

ILLUSTRATIONS

Following page 366

MARIA COSWAY

Illustrated here is the last known portrait of Maria Hadfield Cosway. The stipple engraving, measuring approximately $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches high by $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches wide, was produced for use in *Public Characters of 1805* (London, 1805), published by Richard Phillips. Phillips profiled 31 persons of distinction in the volume, three of whom were women. He included four plates, each engraved with two portraits, all of them men except for Cosway, whose likeness shares an unnumbered leaf following page 176 with that of journalist Edward Topham. Phillips wrote in the preface to his 1823 compilation of *Public Characters* that the portraits he provided of “illustrious foreigners” could be considered “as fac similes of their most approved likenesses,” but that portraits of his English subjects “are neither so numerous, nor so recent” because of copyright laws. At the time of publication, Cosway was in her mid-40s and living in Paris. Her likeness was taken from an early self-portrait, now available as an art reproduction in the collection of Leeds Museums and Galleries, and one of three such works exhibited by Cosway at the Royal Academy in the 1780s. In the original portrait, Cosway showed herself turned slightly to the left but looking forward, her abundant hair hatless, her bodice draped in a puffed neckerchief, and no jewelry. The book engraver made a number of modifications. He constrained Cosway’s hair under a turban, simplified her bodice, and turned her eyes away from the viewer. The wearing of a cross, although not a feature in the original, can be seen in *Mrs. Cosway*, another self-portrait from the 1780s (Stephen Lloyd, “Maria Cosway,” *Concise Dictionary of Women Artists*, ed. Delia Gaze [New York, 2011], 264, 266; Richard Phillips, *Public Characters of All Nations; Consisting of Biographical Accounts of Nearly Three Thousand Eminent Contemporaries, Alphabetically Arranged*, 3 vols. [London, 1823], 1:ix; Cosway to TJ, 20 Oct. 1805).

Courtesy of the Trustees of The British Museum.

POPLAR FOREST PLAT: EPPEs ALLOTMENT

These two images are details from a plat of Jefferson’s Poplar Forest plantation in Bedford County. Jefferson’s father-in-law, John Wayles, purchased the bulk of the property in 1764 and subsequently added smaller, contiguous plots, such as those of 380 and 183 acres that he purchased from John Robertson (or Robinson) and that are shown in this detail. Jefferson probably copied the plat from a survey by William Callaway, the county surveyor, and subsequently refined it with information useful to him. Jefferson’s and Callaway’s plats display many of the same details, such as labeling the southeastern part of the property totaling 800 acres—subdivided into two plots only on Jefferson’s version—“Late survey (1770)” and the road running through that section as “Richard Callaways or Water Lick Road” (visible in this detail). After Martha Wayles Jefferson inherited the property in 1773 Jefferson made a brief visit, but during the next 20 years he was only able to return twice, a

ILLUSTRATIONS

longer stay forced by the British invasion in 1781 and a shorter trip in 1800. Whenever he obtained Callaway's survey, Jefferson made the plat his own.

Not shown in these details are plots of 1,000 acres and 450 acres designated to Thomas Mann Randolph, the first being Jefferson's dowry upon Randolph's marriage to Martha Jefferson in 1790 and the second being a gift of land that Jefferson devised to his son-in-law in 1801. Simultaneous to this second gift, Jefferson promised a plot of land to John Wayles Eppes on the eastern end of the estate. In March 1805, Eppes asked about the status of this plot, and after reviewing his papers, Jefferson informed him that he was re-drawing the lines so as to make the plot more convenient for the two of them. The new line would now give Eppes some 1,137½ acres, about 200 more than originally plotted. During his visit to Poplar Forest in July of that year, Jefferson must have refined these new lines, and he evidently noted a finalized arrangement on the plat on 13 Sep., when he added a notation to the plat labeling the allotment of 1,120 acres "for the occupation of J. W. Eppes." This detail is oriented with east at the top, based on the cardinal points that Jefferson drew on the plat (MS of Callaway survey in CSmH; S. Allen Chambers, Jr., *Poplar Forest and Thomas Jefferson* [Forest, Va., 1993], 4-5, 8-10, 21, 24-6, 31; Betts, *Farm Book*, pt. 1, 32, 127; Nichols, *Architectural Drawings*, Nos. 266 and 545; Vol. 35:414-15, 418-20; Vol. 46:102-4, 462-3).

POPLAR FOREST PLAT: MANSION HOUSE AREA

From the time Jefferson gained control over Poplar Forest, it was a hive of agricultural activity. Along with the land, Martha Wayles Jefferson inherited the labor of enslaved persons, who raised tobacco there. Whatever his stated aversion to the crop, Jefferson continued pushing its cultivation and moved many other enslaved workers to Poplar Forest. The detail of his survey plat illustrated here indicates the economic utility of the land. Jefferson marked off many of the fields, some of which lay next to the branches of Tomahawk Creek, which flowed through the plantation, and likely consisted of richer bottom land. Near the bottom middle of the detail, Jefferson reinforced with a second label the location of the "Prise barn," where cured tobacco leaves would have been prepared for sale. By the end of his presidency, Jefferson introduced a more diversified strategy for these fields, which comprised a significant portion of what became known as the Tomahawk quarter farm, but tobacco remained central to the plantation as a whole. In the detail illustrated here is a section marking off 45 acres surrounding a "Mansion house" (the label is almost upside down in this orientation). That feature appears on Callaway's survey, but what structure may have been there when Jefferson began his development of Poplar Forest, if any, is not known. By 1805, Jefferson had finished his innovative octagonal design for his house, and it was during the summer that he sent the brickmason Hugh Chisholm to begin working there. Among the reasons for Jefferson's summer visit may have been a final determination of the site for what became his second home. He did choose the site where the mansion plot is located on the plat, but at some point may have contemplated a different location, indicated on the plat as a "fine situation for a house being on the main ridge." This detail is oriented with north at the top. The full plat is 19¼ inches by 15 inches in size, drawn to a scale, as Jefferson noted, of 100 poles to the inch. It is in Jefferson

ILLUSTRATIONS

Family Correspondence, Jefferson Architectural Drawings, N-545 (Eric Proebstring, “Life and Landscape at the Foot of the Blue Ridge Mountains,” in Barbara J. Heath and Jack Gary, eds., *Jefferson’s Poplar Forest: Unearthing a Virginia Plantation* [Gainesville, Fla., 2012], 49-57; Chambers, *Poplar Forest*, 31-2, 72; MB, 2:1163; TJ to Bowling Clark, 24 July).

Courtesy of Peter Coolidge and the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, University of Virginia.

WILLIAM EATON

Prior to 1805, William Eaton had acquired modest renown as an army officer during the 1790s and as the controversial former U.S. consul at Tunis. In both of these roles, his acknowledged energy and talents had been offset by his arrogance, impulsiveness, and ambition. These conflicting character traits came together most famously in his legendary expedition across North Africa in early 1805 and subsequent capture of the port city of Derna on 27 April. The campaign was the culmination of Eaton’s long-cultivated scheme to overthrow Yusuf Qaramanli and reinstate Ahmad (Yusuf’s deposed elder brother) as pasha of Tripoli. Dubious of Ahmad’s influence and abilities, the Jefferson administration gave slight credence to the plan, but nevertheless returned Eaton to the Mediterranean as “navy agent” to facilitate any potential collaboration between Ahmad and U.S. naval forces. Eaton, however, exceeded this modest authority by entering into a “convention” with Ahmad on 23 Feb. that committed the United States—both diplomatically and financially—to the restoration of Ahmad as pasha of Tripoli and secured for himself recognition as general and commander in chief of Ahmad’s forces. When news of the fall of Derna reached the United States in late summer, “General” Eaton became a national hero and his return to the United States in November was widely celebrated. The adoration would be short-lived, however. Eaton bitterly opposed the treaty with Tripoli negotiated by U.S. consul general Tobias Lear that allowed Yusuf to retain his throne. Jefferson subsequently refused to sanction the promises that Eaton made to Ahmad in his convention, disclaiming them as “entirely unauthorised.” These and later events would lead Eaton into an intemperate and alcoholic spiral that tarnished his heroic image and culminated with his death in 1811 (ANB; NDBW, 5:367-9; Vol. 40:647-50; Vol. 42:384-92, 428-30; Vol. 43:80; Vol. 46:xliv-xlv; Ahmad Qaramanli to TJ, 5 Aug., 1 Sep. 1805; TJ to Madison, 7 Aug., 22 Nov. 1805; TJ to the Senate, 13 Jan. 1806; TJ to the Senate and the House of Representatives, 13 Jan. 1806).

Rembrandt Peale’s oil on canvas portrait of Eaton, painted ca. 1807, captures the “general” at the height of his fame, dressed in elegant military attire that recalled his days of glory on the North African coast. It measures 23 inches by 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches (Lillian B. Miller, *In Pursuit of Fame: Rembrandt Peale, 1778-1860* [Washington, D.C., 1992], 256-7).

Courtesy of the Maryland State Archives.

TOBIAS LEAR

This profile of Tobias Lear was created in 1869 by Henry Bryan Hall, an English engraver whose 34-year career in New York produced numerous

ILLUSTRATIONS

illustrations for major publishing houses, along with many private commissions. The engraving of Lear was part of a series of colonial and revolutionary portraits commissioned from Hall by New York physician Thomas Addis Emmet. In 1889, Emmet presented the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association with 50 of those engravings, predominantly of military figures, and he followed up the next year with the engraving of Tobias Lear. Of the gifts, Emmet wrote that the engravings were not only of historical significance, they were commissioned "as 'private' or 'club portraits,' of which there were very few impressions issued before the plate was destroyed." Hall copied his profile of Lear from a pastel portrait that was completed by either James or Ellen Sharples, circa 1800. The Sharples pastel, which remains in a private collection, measures $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches high by $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches wide. The Hall engraving is ink on paper and identical to the Sharples portrait except for a shortened bust. The plate measures $8\frac{3}{8}$ inches high by $5\frac{3}{8}$ inches wide, with mounted dimensions of $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches high by $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide. At the base of the engraving is written "Etch'd by H. B. Hall NY 1869" (*New York Times*, 28 Apr. 1884; Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union, *Annual Report* [1889], 28-30; same, [1890], 18; Massachusetts Historical Records Survey, *American Portrait Inventory: American Portraits (1645-1850) Found in the State of Maine (Preliminary Volume)* [Boston, 1941], 34).

Courtesy of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association.

WILLIAM ARMISTEAD BURWELL

This portrait by Charles Balthazar Julien Févret de Saint-Mémin depicts William Armistead Burwell in 1806, likely as Burwell was first taking his seat to fill an unexpired term in the Ninth Congress. Prior to his run for Congress, Burwell served on and off as Jefferson's private secretary. Bouts with illness and service in the Virginia House of Delegates kept Burwell away from Washington for long periods, but even when absent from Washington, Burwell proved useful to the president. During the time of this volume, Burwell continued to help Jefferson rebut renewed attacks on his conduct as governor of Virginia during the British invasion of the state in the winter of 1780-1781. Burwell solicited letters, affidavits, and depositions from eyewitnesses to the events and, while in Richmond, transcribed letters that Jefferson had written as wartime governor to Samuel Huntington, the president of Congress. The collected documents informed Burwell's six-part "Vindication of Mr. Jefferson," which was published in the *Richmond Enquirer* in August and September and reprinted widely. By liberally quoting his collected material, Burwell hoped to show "how feeble and how contemptible, mere empty and unsupported assertions appear when put into competition with express and respectable testimony!" The circular engraving, executed by Saint-Mémin through use of a physiognotrace, measures about $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter (*Richmond Enquirer*, 30 Aug.; Ellen G. Miles, *Saint-Mémin and the Neoclassical Profile Portrait in America* [Washington, D.C., 1994], 134, 140, 259; Gerald W. Gawalt, "'Strict Truth': The Narrative of William Armistead Burwell," *VMHB*, 101 [1993], 103-32; TJ to Robert Smith, 1 July; Burwell to TJ, 15 Sep. and 26 Dec.).

Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution.

ILLUSTRATIONS

POST BOY CUP

In the fall of 1805, Charles Carnan Ridgely was awarded this intricately carved trophy after the victory of his racehorse, Post Boy, in an event hosted by the Washington City Jockey Club. The prize was described as a 50-guinea silver cup, and ten entries competed in a four-mile race for the award. The prestigious Washington races were popular events across social lines in the city. Jefferson's financial records indicate that he attended all three days of the 1805 races, 29-31 Oct.

Post Boy, a bay colt born in 1800, was sired by Gabriel, a stallion imported from England by John Tayloe III in 1799. Like Tayloe, Ridgely was an avid participant in the booming thoroughbred breeding and racing program in the Mid-Atlantic. Early thoroughbred racehorses were bred from crossing American quarter horses (descended from the Irish hobby horse) with imported stallions from the Middle East. With the introduction of thoroughbreds, the scale of American racing grew, and short, straight races expanded to longer circuits of one or more miles. While profit could be made directly through racing, the cachet of a victorious horse enabled owners to charge stud fees and sell high-value race horses and their offspring. Ridgely purchased Post Boy from Tayloe in 1803 after the colt had his first racing victory in Baltimore. The horse has been described as "unbeaten" through his career, which lasted from 1803 to 1809 with races in Washington and Maryland. In his final race in 1809 in Washington, Post Boy broke a leg and died a few days later.

The trophy was manufactured in 1805 at the Philadelphia shop of silversmith Samuel Williamson. It was one of four trophies that Williamson supplied for the jockey club. Ridgely's horses won three of the four prizes; Post Boy won in 1804 and 1805, while Ridgely's Maid of the Oaks took home the cup in 1806. The 1805 cup, which is approximately 20 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, carries an image of a horse and jockey and Post Boy's name among the engravings. It is in three parts: a small cap with a horse head, a domed lid that can be inverted to serve as a punch bowl, and a double-handled cup base. It is now held in the collections of Hampton National Historic Site (Lynne Dakin Hastings, "A Sure Bet: Thoroughbreds at Hampton," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 89 [1994], 29-31; Ann Milkovich McKee, *Hampton National Historic Site* [Charleston, S.C., 2007], 19; Kenneth Cohen, "Well Calculated for the Farmer: Thoroughbreds in the Early National Chesapeake, 1790-1850," *VMHB*, 115 [2007], 372-3, 377-8; Rachel E. C. Layton, "Samuel Williamson's Presentation Silver: Important New Discoveries," *Silver*, 25 [1992], 8-13; *American Turf Register and Sporting Magazine*, 1 [1830], 164, 589-90; *National Intelligencer*, 16 Sep. 1805; MB, 2:1165; Vol. 41:xlx-xlvi).

Courtesy of Hampton National Historic Site, National Park Service.

WILLIAM MCINTOSH

This striking portrait of the Lower Creek leader William McIntosh, also known as Tustunnuggee Hutkee, exemplifies the success McIntosh achieved through his pursuit of a partial acculturation to Anglo-American practices. Having commissioned the painting in 1821, McIntosh doubtless would have directed the image he wanted to project. The portrait shows him wearing

ILLUSTRATIONS

moccasins and colorful breeches that, like his cloak, display Creek textile patterns. Beneath the cloak, however, McIntosh wears a waistcoat, shirt, and cravat. He is shown with a mustache, cropped hair, and sideburns, the latter two being typical styles for white men of the early national era. Standing in the foreground of a dramatic natural scene that was likely a representation of his Indian Springs property, McIntosh displays his power and success. Such a combination of Creek and Anglo-American motifs fits well McIntosh's own mixed heritage and his career as a Lower Creek chief. As a young man, he established his leadership role during a visit by several Lower Creeks to Washington, where he served as speaker during treaty negotiations. Jefferson's welcome to the delegation and McIntosh's response are printed in this volume. By the time he commissioned this painting, McIntosh had leveraged his connections to U.S. agents and his military cooperation with U.S. forces to cement his leadership on the Creek national council and to acquire substantial wealth. He owned taverns, ferries, an inn, plantations, and about 100 enslaved persons. His power began to wane, however, after 1821. He was deposed as speaker for the Lower Creek towns, and after he signed a land cession treaty in 1825 in defiance of a tribal law, Creek opponents had him killed (Naomi Slipp, "Traversing Two Cultures: A Portrait of William McIntosh, Southern Slave Owner and Lower Creek Chief," *Panorama: Journal of the Association of Historians of American Art*, 6 [2020], <https://doi.org/10.24926/24716839.10640>, accessed 13 June 2022; Benjamin W. Griffith, Jr., *McIntosh and Weatherford, Creek Indian Leaders* [Tuscaloosa, Ala., 1988], 225-31, 237-8, 249-50; TJ to William McIntosh, Alexander Cornells, and Others, 2 Nov. 1805; William McIntosh, Alexander Cornells, and Others to TJ, 3 Nov. 1805).

The oil-on-canvas portrait, which measures 100 by 54 inches, was done by Nathan Negus, a young New England painter then working in the South with his brother Joseph, who may have assisted him with the painting. Negus had apprenticed to a portrait painter in Boston and enjoyed some initial success securing commissions for portraits in Massachusetts. He joined his brother in Savannah near the end of 1820. Having chosen Eatonton, Georgia, as a temporary base for their operations, the brothers painted signs, standards, theatrical scenery, and portraits. In April and July of 1821, they traveled to Creek country, where Nathan Negus completed his portrait of McIntosh. Negus was plagued by bad health, but he continued to work as a painter until his death in 1825. McIntosh displayed the portrait at Coweta, the Lower Creek town where he was chief and where travelers on the main postal road frequently stopped (Caroline F. Sloat, ed., *Meet Your Neighbors: New England Portraits, Painters, & Society, 1790-1850* [Sturbridge, Mass., 1992], 114-18; Slipp, "Traversing Two Cultures").

Courtesy of the Alabama Department of Archives and History.