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Everett House

Skip Moskey, Caroline Mesrobian Hickman, John Edward Hasse

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ABOUT THE AUTHORS



Skip Moskey is an historical researcher who writes and speaks on Washington's Gilded Age (1865-1929). He is also writing a full-length biography of Larz and Isabel Anderson, one of Washington's most elite socialite couples who lived in Washington between 1898 and 1937. He holds a Ph.D. in linguistics and modern European languages from Georgetown University.



Caroline Mesrobian Hickman, an art and architectural historian who received her Ph.D. from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, has over 30 years of experience researching and publishing on Washington architecture and 20th century American art. She is working on a book about her paternal grandfather, Mihran Mesrobian, who served as an architect in the imperial palace in Istanbul and in Izmir before immigrating to Washington to become one of the city's leading designers during the 1920s.

John Edward Hasse is an author, pianist, museum curator, and lecturer. Since 1984, he has served as Curator of American Music at the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of American History, where he founded the Smithsonian Jazz Masterworks Orchestra and Jazz Appreciation Month, now celebrated in all 50 states and in 40 countries. He is the author of *Beyond Category: The Life and Genius of Duke Ellington*, the editor of *Jazz: The First Century*, co-author of *Discover Jazz*, and the co-producer/co-author of the *Jazz: The Smithsonian Anthology*. He has earned a doctorate, an honorary doctorate, and two Grammy Award nominations. A contributor to *The Wall Street Journal* and eight encyclopedias, Hasse has frequently worked with the State Department and has lectured on jazz and American music in 20 countries.

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Caroline Mesrobian Hickman – Few houses in Washington possess as rich and multifaceted history as the Turkish Ambassador's Residence, about which there is so little published. I have greatly benefited from the expertise and generosity of numerous individuals regarding the architecture, art, and diplomatic history of the house. Foremost, I thank my co-author Skip Moskey, whose resourcefulness and insights have immeasurably enriched my research. I am indebted to Mine Özgül and Sevtap Eyyubi, attachés, Embassy of the Republic of Turkey, Washington, D.C., who graciously facilitated my research at every turn. Onur Bayramoglu, GPOT, Istanbul Kültür University, gladly fielded many questions and requests to contact Turkish scholars and the descendants of Turkish ambassadors who

served in Washington during the 1930s and early 1940s.

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To all these fine people, I bow deeply with gratitude.

AUTHORS' NOTE

The Turkish Ambassador's Residence is one of many grand examples of early 20th century architecture in Washington that now serve foreign governments. Built as the winter residence of Edward H. Everett, an Ohio industrialist who sought to enter society in the nation's capital, it assumed its new purpose in the 1930s as the embassy and ambassador's residence of the recently founded Republic of Turkey. The building speaks to the cultural, social, and political history of the national capital and those who put their stamp on the city's built environment.

When Mensur Akgün and Sylvia Tiryaki, directors of the Global Political Trends Center, Istanbul Kültür University, asked us to contribute chapters on the history of the house, we already knew something of its extraordinary heritage. The imposing presence on Sheridan Circle, distinguished by equally opulent interior spaces, has witnessed nearly a century of events critical to the development of Washington's social and cultural history and Turkish-American relations. What we discovered about its commissioner, E. H. Everett, and architect, George Oakley Totten; world-class artwork and meticulous restoration; role in smashing Washington's racial barriers as the site of the Ertegun brothers' jazz sessions, make for exceptionally heady reading.

Part of our charge and challenge was to make a critical assessment of the literature on and oral history of the house. The following chapters question and refute many accepted and frequently repeated "facts" about the building and the individuals associated with it. In numerous instances, our findings break new ground.

We offer this as a model for future studies on the grand houses and other historic buildings of Washington that have similar multifaceted histories. Electronic databases that facilitate access to a wide selection of primary sources have given new dimensions to our research. Yet as each year passes, the descendents of the men and women who were integral to the history of these buildings themselves pass into history. We urge the stewards of these historic buildings of Washington to discover their own legacies. Our thanks to Istanbul Kültür University for entrusting us with the opportunity to document and tell the rich history of this extraordinary building.

Skip Moskey, Caroline Mesrobian Hickman, John Edward Hasse

May 2012

FOREWORD BY JAMES M. GOODE

The preservation of a fine collection of Beaux-Arts mansions in Washington, D.C. can be credited in large part to their purchase and maintenance over the years by foreign governments for their embassies and ambassadorial residences. One of the most architecturally important examples is the mansion built by the Ohio-industrialist Edward Hamlin Everett (1851-1929), designed by George Oakley Totten, Jr., and built between 1910 and 1915 on Sheridan Circle. During the Great Depression, Everett's widow sold the house, fully furnished, to the Turkish government for their embassy and residence. Fortunately, the Turkish government has carefully maintained this landmark for the past eighty years. Between 2001 and 2007, they undertook the restoration of the house and its contents, guided by the interior designer Aniko Gaal Schott and the architect Belinda Reeder. Since 1999, when the new Turkish chancery opened four blocks north on Massachusetts Avenue, the building has been solely used as the ambassador's residence. To celebrate this restoration and to record the history of the house in depth, Istanbul Kültür University commissioned three local scholars, Skip Moskey, Caroline Mesrobian Hickman, and John Edward Hasse, to prepare this book. The current residents, Ambassador and Mrs. Namik Tan, initiated the idea for this publication.

The first chapter, by Skip Moskey, on the intersection of politics, architecture, and social structure in the early history of Washington, shows how the city evolved from its primitive beginnings in 1800 to its late 19th century status as the nation's winter Newport. The city took on more importance at the conclusion of the Spanish American War in 1898, when the United States was recognized as a world power. His subsequent chapter on Edward Hamlin Everett draws on materials from archives in the United States and Europe and presents a new and fuller understanding of Everett's life. Many long-held assumptions about Everett will change as a consequence of Dr. Moskey's meticulous research.

New information on the career of the architect of the Everett mansion, George Oakley

Totten, Jr., and the interior decoration of the house has been supplied by Caroline Mesrobian Hickman. Searching through diplomatic records in the National Archives, she discovered correspondence between Totten and the U.S. State Department that explains in detail the architect's work in Istanbul and reveals his vision for modernizing that ancient metropolis. Her chapter also discusses Totten's innovative ideas and elegant designs for the Everett mansion, recognizing this structure as one of the most significant undertakings of his architectural career. Dr. Hickman's painstaking research on the rich interior decoration of the house documents and puts into art-historical perspective many features, especially the two monumental Italian Renaissance paintings by Alessandro Allori, the conservatory's decoration by Tiffany Studios, and the handsome late Ottoman silk wall panels, recently restored, in the ballroom.

An important chapter in the history of the house was the decade between 1934 and 1944, when the sons of Ambassador and Mrs. Mehmet Munir Ertegun, Ahmet and Neshui, brought noted African-American musicians home for jazz sessions in the Embassy. There they broke racial barriers and enriched Washington's music scene through their passion for African-American music. John Edward Hasse documents the musical history of the Ertegun brothers, who would greatly impact American music. In 1947, Ahmet co-founded Atlantic Records, a label that would eventually become one of the most important forces in promoting African-American jazz, rhythm and blues, and soul music on the national music scene and moving it into American and international popular culture. Dr. Hasse's chapter describes how long after the Everetts were gone from the mansion, this singular building served as a venue for significant change in the cultural history of Washington and, eventually, the nation.

Everett House has long been a source of curiosity for those who viewed it from the outside, and a source of wonder for those lucky enough to have seen it from the inside. With the publication of this volume, historians and the general public will be able to more fully appreciate the importance of the house and the people who have been fortunate to call it home. Everett House has at last been fully documented and interpreted in a way that is fitting to its stature as one of the premier residences in the nation's capital.

James M. Goode, a noted authority on the history of Washington, D.C., is the author of *Capital Losses: A Cultural History of Washington's Destroyed Buildings*; *Best Addresses: A Century of Washington's Distinguished Apartment Houses*; and *Washington Sculpture: A Cultural History of Outdoor Sculpture in the Nation's Capital*. He is currently working on a new volume, *The Historic Homes of Washington, D.C.* Mr. Goode holds a Ph.D. in American Studies from The George Washington University.

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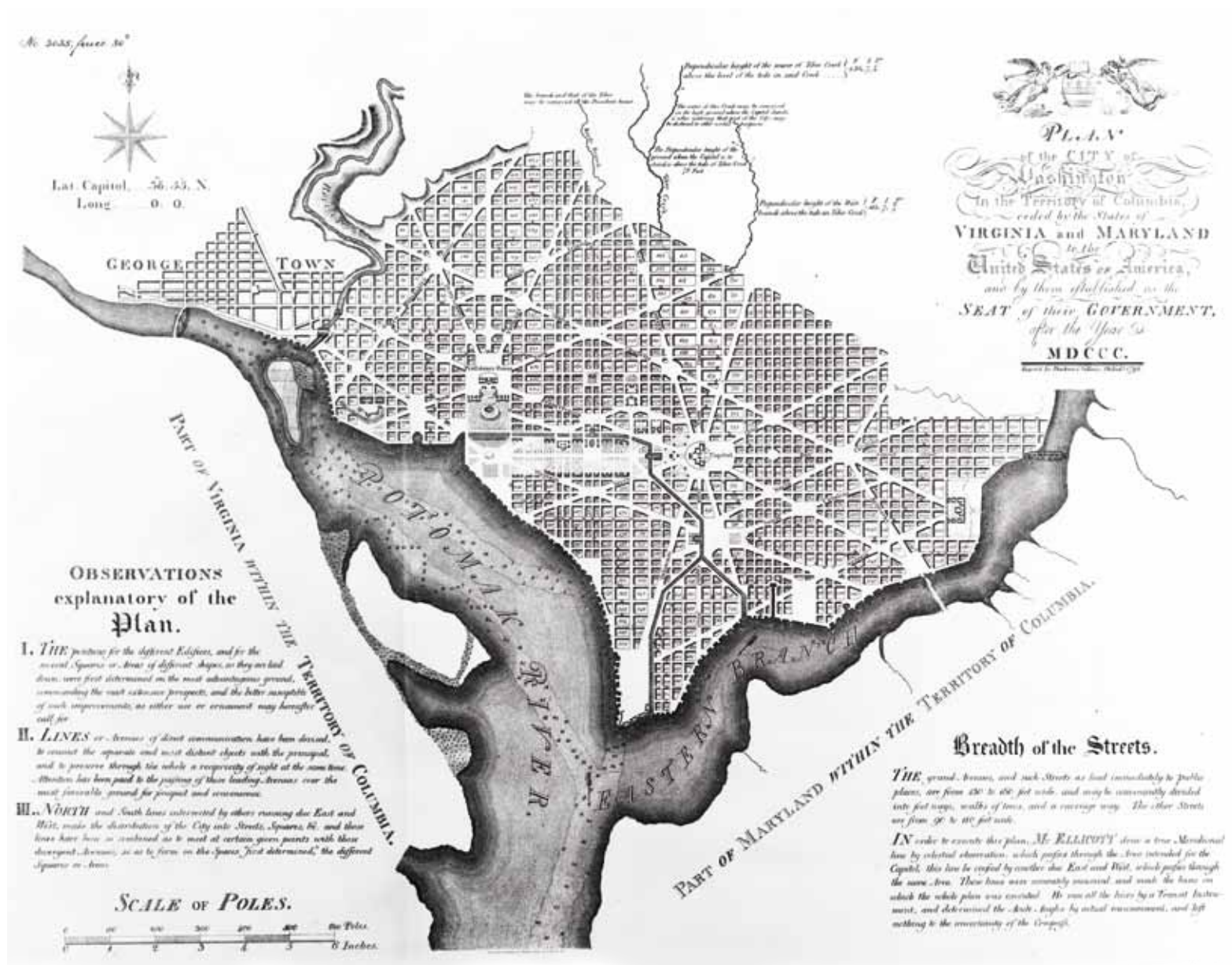


Figure 1. Peter L'Enfant's plan for the City of Washington, as modified and published by Andrew Ellicott in 1792. Many of the streets, avenues, and grand public spaces on his plan would not be built until the mid-19th century. (Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, Frederick Douglass Papers)

Mr. Everett's Washington

By Skip Moskey

A City is Born

In 1800, when President John Adams and the Congress transferred themselves from the old capital in Philadelphia to the new federal city authorized by an act of Congress, there was scant evidence of the city laid out by Peter L'Enfant in 1791. While L'Enfant's plan envisioned a city with grand intersecting avenues, public squares, and a large Mall, none of this was evident in 1800. Washington was barely more than several square miles of cleared woodland bordered by the Potomac River on the west and the Eastern Branch (now the Anacostia River) on the south. Few who saw it during its first decade believed that the city L'Enfant had planned for President George Washington would ever materialize.

The only government buildings of any consequence in 1800 when President Adams arrived were the unfinished sandstone Capitol rising from the top of Jenkins Hill (Capitol Hill) and a barely-habitable President's House (White House) at the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue. The avenue itself was little more than "a broad clearing studded with stumps and alder bushes."¹ The historian David McCullough described the city's disappointing appearance at the time the Adams arrived:

For all the talk, there was no city yet, only a rather shabby village and great stretches of tree stumps, stubble, and swamp. There were no schools, not a single church. Capitol Hill comprised a few stores, a few nondescript hotels and boardinghouses....²

There was, of course, local society that predated the president's arrival in Washington. A few wealthy landowners had built imposing and architecturally important homes before 1800. Daniel Carroll of Duddington built a Federal-style mansion in 1793 at what is now the intersection of F and Second Streets in the city's southeast quadrant. In 1798, Colonel John Tayloe started construction on his home, Octagon House, on what is now New York Avenue at 18th Street. In 1796, General John Mason, son of George Mason of Virginia, built an important country estate and home, Analostan, on what is now Theodore Roosevelt Island in the Potomac. The general's social

Everett House

standing was considerable: Thomas Jefferson, the Marquis de Lafayette, and Louis Phillipe d'Orléans, who would later be crowned King of the French, were guests at the island estate.³

Nearby Georgetown (founded in 1751) and Alexandria (1749), a few miles down the Potomac) also had developed a social scene of their own that predated the capital. While the populations of Georgetown and Alexandria (3,000 and 5,000 respectively) were not all that much bigger than Washington (also around 3,000 in 1800), these older towns “had the shops and societies of more settled communities.”⁴

With the arrival in November 1800 of the president and his first lady, Abigail Smith Adams, all eyes were on the handsome sandstone residence on Pennsylvania Avenue provided for the president by the American people. Naturally, the White House and its occupants set the standard for everything that was sociable and fashionable in the young city:



Figure 2. The early architecture of Washington. This late 19th century photograph shows the David Burnes Cottage, built ca. 1760 in area that is now occupied by Organization of American States building at 17th Street and Constitution Avenue, NW. The Burnes Cottage is a typical example of a one-and-a-half story simple wooden planter's houses that existed in the area before the arrival of Peter L'Enfant in 1791. Surprisingly, this building stood until 1894. The wooden fireplace mantel from the Burnes Cottage survives today in the collections of the Historical Society of Washington, DC. (Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, Frances Benjamin Johnston Collection)

A professional class was sputtering to life in the form of a handful of doctors and a few more lawyers and clergymen. Well-to-do mothers were ready to guide their marriageable daughters into the ambit of powerful young men of rising influence. Plans for a permanent theater were underway. Mrs. Adams and other arrivals could attend regular outdoor concerts, dancing assemblies, lectures on subjects ranging from botany to Masonic astronomy, and even one-night-only performances by the occasional trained animal.⁵

The city's first official social season was launched on January 1, 1801, when the President and Mrs. Adams gave a White House reception, establishing a custom of welcoming any and all visitors to greet the president and first lady on New Year's Day. This tradition would continue every year until 1933, when President Herbert Hoover ended it because the crowds had become unmanageable.

Throughout the 19th century and into the 20th, each successive president and first lady entertained in their own fashion and taste. "The members of each new administration looked to the Executive Mansion to set the tone of official society," wrote Kathryn Jacobs in her groundbreaking history of the city's social scene, *Capital Elites*. "If the President and his wife chose, they could lead society. If they abdicated this role...[others] were more than eager to fill the void."⁶

Social life during the first decades of the 19th century was complicated by the poor condition of the city's unpaved and unlit streets that made travelling even short distances odious on dark nights or in wet weather. One social observer of the late 19th century, writing about pre-Civil War Washington, described small pockets of social circles dotting the city in the vicinity of the Navy Yard, the Capitol, Foggy Bottom, and the White House, adding that "social entertainments were of rare occurrence and imposed upon the participants no small degree of inconvenience."⁷ There was another social scene in "far-away" Georgetown, a town separated from Washington by the deep chasm known as Rock Creek.⁸

Despite these challenges, social life in early Washington was not entirely unpleasant for residents and visitors alike. The *National Intelligencer*, a 19th century Washington newspaper, once said of the city's earliest years that the "inhabitants are social and hospitable, and respectable strangers, after the slightest introduction, are invited to dinner, tea, balls and evening parties."⁹



Figure 3. Early View of the Executive Mansion in 1801. General situation of the White House (building on the right) seen from what is now the National Mall, a year after President John Adams and First Lady Abigail Adams took up residence. This 1801 watercolor by J. Benford shows the White House as it was in that first year of the Adams' occupancy. The mansion was set in a bucolic country landscape that is now hard to imagine. Christie's auction house in New York called this "an image which reveres this new and important monument as a house in the country which is a living, working home and office for the American leader" when they handled its sale in 2002. (By kind permission, Albert Small Collection, Washington, DC)

A War Brings Growth to the City of Washington

Until the Civil War (1861-1865), Washington was a relatively small city overshadowed in size, population, economic importance, and cultural sophistication by Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. Even Chicago and Cincinnati, hubs of regional and national transportation, were larger and more important to the nation's economy.

Washington grew slowly during the first half of the 19th century and only reached 60,000 persons by the start of the Civil War. Then between 1860 and 1870 the population more than doubled to 131,700. In wartime, "people flocked to take advantage of the opportunities for profit, service and power which the war created in Washington," wrote the Civil War historian, Richard M. Lee. The city's soldier population might have contributed another 70,000 men to the headcount.¹⁰

The Civil War brought the city's importance as the center of government into sharp focus. The city served as Lincoln's war room and operations center, and government bureaucracy grew to deal with the complexities of the war. Following the surrender

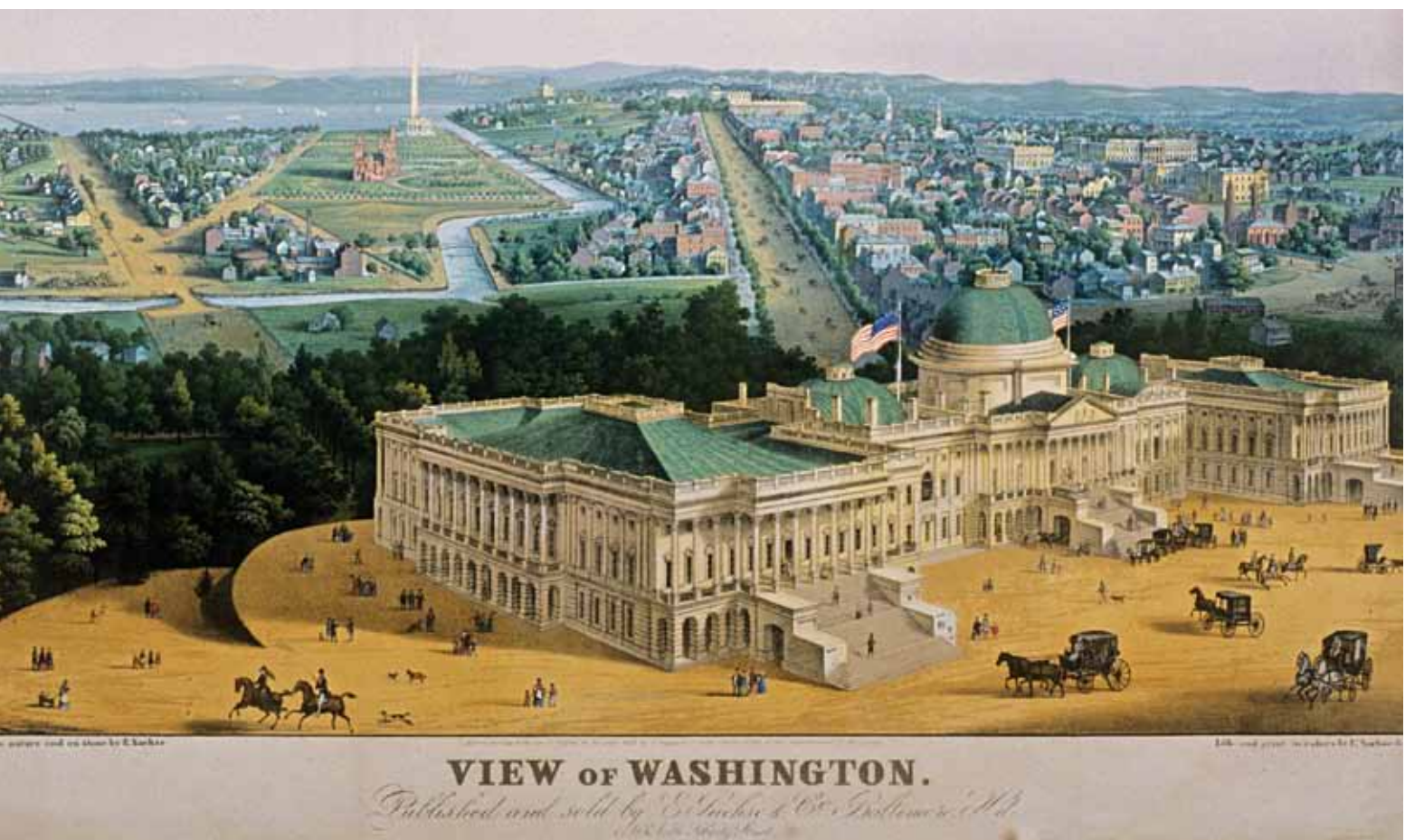


Figure 4. "View of Washington drawn from nature and on stone by E. Sachse" When this pre-Civil War view of Washington (ca. 1852) was made, the population of the city was around 51,000. In the foreground, the U.S. Capitol (before the new and more elegant dome was built). The White House is at the far end of the grand though unpaved Pennsylvania Avenue. Note how small the city seems surrounded by a vast countryside. The print shows the Washington Monument at the far end of the Mall in its original design. At the time of this print, the monument had not been completed, and would not be until 1884, and then without the round colonnade around its base shown here. (By kind permission, Albert H. Small Collection, Washington, D.C.)

of the Confederacy in 1865, the city's population grew again as government began to deal with reconstruction and reunification of the country. The U.S. Pension Bureau, built to administer the pensions of Union Civil War veterans and serve as a venue for large government events, is one of the legacies of this post-Civil War growth.

The nation's industrial base also grew during the war, creating a production capacity that expanded and diversified after the war to fuel growth of the national economy. Post-war America saw tremendous technological and scientific advancement that increased efficiency in manufacturing. The expansion of transportation systems, especially railroads, fostered expansion of the economy. Because there would be no regular taxation of income until early in the 20th century, the post-Civil War period was a time when men could make vast fortunes that were untouched by taxes. Thousands of businessmen benefitted from the war's stimulus to industry and trade.

The expansion of the federal government's role in stimulating and regulating the



Figure 5. The Pension Bureau Building (1882-1887) is one of the great legacies of the post-Civil War period of Washington's architectural history.

Designed by Montgomery C. Meigs (1816-1892) to house the government department that administered Civil War pensions to men who had served in the Union Army, it also was intended as a venue for large government events. The structure now houses the National Building Museum and is also used for large events public and private events.

This interior view from the Historic American Buildings Survey shows the main hall being decorated for President Ronald Regan's Inaugural Ball in 1981. (Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division)

growth of the economy, coupled with a proliferation of new multi-millionaires who needed access to government legislators and regulators, made Washington the new place to be. Washington society was open and welcoming to the newly rich from the mid-western and western states who would not be accepted readily into aristocratic society elsewhere on the East Coast. Philadelphia, New York, and Boston had ancient, established families that were not welcoming to recently-moneyed invaders. In Washington, however, money was the great equalizer – all were welcome – and here nouveaux riches could rub shoulders with Boston Bluebloods or even one of Mrs. Astor's "Four Hundred."¹¹

Washington Becomes a Popular Place to Live

Among the first post-war emigrants from other parts of the country to Washington were Civil War veterans, especially officers who followed their comrade-in-arms General Ulysses S. Grant to Washington after his election to the Presidency in 1869. These men sought to sustain the camaraderie with their fellow officers that had developed during the war years.



Figure 6. General Nicholas Longworth Anderson House, 16th and K Streets, Washington, DC. Gen. Anderson (1838-1892) was a Civil War hero who came to Washington in 1880 to be near his fellow military officers and their general, President Ulysses S. Grant. Built in 1881, this was one of four houses in Washington designed by H.H. Richardson, who was a Harvard classmate of Gen. Anderson. Only one of the houses has survived. General Anderson's house, shown in this 1885 photograph, was torn down in 1925 and replaced by the Carlton Hotel, designed by the noted architect Mirhan Mesrobian (1889-1975) for the Washington, D.C. real estate developer Henry Wardman. (Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, Frances Benjamin Johnston Collection.)

As Jacobs described it, these military men "dominated the postwar capital's political and social elites."¹² Some of them re-entered government service at the War Department and elsewhere. Others, like General Nicholas Longworth Anderson, were wealthy enough to simply retire to Washington, where they built grand homes near the White House and participated fully in the social life of the city.¹³

Despite its growth in population and political importance after the Civil War, by mid-century Washington had not made much headway toward achieving L'Enfant's vision for the city. There were vast undeveloped areas of L'Enfant's original plan. Many of the city's neighborhoods were a chaotic mix of dwellings, light industry, shantytowns, stables, and dumping grounds. Much of the city remained rural.

Washington was also an unsanitary, disagreeable place to be. "During the scorching, humid summers, flies and mosquitoes were everywhere, and the primitive sanitation of the times made the city a malodorous, unhealthy place," wrote Lee. "Typhoid, tuberculosis, malaria and dysentery took their annual toll. ... Diplomats from Europe considered Washington a hardship post and left their families at home."¹⁴

From the beginning, there had always been opposition to keeping the nation's capital on the shores of the Potomac. The city was so unattractive and provincial that after the Civil War there was much talk of moving the capital to

a larger and better established city that would have the infrastructure and services a national capital required and would make life more endurable for those who lived there. Midwestern cities, especially St. Louis, were particularly hopeful that the capital would be moved west.

By the late 1860s, city leaders and merchants feared that without significant improvements to the city's infrastructure and attractiveness, popular and political pressure to move the federal government would eventually prevail. Washingtonians would be left with worthless investments in business and real estate. City Hall launched a colossal effort to improve the city's prospects for longevity and to silence those who would see the capital moved elsewhere.

From 1871 and 1874, Alexander Robey Shepherd (also known as "Boss" Shepherd) served as head of the city's public works department, and for a short time as governor during Washington's brief status as a territory of the United States. As a territory rather than a federal district, it had its own governor and more freedom to manage its own affairs. Shepherd "openly, courageously, and with dictatorial abandon"¹⁵ undertook the massive projects needed to save the city and create new, beautiful neighborhoods where his wealthy counterparts could establish themselves.

In just three years, Shepherd would change the face of the city forever. He used unorthodox methods for getting the job done:

With czarlike zeal, he tore up the tracks of the railroad which crossed Pennsylvania Avenue at the foot of Capitol Hill.... Before the dew was off the grass in the morning, he supervised the tearing down of the old Northern Liberties Market House on the square where the Carnegie Public Library now stands. One Saturday night, he nearly buried the depot of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad ... by building up the street preparatory to grading and surfacing it.¹⁶

The improvements he undertook were diverse and widespread and helped make Washington the city we know today. In addition to paving streets and creating sidewalks, improving the water supply, laying sewers, installing street lights, and planting trees, Shepherd leveled the city's streets to remove hills and dales. This often left front doors 6 feet or more (1.8m) above street level and in some cases a few feet below it. Unbelievably, some residents complained that Shepherd was wasting public funds by planting trees and expanding into areas of the city that had previously been used for agriculture and livestock.

Shepherd's improvements helped realize L'Enfant's vision for the city, and the genius of the Frenchman's plan at last started taking shape. Shepherd filled the large intersections of avenues and streets with grand public spaces that would become parks named in honor of Civil War heroes. These "circles" as they came to be known were eventually adorned with massive public sculptures that honor the memory of Civil War heroes: Generals John A. Logan, James B. McPherson, George H. Thomas, Winfield Scott, and Philip H. Sheridan.¹⁷

The greatest of these circles would at first be known unofficially as Pacific Circle in honor of the wealthy men from west of the Mississippi who built their mansions around it. When it came time to name the circle officially in 1884, it would be dedicated to Civil War Admiral Samuel Francis Dupont.

The Dupont Neighborhood Emerges

Though his focus was on the city as a whole, Shepherd took special interest in the area to the northwest of his own home at the intersection of Connecticut Avenue and K Street, an area now generally called “Dupont Circle.” Prior to 1870, this area was home to slaughterhouses and farmers’ gardens and was not at all fashionable.¹⁸ It was considered too far from the White House, the social epicenter of the city, to be habitable. But Boss Shepherd saw potential there, and made sure that his end of town had the amenities that made it not just livable, but fashionable.

Shepherd’s vision started to take shape in 1872 when the British Minister to Washington, Sir Edward Thornton, decided to build the first-ever foreign-owned diplomatic mission in the city, at the northwest corner of Connecticut Avenue and N Street two blocks below Dupont Circle. By doing so, Thornton, the dean of the city’s diplomatic corps, signaled that his new neighborhood was indeed the new “in” place to be.

Senator William Morris Stewart of Nevada was next, in 1873 building his towering brick mansion known as “Stewart’s Castle” on the northwest side of what would become Dupont Circle (on the spot now occupied by PNC Bank). Other grand houses followed in quick succession and the neighborhood grew. For the next four



Figure 7. “The Toy Theatre” – A view of the Connecticut Avenue and Dupont Circle area in 1873. The British Embassy (1872) on Connecticut Avenue is shown at the left; Senator Stewart’s “Castle” (1873) on what is now Dupont Circle is in the distance. This 45’ x 40’ (13.7m x 12.2m) outdoor mural on Sunderland Place in the Dupont Circle area is by the Washington artist Peter Waddell. (By kind permission of the artist. Copyright © by Peter Waddell)

decades, great palaces would be constructed along the streets and avenues that radiated out from the circle, steadily filling in this popular, genteel residential neighborhood.

A Winter Alternative to Newport Emerges

Life in Washington flourished in the wake of Shepherd's improvements. Shepherd himself didn't last long – in 1876 he left the city in disgrace after scandals involving public funds – but his great public works transformed the city forever. As he had foreseen, wealthy Americans and foreigners flocked to the much-improved city, buying land and building homes for their participation in the winter social season. Washington became known as the country's "Winter Newport," a reference to Newport, Rhode Island, the seaside summer playground of old and new money. Just as "anybody who was anybody" summered in Newport, so too would they winter in Washington, surrounded by both Americans and foreigners of their own kind – socially prominent, accomplished, cultured, well dressed, gracious, and most



Figure 8. Dupont Circle - A Gracious Neighborhood. The photograph (ca. 1902) shows the quiet gentility and elegant neighborhood character that resulted from "Boss" Shepherd's improvements in the late 19th century. The house in the distance is 15 Dupont Circle, designed by architect Sanford White and built in 1900-1902 by Robert W. Patterson, editor of the *Chicago Tribune*. In 1927, the mansion served as the temporary White House for President and Mrs. Calvin Coolidge while the presidential mansion was undergoing renovation. The Hopkins-Miller house on the right was built in 1880 for two married sisters so they could live as neighbors under one roof in separate houses. Viewed here from the Connecticut Avenue side, the other half of the house on Massachusetts Avenue was a mirror image of the façade. (Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, Detroit Publishing Company Collection)

Everett House

of all: wealthy. Starting in the late 19th century and continuing into the 1920s, Washington's annual social season began on New Year's Day and continued until Ash Wednesday, a period of about two months, when most lavish and public entertaining would cease.

By Easter, after the arrival of warmer weather, the society crowds returned to homes elsewhere in the country. Later, in the heat of July and August, they would escape to cottages and summer palaces along the coast, like Newport, the North Shore of Boston, and Bar Harbor in Maine. Many also traveled to favorite destinations in Europe between social seasons.

A Flourishing City

By the 1880s, the fears that the capital would relocate had vanished. Architecture, landscaping, and the decorative arts flourished in this revitalized Washington. Great new houses, office buildings, theaters, churches, and commercial structures were built, designed by the best and most popular architects of the day. Furniture stores, antiques dealers, piano salesmen, drapers, art galleries, and many other kinds of tradesmen and businesses prospered as a result of the grand and luxurious style of living and entertaining in Washington. Even the new schools built to accommodate the growth of the city were designed by leading architects of the day. As a segregated city with parallel school systems for black and white children, there was almost double the number of schools one might have found in northern cities. One leading example was the Sumner School, built in 1872



Figure 9. The Sumner School, at 17th and M Streets, NW, designed by the Washington architect Adolph Cluss, was built in 1872. Named in honor of the abolitionist U.S. Senator Charles Sumner, it served African-American children. It replaced an earlier school that was built in 1866 under the auspices of the Freedmen's Bureau. The site and the school are an important part of the city's African-American history. (D.C. Public Library, Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. Branch, Washingtoniana Division, E.B. Thompson Collection)

for African-American children, and still standing as a landmark of the city's African-American history.

Washington tradesmen lucky enough to purvey luxuries to the grand houses of the city – terrapin, oysters, lamb, exotic fruits, vegetables, flowers, ices, sweets, wines, beverages, and more – must have felt as though they'd struck gold. Indeed, gold and silver were frequently the source of wealth in Washington. The city's most famous "Midas," Thomas F. Walsh, had come to America penniless from Ireland in 1869. Within a decade, he was well on his way to being one of the richest men in the country from the gold he mined in the hills of Colorado.¹⁹ His wife Carrie and his daughter Evalyn Walsh McLean were among the city's most extravagant hostesses.

Food was one of the ostentatious features of Washington entertaining, and it was served with as much showmanship as possible. The grand houses of the city were equipped with large and efficient kitchens that could accommodate cooks, bakers, kitchen assistants, and scullery maids. Cooks prepared elaborate menus that cause the modern reader to groan:

Mrs. Sanford's luncheon took two and a half hours to serve. Its twelve courses consisted of raw oysters, consommé in cups, baked bass and potatoes, macaroni, roast beef and tomatoes, Roman punch, brown squab, salad, olives and cheese, charlottes, ices, coffee and sweets.²⁰

But food and beverage alone were not enough to make a party successful. The table settings and décor were often opulent. One Washington socialite wrote: "On Wednesday [we] lunched off of gold [plates] with Mrs. [John] McLean and dined with the [Levi] Leiters on silver."²¹ The late 19th century newspaper correspondent Frank Carpenter described the decorations that Mrs. Phoebe Apperson Hearst (1842-1919), wife of Senator George Hearst, installed for one particularly glamorous evening at her home on New Hampshire Avenue just off Dupont Circle:

The walls and mirrors were draped with rose-colored silk, and the mantels were decorated with poinsettia blossoms and Annunciation lilies. In a



Figure 10. A drawing room in Mrs. Phoebe Hearst's Dupont Circle home at 1400 New Hampshire Avenue, Washington, DC, ca. 1890. Mrs. Hearst died in 1919, a victim of the influenza epidemic. Unlike many of her neighbors' homes, her mansion remained standing until well into the 20th century; it was demolished in 1964 to make room for a modern office building. (Source: Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, Frances Benjamin Johnston Collection)

doorway between the parlor and the ballroom there was an umbrella covered with California moss, sprayed over with carnations, with a pendant fringe of gilded cypress cones. In the back parlor, the mantels ere draped with Nile green silk, held up with bunches of silver and gold pinecones, with pampas grass suspended in the center. The hall and the library were filled will palms and calla lilies, and the tower room off the main parlor was fragrant with roses on tables and stands.²²

It was a wonderful time to be a florist in Washington!

Etiquette By the Book

There was more to social success in Washington than elaborate dinners with fancy floral decorations, however. One also had to know how to navigate the intricacies of the city's strict social code. In 1873, Madeleine Vinton Dahlgren (1825-1898) published one of the first guides to life in the post-war capital: *Etiquette of Social Life in Washington*. There could be no better mentor for the city's newly arriving hostesses.

As a young girl, Mrs. Dahlgren had come to Washington with her father Samuel Finley Vinton when he served as a Congressman from Ohio (1823-1837, and again 1843-1851). She attended the Convent of the Visitation, a girls' school in Georgetown – one of her many impeccable credentials. Her most important social bona fide, however, was her marriage to Civil War Admiral John A. Dahlgren, a member of one of the region's oldest and most prestigious Catholic families.

Mrs. Dahlgren offered her readers advice on everything from how to call on one's social peers and superiors, to how to respond to an invitation from the president. She addressed her advice especially to those nouveaux riches who were streaming

into Washington from the hinterlands, advising them to resist the urges that came from newfound wealth:

The chief care of the host and hostess, should be to forget that the dinner is being served, and try to interest their guests. As to the menu or bill of fare... we would suggest not to yield implicitly to the caterer, who will be sure to prolong your dinner beyond the bounds of good taste. Especially should this be the case, where a sudden acquisition of fortune gives hospitable people the means of entertaining.²³

**Figure 11: Social Precedence in Washington Society
(Dahlgren, 1873)**

The President
Vice President
Chief Justice (and Justices)
Speaker of the House
General of the Army
Admiral of the Navy
Foreign Ministers
Cabinet Ministers: *
The Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury
Secretary of War; Secretary of the Navy
Postmaster General; Secretary of the Interior
Attorney General
Senators

* Mrs. Dahlgren ranked Cabinet members in the historic order in which their posts were created. There is no social precedence for members of the House of Representatives, other than the Speaker of the House, whose second place in the chain of succession to the Presidency gave him higher status than Senators. (In the event of the death of the president and Vice president, the Speaker of the House is next in line to fill the Presidency.)

At its core, Mrs. Dahlgren's book was about social precedence – about the pecking order in receiving lines and at dinner tables. Mastering the art of social precedence in Washington was perplexing to new arrivals, even those of distinguished social pedigree, and it was her personal mission to teach survival skills to new hostesses. She told her readers that in Washington all social order began with the president.

“The President, as the executive head of the nation, is properly entitled to precedence,” wrote Mrs. Dahlgren. “This first place is, of course, accorded to him, whenever and wherever he appears in social life.”²⁴ With the president as the ultimate point-of-reference for social order, she offered a detailed analysis of the rules for social precedence for all who fell in line behind the president.

Within a few decades, as the city grew in size and stature, and with a greater diversity of people, it had outgrown Mrs. Dahlgren's simple 29 pages of advice. In 1889, to address these new social situations, De Benneville Randolph Keim published his monumental *Hand-Book of Official and Social Etiquette and Public Ceremonials at Washington*.²⁵ Taking up more than 300 pages of tortuous prose, Keim defined classes of society in detail.

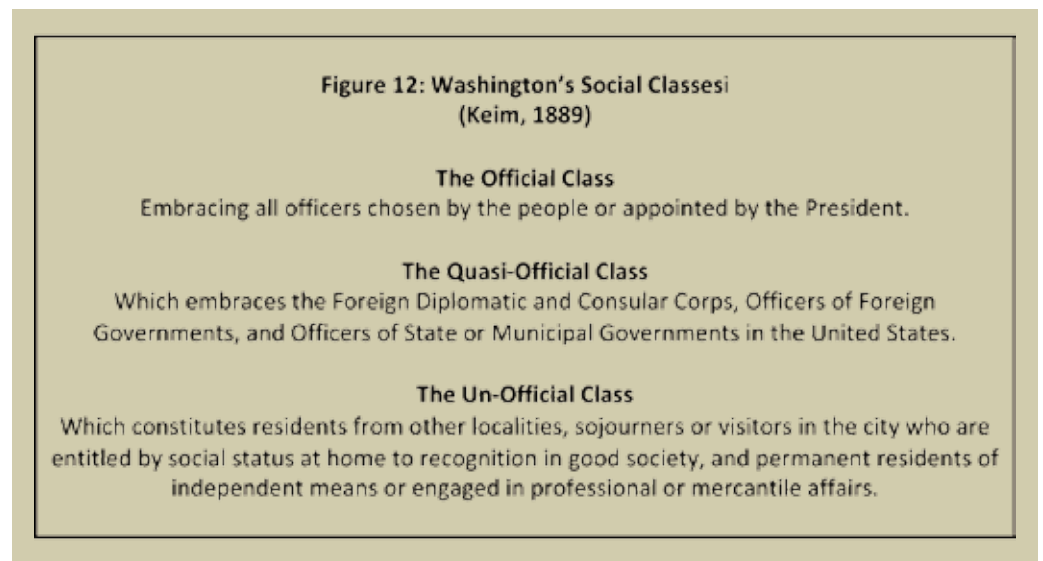
Where Mrs. Dahlgren's scheme had focused only on the “official” class (i.e., those who held federal government office), Keim's classification was more practical and included all who participated in society. He added a “quasi-official” class (government officials from the states, foreign diplomats, etc.) and an “unofficial” class (i.e., those who did not hold domestic or foreign office, but who were accomplished and/or wealthy participants in Washington society).

Rules of etiquette based on social precedence were quite rigid. Recalling Washington dinner party protocol during her youth in the late 19th century, Alice Roosevelt Longworth, daughter of President Theodore R. Roosevelt, described just how inflexible those rules could be, even for a president's daughter:

Washington was tremendously protocol-conscious in those days. Still is to a great extent. It was absolute agony to sit next to the same person night after night at dinner. I was landed with a particularly boring ambassador for the longest possible stretch. ... Finally, I begged one hostess to change the seating plan to allow me to get away and she promised she would but when the time came protocol won out and she lost her nerve and I was stuck with my bundle of fun once again.²⁶

Dinner Party Chemistry

The society dinner party was one of the city's most elite forums where professional and business connections could be made and a hostess's social skills put under a



microscope. The society pages of the city's newspapers reported daily on who had entertained whom the evening before. These daily reports provided fodder for ladies' "at home" afternoons where guest lists would be interpreted like the tea leaves in their cups.

Top billing on the Washington Post's daily society page – the wider first column on the left side of the page – was reserved for the most prestigious receptions, parties, dinner-dances, and after-theater suppers of the previous evening, especially anything involving the president, his family, and members of his cabinet. Notices of afternoon teas, luncheons, young people's dinner parties hosted by parents, Germans, debutante balls, and even reports of visiting relatives, filled out the society pages – all providing juicy tidbits of who had been seen where. Cotillions were an especially important part of social life, providing young men and women with an opportunity to meet. They were held under strict rules of propriety and etiquette that, for example, required ladies to wear white. Wallis Simpson, the Duchess of

Windsor, once said of her youth in Baltimore "if you don't go to the Cotillion, you're nothing. And if you do, it's so boring...."²⁷

The great houses of Washington had been designed for all types of entertaining. Spacious reception rooms, hallways, dining rooms, and terraces allowed for gracious and comfortable entertaining of 30 or more guests. Sometimes, as in the mansions of Mrs. John Roll McLean on McPherson Square or Mrs. Thomas F. Walsh on Massachusetts Avenue (now the Indonesian Embassy), a hundred or more guests were welcomed into dining rooms of monumental scale.

Making News – Making a Statement

The society page notice of an especially large or glamorous event might have included a description of the hostess's gown or her home's floral decorations, but most often only the names of guests were routinely reported in the newspapers. In the case of large events of several hundred guests, only the most important guests were listed by name, though the total number in attendance was often reported. As important as food and beverage were to the success of an evening, however, there was never a mention of it. Dinner parties were clearly about who was served at table, not what was served at table.

Hostesses vied with each other for the distinction of offering their guests unusual dining arrangements, including outdoor venues like gardens, terraces, and porticoes. Mr. and Mrs. Larz Anderson, for example, had their palatial home designed to include not only a fabulous paneled dining room, but also a semi-sheltered outdoor

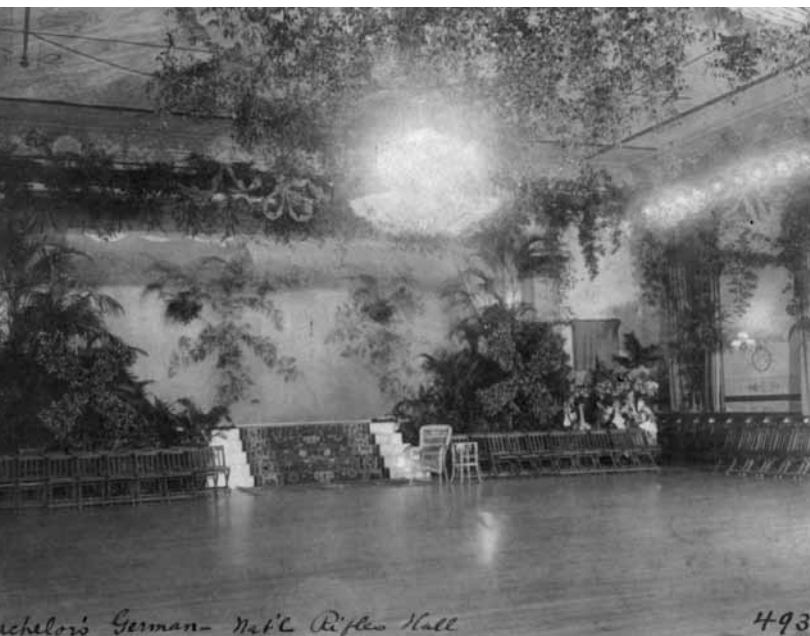


Figure 13. The National Rifles Hall in Washington, D.C., decorated for an elaborate Bachelors' German, ca. 1895. Until well into the 1920s, a "German" in Washington was an evening of cotillion dancing for young people, sponsored by fraternal organizations or wealthy parents. In cotillion dancing, one couple leads the other couples in a series of complex dance figures with a constant exchange change of partners. It was a socially acceptable way for young unmarried ladies (for whom wearing white dresses or gowns was de rigueur) and gentlemen to meet one another in public. Note the profusion of flowers and potted greens used to decorate the hall. (Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, Francis Benjamin Johnston Collection)

terrace inspired by the Lugarnos ('walled walkways') of ancient Italian palaces. The terrace on the second floor connected the dining room with the drawing room across the back of the house, creating a quiet, private outdoor space above ground level for festive evening dining in the Italian style.²⁸

Though Edward Hamlin Everett and his family arrived in Washington rather late in the game compared to their contemporaries, they arrived just in time to experience Washington at its best, if only briefly. All of the great winter places had been built, the parks and neighborhoods were lush and beautiful, society was glittering and exciting, and people were flush with money from a still-robust economy and a low rate of income taxation.²⁹

The steady influx of wealthy Americans that had been going on since the end of the Civil War gave Washington's social scene a feeling of being continually re-invigorated: there were always new people arriving, dazzled and excited by the pace and style of life there. Indeed, by turn of the century, the city's mores had changed little in the barely 35 years since the war's end.

But change was afoot, hastened by political and other developments at home and abroad. The U.S. entered World War I in 1917; the great flu pandemic struck in 1918; the Eighteenth Amendment banning alcohol was passed in 1919; and women were given the right to vote in 1920. Life continued after these events, of course, but the city's genteel, elite social scene would never again be exactly as it was before. The stock market crash of 1929 and the Great Depression would bring Washington's Gilded Age to an abrupt end.

When the Everetts arrived in Washington in the early 1900s, however, neither they nor anyone else could have foreseen those changes. Life was good for them, and Mr. Everett was determined to make it better and bigger than before.



Figure 14. The dining room (ca. 1910) in the home of Senator and Mrs. John Roll McLean, 1500 I Street NW, Washington, was designed for entertaining on a grand scale. The house (dating from 1860, rebuilt and enlarged by the architect John Russell Pope in 1907) occupied most of an entire city block on McPherson Square. (Library of Congress, Frances Benjamin Johnston Collection)



Figure 15. Rear view of Anderson House at 2118 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, showing the Lugarno, a terrace on the mansion's piano nobile (second floor). In good weather, the Andersons used this terrace for outdoor dining and entertaining. The drawing rooms are at the western (left) side of the terrace and the dining room is at the eastern (right) side. Note the high wall and evergreens on the eastern (right) side of the ground-level garden terrace. This wall extends up to the second floor, thereby shielding the terrace from the public view in the alley on that side of the house. Designed by Boston architects Arthur Little and Herbert W.C. Browne in 1901 (construction 1902-1905), the building is now the headquarters of the Society of the Cincinnati. (Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, Historic American Buildings Survey)

(Endnotes)

- 1 S. E. Morison, H. E. Commager, and W. E. Leuchtenburg, *Growth of the American Republic*, 6th ed., vol. 1 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), 334.
- 2 David McCullough, *John Adams* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2001), 541.
- 3 James M. Goode, *Capital Losses: A Cultural History of Washington's Destroyed Buildings*. 2nd ed., rev. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Books, 2003), 5 [Duddington], 30 [Analostan]. When I first visited Roosevelt Island as a 17-year old student in the late 1960s, remnants of Analostan's brick walls and foundation were still visible to those who wandered off the walking trails. All traces of the structure have since disappeared in the undergrowth.
- 4 Kathryn Schneider Smith, "Georgetown: Washington's Oldest Neighborhood," in: Kathryn Schneider Smith, ed. *Washington at Home: An Illustrated History of Neighborhoods in the Nation's Capital*. 2nd rev. ed. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), 22.
- 5 Scott W. Berg, *Grand Avenues: The Story of Pierre Charles L'Enfant, the French Visionary Who Designed Washington, D.C.* (New York: Vintage Books, 2007), 207.
- 6 Kathryn Allamong Jacob, *Capital Elites: High Society in Washington, D.C., after the Civil War*, (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), 17.
- 7 DeB. Randolph Keim, *Hand-Book of Official and Social Etiquette and Public Ceremonials at Washington*. 3rd ed. (Washington, D.C.: [n.p.], 1889), 2. Keim, a reporter who covered many Civil War battles, made his own mark in Washington society in 1872 when he wrote a report commissioned by President Ulysses S. Grant that exposed corruption in U.S. consulates in Europe, Asia, China, and South America. Keim also wrote guidebooks to the historic buildings and monuments of Washington, D.C.
- 8 In 1800, there were two bridges that linked Georgetown and Washington City, one at what is now M Street - built in 1788, and one at today's K Street - built in 1792. The first major bridge linking Washington with the District's upper northwest quadrant would not be built until 1891. See: Larry Van Dyne, "Washington DC: A City of Bridges." *Washingtonian Magazine*, March 1, 2006, and Kathryn Schneider Smith, "Some Major Events Affecting Washington Neighborhoods," in: Smith, *Washington at Home*, xiv.
- 9 Cited in: Barry Buckley, *Washington Old and New* (Washington, D.C.: W.F. Roberts Co., 1913), 28.
- 10 The 1860 and 1870 population estimates are from the U.S. Census Bureau (September 13, 2002) and count only city residents. The estimate of actual city population in excess of 200,000, including soldiers, supply workforce, and sick and wounded soldiers is cited in: Richard M. Lee, *Mr. Lincoln's City: An Illustrated Guide to the Civil War Sites of Washington* (McLean, Va.: EPM Publications, Inc., 1981), 19. Lee points out that there were at times an additional 200,000 Union soldiers camped around Washington.
- 11 It was said that in New York City in the late 19th century, there could be no more than 400 social elites, that being the number of people who could fit into Mrs. Caroline Webster Astor's ballroom. "Mrs. Astor's 400" was a symbol of the extent to which New York society was closed to outsiders.
- 12 Jacob, *Capital Elites*, 149.
- 13 General Anderson's son, Larz, would eventually build one of the city's most beautiful Beaux Arts mansions at 2118 Massachusetts Avenue, just a few blocks from Sheridan Circle where Edward Hamlin Everett would build his mansion.
- 14 Lee, *Mr. Lincoln's City*, 13.
- 15 *Ibid.*, 62.
- 16 George Rothwell Brown, *Washington: A Not Too Serious History* (1930), cited in: Federal Writers' Project. *Washington: City and Capital*. 1st ed. unabridged (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1937), 62.
- 17 The definitive reference on these and other public sculptures is James M. Goode, *Washington Sculpture: A Cultural History of Outdoor Sculpture in the Nation's Capital*. 2nd ed., rev. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008).
- 18 Wheeler, Linda. "Dupont Circle: Fashionable In-Town Address," in: Smith, *Washington at Home*, 179.
- 19 Walsh's daughter Evalyn Walsh McLean wrote a revealing and charming autobiography, *Father Struck it Rich*, which chronicles his rise to riches and power and confesses her own excesses as an early 20th century Washington hostess who thought nothing of spending tens of thousands of dollars on floral arrangements for a party, or \$5,000 to buy a dog for one of her children.
- 20 Frank G. Carpenter, *Carp's Washington*. Edited by Frances Carpenter. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960), 87-88.
- 21 Elizabeth Kilgour Anderson, "Letter dated December 8, 1895," *Letters of Mrs. Nicholas Longworth Anderson to her Son Larz Anderson, 1882-1916*. Edited by Isabel Anderson. Unpublished carbon typescript, Washington, D.C., Archives of the Society of the Cincinnati, 221.
- 22 Carpenter, *Carp's Washington*, 88-89.
- 23 Madeleine Vinton Dahlgren, *Etiquette of Social Life in Washington* (Lancaster, Pa.: Inquirer Printing and Publishing Company, 1873), 20.
- 24 *Ibid.*, 5.
- 25 Keim, *Hand-Book*, 12.
- 26 Michael Teague, Mrs. L. *Conversations with Alice Roosevelt Longworth* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1981), 171.
- 27 Anne Sebba, *That Woman: The Life of Wallis Simpson* (New York, N.Y.: St. Martin's Press, 2011), 19.
- 28 "Snapshots at Social Leaders," *Washington Post*, 21 February 1910, 5.
- 29 In 1913, the first year that Americans paid an income tax, the government levied a 1 percent tax on net personal incomes above \$3,000, up to a six percent tax on incomes of more than \$500,000.

The Bottle King Comes To Washington

By Skip Moskey

By 1900, the city of Washington had gone through more than a hundred years of urban and social evolution, yet it was still the country's "Winter Newport." Hundreds of very wealthy men had arrived in the city since Shepherd's day with plans to build extravagant mansions. When Everett bought land on Sheridan Circle in 1909 – relatively late in the game, as it turned out – staging an entry that was showy enough to get the attention of Washington society was no mean feat. It took money and an inspired designer to meet the challenge. Everett had both the money and, in George Oakley Totten, Jr., the architect.

The foundations for Everett's success and wealth were formed in his early years, a time of his life when the strong and powerful men in his family shaped his destiny. In retrospect, the influences in Everett's childhood and teen years could have predicted his future success in life.

A Childhood With Signs of Great Things to Come

Edward Hamlin Everett was born on May 18, 1851, in Cleveland, Ohio, to the urologist Dr. Henry Everett (1819-1854) and his wife Mary Hamlin (1830-1890). Through his mother, Edward was related to Hannibal Hamlin, Abraham Lincoln's vice president. His Everett grandfather was a farmer in Trumbull County, Ohio. Edward grew up with a sense of his family's place in American history, as well as a connection with the land that shaped the lives of most 19th century Americans. Everett was in every sense a product of the time and place into which he was born.

Edward's father died when he was three. He and his mother seemed to have lived a comfortable existence in Cleveland during her widowhood, with family and friends nearby. In 1861, Mary Everett remarried. Her new husband, Henry W. Putnam, Sr., was a man who had made a fortune as the inventor of the "Putnam cork fastener" and other household necessities such as clothes wringers and double-pointed carpet tacks. After the wedding, they moved to New York City where Putnam managed

Everett House



Figure 1. Uncle Sylvester – An Early Influence on Young Edward. Edward Everett's uncle, Colonel Sylvester T. Everett, derived his wealth from oil, banking, and manufacturing – all endeavors that Edward would also undertake at various times over the course of his lifetime. In 1883, to showcase his success, the Colonel built a massive Romanesque Revival mansion designed by Charles F. Schweinfurth on Cleveland's "Millionaires' Row." Edward must surely have learned from his uncle that rich men build big, distinctive mansions that draw notice. The colonel's mansion was razed in 1938. (A. D. White Architectural Photographs, Cornell University Library, Accession Number: 15/5/3090.00517)

Everett was the "The Bottle King" – not the Bottle Top King!

The invention of the crimped metal bottle cap has been erroneously attributed to Everett for many, many years. It has been variously claimed that he held the patent to this device, that he derived his wealth from it, and that the marquise over the front entrance to his Washington home was designed to be reminiscent of "his" bottle cap. None of this is true. William Painter, of the Crown Cork & Seal Company in Baltimore, invented the crimped bottle cap and was granted a patent for it in 1892. It is true that there may have been more demand for Everett's bottles as a result of Painter's invention. The Bottle King may have wished he invented it, but that honor goes to Mr. Painter, history's *real* "Bottle Top King."

Figure 2. Château de l'Aile, Vevey, Switzerland. Daguerreotype, ca. 1846-1850 by the Frenchman, Joseph-Philibert Girault de Prangey (1804-1892). (Musée Gruérien, Bulle, Switzerland. © by Musée Gruérien. Catalog No. GP-DAG-017)

his business interests, though they would eventually move to Bennington, Vermont.

Ten-year-old Edward stayed behind in Cleveland in the care of his uncle, Colonel Sylvester T. Everett. The colonel was a wealthy businessman with interests in banking, oil production, railroads, and electric motors. Young Edward observed his uncle's success and learned from him that, among other things, successful men live well and large.

For five years, young Edward lived with his uncle in Cleveland and spent summers in Bennington with his mother and stepfather. In 1866, Edward enrolled at Phillips Academy, a prestigious prep school in Andover, Massachusetts, to pursue business studies. He left Phillips at the end of one year, however, and enrolled in Bennington High School, graduating from there two years later in 1869. After graduation, he worked for his stepfather for a year as a bookkeeper, but Putnam must have felt that the boy would find greater opportunity elsewhere.

A Steady Road to Success

In 1870, Edward returned to Cleveland, where he took a job as a bank clerk. He seems to have stayed in Cleveland for another seven or eight years, and then moved to Chicago sometime around 1877. When Everett purchased the Star Glass Works in Newark in September 1880, a news item about the purchase referred to him as "a prominent glass manufacturer of Cleveland, but latterly of Chicago." It is likely that during the decade between 1870 and 1880 he became acquainted with glass manufacturing and acquired the capital needed to invest in the glass works.

Five years later, in 1885, Everett was successful enough in the glassmaking business to rename his company the E.H. Everett Company and capitalize it at \$100,000, of which he held 96% of the shares. Now, feeling financially secure with his manufacturing operations in place, he began courting Amy Webster King, daughter of a business associate. They were married a year later on July 8, 1886, and spent their honeymoon in Bennington.

Their first daughter Amy King Everett was born in 1887; their second, Mary Hamlin Everett, in 1890; and their youngest, Ann Holton Everett, in 1897.

As the family grew, so did Everett's businesses. By the turn of the century in 1900,

Edward Hamlin Everett had been consolidating and expanding his business holdings for more than two decades. In 1904, he formed the Ohio Bottle Company, valued at \$4 million and then, barely a year later merged his own Ohio Bottle Company with the Adolphus Busch Glass Manufacturing Company in St. Louis and other smaller firms in Illinois and Ohio to form the American Bottle Company. (See sidebar on Everett's business interests.)

By the early years of the new century, Everett was confident enough in the success of his bottle manufacturing business that he could branch out into other enterprises, thereby expanding and diversifying his business interests. Perhaps inspired by his paternal grandfather, he invested heavily in fruit and vegetable farming. In 1905 he bought the Cherry Hill Farm near Black Hand Gorge, Ohio.

Three years later, he partnered with Adolphus Busch on what has been reported as a \$250 million land purchase in Louisiana to set up gas and oil wells there. Everett must have felt confident enough in his financial stability and business acumen to make investments in industries that were very different from the bottle manufacturing that he knew so well, though as it would turn out, he only lost money in many of these diversified holdings.

Finding Enjoyment in Life

As Everett's affluence and success solidified in the first years of the new century, he seems to have started enjoying life more. His daughters were growing up and he had not yet taken his family abroad. Foreign travel was one of the luxuries that wealthy Americans enjoyed frequently. European travel in particular offered wealthy parents a chance to round out their children's education and possibly to find them suitable marriages with European aristocrats.

In 1907, Everett, his wife Amy, and their three daughters (now aged 20, 17, and 10) made their first family trip to Europe, probably to do a grand tour of the continent. Everett and Amy would make several more trips to Europe in the next ten years; three of these were to Vevey, Switzerland, on the shores of Lake Geneva in 1909-10, 1910-11, and 1914-15.

Nom *Everett* ^{N° 11680}
Prénoms *H. Everett Edward H.*
Fils de _____
et de _____
né le *18 mai 1851* à _____
Originaire d' *Amérique, de Cleveland, Ohio*
Etat civil *marie*
Profession *rentier*

DATE	PAPIERS DÉPOSÉS	ÉCHÉANCE	FINANCE
<i>4 Août 09</i>	<i>cert. de mariage</i>	<i>5 Août 1910</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>31 octob 10</i>	<i>garantie</i>	<i>17 octob. 11</i>	<i>3</i>
<i>18 novemb 14</i>	<i>garantie</i>	<i>16 novemb 15</i>	<i>3</i>

Précédent domicile _____
Domicilié rue (ou quartier) *Gde place n° 1.*
Parti le *en Amérique*

Figure 3. One of Everett's Vevey registration cards showing the three stays of approximately one year each that he made with his first wife, Amy King Everett: 1909-10, 1910-11, and 1914-15. The card lists Grande Place No. 1, the street address of the Château de l'Aile, as his Swiss domicile and his profession as rentier ('man of independent means'). He stayed in Vevey only one other time, with his second wife Grace Burnap Everett in 1927-28. (Municipal Archives, Vevey, Switzerland)

In the first years of the new century, the Everetts must have been looking to break away from their life in Newark, Ohio, in a big way. When it came time to build summer and winter homes, their geographic choices were easy: Bennington, Vermont, and Washington, D.C. Bennington, where Everett spent part of his youth, was well known to him and offered excellent summer and fall weather and invigorating mountain air. Everett's decision to build there was also part of a trend among wealthy people from other parts of the country:

Everett's estate is also representative of another trend occurring in Bennington and other parts of Vermont in the late 19th and early 20th centuries; the ascendancy of wealthy "summer people" who purchased and renovated older homes, or built new ones in the small villages that were valued as much for their history and quaintness, as for their clean air and mountain views.

In Washington, Everett and his wife could socialize with their peers there once they paid the price of entering Washington Society: an expensive and showy house. He had finally amassed the fortune needed to properly establish himself in Washington, and he had the time now to participate fully in the social life of the city.

Following Taft's election on November 3, 1908, there was a surge of confidence in the economy. Four days after Taft's victory, the front page of the Washington Post proclaimed "Nation to be Busy. Jobs for 650,000 Men. Canvass of Manufacturers Shows They Will Employ Them" and quoted upbeat forecasts from industrialists in Toledo, Ohio and elsewhere. This was good news for men like Everett who had felt the effects of the Panic of 1907, which had forced the closure of the American Bottle Company's Factory No. 9 and the layoff of 350 workers. Like all Republicans, and especially all Ohio Republicans, Everett must have felt that better days lay ahead with a man like Taft in the White House.

In 1911, once construction on the Bennington and Washington houses was well underway, the Everetts started the process of donating their home in Newark, Ohio, to public charity to help establish the town's first hospital. The transfer of the property was effected in 1912, and from then on, their life would be spent in Bennington, Washington, and Europe.

Everett Invests in Washington Real Estate Twice

At the time that Everett was looking for property in Washington, there was no area of the city that could surpass the city's Kalorama neighborhood in beauty or prestige. It was a fashionable and expensive place to live. A November 22, 1908, feature story in the Washington Post called Sheridan Circle the city's newest "center of palaces," proclaiming that many of the homes then under construction there were of "surpassing beauty." The dedication of a monument there to General Philip Henry Sheridan on November 25, 1908 with President Roosevelt, his cabinet, members of the diplomatic corps, and senators and representatives in attendance would bring additional attention to the neighborhood, the article noted.

Mrs. Henderson had tried to convince Everett to buy land and build on Sixteenth Street, which she was single handedly attempting to reshape in her own vision. Ultimately, Everett chose property whose proximity to the city's rustic Rock Creek Park may have appealed more to his love of the outdoors. Sheridan Circle would not be Everett's only real estate purchase in the city, however.

On January 2, 1909, the *Washington Post* proclaimed: Hotel Outlook Bright. “Washington is the favorite convention city of the United States, and this adds largely to the prosperity of the city’s hotels,” the article said, noting that many commercial associations had made their headquarters in the National Capital. One hotel owner was quoted as saying, “Money seems to be more plentiful, and there is a larger number of persons traveling than ever.”

This point did not escape Everett’s eye for a good business deal, and on June 23, 1911, eighteen months after buying the Sheridan Circle land, he purchased the venerable Richmond Hotel at 17th and H Streets, diagonally across from the Metropolitan Club, along with several adjoining properties for \$275,000. The Richmond, built in 1883, was situated in what was then an attractive, genteel neighborhood. An article in the *Washington Herald* announcing the sale noted that the hotel “pays a reasonable income on the investment.” At the time Everett purchased the Richmond, it served primarily as a residential hotel for gentlemen. It advertised itself, for example, as a place for married men to live while their families were away at the beach for the summer.

In the summer of 1912, Everett closed the hotel and started extensive renovations and refurbishing. When it reopened in November 1913, it was under the new management of a Mr. J. V. Jordan, who had experience managing establishments that catered to the needs of the rich and famous. He had owned a hotel in Newport, Rhode Island, the New Cliffs, and had also worked at Delmonico’s, a fashionable restaurant on Fifth Avenue at 44th Street in New York City. The new look and the new management of the Richmond Hotel clearly were focused on making it more appealing to an upscale clientele. A newspaper reported that the refurbished hotel “presents the appearance of a new building.” The hotel became popular with ladies traveling alone, families, and movie stars and was the scene of tea dances.

Not only did Everett reap the profits from a hotel that produced a steady stream of income, but also he had a prestigious address as his pied à terre until his own palace was ready.

The Everetts Finally Arrive

Once George Oakley Totten, Jr., completed his designs for the mansion and construction began, the Everetts – based in New York City for winter social seasons – made frequent trips to Washington to check on construction progress. Society, too, was closely watching the mansion’s growth. When the Everetts visited in October 1912, the *Washington Post* noted that the family would not be able to occupy the home until the 1913 social season – an optimistic assessment, as it turned out.



Figure 4. The Richmond Hotel, 17th and H Streets, N.W. (ca. 1890). Everett purchased the Richmond in 1911 and extensively renovated it 1912-13 to make it more upscale and appealing to an affluent clientele. There are no known photographs of the hotel after its renovation. (W. Lloyd Wright Collection of Washingtoniana, The George Washington University Permanent Collection, Courtesy of The Luther W. Brady Art Gallery, © The George Washington University 2012)

There was also great interest in Vermont about the Washington house. The Hartford (Vermont) Daily Times reported details of the residence and its design, quoting Everett as saying that it “will be like the White House, yet unlike it... more beautiful, more magnificent and expensive, and more impressively situated.”

Although major structural work on the house was completed in 1915, interior decoration and other work on the house delayed occupancy until January 1917. In November 1916, the Washington Post reported that Everett’s house was “almost ready for occupancy,” and that the family was expected to be present in January for the start of the winter social season. The much-anticipated entry of Edward Hamlin Everett and his wife Amy King Everett into Washington society took place at the start of the New Year, 1917, when they took up occupancy of Totten’s masterpiece. The family had waited almost eight years for this moment.

The happiness from that moment would last only briefly, soon to be overshadowed by loss and grief. On March 20, 1917, barely three months after moving into the mansion, Mrs. Everett died there following complications from a surgery she had undergone a month earlier. Funeral services for her were held in the mansion and her remains were then brought to Bennington for entombment at Park Lawn Cemetery in the mausoleum Everett built in 1910. The Everett Mausoleum, said to be modeled after the Theseion on the Athenian Acropolis, sits on a beautiful hill with sweeping views of valleys and mountains and is visible from Everett’s property, “The Orchards.”

Absence from City Life

Though Everett would be in Washington at various times during the next two years (1918-1919), there is no evidence that he was the host of any social functions at the house on Sheridan Circle. As a widower, it would have been awkward for him to host dinners and parties. One of Everett’s daughters might have been able to fill this role for him, but Amy and Mary, his two oldest girls, were already married and his youngest, Anne, was a student at Smith College. If he needed to entertain during these years, the Richmond Hotel provided him with a fine venue for doing so. It was common at that time for wealthy widowers and bachelors to entertain guests in a hotel’s private dining room.

There were other factors that may have caused Everett’s temporary retirement from the city in the years immediately after his wife’s death. Society declined during these two years due to war and disease. U.S. involvement in World War I changed the face of the city. The population surged as people streamed into the city to join the war effort. Then, the influenza epidemic reached the city at mid-year 1918, peaking that autumn and causing further stress on the city.

This influx of people of all classes during the war disrupted the tempo of society. Isabel (Mrs. Larz) Anderson, one of the city’s most elegant and socially elevated hostesses, was in Belgium and France for most of a year (1917-18) as a nursing volunteer. During her absence from the city, she received letters from Washington friends describing chaos in the city. One friend wrote: “Washington is jammed – you feel it the moment you arrive.” Another complained: “There is little going on among the old Washingtonians and a mob of new people are overrunning the place.”



NOTE: Figure 5 is a composite of the photograph of Mrs. Henderson and the presidential "Palace". See Sketch.

Mrs. Henderson To the Rescue

It was Mary Foote Henderson (1836-1931), the dowager empress of Washington society, who helped bring Everett back into the whirl of the city's social life and recover from his two years of mourning. Through her, Everett would meet his second wife, Grace Burnap.

Mrs. Henderson, wife of Senator John B. Henderson (1826-1913; author of the 13th Amendment abolishing slavery), was one of the most colorful and memorable personalities in Washington's Gilded Age. Not only did she entertain on a grand scale, but she also had a grand scheme to re-develop Sixteenth Street as the "Avenue of the Presidents," which included a new location and a bombastic design for an executive mansion that would replace the White House. As a part of her plan, she also commissioned her favorite architect, George Oakley Totten, Jr., to design more than a dozen fabulous houses. Her great wealth allowed her to build and then rent or sell these palatial buildings to foreign governments for use as their embassies.

Another of Mrs. Henderson's favorites was George Burnap, a landscape architect who had helped lay out the basic plan for Meridian Hill Park, which was to be the site of a new executive mansion. Burnap, who earlier in his career had taught landscape architecture at Cornell University and had authored a respected textbook in that field, came to Washington in 1911 after losing a bid to be named landscape architect of New York City's parks department.

George had a younger sister, Grace. Born June 21, 1880, in Hopkinton, Massachusetts, she had an extensive musical education, including a degree from the New England Conservatory of Music in Boston, with additional musical studies in Germany, France, and Italy. By early 1914 she was in Washington, D.C., and, according to a newspaper clipping in Grace's scrapbook, spent part of that year as a houseguest of Mrs. Henderson. During the summer of 1914, Grace accompanied her brother George, the Washington architect Horace W. Peaslee, and members of the Commission of Fine Arts on their trip to Spain, France, Switzerland, and Italy to study European garden design.



Figure 5. Mary Foote Henderson (1846-1931), one of the most memorable and important Washington socialites of her era, left a lasting imprint on the city's architectural history. Her plan for the redevelopment of Sixteenth Street as the "Avenue of the Presidents" included relocating the president's official residence to land that she owned on Meridian Hill, across the street from her home known as Henderson's Castle. Some of the retaining walls and garden elements shown in this 1898 drawing were built in anticipation of the plan's execution, and these can be seen still in Meridian Hill Park. (Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division, Underwood Collection)



Figure 6. Titta Ruffo, “The Voice of the Lion” (ca. 1910). Ruffo performed a program of operatic selections in the Everetts’ music room on December 13, 1921. He was known for his performances of the title role in Verdi’s *Rigoletto*, Figaro in Rossini’s *The Barber of Seville*, and Iago in Verdi’s *Otello*. (Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division)

By the fall of 1914, Grace was back in the United States and had been hired as music teacher and glee club director at Hood College in Frederick, Maryland. She left Hood in the spring of 1916 for Alliance, Ohio, where she taught for one year at Mt. Union College. Returning to Washington after the year at Alliance, Grace opened her own voice studio in September 1917, at 1124 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., across from the Mayflower Hotel. Music Studio (NEW 12 June 12)

It was at Mrs. Henderson’s dinner table in 1918 that the wealthy widower Edward would meet his future wife, Grace. Mrs. Henderson seated them side-by-side and magic happened: they took a liking to each other and romance ensued. Grace and Edward decided that they would together go to Switzerland for a year, though not to Vevey where Everett had vacationed with his first wife, Amy. In December 1918, shortly after the war in Europe ended, they left the United States for Switzerland. This may have been motivated both by fear of the influenza epidemic and by Grace’s desire to continue her musical education. Europe also afforded them privacy and shielded them from American society’s stern gaze during their engagement. Grace would later admit that they travelled together unchaperoned before their marriage.

Everett did not stay the full year in Switzerland; business and family surely called him back. In June 1919, after hosting a visit from his daughter Mary and her husband Giulio Turri at the Sheridan Circle mansion, Everett returned to Vermont to spend time with his daughter Anne.

Grace returned from Switzerland in December 1919. She and Everett were married the following spring, on March 27, 1920, in a simple church ceremony in Chicago while Grace was visiting friends there. They entered into a prenuptial agreement under which Everett agreed to pay Grace \$300,000 “in consideration of” the marriage. Everett was 69 and Grace was 39.

Living the Good Life – Once Again

Remarried, with a new wife who appreciated all the finer things in life, Everett picked up where he had left off in 1917 and set out once again to make a place for himself and his wife in the social life of the city.

The new couple’s first event in Washington to receive society-page notice seems to have been a musicale on the evening of December 13, 1921. The star was the Italian baritone Ruffo Cafiero Titta (1877-1953), who styled himself “Titta Ruffo, the Voice of the Lion.” Ruffo was in Washington on his way to the Metropolitan Opera in New York City, where he would perform during the Met’s 1922 season. Grace was especially fond of opera, so presenting Ruffo’s performance in the mansion’s elegant music room must have been a special pleasure for her. When the Italian tenor Beniamino Gigli (1890-1957) performed at Everett House a few years later, the guest list included the ambassadors of Great Britain, Sweden, Serbia, Uruguay, Argentina, Chile, Peru, Brazil; Princess Elizabeth Bibesco, the British-born wife of the Romanian Ambassador; U.S. Senators and Representatives; and society mavens, Mrs. Marshall Field and Mrs. Thomas F. Walsh. The Washington Times called it “the first really big party the Everetts have had since they were married.”

Edward and Grace quickly started their own family, celebrating the birth of two

daughters, Betty Grace in 1921 and Sarah in 1922. But there was disharmony within the larger, blended family. Everett had to deal with an unfortunate, acrimonious conflict that broke out between the three daughters from his first marriage and his new wife. Grace was only seven years older than Everett's oldest daughter Amy. It would come out years later that Everett felt torn between both parts of his family. All these pressures would eventually take their toll on Everett's health.

During the 1920s, Everett continued to manage a business empire that included glass and bottle manufacturing, gas and oil exploration, real estate investment, and fruit and vegetable farming. (See sidebar.) There is clear evidence, however, that Everett had spread his resources too thinly in too many different, complex enterprises, causing a series of financial losses on a large scale that lasted for more than ten years.

Rich Man, Poor Man

Between 1914 and 1924, Everett's fruit orchard businesses in Vermont and Ohio suffered operating losses of \$623,453. In late 1919, he took a loss of \$133,000 when he sold the Texas enterprises and properties near Port O'Connor. Then in mid-1921, Everett cashed out of his \$3 million share of a \$40 million New York syndicate that was to build two commercial buildings adjacent to Grand Central Terminal in mid-town Manhattan. Everett's son-in-law Guilio Turri accompanied him to the meeting where he announced his withdrawal to his business partners. Turri would later say that his father-in-law seemed "on the point of collapse" that day. Other family members and employees reported similar impressions of Everett and the stresses that he faced in his personal and business life.

Over the course of the 1920s, Everett's personal annual income declined steadily, reduced by almost one-half, from \$175,805 in 1920, to \$93,059 in 1928. He was still a well-to-do man, but his income was declining at a time when his business losses were mounting. Turri would later say that his step-mother-in-law Grace once told him, "I thought I had married a man worth \$40 million; on the other hand, I have married a man who is relatively poor." It is believed that during the course of their 9-year marriage, Everett transferred more than \$3 million in cash, jewelry, and other assets to Grace.

In 1922, just as Everett was settling into his new life with Grace and their two toddlers, he was diagnosed with prostate cancer. He went through treatment and achieved some kind of cure in 1923, but the cancer diagnosis kept the Everetts away from Washington for most of the next three social seasons – 1922, 1923, and 1924. During these years, the Everetts made trips to Europe for rest, recuperation, and possibly for Edward's further medical treatments.

The couple returned to Washington for the 1925 social season and for the next four years the Everetts split their time between Washington during the winter social seasons and Vermont at other times.

Last Years Together

The Everetts found many ways to enjoy life in the city once they settled down with the cancer episode behind them. They entertained friends at dinners and luncheons, hosted weekly musicals on Monday evenings, and attended balls and dances. First Lady Grace Coolidge attended one of Mrs. Everett's ladies' luncheons as guest of honor. In 1925, they went to a charity costume ball at the Mayflower Hotel dressed

as General John Stark and his wife Molly, Revolutionary War heroes with connections to Vermont. Everett was a member of the Washington Kennel Club and entered his bull terrier in the April 1926 dog show. And there was a new addition to their home starting in 1925: a telephone!

On April 8, 1926, tragedy touched Everett's life again. Edward and Grace escaped unharmed when the "Nellie Bly," the Pennsylvania Railroad train they were travelling on from New York City to Atlantic City, crashed and overturned, killing and injuring passengers seated near them. Grace later wrote: "Mr. Everett and I were in the first car, and yet survived. I was not only afraid that we would be drowned, but scalded."

In 1927, Edward and Grace returned to Europe, where they resided one last time in a rented portion of the Château de l'Aile, from November 1927 to September 1928. By early 1929, they were back in Washington. The last dinner in the Sheridan Circle home for which there is any record was given on February 16, 1929, in honor of the ministers of Switzerland, Serbia, and Austria, along with officials from the German and French embassies. Given Everett's vacations in Switzerland, the presence of that country's ambassador is easily understood, but the inclusion of Serbia and Austria at a time of great political and economic ferment in Central Europe is a fascinating window into Everett's world. It is tantalizing to imagine that Everett dabbled in dinner-table diplomacy.

Stormy Aftermath

Everett died on April 26, 1929, at Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston of complications from prostate cancer surgery. At the time of his death, he left an estate estimated at \$3 million. His will, drawn up in 1927, contained provisions that significantly advantaged Grace and her two daughters (Grace and Sarah) at the expense of the three daughters from Everett's first marriage (Amy, Mary, and Anne). On May 27, 1929, barely a month after their father's death, the three sisters filed suit to break their father's will and have his estate distributed equitably among his widow and five daughters.

A legal battle that one of Grace's attorneys called "vitriolic, venomous, and bitter" lasted ten weeks, from January 13, 1930 until March 22, 1930. There were dozens of witnesses and thousands of documents for and against the daughters' case. It was said that lawyers' fees ran to \$100,000, and that the cost to the State of Vermont was \$10,000. Many of the details of Everett's life during his last decade that were made public during the trial are heartbreaking and portray a man who was buffeted by intense personal anguish and enormous financial losses.

The jury took just a few hours to reach its decision that the will signed in 1927 "was not that of Everett." Almost immediately, Grace appealed the decision, and legal battles continued for another four years until 1934, when a judge upheld the 1930 decision and ruled definitively in favor of the contestants. The court ultimately disposed of the estate as if Everett had died intestate – one-third to Grace and the remainder divided equally among his five daughters.

Grace moved to Washington full-time after Everett's death, but in 1932, in the midst of her appeal, she leased the Sheridan Circle mansion, fully furnished, to the government of Turkey and went back to Bennington. In April 1936, at the age of 56, Grace decided that she would not return to Washington and sold the residence to the Turkish government for \$402,000. The price included all furnishings and interior decorations, along with two of the three Allori paintings that Everett had acquired (see Chapter 3).

Grace remained in Bennington until 1951, when she sold the mansion with all its furnishings and moved to New York City. She lived at the St. Regis Hotel, commuting frequently to Long Island to visit her daughter and grandchildren. When her daughter Sarah and her family moved to Richmond, Grace followed, living at The Jefferson hotel. Until the end of her life, she was actively involved in managing the oil and gas holdings her husband had left her. Telegrams to and from the Everett Company in Ohio show Grace as an intelligent businesswoman who involved herself in managing the details of the company's operations.

Grace Burnap Everett died in Richmond on March 10, 1969, at the age of 89. She was entombed in the Everett Mausoleum along with her husband, her oldest daughter Betty Grace, and Amy Webster Everett, the first Mrs. Everett.

Time and life's circumstances were not on Edward Hamlin Everett's side when he took up occupancy of Totten's masterpiece in January 1917. I estimate that between 1917 and his death in 1929, Everett spent no more than the equivalent of about six full social seasons in Washington: 1917 (interrupted by the death of Amy), 1921, 1925, 1926, some of 1927, and 1929 – a total of perhaps 30 months of seasonal occupancy of the mansion. His first wife's death, his own poor health, his extended travels in Europe, the demands of his businesses, and perhaps even financial troubles may have conspired to keep him from ever truly earning a return on the princely sum he invested in the house and its furnishings. Certainly, he and Grace lived large and entertained lavishly during the social seasons that they were in residence, but those years came for the most part after 1925, when Washington's Gilded Age was nearing its end.

The residence that Edward and Amy built, and that Edward and Grace occupied so royally, stands as a brilliant reminder of the glamour that once defined life in Washington. Now in the able hands of the government of Turkey, an ancient land with a revered culture of its own, Everett House will persevere as a shining example of Washington's Gilded Age.

Postscript

An Everett Legacy in African-American Civil Rights History

In June 2012, as this volume was being prepared for publication, Lisa McCowan Foley, granddaughter of Edward and Grace Everett, made available to the author her grandmother's scrapbook. Among its pages is the remarkable story of the role Everetts' daughter, Sarah Everett McCowan and her husband Horace, played in advocating for civil rights for African-Americans. In 1961, working with the Great Neck Committee for Human Rights, Mrs. McCowan and her husband sold their home in Great Neck, Long Island, to an African-American physician, Dr. David Pinckney. Prior to this, Great Neck had been an exclusively white enclave. Faced with initial opposition from the community, the McCowans persisted and received an outpouring of support and praise from many, including the noted physician and sex educator Dr. Mary S. Calderone, a resident of Great Neck. Dr. Calderone wrote in an undated letter to the editor found in Grace's scrapbook:

Let us hope that in the spirit that emanates every Saturday and Sunday from our churches and temples, Great Neck will be what every American community wishes to be: a place of warm and loving homes and friendly neighbors, rich with the spirit of democratic generosity that was envisioned by those who wrote our Constitution and our Bill of Rights.

(Endnotes)

- 1 William Ganson Rose, *Cleveland: The Making of a City* (Cleveland, Ohio: World Publishing Company, 1950), 461-462.
- 2 G.W. Chessman and C.W. Abbott, *Edward Hamlin Everett: The Bottle King* (Granville, Ohio: Robbins-Hunter Museum, 1991), 4.
- 3 *Ibid.*, 11.
- 4 *Ibid.*, 28.
- 5 *Ibid.*
- 6 *Ibid.*, 30. Despite being reported by Chessman and Abbott, \$250 million is such a staggering sum for 1908 that it is probably not correct: \$250 million in 1908 would be equivalent to at least \$5.8 billion in today's economy.
- 7 *Ibid.*, 28
- 8 State of Vermont Historic Preservation Office, "The Orchards, Bennington, Vermont." National Park Service National Register of Historic Places Application, 3 March 2000, Section 8.
- 9 "Nation to be busy," *The Washington Post*, 7 November 1908, 1.
- 10 Chessman and Abbott, *The Bottle King*, 32.
- 11 "Is Center of Palaces," *Washington Post*, 22 November 1908, R6.
- 12 Chessman and Abbott, *The Bottle King*, 38, states that Edward and Amy socialized with Mrs. Henderson prior to actually purchasing land in Washington, and that Mrs. H. had urged the Everetts to buy land on Sixteenth Street.
- 13 "Hotel Outlook Bright," *Washington Post*, 3 January 1909, 5.
- 14 "Richmond Hotel Property," *Washington Herald*, 26 April 1911, 2nd section, 8.
- 15 "Your Family at the Seashore - Close Your House and Live at Hotel Richmond," *Washington Times*, 14 June 1910, 7. The hotel offered a "Club Breakfast" starting at 20 cents and an "A La Carte Restaurant" for other meals.
- 16 "New Richmond Hotel Now Open for Season," *Washington Herald*, 30 November 1913, 9.
- 17 Society Page, *The Washington Post*, 12 October 1912, 7
- 18 "Mr. Everett's Magnificent Residence," ca. 1915 newspaper clipping from the Edward H. Everett files, Southern Vermont College, Bennington, VT.
- 19 The building permit was issued on August 3, 1910 and two days later, piles were being driven for the foundation. Construction was 99% complete by June of 1915, though exterior and interior finishing details would continue until late 1916. The marquise over the main entrance was not installed until sometime in 1916. See: Historic American Buildings Survey Historic American Buildings Survey. Edward Everett House (Turkish Embassy). HABS No. DC-258. Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, Office of Archeology and Historic Preservation, [n.d.], 8.
- 20 "Mrs. Everett Goes to New York," *Washington Post*, 22 November 1916, 7.
- 21 Society page, *The Washington Post*, 9 January 1917, 7.
- 22 "Mrs. Edward H. Everett Dead," *Bennington Banner*, 21 March 1917.
- 23 Amy King Everett (1887-1964) married Dr. Lucius Arthur Wing (1882-1946) in Newark, Ohio, on October 30, 1912. Mary Hamlin Everett (1890-1961) married Luigi Guilio Turri (1878-1945) in Vevey, Switzerland, on September 24, 1909. Ann Holton Everett (1897-1948) married James Kirtland Selden (1894-1978) in Bennington, Vermont, on November 2, 1921.
- 24 For an eyewitness account of the impact of the epidemic on Washington, see Isabel Anderson's "A Topsy-Turvy Capital," in: Isabel Anderson, *Presidents and Pies: Life in Washington 1897-1919* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920), 243-251. During 1918, Mrs. Anderson selflessly volunteered as a nurse and helped care for poor and destitute Washingtonians afflicted by the epidemic.
- 25 Anderson, "Topsy-Turvy," 235.
- 26 Federal Writers' Project. *Washington: City and Capital*. 1st ed. Unabridged (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1937), 661-662.
- 27 "C.D. Lay named park architect," *New York Times*, 11 August 1911.
- 28 Most of the details of Grace Burnap's life come from articles published in the *Bennington Banner* between 13 January and 31 March 1930 that quote or summarize her testimony at the 1930 trial. These newspaper accounts are notated in detail in an unattributed and undated handwritten manuscript titled "Microfilm of Everett Case" in the Edward Hamlin Everett Files at the Bennington Museum Library and Archives, Bennington, Vermont, hereafter referred to as "Everett Case."
- 29 "Prof. Burnap Heads Music Conservatory," *The (Mt. Union College) Dynamo*, 19 October 1916, 1.
- 30 Letter from Grace Burnap to Horace W. Peaslee, April 28, 1914, Everett Family Papers; and National Park Service, "Horace Peaslee," <http://www.nps.gov/mehi/historyculture/hpeaslee.htm> (accessed 11 June 2012).
- 31 "Grace Burnap, Voice Builder and Coach," *Washington Post*, 19 September 1917, 8.
- 32 This information comes from Lisa Foley, granddaughter of Edward and Grace. Email dated 8 December 2011.
- 33 Tyler Resch, "To Those Researching the Life or Works of Edward H. Everett." Typescript memorandum, March 22, 1991. Bennington Museum Library and Archives. Vertical Files, Edward Hamlin Everett.
- 34 "Everett Case," Edward Hamlin Everett Files, 3.
- 35 "Society," *Washington Post*, 21 May 1919, 7.
- 36 *New York Times*, 28 March 1920.
- 37 "Everett Case," Edward Hamlin Everett Files, 3.
- 38 Chessman and Abbot, *The Bottle King*, 68.
- 39 "Music Rivals Dancing in Favor of Society; Gigli's Recital at the E.H. Everett's Charms Their Guests," *Washington Times*. Undated newspaper clipping (ca. 1923) in Grace Burnap Everett's scrapbook, Everett Family Papers.
- 40 Grace Elizabeth ("Betty Grace") Everett (b. 1921) died in plane crash at the Bennington Airport on August 13, 1945. During World War II, she had served with distinction as a Women's Airforce Service Pilot (WASP). Sarah Everett (1922-2006) married Horace Downe McCowan, Jr. (1920-2008) in Old Bennington, Vermont on June 17, 1950. They had five children.
- 41 Both Grace and the daughters testified to this disharmony at the 1930 trial in which the daughters sought to have their father's will broken. See: "Mrs. Everett Cited Absence of Harmony Among Contestants," *Bennington Banner*, 22 January 1930. In: "Everett Case," Edward Hamlin Everett Files, 4.
- 42 "\$40,000,000 Deal in Grand Central Realty Arranged," *New York Times*, 13 May 1920.
- 43 "Everett Case," Edward Hamlin Everett Files, 8.
- 44 *Ibid.*
- 45 *Ibid.*, 5.
- 46 Tyler Resch, *Deed of Gift: The Putnam Hospital Story* (Boulder, Colorado: Paradigm Press, 1991), 46.
- 47 Dan Fleming, "The Fortune of E.H. Everett," *Licking Valley Ledger*, Vol. 2, No. 4 (October 2010), 3.
- 48 Undated newspaper clipping, Grace Burnap Everett Scrapbook, Everett Family Papers.
- 49 "Foreign Dogs Slated for D.C. Show," *Washington Post*, 2 April 1926, 18.
- 50 Historic American Buildings Survey, Edward Everett House, 7.
- 51 "3 Die as Shore Flyer Crashes at Delair," *Evening Public Ledger* (Philadelphia), 9 April 1926, 1. Grace's comment was written on the newspaper clipping about the accident she pasted into her scrapbook.
- 52 "Everetts Give Dinner," *Washington Post*, 17 February 1929.
- 53 "Everett Case," Edward Hamlin Everett Files, 4.
- 54 "Long Everett Will Case Won by Three Contesting Sisters," *Bennington Banner*, 24 March 1930, in: "Everett Case," Edward Hamlin Everett Files, 20.
- 55 The telegrams, dating from 1945 until the mid-1960s, are in the Everett Family Papers.

A Century Of Architecture, Art, And Diplomatic History

Caroline Mesrobian Hickman

The palatial residence of the Turkish ambassador to the United States, at 23rd Street and Sheridan Circle on Washington's elite Embassy Row, grandly celebrates the rich, nearly two-century diplomatic relationship between both nations. The history, art, and architecture of the mansion reveal the many important social, artistic, and cultural intersections that the Republic of Turkey and the United States share. The structure itself reflects the architect's great admiration for Ottoman culture, while a recent meticulous restoration thoughtfully incorporated Turkish heritage and design. The residence, which also served as the embassy and the residence until 1999 when the award-winning chancery opened a short distance north on Massachusetts Avenue, remains a strong and enduring testament to Turkey's important diplomatic presence in the United States.

The multimillionaire Ohio industrialist Edward H. Everett (1851-1929) commissioned George Oakley Totten, Jr. to design the house in 1909, envisioning a grand residence to entertain Washington's social and political elite during the winter season. Totten (1866-1939), a well-regarded Washington architect, had designed the

U.S. chancery in Istanbul several years earlier. Totten's time in Istanbul, then on the verge of a revolution that would end the Ottoman Empire and begin the formation of the Republic, influenced him deeply. He hoped to be a key player in the revisualization and replanning of this ancient capital on the Bosphorus at a critical junction in its history. Although that proposal and his vision for remaking the central core of the still-young capital on the Potomac were not realized, his imposing houses in Washington would continue to define its fashionable avenues, not the least the Everett mansion. Everett, a bottle, gas, and oil industry king, gave Totten carte blanche to showcase his architectural expertise. The house's impressive design, solid construction, opulent furnishings, and European art attest to a fruitful collaboration between a talented designer and a patron with unlimited resources.

The mansion's lengthy period of construction delayed the opening of the Washington residence until 1917, and the death of Everett's wife, Amy King Everett, shortly after the opening prevented the house's full use as a social centerpiece until the

Everett House

industrialist's remarriage in 1920 to Grace Burnap. Everett died in 1929, and the Great Depression, which soon followed, rendered the grand house and others like it impractical for seasonal use by rich individuals but ideal for the diplomatic requirements of foreign governments. Seeking an enhanced presence in Washington, the recently founded Republic of Turkey leased the house from Grace Burnap Everett. The renowned diplomat Mehmet Münir Ertegün arranged for its purchase in 1936. Since then, the lavish interiors of the house -- filled with the original Everett furnishings and important artwork -- have been the backdrop for both grand receptions and intimate gatherings. Marking the anniversary of Turkey's founding is but one of many functions that continues to link past and present ambassadors, most recently the current ambassador, Namik Tan.

In the same spirit that E. H. Everett charged his architect to dream creatively and spend freely when designing and furnishing the house a century ago, the Turkish government has embraced the responsibility and challenges of restoring the building while updating it for the 21st century, culminating in a multiyear restoration that was completed in 2007. Conserving the ballroom's sumptuous silk hangings --19th century Ottoman tent panels original to the house and likely selected by Totten -- and the conservatory's exquisite stained glass dome -- a form that Totten greatly admired in Istanbul's skyline -- are two of many features that the recent restoration carefully addressed.

George Oakley Totten and Ottoman Istanbul

Totten's design of the U.S. chancery in Istanbul in 1908 would mark him among the very first to design an overseas building commissioned by the U.S. government. His architectural education and prior work designing federal government buildings would prove him exceptionally qualified for the project. After graduating from Columbia University's School of Architecture in 1892, the New York City native won the McKim travelling fellowship. He used the award to study during 1893-95 at the influential École des Beaux Arts in Paris, whose classical curriculum had been the model for his training at Columbia. The École attracted a number of American architectural students who would become leaders of their profession during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Although not officially entered at the École, Totten studied in the popular Atelier Daumet-Girault-Esquié, and at the École des Arts Décoratifs, whose design-centered curriculum had promoted the artistic professions since the mid-18th century.

Totten then entered the Office of the Supervising Architect of the Treasury in Washington, which oversaw the design of federal government buildings, and worked on federal projects in the capital and nationwide as its chief designer from 1895 to 1898. He left that position to establish a private practice with Laussat R. Rogers of Philadelphia, who had been a classmate at Columbia. In 1907 Totten formed his own practice, and soon acquired a reputation for his elaborately designed buildings on 15th and 16th Streets in northwest Washington. The real estate speculator Mary Foote Henderson and her husband,



Figure 1. George Oakley Totten, photo (Source: Columbia Alumni News, 1 Dec. 1910, p. 189). Permission granted by Totten's granddaughter

John B. Henderson, a former senator from Missouri, commissioned and financed his designs and constructed the buildings to sell or lease to foreign governments for embassies and chanceries.

Totten's professional interests were internationally directed throughout his forty-year career. In 1897, he was selected as an official U.S. delegate to the International Congress of Architects in Brussels, even though the influential architectural organ the American Architect considered him far too young to represent such a venerable group of "old world celebrities." His key roles in congresses at Paris (1900), Madrid (1904), London (1906), and Vienna (1908, as its honorary secretary), would prove otherwise. He became an accomplished, even visionary, leader in his field.

In May 1908, at the conclusion of the VIII International Congress of Architects in Vienna, Totten caught the famed Orient Express to Istanbul (then a tedious, several-day journey) with a commission to design the new U.S. chancery. His trip came at a pivotal time in U.S.-Turkish diplomatic relations. The Young Turks, a coalition of progressive groups, were initiating reforms that would depose the sultan and culminate in the founding of the Republic in 1923.

Just before Totten received the commission to design the U.S. chancery in 1907, President Theodore Roosevelt had elevated the American minister at Istanbul to the rank of Extraordinary Ambassador and Plenipotentiary. With this change, Ambassador John G. A. Leishman could now directly represent growing American interests in Turkey through personal audiences with the sultan. Leishman had formerly

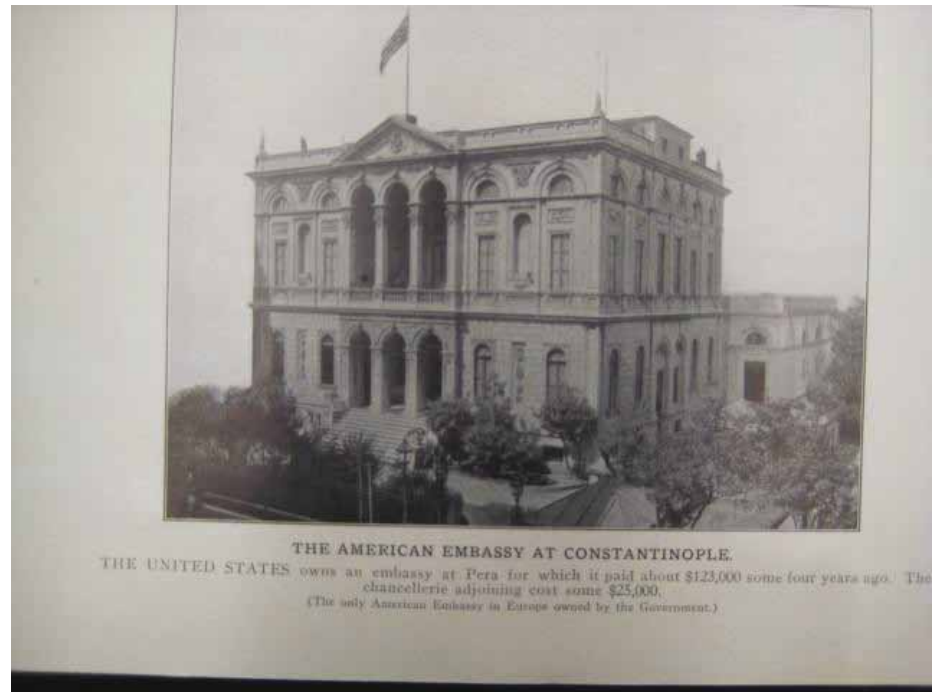


Figure 2. Palazzo Corpi, Istanbul (U.S. Embassy) (Source: Homes of Ambassadors, 1910, common domain)



Figure 3. Interior of Palazzo Corpi, Istanbul (U.S. Embassy) (Source: U.S. Department of State/Bilgili Holding – they will grant permission to use)



Figure 4. U.S. Chancery entrance (annex to Palazzo Corpi) (Source: Thomas Carolan, photographer, granted permission)

communicated with Abdül Hamid through the Sublime Porte (the central government), of which he complained to Secretary of State Elihu Root, “the machinery at the Porte moves more slowly each year.”

This new standing required an embassy large and impressive enough to reflect the enhanced American status and accommodate a larger staff. Leishman arranged for the U.S. government’s purchase of the grand Palazzo Corpi at a time when envoys were still expected to provide for their own housing and offices, and Congress had no official program for the purchase of land to erect embassies.

The Renaissance Revival palazzo had been built in the 1870s by the Italian architect Giacomo Leoni for the wealthy Genoese shipowner Ignazio Corpi in the European Quarter of Pera (Beyoğlu). Leased by the U.S. since 1882, it was the first overseas property acquired to serve as an American embassy in Europe. With its imposing pediment, projecting entrance portico, and opulent interior spaces decorated with frescoes representing mythological subjects, the embassy helped raise the American government’s official presence to a par with Great Britain and the major Continental powers.

Totten’s commission for the American embassy affirmed the new parity of the United States with the major European powers. During his six-week stay at the embassy, the architect worked on the chancery drawings and made interior improvements to the Palazzo Corpi. Because of the chancery’s proximity to the Corpi (it would sit on the palazzo’s rear corner) and a limited budget, Totten designed a restrained classical revival-style structure that harmonized but did not compete with the grandeur of the main building. The original plan called for two wings on either side of the rear courtyard. The proposed second wing, intended to house embassy secretaries, was never built.) The chancery rose quickly, Leishman writing Totten in mid-September 1908 that “Work on the new Chancery etc. is progressing very well, the roof of the new portion being practically in place now. It will take some weeks yet to complete the work inside, and then we shall have the most excellent quarters for our official business.”

The newly established American Embassy Association would soon showcase the new embassy in its literature as it lobbied Congress to establish an official building program worldwide.

While in Istanbul Totten also designed a grand residence for the sultan's favored secretary and confidant Izzet Holo Pasha (1852-1924). Izzet's influence and wealth came years after he convinced Abdül Hamid to build a railway from Istanbul to Mecca, which he had argued would help reestablish control of territory in the Middle East and promote Ottoman interests in the region (the Hejaz, opened October 1908). Since that time he had greatly profited from his position as finance minister and the mouthpiece for the sultan. The western press called him "Machiavellian." They claimed that Izzet had been the single largest obstacle to the U.S. minister's elevation to the rank of ambassador. Regardless, Izzet needed a new house. His old one had recently burned to the ground following the installation and malfunction of a "private cinematograph." Totten's introduction to Izzet and thus his house commission may have initially come through Izzet's son Mehmed Ali Bey, who Izzet had installed as Turkey's minister to the United States in late 1907. Reports that Mehmed Ali's rank was soon to be elevated to ambassador, and the frequent relocation of the Turkish Legation likely prompted the embassy builder Mary Foote Henderson and her architect Totten to propose a permanent embassy for Turkey. Mehmed Ali Bey must have known about Mrs. Henderson's recent project to establish the new French embassy on 16th Street at Kalorama Road. The grand Totten-designed property was about to receive the highly touted Jean Jules Jusserand, the ambassador of a country whose capital remained the pinnacle of art and culture for the American and Ottoman elite. Social events brought these individuals together in April 1908, just as Totten was leaving for Europe. But the Young Turks' July 24, 1908 recapture of Istanbul and the restoration of the constitution upended the old regime and Izzet's and his minister son's plans. The "notorious Izzet" fled



Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France

Figure 5. Izzet Holo Pasha, early 1900s, photograph (Source: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, common domain)



Figure 6. French Ambassador's Residence, 16th St., Totten, architect (Source: Library of Congress)

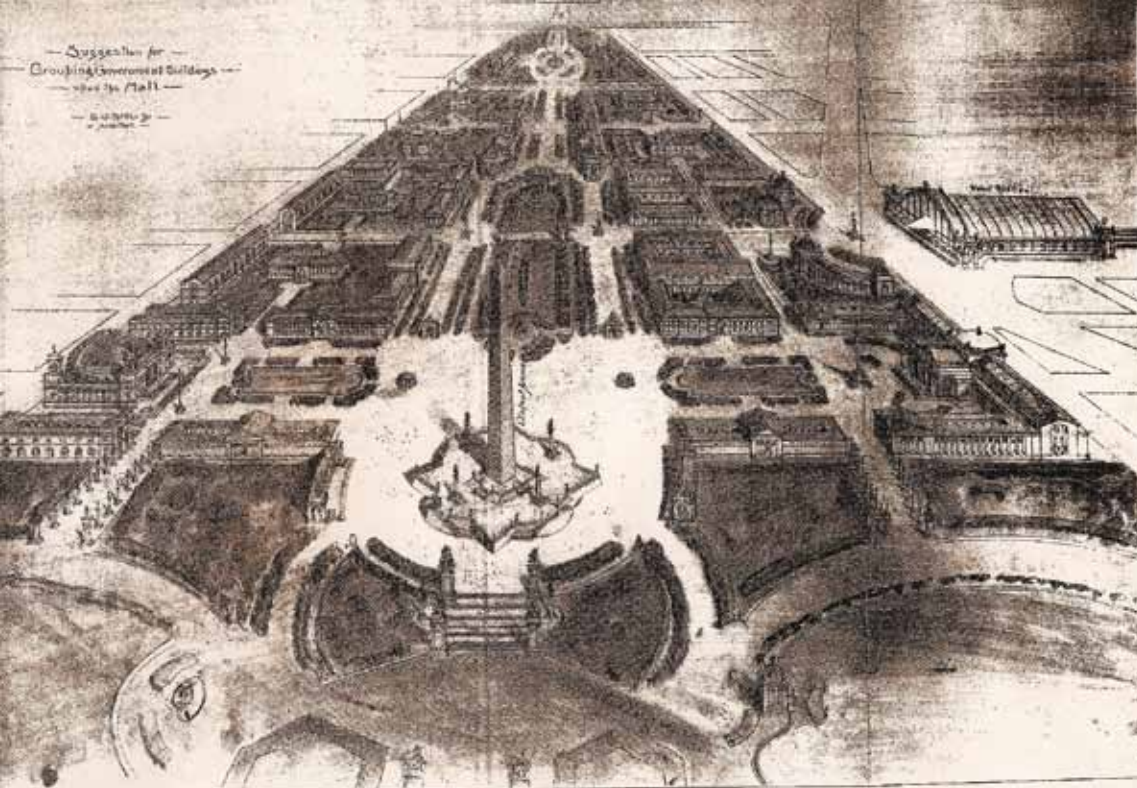


Figure 7. G O Totten plan for the mall, Washington DC (Source: Papers Relating to The Improvement of the City of Washington, 1901, common domain)

Totten's plan to transform Istanbul into an ordered, Western-style capital, which he proposed to the Ottoman government while he was in Istanbul, was also a casualty of the revolution. But he must have felt well qualified to undertake such a project. The Washington Post had recently acknowledged his public and private efforts to turn Washington into a "City Beautiful."

His plan for grouping government buildings between the Capital and the Washington Monument, one of four designs prepared for the American Institute of Architects to mark the centennial of the capital's establishment in the District of Columbia in 1800, appeared in *Papers Relating to The Improvement of the City of Washington* (1901). This report had helped spur the formation of the Senate Park Commission (often known as the McMillan Commission), charged with reconciling competing visions for the city's development. The Commission's 1902 report gave the National Mall its present configuration.

The architect then turned his interests to a city that had served as a capital of the Mediterranean basin for nearly sixteen centuries, known both for its unparalleled beauty and decay. Totten would later speak of the magnificent vista of Istanbul from the American embassy with almost rapture: "The mosques ... [with] their tall and graceful minarets, rising skyward in many parts of the city, form the distinguishing feature of the landscape," while the scenery along the Bosphorus was unsurpassed anywhere in the world. "From the rear of the new embassy building the view out across the Golden Horn is one never to be forgotten." He rightly noted that the architecture showed much foreign [Western] influence, especially Italian [classicism], but was frequently combined with Turkish elements "in a most effective manner." He was highly impressed with the new Post Office, "of the modern style of Turkish architecture ... being simply rich without being over ornate." He then admitted, "The city might be improved, at least made more modern, in a number of ways ... but whether the sultan would permit this to be done is doubtful."

Totten's scheme, which he probably discussed with Izzet Holo Pasha, appears to be the first proposed by an American architect to modernize the city, joining a host of European architects' unrealized designs for replanning and rebuilding since the Ottoman Empire opened to the West with the implementation of the Tanzimat Reforms in the 1830s. The "most grandiose and utopian urban designs for the capital" were submitted under Abdül Hamid (reigned 1876-1909), who envisioned a modernized

to London just weeks after Totten drew the plans for his new residence, and never returned to the Empire.

Mehmed Ali Bey fled the leased Turkish Legation at 1810 Calvert Street after threats on his life and joined his father in exile. Totten would comment to Ambassador Leishman that Mehmed was "pretty badly scared" when he left Washington.

capital that would be symbolic of a rejuvenated Ottoman Empire. Among these commissions was an ambitious plan from the celebrated Beaux-Arts trained Joseph Antoine Bouvard, inspector-general of the Architectural Department of the City of Paris. Bouvard's elaborate, vastly expensive avant-projet (1901), which the Ottoman high bureaucracy applauded and imperial orders mandated, was yet another casualty of the empire's precarious financial state.

But the still-hopeful Totten renewed his efforts on learning of the overthrow of the sultan by the Young Turks and the reformist government's desire for a new plan for the city. He implored Ambassador Leishman to put in a good word for him: The new authorities are proposing a new plan for the city, just as I did last June & they are sending to England and France for advice.... If you could kindly do anything to aid in the matter, I would be very thankful as I have been dreaming of nothing but Constantinople reconstructed ever since I left. I would start at moment's notice if I could get a chance of working on such a scheme.

Leishman responded that he would inform him when an opportunity arose, even as he weighed the political situation: "The new government is acting with admirable moderation and foresight, and ... I feel very strongly that the country can never revert to the old régime and there is a bright future awaiting Turkey and its people."

A bright future also awaited Totten in Washington. Mrs. Henderson was planning additional embassies, and his own private commissions would prove highly noteworthy. Not the least of them would be two impressive residences for Edward H. Everett, who had heretofore not commissioned a residence for himself: a grand mansion in Washington, and an equally imposing country house in Bennington, Vermont.

Building the Edward H. Everett House

In 1909 Everett set out to build a house that would surpass those of the social and political elite in Washington, including his fellow Ohioan, the newly elected President William Howard Taft. The industrialist was at the pinnacle of his career, flush with lucrative investments in bottling, gas, and oil. He had recently capitalized his bottle company with that of Adolphus Busch and others into the American Bottle Company at \$10 million, an enterprise said to control four-fifths of the bottle production in the United States. With three daughters to marry off, the nearly



Figure 8. E H Everett (Source: Licking County, Ohio, Historical Society) permission granted from Everett's granddaughter and the Historical Society

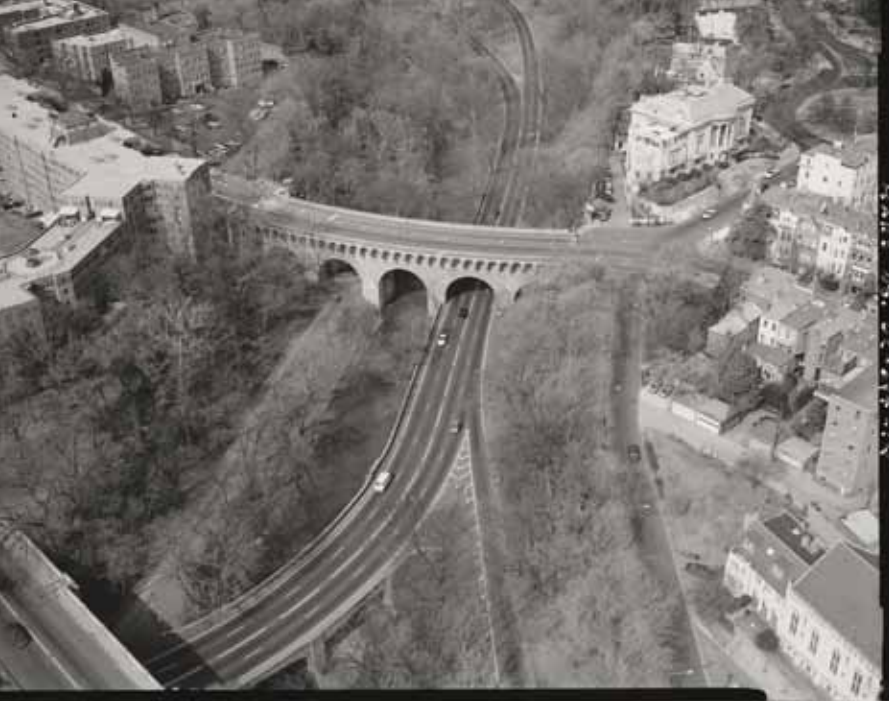


Figure 9. View of Everett House and Rock Creek valley (Source: Historic American Buildings Survey, Library of Congress)

sixty-year-old Everett turned his interests to Washington society, commissioning its favored architect George Oakley Totten, Jr. to design the mansion. Everett chose a site in Kalorama Heights at the southwest corner of 23rd Street and Sheridan Circle, where the house would command the eastern approach to the circle from Massachusetts Avenue and provide a spectacular vista over Rock Creek valley and the city. The purchase of two lots provided a sizeable frontage on 23rd Street for an impressive entrance façade

as well as a significant presence on the circle.

Since 1900 Sheridan Circle, until recently a rural area just outside the original city boundaries, had witnessed the rapid rise of costly mansions and townhouses. The progression of stately residences from Dupont Circle westward on Massachusetts Avenue signaled Washington's continuing appeal to wealthy full-time and seasonal residents. The New York Times wondered if this new elite Washington enclave was cornering its multi-millionaires: "Around Sheridan Circle the bonanza kings, as they are called, have pitched their palace tents.... And so they come, piling millions upon millions into the National Capital."

Totten was a key player in the development of the Sheridan Circle area beginning in 1906, designing houses for wealthy clients, including the artist Alice Pike Barney (daughter of the Cincinnati distiller Samuel Pike), the diamond-mining engineer Gardiner F. Williams, and Christian Hague, Norway's first minister to the United States. His residence for the South African gold-mining engineer Hennen Jennings, at the northeast corner of Massachusetts Avenue and Sheridan Circle (1906-07, now the Embassy of Greece), was the largest house on the circle until the building of the Everett mansion, which retains that distinction today. Totten's work contributes to the visual cohesiveness of the circle, which results from the use of limestone,

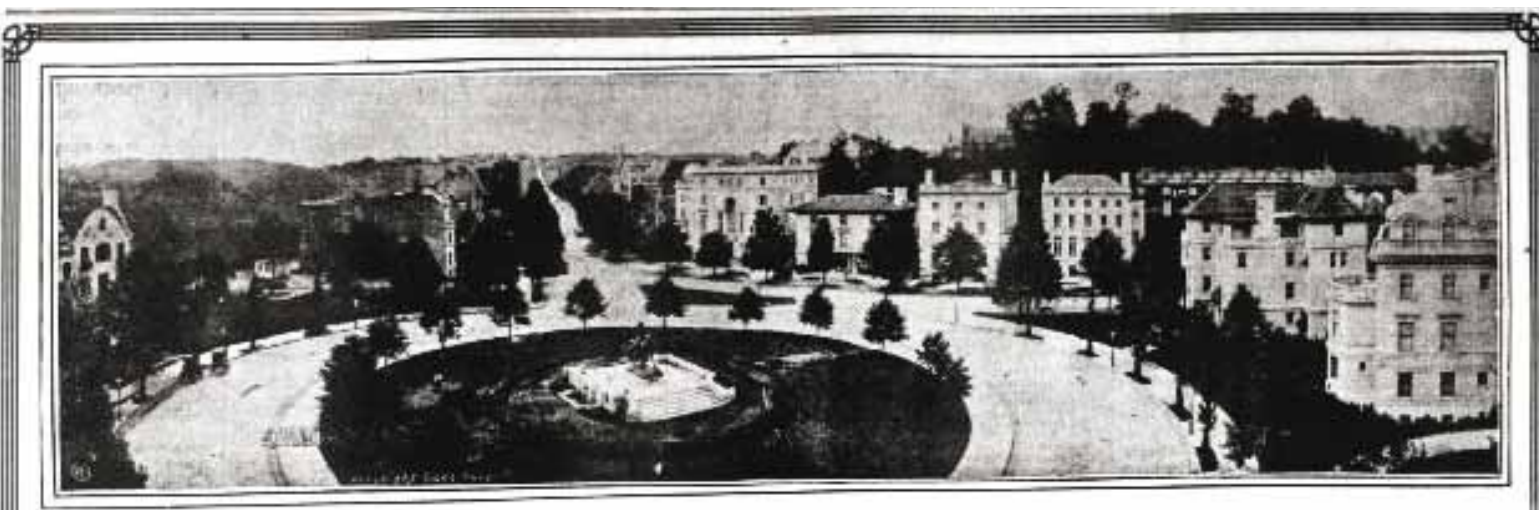


Figure 10. Sheridan Circle, 1911. [Source: Washington Times 27 May 1911,16, common domain]

light-colored brick, and stucco, neoclassical designs, and the construction of the houses over a short period of time. Beaux Arts classicism became a ubiquitous style after the success of the “White City” at the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago, and its principles were employed by the Macmillan Commission for city planning of Washington just after the turn of the century. The visual integrity and urbane elegance of Sheridan Circle reflect these developments despite its lack of a comprehensive design scheme; various architects designed the houses for clients with differing tastes and budgets. The Everett mansion remains the most conspicuous example of Beaux-Arts classicism on the circle, albeit the very eclectic interpretation of two self-assured individualists.

The residence demonstrates Everett’s and Totten’s collaborative interests, with the architect responding to the industrialist’s mandate for the design of the main (23rd Street) façade while featuring his own innovative designs. The press had a field day reporting the house’s more-than-passing resemblance to the south portico of the White House. “The Bottle King” was quoted as saying, “I shall build me a palace in Washington that will be like the White House, yet unlike it; that will be more beautiful, more magnificent and expensive, and more impressively situated.” The façade of Everett House, faced with limestone from Bowling Green, Kentucky, was as handsome as marble yet more lasting, and outshone the president’s mansion’s whitewashed brown sandstone. Its perch at the “edge of a precipitous bluff” made it clearly visible for miles around, while the President’s house stood on low, swampy ground and was not much larger in size.

French neoclassicism, Totten’s preferred style, informs the grand semi-circular portico and colossal colonnade of the two houses, inspired by late 18th century French chateaux. The Everett House friezes and other decorative elements derive from French Renaissance architectural vocabulary, while the decorative groupings of three windows, arched or rectangular, recall 15th century Italianate classicism. This eclecticism is far removed from the stylistic restraint of the Joseph Beale house (1907-08, now the Embassy of Egypt), on the northeast side of Sheridan Circle. Designed by Totten’s mentor Glenn Brown, the neo-Renaissance structure shows a careful attention to scale, proportion, and balance within



Figure 11. Everett House showing the Sheridan Circle façade (Source: Gary Landsman, fee. Or we can use another photo, just as long as it also shows the Sheridan Circle façade in addition to the main, 23rd St. facade)

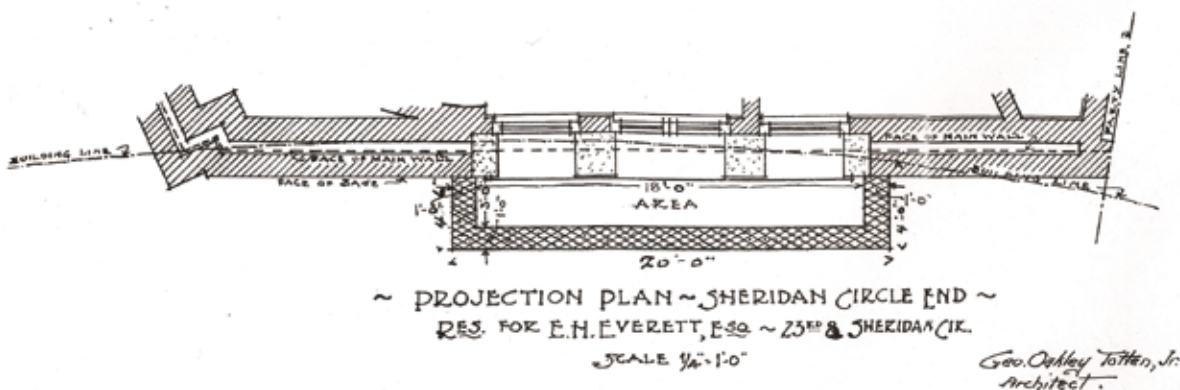


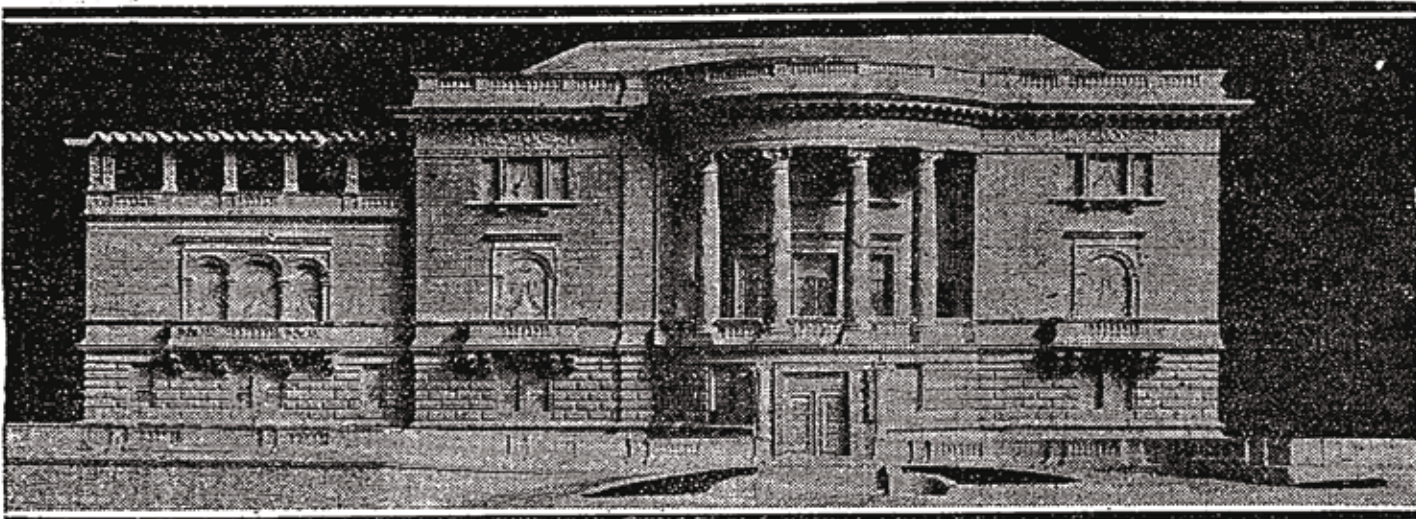
Figure 12. Projection plan for Everett House, Sheridan Circle façade – one of two existing drawings for the house, and showing the architect's signature (National Archives)

whole, rather than for individual treatment,” is apparent in the Sheridan Circle façade of Everett House. Its design, with rusticated ground floor, first floor balustrade, and narrow rectangular second story fenestration, is less pretentious than the main façade and harmonizes with the adjacent house, which was built in 1909.

The independent-spirited Everett House draws on the great traditions of the past without bowing to stylistic architectural orthodoxy. It follows the Beaux-Arts axiom that the exterior should clearly state the function of its parts, many of which reflect the architect's search for an elegant, well-designed plan with modern amenities. The principal floor, or piano nobile, is clearly delineated above the rusticated ground level. Totten considered this “English basement effect an innovation ... due entirely to social conditions,” as it freed the

the classical idiom. Totten's belief that architects should respect the designs of nearby buildings, to create “an effect as a

PALATIAL RESIDENCE OF E. H. EVERETT.



Structure being erected on Sheridan Circle, from plans made by George Oakley Totten, Jr., for the Ohio capitalist, who will spend the greater part of each year in Washington.

HOUSE TO BE PALATIAL

Everett Residence Not to Be Done for Two Years.

SITE IN SHERIDAN CIRCLE

Plaster Model of Elegant Home Is Made to Better Aid Construction Company in Its Work—Structure Will Be Fireproof, and One of the Handsomest in Washington.

Green, Ky., limestone. The style of architecture will be of the early Italian renaissance period.

The first floor will contain a large marble hall, 40 feet wide. To the right of the hall will be billiard and smoking rooms, coat rooms, and a suite of half a dozen guest chambers, kitchen, and service departments. A garage will be located in the basement, as will be a large swimming pool, lined with enameled brick. Coal and service rooms also will be located in the basement.

The second, or main reception floor, will contain a large reception hall, large and small drawing rooms, dining and breakfast rooms, a conservatory, and large living rooms. Bedrooms will be located on the third floor. A roof garden, with a pergola and fountains to the south, will be on this floor. The attic will be for servants' rooms.

The exterior of the building will be simple and massive, with delicate, defined details. A feature of the exterior will be the facade on the Twenty-third

Figure 13. Plaster model of Everett House, (Source Washington Post 1911. Use only photo and headline, please cut out the article narrative. I must get permission from the Washington Post, fee)

primary entertaining areas from the entrance; several of his earlier houses in the Sheridan Circle enclave employ this Italian Renaissance-derived arrangement.¹

The south wing spacious roof garden reflects the architect's interest in creating "sanitary" (healthful living) conditions for his clients during a period when medical conferences were advocating plentiful access to fresh air as a deterrent to tuberculosis, then the third most common cause of death in North America and Western Europe. The elevated garden also provided a pleasant view of Rock Creek valley and "command[ed] the southern breezes in the spring and summer;" it and the two smaller terraces at the rear of the house could serve as sleeping porches during the summer heat. Sheridan Circle boasted an earlier Totten-designed roof loggia, built in 1907 for Mrs.

S. N. Shaler (the widow of the noted Harvard geologist Nathaniel Shaler) at the corner of Massachusetts Avenue and R Street. With its excellent view of the city to the southwest, the press considered Mrs. Shaler's roof garden "the most pleasing feature of the house."²

Totten's fascination with "aerial navigation" seems to have contributed to his featuring rooftop loggias. A founding member of the Washington Aero Club, Totten was part of the committee that welcomed the Wright Brothers on their arrival at Union Station in June 1909, on their way to the White House to receive a tribute from President Taft for their recent "conquest of the air." Totten attended local and international aviation meets and lectured on the need for architects to consider the aesthetics of buildings and city planning from an aerial perspective. As he commented to the press, "The view of a building obtained from a flying machine should be equally as pleasing to the eye as that obtained from the street." The pergolas, ornamental fountains, and gardens of his innovative rooftop retreats for the Everett and Shaler houses provided pleasing vistas "for the eye of the esthetic traveler through the sky."³

The indoor swimming pool at Everett House was yet another novel idea of the architect, further demonstrating his interest in providing amenities for healthful living. Several years earlier Totten had advocated for a grand public natatorium and European-styled public baths for the city as well as swimming pools for private residences, which were a rarity in Washington. He cited Alexander Graham Bell's magnificent basement pool (with a fountain that could also be used as a shower bath), a recent addition to the inventor's Connecticut Avenue house near Dupont Circle.⁴ But the Everett House swimming pool was even larger, beautifully lined with white tile manufactured by the Northwestern Terra Cotta Company of Chicago,⁵ and bordered with dressing rooms for bathers. The sizeable basement contained other modern conveniences: in addition to the mechanical plant, a wine cellar and cold storage room, laundry and vacuum cleaner plant, elevator machinery, rooms for the staff, and a large garage.⁶

The light-colored neo-classical opulence of the façade carries into the entrance hall. Gray-veined white marble floors with polychrome mosaic inlay, columnar screens, and richly detailed cornices define the public reception area. The flanking antehalls

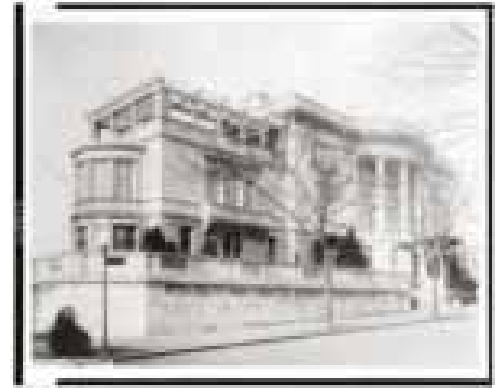


Figure 14. Everett House showing the rooftop loggia, ca 1921 (Library of Congress TIFF available, but not online, I can order a TIFF scan from the negative for \$40)

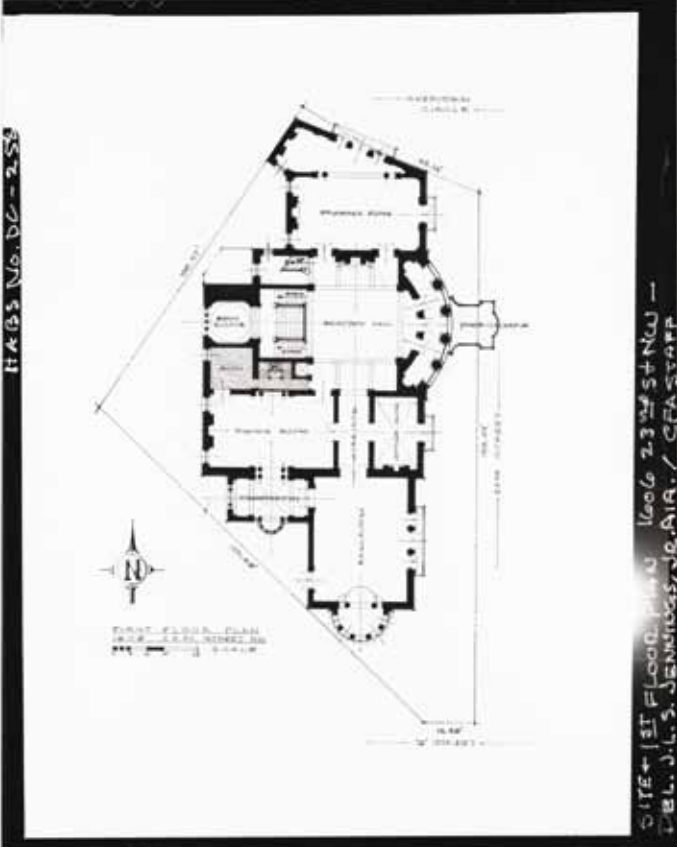


Figure 15. Main Floor Plan of Everett House (Source: Library of Congress)

originally led to a billiard room facing Sheridan Circle and on the south side, the luxurious “Turri Suite” of rooms,⁷ reserved for the occasional visits of Everett’s daughter Mary and her Italian husband, Giulio Turri, who had made their home in Florence.

Beyond the opulent white stone of the façade and the entrance hall, a warm-colored carved oak stair ascends to a music alcove, then divides into two flights to the primary entertaining level. The first (main) floor plan shows the architect’s skill at designing commodious, flowing spaces despite the challenges of working with a highly irregular site. Totten’s Beaux-Arts training at Columbia and the Paris atelier emphasized architectural drawing and the importance of the plan.⁸ Moreover, his earlier designs for irregular lots in the Sheridan Circle area, such as the Christian Hauge house (1906-07, 2349 Massachusetts Avenue), and for Mrs. F. B. Moran (1909, 2315 Massachusetts Avenue, now the Embassy of Pakistan) had proven highly successful. The Everett House sizeable, well-proportioned dining room, ballroom, and drawing room; breakfast room (the “sitting room” on the 1972

Historic American Buildings Survey plan, and semi-circular front loggia radiate from the spacious reception hall accessed directly from the grand staircase. The third floor private quarters were no less accommodating, with six bedrooms and four bathrooms featuring solid porcelain tubs built into wall recesses. Some of the bedroom closets were purportedly eight by ten feet, small rooms in themselves.⁹ The main bedroom suite opened directly onto the novel roof garden, probably the “largest and most attractive private [one] in Washington.”¹⁰

The local newspapers closely monitored the progress of the palatial structure over the more-than-six years it took to build.¹¹ By mid-October 1910 several hundred concrete pilings had been driven twenty to fifty feet deep to shore up the foundations on the sandy soil at the edge of Rock Creek valley and the swimming pool excavated. Although the exterior was largely finished in January 1913, the scale and intricacy of the interior marble and woodwork, executed by Italian craftsmen, took several years.¹² News articles show that the decisions concerning the interior decoration evolved over a multi-year period, beginning with the Washington Herald report in the fall of 1911 (over a year into the project) that the décor was largely yet to be determined. The results were worth the wait. Richly grained hardwoods sheathe the walls of the main floor: burlled walnut for the stair hall, English crotch oak for the reception hall, India mahogany for the breakfast room’s overhead beams and the paneling in the dining room, Italian walnut for the south “living room” (ballroom). The reception hall’s elaborately carved cornice work, beamed ceiling with fret soffits and crossing bosses, and the floral-and-urn paneled balustrade exhibit exceptional craftsmanship and attention to detail. Intricately carved marble fireplaces, ornate gold plated hardware, gilded candelabra, and chandeliers further enhance the opulently appointed rooms. The estimated cost for the house grew from the \$150,000 listed with the building permit application to the \$1,500,000 cited in a 1913 newspaper article.¹³ We can only guess at the total cost when the house opened in early 1917.

The lack of documents concerning the overall planning of the house makes it difficult to assess the working relationship between the owner, architect, and

decorator regarding the interior. But Totten certainly planned the overall decoration of the house, designed the architectural features, including the opulent woodwork, selected the marble fireplaces, and possibly provided schematic drawings for the metalwork gates and the striking stained glass windows.¹⁴ He was a talented artist as well as a skilled draftsman, as his drawings featured in the Washington Architectural Club exhibition catalogues and the *American Architect* demonstrate.¹⁵ He

was a connoisseur of the fine arts. His appointment as president of a Washington art gallery venture, by which he and several associates were planning to sell “Rembrandts, Reynolds, Raphaels etc. by the dozen,” indicates his business partners’ confidence in his expertise of European art.¹⁶ And he was a master of detail, even specifying numerous species of wood for the doors, architraves, and flooring in an outline for a proposed legation commissioned by Mary Foote Henderson. His correspondence with Mrs. Henderson concerning an embassy building they were planning on 16th Street shows careful attention to the interior specifications and deference to her taste and expectations.¹⁷

The contractors were preeminent in their fields: the George A. Fuller Company for the general contracting work, L. Marcotte and Company of Paris and New York for the interior, Tiffany Studios to create glass mosaics in the conservatory.

From the time of its founding in Chicago in 1882, the Fuller Company established a reputation in the building industry for quality, innovation, and efficiency. The world’s first skyscrapers in Chicago rose at its hands when the use of steel as a reliable building material was still under debate. The company coordinated the work of hundreds of men working under subcontractors to become one of the first true general contractors. It was closely involved with the construction of the 1893 Columbian Exposition’s “White City.” With offices along the Eastern Seaboard and the Midwest by the early 20th century, the New-York-based company commanded a significant national presence, erecting over 600 buildings from 1900 to 1914.¹⁸ Fuller’s Washington office built the prestigious R. W. Patterson house on Dupont Circle (1901, now the Washington Club), the John R. McLean residence (1907, now demolished), and the fashionable “New



Figure 16. Marcotte Interior Decorating advertisement, 1912 (Source: New York Times, common domain?)



Figure 17. Dining Room, ca.1917 (Everett Family granted permission)



Figure 18. View of Ballroom from the Dining Room (Everett Family granted permission)

Willard Hotel” on Pennsylvania Avenue, all of which were featured in the company’s copiously illustrated publication *Fireproof Building Construction* (1910).¹⁹ The firm had also recently constructed several of Mrs. Henderson’s speculative buildings for foreign governments, including the French Embassy on 16th Street, which Totten had designed. The Everett House engineering and design challenges, including the proximity of the lot to the edge of Rock Creek valley and the irregular shape of the plan, were not problematic for the Fuller Company, which had commissioned and erected New York’s even-then-famous, wedge-shaped Flatiron (Fuller) Building (1902).²⁰ Fuller’s limited-edition publication of 1937, an impressive roster of projects nationwide completed since the company’s founding, featured the Everett residence and other Totten-designed houses in Washington.²¹

The venerable New York and Paris decorating firm L. Marcotte and Company furnished the Everett House interiors. Both an importer and a manufacturer, Marcotte was a full-service company, advertising in 1905 a large stock of furniture, draperies, tapestries, chandeliers, and objets d’art. The company probably also contracted with the Italian craftsmen who did the extensive interior decorative painting. Photographs of the dining room taken shortly after the house was completed show an eclectic, historicist mixture of styles common to the period. A green, richly patterned silk brocade and antique tapestries cover the walls, an Herez carpet cushions Hepplewhite dining room chairs, and beyond the grand arched opening, are visible the dark red velvet draperies in the ballroom. The Regency revival-style drawing room again shows this eclecticism: neoclassical fluted pilasters and richly decorated cornice

work provide an imposing architectural backdrop for the Sèvres gilded porcelain clocks and monumental, ornate vases. Despite the taste for French revival styles among Washington’s elite,²² the Everett drawing room architectural framework, white plaster walls, and white-enameled woodwork²³ seem closer in spirit to the White House East Room, whose heavy Victorian décor had been replaced in 1902 with a restoration to Georgian classicism, and its giant fluted pilasters and paneled walls painted white.²⁴



Figure 19. Drawing Room, 1970. (Source: Library of Congress)

Highlights of the Interior

The interior decoration of Everett House, from the first to last detail, shows careful planning, materials of the highest quality, and superior craftsmanship -- standards that were intrinsic to houses built for the very wealthy during the Gilded Age and early 20th century. Parquet and stone-inlay floors with intricate designs, soffited ceilings, and elevators with elaborate architectural metalwork were the given. But the mansion's monumental Alessandro Allori paintings, Tiffany Studios Favrite mosaics, and sumptuous Ottoman silk wall hangings -- all highly significant in their own right -- are unique among the grand houses of the national capital.



Figure 20. Narcissus at the Pool.
(Source: Embassy of Turkey)

Alessandro Allori's Mythological Scenes

The Everetts travelled widely during the construction of the house, making occasional trips to Washington to attend to its decoration, otherwise dividing their time between Switzerland, New York, Ohio, Vermont, and Italy after their middle daughter's marriage to Giulio Turri in 1909.²⁵ These travels provided opportunities to purchase art at leading galleries and auctions. Mary Everett's going to live with her husband in the Turri family's Villa Salviati near Florence resulted in the purchase of three impressive Alessandro Allori paintings, which had decorated the villa for centuries. Narcissus at the Pool and Aeneas Fleeing the Burning of Troy, nine-by-nearly twelve feet, oil-on-wood panels, flank the Everett House double staircase that leads from the music alcove to the reception hall. The Everetts installed the third and largest painting, The Abduction of Proserpine, in their expansive Bennington, Vermont, country house, which was designed by Totten in the Norman revival style and built at the same time as the Washington mansion.²⁶ The near-identical size of the Narcissus and Aeneas paintings must have influenced Everett's decision to group them in the Washington house.



Figure 21. Aeneas Fleeing the
Burning of Troy (Source: Embassy
of Turkey)

The Florentine Mannerist artist Alessandro Allori (1535-1607) painted the mythological scenes in the early 1570s for Alamanno Salviati, who had commissioned him to decorate the Villa Salviati during the rebuilding and enlargement of that



Figure 22. Ceiling decoration, Main Floor/Stairhall (Source: Permission granted from the art conservators)

11th century fortress overlooking the village of San Domenico near Florence.²⁷ Cipriano and Elisa Turri, Guilio's parents, purchased the villa in 1902. The Florence art dealer Gagliardi put up the works for auction in Rome in 1908, the year after Cipriano died. Because the sales catalogue lists them as coming from the Villa Salviati, and there is no evidence of intervening provenance, the paintings probably were in situ when the Turris took ownership of the villa. It is unclear if the works sold during the auction, and how and when Everett acquired them.²⁸ He must have purchased the paintings around 1913, when the Washington house interior design was still in process, for their setting in the rich burlled walnut provides a handsome, custom-made architectural framework.

Narcissus at the Pool, inspired by Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, shows the self-absorbed, golden-haired youth falling in love with his reflection, aided by Eros' fateful arrow. Unable to leave his newfound affection, he wastes away, and a white flower springs up at the water's edge, thereafter called narcissus. The mountain nymph Echo, seen beckoning him to come away with her, also dies from unrequited love, leaving her voice to echo through the hills.

Aeneas Fleeing the Burning of Troy depicts a pivotal scene from Virgil's *Aeneid*, in which Aeneas, the son of Prince Anchises and the goddess Aphrodite, escapes the sack of Troy by the Greeks. With his father on his back and son Ascanius at his side, Aeneas carries the household gods and the sacred fire of the hearth out of the burning city to eventually become the progenitor of the Roman people. Athena (Artemis), the goddess of war and wisdom, in the guise of a gray owl, closely watches Aeneas leave the city she so despised. It was she who had given Odysseus the idea to enter Troy secreted in the wooden horse, which stands prominently behind the goddess-owl in the painting.

Allori's elongated figures; complex, twisting poses; and bright, saturated colors recall Michelangelo's late work and that of Allori's primary teacher, the premier Mannerist painter Agnolo Bronzino. The occasional misattribution of the Allori works derives from the unique relationship of Allori and Bronzino, who became the guardian of the Allori family when Alessandro was a young boy. Allori added his master's name to his own, at times signing his work "Alexander Alorius Angeli Bronzini Alumnus" (Alessandro Allori, foster-son of Agnolo Bronzino), thereby becoming the "second Bronzino."²⁹

These masterworks helped fulfill Everett's desire to decorate his Washington and Vermont houses with impressive Old Master paintings, to show his wealth and appreciation for European art. But the American art market during this period did not favor large Mannerist paintings, even exceptional works like the Alloris. The leading tastemaker Bernard Berenson disdained *La Maniera*, preferring to cultivate

in American collectors an appreciation for Italian “High” Renaissance works. If his ideal was the “perfect rendering of form,” Mannerist painters had distorted nature and squandered their talent and energy.³⁰ The commonly held preference for “High” Renaissance ideals of design and color is indicated in George Oakley Totten’s list of “Old Masters” that his proposed art gallery would sell. Raphael, whose paintings were considered the epitome of Renaissance art, leads the architect’s list.



Figure 23. Detail of Narcissus at the Pool (Eros) Source: Permission granted from the art conservators) Can you edit out the glare on the lower left?

Although Everett’s decision to purchase the Allori works hinged on their close association with the Villa Salviati and the Turris, their bravura and sheer size must have impressed him. Time has validated his decision. Today the three mythological scenes are considered major examples of Allori’s work and the Mannerist style, embodiments of late 16th century Florentine academic theory, and are fully accepted in the wider sphere of Italian Renaissance art. Moreover, Everett’s purchase brought the first major Allori collection to the United States; the three paintings remain the prime examples of his oeuvre in North and South America.

The Allori panels at Everett House are situated adjacent to the stair hall and music alcove, whose richly ornamented ceilings and walls celebrate the art of the Renaissance and its chief inspiration, classical antiquity. Their decoration is loosely connected to the theme of sacred and profane love, which is also addressed in Aeneas Fleeing the Burning of Troy (familial love) and Narcissus at the Pool (self love). Putti adorn the central octagon of the ceiling above the stair hall; these cherub-like figures are traditionally associated with Eros, who mischievously aims his bow at Narcissus in the Allori painting. The pendentive dome in the music alcove features a decorative program consisting of the Muses, goddesses said to have inspired the arts and sciences. Grisaille figures personify drama, rhetoric, and music, as well as the winged Psyche, the deification of the human soul. The wall fans in the music alcove depict idyllic garden landscapes, perhaps indicating that music can lift the

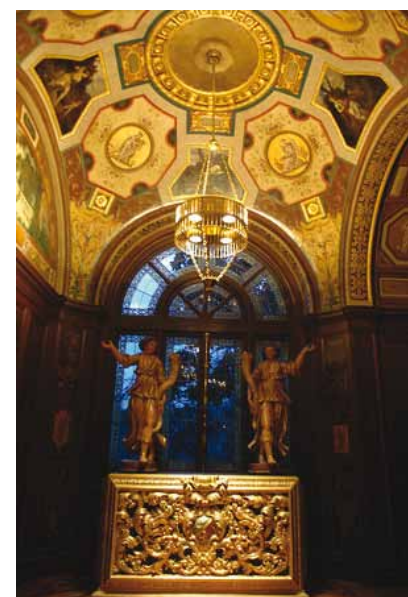


Figure 24. Music alcove ceiling decoration (Source: Russell Hirschon, granted permission, no fee) this image replaces the one in the PDF of Chapter 3. I think it should be cropped at the angel’s waists to give a better view of the ceiling decoration. The gold chest is distracting.

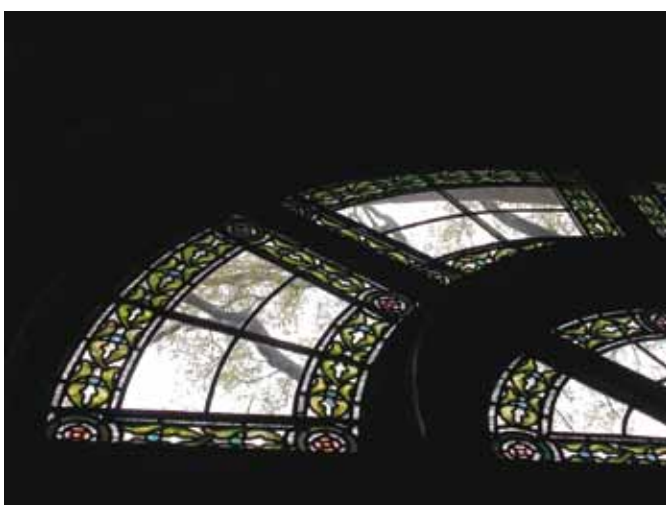


Figure 25 a and b. Music Alcove, details of the stained-glass window (Source: Caroline Hickman)

soul to paradise. Whether or not music resonates from the alcove, the jewel-like interior evokes the splendor of a small, richly decorated Italianate chapel, lighted by a semicircular leaded-glass window that is decorated with stylized leaves and flowers.

The overall decorative program of these spaces shows a sophisticated interest in the art of classical antiquity. Totten had studied Italian art and architecture at its source during his McKim travelling fellowship, and Everett must have appreciated the wealth of Italian culture when he visited his daughter at the Villa Salviati. As members of the Washington Society of the Archaeological Institute of America, Totten and Everett kept current on the latest findings of experts leading excavations at the major sites of ancient civilizations.³¹ Totten, at the very least, must have been highly involved in the planning of the architectural decoration and its thematic coordination with the Allori masterworks.

Tiffany Studios Mosaics

The commission of Tiffany Studios, New York, to create mosaics for the conservatory demonstrates Everett's interest in showcasing contemporary American glasswork. Everett's lifework and great wealth had centered on the utilitarian glass bottle and innovations in its design and production. He had patented a device for shaping

bottle necks, employed new methods of glass manufacture, modernized his plants, and at one point, considered establishing a "window glass factory."³² Tiffany's pioneering use of glass to create a wide range of original works of art must have appealed to "the Bottle King," whose unassuming but essential wares were a mainstay in households and businesses throughout the country. The Tiffany interiors transported the industrialist to a world far removed from business and commerce while displaying his material status and sophisticated taste.



Figure 26. View of the conservatory
(Source: Russel Hirschon granted permission, no fee)

Louis Comfort Tiffany, the ambitious tastemaker renowned for his expert joining of innovative glassmaking methods and superior design, had provided interiors for the rich and famous since the 1880s, remaining ne plus ultra of interior designers at the time Everett house was built. Tiffany's new aesthetic "bridged and transcended the avant-garde trends of the late 19th century - the Aesthetic Movement, the Arts and Crafts Movement, and Art Nouveau."³³ The Everett mosaics are exquisite examples of this pre-World War I aesthetic. They uniquely reflect Tiffany's fascination with Byzantine ornament and his mastery of innovative glass methods to create a seemingly endless range of nuanced colors. A hand-scripted ledger kept by the company's mosaics department lists the commission for Everett House, including expenses for "materials and extra help" and the craftsmen's periodic travel from New York to Washington. The work was executed over an eight-month period and was nearing completion in the fall of 1913, when a Washington Times reporter toured the house.³⁴

The mosaics, which form the borders of the intersected barrel vault, reflect the mosaics of classical antiquity, and in particular, Byzantine churches, a continuing source of inspiration to Tiffany, who had travelled extensively in Europe and the Near and Far East. Siegfried Bing, whose Paris gallery La Maison de l'Art Nouveau ushered in the Art Nouveau style, observed that Tiffany "discovered how to adopt

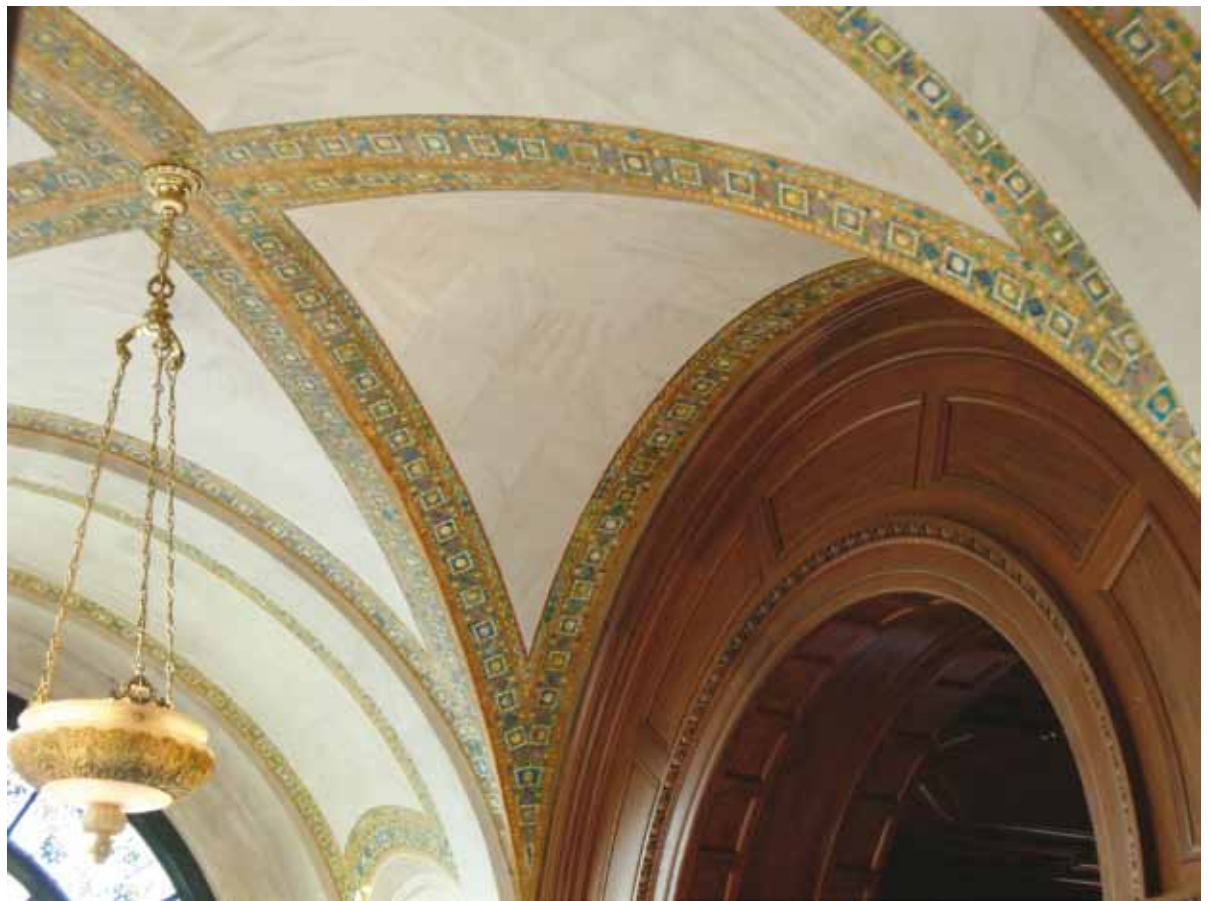


Figure 27. View of the conservatory ceiling mosaics (Source: Permission granted from the art conservators)

the lofty character of Byzantine splendor to contemporary taste.”³⁵ Tiffany’s otherworldly Byzantine chapel, created expressly for the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago, was an overwhelming critical and popular success, as were his mosaics and glass domes for the Chicago Public Library (1896, now the Chicago Cultural Center) and the Marshall Field Department Store on State Street (1907). While the Everett House mosaics share commonalities with those of the Chicago Public Library, they are very reminiscent of the Garden Landscape and Fountain mosaics in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, which are contemporaneous to those in the Washington house.³⁶ Tiffany’s signature opalescent and gold-foil-backed tesserae shimmer next to cadenced shades of vermillion, opal, and aquamarine to form geometric patterns. No two shapes or colors are exactly alike. The warm-colored ochre-toned tesserae provide a harmonious transition to the rich-colored woodwork that is found throughout the main floor of the house. A company brochure promoted the innovative qualities of its trademark Favrite glass: “through its limitless range of color, diversity of tone and endless variety of texture ... this new glass ... is particularly and peculiarly fitted for windows and mosaics.”³⁷ The mosaic pattern and coloring is replicated in faux work on the conservatory walls and is part of the original decorative scheme, an effect seen in other buildings featuring Tiffany Studios mosaics.



Figure 28. Mosaics detail, conservatory (Source: Permission granted from the art conservators)

The leaded-glass windows – a semi-circular arched window and an oriel with quarter-sphere dome – feature large areas of opaque non-colored glass through which abundant, filtered light enters the conservatory. The pattern in the opaque glass appears to be a tribute to Everett and the bottles that launched his career in the glass business in the early 1880s. Some of the stylized bulbous shapes



Figure 29. Stained-glass dome, conservatory (Source: Embassy of Turkey)



Figure 30. Conservatory window detail (Source: Embassy of Turkey)

seem to replicate the shape of the “Lightning Jar,” the most popular of the fruit jars and jelly glasses produced in Everett’s first plant, the Newark (Ohio) Star Glass Company. The young entrepreneur promoted the jars on a sales trip to Washington in January 1882, probably his first visit to the national capital.³⁸ The successful production and sale of these bottles made possible the industrialist’s return to the city to build one of its most palatial residences.

The opaque glass is decorated with borders comprised of a grape-and-basket-weave design arranged around a columnar band. The pattern is somewhat reminiscent of smaller Tiffany Studios objects, in particular grape lampshades that date from the same period. However, the degree of abstraction and stylization of the Everett windows is highly atypical of Tiffany Studios’ oeuvre. Tiffany’s predilections turned more to a fidelity to nature and three-dimensional form than to abstracted line and form. The overall effect of the stained glass displays a rather modern sensibility; the atypical design could result from a collaboration of George Oakley Totten, the architect of the house, and the glass fabricator.³⁹ The windows bear no inscription or brass plate on the mullions identifying the maker⁴⁰ and await a full study and authentication.⁴¹ Regardless of the identities of the designer and the fabricator, the windows are exquisite examples of early 20th century art glass. Their grape, woven basket, and columnar design suggest arbors in full fruit, creating an indoor pleasure garden in the spirit of Totten’s trellised, open-air loggia located on the floor above the ballroom.

In contrast to the restrained design of the leaded-glass windows, the ornate cast iron double gate located between the conservatory and the ballroom swells with organic forms. Vigorous acanthus stems curl and shoot up flowered tendrils that extend past the top of the gate, a playful effect reminiscent of Hector Guimard’s cast-iron Art Nouveau plant stems that support the Paris Métropolitain entrance signs. The massive wood

double door and arch leading from the ballroom to the corridor are pierced with carved rinceaux that repeat the vibrant acanthus shapes of the cast-iron gate. The closely coordinated décor of the two entryways raises the possibility that Totten designed the ornamental iron gate in collaboration with the architectural metalwork firm, whose identity is unknown.⁴²



Figure 31. Ballroom, looking toward conservatory and hall (Source: Library of Congress)

The Ballroom - Late Ottoman Silk Textiles

Sumptuous, richly colored, decadent – only begin to describe the embroidered and appliqué silk architectural textiles that decorate the upper sections of the ballroom walls. The hangings are, in their conservator's words, “an extraordinary complex technique of appliqué of silk sateen cutouts (think Matisse) on top of contrasting silk sateen ground, with each motif outlined with a cording that was stitched and glued on. The pattern, an architectural niche containing a tall bulbous ‘vase’ shape, alternates the red and gold silk, so the eye moves along as if following a series of decorative windows.”⁴³ Elegant floral bouquets, embroidered in blue, pink, yellow, and red, spring from each vase. More than a dozen genus-specific flowers form the bouquets, including carnations, tulips, roses, and hyacinths, their semi-naturalistic forms contrasting with the highly stylized appliqué leaves.

Newspaper articles that reported on the building of the house or that date from the Everetts' residency do not reference the ballroom, much less the textiles. An article from 1913, when the plans for the interior decoration were still evolving, refers to the ballroom as a “thirty by fifty feet living room that will be paneled from floor to ceiling in Italian walnut.”⁴⁴ But the silk hangings are undoubtedly original to the house.

Textile experts believe the wall hangings are mid-to-late 19th-century Turkish tent panels or space separators, which were used to enclose open areas or act as barriers between spectators and an event.⁴⁵ Sumptuously decorated tents were an integral part of the ceremonial and recreational trappings of the Ottoman court into Abdül Hamid's reign (1876-1909). George Oakley Totten must have seen examples of these richly decorated tents while he was in Istanbul in 1908 and possibly made arrangements to decorate the ballroom with the Ottoman fabric. The arts of weaving and tent making had been codified since the reign of Sultan Mehmed II



Figure 32. Conservatory/Ballroom gate (Source: Embassy of Turkey)



Figure 33. Ballroom textile detail (Source: Embassy of Turkey)



Figure 34 a and b. Details of the ballroom textiles (Conservator has granted permission)

in the 15th century, with the state instituting a guild system to maintain strict control over the growing textile production, centered in Bursa and Istanbul. Sumptuous fabrics adorned with geometric and floral motifs became integral to the glorification of the state, which employed them for military campaigns and a multitude of ceremonial functions. Crimson or purple held the prime position in the hierarchy of Turkish colors as the symbol of empire⁴⁶. The Everett House textiles are late examples of this ancient Ottoman tradition, although the prototype for their reddish color and extensive appliqué decoration ultimately derives from the early yurts of khans, which were constructed of red felt and decorated with gold.⁴⁷ The vase and floral ornament is an old motif adapted from Italian weaving, while the various types of flowers that spring from the vases have a long tradition in Islamic art. More than a statement of imperial power and riches, the silk wall hangings in the ballroom make visible the spiritual ambition of the craftsmen who wove, cut, and sewed them – to bring the imagined splendors of paradise to earth.

For Everett House, Totten drew on the treasures of Byzantine and Ottoman Istanbul to convey his client's status and great affluence, and to create beautiful, distinctive interiors. The ballroom is resplendent with the 19th century Ottoman wall hangings as well as Italianate architectural decoration, which had also inspired the decoration of numerous Ottoman buildings. Beyond the acanthus double gate, the conservatory glows with Tiffany Studios' Byzantine-inspired mosaics; on the conservatory south wall, the quarter-sphere dome rises majestically above the capital city. All speak to the art and culture of the civilizations that Totten encountered in Istanbul – the Ottoman ceremonial tents, Palladian-inspired Turkish architecture,



Figure 35. Ottoman tent, 17th century (placeholder -)

Roman-Byzantine-inspired mosaics, and especially the domes, hallmarks of the early Christian, Byzantine, and Islamic faiths. For the architect, the ever-present, domed mosques, rising skyward, were indeed “the most interesting features of Constantinople.”⁴⁸

Frequent travel and unforeseen events prevented the Everetts from occupying the Washington mansion for any length of time or participating fully in the annual social season. Everett even attempted to sell the house before it was completed, stating that he had commissioned the house so that his eldest daughter could enter society. She married in 1912, and with his middle daughter married and living in Italy, Everett put the unfinished mansion on the market in the fall of 1913.⁴⁹ The Thomas J. Fisher Company, the prominent real estate company promoting Massachusetts Avenue Heights, the exclusive residential enclave taking shape just north of Sheridan Circle, was the sales agent.⁵⁰ Remarkably, plans for the house’s costly interior decoration eventually moved forward.

The Everetts began spending time at the Chateau de l’Aile in Vevey, Switzerland, during this period, while also building the costly house in Bennington, Vermont -- the “Orchards,” an expansive, Norman revival-style country retreat sheathed in locally quarried limestone and Italian roof tiles. Its site on the summit of one of the slopes forming the rolling 500-acre estate provides a magnificent view of the Green Mountains, much as the Sheridan Circle mansion has a commanding vista over the Washington skyline. With Totten’s architectural expertise, the Vermont house was as imposing and richly appointed as its city counterpart, and as health conscious, with numerous sleeping porches and wide verandas⁵¹ overlooking the extensive orchards and formal gardens.

There was no grand opening for the immensely costly house on Sheridan Circle. Although the residence was completed in late 1916, the family announced just as they were taking occupancy in January 1917, that they would not take part in the coming social season in order to observe a period of mourning for Mrs. Everett’s mother, who had died that past summer. Mrs. Everett died suddenly a few months later.⁵² An occasional social event took place at the house after E. H. Everett married Grace Burnap in 1920, but it was not until after the Turkish foreign ministry leased the house that it was utilized year-round.

Everett House as the Turkish Embassy and the Ambassador’s Residence

The Turkish government leased and subsequently purchased Everett House for its embassy and ambassador’s residence in the early 1930s, not long after



Figure 36. Exterior view of the stained-glass dome (Source: Textile conservator granted permission)



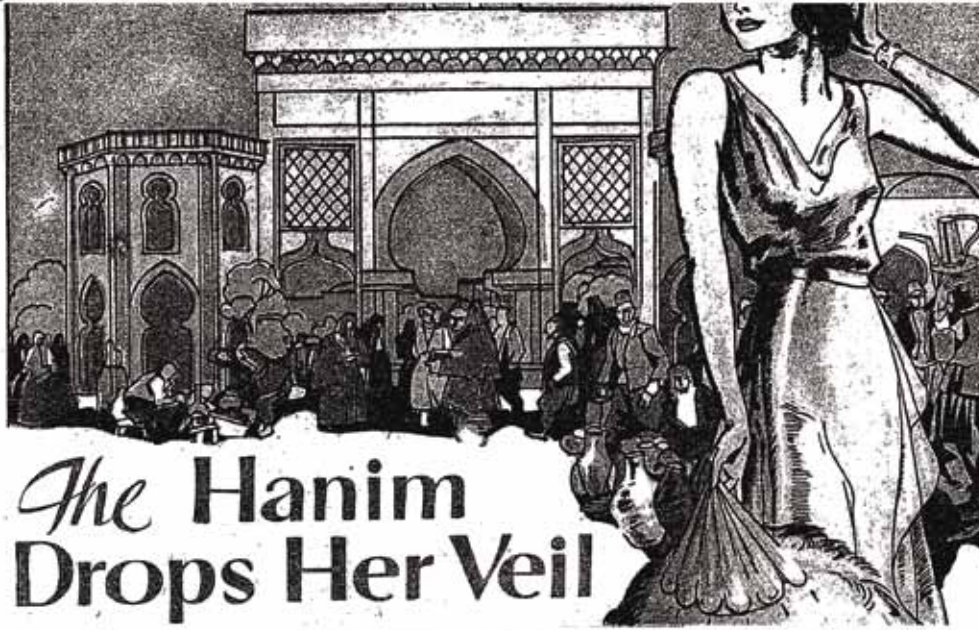
Figure 37. Everett’s Vermont country house, designed by Totten (Source: Everett Family granted permission)

diplomatic relations between Turkey and the United States were restored. More than twenty years had passed since George Oakley Totten, the architect of the house, had visited Istanbul, just before the start of a pivotal series of events that would dissolve the Ottoman Empire. On his return to Washington, Totten witnessed the Ottoman foreign minister Ali Bey's flight from the city in response to the Young Turk Revolution. The Young Turks' reforms culminated in the formal establishment of the Republic of Turkey on October 29, 1923. Although the United States had not been at war with the Ottoman Empire or the successor Turkish state during WWI, the two countries had recalled their ambassadors in 1917 and did not exchange them again until 1927.⁵³

Turkey's first president, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, charged his diplomatic corps to represent their new country as a modern, secular state and to cultivate foreign and domestic interests. Atatürk's ambassadors to the United States, Ahmed Muhtar Bey (1927-1934) and Mehmet Münir Ertegün (1934-1944), worked tirelessly to establish close ties between the two countries. These seasoned diplomats helped transform the American public's perceptions of Turkey as an antiquated Ottoman State to a modern nation committed to social, economic, and political reforms.⁵⁴ Cultivating American public opinion and representing Turkey's defense and domestic interests required an embassy building that would project a powerful image of the new country while meeting the needs of the ministry and the ambassador's family.

Both Ahmed Muhtar and Mehmet Münir grappled with the issue of where to locate the embassy, weighing the merits of Massachusetts Avenue or 16th Street, the favored addresses of the diplomatic corps. Prior to the lease of Everett House in 1932, the Turkish foreign ministry occupied a wing at the Wardman Park Hotel on Connecticut Avenue,⁵⁵ and then rented a large brick townhouse at 1708 Massachusetts Avenue, southeast of Dupont Circle near the Canadian Legation and the Belgian Embassy. Although the ground floor of the house had ample entertaining spaces, the second floor was crowded with the chancery office and living quarters for the ambassador and his staff. Ahmed Muhtar also leased the country estate "Airlie," on a high hill overlooking Rock Creek Park in upper northwest Washington, which served as an additional venue for social functions and a summer residence.⁵⁶ The fieldstone and wood house, which featured numerous wide porches and extensive grounds, was a welcome retreat from the heat and the hustle and bustle of the city. The ambassador's plans to purchase a sizeable, freestanding house at 1633 16th Street were far enough advanced for the press to report the negotiations in the early summer of 1931, but nothing came of them.⁵⁷

Muhtar's decision to locate the embassy on Sheridan Circle followed other foreign governments' interest in the palatial houses on Massachusetts Avenue northwest of Dupont Circle, near another tributary of Rock Creek. Once a center for Washington's social elite, the Depression had rendered the houses unsustainable for seasonal use. Grace Burnap Everett and her daughters spent several winters in Washington following E. H. Everett's death in 1929, until the Turkish government occupied the house in the late fall of 1932.⁵⁸ Turkey's diplomat neighbors in the Sheridan Circle neighborhood included Egypt, Romania, Chile, Austria, and the Czechoslovak Republic, with the newly completed British Embassy anchoring a large site on Massachusetts Avenue north of the circle.



The Hanim Drops Her Veil

By Corinne Reid Frazier

TURKEY was no half measure when Turkey went modern. The drama was enacted with a completeness and dispatch that startled the world. The Great Mustafa Kemal, Turkey's great war hero and the leader of the new republic since its birth, is not a man for compromise. He does things with a whole-heartedness which leaves no stone unturned until his aim is accomplished, whatever that aim may be. Upon assuming the role of Grand, or President, of the reestablished Turkey in 1922, Mustafa Kemal chose as his first aim the emancipation of his country from ancient, worn-out customs and laws. Within an incredibly short time he had accomplished the transformation of the antiquated Ottoman Empire into the modern Turkish Republic, with a new constitution, new legal code, new system of taxes, new calendar, new school system, and yes, even a new set of manners and a brand-new alphabet which has completely revolutionized the written language. And years ago all of these changes just took effect; saw the abolition of the fez, accompanied in a picturesque manner by the Ghazal, who realized full well the deep significance of this particular reform; saw the disappearance of the caliphate, the dervish orders and, incidentally, the harem.

Needless to say, when the harem "went out," the women came into their own—a dramatic feminist movement which had been stirring vaguely in its dreams since 1908 (when the Constitution was re-established), arose



Mr. Ambassador Ahmed Muhtar, Ambassador to the United States from Turkey

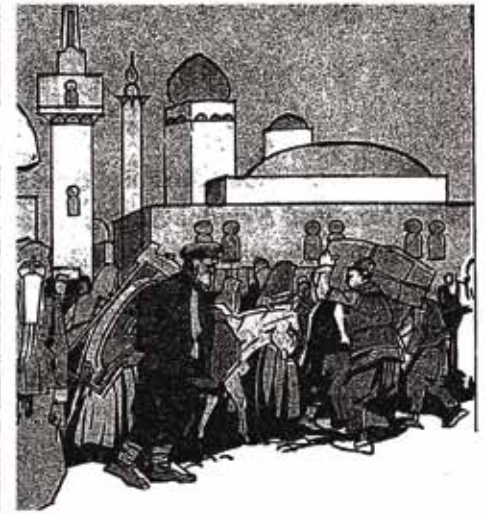
women were forced suddenly into the whirl of twentieth-century modernism.

Institutions, the status of women was under perpetual masculine control.



"The Turkish women in the cities were a standard costume, the chador, which was nothing more than a long mantle covering the whole body which prevented the lines of the figure from being perceived. This costume was completed by a thin, transparent veil.

"CONTRARY to the popular conception, the old Turkish family life was based upon monogamy, although polygamy undoubtedly existed in the



Turkish Women in Six Years Have Overcome the Customs of the Centuries and Are Now as Modern as Their American Sisters, Says Ottoman Empire Ambassador to the United States

"From the sketchy picture I have drawn, one may glean a little of what the new freedom has meant to Turkish women. Nobody could tell the girl of 1922 in my country whom she should converse with, work beside or vote for—much less marry! She is as modern as any of her sisters of the Western Hemisphere.

"While the Ghazal is responsible primarily for the progress made by our women in recent years, we must look back to a page of our national history dated 1908 for the foundation of the feminist movement. It was at that time that the first feeble struggles were noted on the part of advocates for women's freedom. I remember well that my own household became so imbued with the spirit that my daughters discarded the veil long before the custom became universal for women to appear with their faces uncovered. But, on the whole, this program was made until the emergency of the World War literally called the women 'into action.' New and important feminist tendencies were noted as the men marched off to the front and the women started to fill the places they had vacated, undisturbed by their handiwork of ignorance and unfamiliarity with the world of business and commerce.

"OLD customs and prejudices disap-

peared between men and women began to shine over the horizon of activity in the country.

"The newly aroused feminism evidenced itself now in a thirst for knowledge. Educational reform, among the sweeping changes instituted through the efforts of the Ghazal, opened the doors of learning, and in every large town and city, particularly in Istanbul, which might be called the Den of Cities, girls invaded the schools, colleges and universities and made those institutions, which had heretofore seen only serious boys within their confines, seem like suddenly flowering gardens, filled with joyful laughter.

"But the girls were not there merely for laughter and play. They soon demonstrated their very other desire for and pleasure in learning as a means of fitting themselves for their new opportunities in life.

"ESPECIALLY interesting, I think, is the fact that in our Government laboratories may be found today skilled women chemists. That the sea which one short decade ago scarcely knew how to read and write has produced today experts in the field of science seems to me little short of miraculous. It gives every Turk a feeling of immense pride in his womanhood. "Outside the offices and shops, the

In 1936 the Turkish government purchased Everett House for its permanent embassy. Letters from Ambassador Ertegun to the Ankara government in 1934 show his rationale for keeping the Sheridan Circle address instead of purchasing a house on 16th Street: "While many embassies are now located on Sixteenth Street, it is said that this area is more and more losing its value. Massachusetts Avenue is gaining more prominence." He further noted that the French government was reluctant to build on a lot it owned on 16th Street.⁵⁹ The subsequent, unofficial designation of Massachusetts Avenue as "Embassy Row" has borne out his insightfulness. The sale deed from April 1936 shows that the value of the transaction, which included the furnishings and the art was approximately \$405,000, about \$15,000 more than the assessed value of the property.⁶⁰

Everett House quickly became a center for diplomacy, its spaces seemingly custom-made to support the complex political, social, and public relations challenges the ambassadors faced. The grand salons on the main floor were ideal for hosting receptions and charity events, while the ground floor Turri Suite and former billiard room became offices. The upper floors offered secluded quarters for the ambassador and his family. The image of a revitalized, progressive Turkey was crafted from the stately house on Sheridan Circle. Eager to develop a strong relationship with the United States and its constituency, the ambassadors conducted interviews with the Washington press in the residence, often speaking to the country's social and political progress, especially that of Turkish women.⁶¹ Both Ahmed Muhtar and Mehmet Münir Ertegun utilized the house in other official capacities: as Turkey's ambassador to Mexico and the Dean of the Diplomatic Corps, a distinction given to the longest

Figure 38. Ambassador Ahmed Muhtar, 1932 news article (Source: Washington Post, need to get permission, fee) There are very few photos of Muhtar, all from the newspapers. His being featured here on the cover of the Washington Post's Sunday Magazine was a big deal.



Figure 39. The Ertegun Family in the drawing room (Source: Library of Congress)

serving foreign ambassador, whose duties included representing the interests of the entire diplomatic corps.

Ambassadors Muhtar and Erteğün hosted few large formal events at the embassy, perhaps in response to the Depression economy and Turkey's political uncertainty early in WWII. But the parties that they held were the talk of the town. The most important event was the annual reception marking the anniversary of the founding of the Republic, a favorite of the diplomatic community and the Washington society columnists. The tenth Independence Day celebration, the first formal event hosted by Ambassador Muhtar in the house, was "one of the biggest, most dazzling parties ever given in a city quite inured to parties – diplomatic or otherwise."⁶² The ambassador received hundreds of guests at the top of the grand stairway, while footmen "in mulberry livery, with white silk stockings and pumps with silver buckles," were positioned throughout the main floor. "Redolent with perfume, music, and flowers," the house finally met its full purpose. Partygoers danced in the ballroom with a lively orchestra into the early morning hours; buffet tables lit by candles in silver sconces offered every conceivable delicacy -- from caviar and *pâté de foie gras*, lobster Newburgh, truffles, and Norwegian sardines to chocolate cake and pink peppermints. Champagne flowed in the conservatory, while guests relaxed with cigars and cigarettes in the drawing room overlooking Sheridan Circle. Wearing a red rose in his lapel and a gold medal with a green ribbon (accorded to those who formed the legislative assembly following Turkish independence), the ambassador and dean of the diplomatic corps, "literally the life of the party ... greeted his thousands of guests with his customary courtesy, danced in the main ballroom, seemed to enjoy the late hours and the revelry as thoroughly as any among his visitors."⁶³

Although Ambassador Muhtar could not speak English (his flawless French remained the language of diplomacy) and his wife remained in Turkey due to ill health, he was a consummate diplomat and host, a "slender, dignified gentleman" with "the half-lidded eyes of a Kitchener, the aplomb of a Talleyrand and more tact than Olivier, the head waiter of M. Caesar Ritz."⁶⁴ Turkey's economic development and foreign interests remained his primary objectives, even as his swimming parties in the embassy pool and flight with Lindbergh over Washington garnered favorable publicity.⁶⁵ The diplomatic correspondent at the *Washington Post* summed up the ambassador's achievements the year before he returned to Turkey: Ahmet Muhtar, a highly effective diplomat, "has succeeded in bringing the United States and Turkey closer together than they have been at any time in history."⁶⁶

Ambassador Ahmet Münir (later Erteğün) presented his credentials to President Franklin Roosevelt in June 1934 and quickly built on his predecessor's achievements. His first celebration of Turkey's independence at the embassy was a memorable occasion despite his small staff and Mrs. Erteğün's delayed arrival from Turkey. A group of women from the State Department presided over refreshments in the candle-lit dining room,⁶⁷ illustrating the goodwill between the two countries. Hayrinissa Rüstem's arrival in January 1935 with two of their children, Ahmed and Selma (Nesuhi, a student at the Sorbonne, came when war broke out in September 1939), began a period of lively activity at the embassy. Hailed as a thoroughly "modern" and immensely likable woman,⁶⁸ Mrs. Erteğün quickly became a frequent guest at

tea and lunch with Mrs. Roosevelt. The Ertegüns began a round of entertaining influential figures in the Roosevelt administration and sponsored benefits for local causes,⁶⁹ while their sons' informal jazz sessions (discussed in Chapter 4) brought a new dimension to the tradition of hosting musicales and dances at the house.

Selma Erteğün Göksel's recollections of life in Washington as a schoolgirl during her father's ambassadorship give a personal dimension to the imposing stone mansion that is at once heartwarming and poignant: fond memories of hanging down from the third-floor balcony facing Sheridan Circle to the window ledge below, playing ping pong in the ballroom, relaxing with the family in the third-floor living room that adjoined her father's bedroom, and awe at the enormous bronze bust of Atatürk that was placed at the top of the grand stair hall after its exhibition at the 1939 New York World's Fair.⁷⁰ But life during the Depression years and her father's concern for the financial challenges of his new country also stood out. He paid the water bill out of his own slim salary after filling up the swimming pool so that the children could cool off from the summer heat. He reminded them to turn off the lights to conserve electricity, which the taxes of poor Turkish villagers had provided. The Turkish government did not repair the leaky roof during a cold winter, even as the ambassador negotiated with the American government for defense materiel and successfully lobbied for a significant reduction in Turkish indebtedness to private American claimants.⁷¹

The Turkish Independence Day celebration was held annually during the Ertegüns' tenure, excepting wartime 1940 and 1941, when Turkey was deliberating its stance to the European Powers. George Oakley Totten, the architect of the house, attended the thirteenth anniversary reception,⁷² probably his final visit to the most splendid achievement of his career (he became ill in 1938 and died in early 1939). Mrs. Erteğün took great pride in introducing traditional Turkish food to her guests, from dolmas and Circassian chicken to baklava, which the *Washington Post* pronounced "a delicious concoction ... of honey and spun sugar."⁷³ Eight hundred gold-crescent stamped invitations were issued for the anniversary reception that took place in 1942. Hosted by "the world's most important neutral country," the event was acclaimed for its remarkable achievement of bringing under one roof "such a gathering of diplomats as has never been seen since the [United States] went to war. All of the Chiefs of Mission, regardless what their country's politics, had been invited and ... accepted. Vichyites stood shoulder to shoulder with the British."⁷⁴

Selma Göksel holds poignant memories of the 1944 anniversary celebration, her family's final tribute to Turkey at the embassy:

It was our last year in Washington and the last Republican Day celebration. My father felt a big pain in his back that morning. We called the doctor, and he said that he should keep lying on the bed constantly. It was 1944, almost the end of WWII. Both sides were demanding Turkey to join the war on their



Figure 40. Ambassador Ertegun with his staff
(Source: Library of Congress)



Figure 41. Entrance hall (Source: Embassy of Turkey)



Figure 42. Ottoman Room (Source: Embassy of Turkey)

side. My father thought that if his guests did not see him at the reception, some might think that Turkey had decided to enter the war from one side. So, he got up from the bed, got dressed, and shook hands for the entire night. At the end of the reception, he lay down on the bed and could not get up after that. He died ten days after the reception.⁷⁵



Figure 43. Restored drawing room (Source: Gary Landsman, fee)

Ambassador Ertegun's body lay in state on the light-filled dais in the ballroom, framed by ornate fluted columns and flanked by two Turkish soldiers on guard.⁷⁶ The Ottoman silk hangings -- an earthly paradise of Turkish flowers and arabesques -- honored the life of this extraordinary diplomat: child and servant of the Ottoman Empire under Abdül Hamid, supporter of the nationalist cause, chief legal adviser to Atatürk's government, and, to the end, Turkey's dedicated public servant abroad.

The Restoration of the Residence

In 2001 the Turkish government initiated a comprehensive restoration of the structure and décor of the residence, demonstrating an unwavering commitment to the near century-old historic property. A distinguished team of contractors, conservators, and craftsmen returned the building to its original grandeur while updating it for the 21st century.⁷⁷ It was clear that the long wait and costs were justified when the house reopened in 2007. The limestone facades and marble floors were once again in pristine condition. State of the art mechanical, electrical, and HVAC systems had been retrofitted and skillfully concealed. The artwork was conserved and restored, and the original furnishings came alive with fabrics whose colors and textures suggest traditional Turkish culture. Contemporary designs creatively mixed with the existing centuries-old pieces refashioned the interior into a distinguished setting for formal events and comfortable private spaces for the ambassador. The landmark project received a District of Columbia Award for Excellence for Historic Preservation in 2007.



Figure 44. Detail of Aeneas Fleeing the Burning of Troy (Conservators granted permission) Can you edit out the glare on the right?

Two critical but highly problematic projects were the installation of climate control for a building not originally fitted with ductwork, and repairing the chronic water damage to the interior of the house. Leaky roofs had been a major concern as early as Ambassador Ertegun's tenure in the 1930s, and the limestone facades and chimneys had badly deteriorated. Limestone found in an Alabama quarry that matched the color and texture of the original blocks replaced the crumbling stone; masons

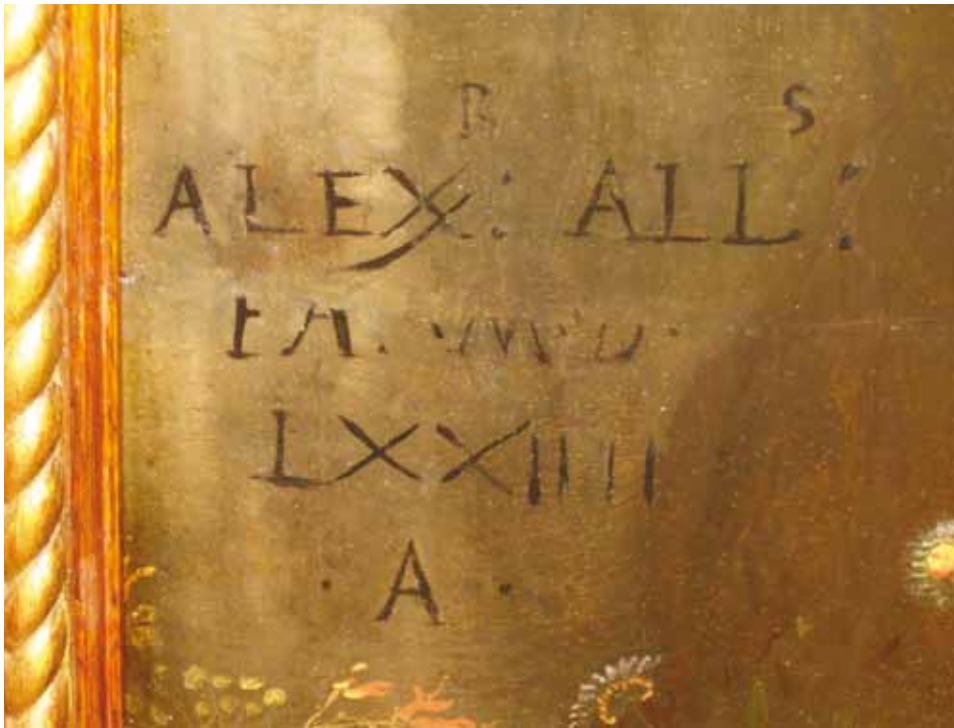


Figure 45. Detail of Aeneas Fleeing, with the artist's signature and dating (Source: Conservators granted permission)

repointed the mortar joints. Much of the Portland cement coating that had been applied to the limestone to prevent water seepage during an earlier restoration was removed, without damaging the original surfaces. Today the limestone facades appear nearly as they did 100 years ago.

The interior restoration addressed several major projects in situ, including the conservation of the monumental Allesandro Allori mythological scenes and the late Ottoman silk appliqué and embroidered panels that decorate

the walls of the ballroom. Layers of old, darkened varnish were removed from the paintings, which revealed Allori's deft brushstrokes and vibrant colors, and his inscription on Aeneas Fleeing the Burning of Troy. The painting conservators cleaned the badly soiled and stained Tiffany Studios glass mosaics in the conservatory and restored the faux wall decoration that replicates the mosaic pattern, using several shades of mica to renew their original luminous properties.⁷⁸ After the stained glass windows were cleaned and the lead comes repaired, a transparent thermoplastic

covering was installed over the conservatory glass dome to prevent further weather-related damage.



Figure 46. Restoring the textiles, Julia Brennan (Conservator granted permission)

The ballroom hangings were in an extremely fragile state. Exposure to decades of water damage, intense heat from the original lighting, and grime from the coal-burning furnace had caused extensive dry rot, staining, and encrustation from lime and plaster that had leached from the walls. The textile conservator determined that an aesthetic and structural restoration would warrant the conservation costs, and began the seven-month, on-site process in 2004. The de-installed and disassembled 515 square feet of hangings showed numerous repairs and restorations. The conservation team removed an overlay of dark silk crepe used to stabilize the deteriorating fabric, a system of old hanging rings similar to those employed for hanging large Turkish architectural banners, and the original coarse burlap backing that supported the silk and heavy embroidery.

(The jute backing served a similar function to the taupe-colored structural skeleton or cengari used to support the decorative hangings of Ottoman tents.) The textiles were vacuumed, cleaned with solvent, and repaired with hand stitching then a protective overlay of red or gold netting was applied to the most fragile panels, about 40% of the textiles. After the textile team hand-sewed cotton sateen backings and stitched a Velcro hanging system along the perimeter of each panel and fragment, the hangings were packed, crated, and sent to climate-controlled storage for several years. In early 2007 the conservators reinstalled the panels on the walls, which had been repaired



Figure 47. Restored dining room (Source: Embassy of Turkey)

and sealed with a vapor and moisture barrier, and a system of low level LED marquee lights were installed above and below the hangings.⁷⁹

Namik Tan and his wife, Fügen Tan, have graciously reopened the residence for a host of signature musical events, receptions, and benefits since he became ambassador in 2010. The grand spaces on the first floor resonate with functions on evenings throughout the week, forming an inextricable connection of memory and contemporary life. Turkish cuisine, including dolma, kavurma, and börek, are served from the original mahogany table in the elegant dining room, a custom dating from the 1930s, when Hayrinissa Erteğün introduced the traditional foods of the new Republic to the diplomatic community and the American public.

The ballroom – which hosted E. H. and Grace Burnap Everett's 1920s musicales, dances marking the anniversary of the Republic of Turkey, even the Erteğün family's table tennis matches – continues to resound with music and laughter. Its original Thonet Bentwood cane chairs⁸⁰ still provide seating for cultural and social events, from lectures on recent archaeological excavations in Turkey and benefits for underserved communities, to the vibrant Erteğün Jazz Series (discussed in Chapter 4). The magnificent house -- the eclectic, innovative vision of the architect George Oakley Totten and his industrialist patron, E. H. Everett -- is at once unchanged, and yet transformed.



Figure 48. Restored ballroom (Source: Gary Landsman, fee)

(Endnotes)

- 1 "Builders to be Busy," *Washington Times*, 2 Jan. 1909, 5. Totten used the English-basement plan for 2230 Massachusetts Avenue, 2221 Massachusetts Avenue (Hennen Jennings house), and 2223 Massachusetts Ave. (Shaler house).
- 2 Ibid; "New House on Sheridan Circle," *Washington Post*, 10 Nov. 1907, X7, with photograph showing the Shaler roof garden.
- 3 "Honor to Wrights," *Washington Post*, 11 June 1909, 1, and 26 Oct. 1909, 1.
- 4 "Plan Public Natatorium," *Washington Post*, 13 Sept. 1908, A2.
- 5 An original index for the Northwestern Terra Cotta Collection at the National Building Museum, Washington, D.C., lists a set of drawings for the "Everett Swim Pool," designed by Totten in 1911, but the blueprints themselves are not part of the collection; message from Bailey M. Ball, Museum Technician, National Building Museum, to the author, 15 Dec. 2011, Email.
- 6 *Washington Post*, 17 Sept. 1911, 8.
- 7 Ibid.
- 8 J. B. Bayley and H. H. Reed, "Introductory Notes," *The American Vignola*, by William R. Ware [New York, Dover Pub., 1994], ix-xiii, discuss the history of the École-based architectural program at Columbia University. Professor Ware established Columbia's School of Architecture in 1881 and was still teaching there when Totten was a student at the school.
- 9 *Washington Herald*, 19 Oct. 1913, 12.
- 10 *Washington Herald*, 14 Oct. 1911, 12.
- 11 District of Columbia Building Permits, 1877-1949, microfilm M1116, Record Group 351, Records of the Government of the District of Columbia, 1791-1978, National Archives, Washington, D.C.
- 12 *Washington Times*, 15 Oct. 1910, 12; 25 Jan. 1913, 4.
- 13 Permit to build dwelling, 3 August 1910, D.C. Building Permits; *Washington Herald*, 30 Dec. 1913, 1.
- 14 For a discussion of the relationship between the architect and interior decorator in Gilded Age America, see Nina Gray, "Tiffany's Contemporaries, the Evolution of the American Interior Decorator," in *Louis Comfort Tiffany: Artist for the Ages*, by Marilyn A. Johnson, Michael John Burlingham, Michèle Kahn, Joan Térésa Rosasco et al. (London: Scala, 2005), 60-77.
- 15 Catalogue of the Annual Exhibition of the Washington Architectural Club in the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.: [n.p.], 1904, nos. 246-47; 1905, nos. 165-69. See also Totten's sketch of the Alhambra published in the American Institute of Architects, Philadelphia Chapter, T-Square Yearbook, Philadelphia: T-Square Club, 1905, 113.
- 16 Totten to Mrs. Henderson, 19 Aug [1927], Series 4, Box 7, Folder 16, Henderson Family Papers, 1868-1923, Record Group SIA RU007075, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Washington, D.C.
- 17 For example: "Would she prefer light-colored brick or marble facing for the fireplace surrounds in the breakfast room, library and office?" "Outline Specification, Proposed Legation for Mrs. J. B. Henderson, Geo. O. Totten, Architect." Totten to Mrs. Henderson, 2 Aug. 1920, Series 4, Box 7, Folder 16 and Box 8, Real Estate, Misc., Henderson Family Papers.
- 18 "Fuller (George A.) Co., Encyclopedia of Chicago, ed. by Janice L. Reiff, Ann Durkin Keating, and James R. Grossman. Chicago Historical Society, 2005. Accessed 10 Feb. 2012., <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/2678.html>.
- 19 "The George A. Fuller Co., *Washington Post*, 12 June 1912, L82. Fireproof Building Construction: Prominent Building Erected by the George A. Fuller Company (New York: George A. Fuller Co., 1910).
- 20 See Alice Sparberg Alexiou, *The Flatiron: the New York Landmark and the Incomparable City that Rose With It* (New York: Thomas Dunne/St. Martin's, 2010).
- 21 George A. Fuller Company, *General Contractors 1882-1937* (New York: George A. Fuller Co, 1937), 303-04.
- 22 For a discussion of French-inspired interiors in Washington, see Liana Paredes, "Private Homes, Public Lives, Francophilia Among Government Officers and the Washington Elite," *Paris on the Potomac*, ed. by Field et al, 77-116.
- 23 *New York Times*, 25 Jan 1913, 4.
- 24 Marcotte had worked with McKim, Mead, and White on the 1902 White House refurbishing; Gray, "Tiffany's Contemporaries," 69. The Everett House drawing room architectural features are also reminiscent of the dining room of the house Totten designed in 1909-10 for Mrs. Henderson at 2460 16th Street (now the Embassy of Poland).
- 25 The *Washington Post* (12 Oct. 1912, 7) reported that the Everetts were back from Europe, visited Washington, and would spend the winter in New York.
- 26 Proserpine, signed and dated 1570, measuring 9 by nearly 14 feet, is now in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, CA.
- 27 B. C. Jennings-Bramly, "The Villa Turri-Salviati," *House and Garden, A Journal Devoted to Architecture, Indoor and Outdoor Art* 7 (Feb. 1905): 73-81. See Simona Lecchini Giovannoni, Alessandro Allori (Torino: Umberto Allemandi, 1991), entries 27, 33, and 47 (illustrated in black/white for a discussion of the three works).
- 28 According to the Getty Museum provenance for *The Abduction of Proserpine*: Gagliardi sale at Jandolo & Tavazzi, Rome, 27 April 1908, no. 299 (with the two other Alloris, nos. 300 and 301); private collection in Florence (assumed, not documented); acquired by E. H. Everett before 1914; accessed 18 Dec. 2011, <http://getty.edu/art/gettyguide>. The Getty in-house database contains no additional provenance, Loisann Dowd White, Head of Reference Services, Getty Museum, to the author, 26 March and 3 Apr. 2012, Emails. An article in the Bennington (VT) *Banner* (23 Dec. 1972) concerning the Proserpine, which the Bennington Museum then owned and was trying to sell, contains numerous factual errors. Its account of Everett's finding and purchase of the paintings contradicts the Getty Museum research history, in particular the departure of the paintings from the Villa Salviati before the Turris purchased the property, and the Everetts finding them at a Paris art dealer's gallery. A letter in the Bennington Museum Archives from Everett's second wife, Grace Burnap Everett, to the museum director, is vague regarding the ca. 1914 sale; Grace Burnap Everett to Mr. Barret, 10 April 1954, Bennington Museum Archives, Bennington, Vermont. It is possible that Everett purchased the paintings from Elisa Magrini Turri, directly or through a dealer; her husband's death in 1907 and the costs of the villa upkeep may have necessitated their sale.
- 29 Elizabeth Pilliod, *Bronzino: Artist and Poet at the Court of the Medici* (Firenze: Fondazione Palazzo Strozzi, 2010), 99; Getty Museum online entry for Alessandro Allori, accessed 18 Dec. 2011, <http://getty.edu/art/gettyguide>.
- 30 Berenson does not discuss Allori in his chapter on the Mannerists, "The Decline of Art," *North Italian Painters of the Renaissance* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1907), 145-157. Although he sold a portrait by Bronzino to the Boston art collector and philanthropist Isabella Stewart Gardner, his evaluation of the Mannerist school as a whole was damning: "the highest good in the art of painting is the perfect rendering of form, movement, and space;" the Mannerists "misdirected, scattered, and otherwise ill-spent" their energy (147, 151).
- 31 The *Washington Herald* (22 Feb. 1911, 2) cites Everett's membership in the society and an upcoming lecture by the Harvard professor William Fenwick Harris on the Greek theater.
- 32 "E. H. Everett, of Newark, Ohio, Machine for Shaping Bottle Necks, Patented April 2, 1889," G. Wallace Chessman and Curtis W. Abbott, *Edward Hamlin Everett: The Bottle King*. Granville, Ohio: Robbins Hunter Museum, 1991, 16-18.
- 33 Accessed 13 March 2012, <http://www.tfaoi.com/aa/6aa/6aa425.htm>, from the exhibition catalogue by Marilyn A. Johnson et al., *Louis Comfort Tiffany*.
- 34 The ledger (accession no. 1999-065) is in the collection of the Charles Hosmer Museum of American Art, Winter Park, Florida. The total cost for materials and labor was \$1,113.39.
- 35 "The vaulted ceiling being done by Tiffany, of New York, in glass mosaic," *Washington Times*, 8 Nov 1913, 4.
- 35 Samuel (Siegfried) Bing, *Artistic America, Tiffany Glass, and Art Nouveau* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1970), 141.
- 36 Conversations regarding the Everett House mosaics between Edith Crouch and the author, 6 and 7 Feb., and 16 March 2012, Email. See Crouch's copiously illustrated *Mosaics of Louis Comfort Tiffany* (Atglen, PA: Schiffer Pub., 2009). The mosaics now in the Metropolitan Museum may have been commissioned by the Curtis Publishing Company, Philadelphia.
- 37 Quoted in Jonathan Clancy, "Tiffany's Dream Garden: New Perspectives in Glass," Part 10, *Journal of the CUNY Ph.D. Program in Art*, 2004, accessed 8 Feb. 2012, http://web.gc.cuny.edu/dept/arhi/part/part10/articles/clancy_print.html. "By late 1892 or early 1893, Tiffany built a glasshouse in Corona, Queens, New York, and, with Arthur Nash, a skilled glassworker from Stourbridge, England, his furnaces developed a method whereby different colors were blended together in the molten state, achieving subtle effects of shading and texture. Recalling the Old English word *fabrile* (hand-wrought), Tiffany named the blown glass from his furnaces *Favrile*, a trademark that signified glass of hand-made and unique quality;" accessed 20 Feb. 2012, www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/tiff/hd_tiff.htm.
- 38 Chessman and Abbott, *Edward Hamlin Everett*, 10, mention Everett's 1882 trip to Washington.
- 39 Tiffany provided creative art direction for his artists, who collaborated with him and shared his aesthetic. However, his willingness to work with "the design of architects" was expressly stated on the Tiffany Studios plaque outside the 45th Street and Madison Avenue showroom; Paula Kulpa, "An Investigation into Louis Comfort Tiffany's and Tiffany Studios' Architectural Metalwork," MS thesis in Historic Preservation, Univ. of Pennsylvania, 2008, 39. Tiffany occasionally contracted with artists to collaborate with him on projects.

- 40 Conversation with Jed Bortlein, owner of Washington Art Glass Studio, Capitol Heights, MD, and restorer of the stained-glass windows in Everett House, 5 Jan. 2012.
- 41 Two experts on Tiffany glass kindly examined photographs of the windows and could not attribute them to Tiffany Studios because of their atypical design and means of construction. One of the experts cited instances of an interior decorated with Tiffany Studio mosaics, with stained-glass windows fabricated by another company. There were numerous fine glass studios in America and Europe during the period Everett built the house. Newspaper accounts contemporaneous to the building of the house do not mention the windows; the Washington Times article of 8 Nov. 1913 refers only to the installation of the mosaics. However, a Washington Post article on the 1936 anniversary reception at the Turkish Embassy (30 Oct. 1936, X16) mentions the "glass in the windows by Tiffany." Totten, the architect of the building, was listed as a guest, and it is likely that the reporter who covered the event interviewed him. The article describes areas of the house that would not have been accessible to the guests but were known to the architect. Moreover, family tradition holds that the 1910 stained-glass door in the Everett family mausoleum in Bennington, Vermont, was fabricated by Tiffany; Lisa McCowan Foley to the author, 13 Apr. 2012, Email.
- 42 Tiffany Studios had an architectural metalwork department. Paula Kulpa's Univ. of Pennsylvania thesis identifies a small group of its commissions, but the department must have had a much larger output.
- 43 Julia M. Brennan, "Revisiting the Turkish Residence – the Ballroom's 'Ottoman Style' Wall Fabrics," ARCAblog, 16 Nov. 2011, accessed 22 Nov. 2011, <http://art-crime.blogspot.com/2011/11/revisiting-turkish-residence-ballrooms.html>.
- 44 Washington Times 25 Jan 1913, 4. The paneled ceiling was originally decorated with cherubs and other celestial figures, Selma Ertegun Göksel to the author, 15 Apr. 2012, Email.
- 45 Conversation (Dec. 2011) between Julia M. Brennan, who conserved the textiles in 2004, and the author; Sumru Belger Krody, Senior Curator, Eastern Hemisphere Collections, The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C., to the author, 13 Jan. 2012, Email.
- 46 Zdzislaw Zygmunt, Jr., *Ottoman Art in the Service of the Empire*, Hagop Kevorkian Series on Near Eastern Art and Civilization (New York and London: NYU Press), 1992, 15-16, 178.
- 47 Ibid, 156-57. Nurhan Atasoy's *Otag -1 Hümayun, The Ottoman Imperial Tent Complex* (Istanbul: Aygaz, 2000) is the primary source of information on 15th-18th-century Ottoman tents, but there appears to be little published information - or research - on 19th and early 20th-century Ottoman examples.
- 48 Washington Post, 6 Sept. 1908, 9.
- 49 Washington Times, 8 Nov. 1913, 4. Everett was quoted as saying that he had commissioned the house so that his eldest daughter (Amy) could enter society. However, her recent marriage had changed his plans.
- 50 The Fisher Company advertisement for the new development listed Everett as one of the owners of prominent residences lining Massachusetts Avenue; Washington Post, 28 May, 1911, 11.
- 51 Washington Star, 10 June 1911, 4.
- 52 Washington Post 22 Nov. 1916, 7; 9 Jan. 1917, 7; and 23 March 1917, 12.
- 53 The Ottoman government severed diplomatic relations with the U.S. in April 1917. The restoration of diplomatic ties is discussed in Nur Bilge Criss, "Shades of Diplomatic Recognition: American Encounters with Turkey (1923-1937)," in *Studies in Atatürk's Turkey: The American Dimension*, ed. George S. Harris and Nur Bilge Criss (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009), 97-144.
- 54 George S. Harris' "Repairing Turkish-American Relations after the First World War: Ahmet Muhtar in Washington," and "Cementing Turkish-American Relations: The Ambassadorship of (Mehmet) Münir Ertegun," Ibid, 145-96, provide in-depth perspectives on these ambassadors' objectives and accomplishments during their tenure in Washington.
- 55 Washington Star, 4 Dec. 1927, Pt. 2, 5, 11.
- 56 Washington Post, 31 May 1931, S5.
- 57 The house, located at 27th Street and Military Road, was razed in 1957 for Saint John's College High School's new campus; James M. Goode, *Capitals Losses: A Cultural History of Washington's Destroyed Buildings*, 2nd ed., rev. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Books, 2003), 148.
- 58 Washington Star, 18 June 1932, B2-1; Washington Post, 16 June 1932, 8, and 28 Nov. 1932, 7.
- 59 Selwa Roosevelt, "Embassy of Turkey Has Opulent History," Washington Star, 9 Sept. 1956, D2. The article states that the letters were in the embassy files.
- 60 U.S. Commission of Fine Arts, *Massachusetts Avenue Architecture*, Vol. 1, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1973), 321, 328. According to the Washington Post (5 Aug. 1933, 20), twenty creditors and note holders put the house up at public auction, with Adam A. Weschler as the auctioneer. It sold for \$125,000 to F. C. di Zerega of Leesburg, VA. Grace Burnap Everett's attorney had protested the proceedings before the sale and apparently was able to stop the proceedings. Erskine Gordon and William M. Seay, trustees, advertised the sale.
- 61 Washington Post, 31 July 1932, SM1, and 12 Dec. 1934, 15.
- 62 Washington Post, 8 Apr. 1934, S3, a tribute to Ambassador Muhtar's tenure in Washington.
- 63 Washington Daily News, 1 Nov. 1933, 22.
- 64 Washington Post, 8 Apr. 1934, S3, and 12 March 1933, 7.
- 65 New York Times, 27 March 1928, 2; Washington Post, 12 March 1933, 7.
- 66 Washington Post, 12 March 1933, 7. Muhtar returned to Turkey in April 1934 and died a few months later.
- 67 Washington Post, 30 Oct. 1934, 12.
- 68 Washington Star, 7 Aug. 1938, pt. 1, B-5.
- 69 Harris, "Cementing Turkish-American Relations," 183-84.
- 70 Interviews of Selma Ertegun Göksel by Onur Bayramoglu, 26 Oct. 2011 and 13 Feb 2012, in Istanbul, translated into English by Onur Bayramoglu. Transcript provided by the Global Political Trends Center, Istanbul Kültür University. The Hadi bronze of Atatürk, who had died in November 1938, dominated the music alcove for many years. It was moved to the new Turkish Chancery after the building opened in 1999.
- 71 Göksel interview, 26 Oct. 2011; Harris, "Cementing Turkish-American Relations," 186-87.
- 72 Washington Post, 30 Oct. 1942, B10, and 30 Oct. 1936, X16.
- 73 Göksel interview, 13 Feb. 2012; Washington Post, 30 Oct. 1936, X16.
- 74 Washington Post, 30 Oct. 1942, B10.
- 75 Göksel interview, 13 Feb. 2012.
- 76 Göksel interview, 26 Oct. 2011.
- 77 Leading Washington interior designer Aniko Gaal Schott and restoration architect Belinda Reeder, Archetype, led a multitalented team of restoration experts, including Vaughan Restoration Masonry, Solid Rock Co. (custom marble), Renovations Unlimited, Klemm Reflector Co.- Historic Lighting Fixture Restoration, Textile Conservation Services, art conservators Judith Tartt and Justine Wimsatt, and Washington Art Glass Studio.
- 78 Interviews with Justine Wimsatt, by the author, 17 and 28 Apr. 2012, Kensington, MD.
- 79 Julia M. Brennan, "Final Treatment Report, The Conservation of the Silk Wall Hangings, Residence of the Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey," Washington, D.C.: Textile Conservation Services, 2007, and Brennan's ARCAblog, 16, 17, and 18 Nov. 2011, accessed 22 Nov. 2011, <http://art-crime.blogspot.com/2011/11/revisiting-turkish-residence-ballrooms.html>, <http://art-crime.blogspot.com/2011/11/part-one-conserving-treasured-wall.html>; <http://art-crime.blogspot.com/2011/11/part-two-conserving-treasured-wall.html>.
- 80 Nearly 100 bentwood chairs had been stored in the attic; interview with the interior designer Aniko Gaal Schott and the architect Belinda Reeder, by the author, 7 Dec. 2011, Washington, D.C.

The Swinging Scions How The Ambassador's Sons Jazzed Washington And The Nation

John Edward Hasse

In the early 1940s, at a time when the Turkish Embassy in Washington and the ambassador's residence both occupied the Everett House¹, the Ambassador's sons, Ahmet and Nesuhi Ertegun, nudged Washington towards better appreciating American vernacular music and towards softening the city's rigid racial segregation. They sought out and soaked up African American music and culture, and—courting controversy—promoted interracial concerts and jam sessions of jazz and swing, welcomed black as well as white musicians into their private quarters, bent or smashed strict color barriers, earned national coverage in the music press, and honed their ears for African American popular music. These experiences would lead Ahmet, who would go on to co-found Atlantic Records, one of the most significant and influential companies in the history of American music, to eventually help transform the record business and American popular music. For his part, Nesuhi would play a crucial role in the development of jazz by producing and releasing recordings of paradigm-shifting musicians.

Childhood and education

After World War I, the Ottoman war hero Mustafa Kemal—later named Atatürk, or chief Turk—led the struggle to establish an independent Turkish government. On July 31, 1923, seven days after the Republic of Turkey became a country, Ahmet Ertegun was born into a respected family in a suburb of Istanbul, Turkey.² His mother loved dancing and music and played piano and oud by ear and, he said, “probably would have become a singing star or musician or performer if she had lived in a time when well-born girls were allowed on the stage.”³ By an arranged marriage, she had wed Mehmet Munir, Ahmet's father, whom Ahmet described as “a quiet, scholarly young law and philosophy student who did not share her love of music and dancing.”⁴ When Ahmet was two, the young government of Turkey appointed Munir⁵ as Ambassador to Switzerland and he took his wife and two sons—Ahmet

and his older brother Nesuhi (born November 26, 1917) and daughter Selma, the youngest child, to the Swiss capital, Berne. The three children lived a privileged life, looked after by maids and governesses.

Ahmet described his mother as an “extremely gifted, talented musician and singer who loved Turkish popular music. . . . She would play any stringed instrument and any keyboard instrument and she played by ear, and she sang beautifully. And she bought not only all the current Turkish records that would come out—although we lived in Europe, she would import them from Turkey—but she also bought all the popular records of whatever, wherever we were.”⁶



Ambassador Mehmet Munir Ertegun and Mrs. Ertegun at the ambassador's residence in Washington, D.C. (Office of War Information photograph, courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.)

In 1931, Munir was named Ambassador to France and Ahmet started listening to records by such American musicians as the Mills Brothers, Josephine Baker, Bing Crosby, Paul Whiteman, Louis Armstrong.⁷ “Nesuhi and I,” remembered Ahmet, “used to sneak records into our rooms at night and fall asleep listening to them.”⁸ The following year, Munir was named Ambassador to the Court of St. James, and the family moved to London. In June 1933, Ahmet attended a concert that would change his life: a performance by the orchestra of Duke Ellington—a native of Washington, D.C.—at the London Palladium, considered by many the world’s foremost variety or vaudeville house.⁹ A variety show, the program featured 13 acts, with Ellington closing with a 45-minute set. His entire two-week run was sold out and the audiences exceptionally enthusiastic.¹⁰ The stage featured 12-foot banjoists decked with ducal crowns. Rockin’ in Rhythm, a pianissimo version of Tiger Rag called Whispering Tiger, Mood Indigo,

Ivie Anderson’s feature Stormy Weather—all were sensations.¹¹ Billboard reported, “On the first day of his appearance, the Palladium broke all box-office records, with over \$3,800 being taken at the two performances.”¹²

Ellington’s Palladium concert left a deep impression on young Ahmet. He would recall later, “It was nothing like hearing the records. . . . And when you heard these bands in person, it was explosive. This boom-boom-boom-boom incredible rhythm. It went through your body. I went ‘Oh my God, this is jazz. . . . I’d never heard music with that kind of strength . . . For the first time, I saw these beautiful black men wearing shining white tuxedos and these brass instruments gleaming. It was an incredible sight.”¹³

Nesuhi Ertegun also added to Ahmet's education. "He was very precocious, a young intellectual at age 13," Ahmet said. In Paris, Nesuhi befriended others his age who were "part of the young revolt."¹⁴ Their interests were art, music, literature, and politics. "Nesuhi made me read Kafka when I was 10," Ahmet continued. "He liked Stravinsky and Erik Satie when nobody would listen, and he was very much interested in art. He dragged me around museums and told me this is this and this that. . . . The major influence in my life was my brother."¹⁵ Ahmet described his older brother as the kid who "was always ahead of the others."¹⁶

In June 1934, Mehmet Munir was appointed Turkey's second ambassador to Washington, D.C. While Nesuhi stayed in Europe, the Ambassador's wife, Ahmet, and Selma joined him some months later, arriving in New York on December 31 and reaching Washington in early January 1935.¹⁷ Young Ahmet, 12 at the time, was becoming aware of the entrenched racial segregation practiced in much of the United States. "As I grew up, I began to discover a little bit about the situation of black people in America, and experienced an immediate empathy with the victims of such senseless discrimination. Because although the Turks were never slaves, they were regarded as enemies within Europe because of their Muslim beliefs."¹⁸

At first, Ahmet attended the Episcopalian, prestigious St. Alban's School, which he later called "a dreary place [where] these people are much less sophisticated than we were."¹⁹ But his father—a religious man who prayed five times a day but was anti-clerical—withdrawn Ahmet during the first year because the Ambassador objected to compulsory Christian prayers. So Ahmet finished high school at the private, nonsectarian Landon School, where he was elected class president and graduated in the spring of 1940.²⁰

Meanwhile, Nesuhi had stayed behind in Paris to finish his baccalaureate degree and enter the Sorbonne. Each summer, recalls his sister Selma, he came to Washington to see his family. But in 1939, his studies were interrupted by the advent of World War II, and



Duke Ellington and his Orchestra at the London Palladium, June 1933. Nesuhi and Ahmet Ertegun attended one of his concerts, which made a huge impression on young Ahmet, then nine years old. (Photo by Rogers and Rush; from the collection of John Edward Hasse.)



Ambassador Ertegun at work in his office at the Turkish Embassy in Washington. (Photo by the Office of War Information, courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.)

he left Paris for good.²¹ It is not clear how successful a student Nesuhi was, but in retrospect, at least, he was aware of the myriad distractions there. “Dilettantism is the great danger facing all the students who make the pilgrimage to Paris with the hope of acquiring no matter how small an amount of what is commonly referred to as higher learning. The temptations are so many, and take such irresistibly seductive shapes and forms, that the time left for serious studying dwindles and has disappeared without one being aware of it. For me, one of these temptations, by no means the strongest, was jazz.”²²

“Jazz,” Nesuhi wrote in 1943, “was taken seriously in France; it was considered as one of the most important forms of modern music by several modern French composers.”²³ In Paris, he went to hear many visiting American jazz musicians, including such Harlemites as Benny Carter, Coleman Hawkins, and Duke Ellington. “In Paris,” he averred, “they were all great artists, living in an atmosphere of esteem and admiration,” in contrast to the tremendous racial prejudice they faced in the United States. While in Paris, Nesuhi joined the Hot Club de France, a vigorous and influential organization of jazz aficionados led by the critic and producer Hugues Panassié and author Charles Delaunay, son of the painters Robert and Sonia Delaunay.²⁴

The Swing Era

The Erteguns arrived in the United States just as swing music and dancing were about to become a huge phenomenon, almost a national obsession, taking jazz to heights of popularity never achieved before or since.²⁵ More jazz musicians gained favor with the general public—more audiences turned to jazz as a backdrop for dancing and entertainment—than at any other time in history. Never before had jazz so influenced the field of popular music. At no other time was jazz such a catalyst for thousands of fans queuing up for a performance, for turn-away crowds so large and enthusiastic that the police had to be called in to keep order, for so many live radio broadcasts carrying the music to waiting listeners coast-to-coast, and for heated band battles that became the stuff of legends.

What separated swing from jazz that preceded it? Most of all, its rhythm. Louis Armstrong’s rhythmic innovations loosened up the beat of jazz, provided a greater variety of rhythms, and made its momentum more flowing and pronounced.

Competitive contests among musicians had been a part of the African American aesthetic—for example, “cutting contests” held among Harlem pianists in the 1920s. Bands had always competed for popularity, but in the swing era competition between dance bands came to the fore, taking on the characteristics of rivalry between great athletic teams. Bands attracted ardent followers, orchestras engaged in sometimes epic band battles, and jazz magazines and black newspapers ran readers’ polls to select the top groups. Fans kept track of changes in bands’ personnel and argued the merits of one band over another.

One cause of swing’s ability to draw so many passionate adherents was the depth of its meaning: it affirmed the joys of dance, music, and youthful courtship; of risk-taking improvisation; and of a dynamic African American-inspired force challenging and changing mainstream America. Like rock and roll would a generation later,

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swing drew young people powerfully, giving rise to a musical subculture. And swing affirmed the human spirit at a time when the country was still struggling to come out of the Great Depression.

Swing also provided a context for forward strides in race relations, contributing to the development of a more inclusive concept of American identity. Before the swing era, jazz reflected the nationwide racial divide between blacks and whites. When, in 1935, Benny Goodman established a racially mixed trio—with the African-American pianist Teddy Wilson and the white drummer Gene Krupa—he made it safer for others to do so, though change came gradually. Some swing bands became interracial institutions a decade before baseball and the armed forces were integrated.

Prior to the swing era, most white Americans had been only vaguely aware of black jazz musicians, whom the record companies relegated to the “race” catalogs marketed mainly to black buyers. In the 1930s, however, swing led jazz of all colors into the American mainstream.

A Southern City

For 10 years, 1935-44, the Ertegun family lived in the Everett House, which Ahmet described as “probably one of the grandest houses in Washington. We had sixteen servants, and we lived in a grand manner. My family was not rich people, but being in the position my father was . . . it’s like if you become president and you live in the White House.”²⁶ At the same time, Ertegun’s sister Selma described her father as “not very well paid.” In a 2011 interview, she recalled “I remember it was cold one winter, and there was a lot of rain. There was a leak on the roof. My father asked for extra funds to cover the expense of the repair. They rejected the demand for the repair. Turkey was a recent country and we did not even have funds for that.”²⁷

During this period, Washington was in most ways a Southern city. White racism and racial barriers prevailed: racial segregation, whether by law or by custom, was nearly total. Schools were segregated, as were federal offices, cafeterias, and restrooms. If a black person walked into a department store, the clerk would turn his or her back



A photo of the Ertegun family. Center front row, Ambassador to the U.S., Mehmet Murit Ertegun, and his wife, Hayriyye Rustem. Nesli stands second from left in the back. His sister, Selma Goksel, stands next to him and Ahmet is far right. Washington, D.C., Turkish Ambassador's Residence, circa 1938.

on the customer. Blacks sat at the back of the bus. Black people couldn't attend white theaters downtown; they had to have their own. Among the few theaters that served people of both colors were the burlesque houses, but even there, separation ruled: whites sat downstairs, blacks upstairs. Black and white musicians could play together, but, as Ahmet Ertegun put it, "it was not easy."²⁸

Nor was it necessarily easy for white fans to go into black nightclubs. Once in Annapolis, Maryland (about 30 miles east of Washington), Ahmet and three friends went to hear a band at a black nightspot. Coming out of the club, they were arrested. "I asked the judge," recalled Ertegun, "Where is the law written which states that we cannot go to this club?" And he replied. 'It's not written, but it's understood.' I, of course, insisted that he couldn't arrest us on those grounds, and it became obvious that they just wanted to throw a scare into us and would not be prosecuting on that occasion—particularly not the son of the Turkish ambassador."²⁹

Both Ertegun and Washington Post photographer-journalist Bill Gottlieb recalled that when they wanted to go out to dinner with black friends, even with the great saxophonist Benny Carter, recently returned to the States from Paris, they were stymied. "What restaurant could we go to?!" The only place in the capital city of America at that time that would allow black and white people to sit together—and then only because of practical reasons that left no other choice—was the Union train station restaurant."³⁰



Duke Ellington shakes hands with Max "Waxie Maxie" Silverman, outside the Quality Music shop, 7th and T Streets, NW, Washington, probably in late February or early March, 1942. (Courtesy Duke Ellington Collection, Archives Center, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution.)

In a 2005 interview, Ertegun recalled that when first arrived in Washington, "I thought I was coming to the land of jazz." He went downtown to one of the city's major record stores, but found "There were no records by Louis Armstrong. . . . It was a lily-white record shop that only sold pop music, no black music. And a very nice little lady came up to me—I remember her name, it was Ms. Timmons—and she said 'I know what you're looking for. You go to Seventh and T. There are some record shops around that area. They have the records you're looking for.'"³¹ Ertegun headed over to the main African American business and entertainment district and found the Quality Record Shop, run by Max Silverman.

Ahmet would later credit much of his success in the record business to what he learned in Washington. "I had very much of an understanding of what it was that brought about the kind of satisfaction in a listener that

would make them buy a record. [That was a result of] my spending years of hanging around with people like Waxie Maxie [Max Silverman] in the [record] shop, seeing who comes in and buys what, and listening to R&B music continuously . . . I listened to R&B music as I listened to jazz. R&B

music always had a lot of blues in it, and I loved the blues. The blues to me was the key to jazz and R&B and everything. Blues was then the expression of black Americans.”³²

Ahmet Ertegun so steeped himself in African American music that he became strongly attracted to black popular culture in general. “To us,” he recalled later, “everything black was hip and everything white was square. That’s how most jazz musicians felt—even in the South, during the days of segregation.” Shuttling between the black ghetto and Embassy Row, the Ertegun brothers learned to be socially dexterous. When Ahmet went to black night spots, he did not consider himself “slumming,” but rather learning and relishing a kind of musical culture that he admired and loved. And yet, in their world of butlers, chauffeurs, and the rest, Ertegun admitted, “there was a great romance” to his “great concern” about race relations and he and Nesuhi “were a bit like dilettantes.”³³

Telling his parents he was going to the movies, Ahmet would instead go haunt black record stores. “I really hungered,” he recounted, “for the opportunity to really hear jazz in Harlem.” Once, when visiting New York and staying with the Consul General of Turkey, he once said, he slipped away and told a taxi driver, “Take me to Harlem.” Ahmet went to the Plantation Club to hear trumpeter Oran “Hot Lips” Paige and then to a Harlem rent party for more music. He stayed out all night, not returning until 7 a.m., at which point the police were looking for him. They took him back to Washington “with guards on the train. . . my father saw me and gave me a slap across the face. That’s the only time he ever hit me, he was so angry. . . . It was impossible to explain to my parents, or to anybody, that I love jazz. . . . It was all for the love of jazz, and I had to get there.”

In the summer of 1941, before Pearl Harbor and gas rationing, Nesuhi (then 23) and Ahmet (then 17) left Washington on a grand automobile trip. “My brother, Ahmet, and I drove one summer all over the United States, with the main purpose of learning more about this country, but also with the strong desire to hear good jazz wherever that was possible. It was a wonderful trip, and we heard quite a lot of jazz, both good and bad.” They traveled to San Francisco, Los Angeles, Houston, among other cities. “And then,” wrote Nesuhi, “New Orleans! For a whole day, we walked up and down the historic streets. To us, it was like an open-air museum.” Few Americans of that time, much less foreign-born residents, had the curiosity, ambition, and wherewithal to engage in such a wide-ranging trip, and the journey was no doubt something of an education in itself.

Collecting Records

“All the first jazz fans had to be collectors; it was the only way you knew enough about the subject to have any roots.” That’s how the noted record producer George



Ahmet Ertegun, early 1940s. (Photo by William Gottlieb, courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.)



Nesuhi Ertegun, early 1940s. (Photo by William Gottlieb, courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.)



Ahmet and Nesuhi Ertegün, at the Turkish Residence, early 1940s. (Photo by William Gottlieb, courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.)

Avakian described the collecting impetus during a time when books on jazz were few, record reissues were almost unknown, and radio stations played live music or current hits, not older recordings. As a teenager, Nesuhi had begun collecting jazz records while living in France, where, he said, “they are much more conscious of jazz as an art.” The Washington Post reported, “Both boys have the time of their life rummaging through old furniture stores and music shops in search of rarities in the record field. Ahmet reports that recently they bought an old Louis Armstrong record for 10 cents and so far have been offered \$40 for it. ‘Sometimes we go through thousands of records, before finding one that is really a gem.’”

According to The Washington Post columnist and photographer, Bill Gottlieb, a friend of the brothers, “Theirs was a luxurious life, quite in keeping with their father’s status. But the boys had very little cash.” Which meant that to amass a respectable record collection, the brothers had to be enterprising and bargain-savvy.

Ahmet recalled the brothers’ collecting expeditions:

There was always somebody who sold black music to black people. Sometimes it was a drugstore that had a record department or it could be a grocery store or whatever, but there was always a place to buy black music. Nesuhi and I also used to go house to house, ring the bell and say to the people when they came to the door, “Have you got any old records for sale?” They’d say, “Oh, we’ve got a whole bunch of old records down in the basement.” They’d bring up these 78’s, some of which would be fifteen, twenty years old that they didn’t know what to do with and didn’t play any more. We used to buy almost everything they had because these collections were exactly what we were looking for and almost always contained some absolutely unique recordings. . . .⁴⁰

Their collecting forays took them as far afield as West Virginia—a several-hour drive from Washington.⁴¹ Most of the homes they visited belonged to black families of modest means, and thus the brothers became more familiar with African American life and culture.

In 1938, Max Silverman, a white businessman, had opened Quality Music Store, a radio and record shop in the heart of the black part of Washington, at 1836 7th Street, N.W. (near 7th and T Streets, N.W.)⁴² Silverman “later described in an interview how he would witness this limousine pulling up and two young men jumping out wearing camel’s hair overcoats, all dressed up in a natty way, intent on going through all the records in the shop. Max said he knew that every record we were buying was worth a lot more than we were paying, but he didn’t know which ones were worth what and so he couldn’t stop us raiding his stock.”⁴³ Gottlieb, also a jazz record collector, recalled, “Each time Max got a new shipment, he’d call me,

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and I'd check it out for rare Bessie Smiths and the like. Then he'd call the Ertegun brothers. Nesuhi finally complained: 'How come you don't call me first?' (Max liked to tell this story.) 'Well,' he'd answer, 'Bill comes in, spends an hour looking, then buys, sometimes as much as five dollars' worth. You and your brother come in, stay for half a day, and spend maybe two or three bucks.'⁴⁴

The Ertegun brothers would clean up the old discs, insert them into new sleeves, and classify them. "I could hear any orchestra," attested Ahmet, "and tell you whether it was white or black. You can't tell the difference anymore, but in those days you could."⁴⁵ The brothers were honing not only their knowledge of black music, but also their competitive collecting "chops" and therefore their business acumen.

By about 1938, Ahmet's collecting activities brought him in contact with a number of adult collectors. "In the late '30s and early '40s there was a very small coterie of people in America who collected jazz records and most of us knew each other. There were people like John Hammond, my brother, and myself, Harry Lim, Bob Seal, Dan Quayle, Jerry Wexler was a jazz record collector, so was Herb Abramson"⁴⁶ with whom Ertegun would eventually form a record label.

Ahmet and Nesuhi Ertegun with 78 rpm discs and phonograph, at the residence. (Photo by William Gottlieb, courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.)



Ahmet and Nesuhi Ertegun in the record room of the residence. (Photo by William Gottlieb, courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.)



The Ertegun brothers in their record room. (Photo by William Gottlieb, courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.)

By 1938 or so, word of the Erteguns' burgeoning collection was spreading beyond Washington. They were not only acquisitive but also inquisitive, exploring and learning about African American roots music, above all jazz. It was probably through their growing reputations as collectors that Ahmet met John Hammond in 1938 or 1939. Hammond—whom Ahmet described as “an American aristocrat with leftist leanings, who from childhood had developed a great love of black music and culture”—had recorded the last session of Bessie Smith in 1932 and was instrumental in the careers of Count Basie, Billie Holiday, and much later, Aretha Franklin, Bob Dylan, and Bruce Springsteen.⁴⁷

One night in 1941 or 1942 Hammond and George Avakian, a young, aspiring record producer, Ertegun recalled, “came to Washington to spend an evening listening to records with my brother and me. We had a lot of records they had never come across—all collectors had treasures others had been unable to find. We had a lot of the rare, rare recordings by Jelly

Roll Morton and King Oliver. We played them some Frankie Teschemacher, some Boyce Brown and a lot of very rare blues records.”⁴⁸ Ahmet, 17 or 18 at the time, seems to have been precocious and already self-confident; to receive a visit from someone as well-respected as John Hammond must have flattered him.

“In the Ertegun record room,” wrote *The Washington Post*, “whose walls are covered with surrealistic thumbs drawn by a Turkish artist who lived with Nesuhi in Paris, the Erteguns entertain visiting and local jazz enthusiasts until deep in the night. For diversion, there are trays of halivah, shishkebab, raki and other Turkish edibles. . .or perhaps some table tennis in what was meant to be the embassy ballroom.”⁴⁹

By 1942, Ahmet was advertising records for sale in the collectors' magazine *The Record Changer*.⁵⁰ Nesuhi and Ahmet's record collection neared the 2,000 mark, according to the *Post*, but because the brothers' taste became “more refined and more restricted,” by 1943 it had shrunk to “300 really important records.”⁵¹ After graduating from college in 1944 (discussed below), Ahmet entered graduate school at Georgetown University.⁵² During this time, he recalled, “I was down [at Quality Music Store] practically every evening and the record shop now stayed open until midnight. Around 11 o'clock sometimes we'd close up and go catch the end of the last show at the Howard Theatre, just around the corner from the store.

Newsboys line up in front of the Howard Theater, ca. 1936. Ahmet Ertegun attended dozens, if not hundreds of shows, there, and sometimes befriended touring jazz musicians after the performances. (Photo by Addison Scurlock. Scurlock Collection, Archives Center, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution.)



Then we used to hang out with whichever artists were there and we'd go to after-hours clubs, one thing and another, Max's wife was ready to divorce him because he didn't get home until 4 o'clock every morning."⁵³ By going to the store and hanging out as often as he could, Ahmet Ertegun was learning about the record business—which would be his future and through which he would establish an enormous legacy.

Jamming at the Ambassador's Residence

As a teenager, Ahmet became, by his own admission, “a habitué of the Gayety Burlesque Theater,” which had also drawn in young Duke Ellington several decades earlier.⁵⁴ But it was the Howard Theater that exerted an enormous pull on Ahmet. “I went there almost every week, because every week there was a great band there and I didn't want to miss any of them. I got my education in music at the Howard,” he declared later.⁵⁵ Established in 1910, the Howard was one of the foremost venues in the United States that catered to a black clientele and featured live stage shows—decades before Harlem's Apollo Theater became famous. The Ertegun brothers began attending shows at the Howard—they were among the minority of whites in the audience—and befriending the musicians who played there. Then the brothers started inviting these musicians to visit their home. “On Sunday, we'd have lunch at the Turkish embassy and after lunch we'd have a jam session,” Ertegun said in a 2005 interview. “We had the Ellington band, we had guys from the Louis Armstrong band, Benny Goodman, Tommy Dorsey.”⁵⁶

Ahmet recalled one of the Embassy's African American employees. “Cleo Payne worked as a janitor at the embassy. He was an ex-fighter and another terrific character. As well as giving me boxing lessons, he'd take me around the black section of Washington. For my little sub-deb



The Howard Theater in an early photograph, marked the “largest colored theatre in the world.” (Courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.)



Alto saxophonist Johnny Hodges (partly obscured), cornetist Rex Stewart, unidentified tenor saxophonist, baritone saxophonist Harry Carney, harpist Adele Girard, clarinetist Barney Bigard and Joe Marsala jam at the Turkish Ambassador's Residence, early 1940s. (Photo by William Gottlieb, courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.

party, he got this really funky family band with a lady pianist that reminded me of Lil Armstrong, who played with Louis Armstrong's Hot Five." In a Washington Post column, Gottlieb reported "Washington's most famous private jam sessions have taken place in the Ertegun brothers' study, located on the third floor of the Embassy and reached by a private elevator."

Post reporter Carolyn Bell wrote in 1942:

Inside the staid portals of the Turkish Embassy on Sheridan Circle many a talked about jam session has been held, although none, yet, has hit the headlines. As a matter of fact Meade Lux Lewis, colored boogie-woogie pianist, composed one of his best pieces at the Turkish Embassy and called it Turkish Rag. When he got back to New York and his old haunt, Café Society, no one would believe him so they changed the name. But Nesuhi will play the record for you at the drop of a hat and describe the circumstances under which it was written with great glee.

An amusing sidelight (that might have become an international incident) is told by Nesuhi. The Rumanian legation is (or was) just across the street from the embassy and these hot blues tunes at 3 a.m. did not appeal to the Rumanians who wished to get their sleep. And often the phone would ring and an annoyed voice would say "Please do something about that awful music your butler is playing." They probably wouldn't have found the recent jam session with Duke Ellington and his band—given in the boys' quarters—much to their liking either.



Portrait of Ahmet M. Ertegun, Marc Maronne, Art Finkel, Nesuhi Ertegun, Herb Stewart, Benny Moré, Jay McInerney, Harry Allen, Lou McGarry, Lester Young, and Earl Coplan, Turkish Ambassador's Residence, Washington, D.C., circa 1940

Ellington thought enough of the jamming to mention it a newspaper article he wrote, and Nesuhi told The Washington Post in 1979 that experiencing the Ellington band jamming at the residence "was one of the biggest thrills of my life."

Asked if their father, the Ambassador, approved of jazz, the brothers laughed and told

The Washington Post, "Well, we don't think he appreciates it—but he doesn't object too strenuously." He must have been a very patient and obliging father to have allowed such lively, rhythmic music to be played until the wee hours of the morning and to condone the boys' burgeoning record collection.



Portrait of Nesuhi Ertegün, Adele Girard, Joe Marsala, Zutty Singleton, Max Kaminsky, Ahmet M. Ertegün, Sadi Goyin, and Benny Morton, Turkish Ambassador's Residence, Dining Room, Washington, D.C., between 1938-1948.

Jammed at the Residence

A partial list of those known to have jammed, one or more times, at the Turkish Ambassador's Residence comprises many jazz notables, including members of the Louis Armstrong and Count Basie bands, and:

Henry "Red" Allen, trumpet

Barney Bigard, clarinet

Lawrence Brown, trombone

Harry Carney, baritone sax

Duke Ellington, piano

Adele Girard, harp

Jay Higginbotham, trombone

Art Hodes, piano

Johnny Hodges, alto sax

Max Kaminsky, trumpet

John Malachi, piano

Joe Marsala, clarinet

Lou McGarity, trombone

Mezz Mezzrow, clarinet

Benny Morton, trombone

Tommy Myles, drums

Tommy Potter, bass

Zutty Singleton, drums

Rex Stewart, cornet

Teddy Wilson, piano

Lester Young, tenor sax

Promoting Concerts

In a city that Washington Post columnist Bill Gottlieb called “a square town,”⁶² the Ertegun brothers found relatively little music to impress them. *Down Beat* reported in 1939,

The better night clubs in this town are stiff, expensive joints frequented by Uncle Sam’s employees, who fear that someone will see them with their hair down Bands in these clubs, which bowed before [“sweet,” not swing, bandleader] Guy Lombardo’s altar a few years ago, are now aping [swing bandleader Benny] Goodman, with about as much fire as a Salvation Army lass walloping a tambourine. Once a night some of the bands will play a blues in B-flat, but it sounds more like an Hawaiian love song. The Negro joints are a bit better, but on week nights they are dead, and on Saturday and Sunday nights they are overrun with [homosexuals].⁶³

Three years later, in 1942, the Ertegun brothers deplored the “lack of good music in Washington.”⁶⁴ They would do their part to change that state of affairs.

Two well-publicized concerts held in 1938 and 1939 in New York City had evidently seized the imaginations of the brothers. Organized by producer-journalist John Hammond, *Spirituals to Swing* demonstrated jazz and its roots in blues and boogie-woogie. Performers included the boogie-woogie pianists Pete Johnson, Albert Ammons, Meade “Lux Lewis,” the Kansas City bands of Joe Turner and Count Basie, and Benny Goodman’s swing band. As one of the first times that African American music was featured in the august Carnegie Hall, these concerts proved to be historic and influential. Inspired by *Spirituals to Swing* and the celebrated concert that singer Marian Anderson—after being denied permission by the Daughters of the American Revolution to perform before an integrated audience in Constitution Hall—performed on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial on Easter Sunday, 1939, the brothers Ertegun decided to promote racially mixed jazz concerts in their new hometown.⁶⁵ They were driven by a love for the music and a social mission too. “You can’t imagine how segregated Washington was at that time,” Nesuhi told *The Washington Post* in 1979. “Black and whites couldn’t sit together in most places. So we put on concerts. . . . Jazz was our weapon for social action.”⁶⁶

By 1941, *Down Beat*, America’s leading jazz magazine, reported that Nesuhi had become “the outstanding figure on the capitol’s jazz front lately. On Saturday, April 19, he imported Sidney Bechet, Meade Lux Lewis, Joe Turner, Sidney DeParis, Vic Dickinson, Wellman Braud, and Art Hodes for a session of hot. Young Ertegun takes a big loss on all his jazz projects, but he says it’s worth it in the interests of converting the town to an appreciation of unadulterated jazz.”⁶⁷

Ahmet and Nesuhi had gotten to know such jazz figures as the pianist-composer-bandleaders Jelly Roll Morton, who lived and performed in Washington, DC, from 1935-38, and Duke Ellington and singer Lena Horne.⁶⁸ The brothers, recalled Ahmet, “decided to put on the first integrated concert in Washington. We had black and white musicians onstage, people like Sidney Bechet, Joe Turner, Pete Johnson, Pee Wee Russell, and others—and also we had an integrated audience. We had a lot of trouble finding a place in Washington where we could stage this

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event. The first concert we held was at the Jewish Community Center, which was the only place that would allow a mixed audience and a mixed band. After that the National Press Club broke down and let us use their auditorium. Leadbelly used to come to some of our jam sessions at the embassy and he sang at the first concert we gave at the National Press Club. When he peeked out from the wings backstage and saw the size of the crowd, he said. 'Man, you gotta give me double the price, otherwise I'm not going on.' So of course we did—we gave him everything we could, and you know, we certainly weren't pretending to be experienced promoters. We were just doing it for the love of the music."⁶⁹ The concert was held May 25, 1942.

In September, 1940, Ahmet had entered St. John's College, a small liberal arts school in Annapolis, Maryland, thirty-some miles east of Washington. He was one of only 84 freshmen.⁷⁰ On September 5, 1943, Ertegun and a classmate surnamed Campbell put on the first jazz concert in the college's history, albeit a "concert" using recordings. The two classmates penned an article, under the title "The World's Jazz Crazy, Lawdy, So Am I," which appeared on the front page of the St. John's Collegian. "Sunday evening, from seven to eight, for the first time in this community, a recorded jazz concert will be given. The program will consist altogether of records showing the important developments in the history of jazz between the years of 1900 and 1930."⁷¹ But, sniffed the college's yearbook later, "Such things, however, as Joe Oliver's cornet seemed incongruous in this classic setting."⁷² During his four years at St. John's, Ahmet evidently commuted to Washington, at least whenever jazz events there drew his attention.



Huddie Leadbetter, a/k/a Leadbelly, performs at the National Press Club Auditorium, ca. 1942. (Photo by William Gottlieb, courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.)

The Bookshop Presents
"Swingtime in the Capitol"
A Jam Session of Jazz Giants
— IN PERSON —
Teddy Wilson Joe Marsala
One of Swingdom's great Famous Chicago style
piano players clarinet player
J.C. Higginbotham Zutty Singleton
Celebrated All-American One of the greatest drummers
trombonist in the history of jazz
Max Kaminsky Adele Girard
Great cornet player Originator of jazz style on
of the Chicago school the harp
and
Lead Belly
King of the 12-string guitar - Exponent of American
folklore - and other well known jazz musicians
Master of Ceremonies: Nesuhi Ertegun
MONDAY, MAY 25th
NATIONAL PRESS CLUB AUDITORIUM
14th and F sts. N.W.
Aspires: Washington Cooperative Bookshop ~
918 - 17th St. N.W. - 10th Fl.
Advance price - 75¢ plus tax. A la carte \$1.00 plus tax.
STARTING AT 8:30 p.m.

Advertisement for a 1942 jam session at the National Press Club Auditorium.

Everett House

Besides promoting concerts at the Jewish Community Center and the National Press Club Auditorium, the brothers Ertegun also booked the Turner's Arena.⁷³ Through their jam sessions and concerts, the Erteguns were bringing blacks and whites together. Their friend Gottlieb also helped breach the color barrier. "One night," Ahmet recounted, "[Bing Crosby's brother, the swing bandleader] Bob Crosby was playing at the Capitol, Washington's white venue, and Count Basie's band was playing the Howard, Washington's black theatre. So our friend Bill Gottlieb asked the owner of the Howard if Crosby could fall by after his show at the Capitol and join Basie onstage. The owner said, 'Sure—of course.' Then he went over to Crosby, who loved the idea, and announced it to his audience. Crosby came right over that night and it was one hell of a session, to a packed audience of black and white fans."⁷⁴



Portrait of Ahmet M. Ertegun, Duke Ellington, William P. Gottlieb, Nesuhi Ertegun, and Dave Stewart, William P. Gottlieb & Della Pechesky Gottlieb's home, Maryland, 1941



An interracial jam session at the National Press Club Auditorium. Bassist Tommy Potter, trumpeter Max Kaminsky, trombonist Benny Morton, drummer Zutty Singleton, harpist Adele Girard (obscured), pianist Teddy Wilson, clarinetist Joe Marsala. (Photo by William Gottlieb, courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division.)

The efforts by Gottlieb and the Ertegunns were part of a larger national story, though few in the mainstream press commented upon it at the time. One observer who did take note was S.I. Hayakawa, later a noted linguist and educator, who in 1944 wrote in *The Chicago Defender*, quoting writer Robert Goffin, “The history of jazz has a social significance of which I am aware and which I am fond of stressing. At the very moment when America goes to war to defend the democratic spirit against the totalitarian challenge, it is fitting to remember that, in the last twenty years, jazz has done more to bring blacks and whites together than three amendments to the Constitution have done in seventy-five.”⁷⁵

Lecturing and Writing

By the spring of 1941, Nesuhi had become confident and expert enough to deliver a lecture on jazz for Washington's Book Shop Association.⁷⁶ It became a lengthy series, “Jazz in American Life,” conducted by Nesuhi and Dr. Tom Williston every other Thursday. Williston was an African American physician, who soon would begin writing articles for *The Record Changer*, a collector's magazine published in nearby Fairfax, Virginia, and distributed nationally. Disseminating knowledge on a monthly cycle, the magazine served a network of jazz fans united by the U.S. Post Office. “The subscribers were deeper into the collecting world than typical readers of *Down Beat*, the leading jazz magazine,” observed Jay Bruder. “The only standard for admission into this elite club of collectors was knowledge and enthusiasm—which both Ertegun brothers possessed.”

In 1942, Nesuhi also lectured on jazz at New York City's prestigious New School for Social Research. “It was a big audience too, and I was scared,” he told *The Washington Post*, which reported, “He has made so many notes on this music that he thinks eventually he will write a book. But he is still a voice crying in the wilderness. ‘In my humble opinion,’ the young Turk will tell you with a twinkle in his eye ‘jazz is America's most important contribution to the culture of the world.’ And to all the zoot suit wearing jitterbugs, Nesuhi warns ‘jazz is at its lowest ebb.’ And if swing bands don't stop ‘ruining’ good, sweet, hot jazz, America's contribution to art will be lost.” What increasingly appealed to the older brother was the earliest recorded jazz, from New Orleans, as performed by such pioneers as King Oliver, Louis Armstrong, and Sidney Bechet and their disciples. For several years, Nesuhi would solidify his tastes in that direction.

By 1943, he was serving on the advisory board of *Jazz* magazine and regularly writing articles for the specialist magazine *The Record Changer*.⁸¹ In one, he expressed great admiration for the work of the tiny Jazz Man label. “The outstanding jazz records of 1942 have undoubtedly been those issued on the ‘Jazz Man’ label. The courageous and uncompromising Jazz Man Record Shop of Hollywood, California, has endeared itself to all collectors of jazz music by presenting a series of recordings by Lu Watters, Bunk Johnson, and Jelly-Roll Morton. At a time when the big recording companies have practically stopped issuing anything except the most commercial jive. . . .”⁸²



An excerpt from Nesuhi Ertegun's column in *The Record Changer*, December 1943. (John Edward Hasse collection.)

He sharpened his critical skills. In a review of Hugues Panassié's book *The Real Jazz*, he took on one of the great figures of French jazz: "Immediately the most flagrant [sic] of Panassié's weaknesses becomes apparent: he is too certain of the universality of his opinions, he is too dogmatic he attaches to [sic] much finality to his own views."⁸³ In an essay on "A Style and a Memory," he bemoans the pop music of the day and bemoans that the early New Orleans jazz style has lost its audience (see sidebar).

In Washington, Nesuhi was afflicted by jaundice and asthma. By August of 1943, he had left Washington for the moderate climes of Los Angeles, and the editor of *The Record Changer* wrote, evidently with some humor:

Nesuhi Ertegun, the astute Turkish gentleman who used to write for this publication, having invented a variety of physical afflictions that he claims visit him upon a Washington summer (included among which were asthma, sinus trouble, gout, rheumatism, hay fever, and certain rare Asiatic diseases) has removed himself to the more beneficial climate of Southern California and Marili Stuart's Jazz Man record shop. Upon his departure he gave his assurances that he would flood us with his remarks with such luminaries as Kid Ory, Papa Mutt [Carey], Bunk Johnson, and others, and establish himself as a veritable Ernie Pyle of jazz music. I regret to say that Mr. Ertegun has been delinquent in this matter. What he thinks we are paying him for, I can not say. Well, maybe next month.⁸⁴

Nesuhi thought that the southern California climate would improve his health, and he was right.⁸⁵

As he had done in Washington, DC, and New York City, Nesuhi lectured about his consuming passion. In the summer of 1945, for example, he gave a series of lectures on New Orleans jazz for the Pasadena Institute of Art.⁸⁶

In the latter half of 1947, Nesuhi took over as editor of *The Record Changer* magazine, from his base in Hollywood. His tenure lasted only six months, however, as the magazine was sold to a man named Bill Grauer, who transferred operations to New York City. Nesuhi continued to work in the Los Angeles

area and in the 1940s, began teaching a course at UCLA on the history of jazz—likely the first for-credit course on jazz at a major American institution of higher learning.⁸⁷ His students were exposed to such musical insight as, "If you can play blues, you're all set. Every great musician should be able to play the blues. You might make a categorical statement that if so and so can't play the blues, *ipso facto*, he is not a jazz musician. I think this is true."⁸⁸



Cover of *The Record Changer*, now called "The American magazine of jazz," May 1946.

Selling Records

During his summer 1941 visit to Los Angeles, Nesuhi had met a beautiful 22-year-old woman named Marili Morden, who ran Jazz Man Record Shop⁸⁹ in Hollywood, and its small label, Jazz Man Records. According to Nesuhi's sister Selma, once he returned to Washington, he began receiving letters from Marili. By the end of 1943, after he moved to Los Angeles, they became a couple.⁹⁰ They shared a great passion for discovering and promoting New Orleans jazz.

By 1944, the prominent motion picture director Orson Welles, who was then hosting a national radio program called Mercury Theater, asked for help from Marili in mounting a program devoted to New Orleans jazz. Marili and Nesuhi jumped at the opportunity to gain more exposure for their beloved art form, and persuaded trombonist Kid Ory, who had left music to work at the post office, to perform on the show.⁹¹ The band, known as the Mercury All-Star Jazz Combination or the All-Star Jazz Group, created such a sensation it was invited back to perform on the weekly program for 13 weeks.⁹²

Nesuhi and Marili operated two very small, specialized jazz labels: Jazz Man, which they acquired from previous owners, and Crescent, which they founded in 1944 and which recorded old-time New Orleans musicians such as Kid Ory and Bunk Johnson and younger ones, such as Lu Watters and Wally Rose paying their respects to the older style. Nesuhi named Crescent Records for Turkey's star and crescent and for New Orleans's nickname "The

Crescent City."⁹³ In a 1945 article heralding Ory's return to recording, Time called Morden a "dark-eyed jazz zealot," and noted that Crescent's first two Ory releases had quickly sold out their 1,500 pressing and would undergo a 1,200-disc repressing. "The recordings, a mixture of Congo barrelhouse and Creole sauce," Time averred, "are probably as close to anything ever put on wax to the spirit of old Storyville, New Orleans' once-gaudy bawdyhouse district."⁹⁴ These recordings and Time's coverage led to a swelling of interest, especially on the West Coast, in traditional or "revival" New Orleans jazz.

Nesuhi and Marili were married on February 25, 1946.⁹⁵ By then, Marili was sole owner of the record shop, and Nesuhi had served as producer of more recording sessions with Kid Ory. "In the brief time since Marili Morden and Nesuhi Ertegun joined forces," writes Cary Ginnell, "they had taken the Jazz Man from struggling, cramped record store with a stagnant label back to the top of its field. The New Orleans jazz revival had hit its stride, and the Jazz Man Record shop was still leading the way."⁹⁶

Jazz Man had had the retail field pretty much to itself, but after World War II, record stores specializing in jazz began sprouting in Los Angeles. Nesuhi began broadening his definition of good jazz, and the shop branched out into stocking a



The label from a 78 rpm disc issued by Jazz Man Records. This was a privately recorded session, made in December 1938 at the Rialto Theater Building in Washington, DC, by the great pianist-composer Jelly Roll Morton. Nesuhi bought them and persuaded Jazz Man to issue them. Morton recorded five tunes that day, and they were first issued by Jazz Man in 1942.

broader selection of jazz discs. Nesuhi and Marili further diversified, in 1945 establishing a company called Record Distribution, to sell jazz records by mail-order to customers in the western United States. By the end of 1946, Nesuhi purchased Jazz Man from previous owner Dave Stuart, and retired the Crescent label, reissuing the Crescent material on Jazz Man.⁹⁷ He produced more recordings, but by 1950, stopped producing records. By this time, Jazz Man faced more competition—more retail stores and more successful reissue companies—and the record business was changing, as new formats, 45 rpm and 33 1/3 rpm— emerged to challenge the old 78 rpm format.⁹⁸ Nesuhi was evidently getting restive, as he had many interests besides traditional jazz: classical music, art, politics, watching sports, and playing ping-pong. In January 1952, Nesuhi and Marili separated and announced they were selling Jazz Man's masters to Good Time Jazz records. In August, Marili filed for divorce. Marili continued to run the store, as she sought a buyer, which she found in 1953. She left the record business and never returned.⁹⁹

Making Records

Meanwhile, in Washington, Ahmet had long been interested in making records. Around 1937, when he was 14 years old, his mother bought him an amateur record-cutting machine, which recorded sound onto acetate discs. He put a recording of trumpeter Cootie Williams' instrumental *West End Blues* onto a phonograph, started the recording machine, and sang new lyrics that he made up with Williams' disc playing in the background. This became his first experience in overdubbing. "I was amazed at how good it sounded and managed to astonish all my friends because I would play them this record and they had no idea that it was me singing. So it worked extremely well in a primitive way."¹⁰⁰

In 1943, when he was about 19 years old, in a nightclub in a poor section of northeast Washington, Ahmet heard Mildred Cummings, an African American singer with the stage name Little Miss Cornshucks.¹⁰¹ "My God!!!," he thought, "She was better than anything I'd ever heard. . . . She could sing the blues better than anybody I've ever heard to this day." He asked if she would mind making a record just for his enjoyment. She agreed, and they went to a recording studio, Ertegun's first time in such a facility. With the tenor saxophonist from the nightclub and a rising pianist named John Malachi, they recorded *Kansas City*, *So Long*, and several other blues. As he didn't have a record company then, Ahmet made the records just for himself, and thus made his first foray into the world of record producing.¹⁰²

Then, shortly after graduating from St. John's, Ahmet was approached by his friends Herb and Miriam Abramson to establish, with financial help from Max Silverman, owner of the Quality Music Store, two record labels: Jubilee Records would issue black gospel music and Quality Records would issue pop and jazz.¹⁰³ The labels didn't last long, but provided valuable lessons for Ahmet.

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A 45 rpm record label from the short-lived Quality Records. Herb Abramson reportedly said these records were virtually home-made. He remembered pasting the labels on himself and this specimen seems to bear that out. (Courtesy Jay Bruder.)



Advertisement for the short-lived Jubilee Records, from *The Record Changer*, May 1946. The address of the company was that of Max Silverman's Quality Music Store. (John Edward Hasse collection.)

During this period, three major labels dominated the US record industry: Columbia, Victor, and Decca; they recorded many kinds of music, but their middle-of-the-road pop music aimed at the widest possible market is what dominated the national sales charts. Sensing opportunities, beginning in the 1940s, entrepreneurs founded a number of small, independent record labels around the country, including the white-owned Blue Note¹⁰⁴ and Apollo Records (based in New York City), Savoy Records (Newark, NJ), King Records (Cincinnati), Dial (Hollywood). In later years, Ahmet was derisive of most of his fellow entrepreneurs:

I began to realize that a large number of owners. . . didn't know anything about the music. They couldn't tell a trumpet from a saxophone. I felt that I knew what black life was in America, what black music was in America, black roots, gospel music, black blues from the Delta to Chicago, Texas blues that went to the West Coast. I was struck by the fact that so many of these owners seemed to be accidentally in the record business because there was a void and a need for that void to be filled. They were just recording whatever came along or else they'd hire somebody who knew a little something. Very few of these people, however, seemed to know too much about: a) the musicians; b) the music; or c) the taste of the public. So it occurred to me that I probably could do better and that this was a business that I could really get into.¹⁰⁵

A Turning Point

In November, 1944, Ambassador Ertegun died of a sudden heart attack and was interred at Arlington National Cemetery. In 1946, President Harry Truman "decided that his body should be taken back 'in state' to Turkey," said Ahmet, "through recently

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reporter at *The Washington Post*, and friends of his father's offered him positions on Wall Street, but he decided he wanted to pursue something he knew and cared about—making records. “I thought it would be fun and I could make some money on the side. Just a temporary thing to help put myself through college, before returning to Turkey as expected.”¹⁰⁸

After his father died, Ahmet lived for almost a year in the home of the Washington physician Tom Williston, the African American physician and jazz aficionado. “They were very kind to me,” he said.¹⁰⁹

“When Nesuhi and I made our respective decisions to stay in America, we had sold pretty much our entire collection of some 15,000 records in order to help supplement the very small allowance we were still getting from our family. By this time, in 1947, those funds had run out and I was spending more and more time in New York, I was still determined to start my own company and knew that Herb [Abramson] was the perfect person to go into partnership with.”¹¹⁰

After Washington, DC

For a while, Ahmet commuted between Washington and New York. He was still attending Georgetown University's graduate school, but was looking for a way to earn some money. In 1947, he approached his old Washington friend, Herb Abramson, who was then studying in dental school in New York and working part-time for National Records. Abramson came up with \$2,500 and Ertegun managed to persuade his dentist to mortgage his house and invest \$10,000 in the start-up. The company got going in mid-1947, and by the end of the year had recorded nearly 200 songs. But for a while, Ahmet took graduate courses at Columbia University. “I thought this record thing would be temporary,” he recalled.¹¹¹

Ertegun eventually decided to forgo more schooling and focus on the music business.

Whether or not he became the “greatest record man of all time”—as a profile in *Rolling Stone*¹¹² was titled—Ertegun unquestionably came to rank as one of the most important and influential. If



Ahmet Ertegun loved night life. Here he is, at right, with pianist Billy Taylor, photographer Bill Gottlieb, and singer Sylvia Sims, in New York City, 1947. (Photo by Delia Gottlieb; William Gottlieb Collection, Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.)

he had only found and nurtured Ray Charles and his epochal new sounds—which helped create the genre of soul music and influenced country and pop music as well—that would rate as a significant historical accomplishment.

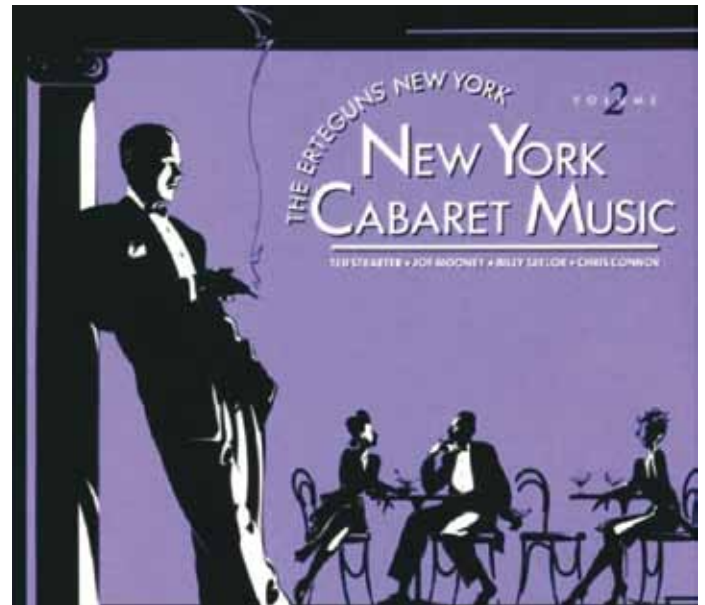


In 1956, Atlantic's release of Ray Charles's 45 rpm single *This Little Girl of Mine* caused controversy, as some traditionalist churchgoers in the African American community were angered by Charles's adaptation of a Christian hymn, *This Little Light of Mine* for strictly secular purposes. (Photo courtesy John Edward Hasse.)

But under Ertegun—an astute judge of musical talent and commercial potential—Atlantic would go on to record and issue an impressive list of R&B, soul, pop, and rock artists: The Drifters; Ray Charles; Ruth Brown; Mel Tormé; Big Joe Turner; Betty Everett; Bobby Short; Bobby Darin; Sonny & Cher; Buffalo Springfield; Roberta Flack; Willie Nelson; Otis Redding; Wilson Pickett; Aretha Franklin; Sam and Dave; Ben E. King; Manhattan Transfer; Mick Jagger; Buffalo Springfield; Crosby, Stills, and Nash; Led Zeppelin; Yes; Genesis; INXS; and Foreigner. The label issued such notable boxed LP sets as *Southern Folk Heritage Series* (field recordings from 1959 made in the American south by folklorist Alan Lomax of black and white folk music), *Atlantic Rhythm and Blues, 1947-1974*, and *The Ertegun's New York: New York Cabaret Music*. These last three titles alone suggest some of the breadth—from the most elemental roots music to the songs of swanky Manhattan cabarets—of

Ertegun's musical interests and tastes, which were largely established during his years living in Washington, DC.

His brother would join him at Atlantic in 1955, “to do two things,” said Jerry Wexler, an Atlantic producer, “oversee development of long-playing records, in which we were really lagging behind, and to develop a jazz roster.” Eventually, Nesuhi would issue recordings by their friend from their Washington days—Duke Ellington—as well as such other significant jazz artists as Modern Jazz Quartet, Ornette Coleman, Charles Lloyd, Thelonious Monk, John Coltrane, Charles Mingus, Art Blakey, Chris Connor, and Herbie Mann. Atlantic issued some of Coleman's and Coltrane's most important, innovative work—such as Coleman's 1959 album *The Shape of Jazz to Come* and Coltrane's 1959 recording *Giant Steps*—music whose implications are still being worked out by musicians in the 21st century.



Album cover for *The Ertegun's New York*, a world away, musically speaking, from the downhome blues and roots music that Atlantic also issued. (Photo courtesy John Edward Hasse.)

Besides producing and disseminating influential new sounds to American music, Ahmet Ertegun was proud of the way that Atlantic Records conducted its business. He indicated it was the result of the way he was raised. “I dare say that we stayed in business because we did pay royalties,” he said in 1995. “All the other companies who were really selling records for cash on the side or whatever and in it for the quick buck—the labels all disappeared. We're still in business and the main reason we're in business

is that we conducted ourselves [in] as business-like a fashion as we could. You have to remember that in those years none of us made much money. The [recording] artists made much more money than we did. I mean, I was getting a salary of \$250 dollars a week. Then we went up to \$300 a week and I thought, my God, I never thought I'd make this much money. But some of these artists were making thousands of dollars just for a one night's appearance."

When, in the 1980s, it became public that many of the pioneer rhythm & blues recording artists had signed away the rights to their material, were getting no royalties, and in some cases had been forced onto the welfare rolls, the Rhythm & Blues Foundation was founded to claim redress from the record companies. The first record label that signed on to cooperate was Atlantic Records, which recalculated back royalties and made a \$1.5 million donation to the Foundation. By this time, Atlantic belonged to Warner Bros. Records, but Ertegun retained a major say in how the label was run. The singer Ruth Brown, who had started her career at Atlantic, exclaimed, "And I must say my hat is off to (Atlantic founder) Ahmet Ertegun because he made the first step in doing what I feel is right. He didn't have to. He could have kept us hanging out there for years."

In the early 1980s, a number of music executives including Ahmet Ertegun and Jann Wenner, founder-publisher of Rolling Stone magazine, began a campaign to establish a Rock & Roll Hall of Fame. When in 1985, Roger Kennedy, the director of the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History, where I was serving as music curator, heard of this idea, he invited Ertegun, Wenner, and a few others to meet with him in the august Director's Conference Room at the museum. I was one of several museum staff invited to the meeting. Ertegun cut right to the chase: "Why do you want us here?" he pointedly and skeptically asked Kennedy. The director replied that the addition of a rock hall, built as a new wing on the museum, would draw large numbers of tourists, including young people, and greatly enliven the National Museum of American History. Nothing ever came from this meeting, as other cities—including New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Chicago, New Orleans, Memphis, and San Francisco—were wooing the founders. In May, 1986, an agreement was signed with the city of Cleveland, which became the home of the museum.

In subsequent years, I had the distinct pleasure of meeting and speaking with Ertegun several times in New York City and several times in Washington, DC. In 2005, I curated an exhibition at the National Museum of American History titled *Ray Charles: 'The Genius,'* and invited Ertegun and his wife Mica to come see it. One day in December, 2005, they did.

Then, I took him to the museum's Archives Center, which houses, among other treasures, 200,000 pages of documents from Duke Ellington—half of that unpublished music Ellington and collaborator Billy Strayhorn wrote for the Ellington Orchestra. In a storage room, packed floor-to-ceiling with boxes of invaluable, irreplaceable, one-of-a-kind pieces of American history, my colleagues brought out a box of handwritten Ellington scores. Ertegun lifted his glasses and studied the writing carefully. Here was something of a circle completed: Ellington was a native Washingtonian, and it was when the maestro was visiting his hometown that Ertegun



In December 2005, Mica and Ahmet Ertegun visited the exhibition Ray Charles: "The Genius," at the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History and posed with the exhibit's curator, John Edward Hasse. (Photo courtesy John Edward Hasse.)



Mica (obscured) and Ahmet Ertegun examine a music manuscript in the Duke Ellington Collection, Archives Center, Smithsonian's National Museum of American History, in 2005. (Photo courtesy John Edward Hasse.)

had met and befriended him at a time when people of color were harshly discriminated against in that city, as elsewhere. Roughly 65 years later, the legendary producer was witnessing the enormous esteem in which Ellington was now held at the highest levels of American government and culture.

In 1989, Nesuhi Ertegun had died in New York City of complications following cancer surgery. Besides his work at Atlantic, Nesuhi was so well respected in the industry that he was the first President of the National Academy of Recording Arts and Sciences and chairman of the International Federation of Phonographic Industries.¹²¹

Ahmet continued as chairman of Atlantic until a freak fatal accident in 2006—he fell backstage at a Rolling Stones concert in New York City. Praise was effusive; entertainment mogul David Geffen said, "Few people have had a bigger impact on the record industry than Ahmet, and no one loved American music more than he did."¹²² Ertegun's career reflected

his mother's love of music and his father's multicultural skills. The at-home comfort levels he evidenced among top tiers of society came from his diplomatic upbringing, and his ease among black people of very modest means came from record collecting and hearing music in the black parts of Washington. His partnerships in music, he liked to point out, often were "culturally triangular." By birth, he was Muslim. His business partners were often Jewish. And especially in the formative years of the company, he worked primarily with black musicians. "Together," observed *The New York Times*, "they helped move rhythm and blues to the center of American popular music."¹²³

In 2007, a two-hour television documentary, *Atlantic Records: The House That Ahmet Built*, was broadcast throughout the United States.¹²⁴ Containing interviews with Nesuhi and Ahmet and a host of recording artists, the program garnered positive reviews and was released on DVD.

Reviving a Tradition

In 2010, Turkey's Ambassador to the United States, Namık Tan, conceived a fresh new idea: honor the role that the Embassy had played in improving race relations and, at the same time, honor the sons of the

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Turkish Ambassador who had played such a crucial part in that effort. “I thought it would be wise to rebuild the historical image of the Turkish Embassy residence as a center for jazz and jazz fans,” he told *The Washington Post*. “People should be aware of the historical significance of this house and of Ahmet and Nesuhi

Ertegun. They made a good place for Turkey in the hearts and minds of the black community here and in the music community around the United States and elsewhere.”¹²⁵



The Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey Namık Tan and Mrs Füge Tan

*Cordially invite you to attend
The Ertegun Jazz Series with Jazz at Lincoln Center*

Celebrating the connection between culture and commerce

Featuring The Marcus Strickland Quartet

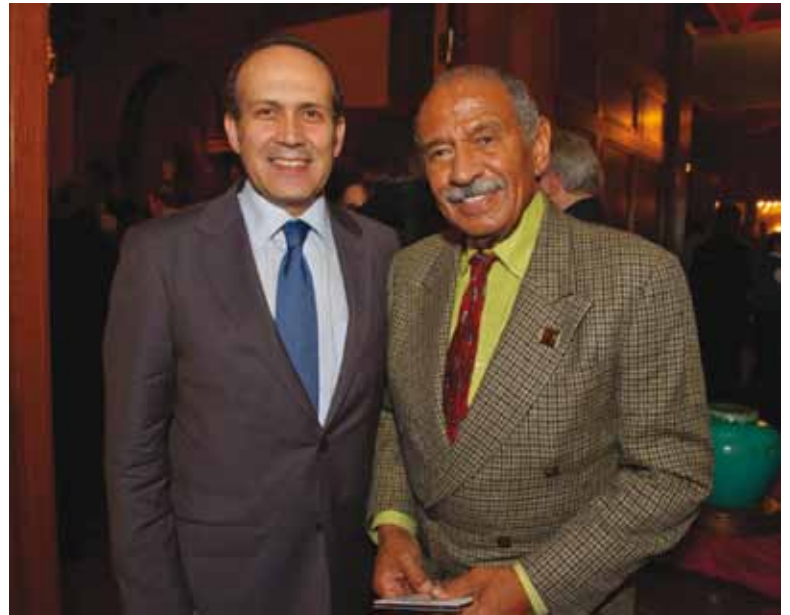
On Tuesday, October 11, 2011 at 6:30 p.m.

*R.S.V.P.
(202) 612-6721
yagnar.cosa@rfia.gov.tr
Attire: Business attire*

*Turkish Embassy Residence
1606 23rd Street, NW
Washington DC 20008*

*Valet service will be available
This invitation is non-transferable*

Printed invitation to one of the concerts in the Ertegun Jazz Series. (Photo courtesy Embassy of Turkey.)



Ambassador Namık Tan with Rep. John Conyers, an ardent champion of jazz, at the Ertegun Series concert on December 6, 2011. (Photo courtesy the Embassy of Turkey.)

From this desire came an “Ertegun Jazz Series” held at the Turkish Ambassador’s residence. With programming assistance from Jazz at Lincoln Center and funding from Boeing, five such concerts were held in 2011, sparking press coverage in *The Washington Post*, on Public Radio International, and other media outlets. The concerts were attended by such members of Congress as Rep. John Conyers, the “Dean” of the Congressional Black Caucus and an ardent champion of jazz. Under the sponsorship of Coca-Cola—whose Chairman and CEO, Muhtar Kent, is of Turkish descent—the series was renewed for 2012.

Ahmet’s widow, Mica Ertegun, attended several of the concerts, which also drew children of Nesuhi Ertegun and Delia Gottlieb, the widow of photographer-writer Bill Gottlieb.

Everett House



A banner at the Turkish Ambassador's Residence, February 2012.
(Photo by John Edward Hasse.)



The Warren Wolf Quartet performs for the third concert of the Ertegün Jazz Series, in the stunning Music Room of the Ambassador's Residence, June 7, 2011. From left: drummer John Russell Lamkin III, bassist Herman Burney, vibraphonist Warren Wolf, and pianist Janelle Gill. (Photo courtesy Embassy of Turkey.)

The Swinging Scions How The Ambassador's Sons Jazzed Washington And The Nation



Singer Gretchen Parlato and her trio perform on December 10, 2011, in the sixth concert of the Ertegun Jazz Series. (Photo courtesy Embassy of Turkey.)



Ambassador Namık Tan thanks saxophonist Marcus Strickland at the sixth Ertegun Jazz Series concert, on October 11, 2011. (Photo courtesy Embassy of Turkey.)



Trumpeter Roy Hargrove and his group performed at the first concert of the second Erteğin series, February 15, 2012. (Courtesy Embassy of Turkey.)

In one of the most telling comments delivered during the series, Dr. Lonnie Bunch, founding director of the Smithsonian's National Museum of African American History and Culture, recalled how important the Turkish Embassy was to him when he was a student at Washington's historically-black Howard University in the early 1970s by recalling a memory he relayed to the audience. "Those days, Washington was a very different city. There were areas where an African American just couldn't go. People had said to me, 'If you are ever near Dupont Circle and if something happens and you feel you are in danger then immediately throw yourself inside the Turkish

Embassy.' Turkey's Washington Embassy has always been a safe haven for us. It still is, but now it is also a safe haven for jazz lovers. I am proud to be here, because this is a place that used to have a lot of meaning in this city and it still does."



Lonnie Bunch, Director of the Smithsonian's National Museum of African American History and Culture, addresses the audience on February 15, 2012. (Courtesy Embassy of Turkey.)

(Endnotes)

- 1 The Embassy and the residence would occupy the same building from 1932 until 1999, when the Turkish Embassy moved its chancery to its current location at 2525 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, roughly five blocks from the ambassador's residence at 1606 23rd Street, NW, which intersects Massachusetts Avenue at Sheridan Circle.
- 2 The Treaty of Lausanne was signed on that day, thereby establishing the modern Turkish republic.
- 3 Ahmet Ertegun, oral history, 13 November 2002, Columbia University Oral History Research Office, as quoted in Robert Greenfield, *The Last Sultan: The Life and Times of Ahmet Ertegun* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2011), 5.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 Ahmet Ertegun explained his family's change of name from Munir to Ertegun: "In 1936 [Kemal] Atatürk [the President of Turkey] decreed that every citizen of Turkey had to choose a surname. Prior to that time people had simply been known as 'Son of James', 'Son of Richard' or whatever. This, of course, led to some spectacular names being chosen. Our family name up to that point was Munir, so my father selected the surname Ertegun, which roughly translated means 'living in a hopeful future.'" Ahmet Ertegun, "What'd I Say": *The Atlantic Story* (New York: Welcome Rain, 2001), 4. In the United States, the brothers' surname normally appeared as Ertegun, without the umlaut, so it is spelled that way throughout this chapter, with rare exceptions. The Ambassador's name is rendered throughout this chapter as Ertegun.
- 6 Ahmet Ertegun, oral history, conducted by Marcia M. Greenlee, 1994, 10, Rhythm & Blues Foundation Collection, the Center for African American Music and Culture, Indiana University, Bloomington. This and other quotes from the interview are used with the kind permission of Mica Ertegun.
- 7 Greenfield, *The Last Sultan*, 10. Michael Gross, "The Real Sultan of Swing," *The Sunday Correspondent Magazine* (London), October 1990.
- 8 Ertegun, "What'd I Say," 4.
- 9 Ellington's show opened June 12, 1933, and ran for two weeks. See Klaus Stratemann, *Duke Ellington: Day by Day and Film by Film* (Copenhagen: JazzMedia, 1992), 65.
- 10 Stratemann, 65.
- 11 Barry Ulanov, *Duke Ellington* (New York: Creative Age Press, 1946), 137.
- 12 "Duke Ellington's Success," *Billboard*, July 8, 1933, 10; but datelined "London, June 20"; in the Duke Ellington Publicity Scrapbooks, Duke Ellington Collection, Archives Center, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.
- 13 Ertegun, oral history, Columbia University, as quoted in Greenfield, *The Last Sultan*, 14.
- 14 Gross, "The Real Sultan of Swing."
- 15 Ibid.
- 16 Ertegun, interview by Greenlee, 10-11.
- 17 Greenfield, *The Last Sultan*, 14-15.
- 18 Robert Greenfield, "The Greatest Record Man of All Time," *Rolling Stone*, no. 1018, January 25, 2007.
- 19 As quoted in Atlantic Records: *The House That Ahmet Built*, American Masters series, broadcast on PBS television in 2007 and issued on DVD.
- 20 Ertegun, interview by Greenlee, 1994, 2. George W.S. Trow, "Part II: Eclectic, Reminiscent, Amused, Fickle, Perverse," *The New Yorker*, June 5, 1978. Greenfield, *The Last Sultan*, 25.
- 21 Selma Göksel, email to the author, March 16, 2012. Ertegun, interview by Greenlee, 11.
- 22 Nesuhi Ertegun, "Jazz in Paris," *The Record Changer*, December 1943, 3.
- 23 Ibid.
- 24 Whitey Baker, "A Turk Brings Hot Jazz to Washington," *Down Beat*, May 1, 1941, 9.
- 25 This paragraph and the following five paragraphs are based on the author's chapter "The Swing Era," in John Edward Hasse and Tad Lathrop, *Discover Jazz* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson, 2012), 90, 95.
- 26 Broven, *Record Makers and Breakers: Voices of the Independent Rock 'n' Roll Pioneers* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 62.
- 27 Interview of Selma Göksel by Onur Bayramoglu, October 26, 2011, in Istanbul, 3. Translated into English by Onur Bayramoglu. Transcript provided by the Global Political Trends Center, Istanbul Kültür University.
- 28 Ertegun, "What'd I Say," 7.
- 29 Ibid.
- 30 Ertegun, "What'd I Say," 11. See also William P. Gottlieb, "Bill Gottlieb's Golden Ages of Jazz, Part 2," *Jazz Notes* 4, no. 4 (1993), 10. For a discussion of "The List," which enumerated the few Washington, DC, restaurants that would serve blacks and whites in the early 1950s, see John Kelly, "D.C. Restaurant List is Relic from a Painful Past," *The Washington Post*, October 11, 2011.
- 31 Bruce Wallace, "Mehmet Ertegun and Jazz," *The World* radio broadcast, April 12, 2011, <http://www.theworld.org/2011/04/turkish-jazz/>, accessed February 24, 2012.
- 32 Broven, 63.
- 33 Gross, "The Real Sultan of Swing."
- 34 As interviewed in Atlantic Records: *The House That Ahmet Built*.
- 35 Nesuhi Ertegun, "Real and Fake," *The Record Changer*, May 1943, 2. Nesuhi's account differs somewhat from recollections of sister Selma: "Nesuhi was already in California when the rest of us drove out there in the summer of 1941. He was staying with a Turkish friend who lived in Los Angeles. My mother, Ahmet and I went there with a family friend, a Turkish woman journalist and lecturer named Ismet Sanli, who drove us all the way over and back. We went in her car which, I think, was a small yellow Dodge. We took a northern route going and a southern route returning. We stayed in a small apartment in Hollywood for one month and visited some studios while there." Selma Göksel, e-mail to the author, March 16, 2012. According to *The Washington Post*, they returned to Washington on September 7, 1941: "With her daughter Selma, and sons Nesuhi and Ahmet, Mme. Ertegun has been motoring through California." "Notes of Capital Society," *The Washington Post*, September 7, 1941, SA1.
- 36 Ibid., 3.
- 37 George Avakian, "The Early Days of Down Beat: A Reminiscence," *Down Beat*, August 20, 1959, 23.
- 38 Carolyn Bell, "Nesuhi Ertegun, Hepcat: Son of Turkish Envoy Says Jazz Is U.S. Classic," *The Washington Post*, 29 August 1942, B4. The sum of \$40 in 1940 equates to about \$560 in 2012 dollars.
- 39 William P. Gottlieb, "Bill Gottlieb's Golden Ages of Jazz," *Jazz Notes* 4, no. 3 (Fall 1992), 11.
- 40 Ertegun, "What'd I Say," p. 19. Something costing 5¢ in 1940 would be worth 70¢ in 2012 US dollars; \$3 in 1940 would equal \$42 in 2012; \$15 would amount to \$210.
- 41 Bill Gottlieb, "Swing Sessions," *The Washington Post*, December 7, 1941, L2.
- 42 Richard Harrington, "Tune Town," *The Washington Post*, May 07, 1993.
- 43 Ertegun, "What'd I Say," 21.
- 44 Gottlieb, "Gottlieb's Golden Ages of Jazz," 11.
- 45 Gross, "The Real Sultan of Swing."
- 46 Ertegun, interview by Greenlee, 52.
- 47 Ertegun, "What'd I Say," 10.
- 48 Ibid.
- 49 Bill Gottlieb, "Swing Sessions," *The Washington Post*, December 7, 1941, L2.
- 50 Cary Ginell, *Hot Jazz for Sale: Hollywood's Jazz Man Record Shop*. [n.p.]: Cary Ginell, 2010, 109.
- 51 Gottlieb, "Two Turks." Later, Ahmet Ertegun said the collection, at its peak, numbered 25,000 jazz and blues discs; see part 1 of George W.S. Trow's profile of Ertegun, "Eclectic, Reminiscent, Amused, Fickle, Perverse," *The New Yorker*, May 29, 1978, and Richard Harrington, "The Rock of Atlantic," *The Washington Post*, December 22, 1985, H5. Still later, Ertegun numbered the collection at 15,000 discs: Ertegun interview by Greenlee, 1994, 33.
- 52 Although several sources (for example, Robert Greenfield's *The Last Sultan*, 35, 38) assert that Ertegun studied philosophy, the Washington, DC, researcher Jay Bruder reports that some years ago, he found and read Ertegun's masters thesis at Georgetown University's Lauinger Library and remembers as it centering not on philosophy but rather on foreign policy. A recent check of the Library found that the thesis could not be located. Personal communication from Jay Bruder, April 21, 2012.
- 53 Ertegun, "What'd I Say," 21.
- 54 Ahmet Ertegun, oral history, Columbia University, January 23, 2003, as quoted in Greenfield, *The Last Sultan*, 24. Greenfield spells it "Gaity," but period photographs and advertisements use the spelling "Gayety."
- 55 Richard Harrington, "The Rock of Atlantic," *The Washington Post*, December 22, 1985, H5.
- 56 Wallace, "Mehmet Ertegun."
- 57 Ertegun, "What'd I Say," 6.
- 58 Gottlieb, May 16, 1943, L2.
- 59 Bell, "Nesuhi Ertegun, Hepcat."
- 60 Duke Ellington, "The Duke Takes Pen in Hand," *Norfolk New Journal and Guide*, August 1, 1942, 16; du Lac, B6.
- 61 Bell, "Nesuhi Ertegun, Hepcat."
- 62 Bill Gottlieb, "Swing Sessions," *The Washington Post*, February 7, 1943, L4.

- 63 Sidney Martin, *Down Beat*, March 1939, as quoted in Howard Reich and William Gaines, *Jelly's Blues: The Life, Music, and Redemption of Jelly Roll Morton* (New York: Da Capo Press, 2003), 147.
- 64 Bell, "Nesuhi Ertegun, Hepcat."
- 65 Greenfield, *The Last Sultan*, 35; Broven, 62.
- 66 J. Freedom du Lac, "A Chord of Jazz History to Echo at Turkish Embassy," *The Washington Post*, February 4, 2011, B5.
- 67 Baker, "A Turk. . ."
- 68 William Russell, "Oh, Mister Jelly": A Jelly Roll Morton Scrapbook (Copenhagen: JazzMedia, 1999), 474; Ertegun, "What'd I Say," 12.
- 69 Ertegun, "What'd I Say," 12.
- 70 "Eighty-Four Freshmen Sign St. John's College Register," *The Sun* (Baltimore), 26 Sept 1940, 11.
- 71 Ertegun and Campbell, "'The World's Jazz Crazy, Lawdy, So Am I,'" *St. John's Collegian*, September 3, 1943, 1. The article was titled after one of the recordings played during the concert, a recording sung in 1925 by Trixie Smith with cornetist Louis Armstrong.
- 72 *St. John's College Yearbook* (Annapolis, MD: St. John's College, 1944), 20.
- 73 Harrington, "The Rock of Atlantic," H5. Turner's Arena was a 2,000-seat arena situated near the corner of 14th and W Streets, NW. It was renamed the Capital Arena in 1956, and demolished in 1965.
- 74 Ertegun, "What'd I Say," 11.
- 75 S.I. Hayakawa, "Second Thoughts: Jazz and Race Relations," *The Chicago Defender*, March 25, 1944, 13. Hayakawa is quoting Robert Goffin, *Jazz: From the Congo to the Metropolitan* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1944). Goffin was a Belgian writer by then living in the United States.
- 76 "Jazz Student Cites Duke as Best of All," *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 17, 1941, 13.
- 77 Bill Gottlieb, "Swing Sessions," *The Washington Post*, December 7, 1941, L2.
- 78 William Gottlieb, "Swing Sessions: Capital Cats, No. 5," *The Washington Post*, April 25, 1943, L2.
- 79 Jay Bruder, email message to author, April 21, 2012.
- 80 Bell, "Nesuhi Ertegun, Hepcat." A "zuit" suit is normally spelled "zoot" suit.
- 81 Bill Gottlieb, "Bill Gottlieb's Swing Session: Two Turks, Hot for U.S. Jazz," *The Washington Post*, May 16, 1943, L2.
- 82 Nesuhi Ertegun, "Record Review," *The Record Changer*, Jan. 15, 1943, [2].
- 83 Nesuhi Ertegun, "The Real Jazz?" *The Record Changer*, Feb. 1943, [3-4].
- 84 Gordon Gullickson, "Granpa's [sic] Spells," *The Record Changer*, August 1943, 12.
- 85 Ginell, 109.
- 86 Ginell, 111.
- 87 Shelly Lowenkopf and Ralph Melaragno, "Jazz Goes to College," *Theme* 1, no. 5 (March 1954), 42-43. See also Ashley Kahn, "All This Jazz," *UCLA Magazine*, July 2011. http://magazine.ucla.edu/features/all_this_jazz/ accessed 29 February 2012.
- 88 "A Jazz Seminar," *Down Beat*, June 27, 1957, 15.
- 89 The Jazz Man Record Shop was run by Dave Stuart and Marili Morden. They married on February 20, 1941, but after three weeks, Morden kicked Stuart out of their home, and they never lived together again. They remained business partners only, and in due course, were divorced. See Ginell, *Hot Jazz for Sale*, 40-41, 120. In the summer of 1942, Stuart joined the military and left California for flight school. Marili took over the complete operation of the Jazz Man record store and label. See "Wife Takes Over as 'Jazz Man' Joins Up," *Down Beat*, September 14, 1942.
- 90 Selma Göksel, email to the author, 18 March 2012.
- 91 Ertegun, "What'd I Say," 4. See also Nesuhi Ertegun, "Esquire 1945," *The Record Changer*, February 1945, 3.
- 92 Floyd Levin, *Classic Jazz: A Personal View of the Music and the Musicians* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 12. Also Ginell, 123 and 125.
- 93 Bill Gottlieb, "Swing Sessions: Jazz Tops 'All-American' Art But Foreigners Give It Fame," *The Washington Post*, September 1, 1946, S5.
- 94 "The Kid Comes Back," *Time*, February 5, 1945.
- 95 Ginell, 150-51.
- 96 Ginell, 145.
- 97 Ginell, 135, 162, 156.
- 98 Ginell, 176.
- 99 Ginell, 181, 182, 184.
- 100 Ertegun, "What'd I Say," 4.
- 101 Greenfield, *The Last Sultan*, 39.
- 102 *Idib.*, 15.
- 103 Broven, 62.
- 104 Blue Note Records was established in 1939.
- 105 Ertegun, "What'd I Say," 22.
- 106 *Ibid.*, 20.
- 107 Ginell, 138.
- 108 *Ibid.*
- 109 Ertegun, interview by Greenlee, 1994, 33.
- 110 *Ibid.*, 25. Endnote 51 discusses the number of discs in the Ertegun brothers' collection.
- 111 Gross, "The Real Sultan of Swing."
- 112 Robert Greenfield, "The Greatest Record Man of All Time," *Rolling Stone*, no. 1018, January 25, 2007.
- 113 Issued originally in 1961 on 7 LPs, the set was reissued in 1993 as *Sounds of the South*, a 4-CD set.
- 114 Originally a 14-LP set when issued in 1985, it was reissued as a set of 8 CDs.
- 115 In 1987, it was issued on 6 LPs, then reissued later on 4 CDs.
- 116 Greenfield, *The Last Sultan*, 104; Susan Anderson, "Nesuhi Ertegun, a Top Record Producer, Dies at 71," *The New York Times*, July 16, 1989, A26.
- 117 Ertegun, interview by Greenlee, 1995, 95-96.
- 118 Richard Harrington, "Rhythm, Blues & the Battle Royalty; Ruth Brown & Her Lawyer, Recording a Win," *The Washington Post*, May 22, 1988, F1.
- 119 Atlantic Records was purchased by Warner-Seven Arts in October, 1967.
- 120 Chris Heim, "Group to Help Old Stars," *Chicago Tribune*, December 18, 1988, 9.
- 121 Susan Heller Anderson, "Nesuhi Ertegun, a Top Record Producer, Dies at 71," *The New York Times*, July 16, 1989. Ginell, 288.
- 122 Tim Weiner, "Ahmet Ertegun, Music Executive, Dies at 83," *The New York Times*, December 15, 2006.
- 123 *Ibid.*
- 124 It was broadcast as part of the series *American Masters* in June 2007 by the U.S. public television network PBS.
- 125 du Lac, B6.
- 126 In an interesting development, in 2012, Mica Ertegun and the estate of Ahmet Ertegun made a \$41 million gift to Oxford University to establish the Mica and Ahmet Ertegun Graduate Scholarship Program in the Humanities—the largest gift for Oxford's humanities students in its 900-year history. See Dave Itzkoff, "\$41 Million Ertegun Gift For Oxford Humanities," *The New York Times*, March 3, 2012, 3.
- 127 "Turkish Embassy Celebrates Its Contribution to Jazz," *Sabah*, February 2, 2012. <http://english.sabah.com.tr/National/2012/02/17/turkish-embassy-celebrates-its-contribution-to-jazz> accessed March 12, 2012.

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