.....	288..11..--	

Part C-II
Appendix III-A, 5

Oct.	12	Pd. James W. Henry for Hugh McCurdy.....	1841.. 4..6	
		Pd. M. Irwin.....	1.. 2..6	
	19	Pd. Jane Allison.....	30..--..--	
	27	Pd. Thomas Biddle.....	144.. 5..6	
	27	Pd. for drawing Deeds.....	2..12..6	
	31	Pd. expences to Bucks County.....	16..10	
Nov.	12	Pd. J. Hull Tanes.....	4.. 1..11	
	25	Pd. J. Connelly for selling House.....	9..19..--	
		Pd. Nich ^s . Waln G. Rent.....	10..--..--	
Dec.	9	Pd. Thos. Biddle.....	96..19..--	
	25	Pd. John Adlum for Services.....	15.. 4..11	
			<u>4185..16.6</u>	
			± 14.024..13..	

In the Name of God Amen!

I Grace Allison of the City of Philadelphia Widow being sick & weak in body but sound dis(sic) Mind & Memory do make & put with this my last Will & Testament in manor following.

First It is my Will that after Payment of my Debts & Funderal Expenses all my Estate real & personal be equally divided between my four children John Caldwell, Margaret McHenry, James Allison, Jane Allison. Share & share alike.

Item If either of my two younger children Grace & Jane should die under age & without _____ the share of such awarded child shall go to the survivor; and if both should die under age and without _____ their share shall be equally divided between the two elder to wit John & Margaret or their children in case they or either of them should be dead at the time, shair s children taking equally among them the share which would otherwise belong to their Parents respectively.

Item I appoint Bleakley, Esq. solo Executor of this my Will and I empower him to sell the whole or any part of my real estate that he shall judge Item & to make Tithe to the Purchase-or or Purchasors in Fee simple or other _____ Estate for the same.

Lastly I appoint this John Bleakley & my son in law Doctor James McHenry guardian to my minor children, wishing them to live with my son in law Doctor McHenry & my Daughter his wife, unless their circumstances

should be so attended by Death or otherwise as to make it inconvenient or improper. In witness whereof I have _____ set my Hand & seal this Second Day or August in the year of our Lord one Thous and seven hundred & ninety one. -

Signed sealed published &

_____ by Mrs. Grace Allison

Grace Allison

as & for her last Will & Testament

in the presence of _____

Jn^o Hall
John Ewing Sworn
Samuel Ewing Sworn

Two of the witness &
the Executor Sworn
this 2nd day of
August 1791. Before
Geo. Campbell

Part of Grace Allison's Will of 1791, proven 21 May 1795. This Will is also recorded in Philadelphia City Hall, Philadelphia, Pa., in Book of Wills W, page # 159. Will # 85, for the year 1791.

"...Alexander Fullerton one of the appraisers to the foregoing inventory being duly sworn doth depose & say that this deponent with Charles Rich (now deceased) sometime between ~~on~~ the eleventh & twenty ninth days of August in the year of our Lord 1791 took down & valued the articles contained in the foregoing inventory and further this deponent says that the sums annexed to the several items in the same inventory is a just & true valuation to the best of his skill & judgment and that he with the said Charles Rich appraised every article which was brought or shewn to them for appraisement excepting sundry articles of plate which they apprehended had better be left to the valuation of a gold smith.

Sworn the 21st day of May 1795

Alex Fullerton

Before Isaac Wampole Reg^r...."

This statement is a part of Grace Allison's Will #85, for the year 1791, which is located in the Philadelphia City Hall Annex, Office of Wills and Administrations. The statement is hand written on one of the pages of the inventory dated 1791. However, the statement is dated 21 May 1795, indicating that the statement was written when the Will was proven.

Inventory of the estate of Grace Allison, August 1791,
described in the Bishop White House Furnishings Plan as an
"unidentified person." Philadelphia City Hall, Philadelphia,
Pa. Office of Wills and Administrations, Will # 85, for the
year 1791.

[p. 1.]

"...1st Story

Front Room

1 eight day clock.....	± 12.--.--
1 looking glass.....	4.--.--
1 pair andirons, shovel & tongs.....	3.--.--
1 Walnut writing desk.....	2.10.--
1 pine bed stead & sacking bottom.....	1.--.--
1 dimity counterpane.....	--.15.--
4 blankets.....	1.10.--
1 pine chest.....	--. 5.--
1 carriage box.....	2. 5.--
Books.....	2. 5.--

[p. 2.]

Parlor

2 Card tables.....	± 6.--.--
1 Pembroke table.....	3.--.--
8 Mahogany chairs with yellow moreih bottoms.....	8.--.--
1 pair of Andirons shovel & tongs.....	3.--.--
1 looking glass.....	4.--.--
1 tea table sett of pencilled china cream jug and top of sugar dish wanting.....	4.10.--

[p. 2, continued]

1 Tea table sett of enamelled china with four cups of same figure but larger - one coffe cup & one saucer wanting.....	± 3.--.--
10 Saucers - 7 teacups - 5 coffee cups pencilled china...	1.--.--
2 slop bowls, 1 cake plate, 1 tea pot & stand 1 cannister	--. 5.--

[p. 3.]

1 Stand 1 sugar dish spoon tray - 3 tops	± --. 1.--
2 broken enamelled china tea potts.....	--. 1. 6
2 large blue & white china bowls.....	--. 3.--
1 red tea pott.....	--. 1.--
12 jelley glasses.....	--. 3.--
6 cut wine glasses.....	--. 6.--
10 small bowl wine glasses.....	--. 5.--
4 long shank wine glasses.....	--. 2.--
4 beer glasses.....	--. 2.--
1 water glass.....	--.--. 6
2 tumblers.....	--. 1.--
3 pint decanters.....	--. 3.--
6 quart decanters 2 broken stops 2 without stoppers....	--.--.--
1 half pint decanter.....	--.--. 6
1 large china sweet meat stand.....	--. 1. 6
2 sugar canisters.....	--. 3.--
7 japanned waiters.....	4.--.--
1 round mahogany tea table.....	--.15.--
1 small walnut dining table.....	1. 2. 6
12 enamelled plates & 1 dish.....	--.18. 9

[p. 4]

6 enamelled plates different figures.....	£ --.6 . --
4 enamelled bowls.....	--. 7. 6
1 soup dish & 12 china soup plates.....	--.18. 9
1 broken china soup dish.....	--.--. 6
21 china plates.....	1.--.--
2 cake plates (china).....	--. 1. 6
1 china soup plate.....	--.--. 9
1 glass mug.....	[torn]
1 glass cut tea canister.....	--. 1.--
1 glass cream jug.....	--.--. 6
2 large punch tumblers with tops.....	--. 3. 9
1 china mug.....	
2 Vinegar cruets 1 with a silver top.....	--.--. 6
4 matts.....	--. 2.--

[p. 5.]

Kitchen

1 tea kettle.....	£ --.10.--
1 Gridiron.....	--. 5.--
1 frying pan.....	--. 3. 9
1 jack & weight.....	2.--.--
1 large wash kettle.....	1.--.--
2 large iron potts.....	--.15.--
2 small iron potts.....	--. 7. 6
1 iron skillet.....	--. 1. 6
1 warming pan.....	--.10.--

[p. 5, continued]

1 dutch oven.....	± --. 7. 6
4 brass candlesticks.....	--.15.--
2 iron candlesticks.....	--. 2.--
5 flatt irons.....	--.12. 6
1 tripod.....	--. 1.--
2 pott covers.....	--.--. 3
1 sauce pan.....	--. 3. 9
2 Mortars & pestles 1 brass 1 walnut.....	--. 7. 6
1 dough trough scraper & Brush.....	--. 2.--
1 cullender.....	--.--. 3
1 chopper.....	--. 1.--
2 iron stands.....	--.--. 6

[p. 6.]

1 egg slice.....	± --.--. 3
1 funnel.....	--.--. 3
8 skewers & holders.....	--. 1. 6
4 pair snuffers.....	--. 1.--
1 iron ladle.....	--. 1. 6
1 flesh hook.....	--. 1.--
2 graters.....	--.--. 6
1 toasting fork.....	--.--. 6
1 small hatchet	
2 hammers.....	--. 1. 6
2 big pewter dishes.....	--. 7. 6
2 pewter basons.....	--. 5.--
1 doz & 8 pewter plates.....	1.10.--

[p. 6, continued]

1	scrubbing brush.....	± --. 1.--
4	canisters.....	--. 2.--
6	patty pans.....	--. 1. 6
1	candle box.....	--. 1. 6
1	tin tea canister.....	--. 1.--
2	drudgeon boxes.....	--.--. 4
1	coffee mill.....	--. 5.--
7	green handle knives & forks	
2	white handle knives & forks.....	--. 3. 9

[p. 7.]

4	pott hooks & 6 hangers.....	± --. 6.--
1	pr iron andirons shovel & tongs.....	--. 7.--
2	pine tables.....	--. 5.--
1	seive.....	--. 1. 6
1	ironing board.....	--. 1.--
1	knife tray.....	--. 1.--
1	doz & 5 queens ware plates.....	--. 4.--
5	dishes.....	--.10.--
2	tureens.....	--. 5.--
2	pudding dishes.....	--. 2.--
9	quart bowls.....	--. 4. 6
3	doz. pint bowls.....	--. 9.--
2	doz & ½ pint bowls.....	--. 6.--
1	doz custard cups.....	--. 1.--
4	saucers.....	--.--. 4

[p. 7, continued]

3 cream jugs.....	± --.--. 9
2 pair tea potts.....	--. 1.--
2 sugar dishes.....	--.--. 6
1 coffee pott.....	--. 1. 6
1 pair butter boats.....	--. 6.--
3½ pint mugs.....	--.--. 9
1 mustard pot.....	--.--. 1
1 pepper box.....	--.--. 1

[p. 8.]

1 pitcher.....	± --.--. 9
1 market basket.....	--. 3. 9
3 case bottles	
4 olive bottles.....	--. 3.--
2 caper bottles	
1 glass jar	
1 dripping pan.....	--.--. 3
1 candle mould	
2 milk pans.....	--.--. 4
5 jars.....	--. 1. 3
2 stone jar.....	--. 2.--
1 black pitcher.....	--.--. 4
1 black jug.....	--.--. 3
1 pipkin.....	--. 1.--
1 scrubbing brush.....	--.--. 6
4 tubbs	
3 buckets & 1 pail.....	--.10.--
1 coffee pott.....	--. 1.--

[p. 8, continued]

1 large tea canister.....	± --. 1.--
1 seive.....	--.--. 2
1 saw.....	--. 5.--
1 spade.....	--. 1.--
1 pr andirons	

[p. 9.]

2 green chairs.....	± --. 5.--
1 lanthorn.....	--.--. 2
3 pr scones.....	1. 2. 6
2 w/oil and basons & bottles.....	--. 2. 6

Front room upstairs

1 looking glass.....	± 3.10.--
1 pine bed-stead & sacking.....	1.--.--
1 pair andirons.....	--.15.--
3 walnut chairs with moreen bottoms.....	1.10.--
1 walnut chamber table.....	--.15.--
1 large walnut chest.....	1.--.--
1 pair shovel & tongs.....	--. 1. 6
1 feather bed.....ea 3p....@ 2s.....	
2 counterpanes.....	--. 7. 6
1 japanned tea urn.....	5.--.--
1 guilt picture.....	--. 1.--

[p. 10]

Back room up stairs

1 walnut chest of drawers.....	± 7.10.--
1 walnut bureau table.....	1.15.--

[p. 10, continued]

1 Mahogany easy chair.....	± 3.--.--
3 Walnut chairs.....	1. 2. 6
1 field bed stead & sacking.....	1. 2. 6
1 white counterpane.....	--.15.--
2 bolsters	
2 pillows.....2/6 ea.....	
1 bed	
1 looking glass.....	2.--.--
1 pair andirons shovel & tongs.....	1. 2. 6
1 matrass.....	--.10.--
1 yellow coverlid.....	--. 5.--
6 good damask tabel cloths.....	1.10.--
1 damaged.....	--. 5.--

[p. 11]

5 diaper table cloths.....	± --.18. 9
7 diaper breakfast cloths.....	--.17. 6
6 hand towells.....	--. 3.--
10 tea towells.....	--. 7. 6
10 knife cloths.....	--. 2. 6
9 pillow cases.....	--. 7. 6
11 fine sheets.....	2.15.--
11 coarser.....	2.15.--
3 coarser.....	--.15.--
Furniture check curtains for a field bedstead.....	1. 2. 6
A sett of blew & white bed & window curtains.....	1.10.--
A set of red & white bed & window curtains.....	1.10.--
½ doz chair bottoms - covers.....	--.--. 6

[p. 11, continued]

	oz	dwt	gr.	
1 silver coffee pott	38	3	0	£ 15.--.--
3 plated waiters.....				1.10.--
1 silver soup ladle.....				
14 silver tea spoons.....				
1 plated castor.....				1. 5.--
15 table spoons.....				
2 silver bowls & 3 handles of spoons.....				
12 silver buttons for a coat.....				
8 silver shoe buckles.....				

[p. 12.]

1 silver shoe buckle				
4 silver knee buckles				
3 sett buckles				
5 sett stone				
2 gold rings				
1 gold locket				
1 pair gold locket buttons.....				£ 1. 2. 6

silver filings

nine sett buttons for a waistcoat

1 heart & chain silver

1 p ^r large silver Locketts buttons.....				--. 2. 6
---	--	--	--	----------

1 p ^r small	d°	d°		--. 1. 3
------------------------	----	----	-------	----------

diaper @ 3 s p yd

	oz	dwt	grs
2 cream jugs	9	13	0
2 butter boats	20	15	0

[p. 13.]

Front garret

10 blanket.....		±	2.10.--
1 bed quilt.....		--.	5.--
2 feather bed.....	^w 76 ^w 50.....		2/6 cu.....
1 Wilton carpet.....			11.15.--
1 Entry carpet and a floor carpet scotch.....		--.	10.--
3 yellow moreen curtains.....		--.	7. 6
2 blankets.....		--.	7. 6
1 old map.....		--.--.	9
1 gilt picture frame.....		--.--.	2
1 old green cushion.....		--.--.	2
1 boot jack.....		--.--.	2
1 guaging rod.....		--.--.	2
1 brown painted bed stead.....		--.	10.--
3 pair of pistols.....			1. 2. 6
2 pewter pans.....		--.	7. 6
2 pair of pincers.....		--.	1.--

[p. 14.]

Store room

3 looking glasses.....		±	5.10.--
1 walnut armed chair.....		--.	7. 6

[p. 15.]

2 feather beds.....	^w 54.....		1/6 ea.....	±	--.--.--
4 coverlids.....				--.	10.--

[p. 15, continued]

1 green painted bed stead.....	--. 7. 6
1 bolster.....2/6 ea.....	
1 large trunk.....	--. 2. 6
2 pillows.....2/6 ea.....	
1 low walnut chair.....	--. 1. 3
1 painted square box.....	--. 1. 6
1 looking glass.....	--.12. 6
1 cloathes basket.....	--.--.--

Inventory of Estate of John Dickinson Sergeant,
in Office of Register of Wills.

Inventory of Personal Property of Jona D Sergeant dec.^d

	£	s	d
6 Silk damask Window Curtains	9	-	.
1 D° --- Sofa	15	-	.
10 D° Chairs	17.	10	.
1 Wilton Carpet 5 yards by 6	12	-	.
2 Looking Glasses	7	10	.
Brass Andirons, Shovel & Tongs	3		
1 Fire Screen	1	10	
2 Card & 1 Breakfast Table	6		
2 Gerandoles	2	10	.
10 Windsor dining Chairs	1.	17.	6
1 Sideboard	2	-	-
2 large Mahogany dining Tables	6		.
1 Entry Carpet	2		
1 Mahogany Breakfast Table	2		
1 Small dining d°	2		
1 small stand		15	6
1 Writing Desk	3	-	-
2 small Looking Glass	3	10	.
1 Dyed in grain Carpet 5 yds by 6	4	10	-
Brass Andirons & Shovel & Tongs	2		
1 Knife Case	1	1	6
1 Mahogany Bedstead	7.	10	0
Chints Bed Curtains Windows Curtains	25	-	
Chair Bottoms & ? Chair Covers			
9 Cross backed Mahogany Chairs	11	5	
1 Easy Chair & wash S tand	3		
1 Maghony Bureau	2	5	
1 Chest of Drawers	7	-	-
1 Oval Looking Glass	4.	10	
12 Mahogany Chairs	10	-	-
1 Mahogany framed Looking Glass	2	..	10
	C 0	178	10 0
Amount brought over	178	10	0
1 Gilt framed looking glass	2	10	.
1 Sugar Box		3.	9
1 Small Mahogany Table		10	.
1 mahogany painted Bedstead	1	17	1
1 D° Field Bedstead	2	8.	.
Small Brass/Andirons, Shovel & tongs	1	?	?
3 Common Bedsteads & 2 Small D°		(Illegible)	
1 Carpet 9 yards		"	
7 Pairs Blankets	7	?	6
1 large feather Bed	7	10	.
3 ? ? ? at £ 5	15	-	-

9 pair Russian Sheeting Sheet at 15/	6	15	.
3 small Beds at 50/	7	10	.
? ? ?	5	5	-
2 large Table Cloths at 2 20/	2	-	.
8 Damask Napkins at 5/	2	-	.
12 Common Table Cloths at 10/	6	-	.
12 D° Breakfast D° 5/	3	-	.
10 Green Winsor Chair at 3/	1	10	.
Two Horses	40	.	-
A Coachee	30		
1 Sleigh	3	-	-
1 Gold Watch	35		
1 Large Matrass	5		-
1 Field Bedstead	-	15	-
1 Table Sett China	15	-	-
1 Tea Table D°	5	-	-
1 Walnut Clock, 2 large Arm Chairs	3	-	-
Glass Ware	3	11	-
1 Time Piece & Case	15	-	-
1 Glass Lanthorn	2	5	.
1 D°		15	-
1 Jack & its apparatus	3	-	-
1 Brass Kettle	1	10	.
2 Bell mettles Kettles & sundries in Kitchen	7	10	.
Carried over	1180	1	9

Amount Brought up	1180	1	9
1 Plated Boiler, 4 large & 4 small Candle sticks snuffers & Stand	17	5	
1 Silver Quart Mug 26: 0,	10	12	.
1 D° Tea Pot 21	8	8	.
1 D° Sugar Dish 11/?	4	14	
1 D° Slop Bowl 13 2/3	?		
1 D° Cabot	?		
2 ? ? 1/1/2	5	1	.
1 Soup Ladle 6 3/4	2	19	.
6 Table Spoons 13 3/4	5	10	.
12 Tea Spoons 5 3/4	2	0	.
1 Cream Pot 4	1	14	.
1 Sugar Tong 1		8	.

Bench Notes

? Edward Fox 8 th August 1791	15	0	0
D° D° D° 15 th Janry 1791 4424	7	6	
D° ? Hanna 23 April 17980 211	19	9	
D° Robert Whilton 12 th Janry 540	14	1	
D° James 21 st Sep ^r 1767	?		
9 th Dec. 1791			
D° Pick off Hornias 30 th Nov 1791	300	-	
D° Hugh McCulloh 17 th Jan 1790	400	-	
D° John Nicholson 1790	2739	18	9

[plus 12 other entries - dishes, boilers, etc.]

Inventory of Estate of Samuel Massey, in office of Register of Wills.

. . .

Furniture in Front Parlour

1 Looking Glass Gilt Frame	4.- .-
1 Mahogany Desk	6.- .-
1 d° Stand [?]	- 5.-
1 d° Dining Table	3.10.-
1 d° Card d°	3. -.-
1 d° Tea d°	2. 5.-
8 d° Chairs with green bottoms	7. -.-
8 d° d° with [?] d°	9. -.-
1 Window blind	- 5.-
1 pair Brass and Irons	1.10.-
1 d° shovel & Tongs brass Tops	- .10.-
3 small Japan'd Waiters	- .15.-

Furniture in Back Parlour

1 large Looking Glass Walnut frame	1.10.-
1 d° Mahogany Dining Table Oval [?]	1.10.-
1 d° Tea Table	1. 5.-
1 d° Beaureau	3.10.-
1 Large d° Easy Chair	2. -.-
6 d° d° leather bottoms	3.15.-
1 Carpet	1. 2.6
1 p ^r And Irons, brass tops	- 10 -
1 p ^r Tongs d°	- 5 -
2 Japan'd waiters	- 3.9
A Lot of China in closet at the Back Window	2.-.-
a D° of broken China & delfware in another closet [illegible]	0.12.6

Front Chamber

1 Small looking Glass gilt frame	- 7.6
1 Walnut chest & Drawers	4. -.-
1 d° dressing Table or [?] Beaureau	3. -.-
6 Mahogany Chairs Blue Bottoms	3.15.-
4 Yellow Widnsor d°	- 15.-
1 Blue painted Bedstead	- 7.6
a Lott of Books	- .10.-
2 Counterpaine	2. 5.-
6 p ^r Linnen sheets	3. -.-
5 p ^r Pillow Cases	- 0.-
3 Bolster d°	- 5.-
1 Sett Blue & White Bed & Window Curtains	1. 5.-
6 Diaper & Linnen Table Cloths	2. -.-
1 Sett Blue & White Bed Window Curtains	1. 5.-
6 Diaper & linnen Table Cloths	2. -.-
13 Napkins	- 10 -
3 p ^{rs} fine Holland 222 yeds	12.13.11

4 cotton [?] Vest [?] Shapes [?]	- 15 -
22 yds Gingham	2.15 -
1 Hanger & Bolt [?]	1. 2.6
	95.19. 4-1/2

[p. 2]

	Am ^t brot over	95.19. 4-1/2
1 Lott [illegible] & Cases		- 11. 6

Back Chamber

1 looking Glass square mohag. frame	3.9
1 d° d° & dressing Box [?]	1.6
1 Mahogany Dressing Table	1.15.-
1 d° large Carm'd Chair	1.17.6
1 Mahogany painted Bedstead	3.15.-
1 Feather Bed Bolster Pillows & Coverlid	
1 Large Leather Trunk	-. 3.9

Chamber over the Kitchen

1 White Beadstand & Sacking	12.6
2 Feather Bed Bolster & Pillows	3. -.-
1 p ^r Sheets, 1 p ^r Blankets & Chintz Bed spread	1.10.-
1 chest	3.9
2 old Chairs & Clothes Basket	3.9

Front Chamber 3^d Story

1 Mahogany writing desk	- 15.-
1 p ^r Green Window Curtains	3.9
1 Trundle Bedstead & Satkin	7.6
1 Feather Bed Bolsters & pillows	1.10.-
1 p ^r Sheets, 1 Blanket and 2 Coverlids	1. 2.6
[line illegible]	
1 Check Bed case	-. 5.-
25 yds. Brown linen 9 ^d	18.9
1 Leather Trunk Old	3.9
1 Chest	3.9
1 Pine Nest of Drawers	-2.6

Back Chamber 3^d Story

1 Walnut Cradle	-7.6
1 Flock [?] Bed	15.-
1 Green Rug	
2 Scotch Carpetts	1. 5.-
1 small entry d°	3.9
3 empty Blb.	3.9
1 p ^r Scales & weights	

Kitchen

1 Lark [?] & pullies	1.10.-
1 d° Japan'd	-.15.-
1 Fish [?] Kettle Cooper	1.10.-
1 p ^r Andirons	- 15-
1 p ^r Shovel & Tongs	
3 Tea Kettles	- 15-
[?] pewter Dishes	- 7.6
11 d° plates	- 10.-
4 d° Basons	- 3.9
1 Cooper Coffee pott	
1 d° Chaffin dish	- 15.-
1 d° Sause pan	
	127.2.4

[p. 3]

Amt. Brought Forward ± 127.2.4

1 Warming pan	- 5. -
2 Iron Ladles & Chopping Knife	2.6
Small Lott Tin ware	3.9
3 Brass Candle Sticks	7.6
2 Iron d° d°	3.9
3 p ^r Smoothing Irons	- 10.-
3 Brass & Bell Metal Kettles	1.15.-
4 Iron Potts	- 15.-
1 Cooper Bake Oven	-.10 -
1 Iron d°	-. 6.-
2 pine Tables	-. 5.-
6 Old Chairs	-.10.-
4 Large Washing Tubbs	2.6
1 Pine Ironing Board	2.6 [?]
a Lott of Bucketts & [illegible]	1-5.-
6 Knives & forks	2.6
6 Pewter Spoons	1 -
1 Iron Coffee Mill	5.-

Inventory of Estate of Cornelius Barnes: in Office of Register of Wills.

Cash	oz	dwt	£	2949.17.1
Plate	128	14 @8/6		54.13.11
Wearing Apparel				15. -.-

Front Parlour

1 Clock	£	18	
1 large Looking Glass		6.10	
11 Pictures @3/9		2. 1.3	
1 Mahogany dining Table		3	
1 d° card d°		1.15	
6 Walnut Chairs, 1 arm ditto		5. 5	
1 open Stove		3.	
Andirons Shovels and Tongs		.15	
1 Old Carpet		5	
China, Waiter &c ^a &c ^a		5.10	46. 1.3

Back Parlour

Desk and Book Case	£	4. 0.0	
1 small open Stove		1.15	
1 d° looking glass		1.17.6	
Breakfast Table, Tea Table, tea Chest, & Waiter		1.10.-	
Andirons Shovel and Tongs		7. 6	
8 Chairs		1.10	
2 Pictures, Lot Queensware		10	11.10.-

Kitchen

2 Brass, 1 Cooper Kettles		1. 0.0	
1 Case knives and forks		.15	
9 Pewter dishes @3/9		1.13.9	
16 ditto Plates		1.12	
Coffee Mill, Tin ware &c ^a		- 12 -	
Brass Mortar & pestle, bell metal kettle		4. -.-	
Candlestick, Flat Irons, Tea Kettle &c &c			
Andirons Shovel & Tongs		3.7	
3 Pots, Bake Oven, Chafin dish, Iron			
tea kettle &c &c ^a		1.5	
2 Old Tables, 3 chairs, warming pan, &c ^a		.10 -	
Tubs and Buckets		15	12. 6.6

Front Chamber

1 Looking Glass		3.10.0	
1 Mahogany Chest Drawers		12.10	
1 ditto Beauxaux		4.10	
1 High post Bedstead, Sacking, 1 p ^r sheets,			
2 Blankets, 1 Quilt,		3.10	
2 p ^r Pillow Cases			

1 Mahogany Easy Chair	3.10	
1 High post Bedstead, Sacking, 1 p ^r sheets, 2 Blankets, 1 Quilt, 2 p ^r Pillow cases	3.10	
1 Mahogany Easy Chair	3.10	
6 d ^o Chairs	6.-	
1 d ^o Stand	1.5	
1 p ^r Andirons Shovel and Tongs	1.10	
2 Small chests	7.6	
1 suit Bed Curtains, 1 Bed spread, 3 window Curtains, 6 Chair Bottoms	7.10	
1 White Counter pane	- 10 -	
7 p ^r Sheets	4	48.12.6
Amount carried forward		3138. 1.3
[p. 2]		
Amount brought forward		3138. 1.3
4 p ^r pillow cases	£ 0.15.0	
1 suit old Curtains	3. 0.0	
2 Window d ^o	1. 0.0	
2 White d ^o	10.0	
1 Suit d ^o for field bed	1. 0.0	
11 Table Cloths @7/6	4. 2.6	
12 Napkins	0.12.6	
12 Towels	0. 8.0	
4 Pictures	0. 8.0	11.17.6
Back Chamber		
1 p ^r Chest Drawers &c ^a	1.12.-	
Kitchen Chamber		
1 Bedstead and Sacking	£ 1. 0.0	
1 Quilt, 2 Sheets	1. 0.0	
1 Walnut dining Table	1. 2.6	
3 Chairs	1.10	
1 Chamber Table	17.6	
1 Bedstead, Sacking & Rails	1. 5.0	6.15.-
Front Chamber 3 ^d Story		
1 feather Bed, Bolster, 2 pillows, 2 Sheets	£ 4. 0.0	
1 Bedstead and sacking	13.0	
1 small bed, Bolster, Pillow, 2 Sheet] 2 blankets, 1 Beadsted	2. 5.-	
1 Down upper Bed	1. 5	
1 feather Bed, 1 Quilt, 2 old Blankets, 1 sheet, 1 Bolster, 2 pillows	2.10	
1 Old Desk	1.-1.-	
2 looking Glasses	1. 2.6	
1 Tea Table	1. 2.6	

Part C-II
Appendix III-F, 3

1 Stand 1 Chair	8.6	
2 Trunks	1. 5.0	
1 Carpet	1.15	
3 p ^s Linen	4. 6.0	
1 p ^s Jean &c ^a	3.10.0	
3 Bibles 1 small d ^o	1.5	
5 Chests Hyson Tea Say 66 lbs ea is		
336 lbs w th w/6	82.10	
1 Chest Hyson skin Tea say 66 lbs @4/	13.4	
2 Boxes Tea 42 lb		
86		
128 lbs n w @3/6	22. 8.0	144.11.6

	Garrett	
1 Arm chair 6 rush Bottom d ^o @ 22 1/2	0.13.1	
3 d ^o d ^o 5 old D ^o @ 1/6	12.0	
1 Cask Bottles &c ^a	1. 0.0	
Cradle, Safe, Screen & Couch	1. 0.0	
2 Trunks, 1 Cupboard & c ^a	1. 0.0	
1 Table 1 chest & 1 Old Trunk	10.0	
1 Chest Books &c ^a	1. 0.0	
3 Old Pictures	- 10 -	
Sadle Bags, Hackle &c ^a	- 15 -	7. 0.1
Amount Carried forward		3309, 17.4
Amount brought forward		£ 3309.17.4

Wood	Cellar	
Old Casks, Spade, Axe, &c ^a &c ^a	£ 6.5	
1 Watch £ 4.10 1 Ditto £ 1.17.6	7.6	6.12.6
Bonds and Interest	432.9.9	6. 7.6
Notes of Hand		432. 9.9
23 Shares Bank Stock @ 400 Dollars		2507. 2
		3450
		£ 9712. 9.1

17 Certificates of different denominations
 Amounting of Dollars 32,021.72 Cents is £ 12001. 2.11

Philadelphia 29th Novem 1795
 Errors Excepted

John Warner
 Josiah L. Waters aff'd

Inventory of Estate of Alexander Murray, in Office of Register of Wills.

An Inventory and Appraisement of the Estate of the Reverend D^r Alexander Murray taken by Thomas Kinsey and W^m M. Burrows this 2nd Day of December 1793 -

Front Room

One dining Table	£ 3. 0.0	
One Tea Table	1.10.0	
Eleven Chairs	2. 5.0	
One Carpet (scotch)	1. 5.0	
One cherry Slab [?]	5.0	
Six pictures	6.0	
Three Waiters	3.9	
One pair And-Irons of brass	1.10.0	
Shovel & tongs	7.6	
Two card racks	1.6	
One Waiters with a Set of China	3.15.0	
Crockery plates & Bowls & ^{ca}	1.15.0	
Glasses & four Bottle Stands	1.10.0	
Pair of snuffers	7.6	
One Tea Chest	10.0	
One Sugar Chest (Din)	3.9	
One tea Urn	2. 6.0	
Two Candle Sticks	10.0	
Four Salt Cellars	1.10.0	
One Soup Ladle	10.0	
One Set of Casters	1. 5.0	
One Case of gin Bottles	5.0	
Two Barrels	5.0	
One Ink Stand	2.6	
Two Cases knives	7.10.0	£ 32.18.6

Back Room

A Desk with Drawers	5. 0.0	
One Looking Glass	15.0	
One empty Chest	1. 5.0	
One Mattress	2. 5.0	
One Dish & six pewter Plates	2. 5.0	
Crockery ware	1. 0.0	
One Steam Kettle	10.0	
One Table	1. 5.0	14. 5.0

Carried over £ 47. 3.6

[p. 2]

Amount brought forward £ 47. 3.6

Front Room 2nd Floor

One Mahogany Drawers	5. 0.0	
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Part C-II
Appendix III-G, 2

One looking Glass	1.10.0	
One wash Hand Stand	5.0	
One double Chest of Drawers	6. 0.0	
Bed Stead	3. 0.0	
One Feather Bed Bolster & ^{ca}	6.15.0	
Curtains for Bed and Windows	10. 0.0	
Bed Linnen & Table Cloaths	5. 0.0	
Quilts and Blankets	<u>5. 0.0</u>	<u>42.10.0</u>

Back Room 2nd Floor

One tent Bed Stead	1.10.0	
one small d°	15.0	
One feather Bed Bolster & ^{ca}	5.15.0	
One small feather Bed	2. 0.0	
One Cloathes Basket	3.9	
One toilet Table	2.6	
One Cloase Stool or night-Chair	<u>10.0</u>	<u>10.16.3</u>

Kitchen

One jack	2. 5.0	
One Table	10.0	
One wash kettle	1.10.0	
One Bell Mettle [?] D°	15.0	
Cooper pot & Sauce pan	10.0	
Three iron pots	10.0	
Two iron Kettles (small)	2.6	
One d° stew pan	1.5	
Three Spits	5.5	
One Gridiron	2.6	
Skewers [?]	7.6	
Fire Ware [?]	7.6	
Two Chairs	3.9	
Knife box & Knives	3.9	
Two Kitchen dogs shovel & ^{ca}	5.0	
One Bench	1.3	
One Tray & Basket	2.6	
Coffee Mill	1.0	
Tubs	<u>3.9</u>	<u>8. 4.3</u>

Back Room over the Kitchen

One bed stead	15.0	
One Chest	1.6	
Wearing Apparel	7.10.0	
One Gold Watch	20. 0.0	
Library	<u>100. 0.0</u>	<u>122. 6.6</u>

Thomas Kinsey
W. W. Burrows junior

237. 0.6

Inventory of the Estate of Mrs. Katherine Kepple, in Office of Register of Wills.

An Inventory of the Personal Estate of the late Mrs. Catherine Kepple
taken Sep^r 24th 1794.

Front Parlour

Twelve yellow Windsor Chairs	4 - 10
One Maho ^y Ding table	4 - 10
One Maho ^y Sideboard with Marble Slab	4 - 10 -
One Maho ^y Pembroke	2 - 5 -
A Scotch Carpet 5½ yards by 4	6 - -
One Jappand Tea Tray a smaller ditto	3 - -
One Pediment fram'd looking Glass 36 by 19½ head	16 - 9 -
A pair brass Andirons Shovel Tongs and brush	2 - 5 -
A pair brass Sconcas	- 15 -
Three Family Pictures	1 - 2-6
Two Venetian Blinds	3 - 15 -
Nineteen China cups Twenty-five Saucers & tea Pot	- 15 -
A plated Tea Urn	15 - -
A ditto Lamp	11 - 5 -
Four Quart and four pint Glass Decanters	1 - 17 5
Four plated Candlesticks and a set Castors	9 - 2 -
A Bread basket, Tea Caddie and Cream pot	10 - - -
Thirteen wine Glasses, two Coasters	- 15 -
A Cordial Case with six bottles	1 - 10 -
A Maho ^y Liquor case 12 bottles	2 - 5 -
	94 - -

Back Parlour

A Maho ^y Round Table	1 - -
A large Desk	2 - 12-6
a small pine Table	3-9
a small Carpet	- 15 -
a pair Iron andirons Shovel and Tongs	- 7-6
Two India Blinds a Demijohn	- 10 -
Entry Carpets	4 - 7-6
An eight day Clock with chimes	30 - -

Chamber over Kitchen

A low post Bedstead sacking & cord	1 - 5 -
Feather Bed and Bolster	8 - -
Sixteen Windsor Chairs 7/6	6 - -
A Walnut Bureau	1 - 2 -
A Glass 22 by 13 ornamental Frame	2 - -

Back Chamber - one pair of stairs

A looking Glass 36 by 19 head 15	7 - 10 -
A walnut double Chest of Drawers	8 - -

A walnut Dressing Table	
A high post Bedstead Sacking & Cord	1 - 10 -
A Feather Bed Bolster and Pillows	8 - -
A pair Brad Andirons Shovels and Tongs	2 - 5 -
Six pictures framed and Glazed	1 - 2 - 6
Carried Forward	± 183 - 11 - 3

Tea Room one Pair of Stairs

A pair Pier Glasses carved & gilt Frames	16 - -
A pair Sconce Glasses - ditto	8 -
Six carved Maho chairs a 50/	15 - -
Eight plain slatt back Chairs a 30/	12 - -
A Sopha Chintz Cover	10 - -
A Walnut Dining Table	1 - 15 -
A Card Table Maho ^y	3 - -
A pair Brass andirons	3 - 10 -
A Carpet	1 - 17 - 6
An Old Claw Table	- 15 -
Two Glass Lustres	6 - -
Two carved and gilt Brackets to Ditto	2 - 5 -
A pair double Branch brass Sconces	- 10 -
Sundy Chimney Hocks	- 5 -
A Back Gammon Board	- 10 -

Store Room

Four Crimson Damask Curtains	15 - -
Twelve ditto Chair Bottoms a 10/	6 - -
A yellow Silk Bedquilt	2 - 5 -
Four Yellow Moreen Curtains two Green d° 15/	4 - 10 -
Three pair of Blankets	7 - 10 -
Two pieces Linnen Home made	4 - 10 -
Two violins and Case	1 - 10 -
An easy Chair worn	1 - 2 - 6
Carr ^d Forwd	± 307 - 6 - 3

A Set of Blue and White China	15 - -
Sundry Glass and China Ware	2 - -
A pair Steelyards Weights and Scales	2 - 5 -
A Mahog ^y Card Table	3 - 15 -
A Might Chair	- 15 -

Back Room - Two Pair of Stairs

Four Chairs Crimson Covers a 15/	3 - -
A looking Glass	2 - -
A Walnut Dressing Table	2 - 10 -
Four Pictures framed and glazed	- 15 -
A small Table	- 7 - 6
A Bedstead Sacking and Cord	1 - 5 -
A Feather Bed bolster & Pillow	6 - -
Forty two Table cloths a 10/	21 - -

Part C-II
Appendix III-H, 3

Fifty one Sheets a 15/
 Thirty eight bolsters & Pillow Cases a 2/8
 Twelve Napkins and Towels 2/
 Twelve Calico Bed spreads a 15/
 Four white Cotton Counterpins 30/
 Four Suits of Bed Curtains
 Eight window Ditto

33 - 15 -
 4 - 15 -
 1 - 4 -
 9 - -
 6 - -
 15 - -
 5 - -

Small Front Room

A lowpost Bedstead, Sacking & cord
 Feather Bed, Bolster and Pillow
 A small Looking Glass & 3 Pictures

1 - 5 -
 6 - -
 - 15 -
 Carr^d forw^d £ 455 - 17 - 9

Front Room - two pair Stairs

A Maho^y double Chest of Drawers
 A D^o Dressing Table
 A D^o Dressing Glass and Boxes
 A Glass 26 by 18 Maho^y Frame
 Six Maho^y Chairs 40/
 Nine Pictures framed and glazed
 4 smaller Ditto
 A Bedstead & Sacking bottom
 A smaller ditto
 Feather Bed, Bolster and Pillow
 A small Pine Table and low Chair

14 - -
 4 - 15 -
 18 - 9
 2 - 15 -
 12 - -
 1 - 13 - 9
 2 - 10 -
 5 - -
 - 10 -

Front Garrett

Two high Post Bedsteads Bottoms & Cords
 Two Feather Beds & two D^o & 5 Pillows
 A Cot Bedstead and a Field ditto
 Sundry old Bed quilts and Blankets
 Two Hall Lanthorns
 A Maho^y Cradle
 Two spinning Wheels and Reel
 Sundry Iron Bed and window rods and Rails
 A Mattress
 Two Carpets
 A Suit Muskitto Curtains & some Bolster Cases
 288 ounces & 18 pennyst Silver 8/6 per ounces
 Sundry Kitchen Furniture
 Wearing Apparel

4 - 10 -
 20 - - -
 - 15 -
 2 - -
 2 - 5 -
 1 - 10 -
 1 - 5 -
 - 15 -
 1 - -
 1 - -
 2 - 5 -
 122 - 14 4 1/2
 30 - -
 30 - -
 724 - 19 - 7 1/2

Inventory of Robert Allison's Estate 1793

"...Philad ^a 1793 Novr 4	Inventory of Estate Real & personal of Robert Allison Dese ^d ..	
	Two Rose Blankets....	15---
	one Rug old	..3.9
	one old Dutch Clock.	1..2.6
	1 pott-- 1 of one Gridle. 7/6....	..17.6
	Cooper Sauce pans. 5/ 1 Slillet 3/9...	8.9
	1 pair old andirons.	..2.6
	1 old fether Bead 1 pellow . . --	2..---
	& two pillows. . . .	
	his wearing apperal	3-----
	One Lot at the corner of fifth Street & shippers ally in the City of Phila a	180-----
	20 feet on fifth Street & (?) 1 Lot in fifth Street adjoining Doctr. Shippen Lot (?) widdus? Marrison Subject a Ground rent of thirty six shillings Sterling & Aneem(sic). being Sixteen feet front & feet in Depth. Value with apraise house . . .	shife 240-----
	Valued by us the Subscribers	± 428.10.0

A Bond against Thos Boyd & Alexander Boyd Ballance about ± 35-- in the hand of Lawer Thomas	Ferguson Mclevaine, Sworn the 12th. day of April 1794 Before Isaac Wampole...."
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Philadelphia City Hall Annex, Office of Wills and Administrations
Will # 342, Year 1793

Introduction

Through the media of advertising, found in the numerous Philadelphia newspapers of the period, Kosciuszko was exposed to the Philadelphia market. On the next few pages are advertisements representative of import houses and other shops where Kosciuszko may have had items purchased for him. Some similar items appear in Kosciuszko's American inventories (see Appendix I).

TABLE OF CONTENTS

- A. Advertisement for Michael Roberts at No. 92 Market St.
 "Porcupine's Gazette" Published by William Cobbett No. 274,
 Friday Jan. 19, 1798, Vol II, page 1.

- B. Advertisement for Wm. Poyntell at No. 21, Second St,
 between Market and Chestnut Streeets. "general Advertiser"
 Published by Benj. Franklin Bache. No. 963, Wednesday
 Jan. 8, 1794

Part C-II
 Appendix IV-A, 1
 [No. 274]

From Porcupine's Gazette. Friday, Jan. 19, 1798
 Vol. II] Philadelphia. Published by William
 Cobbett, opposite Christ Church.

Imported By
 Michael Roberts
 At No. 92 Market-Street
 A general Assortment of Fancy Goods, Cutlery,
 Hardware and Stationary

Plain and printed kid Skins	Plate warmers & bread- baskets
Moroccos of most co- lours	Stew pans and coffee pots of planish ware
Sheep and calf skins prepared for book binders use.	Travelling Kitchens Highly finished case hardened shovels & tongs
Knife cases with vases tea tray with wait- ers, coffee and tea urns finished in a Su- perior stile.	Table sets ivory han- dle knives & forks
Ladies and gentelemens dressing crshes	Caruers with Spring guards and cheese scopes to match
Morroco travelling pouches	An assortment of pen knives, razors and strops of the first quality
Portable writing desks	Red and black morroc- co pocket books
Reeves water colours Gold and Silver lace Epaulets, trimings &c. A variety of trimming beads	Frivolity, gimp, cot- ton and straw trim- mings,
Feathers and artifical flowers	Werttenberg Straw bon- nets
Casting netts, game bags shot belts and powder flasks	Fashionable rich silk girdles
Gentlemens chests of tools	Ladies beaver hats Steel rosettes, glove tyes and elastic bra- ces

Backgammon tables,
draft boards, dice
and billiard balls,

Chess-men with and
without boxes

Fencing foils, swords,
pistoies and fowling
pieces.

Best English writing
paper of every des-
cription

Blank books, various
sizes

He has also,

Hill survey of the city of Philadelphia,
engraved in London, on a large, scale shew-
ing the improved part to the present time.

A consignment of French silk stockings
for sale at reduced prices.

Likewise,

A few table sets of elegant cut glass,
consisting of baskets, plates and compotiers.

Ink stands different
kinds and every o-
article usual
in the stationary
line

Violet naples 7 wind-
son soap

Cream violets and la-
vander water

Ruspinis tooth powder
and tincture

Tortoise shell, ivory &
horn comles

Dec. 29

dtf.

W. Poyntell
Paper Hangings Manufacturer & Stationer
At No. 21, Second Street, between Market
And Chestnut Streets

Besides a very general assortment of stationary wares of The Best quality, has lately imported for sale 12 inch and 15 inch globes, with the latest discoveries. Cases of Mathematical Instruments, at all prices. Surveyors' Compasses, Ch'n & c.

Protractors, brass and ebony Parallel Rules, Bow Pens. Gunter's Seales, dividers, ivory factors and seales. Pocket telescopes, pocket compasses.

Thermometers, hydrometers, Brewer's Thermometers. Best glass and pebble spectacles, mounted in silver. Reading glasses mounted in silver, near-sight glasses. Portable writing desk, morocco Travelling cases. A beautiful assortment of ladies and gentleman's Morocco Pocket Books.

Ivory and ass-skin memorandum books. Leather, ebony and mahogany backgammon tables. Chess men and chess boards, various kinds. Silver blade and sportsmen's knives of all kinds. Pen knives, best concave razors.

Reeve's elegant water colours, in boxes of all sizes. Crayons and crayon pencils, camel hair pencils. Ivory sheets, palets, and colour marbles.

Boxes of types for making linen, very complete. Elegant tortoise and leather snuff boxes. Ladies and gentlemen's japanned dressing cases. Windsor and violet shaving soap. Wax tapers, green and white, with brass frames. Chamber lamps and wax wick. Guitars and German flutes. Best violin and guitar strings, mutes and bows. Rules music books and music paper. Essence of pearl and pearl dentrifice. Large money scales, with

troy weights. Cork socks, for preventing the feet from damp and colds. Elegant sett shoe and knee buckles. Large maps of the world, Europe, Asia, and America. Variety of elegant trunk, tambour and ebony ink-stands. Very best silk stockings and gloves. A variety of elegant prints. A few late maps of France, with the 83 departments coloured; and sundry fresh patent medecines, warrented genuine.

He has now on sale a very extensive assorment of PAPER HANGINGS, with festoons and narrow borders; and a general assortment of BLANK ACCOUNT BOOKS. A quantity of American and British cards. British magazines for first six months of 1793.

December 1.

3tmw \$ s

PART D

ESTIMATED COSTS

AND

SOURCES OF SUPPLY

ESTIMATED COSTS AND SOURCES OF SUPPLY

Introduction

Original furnishings or their counterparts will have to be acquired as opportunity offers, from public institutions, reputable dealers, auction galleries, and private collectors.

Proposed Furnishings - T. Kosciuszko National Memorial Bedchamber

Bed Coverings:

- | | |
|---|----------|
| 1. Cloth covering for bed
home spun linen sheets (2) | \$ 80.00 |
| 2. Covering for Sofa
2 damask tablecloths with border 7½ yds and 4 yds | 600.00 |
| 3. Mattress | 120.00 |
| Mattress Cover | 40.00 |
| 4. Pillows - 2 large | 80.00 |
| 5. Quilt | 300.00 |
| 6. Glazed chintz coverlet | 600.00 |
| 7. Sheets | 100.00 |

Books, Pamphlets, Prints and Newspapers:

- | | |
|---|------------------------|
| 1. "A Scientific and Descriptive Catalogue of Peale's Museum"
by C. W. Peale. Phila., 1796 (Evans - 30967). | \$ 250.00 |
| 2. Adams, Sam. <u>Report of A Committee of The Inhabitants of
Boston on The Rights of The Colonists.</u> Boston, 1772.
Printed by Edes and Gill. (Evans - 12331). | \$ 250.00 |
| 3. <u>Adventures of Telemacus.</u> By. Fenelon, Francois de Salignac
De La Mothe, Printed by David Longworth, New York; vol. 1 -
1796, (Evans - 30414); vol. 2 - 1797, (Evans - 32126). | \$ 170.00 |
| 4. <u>An Essay on Building Wooden Bridges.</u> By, C. W. Peale,
Phila., 1797 (Evans - 32642). | \$ 250.00 |
| 5. <u>A Visit to The Jail and Penitentiary House</u> by Turnbull,
Robert James. Philadelphia, 1796. (Evans - 31321). | \$ 150.00 |
| 6. Dickinson, John. <u>The Letter of Fabius</u> , in 1788, on the
Federal Constitution; and in 1797, on <u>The Present situation
of Public Affairs.</u> (Evans - 32042). | \$ 150.00 |
| 7. <u>Minutes of the Proceedings of Delegates from The Abolition
Societies Established in Different Parts of the U. S., Phila.</u>
1797. (Evans - 31686, 31687), (INHP - 31686). | \$ 40.00 |
| 8. <u>Moreau de St. Mery's American Journey (1793-1798).</u> A Danse.
Article Extrait D'un ouvrage De M.L.E. Moreau ... Repertoire
Des Notions Coloniales. (Evans - 30816). B. Print -
"Porcupine." Philadelphia, 1796, Published by Moreau de
St. Mery. (Evans - 30820). | \$ 600.00
\$ 450.00 |

Books, Pamphlets, Prints and Newspapers (cont'd)

9. Newspapers - (Nov. 29, 1797 - May 4, 1798). 6 issues of \$ 200.00
- A. "American daily Advertizers," Claypoole's
(Evans 33521, 35313).
 - B. "Bache's Philadelphia Aurora." (Evans - 33347, 35132).
 - C. "Pennsylvania Gazette" (Evans - 34336).
 - D. "Porcupine Gazette" (Evans - 34399).
10. Rousseau, Jean Jacques, 1712-1778.
- A. The Confessions of J.J. Rousseau, Citizen of Geneva.
Trans. from French, New York, 1796. (Evans, 31121). \$ 85.00
 - B. Eloisa. First Am. Edition, Phila., 1796. Printed
Samuel Longscope (Evans - 31122). \$ 125.00
 - C. Letters of an Italian Nun and an English Gentleman.
Trans. from French. Philadelphia: Printed for
Mathew Carey, No. 118, Market Street, 1796.
(Evans - 31123). \$ 60.00

Clothing

- 1. Boots, A) Fur boots \$ 400.00
B) Military High boots 600.00
- 2. Britches 40.00
- 3. Cap - Polish, c. 1790 40.00
- 4. Coat - Double Breasted 150.00
- 5. Collars 35.00
- 6. Ribbon - piece of black for head wound 10.00
- 7. Shirts 20.00
- 8. Stockings 10.00

Eating Utensils:

- 1. Bowls - pewter \$ 300.00 ea.
- 2. Coffee Pot - 1 qt. pewter 1,200.00
- 3. Forks - 10, 3 prong - pressed horn handles 85.00

Eating Utensils (cont'd)

4. Knives - 10 pressed horn handles	\$ 85.00
5. Milk Pot - 1 half pt. pewter	250.00
6. Plates - 6 pewter	60.00 ea.
7. Tea Pot - 1 qt. pewter	400.00
8. Waiter, Japanned - 1 large 12"	140.00

Decorative Arts:

1. Frames	\$ 300.00
2. Kosciuszko watercolor, reproduction on laid paper from color transparency	200.00
3. Prints:	
A. "A View of the Penitentiary House in Philadelphia."	100.00
B. Hector and Andromache sepia engraving after Benjamin West's "Hector parting with his wife and child at the scaen Gate," c. 1771	300.00
C. Map of Poland	85.00
D. Washington	300.00
E. Porcupine (See: Books)	85.00

Fireplace Equipment:

1. Bellows	\$ 150.00
2. Fireplace Fender	600.00
3. Fireplace Tool Hook	40.00 pr.

Floor Covering

1. Carpet, 8' x 10'. Late 18th century - Persian	\$6,000.00
--	------------

Furniture:

1. Box, 1 large elegant mahogany case for plate or 216 oz. silver. <u>Note:</u> See Kosciuszko Silver Inventory	\$5,000.00
2. Foot rest	450.00

Furniture (cont'd)

3. Mirror - or dresser	\$ 600.00
4. Portmantau's - 2 large leather	1,000.00
5. Towel rack	40.00
6. Wash stand	650.00

Games:

1. Backgammon pieces, dice and cup, late 18th century	\$3,000.00
2. Chess men, 1 set - late 18th century	

Glass:

1. Drinking Glasses:

A. Tumblers - 2	\$ 50.00 ea.
B. Wine glasses - 3	35.00 ea.
2. Medicine Bottles - 3 from Archaeological Collection	10.00 ea.
3. Wine Bottles - 2 from Archaeological Collection or INHP	40.00 ea.

Lighting Devices:

1. Candlesticks - 2 brass - chippendale	\$ 250.00 ea.
2. Candlestick - 1 Hogscraper - tin	40.00
3. Candlesticks - 4 silver, wrought, with mahogany bottoms (see: Kosciuszko Silver inventory)	3,500.00
4. Hall Lanthorne or chamber stick	150.00

Medical Items:

1. Mortar and pestle (small) iron	\$ 85.00
-----------------------------------	----------

Painting and Watercolor Accessories:

1. Drafting and drawing instruments, pencils	150.00
2. India inkwell (glass or ceramic)	20.00
3. Watercolor set in box	150.00
4. Laid paper - plain - marked "Edmeads & Pine," 1795	50.00

Personal & Miscellaneous Accessories

1. Blank checques (Bank of U. S.) 179_	\$ 35.00 ea.
2. Coins	
A. U.S., 1794-1798 (INHP)	500.00
B. Polish 1794	200.00
3. Crutch covered with red morocco leather and brass nails	150.00
4. Gifts for friends	
A. Eye glasses	150.00
B. Sable fur and Bearskin for Thomas Jefferson	400.00
C. Tomahawk, wrought and silver, from "Chief Little Turtle"	350.00
5. Medals	
A. Society of the Cincinnati, reproduction or original from INHP city Collection.	300.00
B. Polish cross for Military valor c. 1794	
6. Shaving accessories	
A. Comb, Brush	40.00 ea.
B. Razor	150.00
C. Shaving dish; 1 ceramic INHP	150.00
7. Sword	1,500.00
8. Table linens	150.00
9. Turning instruments with box K's hobby of wood-working	800.00
10. Wallet	60.00
11. Paper Money Polish, c. 1794	400.00

Tea Service:

1. Cream pitcher, 1 ceramic
2. Cups, 3 ceramic
3. Saucers - 3 ceramic

Tea Service (cont'd)

- | | |
|--------------------------------|------------|
| 4. Spoons - 3 silver | |
| 5. Stand for tea kettle | \$4,000.00 |
| 6. Sugar bowl, 1 ceramic | |
| 7. Sugar tongs - 1 silver | |
| 8. Tea Kettle - 1 large cooper | |
| 9. Tea Pot, 1 ceramic | |
| 10. Tea caddy | |

Wallpaper:

Imlay paper from Brumswig and fils, (reproduction) original at the Henry Francis du Pont Museum, Winterthur, Delaware.

- | | |
|--------------|-----------|
| 1. Wallpaper | \$ 250.00 |
| 2. Hanging | 100.00 |

Window Hangings:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------|
| 1. Venetian blinds - 2 windows | \$ 45.00 ea. |
| 2. Curtains | 400.00 ea. |

Writing Accessories:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------|
| 1. Ceramic or pewter inkwell | \$ 200.00 |
| 2. Fob or wax seal | 200.00 |
| 3. Quill cutter | 40.00 |
| 4. Quill pens | 10.00 |
| 5. Sander Brass | 85.00 |
| 6. Sealing Wax, wafers and box | 10.00 |

PART E

ENDNOTES

ENDNOTES

PART A-I

¹Mieczislaus Haiman, Kosciuszko Leader and Exile (New York: Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in American, 1946), p. 57.

PART A-II

¹Mieczislaus Haiman, Kosciuszko In The American Revolution (New York: Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, 1943).

²Mieczislaus Haiman, Kosciuszko Leader and Exile (New York: Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, 1946).

³Cornelius William Stafford, THE PHILADELPHIA CITY DIRECTORY FOR 1798 (Philadelphia: William W. Woodward, No. 17, Chestnut Street, 1798), p. 118.

⁴Letters concerning Kosciuszko's American estate and Kosciuszko's American financial affairs can be found in the Jefferson Papers at three locations: The Library of Congress; The Massachusetts Historical Society; and The University of Virginia, Alderman Library.

⁵War clouds threatened Europe causing Kosciuszko great anxiety and eagerness to leave America. The cause of Kosciuszko's departure was twofold: he acted as an agent in France for Thomas Jefferson and he envisioned Napoleon giving him the opportunity to reunite Poland. He left the United States in strict secrecy. Jefferson helped him to establish a false passport and he traveled under the alias, of "Thomas Kranberg." A.K.A., "T.K." or Thaddeus Kosciuszko. Thomas Jefferson had approached numerous envoys including the French and Spanish Foreign Ministers to secure Kosciuszko a passport.

⁶John Barnes, Jefferson's financial advisor. A large number of John Barnes' financial affairs are located in the "Edgehill Randolph Papers," Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.; and also in the "Thomas Jefferson Papers," Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va.; John Barnes, "Inventory of Kosciuszko's Sundry Kitchen Furniture and Personal Items to Thomas Jefferson," May 1798, Jefferson Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Ma.

⁷Metchie J. E. Budka, trans. & ed., Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, UNDER THEIR VINE AND FIG TREE, printed for The New Jersey Historical Society at Newark, Vol. XIV (Elizabeth, N.J.: The Grassmann Publishing Company, Inc., 1965).

⁸Benjamin West, "Kosciuszko, In His London Bedchamber, 1797" [Painting, Oil on Wood], located in the Oberlin University Art Gallery, Oberlin, Ohio.

⁹Register of Wills in and for the City and County of Philadelphia, Will of William Allison, No. 293, Year 1787, P. 2. [includes: Account of William & Grace Allison's estate, 1787-1800, pp. 20; and an inventory of

William Allison's chest, pp. 6]; Will of Grace Allison, No. 85, year 1791, pp. 2. [includes 17 page inventory of furnishings]; Administration of the late William Allison, No. 139, year 1800, p. 1, on file at City Hall, Philadelphia, Pa. One of the Allison's daughters, Margaret was the wife of James McHenry, Secretary of War under President Adams.

¹⁰James D. Mote and David G. Henderson, Historic Structure Report The Kosciuszko House Historical and Architectural Data Thaddeus Kosciuszko National Memorial Pennsylvania (Denver, Colorado: Denver Service Center Historic Preservation Team, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, October 1974), pp. 11-15.

¹¹William W. Montgomery, "Pew Renters of Saint Peter's Church 1779-1815, from original records" (Research paper, Saint Peter's Episcopal Church Philadelphia, August 1948); "Ann Relph, 2 seats pew no. 89 [northeast balcony], 25 September 1813," Micro-film, Pew Rent Records, Pew Registers, Lists of Pew Holders, reel no. 30, Christ Church, Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, Pa.

¹²...Under the firm name of Brown & Relf, and with the issue of 18 June 1800, the title was changed to "The Philadelphia Gazette & Daily Advertiser." Andrew Brown retired with the issue of 29 Sept. 1801, and Samuel Relf became sole publisher. The last number with this title was that of 31 Dec. 1802, Vol. 19, No. 4394, after which the title was changed to "Relf's Philadelphia Gazette...." See: Clarence S. Brigham, History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820. Vol. 2. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: American Antiquarian Society Worcester, Massachusetts, Harvard University Printing Office, 1947), p. 911.

¹³Horace L. Hotchkiss, Jr., "Wallpaper from the Shop of William Poyntell." Winterthur Portfolio # 4. (Charlottesville, Virginia: University of Virginia Press, 1968), pp. 26-33.

¹⁴Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Library Company of Philadelphia, Rigway Library, Benjamin Rush Papers.

¹⁵Budka, Under Their Vine, p. 32.

PART B-I

¹Dumas Malone, Dictionary of American Biography, No. 10, Jasper - Larkin (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933), pp. 497-498.; A group of four Kosciuszko historical cards produced in 1976, as a Bicentennial Project of Kosciuszko Lodge No. 1085, F. & A.M.

²Martin I. J. Griffin, "General Thaddeus Kosciuszko," Catholics and the American Revolution (Ridley Park, Pa: privately published by the author, limited edition, [one copy, Independence National Historical Park Library], 1911), pp. 133-134.

³Mieczislaus Haiman, Kosciuszko In The American Revolution (New York: Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, 1943).

- ⁴Malone, DAB 10. p. 498.
- ⁵Philadelphia, Library Company of Philadelphia, Ridgeway Library, Rush Papers MSS, 7246 F. 39.
- ⁶Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society, Jefferson Papers MSS, May 1798, (John Barnes inventory of Kosciuszko's Sundry Kitchen Furniture and personal items).
- ⁷Benjamin West, "Kosciuszko, in his London bedchamber 1797" (painting, oil on wood). Now in the Oberlin University Art Gallery, Oberlin, Ohio.
- ⁸Mieczislaus Haiman, Kosciuszko Leader and Exile (New York: Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, 1946), p. 67.
- ⁹John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., The Writings of George Washington, 1745-1799, Vol. 36 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, June 1941), p. 52.
- ¹⁰Memorial Exhibition Thaddeus Kosciuszko (New York City: The Anderson Galleries, 489 Park Avenue at Fifty-Ninth Street, [1929]), p. 11.
- ¹¹Mitchie J. E. Budka, ed., Julian U. Niemcewicz, Under Their Vine and Fig Tree (Elizabeth, N.J.: The Grassman Publishing Co., Inc., 1965), p. 5.
- ¹²Memorial Exhibition Thaddeus Kosciuszko, p. 21.
- ¹³Budka, Under Their Vine and Fig Tree, p. 5.
- ¹⁴William Claypool, Claypool's Advertisers, 19 August 1797.
- ¹⁵Richard Lee, The American Universal Magazine. No. 4, Vol. II, No. XI, (Philadelphia: Chestnut Street near the Wharf, 1 May 1797), p. 1.
- ¹⁶Kenneth Roberts and Anna M. Roberts, Trans. and ed., Moreau de St. Mery's American Journey, 1793-1798. (New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc. 1947), p. 317.
- ¹⁷Budka, Under Their Vine and Fig Tree, p. 6.
- ¹⁸Roberts, Moreau de St. Mery's American Journey, P. 313.
- ¹⁹Philadelphia, American Philosophical Society Library, Jefferson Papers micro-film, AD 1 p. A. V 104. p. 17819, for 1798.
- ²⁰Budka, Under Their Vine and Fig Tree, p. 32.
- ²¹Budka, p. 38.
- ²²Department of Records, Registry Unit, County Deed Books, Book D, 55: 416, on file at City Hall, Philadelphia, Pa., as cited in: James D. Mote

and David G. Henderson, Historic Structure Report The Kosciuszko House Historical and Architectural Data Thaddeus Kosciuszko National Memorial Pennsylvania, (Denver, Colorado: Denver Service Center Historic Preservation Team National Park Service United States Department of The Interior, October 1974), p. 12.

²³Register of Wills in and for the City and County of Philadelphia, "Account of William & Grace Allison's Estate 1787-1800," Will of William Allison, No. 293, Year 1787 (Philadelphia: City Hall Annex).

²⁴Budka, Under Their Vine and Fig Tree, p. 33.

²⁵Roberts, Moreau de St. Mery's American Journey, pp. 247-248.

²⁶John Fenno, U. S. Gazette (Philadelphia), 6 November - 9 November 1798.

²⁷Budka, Under Their Vine and Fig Tree, pp. 38-61.

²⁸Alfred L. Bush, The Life Portraits of Thomas Jefferson, Catalogue of an Exhibition at The University of Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 12-26 April 1962, for the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1962), p. 41. For more information see; Edward P. Alexander, "Jefferson and Kosciuszko: Friends of Liberty and Man," The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography Vol. XCII, No. I, January 1968, p. 87.

²⁹Budka, Under Their Vine and Fig Tree, p. 45.; For more information see: Charles Coleman Sellers, "Good Chiefs and Wise Men." Indians as Symbols of Peace in the Art of Charles Willson Peale, The American Art Journal, Vol. VII, No. 2 (New York: Kennedy Galleries, November 1975,) p. 15.

³⁰Boston, Massachusetts Historical Society, Jefferson Papers MSS, May 1798 (John Barnes inventory of Kosciuszko's Sundry Kitchen Furniture and personal items).

³¹Seller, The American Art Journal, p. 16.

³²Griffin, Catholics and the American Revolution, p. 195.

³³Ibid., p. 195.

³⁴Budka, Under Their Vine and Fig Tree, pp. 47-48.

³⁵Ibid., p. 48.

³⁶Ibid., pp. 33-34, 50, 53-54.

³⁷Ibid., pp. 65-66.

PART C-I-A

¹Thomas Jefferson Randolph, ed., Memoir Correspondence And Miscellanies, Vol. III (Boston: Gray and Bowen, 1830), p. 395.

²See: Part C-II, Appendix I-D, pp. 103-106.

³Mieczislaus Haiman, Kosciuszko Leader And Exile (New York: Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences In America, 1946), p. 111.

⁴William Henry Egle, ed., "Notes and Quiries," The Pennsylvania Magazine Of History And Biography, Vol. XXIII (Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1899), p. 122. Mrs. Willett, nee: Susannah Nicoll Vardill, the daughter of Edward Nicoll of New York, and the widow of Joseph Jauncey and of Thomas Vardill. She was "a famous chessplayer, bright and well-educated. Her marriage to Marinus Willett, a veteran of the Northern Campaign of 1777, also a merchant and neighbor of General Gates, ended in a divorce in 1799. [See: Willett, Marinus, in the dictionary of American Biography, Vol. XX, p. 245]. "...Tempting Kosciuszko to a game of chess Mrs. Willett wrote: "The men may haunt me for my attachment to you...."

⁵Metchie J. E. Budka, trans. & ed., Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, UNDER THEIR VINE AND FIG TREE, printed for The New Jersey Historical Society at Newark, Vol. XIV (Elizabeth, N.J.: The Grassman Publishing Company, Inc., 1965), pp. 54-55.

⁶Haiman, Kosciuszko Leader and Exile, p. 168. As cited in Haiman, "...The watercolor sketch of Miss Lucetta Adelaide Pollock pertains to Kosciuszko's second sojourn in Philadelphia when it became a fad among the city's inhabitants to visit the sick General. Miss Lucetta, then a girl of 15 years, was a daughter of Oliver Pollock, "distinguished in the Revolution for his zeal & services in the American cause, while a resident of New Orleans." Miss Pollock died in 1804. The drawing has little value as a work of art (conf. Hayden, "Kosciuszko as an Artist," Mag. of Am. Hist., IX [1883], 73); it is mentioned in Watson's Annals of Philadelphia, II, 279. The original is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania...."

⁷Edward P. Alexander, "Jefferson And Kosciuszko: Friends of Liberty And Of Man," The Pennsylvania Magazine Of History And Biography, Vol. XCII, number 1 (Philadelphia: The Historical Society Of Pennsylvania, January 1968), p. 90.; Also see: Alfred L. Bush, The Life Portraits Of Thomas Jefferson, Catalogue of an Exhibition at The University of Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 12-26 April 1962, for the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1962), pp. 40-42.

⁸Memorial Exhibition Thaddeus Kosiuszko (New York City: The Anderson Galleries, 489 Park Avenue at Fifty-Ninth Street, [1929]), p. 52.

PART C-I-B

⁹Kenneth Roberts and Anna M. Roberts, trans. and ed., Moreau de St. Mery's American Journey, 1793-1798. (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1947), p. 247.

¹⁰James D. Mote and David G. Henderson, Historic Structure Report The Kosciuszko House Historical And Architectural Data Thaddeus Kosciuszko National Memorial Pennsylvania (Denver, Colorado: Denver Service Center Historic Preservation Team, National Park Service, United States Department of Interior, October 1974), p. 98.

¹¹Budka, Under Their Vine And Fig Tree, p. 33.

PART C-I-C

¹²Phebe Herbert, The Washington Spy, No. 306, Wednesday, June 15, 1796. P. 2 col. 1. Located at The Library Company of Philadelphia, PA. From "MISS." newspapers 1795-1796. Call number: D-4-D., 1407.F.

¹³William Claypool, Claypool's Advertiser (Philadelphia: August 19, 1797).

¹⁴Cornelius William Stafford, Philadelphia City Directory (Philadelphia: 1797), p. 176.

¹⁵Budka, Under Their Vine And Fig Tree, p. 68.

¹⁶Haiman, Kosciuszko Leader And Exile, p. 59. As cited in footnote: Kosciuszko Papers, No. 47, Nov. 3 1797, Polish Roman Catholic Union, Chicago.

¹⁷Mote & Henderson, Historic Structures Report, p. 43. John Dickinson (1732-1808), was an active political leader in colonial and Revolutionary times, he sought redress of American grievances from the British without resorting to violent action. However when the Revolution came, Dickinson fought actively for the American cause. He was a noted political thinker and writer of the period. Allen Johnson & Dumas Malone, Dictionary of American Biography, Vol. 5, J. T. Adams, "John Dickinson." (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930), pp. 299-301.

¹⁸Haiman, Kosciuszko Leader And Exile, pp. 59-60.

¹⁹Mote & Henderson, Historic Structures Report, p. 50. Cites Samuel Harrison Smith to Margaret Bayard, Feb. 9, 1798, Papers of Mrs. Samuel Harrison Smith, vol. 3, August 1797 to July 1798. Washington, D.C. Library of Congress.

²⁰Charles Evans, American Bibliography, vol. 11, 1796-97 (New York: Peter Smith, 1942), p. 41. Evans: 31121.

²¹Ibid., p. 41. Evans: 31122.

- ²²Ibid., p. 41. Evans: 31123.
- ²³Memorial Exhibition Thaddeus Kosciuszko (New York City: The Anderson Galleries, 489 Park Avenue at Fifty-Ninth Street, [1929]), p. 24.
- ²⁴Haiman, Kosciuszko Leader And Exile, p. 59.
- ²⁵Evans, American Bibliography, vol. 11, p. 179. Evans: 32042, (1797). The first nine letters of Fabius, appeared separately in newspapers, and were never published together before this 1797 edition that included The Present Situation of Public Affairs.
- ²⁶Ibid., p. 179. Evans: 32042, (1797). Published from the office of the Delaware Gazette, printed by William Catherwood Smyth, at Wilmington Delaware, 1797.
- ²⁷Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa. "John Dickinson Papers." Thaddeus Kosciuszko to John Dickinson, 17th instance [1797].
- ²⁸Haiman, Kosciuszko Leader And Exile, p. 69.
- ²⁹Budka, Under Their Vine and Fig Tree, pp. 47-48.
- ³⁰Ibid., pp. 47-48.
- ³¹Ibid., p. 10.
- ³²Evans, American Bibliography, vol. 7, p. 354. Evans: 22090. (1789).
- ³³Ibid., p. 321. Evans: 21861. (1789).
- ³⁴Budka, Under Their Vine And Fig Tree, p. 54.
- ³⁵Evans, American Bibliography, vol. 11, p. 74. Evans: 31321. (1796).
- ³⁶Haiman, Kosciuszko Leader And Exile, p. 20.
- ³⁷Evans, American Bibliography, vol. 4, p. 309. Evans: 12331. (1722).
- ³⁸Haiman, Kosciuszko Leader And Exile, pp. 76-78. Kosciuszko's American Will is located in the Mass. Hist. Soc., Jefferson Paper, together with Gen. Kosciuszko's Power of Attorney to Mr. Jefferson dated Philadelphia, April 20, 1798.
- ³⁹Evans, American Bibliography, vol. p. 125. Evans: 31686. (1797). Printed by Zachariah Poulson, Jr. #80, Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, 1797.
- ⁴⁰Ibid., p. 19. Evans; 30967. (1796).
- ⁴¹Budka, Under Their Vine And Fig Tree, p. 54.

⁴²Evans, American Bibliography, pp. 335, vol. 10; 191, vol. 11. Evans: 30414, vol. I. (1796); 32126, vol. II. (1797).

⁴³Haiman, Kosciuszko Leader and Exile, p. 57. Letter dated September 20, 1797, located in the Polish Roman Catholic Union Museum, Chicago, Kosciuszko Papers, no. 7A.

PART C-I-D

⁴⁴John Barnes, An inventory, "Particulars of Gen. Kosciuszko's plate and Sundry Kitchen furniture and personal items," to Thomas Jefferson, Philadelphia, May 1798, Photocopy from Jefferson Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts. Also see Part C-II, Appendix: I-D, I-G (p.111).

⁴⁵Thaddeus Kosciuszko to Jessee and Robert Waln, Rose Hill, New York, September 20, 1797, Photocopy from Jefferson Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts. Also see Appendix: I-B, p. 101.

⁴⁶John Barnes, An inventory, "Kosciuszko's Sundry Kitchen and personal items," To Thomas Jefferson, Philadelphia, May 1798, Photocopy from Jefferson Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts. Also see Appendix: I-D, pp. 103-106.

⁴⁷John Barnes, two pages from inventory book relating to Kosciuszko's property, to Thomas Jefferson, Philadelphia, November 15, 1799 and April 4, 1800, Photocopy from Jefferson Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts. Also see Appendix: I-H, pp. 113-114.

⁴⁸Thaddeus Kosciuszko, personal note, September or December 1797, Photocopy from Jefferson Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts. Also see Appendix: I-C, p. 102.

⁴⁹John Barnes, An inventory, "Particulars of Gen. Kosciuszko's Plate," to Thomas Jefferson, Philadelphia, May 1798, Photocopy from Jefferson Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts. Also see Appendix: I-D, pp. 103-106.

⁵⁰Thomas Jefferson, Vice President United States, to Thaddeus Kosciuszko, Philadelphia, February 21, 1799, Photocopy from Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. Also see Appendix: I-F, pp. 108-109.

⁵¹John Barnes, two letters concerning furniture and personal belongings of T. Kosciuszko, to Thomas Jefferson, Philadelphia, April 2, and April 6, 1799, Photocopy from Jefferson Papers, Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, [Acc. # 1397, Box no. TB-628, TB-630.]. Also see Appendix: I-G, pp. 110-111.

PART C-I-E

⁵²Memorial Exhibition Thaddeus Kosciuszko (New York: The Anderson Galleries, 489 Park Avenue at Fifty-Ninth Street, [1929]), pp. 66, 67.

⁵³Haiman. Kosciuszko Leader and Exile, p. 58, [also see footnote 45].

⁵⁴Alfred Coxe Prime, The Arts & Crafts IN PHILADELPHIA MARYLAND AND SOUTH CAROLINA 1721--1785 GLEANING FROM NEWSPAPERS ([Philadelphia]: The Walpole Society, 1929). p. 42.

⁵⁵Memorial Exhibition, The Anderson Galleries, p. 23. A few other letters written by Kosciuszko, from the same period, are in the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

PART C-I-F

⁵⁶Benjamin West, "Kosciuszko, in his London bedchamber, 1797," (Painting, oil on wood). Now in the Oberlin University Art Gallery, Oberlin, Ohio.

⁵⁷John Barnes, An Inventory, "Kosciuszko's Sundry Kitchen and personal items." Jefferson Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, MA. See: Appendix, I-D, pp. 103-106.

PART C-I-G

⁵⁸Barnes, An Inventory, "Kosciuszko's Sundry Kitchen and personal items." See: Appendix, I-D, pp. 103-106.

⁵⁹Mieczislaus Haiman, Kosciuszko Leader And Exile (New York: Polish Institute of the Arts and Sciences in America, 1946), p. 139, APPENDICES, A.

⁶⁰Peter I. Bogucki and Richard Cauffiel, Archaeological Investigations at the Thaddeus Kosciuszko National Memorial. (Philadelphia, 1975). Report on file at Independence National Historical Park Library, Philadelphia, PA.

⁶¹Haiman, Kosciuszko Leader And Exile [New York: 1946]. p. 70, Also see fn. 36.

⁶²Charles F. Montgomery. A History of American Pewter, A Winterthur Book. [New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973], p. 182.

⁶³John Barnes, An Inventory of "Kosciuszko's Sundry Kitchen and personal items." See: Appendix: I-D, pp. 103-106.

⁶⁴Metchie J. E. Budka, ed., Julian Ursyn Nimcewicz, Under Their Vine and Fig Tree [Elizabeth, New Jersey: The Grassmann Publishing Company, Inc., 1965]. (Published as Volume XIV in the Collections of The New Jersey Historical Society at Newark.]. p. 38

⁶⁵Haiman, Kosciuszko Leader And Exile. p. 111. Kenneth Roberts and his wife Anna M. in their translation and ed. of Moreau de St. Mery's American Journey, (1773-1798). p. 266, describe Americans as almost having

a passion for oysters "...which they eat at all hours, even in the streets. They are exposed in open containers (shells) in their own liquor, and are sold by dozens and hundreds up to ten o'clock at night in the streets, where they are peddled on barrows to the accompaniment of mournful cries...."

⁶⁶Edwin Morris Betts, Thomas Jefferson's Garden Book, 1766-1824. [Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1944]. p. 261.

⁶⁷H. G. Otis, "Letter to his wife, April 18, 1798," Otis papers, Box #2, folder #1798, Mss. (Massachusetts Historical Society), typescript located in INHP card file INHP Library, MIY Q 6-10-60. "...Phila. April 18, 1798...Yesterday morning there was snow in the streets, a quarter of an inch deep; upon a level--this may prevent your getting green peas here by the time of your arrival, and it has done mischief to the apricots and peaches...."

⁶⁸Martha Jefferson Randolph, "Letter to Thomas Jefferson, 12 May 1798, Belmont, Virginia." Jefferson Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

⁶⁹Purdie & Dixon, The Virginia Gazette. [Williamsburg, VA.: 14 July, 1774]. p. 1, col. 2. "May 2...sold in covenant Garden for 6 shillings...."

PART C-I-H

⁷⁰See: Appendix C-II-H, "3 May 1799, Genl. Kosciuszko's Inventory Account with John Barnes." Two pages from John Barnes inventory book (related to Kosciuszko's property). Jefferson Papers, 15 November 1799 and 4 April 1800, pp. 113-114.

⁷¹Kenneth Robert and Anna M. Roberts, Trans. and ed., Moreau de St. Mery's American Journey. [New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1947] pp. 326-327.

PART C-I-I

⁷²John Barnes, An Inventory, "Kosciuszko's Sundry Kitchen and personal items." Jefferson Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, MA. See: Appendix, I-D, pp. 103-106.

⁷³James D. Mate and David G. Henderson, Historic Structure Report The Kosciuszko House Historical And Architectural Data Thaddeus Kosciuszko National Memorial Pennsylvania (Denver, Colorado: Denver Service Center Historic Preservation Team, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, October 1974), p. 4.

⁷⁴Clarence S. Brigham, History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820. vol. 2 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Printing Office, 1947). p. 911.

⁷⁵Several generations of the Relf family are buried at Saint Peter's Episcopal Church cemetery at Third and Pine Streets. The last person to be interred at Saint Peter's with the surname Relf occurred c. 1920.

⁷⁶William W. Montgomery, "Pew Renters of Saint Peter's Church 1779-1815, from original records" (Research paper, Saint Peter's Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, August 1948); Also see micro-film, Pew Rent Records, Pew Registers, List of Pew Holders, reel no. 30, Christ Church, Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, Pa.

⁷⁷Register of Wills in and for the City of Philadelphia, Will of William Allison, No. 293, year 1787, 1787-1800, 20 pp.; Will of Grace Allison, No. 85, year 1791, 2 pp., also includes 17 page inventory of furnishings.

⁷⁸Register of Wills in and for the City of Philadelphia, Will of Grace Allison, No. 85, year 1791, located in the 17 page inventory of furnishings.

⁷⁹Roberts, Moreau de St. Mery's American Journey, p. 245.

⁸⁰Roberts, Moreau de St. Mery's American Journey, p. 313. "...There are street walkers of a new sort in Philadelphia...These are very pretty girls, elegantly dressed, who promenade two by two, arm in arm and walking very rapidly, at an hour which indicates that they aren't just out for a stroll. They are found most commonly on the south side of Market Street, beginning at Fourth Street and coming up this street. Anyone who accosts them is taken to their home. They pretend to be small dressmakers, they fulfill every desire for two dollars, half of which is supposed to pay for the use of the room...."

⁸¹Budka, Under Their Vine, p. 5.

⁸²Budka, Under Their Vine, p. 32-33.

⁸³Benjamin West, "Kosciuszko, In His London Bedchamber, 1797," [Painting, Oil on Wood], located in the Oberlin University Art Gallery, Oberlin, Ohio.

⁸⁴John Barnes, An Inventory, "Kosciuszko's Sundry Kitchen and personal items." Jefferson Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Ma. See: Appendix, I-D, pp. 103-106.

⁸⁵Barnes, An Inventory, "Kosciuszko's Sundry Kitchen and personal items." See: Appendix, I-D, pp. 103-106.

⁸⁶West, "Kosciuszko, In His London Bedchamber, 1797."

⁸⁷Roberts, Moreau de Saint Mery's American Journey, p. 247.

⁸⁸Barnes, An Inventory, "Kosciuszko's Sundry Kitchen and personal items." See: Appendix, I-D, pp. 103-106.

⁸⁹Robert, Moreau de Saint Mery's American Journey, pp. 263, 264.

⁹⁰Budka, Under Their Vine, p. 36.

PART C-I-J

⁹¹Thomas Jefferson, "To Horatio Gates, February 21, 1798," Jefferson Papers, Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia.

⁹²Jefferson to Kosciuszko, June 1, 1798, Lipscomb, X. 49.

⁹³Haiman, Kosciuszko Leader and Exile. op., cit. p. 76.

⁹⁴Ibid., p. 128.

⁹⁵Ibid., pp. 128-129.

⁹⁶Extract from the Will of Eliza Cooper Vanderhorst, dated 7th September 1842; and the Will of Cordelia Duncombe Taylor dated 30 December 1869 and 4 February 1875. (In a scrapbook to her granddaughter's, The Misses Lloyd) pp. 4-6; and Letter from the City of Bristol, City Art Gallery to Giannini, R.L., dated 22 September 1975, INHP files, H-30.

⁹⁷Kosciuszko to Henry Gahn, Counting Merchant of New York, September 1797. (Massachusetts Historical Society, Jefferson Papers). See: Appendix I-C (p. 102), for full text. Also Haiman, Kosciuszko Leader and Exile, p. 57.

⁹⁸Haiman, Kosciuszko Leader and Exile. op., cit., p. 52

⁹⁹Ibid., p. 63.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., p. 79.

¹⁰¹Walton White Evans, Memoir of Thaddeus Kosciuszko, Poland's Hero and Patriot, New York, 1883.

¹⁰²Haiman, Kosciuszko Leader and Exile. op., cit., p. 79, footnot 22. Note: The fur in the Rembrandt Peale painting has been attributed as a gift to Jefferson from Merriweather Lewis.

¹⁰³INHP Correspondence from Edward P. Alexander to Robert L. Giannini, III, dated 19 November 1975. Kosciuszko file, Museum Division INHP.

¹⁰⁴Niemcewicz Papers, The Polish Review, Vol. II, #4, Autumn 1957, pp. 7-21.

Part C-I-K

¹⁰⁵Ivor Noel Hume, A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America, [New York:

Alfred A. Knopf, 1970.] p. 68. (for Style type see illustrations for 1798).

¹⁰⁶Ibid., p. 191. Example XXIV. 1780-1805.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., p. 73. Examples 10-16.

PART C-I-L

¹⁰⁸Rupert Gentle, Rupert and Rachael Feild, English Domestic Brass, 1680-1810, [New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1975]. p. 125, illustration 57; p. 129, illustration 68.

PART C-I-M

¹⁰⁹John Latimer, The Annals of Bristol in the 18th Century, p. 522. The Citizens of Bristol, England had procured the set of "Plate" for Kosciuszko. Each piece was inscribed, "Friends of Liberty In Bristol to the Gallant Kosciuszko 1797." The Citizens of Bristol had collected 100 guineas to give the Polish hero the plate. Little if any information about "The Friends of Liberty in Bristol," England, or the record of their purchase could be found. We can only assume that the plate was purchased new.

¹¹⁰See Appendix I, (p. 115), J, (p. 116).

¹¹¹Nimcewicz, Under Their Vine and Fig Tree. op., cit., p. 65.

¹¹²Ibid., p. 66.

¹¹³M. Fedder, "Bristol Vignettes," (n.d.), p. 88.

¹¹⁴See Appendix D, pp. 105-106.

PART C-I-N

¹¹⁵Register of Wills and Administrations in and for the City and County of Philadelphia. See the estate of the late William Allison, No. 293, year 1787. City Hall Annex, Philadelphia, Pa., Department of Wills and Administrations. Estate settlement reveals newspaper subscriptions paid for out of estate funds.

¹¹⁶Niemcewicz, Budka, ed. Under Their Vine and Fig Tree. p. 55.

¹¹⁷Brigham, Clarence S. History and Bibliography of American Newspapers, 1690-1820. Vol. II. [Worcester, Massachusetts: American Antiquarian Society, 1947]. p. 911.

¹¹⁸Haiman, Kosciuszko Leader and Exile., p. 46.

¹¹⁹Ibid., p. 42.

¹²⁰Niemcewicz. op. cit., p. 56, 307.

PART C-I-O

¹²¹Freire, Chevalier de, letter from Philadelphia to Jefferson, Thomas (Phila., Pa.). Jefferson Papers on micro-film. American Philosophical Society Library, Philadelphia, Pa. dated 26 April 1798.

¹²²Jefferson, Thomas, (Philadelphia, Pa.) letter to Liston, Robert (Philadelphia, Pa.) Jefferson Papers on micro-film. American Philosophical Society Library, Philadelphia, Pa. dated 27 March 1798.

PART C-I-P

¹²³Kimball, Marie G. The Furnishings of Monticello. [Charlottesville, Va.: Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, 1954]. p. 10.

¹²⁴Adams, William Howard, ed. The Arts: An Extended View. (Dickson, Harold E. "TH. J." Art Collector). [Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art]. p. 121

¹²⁵Note: see photo here in for painting of Kosciuszko by Benjamin West. The portrait is done showing Kosciuszko reclining on a sofa and reveals his invalid condition.

¹²⁶Kimball, op. cit., p. 12.

¹²⁷Ibid., pp. 10, 12.

¹²⁸Niemcewicz, op., cit., pp. 54, 306.

¹²⁹Lee, Richard. The American Universal Magazine. Vol. II, No. XI. [Philadelphia, 7 August 1797.] (See Evans: 31729, 31730.)

¹³⁰Claypool's Advertiser, [Philadelphia, 18 April 1797]. p. 3, col. 1. (This was Jesse Sharples Exhibition House located at the N. W. corner of Third and Chestnut Streets. Before 8 April 1807, Sharples was located at the corner of Third and Market Streets.)

PART C-I-Q

¹³¹Note: A number of these prints are on file in the Museum Division at INDE and HFC, under the title "Thaddeus Kosciuszko National Memorial."

¹³²(See Appendix I-H, p. 114).

¹³³Niemcewicz, op., cit., p. 354.

¹³⁴(See Appendix I-H, p. 114).

¹³⁵Roberts. Moreau de St. Mery's American Journey [1793-1798]. op., cit., pp. 326-37.

¹³⁶(See: Appendix I-H, p. 114).

¹³⁷(See: Appendix I-A, pp. 98-99).

¹³⁸Griffin. General Thaddeus Kosciuszko. op., cit., p. 195.

¹³⁹Haiman. Kosciuszko, Leader and Exile. op., cit., p. 62.

¹⁴⁰(See: Appendix I-H, p. 114).

¹⁴¹Niemcewicz. Under Their Vine and Fig Tree. op., cit., p. 354.

PART C-I-R

PART C-I-S

¹⁴²Ann Warder Journal Vol. 13 on micro-film at The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. 17, 18, October 1788.

¹⁴³Ibid., Vol. 13., 9 October 1788.

¹⁴⁴Administration papers for the estate of William Allison. Office of Wills and Administration, City Hall Annex, Philadelphia, Pa. No. 293, year 1787.

¹⁴⁵Brunswick and Fils Wallpaper Division has reproduced the "Imlay" pattern wallpaper. This wallpaper was available in 1975.

Part C-I-T

¹⁴⁶W. A. Churchill, Watermarks in Paper in the 17th and 18th Centuries. [Amsterdam: Memmo Hertzbeniger & Co., 1935]. p. 50.

PART F

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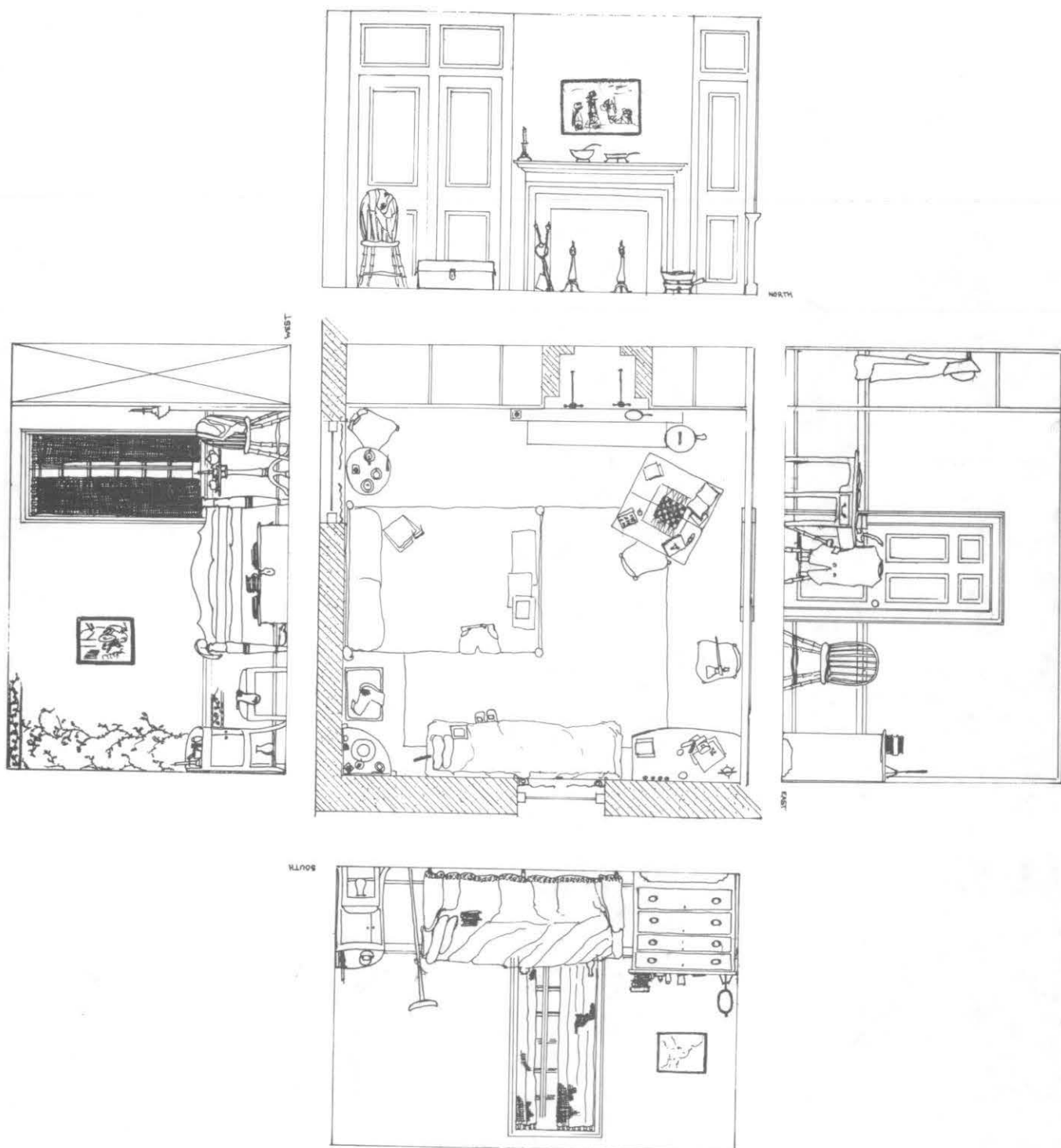
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KOSCIUSZKO HOUSE.
THE BEDCHAMBER

B. L. GIANNINI, DESIGNER.
S. B. KALTER, DEL.

0 1 5ft.



"General Kosciuszko," by Benjamin West. Oil on wood panel, H. 12 5/16" x W. 17 5/16". London, 1797. Objects similar to those seen in this painting are listed in John Barnes' June 1798 inventory.

Courtesy of the Allen Art Museum, Oberlin College, Oberlin, Ohio 44074. R. T. Miller, Jr. fund. Do not reproduce without permission.



The Thaddeus Kosciuszko National Memorial bedchamber as prepared for opening day ceremonies, February 1976. The room is furnished to reflect a Philadelphia boarding house of c. 1797-98.

INHP negative #11081.

For the American Universal Magazine.



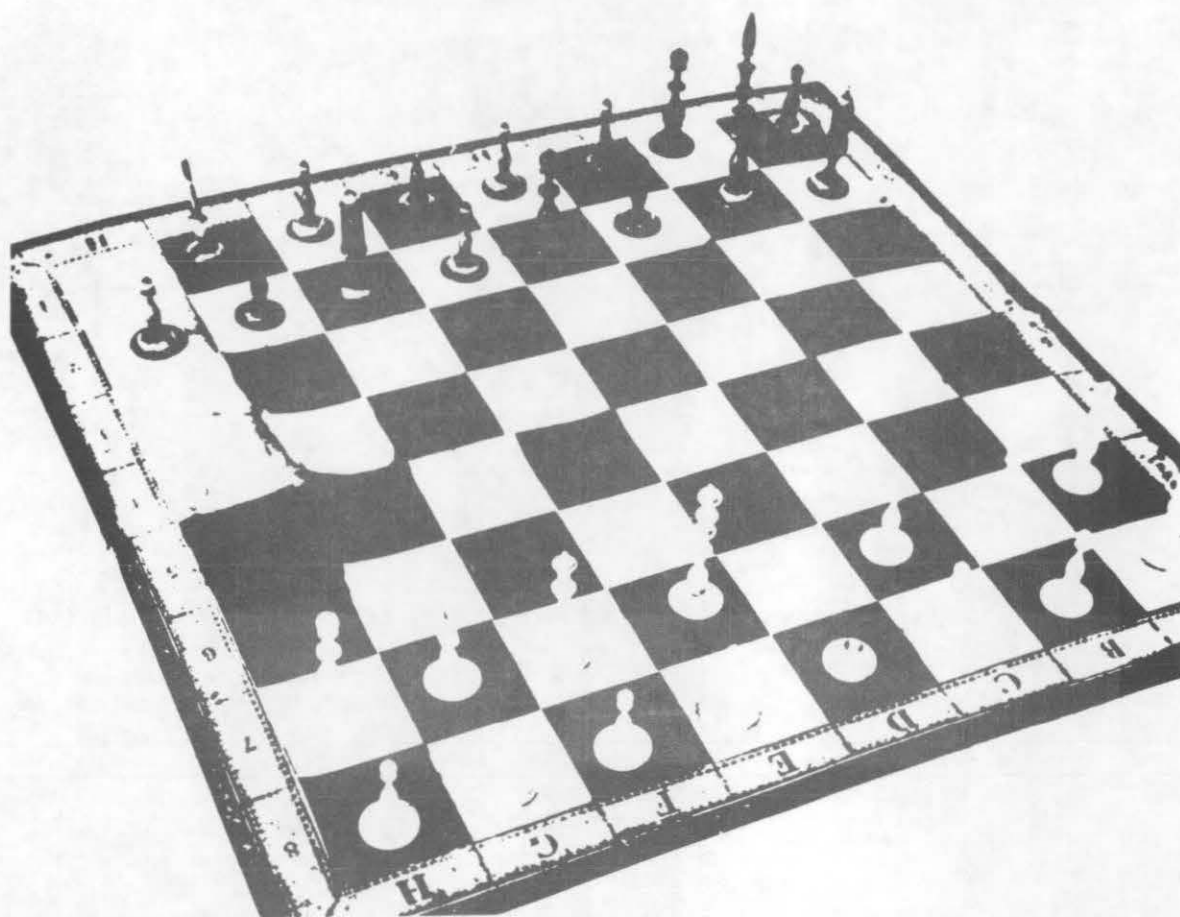
(THADDEUS KOSCIUSKO,
General of the Poles.)

The anticipation of Thaddeus Kosciuszko's second American visit, 1797-1798, precipitated this Philadelphia engraving for The American Universal Magazine. No. XI. Monday, May 1, 1797. Vol. II. Printed by Richard Lee and engraved by T. Clark. Philadelphia, 1797.

INHP negative #11049. INHP catalogue #10785.



Jefferson acquired this carved bone set while visiting London.



Kosciuszko's chess board and men. European, c. 1770. Kosciuszko's chess men are similar to those owned by Thomas Jefferson, as illustrated in the top picture.

Kosciuszko's chess board and men courtesy of the Muzeum Wojska Polskiego w Warszawie.

Chas Taylor

A
V I S I T
TO THE
PHILADELPHIA PRISON;
BEING AN
ACCURATE AND PARTICULAR ACCOUNT OF THE WISE AND HUMANE ADMINI-
STRATION ADOPTED IN EVERY PART OF THAT BUILDING;
CONTAINING ALSO
An Account of the Gradual Reformation, and Present Improved State
OF THE
PENAL LAWS OF PENNSYLVANIA:
WITH
OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
IMPOLICY AND INJUSTICE
OF
CAPITAL PUNISHMENTS.
In a Letter to a Friend.

By ROBERT J. TURNBULL.

" Vitiorum femina—otium—labore exhaustiendum."

Lay then the axe to the root, and teach governments humanity. It is
their sanguinary punishments which corrupt mankind.

RIGHTS OF MAN.

PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED BY BUDD AND BARTRAM, No. 58, NORTH SECOND STREET.

M.DCC.XCVI.

Thaddeus Kosciuszko, a man of compassion and liberal ideals had a thirst for reform publications. His approval of such causes as prison reform, is mentioned in Niemcewicz's, Travels Through America, 1797-1799. p. 50.

INHP negative #11058. INHP catalogue #10055.



A Hair Trunk. Philadelphia, 1795. Another item listed in John Barnes' 1798, American inventory for Kosciuszko was: "...1 very large leather portmantua - Apparently full...."

INHP negative #11050. INHP catalogue #11106.



Engraving of Kosciuszko. French, early 19th century. A heroic Kosciuszko reveals his two most prized military medals The Polish, Virtuti Militari; and The Society of Cincinnati medal given to him in America.



A brass and iron stew pan with cover, ladle, and a wooden handle brazier. European, c. 1790. "...one large stew pan & cover...." is listed among numerous pieces of kitchen furniture in Kosciuszko's 1798 American inventory.

INHP negative #11052. INHP catalogue #10838, brazier; 4975, ladle.



A Chippendale mahogany backgammon gaming table. English, c. 1765. A gaming table comparable to this one would have served several functions in cramped living quarters. "...Mar. 18 (1798)...Only two or three of us could see him [Kosciuszko] at a given time...." Moreau de St. Mery's American Journey, 1793-1799. Roberts, p. 248.

INHP negative #11079. INHP catalogue #10610.



Hepplewhite mahogany sofa. Probably English c. 1785-1800. "Mar. 18 (1798)...Those who visited him (Kosciuszko) found him either in bed or stretched out on a couch like a sick man...." Moreau de St. Mery's American Journey 1793-1798. Roberts, p. 247.

INHP negative #11076. INHP catalogue #10759.



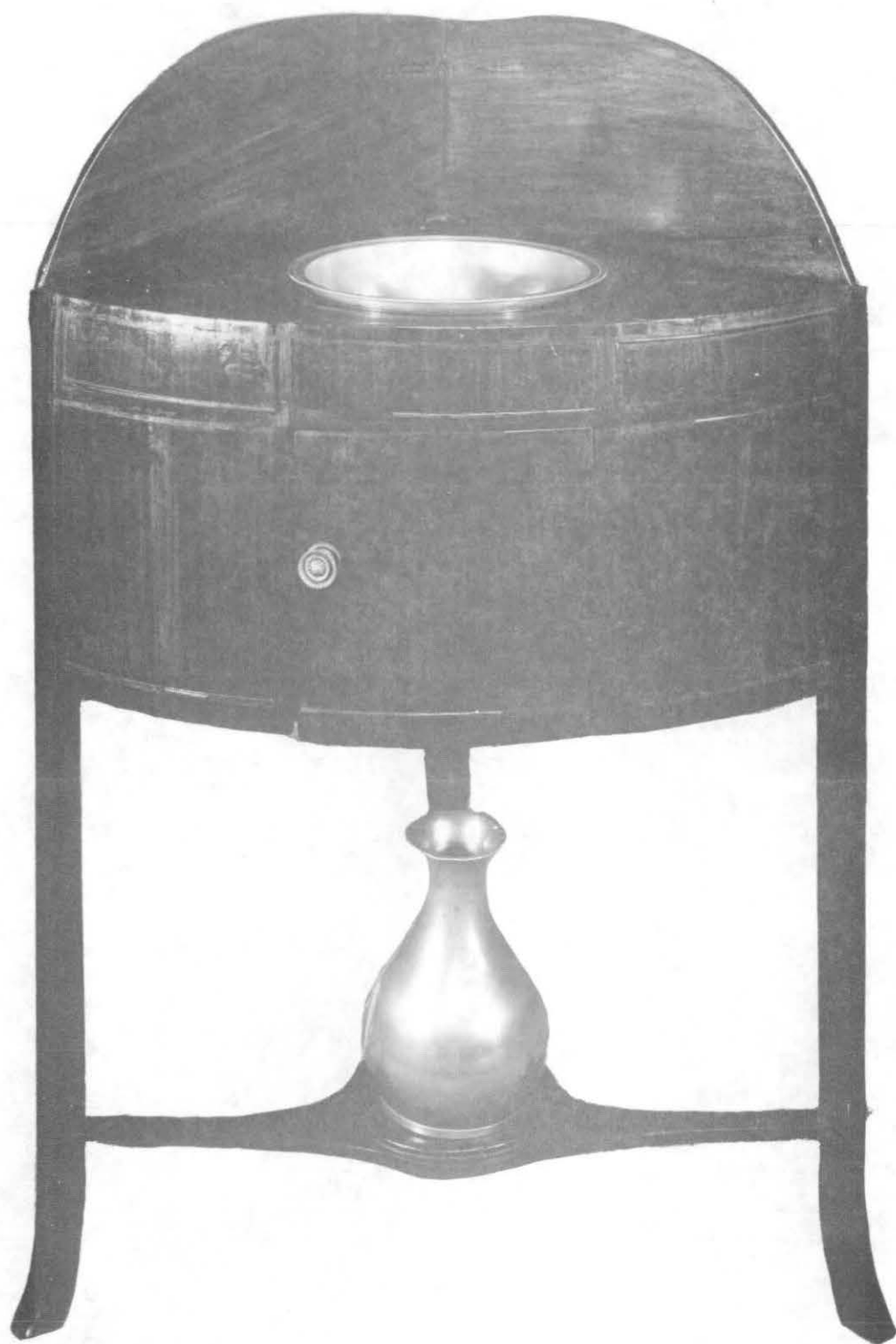
A Chippendale mahogany stool. English, c. 1770. The 1798 American inventory of Kosciuszko's furniture, taken by John Barnes, lists a foot rest of unknown design. A Sheraton style stool with a rush bottom seat appears in the 1797, Benjamin West, painting of Kosciuszko in his London bedchamber.

INHP negative #11063. INHP catalogue #10986.

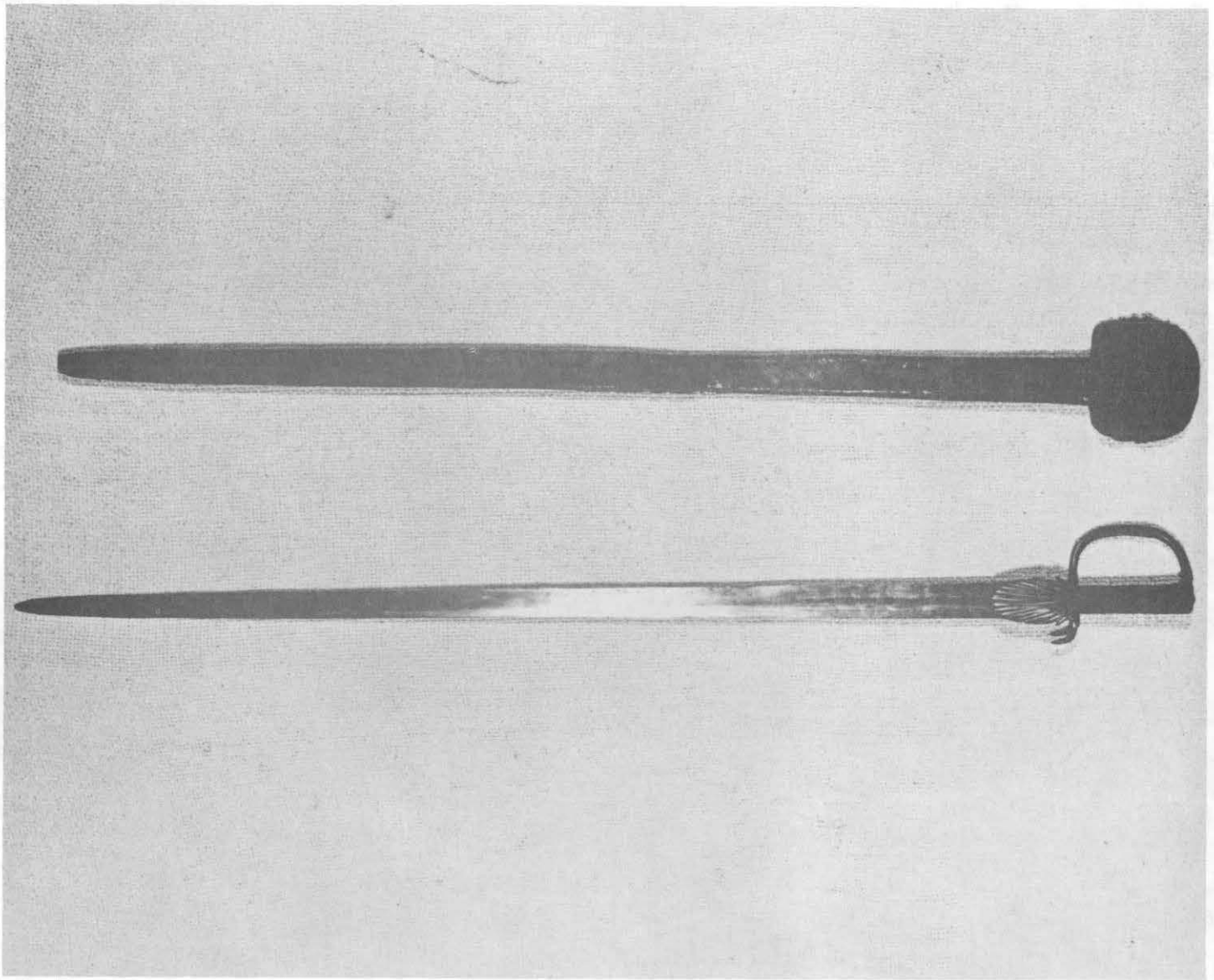


A Sheraton mahogany bow front chest of drawers. Philadelphia, c. 1790-1800. This piece of furniture is typical of a Philadelphia chest of drawers for the period 1797-1798, (the dates of Kosciuszko's second American visit).

INHP negative #11078. INHP catalogue #1467.



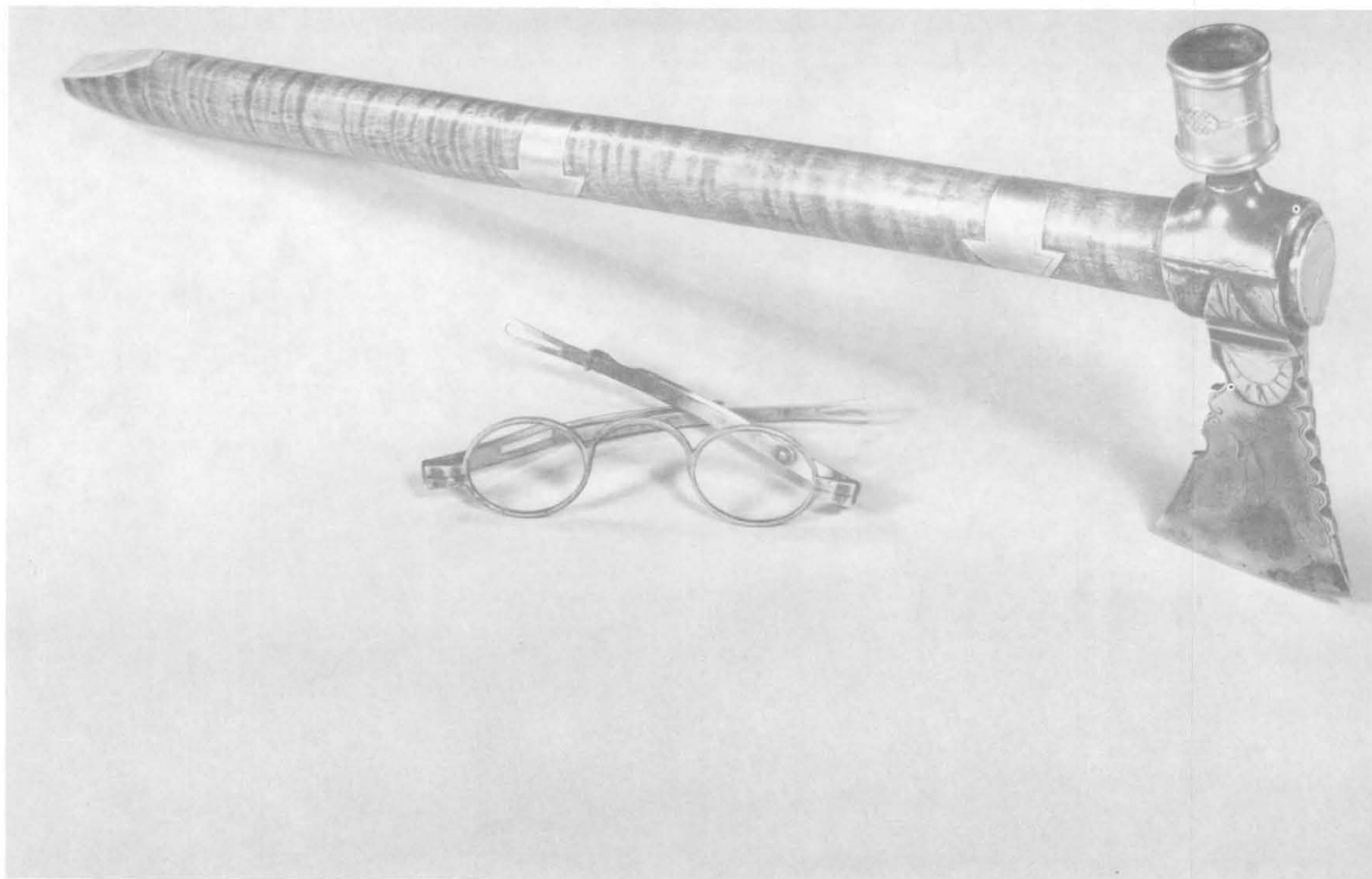
A Hepplewhite mahogany bow front corner wash stand. Ireland, c. 1790. Similar furniture could have belonged to Kosciuszko's landlady, Mrs. Ann Relf, a middle class widow, who sublet the property from the Allison family.



Sword and scabbard used by Kosciuszko, probably during the American Revolution.

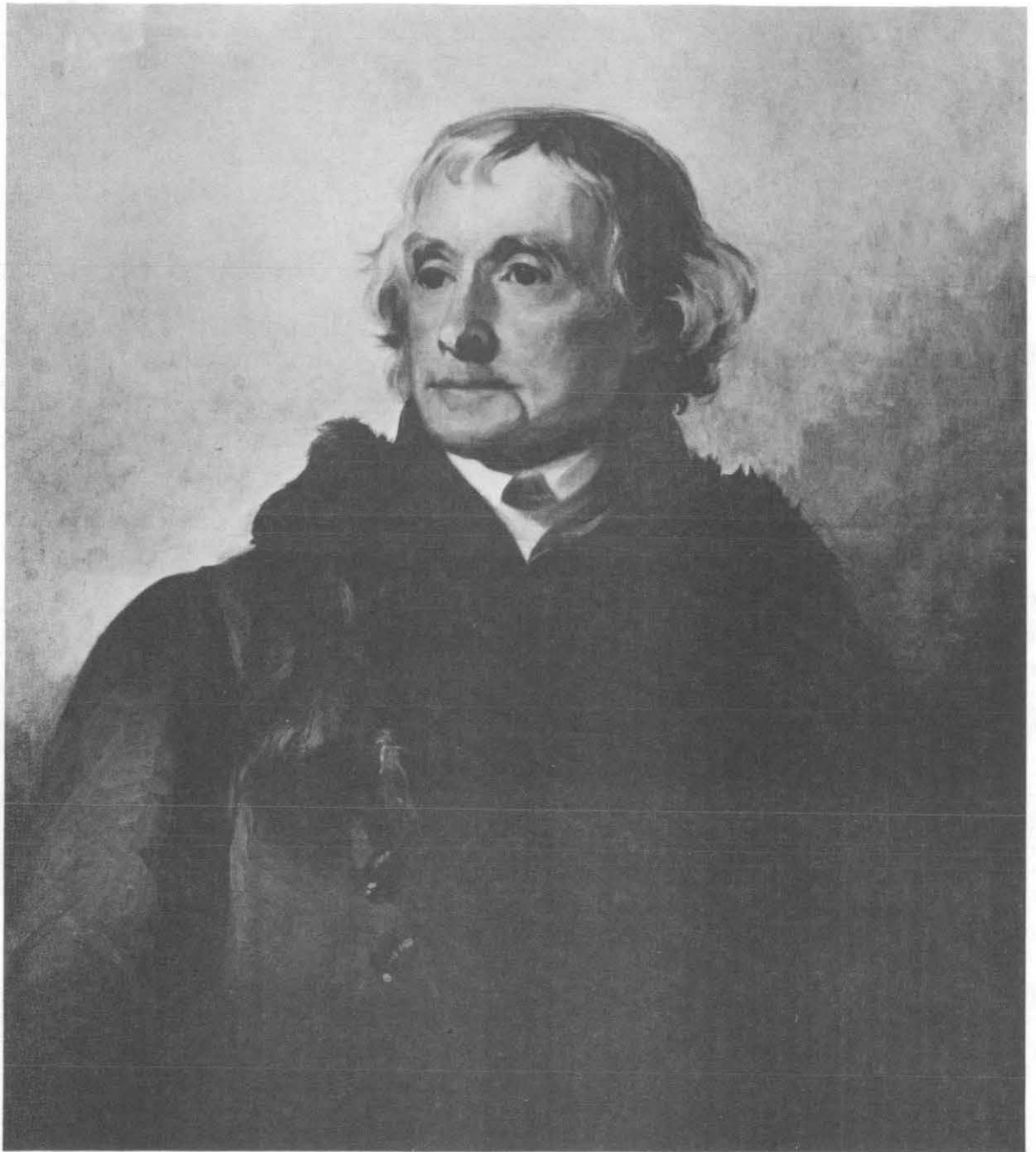
Courtesy of the West Point Museum Collections, New York.

West Point Accession #2098.



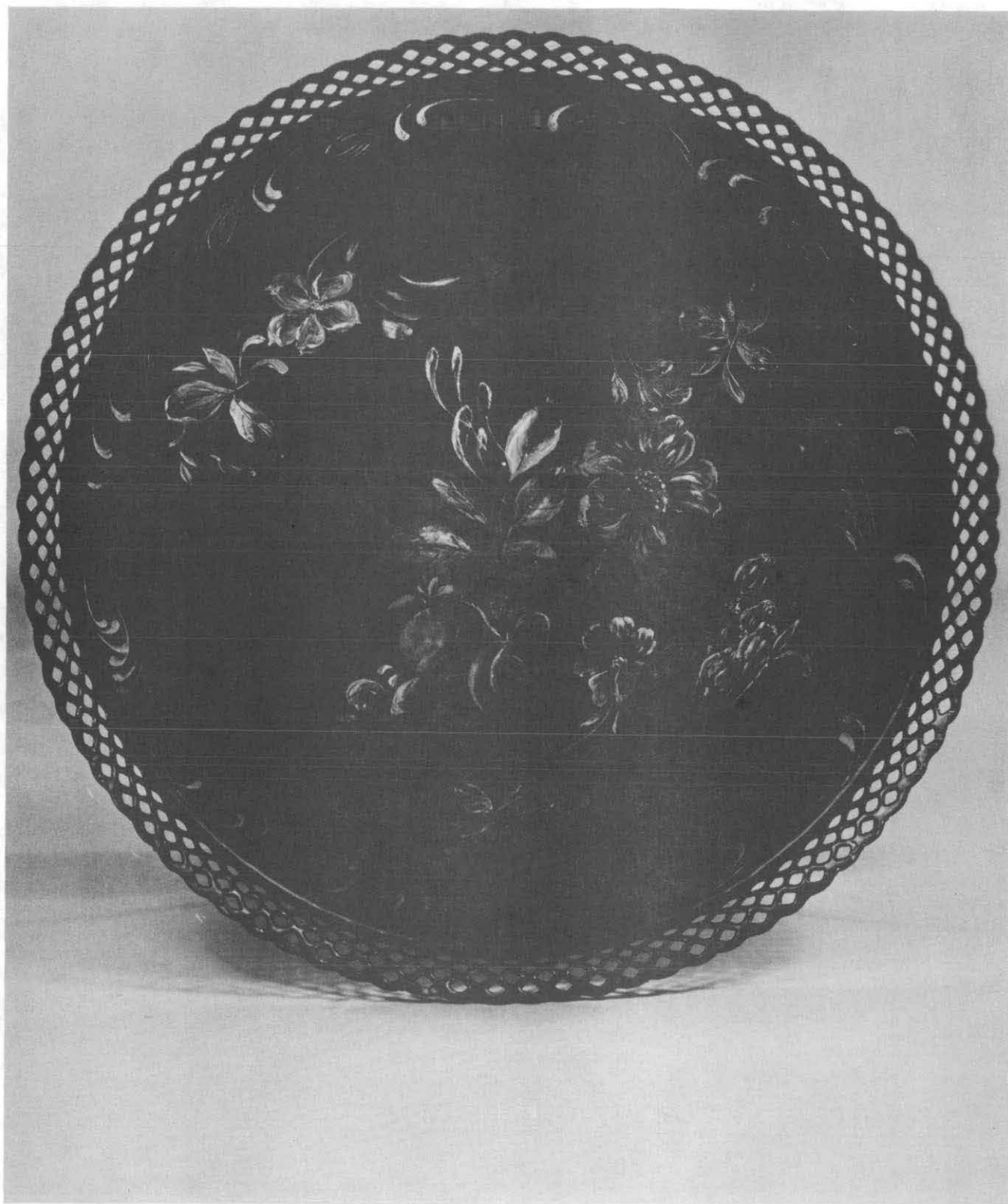
Combination ceremonial metal peace pipe-tomihawk with silver inlay on a Tiger maple shaft. American reproduction, c. 1930. The Little Turtel (turtle), a Miami Indian chief visited Kosciuszko in 1798. He brought Kosciuszko a tomihawk, a kind of small hatchet made by the English. Kosciuszko gave him in return a sleeveless cloak. Little Turtle noticed a pair of spectacles and appeared to be taken by them. Nothing could equal his joy when Kosciuszko made him a present of them.

INHP negative #11055. INHP catalogue #11107, tomihawk; no number, brass eyeglasses.



"Thomas Jefferson," by Thomas Sully. Oil on canvas. Philadelphia, c. 1800. There is a tradition that the sable fur attached to the coat in this painting was given to Jefferson by Thaddeus Kosciuszko.

Courtesy of The American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, PA. Do not reproduce without permission.



A Ponty Pool Round Tray (dia. 12"). English, c. 1790-1810. Listed in John Barnes' 1798 American inventory of Kosciuszko's belongings is "... 1 large 12 Inch - Japan Tea waiter...."

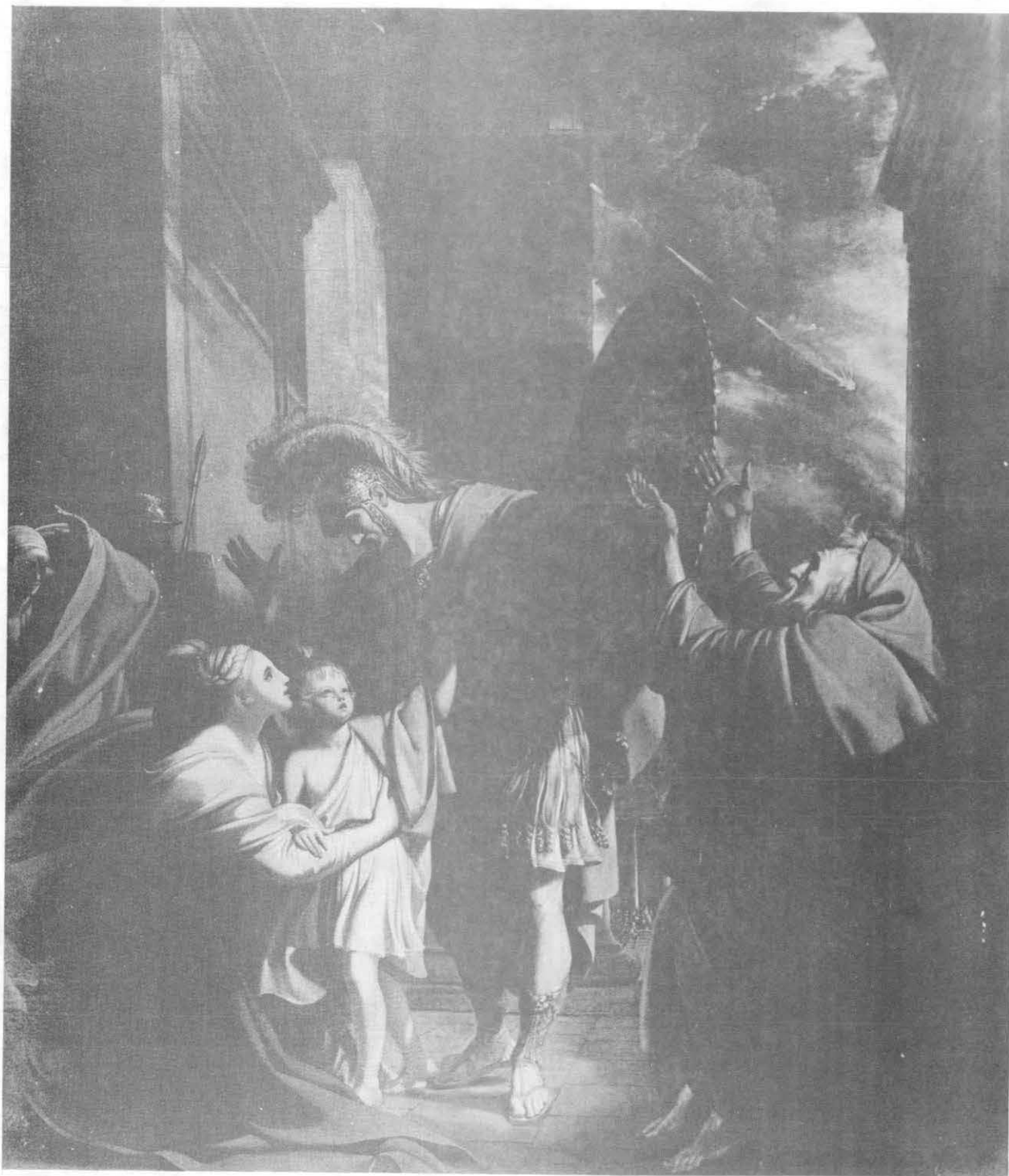
INHP negative #11053. INHP catalogue #10992.

"HECTOR BIDDING FAREWELL TO ANDROMACHE"



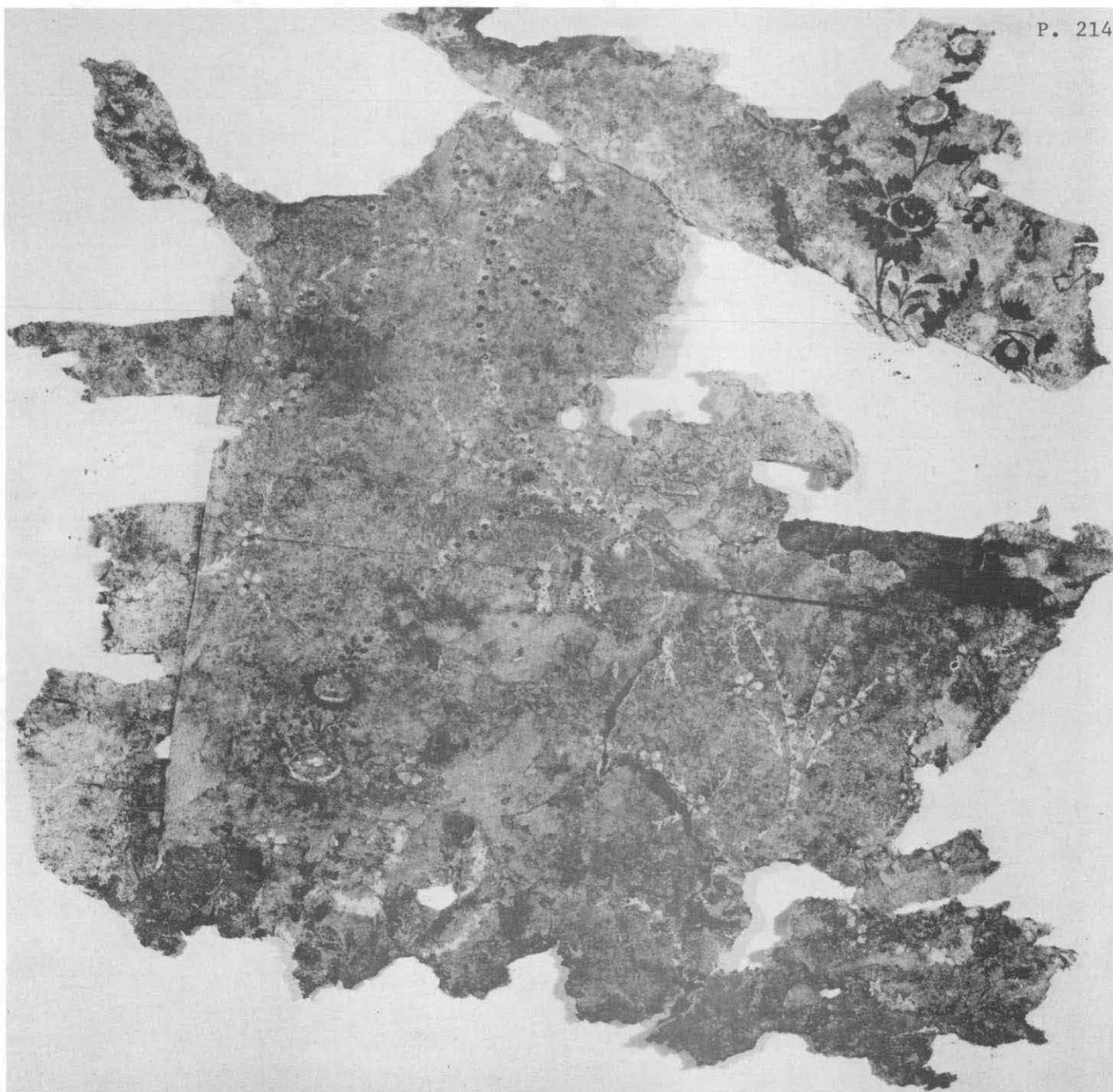
Executed by Benjamin West, (1738-1820), especially for General Kosciuszko. Inscribed by West, in the upper left corner, "From Benj.n West Esq./to/Gen.l Kosciuszko/London June 10th/1797." Sepia pen and ink drawing, blue and tan gouache, on tan laid rag paper, 31.8 cm. X 46.0 cm. This drawing was first given to Kosciuszko by West. Kosciuszko made a gift of the drawing to Vice President Thomas Jefferson, sometime during the Spring of 1798. The drawing appeared in an inventory of Jefferson's household furnishings completed before December 1814. After Jefferson's death, on July 4th 1826, the drawing disappeared and did not resurface until 1981. Photograph courtesy of Herschl and Adler Galleries, New York City. The drawing is now owned by the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu, CA., accession number: 84.66.722.

Independence National Historical Park photograph negative number: 12,512.



"Hector Parting With His Wife And Child At The Scaen Gate," by Benjamin West. Oil on canvas. London, 1771. This painting is probably associated with a lost pen & ink drawing done by West, entitled "Hector's Departure." West presented the drawing to Kosciuszko in the spring of 1797, who in turn gave the drawing to Thomas Jefferson. Benjamin West's artistic reputation in America made the drawing a highly prized possession which Kosciuszko would have most likely displayed for all to see.

INHP negative #11193. Courtesy of the New York Historical Society, New York, N.Y. Do not reproduce without permission.



Wallpaper, possibly American, late 18th century. This fragment was uncovered in the adjoining twin structure of what is now a part of the Thaddeus Kosciuszko National Memorial. Smaller, but unidentifiable, fragments of 18th century wallpaper were also found in the area of the Kosciuszko bedchamber. Printed on laid rag paper and applied in block sections, the above fragment is similar to a vine pattern wallpaper produced in 1794 by William Poyntell of Philadelphia. Interestingly, Poyntell was paid during the 1790's for work he did at the property of William Allison (owner of what is today the Kosciuszko House). A reproduction of the 1794 Poyntell wallpaper in the "Imlay Room" at the Henry Francis DuPont Winterthur Museum in Delaware was selected to be used as the wallpaper for the Kosciuszko bedchamber.

EXECUTIVE CORRESPONDENCE

P. 215



THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR
WASHINGTON

UNIT CITATION

INDEPENDENCE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK

in recognition of outstanding service in the successful planning and completion of numerous commemorations, dedications, and ceremonies surrounding the 200th birthday of the United States, as well as the conveyance of the National Park Service role in our Nation's heritage to millions of Americans and foreign visitors.

During the period December 15, 1975 - September 6, 1976, the permanent and long-term temporary staff of Independence National Historical Park has, through extra effort and dedication of purpose, well represented the Service, the Department and the Nation with its Bicentennial program. These efforts have included the completion and opening of the Liberty Bell Pavilion, Thaddeus Kosciuszko National Memorial. The Park has been the focal point of the Bicentennial for millions of national and international visitors including: President and Mrs. Ford, Prime Minister of Sweden, the President of France, the Queen of England, Prime Minister of West Germany, Crown Prince of Norway, Prince and Princess of Monaco and many Cabinet members, Governors, Congressmen, Senators and Ambassadors. All of this has been done with great enthusiasm and quality, and has been favorably reported in the news media around the world. The confidence that others have shown in the Independence National Historical Park operation is reflected in the assistance provided the Park by many patriotic, civic, cooperating and corporate groups. In recognition of their outstanding performance to the celebration of our Bicentennial, the permanent and long-term temporary staff of Independence National Historical Park are hereby granted the Unit Award for Excellence of Service of the Department of the Interior.

Thomas S. Kleppe

Secretary of the Interior

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