

The Gazette of the American Friends of Lafayette

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AFL members in front of the iconic Lafayette statute in LaGrange



The LaGrange fountain and statue at a quieter moment

Table of Contents

Part I

President's Message	5
<i>Alan R. Hoffman</i>	
Annual Meeting in LaGrange, Georgia	7
<i>Chuck Schwam</i>	
Yorktown Victory Day - October 19, 2023	10
<i>Chuck Schwam</i>	
Farewell Tour Bicentennial Update	14
<i>Chuck Schwam</i>	
Launch of Hampton Roads Farewell Tour Travelogue	17
<i>Alan R. Hoffman</i>	
New York Virtual Travelogue: 3 Stories	19
<i>Alan R. Hoffman</i>	
A Numismatic Trilogy Part 1: The Washington-Lafayette Medalet and Counterstamp	27
<i>John F. Conour and Ronald B. Gammill, PhD</i>	
From Unhonored to Highly Honored: Philadelphia Celebrates Lafayette Day, 1916-1957	35
<i>Michael Mendenhall</i>	
Lafayette's World as a Teenager, with Noailles and Ségur	51
<i>John C. Becica</i>	
Hopes and Disappointments: Lafayette Recalls the Rhode Island Campaign	70
<i>Gloria H. Schmidt</i>	
Four Lanes End – Langhorne, Pennsylvania	80
<i>Carol Ann Aicher</i>	
Lafayette Sighting: Chichester, New Hampshire	90
<i>Alan R. Hoffman</i>	

Part II

Remembering Lafayette in Dutchess County	97
<i>Bill Jeffway</i>	
What's Wrong with this Portrait?	101
<i>John C. Becica</i>	
Lafayette's Portrait in the Old Kentucky State Capitol	106
<i>Dale Henley</i>	
"Lafayette and the More Perfect Union": Robert Rhodes Crout's Mount Vernon Paper	109
<i>Alan R. Hoffman</i>	
Book Review: John Becica's <i>Trail Tales</i>	112
<i>Marilyn Hoffman</i>	
New Book: <i>Lafayette: America's Young Hero & Guest</i>	113
<i>Bruce E. Mowday</i>	
New Book: <i>Nantucket Cheese for Lafayette</i>	115
<i>Susan Joy</i>	
Dr. Colleen Shogun, Archivist of the United States	117
<i>Chuck Schwam</i>	
Member Spotlight: Jim Dillard	118
<i>Joyce Dillard and Chuck Schwam</i>	
American Legion, Paris Post 1	121
<i>Scott Rayl</i>	
Breaking News! U.S. Teachers Love Lafayette!	124
<i>Patti Maclay and Chuck Schwam</i>	
Why Should Young People Learn About Lafayette?	126
<i>Lindsay Behan</i>	

Part II (cont'd)

USS <i>Lafayette</i>	128
<i>Chuck Schwam</i>	
Lafayette Trivia – Gone But Not Forgotten!	131
<i>Ernest and Janet Sutton</i>	
Lafayette Trivia – One Admiral: Two Graves!	136
<i>Ernest and Janet Sutton</i>	
Lafayette’s “Adopted Father,” Marshal of France	139
<i>John C. Becica</i>	
A Flag for Picpus Cemetery	146
<i>Julie Pearson</i>	
Picpus Cemetery – July 5, 2023 Ceremony	147
<i>Dale Henley and Chuck Schwam</i>	
Lafayette at the French Embassy’s Garden Party	150
<i>Chuck Schwam</i>	
Yorktown Day 2023	153
<i>Babeth and Richard Santander</i>	
Commemorating the Franco-American Alliance and the Battle of the Hook in Gloucester, Virginia	160
<i>Robert Kelly</i>	
<i>Cur Non?</i>	162
<i>Chuck Schwam</i>	
<i>Vive Lafayette: A Word-Cross Puzzle</i>	175
<i>Kathryn Tone</i>	
<i>Gazette Distribution – 2023</i>	176
<i>Alan R. Hoffman</i>	
<i>Letters to the Gazette</i>	177
<i>Answers to Vive Lafayette Puzzle Clues</i>	179

President's Message



Dear Friends of Lafayette,

The principal goal of the American Friends of Lafayette is to educate the public about the life and legacy of General Lafayette. In the last six months, the AFL has taken great strides towards achieving its goal.

The 2024-2025 Bicentennial commemorations will provide a magnificent vehicle for educating the public about Lafayette. With events being planned in 24 states and Washington, D.C., the opportunities to present Lafayette to the public will be legion.

Under the superlative leadership of Chuck Schwam – whom I had the inspired judgment to appoint National Farewell Tour Bicentennial chair – an array of spectacular events will be offered in the first three months of the Bicentennial.

Parades in New York City, Boston, and Philadelphia. Flyovers in New York, Yorktown and Norfolk, Virginia, and other venues. Fireworks in Yorktown. An all-day symposium on Lafayette hosted by Fairfield University in Connecticut. A Lafayette exhibition at Lafayette College in Easton, Pennsylvania. An authentic reenactment of Lafayette's 1824 visit to historic Lexington Green in Massachusetts. Dinner with Lafayette under Washington's tent at Fort McHenry, Maryland. Just to name a few.

As we approach the Bicentennial, the AFL is also ramping up its educational outreach in other ways. Bicentennial committee members have attended and staffed tables at education conferences in three states and had a booth at the National Council for the Social Studies Conference in Nashville, Tennessee. Our sets of educational panels – now numbering ten – are circulating widely. Members of our Bicentennial Education Committee have initiated a national, online Lafayette essay contest for fourth and fifth graders.

The AFL has launched the first of seven travelogues that tell the story of Lafayette's stops on the Farewell Tour – the Hampton Roads, Virginia travel tour. Other virtual travelogues will follow in the short term: New York City, North Carolina, Central Virginia, New Hampshire, and later Northern Virginia and New York State. Each will be available not only on the free

Also in the last six months, the AFL organized numerous events, highlighted by our annual meeting in LaGrange, Georgia and Yorktown Day. Social Media Coordinator Kat Smith is broadcasting AFL activities far and wide to a new audience for us.

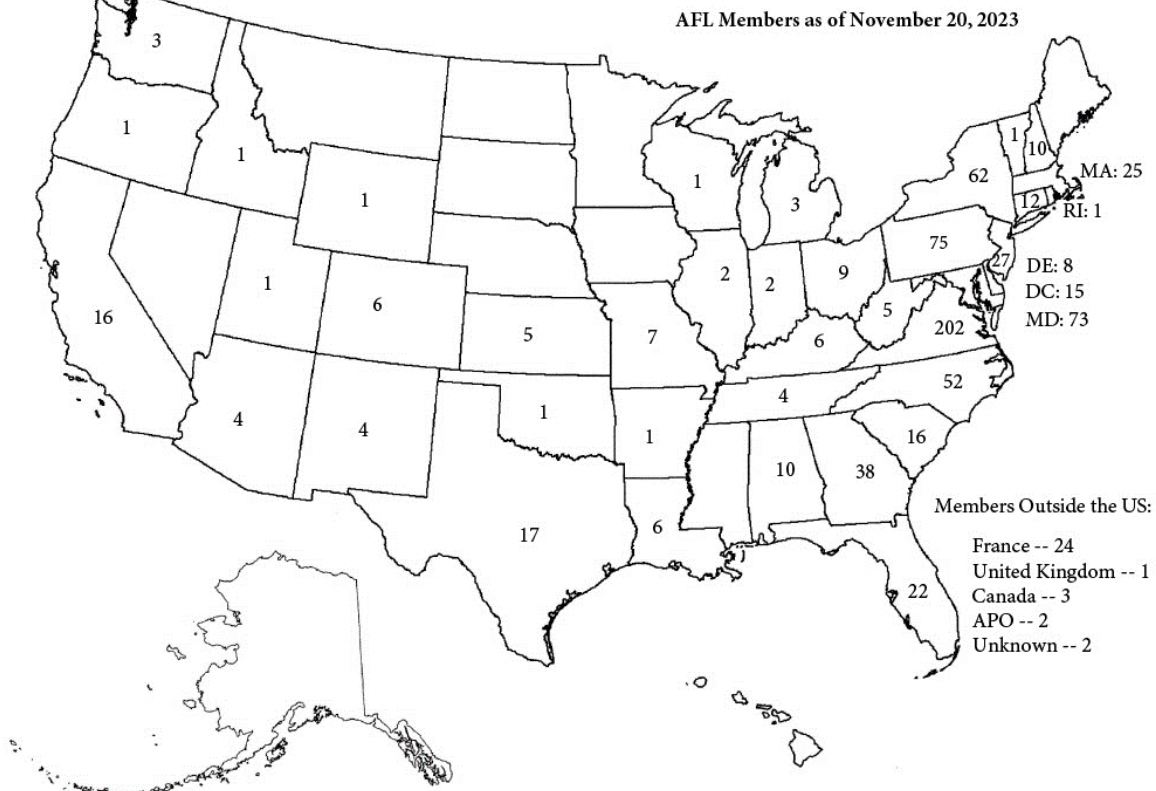
The combination of all of these activities has produced a meteoric growth in membership, which dwarfs the expansion we saw when the replica ship *Hermione* stopped at ports on the Eastern Seaboard in 2015, or when the musical *Hamilton*'s popularity soared.

Here are the numbers. From May 21, 2023 to November 20, 2023, 195 new members joined the AFL, a rate of more than one member per day!!! Note the multiple consecutive exclamation points, not one of my signature grammatical features.

We now have over 800 members. It was 787 on November 20. This compares with 632 on May 20, 2023.

Wow!

Best Regards,
Alan R. Hoffman



AFL Annual Meeting in LaGrange, Georgia

by Chuck Schwam



On June 8, 2023, the AFL kicked off our four-day meeting in LaGrange, Georgia. I can honestly say that this might have been our best meeting of all time. Educational, entertaining, and exceptional. Everything went as planned, and the Lafayette Alliance and its team provided a fun and meaningful experience for us all. The citizens of LaGrange shuttled, entertained, and cooked for over 100 attendees. Thank you VERY much, Dr. and Mrs. Ingram for your leadership and attention to detail. It was a weekend we will NEVER forget.



AFL members had the distinct pleasure of meeting Annie and Oliver Greene. Annie is an author, a teacher, and an artist. AFL members were treated to seeing her specialty, yarn art. She displayed a gorgeous portrait of James Armistead Lafayette all done in yarn.



It took a “village” to pull off the annual meeting in LaGrange. Scores of dedicated volunteers chipped in to help, all under the leadership of Richard and Janice Ingram.



A play was performed at LaGrange College for members of the AFL and citizens of LaGrange. This was just one of several performances that we enjoyed over the four days in LaGrange.



Performers wait to take the stage to entertain AFL members during the annual banquet.



As AFL members were waiting to have the group photo taken in front of the iconic Lafayette Fountain in LaGrange, Georgia, my phone rang. It was Lea Gryk – she and a few others were stuck in the hotel elevator!

Above (L-R): David Berish, Laura Berish, Sarah Gillens, and Lea Gryk taking a selfie while stuck in said elevator. Luckily, they were released in time to join other AFL members for the group photo (cover of Part I).

Yorktown Victory Day - October 19, 2023

by Chuck Schwam



Yorktown Victory Day starts every year with a solemn and dignified ceremony at the French Soldiers' Cemetery.



Folks gather at the French Memorial ceremony.



AFL member Thierry Chaunu receives the French National Order of Merit medal at the French Memorial Ceremony.



The American Friends of Lafayette march in the annual Yorktown Victory Day Parade.



The AFL parade contingent was led by AFL member George Bennett chauffeuring Mark Schneider as "Lafayette" in a 1960 Morgan.



*DAR is always well represented at Yorktown.
(L-R) AFL's Social Media guru Kat Smith;
President-General, Pamela Wright; and Comte
de Grasse Regent, Sarah Sherman-VanDeventer.*



*The AFL's TravelStorys Hampton Roads App
was unveiled at the Freight Shed. Many were in
attendance including AFL's (L-R) Bill Cole, Alan
Hoffman, Mark Schneider, and Frank Womble.*



*AFL's Dr. Iris de Rode shows off a newly purchased bottle Of Lafayette
wine at the AFL's World-Famous AFL Cocktail Party.*



(L-R): Kat Smith, Mark Schneider, Chuck Schwam, and Robert Kelly show off the Lafayette wine from The Williamsburg Winery at the AFL's World-Famous Cocktail Party.



BIG THANK YOU to (L-R) Rudy Knepper, Lea Gryk, and Lisa Meunier who did a WONDERFUL job beautifying the French Cemetery before Yorktown Victory Day. The ceremony attendee appreciated it, but more importantly, I'm sure the soldiers did as well.

Lafayette Farewell Tour Bicentennial Update

by Chuck Schwam

A snowball rolling down the hill getting larger and larger – that is how I would describe the Lafayette Farewell Tour Bicentennial planning efforts. Over fifty committees around the country are working to ensure that we commemorate, celebrate, and educate the American public about Lafayette.

We now have TEN sets of our traveling exhibit panels roaming the country in schools, libraries, historical societies, and other public spaces. These exhibit panels are generating excitement for the Bicentennial, all the while educating Americans of all ages.

Speaking of education, Jenny Cote, with the help of Susan Meekins-Wolfe, has launched an essay contest for fourth and fifth graders. This contest will help us spread knowledge about our hero among elementary school students and their parents. This is exactly what Lafayette would want us to do.

The AFL has MANY partners helping with the Bicentennial, including the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Sons of the American Revolution, the Society of the Cincinnati, just to name a few. These organizations have provided valuable financial assistance and boots-on-the-ground participation in planning events.

Our committees are putting in countless volunteer hours all over the country. Over the next few pages, I have highlighted a few of those dedicated volunteers, but there are MANY more.

So much is happening. We are planning parades, military flyovers, reenactments, tall ships, fireworks, and parties. We are organizing educational programs and symposiums. We are raising funds and awareness. 2024 and 2025 will be HUGE!!! Hang on folks – Day One (August 15, 2024) is right around the corner!



At the NSDAR Christmas Party in Washington D.C.

L-R: NSDAR First Vice President General, Virginia Storage; AFL Bicentennial National Committee Chair, Chuck Schwam; NSDAR President General, Pamela Wright; and AFL board member, Patti Maclay. Patti is also the NSDAR National Chair of the Franco-American Memorial Committee.



Washington, D.C. Chair Elizabeth Reese and Chuck Schwam at the U.S. Navy Yard in D.C.



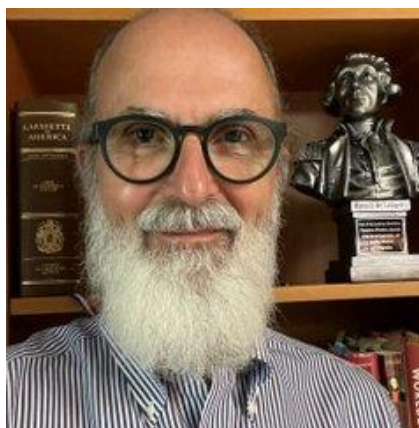
Peter Feinman is the Westchester, New York Chair and is helping with the upcoming AFL meeting.



Jackie Noller is the Chair in Baltimore, Maryland.



Tee Michel chairs the Frederick, Maryland committee.



Graham Brent chairs the Philadelphia committee.



Todd Creekman helps in D.C. and Northern Virginia.



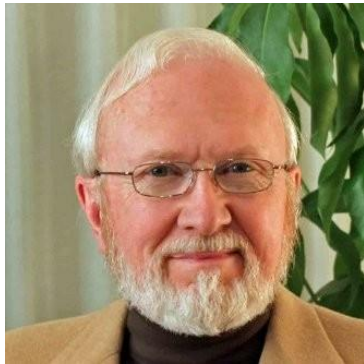
Norm Desmaris chairs the Rhode Island committee.



Bill Jeffway is on the Hudson Valley, New York committee.



Lynne Tate is doing great work in Georgia.



Dan Hopping chairs a committee that oversees Lafayette Bicentennial commemorations in most of the state of North Carolina.



David Hildebrand is EXPERTLY guiding the Lafayette Bicentennial Music Committee.



A few members of the New York Lafayette Bicentennial (Weekend One) Committee got together in New York for planning (and some fun). (L-R) Michael Marquis, Susan Minker, Marc Minker, Michelle Marquis, Chuck Schwam, Bonnie Fritz, and Marie-Laure Kugel of Fairfield University

AFL Launches Lafayette Farewell Tour Hampton Roads Virtual Travelogue

by Alan R. Hoffman



Photo by Joseph Sohm

On Yorktown Day, October 19th, the American Friends of Lafayette launched the first of seven virtual travel tours. This travelogue is designed to educate the public about Lafayette's Farewell Tour stops in Hampton Roads, Virginia and to promote the activities that the AFL is planning here during the Bicentennial of Lafayette's 1824-25 tour of America. The AFL has partnered with TravelStorysGPS to produce the travelogue.

The travelogues will be available free to the user on a smart phone, other smart device, or home computer. The user may take the tour in the field or at home on any smart device by downloading the TravelStorys app. The travelogue can also be accessed on a home computer by visiting the TravelStorys website: www.travelstorys.com.

The Hampton Roads travelogue is the first of three Virginia travelogues of stops that Lafayette made during his Farewell Tour. The others will be Central Virginia and Northern Virginia. The AFL will launch the Central Virginia Tour on Virginia Lafayette Day in Richmond on March 14, 2024.

Additional virtual travel tours near completion are New Hampshire, New York City, and North Carolina. We'll keep you posted!

Each story in the travelogue has approximately three minutes of narration. In addition, Colonial Williamsburg's Lafayette interpreter Mark Schneider has graciously agreed to play Lafayette whenever the General is quoted. There are also sound effects – like cannon blasts for salutes –and scrolling images to accompany the narration.

The sponsors of the Hampton Roads travel tour are Virginia Humanities, the Society of the Cincinnati in Virginia, the Celebrate Yorktown Committee of the Yorktown Foundation, the National Park Service Washington-Rochambeau National Historic Trail, and York County. The total cost of the project is \$40,000, half of which was provided by Virginia Humanities.

AFL members William Cole of Yorktown, Frank Womble of Suffolk, Robert Kelly, Museum Coordinator of the Gloucester Museum of History, Professor Lloyd Kramer of the University of North Carolina, and I collaborated with TravelStorysGPS to produce the Hampton Roads travelogue.

The AFL, through its 200 members in the Commonwealth, has begun to promote the virtual travelogue through middle schools and high schools, public libraries, historical societies, museums, and patriotic societies.

We hope that the travelogues will serve as an important educational tool and help us to honor the memory and legacy of Lafayette – which is our mission. Not only did Lafayette play a major role – both military and diplomatic – in the American Revolution, but he was also a human rights champion and a consistent advocate for the abolition of slavery. General Lafayette can serve as a positive role model in the challenging times we face today.



Even General Lafayette came to the Freight Shed in Yorktown for the large screen premiere of the Hampton Roads travelogue!

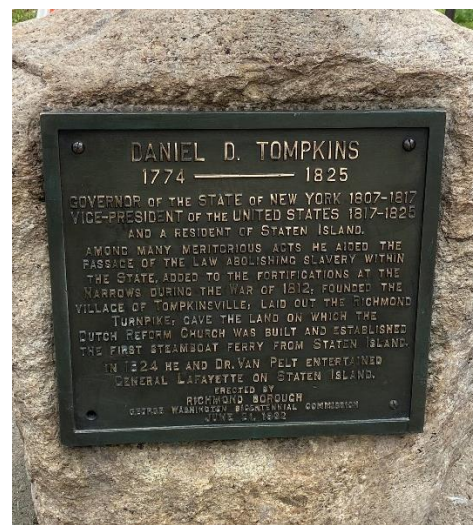
Lafayette in New York, August 15 and 16, 1824

by Alan R. Hoffman

These three stories are the first of 27 in the New York City travelogue, which will be available on the TravelStorysGPS app, or on its website, as well as on the AFL's Lafayette200.org website. We expect to launch this travel tour in March 2024, and hope to launch tours in New Hampshire, North Carolina, and Central Virginia before summer.

Lafayette's Arrival: Staten Island Detour

Do you see the big rock here by the side of the park? There's a memorial plaque on it that honors Daniel Tompkins, the fifth governor of New York and the sixth vice president of the United States. It was at his house nearby that Lafayette and his party spent Sunday, August 15, 1824, the first day and night of the General's 13-month Farewell Tour.



Tompkinsville Park, Staten Island and Daniel D. Tompkins memorial plaque located in the park

Lafayette's old friend and Revolutionary War comrade President James Monroe had written the General during the winter to invite him to visit his adoptive land. Monroe had offered to send a warship to France to bring Lafayette to America. Lafayette accepted the offer to visit, but chose instead to sail on a commercial ship, the *Cadmus*, captained by Francis Allyn. The *Cadmus* left Le Havre, France on July 13, 1824.

Lafayette's party consisted of the General; his only son, George Washington Lafayette; his secretary, Auguste Levasseur; and a valet, Sebastian Wagner. Levasseur kept a journal of the trip, which is how we know many of the details of the Farewell Tour.

The *Cadmus* arrived in New York Bay on the morning of August 15. Levasseur recalled the response of the American sailors on the boat that first approached the ship. When they asked if Lafayette was on board and were told that he was, he wrote, "joy burst out on all their faces; they threw themselves toward one another, while shaking each other's hands, and while congratulating each other on the good fortune which they were going to enjoy."

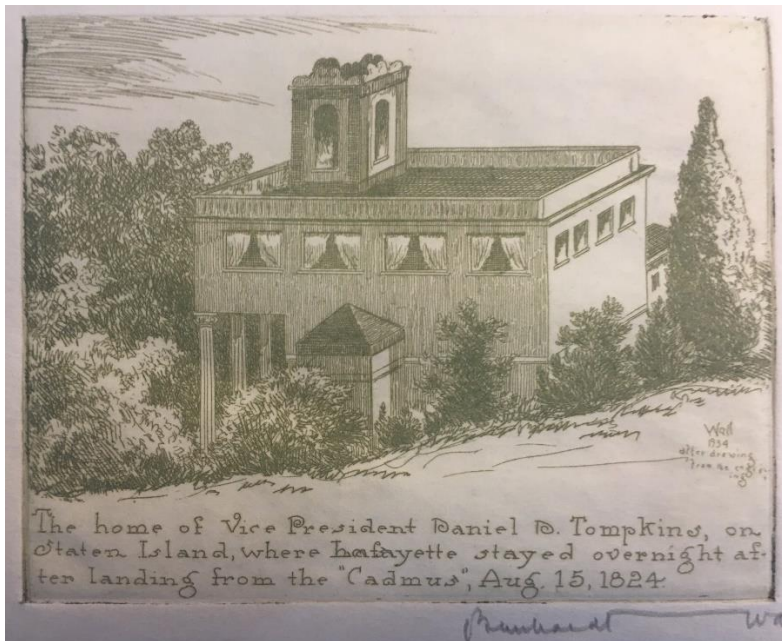


CADMUS of New York

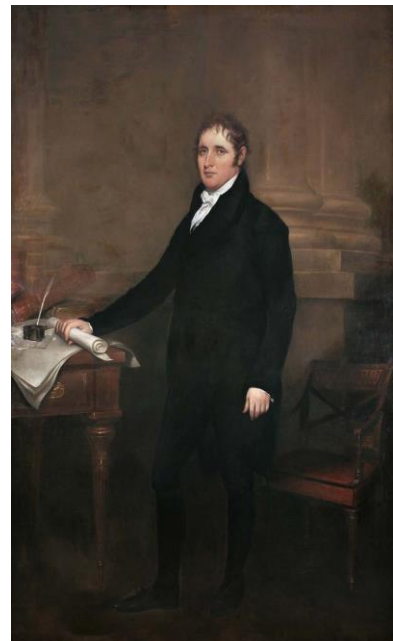
Watercolor by Louis Montardier (c. 1822), Penobscot Marine Museum

At this moment, the artillery of Fort Lafayette “announced the arrival of the *Cadmus* to the City of New York” with a 13-gun salute, and a steamboat came alongside the ship.

Lafayette happened to have arrived on a Sunday. The delegation that boarded the *Cadmus* requested that, because “they did not wish to disturb the Lord’s Day,” and the city’s preparations were incomplete, he postpone his arrival in Manhattan until the following day. In the meantime, Vice President Tompkins would host him on Staten Island.



Home of Daniel D. Tompkins
Etching by Bernhardt Wall



Daniel D. Tompkins, John Trumbull (1808)
New York City Portrait Collection

Lafayette and his party disembarked at the “Quarantine Grounds” located just south of today’s terminal for the Manhattan ferry. Another salute was fired by a ship docked nearby. Vice President Tompkins was there to welcome “The Nation’s Guest,” as he was called during his 13-month odyssey.

During his stay on Staten Island, a deputation of the city’s Common Council came to congratulate the General on his arrival. According to the *New York Post*, “In the course of the day, he was visited by crowds of our citizens, who eagerly pressed forward to grasp the hand to which this country owes so much for her flourishing and independent condition.”

A year later, on July 13, 1825, Lafayette returned here to Staten Island to pay a condolence call on Hannah Tompkins, whose husband had died in June.

Landing at Battery Park: New York Welcomes Lafayette

On August 16, 1824, shortly after 2 p.m., Lafayette disembarked from the steamboat *Chancellor Livingston* near here for New York City’s official welcome of the returning hero of the American Revolution. At the time, Battery Park, also known as “the Battery,” was only 10 acres large, not the 25 acres of today’s park.



Battery Park Landing
Postcard (1910-1920)

If you turn so your back is to the water, you'll see a single-story, circular, brick structure to your left. This is Castle Garden, which was originally a fort. It was built on a man-made island 300 feet offshore and was connected to the mainland by a wooden bridge. After the fort was decommissioned and leased to the city, New York opened Castle Garden as an open-air entertainment venue in 1824. Land-making projects filled the area around it over time, more than doubling the size of Battery Park.



View from Battery Park



View of Castle Garden from the Park

The ship that brought Lafayette from France to America, the *Cadmus*, arrived on Staten Island on August 15th. The next morning, a squadron of steamboats assembled between here and Governors Island, which you can see from here, and proceeded to Staten Island to greet Lafayette. According to the *Commercial Advertiser*, “they were all superbly dressed with flags and streamers of every nation.” The fleet held 6,000 passengers and crew. The newspaper gushed, “It was not only unique, but beyond a doubt one of the most splendid spectacles ever witnessed on this part of the globe.”

When the flotilla arrived off Staten Island, cannon fire from Fort Lafayette, across the Narrows in Brooklyn, gave the signal for Lafayette to board the *Chancellor Livingston* for the trip to Manhattan.

As Lafayette proceeded to the pier and boarded the steamboat, the West Point band played a medley of tunes, which included “See, the Conqu’ring Hero Comes!,” “Hail Columbia,” and “La Marseillaise,” the French national anthem.

Lafayette’s secretary described the cruise here to the Battery this way:

“The sea was covered with boats of all kinds, elegantly decked out, and loaded with an innumerable throng. These vessels, all of whose movements were of an inconceivable lightness and speed, seemed to fly about around us. The *Cadmus*, which followed in our wake, appeared to have been carried in triumph rather than towed by the two steamships which accompanied it.”

The news of General Lafayette's arrival had spread throughout the New York area, and, as the *Commercial Advertiser* reported, beginning at dawn "the roads and ferry boats were thronged with people who were hastening to the city to participate in the fete."

With hundreds of boats surrounding the Battery, Lafayette landed here amid the cheers of the 30,000 who were in the immediate vicinity. (Total crowd estimates for the day's events ranged from 50,000 to 200,000!)



Landing of Gen. Lafayette
Engraving by Samuel Maverick (1826)

Lafayette was escorted into Castle Garden, and was introduced to some distinguished citizens. The *Commercial Advertiser* reported,

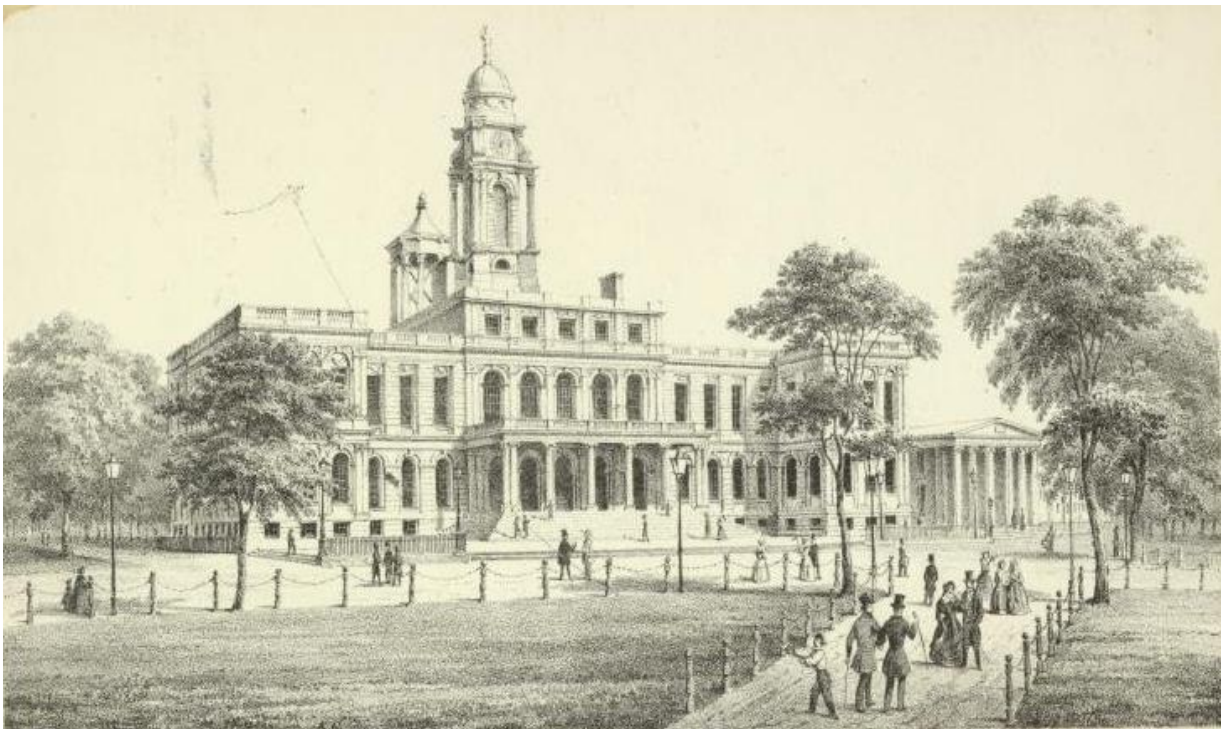
"Perceiving the restless anxiety of nearly 3000 persons in the Castle, to see the General, [he] advanced to the center . . . of the Castle, and was greeted with loud cheers, expressive of as honest and generous feelings as were ever spontaneously manifested by any people on the face of the earth."

Parade to City Hall: An American Idol

Construction of the ornate building before you, New York City Hall, began in 1803. When Lafayette visited New York City in 1824, he spent several days greeting his friends and the public in the hall's Governor's Room.



New York City Hall today



New York City Hall
Lithograph, Henry Hoff, Publisher (1850-1859)

By then, City Hall was the home of all three branches of city government — legislative, executive, and judicial. It also hosted the governor in his room when he was in the city.

On the afternoon of Lafayette's arrival in Manhattan, August 16, 1824, he reviewed the troops that had been assembled in Battery Park to greet him and then proceeded in a parade here to City Hall.



Gen. La Fayette's Visit, Woodcut (c.1824-25)

Special Collections and College Archives, Skillman Library, Lafayette College

His secretary recalled that, "On this passage, all the streets were decked out and adorned with bunting; and from the crossroads, the people threw flowers and wreaths."

The *Commercial Advertiser* described the scene along the parade route this way:

"The assemblage of citizens, independent of the military, at the Battery in Castle Garden, in State-street, through Broadway, and in the vicinity of the City Hall, was immense; . . . Through this dense and towering host, (for the doors, casements, railings, windows, chimneys, and turrets of the buildings, were hung with spectators,) . . . [t]he General rode [in his carriage] uncovered and received the unceasing shouts and congratulations of 50,000 freemen, . . . The ladies, from every tier of windows, [waved] their white handkerchiefs, and hundreds, unloosed by their fair owners, were seen floating in the air."

Perhaps this was a precursor of New York's famed ticker-tape parades.

Several times during the procession, Lafayette's most enthusiastic fans tried to unharness the horses from the General's carriage so that they could pull it themselves.

When Lafayette arrived here at City Hall, a crowd of women stood on its steps and offered their hands to him as he passed among them.

Inside the Council Chamber, New York's mayor welcomed Lafayette with a speech, and the General replied:

"The sight of the American shore, after so long an absence; . . . this immense concourse of a free Republican population, who so kindly welcome me; the admirable appearance of the troops, the presence of a corps of the National Navy, have excited sentiments to which no human language can be adequate."

After the speeches, Lafayette exited City Hall to observe the troops that had assembled to give him a marching salute. He then enjoyed refreshments in the Governor's Room and was introduced to the artillery officers on duty that day and a number of citizens.

The General was to return to the Governor's Room in the following days, as city officials resolved that this room would be put at his disposal so that he could meet with his friends.



Governor's Room, New York City Hall



*Marquis de Lafayette, Samuel F.B. Morse (1826)
New York City Portrait Collection*

A Numismatic Trilogy: Unraveling the Facts and Events Surrounding the Washington-Lafayette Medalet and Counterstamp and Its Forgotten Predecessor

by John F. Conour and Ronald B. Gammill, PhD

Abstract

The attribution of the Washington – Lafayette counterstamp dies to Charles Cushing Wright was first noted in W. Elliot Woodward's 1864 sale of numismatist John F. McCoy's collection. That early attribution which was acknowledged by several of Wright's contemporaries held firm until the year 2000 when John M. Kleeberg challenged the Wright attribution and concluded that Joseph Lewis, a New York merchant, was actually responsible for the dies used to strike both the W-L the medalets and counterstamps. The numismatic community readily accepted Kleeberg's contrarian view and rejected the "conventional wisdom" that had held for nearly 140 years that C. C. Wright had made the dies.

We became interested in W-L counterstamps after comparing our examples and noticing that one of them (and a few others) had a broken Washington die that had never been mentioned in the auctions of these pieces. One thing led to another, and we began to investigate the details surrounding these numismatic curiosities. What has developed is essentially an historical trilogy explaining the history of just how these pieces came into being and is far from what has been assumed and accepted in modern numismatic thinking.

The first article will establish that John Kleeberg's conclusion that Joseph Lewis, and not C. C. Wright, was the diesinker for the W-L Medalets and Counterstamps, is, in fact, incorrect. The second article will illustrate that a largely overlooked oval medallion was the actual genesis of a series of events and circumstances that culminated in the W-L Counterstamp. The third article will set forth what we believe to be the most logical hypothesis of events and posit who cut and sank the dies. It will also detail the most complete medalet/counterstamp census to date. The second and third articles will appear in future editions of the *Gazette*.

Part 1

Introduction

There is little doubt among numismatists that the Washington-Lafayette medalet of 1824 (**Figure 1**), and in particular the corresponding counterstamps, found on both US and foreign copper and silver coins (**Figure 2**), are among the most interesting and well-known medallic collectibles in early American numismatics. This is entirely due to the extravagant celebratory and historical return visit of Lafayette to America during 1824 and 1825. General Lafayette visited each of the 24 states, rekindled relationships with old friends and, in many appearances, seemed to mesmerize citizens with his untiring generosity and eagerness to meet and greet those attending events honoring his contributions to America's Revolution.

Figure 1

*Washington-Lafayette Medalet*

Figure 2

*Washington-Lafayette Counterstamp*

While there were lavish celebrations in many cities, perhaps the most extravagant was the Fete at the Castle Garden on September 14, 1824, in New York City where an estimated 6000 people gathered to welcome Lafayette back to America. The commercial interest generated by Lafayette's 1824-1825 visit is perhaps best illustrated by the numerous merchants offering an assortment of textiles (ribbons, gloves, belts, and handkerchiefs) with engraved impressions of Lafayette on them as well as the exquisite miniature likenesses in medallions of General Lafayette in "fine gold and silver" as described in many newspaper advertisements.

The attribution of the Washington and Lafayette dies to Charles Cushing Wright was first established in W. Elliot Woodward's 1864 sale of the John F. McCoy collection. That early attribution to C. C. Wright held firmly from 1864 - 2000/02 and was supported by Wright's contemporaries, noted collectors, numismatists, and cataloguers of the 19th and 20th century. Despite that long-held attribution to Wright, noted numismatist and Washington-Lafayette medalet/counterstamp enthusiast Q. David Bowers has both supported and questioned the Wright attribution. However, it was John M. Kleeberg's challenge to the Wright attribution, primarily using newspaper advertisements that appeared during Lafayette's return visit to America, that successfully convinced the numismatic community that New York City merchant, engraver, and artist, Joseph Lewis was responsible for engraving, cutting the dies, and manufacturing the Washington and Lafayette medalets and corresponding counterstamps. In particular, following George Fuld's 2002 *American Journal of Numismatics* article in which he also endorses the Joseph Lewis attribution, it appears that Kleeberg's new attribution to Joseph Lewis had gained wide, if not total acceptance within the numismatic community, certainly by 2008. While challenges to the original attribution are appropriate and welcomed by the research community, those challenges must be supported by factual and legitimate evidence to overturn nearly 140 years of "conventional wisdom."

The Lafayette Newspaper Advertisements of 1824, Our Findings!

The first official medallion honoring Lafayette's return visit was approved by the Committee for the [Castle Garden] Ball on August 13 and that is documented below. While the first newspaper advertisement offering textiles with an impression of Lafayette's likeness on fabric first appeared in an advertisement by James A. Campfield on August 25, the first

advertisement of "*Exquisite Miniature Likenesses in Medallion of Gen Lafayette*" did not appear until September 3 in a *New York Evening Post* advertisement by Joseph Lewis which read:

The Evening Post (New York, New York) (9/3/1824). No 3 Wall Street. Lewis, engraver and artist in general. TO THE BEAU MONDE - Exquisite Miniature Likenesses in Medallion of Gen LaFayette, in fine gold and silver, worn as broaches, watch trinkets etc.

There was no mention of Washington in Lewis' advertisement, only Lafayette. Then on September 6 and 9, 1824, well-known Philadelphia and New York City medalist Robert Lovett, Sr., ran the following advertisement in the *New York Evening Post*:

The Evening Post (New York, New York) (September 6 and 9), Robert Lovett, 249 Broadway, corner of Murray St. Lafayette Medals. An excellent Likeness of Gen. Lafayette in gold and silver intended to be worn at the Grand Ball on the tenth, for sale by the subscriber, the only good likeness yet executed in medallion.

Also on September 7, 8, and 9, New York City jeweler and engraver J. D. Stout advertised in the *New York Evening Post* and provided a more concise description of the medallions that he, entrepreneur Joseph Lewis, medalist Robert Lovett, Sr. and other merchants were advertising and selling under the headline, "*Lafayette Medals.*" Stout's advertisement read:

The Evening Post (New York, New York) (9/7/1824) J. D. Stout, Engraver in general. The subscriber offers for sale at No 8 Wall Street, near Broad Street and next door is the church, Miniature Medals in medallion of this illustrious personage, whose name is in full round the heads, which are gold on one side, and silver on the other. As they have been made expressly for the Castle Garden Ball, which is to take place on the 10th, are particularly recommended for the badge jewel.

In Stout's advertisement several key aspects of the medallions become well defined. There is a gold and a silver medallion. Lafayette's portrait is on both the obverse and reverse and Lafayette's name appears above both portraits.

Figure 3



Gold Oval Lafayette Medallion

Figure 4



Silver Oval Lafayette Medallion

Based on Lewis', Lovett's and Stout's descriptions, the gold oval Lafayette medallion shown in **Figure 3** and the silver oval Lafayette medallion in **Figure 4** clearly match the descriptions of the medallions being advertised and sold in both New York City and Philadelphia during September/October of 1824. It was these "*Lafayette Medals of Gold and Silver*," which had been adopted by the Committee for the Ball on August 13, 1824, as their official badge medals, to be worn at the Fete honoring Lafayette at the Castle Garden Ball. In another advertisement by Joseph Lewis, appearing on September 8, 1824, in the *New York Evening Post*, Lewis further reveals that the Committee, responsible for organizing the Fete at Castle Garden, had ordered these Lafayette medallions from him for the upcoming ball and related celebrations. The origin and historical significance of these medallions have gone unnoticed and unexamined by historians most likely a result of them being viewed as souvenirs and/or jewelry. However, as we describe below, the oval gold and silver Lafayette Medallions were overwhelmingly the major medallions being advertised and sold during Lafayette's 1824-25 return visit to America, not the Washington-Lafayette medalet or the corresponding counterstamps.

The advertisement does, however, clearly establish Lewis as a source and distributor of the gold and silver Lafayette medallions and is consistent with his other business advertisements. However, Lewis' September 8 advertisement, as do all other New York City ads, failed to mention, or establish who was responsible for making the dies or the manufacture of the Lafayette medallions. Importantly, in all of the September 1824 advertisements appearing in *The New York Evening Post*, there was no mention or suggestion of Washington appearing on these medallions.

The Evening Post (New York, New York), (9/8/1824) Lafayette Gloves.

The subscriber is now furnished with a great variety of this article, very superior to any of the kind he ever before offered to the public. They are embellished with an excellent likeness of the General, *engraved by Durand and Wright*. J. D. S will also be furnished this afternoon with elegant white Satin Ball Ribbons, with a large likeness, as above stated, on each end. The same kind of Goods are to be had at ST, John's Hat Store, directly opposite the City Hotel. Lafayette Medals of Gold and Silver, with the name of the General round the head, and a neat border encircling the whole, may also be had of J.D. Stout, 8 Wall St directly opposite the sign of the Gold Elephant. These Medals are particularly recommended for the Badge Jewel, together with the Badge attached thereto.

The Evening Post (New York, New York), (9/9/1824) Lafayette Gloves.

- The subscriber is now furnished with a great variety of this article, very superior to any of the kind he ever before offered to the public. Ladies and Gentlemen who have not furnished themselves with GLOVES for the approaching Grand Ball, may find it very much to their interest and satisfaction to call and examine them. They are embellished with an excellent likeness of the General, *engraved by C. C. Wright*. J. D. S will also be furnished this afternoon with elegant white Satin Ball Ribbons, with a large likeness, as above stated, . The same kind of Goods are to be had at ST. John's Hat Store,

directly opposite the City Hotel. **Lafayette Medals of Gold and Silver**, with the name of the General round the head and a neat border encircling the whole, may also be had of J.D. Stout, 8 Wall St, directly opposite the sign of the Gold Elephant. These Medals are particularly recommended for the Badge Jewel, together with the Badge attached thereto.

In Philadelphia, merchant Thomas S. Annors made it clear in his first five advertisements in the *Philadelphia National Gazette* (September 20, 21, 22, 23 and 25, see below) that his “*large supply*” of “*Lafayette Gold and Silver Medals*” were from New York City, and importantly, they were the same as those worn at the Grand Fete at the Castle Garden Ball in that city. This clearly and unambiguously establishes and connects Annors’ Lafayette medallions with New York City distributor Joseph Lewis, the Committee for the Ball and further adds that upwards of 2000 of the Lafayette medallions had been sold in New York City during a 10-day period. Annors’ advertisement read:

Lafayette Gold and Silver Medals – *Just received from New York, a large supply of the above Medals, of the most approved pattern, and of the same kind as was worn at the Grand Fete at Castle Garden in that city, upwards of 2000 of which were sold in ten days.*

Then, on September 27, 29, 30 and October 1 and 5, Annors modified his advertisement (see below) stating that his medals were, “*Lewis’s New York Lafayette Medals*” Thus, Annors’ medals were the same as those sold by Joseph Lewis, J. D. Stout and Robert Lovett, Sr. in New York City. Annors does not say or even remotely suggest that Joseph Lewis made the dies or manufactured the Lafayette medallion, Lewis was simply selling and distributing the medallions. There is no mention of Joseph Lewis’ supplier!

Lewis’s New York Lafayette Medals – *The above medals are such as was adopted and worn at the Grand Fete at Castle Garden in New York, by the ladies and gentlemen of that city; they being considered as one of the neatest and most appropriate compliments to him. Philadelphia National Gazette, (9/27, 29 1824)). Thos. S Annors, No 141 Chesnut Street; Mrs. E. G. Callender, Fourth Street, one door above Walnut Street; Miss Papagay, Walnut Street, on door below Fifth Street and Charles Fletcher, North-East corner of Third and Chestnut Street.*

We believe that Annors' advertisements clarify that Joseph Lewis was his New York City supplier, and further confirm that Annors was in turn supplying these same Lafayette medallions to his neighboring merchants in Philadelphia.

Once again, there is no advertisement suggesting that Washington appears on any medallic being advertised by Joseph Lewis, J. D. Stout, Robert Lovett, Sr., or Thomas S. Annors during the September/October 1824 time frame. ***What has been described thus far in the newspaper advertisements from NYC and Philadelphia are the Lafayette medallions illustrated in Figures 3 and 4, not the Washington-Lafayette medalets as illustrated in Figure 1.***

Kleeberg's statement in this 2008 publication on page 587 links those articles to his justification process; *"By reading through all the advertisements, it becomes clear that Lewis's medalet depicted Washington on one side and Lafayette on the other--exactly like our counterstamp."* That statement is without question completely inconsistent with the documented newspaper advertisements.

Lafayette Medals with Impressions of Washington and Lafayette

The first and only mention of a medal bearing portraits of both *Washington and Lafayette* did not appear until September 24, some three weeks after the first mention of the Lafayette medallions, in an advertisement in the *Philadelphia National Gazette* by stationers, Ash & Mason. Their advertisement read:

***Lafayette Medals of Gold & Silver"** - Having on them impressions of Washington and Lafayette, such as have been recommended to be worn at the approaching Grand Ball. Just received and for sale by Ash & Mason.*

While Ash and Mason headlined their advertisement in a similar manner as Stout, Lewis, and Anners, *"Lafayette Medals of Gold & Silver,"* the brief description of their medals, *"Having on them impressions of both Washington and Lafayette"* stands in stark contrast with all the other Lafayette related advertisements we have been able to uncover. Without doubt, Ash and Mason were introducing a new medallic to the consumers and its intended use was clear. It was to be worn at the upcoming Philadelphia Grand Ball honoring Lafayette. Unfortunately, they made no mention of their source.

We now understand that everyone in New York City and Philadelphia, with the exception of Ash and Mason, were advertising and selling the same Lafayette medallions illustrated in **Figures 3 & 4**. We have failed to find any evidence in the newspaper advertisements linking Joseph Lewis to Philadelphia stationers Ash and Mason, or to Ash and Mason's medal bearing portraits of both Washington and Lafayette.

Kleeberg wrote three articles (1999, 2000, and 2008) in which he developed his assertion that Lewis was the diesinker. He based his conclusion on (1) the advertisements in the New York and Philadelphia papers, (2) that the lettering on the Erie Canal Medal was not the same as on the counterstamp, (3) that the counterstamp dies were not signed, (4) that the portrait was unlike a button Wright had signed, and (5) Wright's engraving inexperience!

Our response to these assertions is: **Item 1:** We have shown that the advertisements were obviously misinterpreted. **Item 2:** It was well known that the letter punches on the Erie Canal medal were the work of noted engraver and die sinker Richard Trested. It should be noted that the relationship between C. C. Wright, Richard Trested, and his apprentice James Bale should not be ignored when analyzing who made the dies. **Item 3:** One cannot make the case that Wright did not sign the dies as validation that he did not produce it when Lewis's signature is not there either. **Item 4:** The button portrait was commissioned by James Campfield, another well-known New York merchant, and that portrait was based on John Frazee's life cast of General

Lafayette who was, after all, 67 years old. **Item 5:** Wright was not that inexperienced and had several works to his credit and was recognized as one of the finest engravers in North America.

The Lafayette medallions (**Figures 3 & 4**) and their position in the medallic history of Lafayette's famous return visit to America have clearly been overshadowed by numismatist's interest in the Washington-Lafayette medalets and counterstamps. The Lafayette medallions were the first, and almost exclusive, medallic advertised during September/October of Lafayette's 1824 visit to America. Also note that there was no mention or reference to Washington-Lafayette counterstamped coins in any of the 1824-25 newspaper advertisements. In fact, the Washington-Lafayette medalets of 1824, along with the first mention of a counterstamped US large cent was not definitively described and illustrated until Snowden's 1861 publication.

Conclusion: Part 1

Just like everyone else we began our study of the counterstamps by readily accepting the conclusions of the numismatic community that John Kleeberg's assertions that Joseph L. Lewis, and not C. C. Wright, sunk the dies for the W-L Medalet and Counterstamp. After noticing the broken die (and that it was on several pieces but yet had gone unmentioned), we began to notice inconsistencies in the rationale used to identify Lewis as the diesinker, particularly with regards to the newspaper advertisements (of Lewis, Stout, Lovett, Anners, and Ash and Mason). Even more troubling was the fact that we could find absolutely no reference to any other numismatic work by Lewis.

In Part 2, we will offer further validation of our conclusions regarding Lewis's likely involvement in the distribution of the medallions and detail the role he played in the overall scheme of events leading to the medalets and counterstamps.

About the Authors

John F. (Jack) Conour began collecting coins in the late 1950s after the urgings of an uncle who was a collector. Like most he began with Lincoln Cents then moved on to nickels, dimes, etc. before heading off to college with coin collecting being pushed to the side. After graduating from The University of Illinois with a degree in Ceramic Engineering, Jack began a career in the glass industry that spanned nearly forty years and included two United States Patents on glass coating technology. Jack retired in 2010 as Manager of his company's North American Process Control and Instrumentation Group.

In the early 1990s, Jack's coin collecting interests were rekindled. He began collecting Early American Copper and joined the Early American Coppers coin club (EAC), attending his first convention in 1999. He currently edits and compiles The Middle Date Report (The List) for EAC. Jack has also written articles for *Penny-Wise*, the official publication of EAC, receiving the Editor's Award in 2015. He is the author of two books, one on family history and the other on the United States Coinage of 1816. After retiring in 2010, Jack and his wife moved from Toledo to Batavia Ohio. Besides numismatics, he enjoys golf, travel, genealogy, and S-gauge model railroading.

Dr. Ronald Bruce Gammill is a native of Louisville, Mississippi. He received a BS in Chemistry from Millsaps College in 1973, a Ph.D. in Synthetic Organic Chemistry from the University of South Carolina in 1976, and an NIH Post-Doctoral Fellowship at the University of Pittsburgh in 1977 before joining The Upjohn Company in Kalamazoo, Michigan. He was one of several Distinguished Scientists at Upjohn and finished his career as a Research Advisor with Pfizer, Inc. Dr. Gammill holds numerous US and foreign patents in therapeutic areas such as cardiovascular, antibiotics, central nervous system disorders, AIDS and diabetes.

Ron and his wife Martha, an Intellectual Property attorney, are both enthusiastic historians and numismatists, particularly enjoying genealogy, Greek and Roman coinage, 18th and 19th century US copper and half dollars, and US and World medals. They currently reside in the small village of Schoolcraft in southwest Michigan, where sitting on the front porch and visiting with neighbors is still a particularly enjoyable pastime.

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From Unhonored to Highly Honored: Philadelphia Celebrates Lafayette Day, 1916-1957

by Michael Mendenhall

On August 29, 1915, the Lafayette Day National Committee in New York issued a call for the American people to celebrate the 158th anniversary of the Marquis de Lafayette's birth on September 6, 1915, Lafayette Day. Several prominent citizens, including former President Theodore Roosevelt, formed the committee. The idea behind the committee's initial call was for Americans to remember the debt that America owed to Lafayette of France for his assistance to the colonies in the American Revolution. France had been involved in World War I for over a year.

In 1916 the committee issued its second annual call to observe Lafayette Day. The committee expressed hope that newspapers throughout the country would again publish articles about Lafayette around September 6, 1916. A notable passage in their call was that "...patriotic societies are urged to hold suitable exercises upon that day, particularly in our principal cities..."¹ The committee requested that newspapers nationwide publish the notice on Bastille Day, July 14, 1916. Newspapers dutifully published the request. Patriotic societies were encouraged to contact the committee if they were interested in holding exercises in their respective cities on September 6, 1916.² Noticeably absent was publication of the committee's notice in any of the July 14, 1916 Philadelphia daily newspapers.

September 6, 1916, Lafayette Day, was celebrated in several cities throughout the United States. Two days before the anniversary, an equestrian statue of Lafayette was unveiled in Fall River, Massachusetts. French Ambassador Jean Jules Jusserand, among other dignitaries, attended and delivered a speech. On the same day as the statue unveiling, a Philadelphia newspaper published an editorial about the upcoming celebration, noting that Lafayette Day was to be "more extensively celebrated" in cities throughout the country than in 1915 and that "municipal authorities in several towns and cities" were planning to do their part to support the day. The editorial made no mention of what Philadelphia was planning.³

On the morning of September 6, 1916, the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* noted the absence of any celebration of Lafayette Day in Philadelphia with the following headline: "Deeds of Lafayette Go Unhonored Here." The sub-headline noted that other cities were holding "Elaborate Celebrations" while Philadelphia would be "Inactive."⁴ The *Philadelphia Evening Public Ledger* published later in the day appeared to contradict this with its "Lafayette Honored" headline noting that two commemorative flags were raised above Independence Hall to celebrate the birth of Lafayette earlier in the day. Despite this, the newspaper confirmed that "there will be no celebration in Philadelphia in honor of Lafayette, but there will be large celebrations" in major cities across the country.⁵

The September 7, 1916 edition of the *Philadelphia Public Ledger* confirmed that Lafayette had been "Unhonored" by Philadelphia on the anniversary of his birth. The newspaper again noted that other cities around the country held celebrations the day before, but in Philadelphia, the day had gone "virtually unobserved." Commenting on the lack of celebrations

in Philadelphia, Victor Fontenau, French Vice-Consul in Philadelphia, speaking for members of the Alliance Française de Philadelphie, told the newspaper that,

We were sadly disappointed, for we were proud of our Philadelphia and eager that she should outdo all her sister cities in the celebration of the birthday of Lafayette, who belongs not to the French and the Americans, but to the whole liberty-loving world. And Philadelphia did nothing. Next year, perhaps, patriotic societies here will do something. If they start plans for a celebration, they will find that assistance and co-operation from the Frenchmen and women here will not be lacking.⁶

The newspaper headline claiming that Lafayette had gone “Unhonored” in Philadelphia along with Vice-Consul Fontenau’s comments that local French citizens were “sadly disappointed” that “Philadelphia did nothing” for Lafayette Day caught the attention of seventy-eight year old Philadelphia resident Charles W. Alexander who determined that Philadelphia would not only honor Lafayette on the anniversary of his birth in 1917 and in future years, but that Philadelphia would indeed “outdo” other cities with its plans.

The two commemorative flags that were flown above Independence Hall on Lafayette Day were the “Album Flag” and Louisiana state flag. Alexander was familiar with these two flags because they had been sponsored by the Citizens’ Committee of Philadelphia of which he was the recording secretary. The committee was formed in late 1914 by the surviving members of the executive committee of the Bi-Centennial Association of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania formed in 1880 to celebrate Pennsylvania’s bicentennial in 1882. Alexander was one of the founders of that association in 1880.

Alexander proposed the idea of the Album Flag in 1915 to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the end of the Civil War. On behalf of the Citizens’ Committee, he wrote to the governors of the forty-eight states at the time asking them to appoint someone in their state to sew the name of their state on a silk star that he had included with his letter. Each star was to be sewn on a flag in Philadelphia to be raised above Independence Hall on July 4, 1915 with President Woodrow Wilson in attendance.⁷ On July 4, 1914, President Wilson delivered a speech at Independence Hall, becoming the first president in history to do so on Independence Day. Philadelphia officials were hoping that he would come to Philadelphia in 1915 as well. Circumstances were such that the president was not available to come to Philadelphia for Independence Day in 1915. The Album Flag had to be postponed until 1916.

A so-called “album flag” was differentiated from a traditional flag in two ways. The first was that the name of a state was sewn onto each star since each star in a flag was for a state. The second more minor difference was that the names of the states were sewn onto the stars by someone in their respective state. Once all the stars were gathered in one location, they were sewn onto the flag.

In addition to the Album Flag, Alexander also asked the governors to send their state flag for a gallery of state flags that the Citizens’ Committee was planning to put together for Independence Hall. A few states, including Louisiana, sent their state flag. Philadelphia officials

may have chosen to fly the Louisiana state flag because of its connection to the Liberty Bell's trip to New Orleans in 1885. The Liberty Bell's last trip had occurred in 1915 when it was sent to San Francisco. On the way back to Philadelphia, it stopped in New Orleans.

After reading Vice-Consul Fonteneau's published comments about Philadelphia's failure to celebrate Lafayette Day in 1916, Alexander, on behalf of the Citizens' Committee, wrote to him with an idea for how Philadelphia should celebrate Lafayette Day in 1917. The Citizens' Committee proposed to have two album flags sewn in honor of George Washington and the Marquis de Lafayette. The flags were to consist of thirteen stars in a circle, often called the "Betsy Ross Flag." The governors of each of the original thirteen states would appoint someone in their state to sew the name of their state on two stars. The stars would be sewn onto the two flags at the Betsy Ross House in Philadelphia. One flag would remain in Independence Hall, and the other would be sent to Paris.

The plan was for the two flags to be raised on September 6, 1917. The flag remaining in Philadelphia would be raised above Independence Hall, while the flag sent to Paris would be raised in that city. The crowds gathered in both locations would then sing the "Star-Spangled Banner" and "La Marseille" in unison. Alexander expressed his hope that French Ambassador Jusserand would be present in Philadelphia on that day.

Vice-Consul Fonteneau forwarded Alexander's letter to Ambassador Jusserand. The ambassador replied to the vice-consul and asked him to inform the Citizens' Committee of "how deeply I am touched by their intentions." Ambassador Jusserand could not commit to coming to Philadelphia on September 6, 1917 since it was almost a year into the future. He promised that France would be represented in Philadelphia that day. If he were to be in Philadelphia at that time, he would certainly be present. In sharing Ambassador Jusserand's letter with Alexander, Vice-Consul Fonteneau endorsed the Citizens' Committee's plans and expressed his pride in representing France in Philadelphia. He further expressed "the gratitude of our beloved France" to the people of Philadelphia.⁸

The idea behind the thirteen-star flag was that it was the flag that Lafayette fought under during the Revolutionary War. The flag was to be known as the "Washington-Lafayette Album Flag" honoring George Washington and the Marquis de Lafayette. Lafayette of France came to the aid of Washington and the colonists during the Revolutionary War, and in 1917, the United States was aiding France in World War I. Although Betsy Ross's role in sewing the first flag has long been more tradition than historical fact, that she lived in Philadelphia was of symbolic importance in having the flags sewn in Philadelphia at the historic house.

Alexander developed a deep interest in flags, particularly flags raised above Independence Hall, when he was one of three newspaper reporters covering Abraham Lincoln's speech and raising of a thirty-four star flag above Independence Hall on the anniversary of George Washington's birth on February 22, 1861.⁹ Philadelphia officials invited Lincoln to stop in Philadelphia on the way to his inauguration. In honor of Kansas having been admitted to the Union as the thirty-fourth state on January 29, 1861, Lincoln raised the new thirty-four star flag.

In June 1917 the Citizens' Committee finalized its plans for Lafayette Day. Alexander

sent letters to the governors of the original thirteen states outlining the Citizens' Committee's plans for celebrating Lafayette Day in Philadelphia on September 6, 1917. In his letter, Alexander enclosed two silk stars. He requested that each governor appoint a seamstress in their state to sew the name of the state on the stars. They were to send the stars back to him in Philadelphia where they would be sewn onto the two thirteen-star "Washington-Lafayette Album Flags." One flag was to be retained at Independence Hall with the other being sent to Paris. On September 6, 1917 at noon, Philadelphia time, both flags were to be raised simultaneously above Independence Hall and an undetermined location in Paris. The plan was to invite President Wilson, his cabinet, the governors of all the states, ambassadors, Philadelphia city officials and other "distinguished guests" to the event at Independence Hall. In the last paragraph of his letter, Alexander noted that this was not to be a one-time event but that Philadelphia and France would jointly celebrate Lafayette Day in subsequent years:

Thus each recurring mutual celebration of the birthday of Lafayette, most illustrious patriot and friend of Washington, will be a new link in the golden chain of brotherly love binding the Republic of France and our own beloved Republic and encrusted with the rubied lives of those who return not from the trenches.¹⁰



This photo was taken on August 7, 1917 in front of the Betsy Ross House in Philadelphia. Similar photos were published in the August 8, 1917 issues of the Philadelphia Inquirer, Philadelphia North American, and Philadelphia Public Ledger.

Over the course of the summer, governors of the original thirteen states sent their stars to Alexander, who was coordinating the Washington-Lafayette Album Flag project. Seven American women and six young French girls gathered at the Betsy Ross House in Philadelphia

to sew the thirteen stars on each flag. They completed the project on August 7, 1917 at which time they held a brief ceremony. Local newspapers covered the event taking photos of the women and girls holding one of the flags in front of the house.¹¹ After the flags were sewn, Citizens' Committee president Colonel J. Campbell Gilmore, a veteran of the Spanish-American War, took the flag intended for Paris to Washington, D. C. to deliver to French Ambassador Jusserand. The ambassador was to take the flag to French President Raymond Poincaré in Paris.

Colonel Gilmore, on behalf of the Citizens' Committee, invited President Wilson and former President Roosevelt to the coming Lafayette Day event in Philadelphia. Due to World War I which America had entered earlier in the year, President Wilson was unable to leave Washington, D. C. and had to decline the invitation.¹² President Roosevelt declined as he was unable to travel from his home in Oyster Bay, New York to Philadelphia for the event.¹³

Upon notification that the duplicate flag was on its way to France, the Municipal Council of Paris decided to hold the flag-raising at the Hôtel de Ville, Paris city hall. Ambassador Jusserand planned to attend the celebration in Philadelphia and deliver the keynote address. The joint celebration was set for September 6, 1917 at 1:30 p.m. Philadelphia time.

Ambassador Jusserand arrived at a Philadelphia train station in the early afternoon of September 6, 1917 where Colonel Gilmore, Vice-Consul Fonteneau and other dignitaries greeted him. Military members escorted the ambassador and his party in a parade from the train station to Independence Hall where the other members of the Citizens' Committee and Philadelphia officials were waiting to greet them. Spectators numbering in the "tens of thousands" lined the parade route to observe and cheer the ambassador and his party en route to Independence Hall.¹⁴

The ceremonies at Independence Hall featured speeches by Ambassador Jusserand and others. Alexander and the ambassador raised the Washington-Lafayette Album Flag above Independence Hall while the duplicate flag was raised above the Hotel de Ville in Paris. General John J. Pershing, Marshal Joseph Joffre and French President Raymond Poincaré sent greetings to the Lafayette Day National Committee which were also read to the crowd gathered at Independence Hall. Alexander and Vice-Consul Fonteneau posed for a photo in Independence Hall holding the Washington-Lafayette Album Flag in front of the Liberty Bell.



This photo, which comes from Charles W. Alexander's descendants, was taken on September 6, 1917 inside Independence Hall in front of the Liberty Bell.

For Philadelphians, Lafayette Day in 1917 was a remarkable turnaround from 1916. The question was whether Philadelphia would continue the annual celebration as Alexander had proposed. Philadelphia would indeed honor Lafayette on the anniversary of his birth, with some exceptions, for a few decades.

When Lafayette Day approached in 1918, it was decided to hold a double anniversary celebration in Philadelphia. The anniversary of Lafayette's birth coincided with the first Battle of the Marne which began on September 6, 1914. The Lafayette Day National Committee had already started a double anniversary celebration in 1917. The question was whether Philadelphia could repeat the success of the 1917 celebration. Earlier in 1918 the Citizens' Committee of Philadelphia changed its focus when it adopted a new letterhead featuring "Lafayette's Birthday" in bold.

Philadelphia's Lafayette Day event in 1918 followed the original celebration in 1917 with some additional features. Several thousand spectators gathered outside of Independence Hall while French women and young girls dressed in white and carrying French flags marched from the French Consulate to Independence Hall. Some of them had helped sew the Washington-Lafayette Album Flag the year before.

Colonel Gilmore presided at the event held outside of Independence Hall. Ambassador Jusserand did not attend the Philadelphia celebration as he was in New York to deliver an address to the France-America Society. Several dignitaries, including French President Raymond Poincaré, Marshals Joseph Joffre and Ferdinand Foch, General John J. Pershing and Ambassador Jusserand, cabled greetings to Philadelphia. Colonel Gilmore read the messages to the gathered crowd. As they had done in 1917, Alexander and Vice-Consul Fonteneau raised the Washington-Lafayette Album Flag above Independence Hall while the duplicate flag was raised above the Hotel de Ville in Paris at the same time.¹⁵



This photo was taken in front of Independence Hall on September 6, 1918. Colonel Gilmore (left) and Charles W. Alexander (right) are standing front and center facing the camera. Between them, behind the flag, is Vice-Consul Fonteneau. Young French girls and American women are holding the flag. The women were dressed in white because of the suffragette movement. Philadelphia newspapers published photos of the event, but this particular photo was not published. It comes from Alexander's papers kept by his descendants.

Memorial Gallery of Hundred State and Service Flags for Independence Hall, Philadelphia

LaFayette's Birthday
and
Yorktown Celebration
Citizens' Committee

COLONEL J. CAMPBELL GILMORE, President

General R. Dale Benson
Cyrus Borgner
Benjamin P. Obdyke
Charles M. Burns

Hon. Dimner Beeber
Francis B. Reeves
Ex-Chief Justice D. Newlin Fell
CHARLES W. ALEXANDER, Secretary
Box 915

Charles Weaver Bailey
Thomas M. Thompson
Alfred Gowen Miller
Col. John Wood, Jr.

Philadelphia, _____ 19____

Around 1918, the Citizens' Committee changed their letterhead to shift the focus from the 50th anniversary of the end of the Civil War to Lafayette's birthday.

Lafayette Day in 1919 was the first celebration after the end of World War I. It also marked the fifth anniversary of the Battle of the Marne. In July 1919 the Citizens' Committee promoted its plans for Philadelphia's celebration with a letter-writing campaign to the governors. Writing to all of the governors on behalf of the Citizens' Committee, Alexander spelled out the committee's plans for celebrating September 6, 1919 at Independence Hall which they intended to be "one of the most notable celebrations of the ending of the war."¹⁶

Prior to the Lafayette Day event in Philadelphia, Ambassador Jusserand wrote to Colonel Gilmore expressing that the people of France were "deeply moved" by the joint flag-raising event set to take place in Philadelphia and Paris for the third consecutive year. The ambassador further wrote: "While it [Washington-Lafayette Album Flag] waves in the Paris sky, our hearts will beat in unison with yours and we shall evoke with redoubled earnestness the long history of our friendship..."¹⁷

On September 6, 1919 a large crowd gathered for the event outside Independence Hall. In addition to Ambassador Jusserand's letter, messages were also read from French President Poincaré and several other dignitaries including one from the Prince of Wales.¹⁸ Madame Eugenie Goldsmith, "a noted soprano," sang France's national anthem "La Marseillaise" in French. The "Star-Spangled Banner" and other patriotic songs were sung as well. Several patriotic groups were present. Alexander and Vice-Consul Fonteneau closed the celebration by raising the Washington-Lafayette Album Flag above Independence Hall while the duplicate flag was raised in Paris above the Hotel de Ville.¹⁹

As the decade of the 1920s got underway, the question was whether honoring Lafayette on the anniversary of his birth would continue be celebrated with the same enthusiasm. Vice-

Consul Fonteneau had retired sometime after Lafayette Day in 1919. September 6, 1920 fell on Labor Day, a holiday. The day was celebrated as a “triple holiday” for Lafayette Day, Marne Day and Labor Day. In Philadelphia, the Citizens’ Committee held its usual event at Independence Hall. Marshal Joffre sent a message of “brotherly love” to the people of Philadelphia gathered for the event. The president of the Municipal Council of Paris sent a message to Colonel Gilmore confirming that the Washington-Lafayette Album Flag “...floats on the City Hall along side the French flag, symbolizing the indissoluble union of the two great Republics...” The ceremonies in Philadelphia were held inside Independence Hall due to rain. The crowd sang American and French patriotic songs, and several officials spoke on the contributions and legacy of Lafayette after which French Consul Maurice Paillard, Alexander and others raised the Washington-Lafayette Album flag above Independence Hall.²⁰

For Lafayette Day in 1921, the Citizens’ Committee held its usual celebration at Independence Hall. Dr. Ernest Laplace, President of the Alliance Française de Philadelphie, delivered the keynote address after which Colonel Gilmore and Alexander raised the Washington-Lafayette Album flag above Independence Hall.²¹ The president of the Paris Municipal Council notified Colonel Gilmore that the duplicate Washington-Lafayette Album flag was flown over the Hotel de Ville in Paris.²²

For no publicly stated reason, Philadelphia did not hold a formal celebration on Lafayette Day in 1922. As he had over the years, John Wanamaker celebrated the day at his flagship department store in Philadelphia. The activities at Wanamaker’s, which were spread throughout the day, included music and a military ceremony.²³ In Paris, the duplicate Washington-Lafayette Album Flag was raised above the Hotel de Ville. The ceremony was attended by French officials and members of the American embassy.²⁴ The Citizens’ Committee resumed its annual flag-raising tradition in 1923. Colonel Gilmore and Consul Paillard raised the Washington-Lafayette flag above Independence Hall while the duplicate flag was raised in Paris above the Hotel de Ville.²⁵

1924 marked the centennial of the beginning of Lafayette’s visit to America which stretched over a year starting in August of 1824. 1924 was also the tenth anniversary of the first Battle of the Marne. The Lafayette Day National Committee and the City of Baltimore invited President Coolidge to Baltimore for its annual Lafayette Day event. Lafayette visited Baltimore in October of 1824 during his tour of America. The City of Baltimore planned to unveil a Lafayette equestrian statue on September 6, 1924. The president accepted the invitation to speak at the unveiling event in Baltimore.²⁶

The Citizens’ Committee celebrated Lafayette Day in 1924 largely the way it had in previous years at Independence Hall. Colonel Gilmore presided at the event. He and Consul Paillard delivered addresses. Marshals Foch and Joffre sent cablegrams which were read to the gathered crowd. The Washington-Lafayette Album Flags were raised above Independence Hall and the Hotel de Ville.²⁷

The Lafayette Day celebration in Baltimore attracted far more attention due to the attendance of President Coolidge. A very large crowd gathered there for the unveiling of the Lafayette equestrian statue at Mount Vernon Place and to hear the president speak. In his

keynote address at the event, President Coolidge covered the history of Lafayette's contributions to the cause of Independence and his visit to America one hundred years earlier. The Baltimore event and the president's speech attracted wide national coverage.²⁸

1865—1915—1916—1917

Fiftieth Anniversary of the Closing of the Civil War

A Memorial Gallery of Fifty Flags for Independence Hall, Philadelphia

CITIZENS' COMMITTEE

COLONEL J. CAMPBELL GILMORE, President
1000 South Broad Street

General R. Dale Benson
Cyrus Borgner
Benjamin P. Obdyke
James Pollock

Hon. Dinner Beeber
Joseph T. Bailey
Francis B. Reeves
Ex. Chief Justice D. Newlin Fell
Charles W. Alexander, Secretary
Box 915, Philadelphia P. O.

Charles Weaver Bailey
Thomas M. Thompson
Alfred Gowen Miller
Col. John Wood, Jr.

Philadelphia, *August 14* 1924

Centennial of Lafayette's Visit in 1824

In 1881—the Centennial of Battle of Yorktown—the Secretary of this Citizens' Committee had the pupils in every schoolhouse in the United States stand "at attention" at 12 o'clock, noon, Washington time, and sing the Marseillaise Song of Welcome, as the French Commissioners entered the Celebration Building at Yorktown, Virginia.

In 1917, the President of this Committee, Colonel J. Campbell Gilmore, officially for Mayor Smith, received Ambassador Jusserand, who hoisted the Washington-Lafayette Flag of the Revolution over Independence Hall at the same instant its duplicate was hoisted over l'Hotel de Ville, in Paris, in the presence of President Poincaré, General Pershing and other distinguished officials, amidst the singing of the Star Spangled Banner and la Marseillaise.

These flags—on which Mrs. Calvin Coolidge embroidered "MASSACHUSETTS"—brought France's Gobelin Tapestry to us.

In special honor of Lafayette, de Barras, and de Grasse—for, without all of them, **YORKTOWN WOULD HAVE BEEN LOST!**—this Committee proposes the following program for this Centennial Year of Lafayette's visit to Philadelphia in 1824.

First—the repetition, on Lafayette's Birthday, September 6th, of the 1917 function at Independence Hall and l'Hotel de Ville, in Paris—12 o'clock, noon, here, 5 o'clock p. m. in Paris.

Second—On September 11th, the story of how Lafayette fell, wounded, at the battle of the Brandywine, to be narrated in every schoolhouse in the United States.

Then, on October 18th next, a duplicate Washington-Lafayette Flag to be presented to the State of Virginia, by the City of Philadelphia, to be hoisted at Yorktown, Virginia, by Ambassador Jusserand, and the other two hoisted over Independence Hall and l'Hotel de Villa, with appropriate international ceremonies. *United States and French fleets participating in this, the greatest celebration of the century*

CHARLES W. ALEXANDER, Secretary

The Citizen's Committee proposed a similar event for Yorktown Day in 1924 as they had done in 1917 with the Washington-Lafayette flag. Newspaper coverage of the events at Yorktown on October 18, 1924 did not mention Alexander's proposal.

Despite September 6, 1925 falling on a Sunday, the Citizens' Committee held its annual celebration on that day. The celebration largely followed past celebrations where the Washington-Lafayette Album Flag was raised above Independence Hall while the duplicate flag was raised above the Hotel de Ville in Paris. Traditionally, a member of the Citizens' Committee and the French Consul raised the flag in Philadelphia. This year Colonel Gilmore deferred to a naval officer who raised the flag with Consul Paillard.²⁹

1926 marked the sesquicentennial of American independence. Philadelphia planned to include Lafayette Day as part of the months-long celebration. Philadelphia Mayor W. Freeland Kendrick invited President Coolidge who ultimately could not attend. Lafayette Day in 1926 was a "triple holiday" as it was in 1920 since it fell on Labor Day. The Lafayette Day National Committee held its annual celebration in Philadelphia that year to coincide with the sesquicentennial. As they had in years past, the French president as well as Marshals Joffre and Foch cabled messages to the gathering. Maurice Leon, president of the Lafayette Day National Committee, read the various greetings from France.³⁰

After America's sesquicentennial celebration in 1926, Philadelphia's annual celebration of Lafayette Day continued, but the Citizens' Committee which had originated the idea, saw its membership decline rapidly. Philadelphia newspapers did not report any formal events at Independence Hall on September 6, 1927. Charles W. Alexander, the originator of the Washington-Lafayette Album Flag, passed away at the age of ninety on December 24, 1927 at his daughter's ranch south of San Antonio, Texas.

With Alexander's passing in late 1927, Colonel Gilmore became the last surviving member of the Citizens' Committee of Philadelphia. The annual Lafayette Day celebration in Philadelphia became his sole responsibility. Newspaper coverage of the annual event in Philadelphia remained inconsistent. There were no published reports of a flag-raising event in Philadelphia on September 6, 1928. Paris authorities raised the duplicate Washington-Lafayette Album Flag above the Hotel de Ville.³¹ Radio station WFI planned what might have been the first radio broadcast of a Lafayette Day event in Philadelphia. The radio program, scheduled for the afternoon of September 6, 1928, was to feature a talk by the French Consul and the singing of French songs.³²

Colonel Gilmore took the Lafayette Day celebration to Paris in 1929. On September 6, 1929, Colonel Gilmore, accompanied by several other Philadelphians, visited Lafayette's tomb. While Colonel Gilmore placed a wreath on Lafayette's tomb, the duplicate Washington-Lafayette Album Flag flew over the Hotel de Ville for an hour.³³ He sent a cablegram to Philadelphia requesting that they raise the Washington-Lafayette Flag above Independence Hall at "high noon" to coincide with the Paris event.³⁴

The decade of the 1930s featured the typical Lafayette Day flag-raising during most years, at least as reported in Philadelphia newspapers. 1930 featured a simple flag-raising at Independence Hall by Colonel Gilmore.³⁵ No newspapers reported on the 1931 Lafayette Day celebration in Philadelphia, but the Superintendent of Independence Hall confirmed that the flag was raised at 11 a. m. with no further details.³⁶ Paris authorities raised the duplicate flag above the Hotel de Ville in honor of the day as well as the anniversary of the Battle of the Marne.³⁷

September 6, 1932 marked the 175th anniversary of Lafayette's birth. "Millions of Americans" were reportedly planning to celebrate the day nationwide. President Herbert Hoover sent his greetings to the Lafayette Day National Committee. French Premier Edouard Herriot cabled greetings to the committee remarking on the "cordial friendship" of the United States and France.³⁸ On a day when Philadelphia would have been expected to hold a large celebration, surprisingly, the annual flag-raising celebration was not held. The Superintendent of Independence Hall confirmed that there were "no flags nor demonstrations" on Lafayette Day that year.³⁹

Philadelphia resumed the annual flag-raising tradition on Lafayette Day in 1933. Colonel Gilmore and the French Consul raised the flag above Independence Hall in the presence of a number of spectators.⁴⁰ The celebration in 1934 saw an estimated 500 spectators at the event in front of Independence Hall. Colonel Gilmore raised the flag while the duplicate flag was raised in Paris.⁴¹ The annual flag-raising at Independence Hall continued in 1935 when Colonel Gilmore, accompanied by the Superintendent of Independence Hall, raised the flag.⁴² Details of the event were not available as Philadelphia newspapers did not cover it. Lafayette Day in 1936 fell on the Sunday prior to Labor Day. The holiday weekend may have contributed to the lack of newspaper coverage if a flag-raising event was held in Philadelphia that year. Philadelphia newspapers did not cover the 1937 Lafayette Day event. The Superintendent of Independence Hall confirmed that the flag was flown above Independence Hall for one hour ending at noon that day. He noted that because the day fell on Labor Day, there were "very few" attendees.⁴³

1938 saw a resumption of more complete coverage of Lafayette Day in Philadelphia and Paris. Colonel Gilmore raised the flag at Independence Hall on September 6, 1938 while the duplicate flag was raised in Paris. A representative of the Philadelphia mayor delivered the keynote address.⁴⁴ On September 6, 1939 the ceremony was repeated in Philadelphia and Paris with the flags raised in both cities simultaneously. The crowd in Philadelphia was estimated to be "several hundred."⁴⁵ Due to the outbreak of World War II in Europe, Lafayette Day in 1939 was the last day that the duplicate Washington-Lafayette Album Flag would be raised in Paris for a few years.

Philadelphia continued the Lafayette Day tradition in 1940 with Colonel Gilmore raising the flag at Independence Hall in a typical ceremony. He and a representative of the Philadelphia mayor spoke at the annual ceremony.⁴⁶ On Lafayette Day in 1941, a small crowd gathered at Independence Hall for the annual raising of the flag and accompanying exercises. Colonel Gilmore was the lone speaker.⁴⁷

1942 Lafayette Day was unusual for a few reasons. It was the first Lafayette Day celebration after the United States had entered World War II against Germany. It would also be the last Lafayette Day event at Independence Hall attended by Colonel Gilmore in person. September 6, 1942 fell on the Sunday before Labor Day, so the celebration was scheduled for Monday. The September 7, 1942 issue of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* announced that Colonel Gilmore would lead the annual flag-raising event at Independence Hall starting at 11:15 a. m. that day. Much to his disappointment, he found himself alone paying tribute to Lafayette. Two city employees assisted him in raising the Washington-Lafayette Album Flag above

Independence Hall. No bands played as they were at other celebrations. No crowd gathered at Independence Hall for the ceremony.⁴⁸ Colonel Gilmore's one-man celebration was picked up by the Associated Press and published in newspapers nationwide.⁴⁹

Colonel Gilmore had retired to Fort Myers, Florida, so no Citizens' Committee members were residing near Philadelphia for Lafayette Day in 1943. In late August of that year, he wrote to Philadelphia's acting mayor requesting that the Washington-Lafayette Album Flag be raised above Independence Hall on September 6, 1943. The Custodian of Independence Hall confirmed that he raised the flag at noon that day but noted that no publicity was given to the event and that no newspaper reporters covered it.⁵⁰

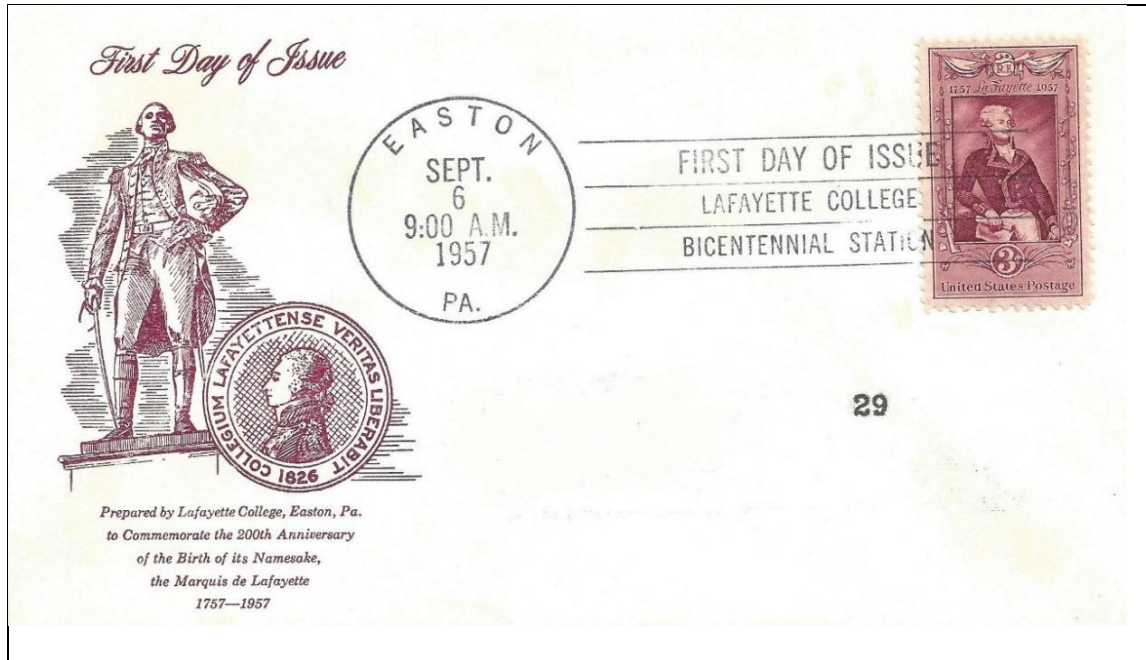
With no more Citizens' Committee involvement with Lafayette Day starting in 1944, it would seem that the annual Lafayette Day celebrations in Philadelphia would come to an end. That was not to be the case. The Chief of the Bureau of City Property for Philadelphia noted that "no one seems actively concerned about" the annual flag-raising event, but he requested that the mayor's office continue the "precedent" in 1944. In response, Philadelphia Mayor Bernard Samuel ordered that the Washington-Lafayette Album Flag be flown above Independence Hall on September 6, 1944. The mayor cited the recent D-Day Invasion as an ongoing "repayment" of America's debt to Lafayette and France.⁵¹ A detailed report of the 1944 Lafayette Day flag-raising noted that the flag was raised above Independence Hall at noon without any formal exercises. The report noted that the annual flag-raising in the past was preceded by music and speeches but that "wartime conditions necessitate changes." Independence Hall employees and some servicemen raised the flag at noon. Despite the duplicate flag not having been raised in Paris for a few years during World War II, it was confirmed that it was raised in Paris on September 6, 1944.⁵²

World War II ended shortly before Lafayette Day in 1945. Philadelphia newspapers did not report on any celebrations that year nor in 1946. Independence Hall staff members raised the flag on September 6, 1947. The report noted that the flag-raising was an annual event.⁵³ No reports were found regarding Lafayette Day events in Philadelphia from 1948 through 1950.

As the 1957 bicentennial of Lafayette's birth approached, news reports of annual celebrations in Philadelphia were sporadic. On September 6, 1951, employees of Independence Hall National Historical Park and Lafayette College raised the Washington-Lafayette Album Flag above Independence Hall to commemorate the 194th anniversary of Lafayette's birth while members of the Independence Hall Bell Ringers Society rang the bell in the tower to signify the 194 years since his birth.⁵⁴ This may have been the last time that the Washington-Lafayette Album Flag was raised above Independence Hall. Philadelphia newspapers did not report any further celebrations on Lafayette Day until 1955 when a direct descendant of Lafayette and the chair of the French Society of Philadelphia placed a wreath at the Lafayette statue in Fairmount Park to mark the 198th anniversary of his birth.⁵⁵

September 6, 1956 marked the beginning of the year-long bicentennial celebration of Lafayette's birth. The French Society sponsored the event at Independence Hall. Several speeches were made, and greetings were read from others including President Dwight Eisenhower.⁵⁶

September 6, 1957 marked the bicentennial of Lafayette's birth. The ceremony at Independence Hall followed the same format as previous years. General Mark W. Clark, veteran of World War II and Supreme Allied Commander in Korea, delivered the keynote address. All branches of the military were present. At Lafayette College in Easton, Pennsylvania, the Postal Service unveiled a three-cent stamp in honor of Lafayette.⁵⁷



1957 First Day Cover sent by the Lafayette College Alumni Association to a member of the Class of 1929 (name and address redacted)

For the people of Philadelphia, particularly the Citizens' Committee of Philadelphia formed in late 1914, celebrating the anniversary of Lafayette's birth each year began with one published remark in 1916. That Lafayette was "unhonored" by Philadelphians in 1916 was the spark that led to what would become an annual tradition not only in Philadelphia but in Paris as well. Starting with the elaborate celebrations at Independence Hall and Paris in 1917 through the 1957 bicentennial of his birth and beyond, Philadelphia honored Lafayette's memory and contributions to America's independence.

What happened to the two Washington-Lafayette Album Flags? Independence National Historical Park was created in 1948. The flag was last known to have been flown over Independence Hall on September 6, 1951. Its whereabouts were unknown at the time this article was published. As for the duplicate flag sent to Paris, the September 6, 1919 issue of the *Philadelphia Evening Public Ledger* stated that the flag was stored at the Musée Carnavalet in Paris. The author corresponded with the museum a few years ago, and museum staff members made a diligent search for the flag but could not find it. It may still be in their storage, but the COVID-19 pandemic and ongoing renovations to the museum hampered efforts to locate it at the time.

About the Author

Michael Mendenhall has been an independent scholar since the late 1980s. Since 1991 he has worked in the legal services field. He is a lifelong resident of Monterey, California. He holds an AS degree in Administration of Justice from Monterey Peninsula College, a BA degree in Social Science/History from Thomas Edison State College and a master's degree in Library and Information Science from San Jose State University. This article was adapted from his forthcoming book, *History of the Bi-Centennial Association of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and the Citizens' Committee of Philadelphia, 1880-1943*. The book will be published under his own imprint, Investigative Historian Press. No publication date has been set yet. The author would like to thank the descendants of Charles W. Alexander. Penelope Stoy, Charles W. Alexander, Jr., Gordon Bell and Huntley Bell passed away many years before the author embarked on his research, but they were instrumental in preserving Charles W. Alexander's papers as well as the photographs reproduced here. The author personally worked with several other of Charles W. Alexander's descendants who generously shared their time and research: Bertha Bell, Marion Myers, Flora Myers, Joan Alexander Moxley, Richard Moxley, and Jacqueline Bell. This article would not have been possible without their valuable assistance.

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²"Twelve Prominent Americans Issue Earnest Appeal for Honor of Lafayette" *Boston Herald*, July 14, 1916, 3.

³"Lafayette Day" *Philadelphia Press*, September 4, 1916, 6.

⁴"Deeds of Lafayette Go Unhonored Here" *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, September 6, 1916, 4.

⁵"Lafayette Honored" *Philadelphia Evening Public Ledger*, September 6, 1916, 2.

⁶"Lafayette Unhonored on Birth Anniversary" *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, September 7, 1916, 5.

⁷Charles W. Alexander to Minnesota Governor Winfield Scott Hammond, March 8, 1915. Minnesota Governor Hammond, Records, Box 69, Folder A-B. Minnesota Historical Society. State Archives. Alexander sent the same letter to all of the governors. Only a handful of state collections of governor's papers archived the letter.

⁸Charles W. Alexander to Virginia Governor Henry Carter Stuart, June 20, 1917 (with copies of 1916 correspondence). Virginia. Governor (1914-1918: Stuart). Executive Papers of Governor Henry Carter Stuart, 1857-1918 (bulk 1914-1917). Accession 28722. Box 15, folder 1. State government records, Library of Virginia, Richmond, Va.

⁹"Philadelphia's Oldest Reporter" *Philadelphia North American*, May 2, 1915, Magazine Section, 5.

¹⁰Charles W. Alexander to Virginia Governor Henry Carter Stuart, June 20, 1917.

¹¹"Girls Sew Stars on American Flags" *Philadelphia Inquirer*, August 8, 1917, 2. "13 Girls Sew Stars on Flags to Represent First States" *Philadelphia North American*, August 8, 1917, 3. "Lafayette Flag Ready for Overseas Trip to Greet French Nation September 6" *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, August 8, 1917, 7.

¹²Woodrow Wilson to Colonel J. Campbell Gilmore, August 17, 1917, microfilm reel 151, *Woodrow Wilson Papers*, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.

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¹⁴"French Envoy Gets Big Ovation at Celebration" *Philadelphia Evening Telegraph*, September 6, 1917, 1, 16.

¹⁵"Sing for Marne and Lafayette" *Philadelphia Evening Public Ledger*, September 6, 1918, 1-2.

¹⁶Charles W. Alexander to Connecticut Governor Marcus H. Holcomb, July 30, 1919. Connecticut State Library, State Archives Record Group 005, Records of the Office of Governor, Subgroup 22, Marcus H. Holcomb, Numerical Files, 1919-20, Box 275, Folder 103.

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¹⁸"Lafayette Day Doubly Observed" *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, September 7, 1919, 5.

¹⁹"Lafayette is Honored at Independence Hall" *Philadelphia Record*, September 7, 1919, 4.

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- ²²“Phila. Gift Flag Flies Over Paris” *Philadelphia North American*, September 7, 1921, 4.
- ²³“Patriotic Program” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, September 6, 1922, 14.
- ²⁴“Fly Phila. Flag in Paris” *Philadelphia Evening Public Ledger*, September 7, 1922, 5.
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- ²⁶Lafayette Day National Committee. “President Coolidge to Attend National Lafayette-Marne Day Exercises at Baltimore on Sept. 6.” Press release, August 21, 1924. Baltimore City Archives. Mayor’s Office records, Mayor Howard W. Jackson Administrative Files, BRG9, Series 17, Box 182, Folder 1.
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- ²⁸“President Coolidge Addresses Baltimoreans at Unveiling of Lafayette Statue” *Baltimore Sun*, September 7, 1924, 1, 7.
- ²⁹“Phila. and Paris Honor Lafayette” *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, September 7, 1925, 9.
- ³⁰“French President Cordially Greets American People” *Philadelphia Record*, September 7, 1926, 1-2.
- ³¹“Paris Raises ‘Album’ Flag” *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, September 7, 1928, 2.
- ³²“Radio Programs Honor Lafayette” *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, September 6, 1928, 14.
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- ³⁴Colonel J. Campbell Gilmore to Philadelphia Mayor Harry Mackey, September 5, 1929 (Cablegram), The National Museum at Independence Hall Collection, Box 105, Accession 1072. Independence National Historical Park Archives.
- ³⁵“Observing Birthday of Lafayette” *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, September 7, 1930, 2.
- ³⁶September 6, 1931 entry, “Superintendent’s Record, 1917-1946.” The National Museum at Independence Hall Collection, Box 44. Independence National Historical Park Archives.
- ³⁷“Paris Flies Phila. Flag on Marne Day” *Philadelphia Record*, September 7, 1931, 3.
- ³⁸“2 Nations Honor Lafayette Today” *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, September 6, 1932, 5.
- ³⁹September 6, 1932 entry, “Superintendent’s Record, 1917-1946.”
- ⁴⁰“Celebrate Lafayette Day” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, September 7, 1933, 19.
- ⁴¹“Observe Lafayette Day” *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, September 6, 1934, 2.
- ⁴²September 6, 1935 entry, “Superintendent’s Record, 1917-1946.”
- ⁴³September 6, 1937 entry, “Superintendent’s Record, 1917-1946.”
- ⁴⁴“Phila. Celebrates 181st Anniversary of Lafayette’s Birth” *Philadelphia Evening Public Ledger*, September 6, 1938, 17.
- ⁴⁵“Lafayette Hailed at Same Hour Here and Over There” *Philadelphia Evening Public Ledger*, September 6, 1939, 21.
- ⁴⁶“Lafayette Birthday Observed Here” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, September 7, 1940, 15.
- ⁴⁷“City Pays Honor to Lafayette” *Philadelphia Record*, September 7, 1941, p. 2.
- ⁴⁸“Only One Man Pays Tribute to Lafayette” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, September 8, 1942, 21.
- ⁴⁹“One Man Fetes Lafayette’s Birth” *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 8, 1942, 1.
- ⁵⁰Samuel H. Rosenberg to Horace Carpenter, September 1, 1943, The National Museum at Independence Hall Collection, Box 33, Folder 20. Independence National Historical Park Archives. In a handwritten note dated September 6, 1943, Independence Hall Custodian Warren McCullough confirmed that he raised the flag at noon.
- ⁵¹“Independence Hall to Fly 13-Star Flag” *Philadelphia Record*, September 6, 1944, 4.
- ⁵²“Report for the Year of 1944” (Independence Hall Custodian), The National Museum at Independence Hall Collection, Box 12, Folder 27. Independence National Historical Park Archives.
- ⁵³“Exercises Held at Independence Hall and Square - 1947,” The National Museum at Independence Hall Collection, Box 33, Folder 29. Independence National Historical Park Archives.
- ⁵⁴“Ceremony” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, September 7, 1951, 3. “Independence Hall Rites Mark Lafayette’s Birth” *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, September 6, 1951, 17.
- ⁵⁵Photo with caption, *Philadelphia Inquirer*, September 7, 1955, 29.
- ⁵⁶“Lafayette Birth Marked in Rites by Phila. Group” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, September 7, 1956, 29.
- ⁵⁷“Gen. Clark Leads Rite in Honor of Lafayette” *Philadelphia Inquirer*, September 7, 1957, 11.

Lafayette's World as a Teenager, with Noailles and Ségur

by John C. Becica



Author's Note: This narrative is a sequel to my article, "Lafayette's World as a Youngster," which appeared in AFL Gazette #95, November 2021, page 38.

Lafayette's life changed drastically when, after the death of his mother and his maternal grandfather in quick succession, and just as he was about to enter his teenage years, the Noailles family came into the picture.

The 12-year-old boy had continued to study at the Collège du Plessis. Lafayette was a member of the Sword Nobility, but most of his friends came from the less prestigious Nobility of the Robe where rank was based on judicial or government service, or they were bourgeois students on scholarship. Thus, he was learning and socializing with other young people who were lower than he in their station in the French life of the time.

Lafayette's maternal great-grandfather satisfied the lad's burning desire to wear a uniform by having him appointed to the Black Musketeers, soldiers of the King's guard for ceremonial duty at age 13.

***A Black Musketeer.
The unit was named for
their black horses.***



Soon thereafter, Lafayette's future father-in-law, Jean Paul François de Noailles, the duc d'Ayen having arranged for Lafayette to marry his second daughter, Adrienne, would now be the primary influence in the young man's life.

Major changes would occur as a result. Lafayette was moved from the apartment of his mother's family at the Luxembourg Palace to the Noailles town house in Versailles, with privileges to return to his relatives at Luxembourg on weekends. At Versailles he was under the watchful eye of Adrienne's mother, who had finally agreed to a two-year living arrangement for her young 12-year-old daughter and now 14-year-old proposed son-in-law. The purpose was for the youngsters to get to know each other and mature before the wedding took place.



Jean Paul François de Noailles

***Adrienne's
Parents***



Henriette d'Aguesseau

With the wedding arrangements under way, in April of 1773, the duc d'Ayen procured a lieutenancy for Lafayette in a real fighting unit, the Noailles Cavalry Regiment. Just about every biography of Lafayette misnames this regiment. At the time Lafayette joined, it was called the Noailles Cavalry Regiment. As part of Claude Louis Comte de St. Germain's reforms of the French military, it was renamed the Noailles Dragoons on March 15, 1776. It was these relatively short-lived reforms by St. Germain that would sideline Lafayette to reserve duty on June 11, 1776, and would also disband his former honorary unit, the Black Musketeers.

The duc d'Ayen now set out to improve Lafayette's education for army service as a young noble of the sword. His faithful tutor, the Abbé Fayon, was retained, but a former army officer named Margelay was added to Lafayette's household to provide private lessons in military subjects. In addition, Lafayette was now enrolled in the Academy of Versailles, which offered instruction in comportment and manners for children of the nobility at the King's court. Here, for the first time he met an entirely new class of upper crust contemporaries, a completely different society of young people than what he was used to. These youngsters had been practicing such things as dancing with grace and riding like a gentleman officer all their lives. Louis Marie Vicomte de Noailles was one of these new associates. Noailles and Lafayette would soon become fast friends.



Adrienne's parents had produced seven children by the time Lafayette came into the picture. The first child, a son, lived only 11 months. Then followed five daughters and a second son. The second son did not live long either. The duchesse d'Ayen had come down with smallpox during her pregnancy. She survived, but the young infant did not. Lacking male heirs who would carry on the name of Noailles for his branch of the family, the Duc d'Ayen arranged for his oldest daughter, Louise to be married to the son of d'Ayen's uncle Philippe, or, said another way, to his first cousin – Louis Marie Vicomte de Noailles. Thus, at the marriage ceremony of Louise and Louis Marie on September 19, 1773, a first cousin, once removed to Louise and Adrienne would also become the husband of Louise and the brother-in-law of Adrienne.

Six months later, on March 14, 1774, the Marquis de Lafayette made his debut at the King's court, being formally presented to Louis XV. Lafayette and Adrienne were married a month later on April 11, 1774 in the chapel at the Hôtel de Noailles in Paris. Lafayette was now 16 years and 7 months old, and Adrienne 14 years and 4 months. The wedding ceremony was small, the reception large and lavish, and Lafayette now had his friend Louis Marie Noailles as a brother-in-law.



Miniatures of Lafayette and Adrienne as Teenagers



Lafayette's new father-in-law arranged for the teen to be promoted to Captain in the Noailles Cavalry Regiment as a wedding present. While Lafayette received his new title immediately, and was afforded all the courtesies of his new rank, it was understood that he would not be given the authority to command troops until he turned 18, which was now almost a year and a half down the road.

Lafayette in his Captain's Uniform of the Noailles Cavalry Regiment

After arranging the marriage of Louis Marie Vicomte de Noailles and first daughter, Louise, why did the duc d'Ayen start negotiations with Lafayette's family to have him wed his second daughter Adrienne? The answer is simple. Ayen had five daughters to marry off and wanted to limit his dowry exposure. The 12-year-old orphaned Lafayette, having inherited from both sides of his family, was now one of the wealthiest young men in France, negating the need for a large dowry from the prospective bride's family.

A month after Lafayette and Adrienne's marriage, King Louis XV died of smallpox, and his grandson Louis XVI with his Austrian bride Marie Antoinette ascended to the throne of France. Like Lafayette, and Adrienne, the new royal couple were both teenagers. The 19-year-old King has been described as fat, taciturn, and loving the solitude of his books. A recent writer has claimed that his recorded behavior indicates that he had been suffering from Autism Spectrum Disorder since birth. Marie Antoinette was age 18 when the new King ascended to the throne on May 10, 1774. She has been described as boisterous and high strung.



Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette

Almost immediately the public started to question why the couple had already been married for four years with no offspring. A rumor started that the King suffered from phimosis, a genital condition making relations extremely painful, and he needed to be circumcised. Recent studies of letters among the King's family have found this to be untrue, and such an operation was never needed, nor did it take place. It is more likely that the King, naïve in these matters, was clumsy, and unable to properly perform. (A letter has been found, written by the King,

describing his technique which amounted to coitus interruptus!) At any rate, in these early years before they finally had a family of four children, Marie Antionette would let her husband stay to study his books at the other end of the palace, and she would set out to amuse herself with a splurge of lavish spending on masquerade balls, card parties, nights at the opera, banquets, horse racing, theatre parties, and visits to cabarets with her young courtiers.

Lafayette was now a 16-year-old married lad, still residing in Versailles at the Noailles townhouse, being privately tutored in military subjects, attending the Academy of Versailles, interacting with members of the new King and Queen's court, and recently named a Captain of the Noailles Cavalry fighting unit.

At this point, Louis Philippe, Comte de Ségur, who was still a bachelor, entered the picture. As it happened, Lafayette, the Vicomte de Noailles, and the Comte de Ségur would soon become a triumvirate of close friends. It should be noted that Lafayette was the youngest of the three. Noailles was 5 months older, and Ségur almost 4 years older than Lafayette.

Biographers have referred to the group as the “Three Musketeers,” but this is a misnomer. Only Lafayette had served with the Musketeers, and Alexandre Dumas would not write his novel *The Three Musketeers* until 1844, almost 70 years later.



Of the group, Noailles was the leader, with Ségur and Lafayette the followers. Noailles has been described as a brilliant officer – dashing, witty, a good horseman, a hard drinker and gambler, and a brilliant conversationalist. It didn't hurt that he was handsome as well.

Lafayette, having none of the above qualities, admired his brother-in-law, and in navigating this new social scene tried to emulate him. At one point, trying to show that he could hold his liquor as well as Noailles, he had to be taken home while mumbling “Don't forget to tell Noailles how much I drank!”

Physically, the Marquis stuck out in the crowd. The lanky teenager who was undergoing his growth spurt, was, as a result, clumsy and awkward, and he stood considerably taller than the rest of the group. His pale freckled complexion with hazel eyes, strawberry blond hair, long pointed nose, and high forehead along with his country manners made him very self-conscious of being different. At one point he was deeply hurt and embarrassed when the Queen laughed at his dancing during one of her regular quadrilles.

We can liken Lafayette's new contemporaries at court to a sort of “brat pack” – wealthy children of the nobility who had nothing better to do than carouse, drink, gamble and chase skirts. The younger set attempted to revolt and shock their elders by wearing clothing styles dating back to the era of Henry IV, but the fad did not stick, and soon died out. They attended every frivolous event the Queen could organize, often with both brothers of the King in

attendance. They put on skits criticizing the actions of their elders in history. They traveled to Les Porcherons, a hamlet just outside of Paris, where they took over a cabaret and called themselves the Société de l' Épée de Bois (The Society of the Wooden Sword). To put it succinctly, the teenage set at court enjoyed raising merry hell.

Much has been written about Lafayette's reaction to this, and it is all based on Ségur's autobiography as the source. Here is what Ségur recorded years later in 1825:

La Fayette displayed a cold and grave exterior, which sometimes gave to his demeanor an air of timidity and embarrassment, which did not really belong to him. His reserved manners, and his silent disposition, presented a singular contrast to the petulance, the levity, and the ostentatious loquacity of persons of his own age.

The truth is that Lafayette was trapped in a situation for which he was temperamentally unsuited. Incapable of courtly flattery and small talk, he later stated that he never heard anything worth remembering at these gatherings. The giggled inanities and frivolous talk bored him, and it showed.

Lafayette, at 16 was married to Adrienne, a girl who, in a twist of fate, adored him, but at this time in France a husband who was faithful was the object of ridicule. Marriages were arranged and had nothing to do with friendship, love, or lust. Affairs outside of marriage were condoned and expected. Thus, with his teenage male hormones raging, the young Marquis attempted to bed a young married lady, Aglaé d'Hunolstein, Aglaé could be described in today's terms as the beautiful queen of the prom. Lafayette could be described today as the country bumpkin, the class geek. As far as Aglaé was concerned, it wasn't going to happen. (Interestingly, when Lafayette returned to France in triumph as a hero after the American Revolution, Aglaé changed her tune, and the two did have a short liaison).

For some reason, Lafayette got the idea in his head that he had failed with Aglaé because his friend Ségur was a rival suitor. In his autobiography, Ségur describes what happened:

During the preceding winter he [Lafayette] had become attached to a lady as amiable as she was beautiful, and, having erroneously conceived an idea that I was his rival, in a fit of jealousy he had put aside all consideration of our friendship, and had passed the greater part of the night with me, endeavoring to prevail on me to decide by the sword which of us should be the favored suitor of a lady to whom I made no pretensions. . . . Some days after our quarrel and reconciliation, I could not refrain from laughing when I heard the Marshal de Noailles, and other individuals of his family, intreat me to use my influence with him to animate his torpidity, to rouse him from his inaction, and to communicate some animation to his character.

The summer of 1774 found Lafayette participating in his first round of Noailles Cavalry regimental exercises in the French town of Metz, near the German border. Upon his return to

Paris in the Fall, as he was about to turn 17, he made the first important decision of his teenage life. A smallpox epidemic was raging in Paris and Versailles. Lafayette had witnessed King Louis XV being ravaged by the disease leading to his death. He also was well aware of his mother-in-law's fight with the infection and the loss of her baby son. Willing to take a chance on a controversial new advance in medicine, and with the support of Adrienne and her mother, Lafayette rented a small house for the three of them in the Paris suburb of Chaillot. There he stayed in quarantine for several weeks while receiving the new smallpox inoculations. As an added benefit, he became emotionally closer to his young wife. The treatment succeeded. Lafayette was protected, and did not come down with the disease. His first major decision as a teenager, independent of his father-in-law had been a success!



Lafayette at Metz Garrison

But, the duc d'Ayen had big plans for Lafayette. Unfortunately, the young Marquis was not consulted, and d'Ayen's wishes did not mesh with Lafayette's own life plan. Since the age of eight, Lafayette had thirsted for glory on the battlefield in the tradition of his male ancestors. His intention was to make his mark on the world as a soldier.

It was now the Spring of 1775, and Ayen was determined to get his 17-year-old son-in-law placed in the service of the Comte de Provence, the older of the King's two brothers. Finally, a maturing Lafayette stood up for himself. Abhorring the thought of remaining at Versailles to become a sniveling courtier, he deliberately insulted the Comte de Provence at one of the Queen's masked balls. Asked later if he knew who he was talking to behind the mask, Lafayette replied in the affirmative. Thus, he spared himself from any chance of becoming a courtier in the King's household. Lafayette was thrilled. The Noailles family were mortified.

The late spring and summer of 1775 brought a second round of Noailles regimental exercises at Metz. During that summer, the Comte de Ségur took some time off from soldiering to visit Spa, a little town with mineral springs situated in a valley of the Ardennes Mountains in today's Province of Liege, Belgium. There, the talk of the visitors from many countries centered around a revolt against the British taking place in America. Ségur found everyone at the vacation spot overwhelmingly supporting the insurgents, as did he. Reporting back to his comrades Noailles and Lafayette, the three started thinking and talking about getting involved with this new conflict.

Then in August, Lafayette was invited by the duc de Broglie, commander of the Metz Garrison, to what would be Lafayette's life-changing dinner with Britain's Prince William Henry, the Duke of Gloucester. An out-of-favor brother of King George III, the Duke was in sympathy

with the American rebels, and he recounted stories of the battles of Lexington and Concord, Ethan Allen capturing Fort Ticonderoga, a Continental Congress having met, a Continental Army being formed, and continuing military tensions around Boston. This was a watershed moment in Lafayette's life. Before leaving the table, he imagined going to America to aid the patriots.

As a result, the "Three Musketeers" all saw a path forward in their military careers by volunteering to go to America, but as it turned out, both Noailles and Ségur were thwarted in their plans by their parents and by edicts of the French government.

By now, Lafayette had matured enough to be his own man and make his own decisions, controversial as they may have been. The story of the intrigue involved in his coming to America is complicated, but suffice it to say he mustered the resolve to defy his wife's family, his King, and his government's edicts. By this time, he had also been sidelined to reserve duty in the French armed forces, but it didn't matter. He would soon be a Major General in the American Continental Army!

Lafayette was now leaving his teenage years behind. Due to his fabulous wealth, he was able to buy a ship, name it *la Victoire*, and sail to America in 1777 to help the insurgents. Before he left, he excitedly conveyed his plans to Ségur, and then to Noailles. In both cases they were happy for their friend and would cheer him on in his future adventures.

And as they say, the rest is history.

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The After Stories

Louis Marie, Vicomte de Noailles

While disappointed at not being able to accompany Lafayette to America in 1777, the Vicomte de Noailles was able to avoid Lafayette's fate of being put on reserve duty in the French armed forces, and he continued his military career. As it turned out, he would visit America **three times** during his lifetime.

The French/American Treaty of Alliance, signed February 5, 1778, would be the key to his **first trip**. Noailles sailed to America with the Comte d'Estaing's armada, leaving Toulon France on April 13, 1778.



Bust of Louis Marie, Vicomte de Noailles

By July 1778 they had arrived off Sandy Hook, New Jersey, trapping British General Howe's fleet in New York harbor. Eventually d'Estaing realized that the harbor was not deep

enough for his ships to commence an assault. Instead, the French headed for Newport, Rhode Island to assist patriot forces in removing the British who were in control there. For a number of reasons, the French/American allied efforts were not successful. A sea battle with Howe's British ships was cut short by a terrific gale which resulted in major damages to both fleets, and the French ended up sailing to Boston for major repairs. While Lafayette was deeply involved acting as a diplomat trying to deal with the American and French commanders during this time period, his probable reconnection with his brother-in-law Noailles does not seem to have been recorded in any detail.

The French fleet having been repaired, on November 4, 1778, d'Estaing sailed for the West Indies, with Noailles still on board. An attempt to recapture Santa Lucia from the British failed, but the French forces were successful at St. Vincent. They were also successful at Grenada on July 4, 1779 where the Vicomte de Noailles distinguished himself in the fighting as the head of two divisions.

Having received appeals from South Carolinians who were concerned with British General Prevost having captured Savannah, Georgia, d'Estaing's fleet moved to the American coast. On October 9, 1779, a failed attempt to take Savannah in conjunction with the land forces of American General Benjamin Lincoln took place. This was the battle in which Count Casimir Pulaski, the "father of the American cavalry" lost his life. Again, Noailles was praised by d'Estaing for his excellent performance in the trenches. As a result, the Vicomte de Noailles was awarded the Cross of Saint Louis.

Following the attempt to capture Savannah, d'Estaing's armada returned to France.

Lafayette had left America during the winter lull in fighting on January 11, 1779 arriving back in France to seek reinforcements for the Patriots. On February 2, 1780, King Louis XVI finally approved a plan to be named the *expédition particulière*. On May 2, 1780, a fleet carrying expeditionary armed forces under the command of General Rochambeau left France, arriving at Newport, Rhode Island on July 11.

The Vicomte de Noailles now travelled to America a **second time**. He landed with Rochambeau's forces at Newport as a Lieutenant Colonel, the second in command of one of the two Battalions of the Régiment de Soissonnais.

On arrival, the French troops, while waiting to engage the British, busied themselves in rehabilitating Newport which had been devastated by the previous British occupation, and in preparing suitable quarters for the upcoming winter.

Tired of the idleness, and impatient for action as another winter lull in the conflict approached, several French officers decided to reconnoiter the countryside. Noailles was among them.

The Marquis de Chastellux was one of the three Major Generals in the French expeditionary forces reporting directly to General Rochambeau. He kept journal accounts of his travels throughout America. These trips were made between campaigns when he was free from the active duties of command. It is from his book *Travels in North America in the Years 1780*,

1781, and 1782 that we learn about the activities of the Vicomte de Noailles during the period from November to December, 1780:

November 4, 1780 – Lafayette writes his brother-in-law Noailles in Rhode Island, inviting him to visit his camp at Preakness, New Jersey.

November 12, 1780 – Noailles and the Comte de Damas arrive at West Point.

November 22, 1780 – Noailles and de Damas arrive at Stony Point and set out to visit Lafayette at Preakness, New Jersey.

November 27, 1780 – After their arrival at Preakness, Noailles and de Damas are introduced to George Washington. Then Lafayette escorts Noailles and other officers to the North (Hudson) River to reconnoiter the British fortifications in New York City. They spend the night at Paramus, New Jersey before proceeding to Philadelphia.

December 5, 1780 – Lafayette, Noailles, and other Frenchmen who are in Philadelphia attend a meeting of the Pennsylvania Assembly.

December 6, 1780 – They visit the Brandywine Battlefield.

December 7, 1780 – They are on the road from Brandywine to Chester, and have dinner in Chester.

December 8, 1780 – Noailles attends a Ball at the Philadelphia home of the Chevalier de la Luzerne, the French Minister to the United States. He dances with Miss Nancy Shippen. Dinner is served at midnight, and the Ball continues until 2 am.

December 11, 1780 – Lafayette and Noailles visit the Germantown Battlefield and Whitemarsh. They return to Luzerne's house where Noailles plays the violin while some young ladies who are visiting, dance to the music.

December 14, 1780 – Noailles and the Comte de Damas leave Philadelphia, missing another ball about to be held.

December 24, 1780 – Noailles and Chastellux arrive in Albany where they have dinner at General Schuyler's home in a snowstorm.

December 31, 1780 – Chastellux's description of his travels with Noailles ends with a visit to the site of the Battle of Saratoga.

Months passed. Finally, in the summer of 1781, the Vicomte de Noailles and his Battalion joined the rest of the French forces on their trek from Rhode Island down to Virginia. The route they took is today called the "Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route" (W3R).

Now reunited with Lafayette, Noailles and his troops joined in the fight for Yorktown.

Following the French/American victory over Lord Cornwallis, General Washington selected the Vicomte de Noailles as the French representative to join Colonel John Laurens in arranging the surrender terms with Cornwallis' two commissioners. The four men met at the Moore house on October 18, 1781 to draft the articles of capitulation.

After the Yorktown victory, Noailles and Lafayette left Boston together on December 23, 1781 sailing home to France aboard the frigate *Alliance*.

Having returned to France from America, Noailles and his wife Louise produced three children: son Alexis in 1783, son Alfred in 1784, and daughter Euphemie in 1790. All three grew to maturity, married, and had families of their own.

During the French Revolution, the Vicomte de Noailles became involved in the politics of the time. In 1792, he was forced to flee from France, leaving his wife and young children there. Unlike Lafayette who was captured and imprisoned, Noailles made it to London, England, and later made his **third visit** to America in 1793. He settled in Philadelphia for 10 years where he engaged in land speculation, and became a partner in Binghamton's Bank.

Back in France, the Jacobin Terror was in full force. In 1794, Noailles lost both his parents and his wife Louise (older sister to Adrienne Lafayette), to the guillotine. His young children, ages 11, 10, and 4 at the time, were then left essentially orphaned to be raised by others.

*Vicomte Louis Marie Noailles
by Gilbert Stuart
Painted in Philadelphia, 1798*



Noailles' love of military life turned out to be his undoing. In 1803, he applied to the Napoleonic government in Paris and was awarded a commission as a Brigadier General. After a failed attempt to save Saint-Domingue from British conquest, Noailles was killed on the way to Havana in a skirmish during which his ship was boarded by forces from a British frigate. He died

on January 5, 1804 at age 47. His remains were returned to France for burial, and one source states that his heart was preserved in a silver box by his grenadiers.

Having lost one of his best friends and brother-in-law relatively early in life, Lafayette would also endure the loss of his dear wife Adrienne four years later on Christmas Eve 1807.

Louis Philippe, Comte de Ségur

Almost four years older than Lafayette, Ségur had joined the army in 1769 at age 16. Taking advantage of family connections, he was appointed a Second Lieutenant in the Regiment of Cavalry that was commanded by his father's close friend the Marquis de Castries. (In the Fall of 1780 Castries would be named France's Naval Minister, and Ségur's father would be named Minister of War).



Louis Philippe, Comte de Ségur

Advancing rapidly, two years later in 1771 Ségur was promoted to Captain in the regiment. Five years later, in 1776, the King granted a request from the duc d'Orléans to appoint Ségur as Second Colonel in the Regiment of the Dragoons of Orléans. With his connections, Ségur had not been put on reserve duty, as had Lafayette, and he had a military command to fall back on if his plans to go to America to aid the patriots fell through. Without financial support from his family, and with the opposition of the French government, they did.

Ten days after Lafayette and his party set sail for America, and while his friend was at sea, on April 30, 1777, Ségur married Adrienne Lafayette's aunt, Antionette Elizabeth Marie d'Aguesseau. Ségur would forever after that refer to himself as his boyhood friend Lafayette's uncle. Between the years 1778 and 1780, the couple produced three children who lived to maturity: daughter Louise Antoinette in 1778, son Octave Gabriel in 1779, and son Philippe Paul in 1780. Philippe Paul would later become an aide to Napoleon.



Comtesse Louis Philippe de Ségur
(Antoinette Elisabeth Marie
d'Aguesseau)
by Elisabeth Louise Vigée Le Brun

(Half-sister of Adrienne
Lafayette's mother, thus an aunt to
Adrienne and Lafayette.)

As it happened, the Comte de Ségur **did get to go to America**, like his two friends Noailles and Lafayette, but after the battle of Yorktown. He left Rochefort, France on July 15, 1782 aboard the frigate *la Gloire*, accompanied by the frigate *l'Aigle*. In America, Ségur was to take over Noailles' former spot as second in command of one of the two Battalions of the Régiment de Soissonnais.

The Provisional Treaty of Paris which would be the first step in formally ending the American Revolution would not be signed until January 20, 1783. As such, naval engagements between British and French ships were still taking place on the high seas.

The *l'Aigle* was carrying 2,500,000 livres in gold for the French troops in America, along with dispatches for Rochambeau containing a plan of operations for a new campaign. Frequent calm winds delayed the French voyage for 15 extra days. Nearing Bermuda, *la Gloire* found itself being attacked by the British frigate *Hector*. *L'Aigle* soon joined the fray, and after a heated set of exchanges, the battle finally ended with the *Hector* unable to maneuver due to a broken rudder. Seeing other unknown ships approaching, the French vessels quickly sailed away. They had suffered 30-40 casualties, 100 wounded, and *la Gloire* was leaking.

On September 11, 1782, both French frigates finally reached the mouth of Delaware Bay, only to be attacked by a British corvette which the French ships soon overpowered. They then dropped anchor for the night. At daybreak the French found a British squadron of seven or eight ships bearing down on them, and throwing caution to the wind, they entered Delaware Bay

without a pilot. In hot pursuit, the British ships got closer and closer, but encountering navigation problems in the channel themselves, pulled back. Once American pilots had boarded the French ships, the French were informed that the channel they had chosen would end in a sand bank ahead. The land officers of both ships, including Ségur, then decided to abandon the frigates in small boats with the dispatches they had brought for Rochambeau and others. The Frenchmen arrived on Maryland soil with literally nothing but the shirts on their backs.

The chests of gold were also removed from the frigates by small boats. Two chests were saved, and the remainder later recovered after they had been thrown in shallow water to avoid capture by the British.

Ségur was then charged with conveying their situation to the Chevalier de la Luzerne, the French Minister to the United States, who was residing in Philadelphia. Ségur was in possession of dispatches addressed by the French court to Luzerne, as well as his father's Minister of War dispatches for Rochambeau. Passing through Dover, Wilmington, and Chester, he made his way to Philadelphia. He would have liked to have visited the Brandywine battlefield, but duty called. At the George Washington Inn in Chester, Ségur states "Our hostess being well disposed towards the French, redoubled her attention and regard for me, when she learned that I was the friend and uncle of M. de La Fayette."

Having scarcely 24 hours to rest at Luzerne's home, Ségur was ordered to proceed north with the dispatches for Rochambeau and George Washington. Traveling through Trenton and Princeton, he finally arrived at Pompton, New Jersey where he had to pull rank to receive decent accommodations from the French unit staying there. Continuing on, he reached Stony Point, and on September 26, 1782, delivered his dispatches to Rochambeau at Peekskill, New York.

Ségur then states:

After discharging this my first duty, I hastened to the quarters of the regiment of Soissonnais . . . The regiment being under arms, I was received, according to military custom, as its Lieutenant-Colonel, and I experienced a warmer greeting on account of my name which inspired the soldiers with glorious recollections; for by a singular chance the regiment of Soissonnais, formerly called the regiment of Ségur, had essentially contributed to the victories of Lawfeld and of Rocoux [during the War of Austrian Succession]. My father, at that time, commanded them, and it was, while marching at their head, that he received a ball through the breast, in one of those brilliant actions, and another a musket shot that shattered his arm.

Having reached the shore in the condition of a shipwrecked man, bringing with me only my uniform and my sword, the Count de Saint Maime, like a true fellow soldier, frankly divided with me everything that he possessed. To him I was indebted for my equipage and tent.

Ségur later visited West Point, and was introduced to George Washington by Rochambeau. On October 22, Ségur and his troops were ordered to march to Hartford,

Connecticut in preparation for a return to France. Later, on November 4, the French army headed toward Providence, Rhode Island.

Ségur and some other officers prevailed upon Rochambeau to take a side trip, visiting New London, Connecticut and Newport, Rhode Island. While at Newport, Ségur and his companions arranged a special dinner and ball for the ladies of the town.

Arriving at their troop encampment outside of Providence on the road to Boston, Ségur reports: "The autumn was like the winter, the cold was sharp, and the snow fell in abundance. As we were not yet certain as to the time of our departure which might still be very much protracted, M. de Rochambeau caused barracks to be built for the soldiers, and allowed colonels to lodge in private houses where everyone eagerly offered us an asylum."

While at Providence, Rochambeau hosted several balls and assemblies for the residents. "The intelligence he [Rochambeau] received on all sides, concurred to prove, that the English, abandoning all hopes of being able to subdue the United States, intended to evacuate Charlestown, to leave a corps of Hessians in New York, and to transport all their forces to the Antilles, in order to defend their own islands and attack ours," wrote Ségur.

On December 1, 1782, the soldiers broke camp at Providence and headed for Boston in severely cold weather. At Boston, Ségur made the acquaintance of Samuel Adams and John Hancock, before embarking on *le Souverain*, one of an armada of 12 French ships, on December 24, 1782. Traveling south along the American coast, the ships survived a hurricane, and a brief fire aboard *le Souverain*. The fleet then arrived at Puerto Rico, and learned of an abundance of British ships in the area. Continuing on, they stopped at the island of Curaçao where three of the ships were left for needed repairs after the storm.

Eventually, *le Souverain* and another ship became separated from the fleet. Their captains then opened instructions which they were only to unseal in the event of such a separation. They now knew that their destination was Porto-Cabello on the northern coast of South America west of Caracas, Venezuela. They were to wait there for d'Estaing, who was to sail from Cadiz with a French naval army, and the Spanish Admiral don Solano, who would leave the port of Havana, and meet up with them. The combined armies were then to set sail together, and attack the island of Jamaica. It was now 56 days since Ségur had left Boston.

Upon landing at Porto-Cabello to wait for the fleets of d'Estaing and don Solano to arrive, Ségur states: "We all felt much regret at being detained upon these semi-barbarous shores. The intolerable heat of the climate, the infectious air we were breathing [from nearby salt marshes], the filth of the houses, or rather of the huts, wherein we lodged; and lastly, the repulsive manner, the inhospitable and silent gravity of the inhabitants, would have made us consider this abode as a perfect prison."

Disease among the soldiers became rampant. Ségur came down with a fever and cured himself with immersion up to his neck in a tub of cold water for 24 hours. Advised to travel to the mountains for a better climate, he and others left by mule train for Caracas, stopping for a short time at Valencia and Victoria.

Arriving at Caracas, Ségur continued his narrative: “The governor-general of the province, Don Fernand Gonsalez having heard that I was the son of the minister of war of the King of France, had the kindness to offer me an apartment in his palace, and during our residence he received, morning and night, all our companions in arms with the greatest urbanity, and a degree of magnificence quite Castillian. . . . We had arrived at Caracas towards the end of the carnival; so that the week we spent there was a continued series of fetes, balls and concerts.”

At the conclusion of the week, Ségur proceeded to the port of la Guaira, where he found a canoe from *le Souverain*, waiting to conduct him west along the coast back to Porto-Cabello. A few days after his return to Porto-Cabello, the frigate *Andromaque* brought the news that the Spanish, French, British, and Americans had signed a provisional peace treaty on January 20, 1783. Thus ended the planned assault on the British at Jamaica.

On April 3, 1783, Ségur was to be transported with the fleet, but seizing on an opportunity, he and some friends were given the use of a vessel, *Amazon* to make a visit to his plantation, situated on the western part of the island of Saint-Domingue near Port-au-Prince in today’s Haiti. Eleven days later they landed at the port of Jacmel, purchased horses, and proceeded to Port-au-Prince where they stayed for a day.

Ségur soon met the surprised superintendent of his plantation at a breakfast. He continues his story: “His carriage and horses, or rather mine, conveyed me, in less than two hours, to my own habitation, situated in the middle of the plain du cul-de-sac, at a place called la Croix des bouquets. . . . A servant had proceeded in all haste to announce my arrival; so that, as soon as I entered my plantation, I found myself surrounded by a population of slaves of both sexes, of all ages, and of every possible diversity of cast and color. . . . These poor people threw themselves on their knees before me, and vociferously proclaimed their surprise and satisfaction on beholding their master.”

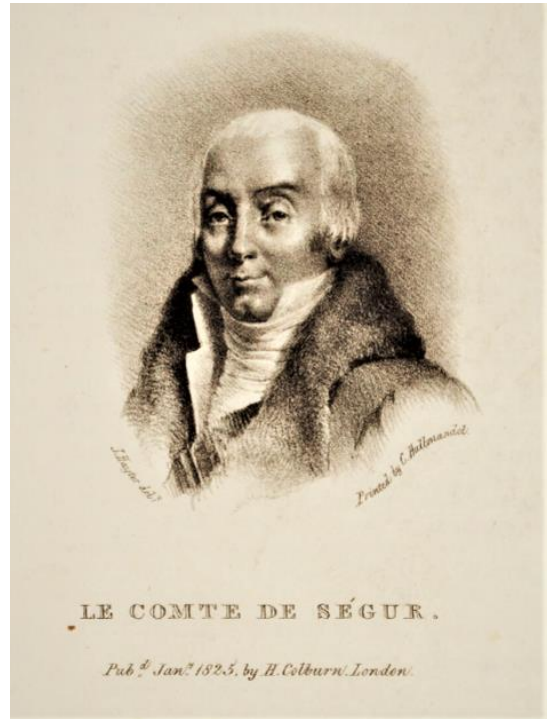
Ségur was clearly shocked and upset at seeing slavery in action on his own plantation: “I still shudder when I recollect, that two days before my arrival, an old negress had been confined in an oven, and committed to the flames. It is true, she had had the atrocity to poison several children; but still, she perished without a trial. Yet it is true that laws existed; but where slavery prevails, complaint is unheard, and the law powerless.”

He continues: “After having made myself completely acquainted with the state of my plantation and the nature of the labor performed upon it, I made some regulations with the view of ameliorating the condition of my slaves. I extended their hours of rest, augmented the portion of ground they were permitted to cultivate for their own account, and enjoined moderation on the part of the superintendents in their chastisements. In return, I received the blessings of all; and this recollection is still a source of satisfaction and pleasure.”

Returning to the fleet, Ségur sailed for France on April 30, 1783.

He summed up his visit to the Americas as follows: “For fortune had apparently decided that, as a soldier, I was to serve a long campaign without battles; that, being a land officer, I should be present only in a naval engagement; that, in going to meet the enemy, I should find him retreating, and shut up in the most inaccessible fortresses; and that, as a traveler, I should be compelled to be always running from one place to another, from north to south, and from the frozen to the torrid zone, without ever having it in my power to stay at any of the places most calculated to excite my curiosity.”

After a short period working for his father at the French Ministry of War, Ségur was appointed French Ambassador to Russia in 1784, and remained in that post dealing with Catherine the Great until 1789.



Today, Louis Philippe, Comte de Ségur is best remembered for the next 46 years of his life during which he served as a French diplomat, historian, and writer of tales, fables, and songs. He was also a playwright and poet.

Ségur’s wife Antoinette passed away in 1828 at age 71. Ségur himself also lived a relatively long life, dying two years later in August of 1830 at age 76.

Lafayette now had lost both his long-time friends: Noailles who became a brother-in-law, and Ségur an uncle. The last member of the “Three Musketeers” had outlived them both, and would meet his own reward four years later in 1834.

About the Author

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The Lafayette Alliance in LaGrange, Georgia recently published his 488-page book *Trail Tales, Chronicling Lafayette’s Adventures During His 1824-1825 Triumphal Tour of America*, a fundraiser for the Alliance. It is available at www.lafayettelagrangearg.org

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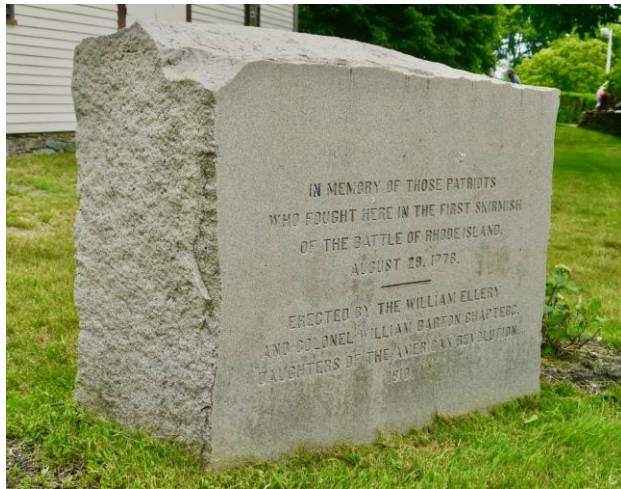
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Hopes and Disappointments: Lafayette Recalls the Rhode Island Campaign

by Gloria H. Schmidt

“Lafayette, on his visit to Rhode Island in 1824 told the late Mr. Zachariah Allen as he rode with him in a carriage across the border from Connecticut – ‘In this state I have experienced more sudden and extreme alternations of hopes and disappointments than during all the vicissitudes of the American war.’”¹

I came across this Lafayette quotation about his experience in Rhode Island while I was researching the memorial stone in front of the Portsmouth Historical Society. This quotation was included in a speech by Congressman Sheffield at the 1910 dedication of a Daughters of the American Revolution Memorial marking the site of an early skirmish during the Battle of Rhode Island. The story of the Rhode Island Campaign of August 1778 is filled with hopes and disappointments so we can imagine what those “extreme alternations of hopes and disappointments” might be.



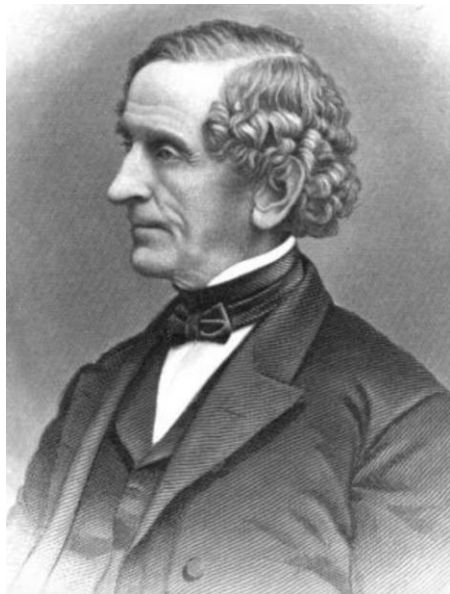
DAR Memorial in honor of those who fought in the Battle of Rhode Island - Image by R. Schmidt

The quotation intrigued me. Who was Zachariah Allen and how did he come to record that quote? Did Lafayette share more of his experiences in the Rhode Island Campaign or Sullivan’s Expedition as Allen called it? I found two articles by Allen that set the context for Lafayette’s comments on his experience in Rhode Island. One was a speech Allen gave at the Centennial celebration of the Battle of Rhode Island held in Portsmouth, Rhode Island in 1878. The other was a more comprehensive piece given as a paper to the Rhode Island Historical Society in Providence in 1861. This longer article, “Memorial of Lafayette,” details comments given about the Rhode Island Campaign, but it also records Lafayette’s views on such topics as American women, Benjamin Franklin, Napoleon Bonaparte, and universal suffrage. In this article I will focus on his comments on the Rhode Island Campaign.

On August 23, 1824, Zachariah Allen had the rare opportunity of spending “many hours” in conversation with Lafayette when he escorted him during a carriage ride from Plainfield, Connecticut to Providence, Rhode Island. Lafayette was near the beginning of his Grand Tour of the twenty-four states – from August 1824 to September 1825. The 1824-25 triumphant tour as “Guest of the Nation” was Lafayette’s fourth visit to Rhode Island. He came in 1778 as a commander of troops during the Rhode Island Campaign which aimed at capturing Aquidneck Island from the British. In July 1780, Lafayette traveled to Newport to meet with French General

Rochambeau, who had arrived in Newport on July 11 with a French expeditionary force. A third visit was after the Revolutionary War in October of 1784 when he was greeted in Providence and Newport with pomp and ceremony. On this fourth visit to Rhode Island in 1824, Allen (the representative of the Providence Town Council) and Colonel Ephraim Bowen (the representative of the Society of the Cincinnati) were charged with escorting Lafayette from the Connecticut border to Providence.

In 1824 Allen was 29 years old. He was a textile manufacturer and inventor of a heating system for homes. Later he would become the leading founder of an insurance company, and he contributed to the founding of The Providence Athenaeum and Roger Williams Park. From the early 1820s Allen was on the Providence Town Council. Colonel Bowen was a Revolutionary War veteran who participated in the raid on the Gaspee in 1772, and he was an officer in the 2nd Rhode Island Regiment. Bowen had known Lafayette from the days when he served as Deputy Quartermaster of the Continental Army for Rhode Island. Bowen worked on provisions during the Rhode Island Campaign.



Zachariah Allen
The Biographical Cyclopedia of
Representative Men of Rhode Island
(1881)

Allen came to the carriage ride with historical questions in mind. He had been in discussions with Judge Benjamin Cowell who in retirement was dedicated to helping Revolutionary War veterans secure their pensions. He recorded the testimony of the soldiers that was required for pension approval. Cowell had become a leading expert on Rhode Island in the War for Independence. Among the testimonies he heard there were various causes described for the “sudden desertion” of the French fleet under Admiral Comte d’Estaing. Allen knew that Lafayette had met with the French Admiral and his officers onboard his ship and that he (in Allen’s words) “was probably the only person in the American service who knew the true reasons for the procedure” which led to the departure of the French fleet and the collapse of the Rhode Island Campaign. Allen wrote: “I availed myself of the opportunity thus afforded me for ascertaining from the lips of Lafayette himself the reasons that actually influenced the French admiral to abandon so abruptly the preconceived plan of co-operating with General Sullivan, in the capture of the British army of 7000 men in Newport.”²

The Rhode Island Campaign that had brought Lafayette to Rhode Island was the first joint American and French campaign of the American Revolutionary War. The plan unfolded as the French fleet sailed into Narragansett Bay on July 29, 1778. The hope was to wedge the British garrison in Newport between the French fleet coming from the west and the American soldiers coming from Tiverton in the east. The French fleet began to disembark troops on Conanicut Island (Jamestown) on August 9. The Americans crossed over to Aquidneck Island on the same day. The American forces were divided between Lafayette and General Nathanael Greene and all under the command of General John Sullivan. On August 10, the French fleet

moved out to sea to engage the British fleet that had just arrived in the area. A powerful storm damaged both fleets and the French made the decision to go to Boston for repairs. Without French support, the Americans were in an untenable position, and Sullivan and his staff made the decision to retreat to fight again another day. The skirmishes that were fought to enable this successful planned retreat on August 29, 1778 are referred to as the “Battle of Rhode Island.”

Allen took contemporaneous notes on his conversations with Lafayette. He was active in the Rhode Island Historical Society, and he believed that the original design of the society was “for cooperating in gathering in every record and relic of the past, that nothing may be lost.”³ The notes were forgotten over time, but Allen located them when his interest in the Rhode Island Campaign was sparked by a lecture. His purpose in writing “Memorial of Lafayette” in 1861 was to “read some of the historical statements made by Lafayette in relation to Sullivan’s Expedition.”⁴ Allen was anxious to hear from Lafayette who would have first-hand knowledge of the decision-making of the French. The following is Allen’s recording of the conversation between them. Passages are taken from Allen’s 1878 “Conversations with Lafayette” paper.

Allen: “It is my purpose, in this address, to read some of the historical statements made by Lafayette in relation to Sullivan’s expedition, wherein he commanded the left wing of the American army, and General Greene the right wing. The true reasons which led to the unfortunate course pursued by the French Admiral, were known personally to Lafayette, who attended the council of French officers to which the Admiral referred the question for decision, whether to go out to attack the enemy’s feet, or to remain to complete the capture of the enemy’s army. The reasons that influenced their decision, will now be detailed in the form they were stated to me by General Lafayette. Soon after breakfast the General took his seat in the carriage with Colonel Bowen and myself, and left Plainfield (Connecticut), followed by several carriages, in which were the aides of the Governor of Rhode Island, and some Aldermen from New York, who had followed the General from that city.”

After being informed that he had passed the boundary line of Rhode Island, the General exclaimed:

Lafayette: “In this State I have experienced more sudden and extreme alternations of hopes and disappointments than during all the vicissitudes of the American war. When the French fleet arrived in Rhode Island, in the year 1778, I was assured of the certain capture of the British army in Newport, from an arranged plan for a combined attack of the American and French forces. Just at the moment of preparation, it was suddenly announced that an English fleet had appeared off the entrance to the port. I then went on board of the Admiral’s ship, and heard the question discussed, whether the fleet should remain to co-operate with the American army, in the proposed attack on the British army in Newport, or go out to sea to attack and drive away the British fleet from the coast. The council decided in favor of the latter plan.”

Allen: “In answer to my inquiry, what were the reasons that led to this decision, the General replied:”

Lafayette: “It was urged that by adopting the plan of attacking the enemy’s fleet, a double victory might be obtained by the French arms, on the sea as well as on the land. Our superior

fleet, in driving away the British fleet, would have a chance of cutting off two or three of their ships of the line; and on their return to Newport, the British army, besieged by land, would soon yield a bloodless victory to the overpowering combined French and American forces.”

Lafayette continued: “When I saw the French fleet sail out of the harbor, I felt the first great disappointment of my sanguine hopes; but then I immediately began to have them revived in the expectation of seeing the fleet speedily return, with some of the British ships as prizes. But a great tempest arose soon after the fleet went out upon the open sea, which dismasted several of the ships, and they all came back in a disabled condition.”

Lafayette related an anecdote about a ship’s commander who said that he would shoot himself in the heart rather than face dishonor if a frigate captured his ship. Lafayette went on to say: “The British fleet was actually driven away from the coast by the French fleet, as had been calculated, and two or three vessels were cut off and taken.”

On the return of the French fleet, Lafayette said his hopes were revived more strongly than before to the certain capture of the British army. But these fresh hopes were excited only to be more greatly disappointed than before; for D’Estaing again held a council of his officers, who decided to depart immediately with the whole fleet for Boston for repairs. He continued:

Lafayette: “My most earnest entreaties for him to stay only a short time to finish the conquest of the British army were all in vain. In answer to my inquiry for the reason of this second obstinate refusal to co-operate with their allies, the General replied that it was said in the council of officers, they held it to be their first duty as naval commanders, to sustain the superiority of the French fleet on the ocean, to escape being shut up in port, and subjected to destruction by fire ships whilst at anchor in their disabled condition. This all important object could only be accomplished by losing no time in sailing for Boston, before the re-turn of the British fleet, to which port they had been ordered to go for repairs in case of necessity. When I again saw the French fleet sail out of the port for the last time, and abandon the capture of the British army, I felt this to be the most bitter disappointment of all, for I believe that this capture would have produced the same decisive result of speedily terminating the American war, as was subsequently accomplished by the capture of nearly the same army at Yorktown, by the successful co-operation of the French fleet under Count DeGrasse under similar circumstances.”

Allen: “Lafayette finished his narrative of the exciting events of his campaign in Rhode Island by saying that one hope still remained to him, that of inducing the French Admiral to return to Newport with his fleet. To accomplish this he said that he made the journey from Rhode Island to Boston, by relays of horses, in the shortest time that it had ever been performed. After this effort he despaired. To add to his chagrin, during his absence the battle of Rhode Island was fought, and he lost the chance of taking part in it. But to console him for this disappointment, he said, Congress, in the vote of thanks which they decreed, noticed him with the most refined delicacy, not for having fought the battle, but for his sacrifice of the opportunity of gaining personal glory, to aid the cause of the country more effectually by his services elsewhere.”

Allen’s conclusions: “The preceding explanations of the reasons for the apparently obstinate refusal of D’Estaing to co-operate with the American army in Rhode Island, there by

causing the failure of Sullivan's Expedition, and the keenest disappointment of the sanguine hopes of Lafayette, as well as of all the American people, lead us to the belief that the French Admiral acted under the influence of a council of his officers, and not from any discordant feelings towards General Sullivan. The practical results of the execution of the plan of the council of officers almost exactly verified their calculations, so far as related to the chasing away the English fleet, and the capture of two of their vessels which were cut off; and there is now every reason to believe that the remainder of their plan of winning also a victory on the land, might have been successful, had not several of the large ships of their fleet been providentially dismasted by a tempest unprecedented for violence in the annals of the country."

Allen's 1861 article was written 37 years after the carriage ride with Lafayette. Lafayette's comments were referring to events which took place in 1778, 46 years before his tour of America. Allen's memories of the conversation may have changed over the years. Lafayette's perspective of the Rhode Island Campaign certainly could have changed. We can compare the comments Allen attributes to Lafayette with Lafayette's own words in his letters at the time of the action. I will arrange the comments and quotations under categories of "hopes" or "disappointments." Sometimes I could find confirmations in the letters, but not every comment had a comparable passage in a contemporaneous letter.

Hope: Lafayette was sure that the joint French-American effort would be victorious.

Lafayette to John Sullivan, Saybrook, 28 July, 1778: "I hope a pretty decent set of laurels may be collected upon that island, and we will terminate the whole by joining English country dances to French cotillions in company with the fine and reputed ladies of the charming place." (Idzerda)

Letter to General Washington, from Lafayette. Providence, 6 August, 1778: "The admiral wants me to join the French troops to these I command, as soon as possible. I confess I feel very happy to think of my co-operating with them, and, had I contrived in my mind an agreeable dream, I could not have wished a more pleasing event than my joining my countrymen with my brothers of America, under my command, and the same standards. When I left Europe, I was very far from hoping such an agreeable turn of our business in the American glorious revolution." (Idzerda)

Disappointment: The French decided on a sea battle with the British rather than the original plan of cooperating with the American army.

Letter to General Washington from Lafayette, Providence, 6 August, 1778: "I saw among the fleet an ardour and a desire of doing something, which would soon turn into impatience, if we don't give them a speedy occasion of fighting. The officers cannot contain their soldiers and sailors, who are complaining that they have been these four months running after the British, without getting at them; but I hope they will be soon satisfied." (Idzerda)

Lafayette assures Henry Laurens that d'Estaing did not go out to sea to fight the British fleet because of General Sullivan's unilateral advance of American troops ahead of schedule.

Letter to Henry Laurens from Lafayette, Rhode Island, 25 August 1778: I will not go back to give the account of what has been done on our part before the admiral went after the British fleet —but I may assure you that he was not at all influenced by any behavior of any body, tho' some try to insinuate it, and that he did consider the whole as you and me would have done.” (South Carolina Historical Society)

Hope: Lafayette saw some possible benefits of a naval battle.

Letter to Henry Laurens from Lafayette, Rhode Island 25 August, 1778: “...it is useless to Repass upon the advantages the fleet has already afforded to these coasts upon a military as well as a civil point of view —six frigates one of them was a check for a whole state have been burnt and destroy'd — the coasts cleared — harbors opened — the British army and navy kept together Philadelphia evacuated upon the intelligence of that fleet &c [etc.]” (South Carolina Historical Society)

Disappointment: Lafayette “felt the first great disappointment of my sanguine hopes” as he watched the French fleet sail out of harbor.

Hope: Lafayette was optimistic that the fleet would return in victory.



ON BOARD "Languedoc", 9 A. M., AUGUST 21, 1778. de La FAYETTE INTERPRETS

Aboard the Languedoc, Woodcut by Norman Benson for The Rhode Island Campaign by Erich O'D. Taylor (circa 1970). Used with permission of Benson's family.

Disappointment: A storm damaged the French fleet and deprived d'Estaing of strategic options.

Letter to Henry Laurens from Lafayette, Rhode Island 25 August, 1778: “When after the storm which took away from his hands all the advantages of a gain'd victory, which put him in the worst shattered condition, when he came back to Rhode Island (because he had promis'd to

come back), I was sent on board by general Sullivan - I found him more distress'd than any man I ever saw, by the idea that he would be some weeks out of the possibility of serving america.” (South Carolina Historical Society)

Hope: Lafayette was certain that the British army would be captured.

Disappointment: The French decision to leave for Boston was a bitter disappointment.

Letters from Lafayette to Henry Laurens, Rhode Island 25 August 1778: "My most earnest entreaties for him to stay only a short time to finish the conquest of the British army were all in vain. ...I am a witness that he did every thing to convince himself and convince others that they could stay--but the orders of the king, the Representations of all his captains, the opinion of all the fleet even of some american pilots made it necessary for him to go to boston. indeed, my dear sir, in such circumstances as he was, which are too long to be explain'd how could he help it?" (South Carolina Historical Society)

Letter to George Washington from Lafayette Camp before Newport (During Siege of Newport) 25 August, 1778: "When the storm was over, they met again in a shattered condition, and the Caesar was not to be found. All the captains represented to their general that, after a so long navigation, in such a want of victuals, water, &c., which they had not been yet supplied with, after the intelligence given by General Sullivan that there was a British fleet coming, they should go to Boston; but the Count d'Estaing had promised to come here again, and so he did at all events. The news of his arrival and situation came by the Senegal, a frigate taken from the enemy. General Greene and myself went on board. The count expressed to me not so much as to the envoy from General Sullivan, than as to his friend, the unhappy circumstances he was in. Bound by express orders from the King to go to Boston in case of an accident or a superior fleet, engaged by the common sentiment of all the officers, even of some American pilots, that he would ruin all his squadron in deferring his going to Boston, he called a new council of war, and finding every body of the same opinion, he did not think himself justifiable in staying here any longer, and took leave of me with true affliction not being able to assist America for some days, which has been rewarded with the most horrid ungratefulness; but no matter." (Idzerda)

Hope: The one hope remaining was that Lafayette could persuade the French Fleet to return to Rhode Island.

Letter to George Washington from Lafayette, Camp before Newport 25 August, 1778: "I am only speaking of facts. The count said to me these last words: after many months of sufferings, my men will rest some days; I will man my ships, and, if I am assisted in getting masts, &c., three weeks after my arrival I shall go out again, and then we shall fight for the glory of the French name, and the interests of America." (Idzerda)

Disappointment: Lafayette lost the chance to participate in battle.

To George Washington from Lafayette, Tiverton, 1st September, 1778: "—That there has been an action fought where I could have been, and where I was not, is a thing which will seem as extraordinary to you as it seems so to myself. After a long journey and a longer stay from

home, (I mean from head-quarters,) the only satisfactory day I have, finds me in the middle of a town. There I had been sent, pushed, hurried, by the board of general officers, and principally by Generals Sullivan and Greene, who thought I should be of great use to the common cause, and to whom I foretold the disagreeable event which would happen to me; I felt, on that occasion, the impression of that bad star which, some days ago, has influenced the French undertakings, and which, I hope, will soon be removed. People say that I don't want an action; but if it is not necessary to my reputation as a tolerable private soldier, it would at least add to my satisfaction and pleasure. However, I was happy enough to arrive before the second retreat: it was not attended with such trouble and danger as it would have been had not the enemy been so sleepy, I was thus once more deprived of my fighting expectations." (Idzerda)

On the whole, the letters Lafayette wrote before, during, and after the Rhode Island Campaign are reflected in the conversations recorded by Zachariah Allen in 1824. Allen's record of his conversation lists the alternating hopes and disappointments that Lafayette felt at the time of the Rhode Island Campaign. They are the hopes and disappointments expressed by the American troops that engaged with British and German forces during that Campaign, but Lafayette had the benefit of being "in the room" when the decisions were made by the French. Many of the Americans (like the soldiers applying for pensions with Judge Covell) were left with the keen disappointment of d'Estaing's "sudden desertion." Some Americans speculated that the moves to engage the British in a naval battle and later to depart for Boston were in retaliation for the American General Sullivan's invasion of Aquidneck Island a day ahead of schedule. Allen's conversations with Lafayette would convince him that retaliation was not the motive.

Allen concludes his paper "Conversations with Lafayette" with the following: "The preceding explanations of the reasons for the apparently obstinate refusal of DeEstaing to cooperate with the American army in Rhode Island, thereby causing the failure of Sullivan's Expedition, and the keenest disappointment of the sanguine hopes of Lafayette, as well as of all the American people, lead us to the belief that the French Admiral acted under the influence of a council of his officers, and not from any discordant feelings towards General Sullivan."⁵

Conversations

For Lafayette and those engaged in Sullivan's Expedition, Rhode Island was a state in which many experienced the alternations of hope and discouragement. The high hopes of the plan were dashed by a tempest that crippled the French fleet. Lafayette's private secretary on the tour of America, Auguste Levasseur, recorded that "In entering the State of Rhode Island, Lafayette experienced a sharp tinge of regret that he was unable to suspend his triumphal trip for a time. It would have pleased him to visit some places which reminded him of so many memories of his youth."⁶ Despite the dashed hopes, Rhode Island still held special meaning for Lafayette. Zachariah Allen's recording of their conversations provides valuable insights into Lafayette's experiences during the Rhode Island Campaign.

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About the Author



Gloria Schmidt has been researching and writing about the history of Portsmouth, Rhode Island for over thirty years. For the last three years Gloria has researched for the Battle of Rhode Island Association and is their Historical Research Advisor. In this role she has been responsible for the historical content of the Association's website: battleofrhodeisland.org. Gloria's training and experience as a librarian have contributed to her research skills, and her interest in Lafayette has developed from studying his important role in the Rhode Island Campaign. Gloria is a member of the American Friends of Lafayette and a member of the Farewell Tour Bicentennial Education Committee.

¹ "Boulder Marks Place of Fight." *Newport Herald*, 30 Aug. 1910. Digitized on the Portsmouth Historical Society website.

² Allen, Zachariah. "Memorial of Lafayette," Paper read before the Rhode Island Historical Society, Feb. 4, 1861. p. 2.

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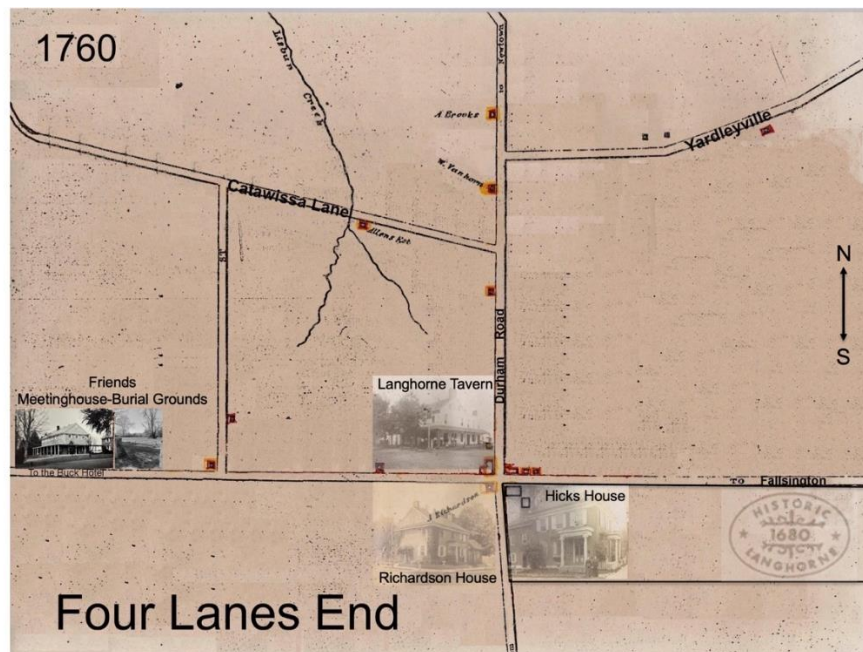
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Crossing through Four Lanes End (Attleborough-Langhorne): Early Days of the Revolution, the Arrival of Washington's Troops, and Lafayette's Visit

by Carol Ann Aicher

At the crossroads of Maple and Bellevue Avenues in Langhorne, Pennsylvania, three buildings anchor the town's connection to the Revolutionary War. This intersection was originally known as the town of Four Lanes End, the crossing of two Native American paths. Later, the first path became the great road leading from Philadelphia to New York, and the second path became Durham Road, from Bristol to Durham, Pennsylvania. The original settlers in the area were the Lenni-Lenape, a part of the Algonquin Nation, followed in the 1650s by settlers arriving from Holland and England. Upon the arrival of William Penn, the first group of English Quakers settled in the area and established the Neshamina Monthly Meeting in 1683, which later became the Middletown Monthly Meeting of Friends. On many early maps you will see "Middletown," a name that remains today as the area's township. Four Lanes End had two name changes over time, first Attleborough (1805) and finally Langhorne (1876), more about these changes later.



Originally built by William Huddleston as a log and stone house in 1704, the Langhorne Hotel-Tavern stands on the northwest corner. It has been a "house of entertainment" licensed since 1724, making it the second oldest tavern in Bucks County. It served as a stop on the stage coach route from Philadelphia to Trenton and New York. In the hotel yard, there was a large livery stable with stalls for 20 horses, as well as a two-story carriage house that was used to store wagons, carriages, and sleighs. By 1760, regularly scheduled stagecoaches began running between Philadelphia and Trenton with stops in Four Lanes End, and by the early 19th century, daily stagecoaches carried passengers from Bristol through to Easton. As a transfer point, Attleborough played a key role in stagecoach travel in southern Bucks County. Passengers could stay overnight at the inn, or transfer from stages traveling north and south to coaches traveling east and west.

Attleborough did not relinquish its leading role in regional overland transportation until the 1870s, when railroads superseded stage coaches as the principal mode of transportation through southern Bucks County. The Bound Brook Railroad Company located its tracks one mile south of town in 1876. The President of the railroad chose Langhorne for the station's name because the station was to be located on Thomas Langhorne's 800-acre land grant of 1684. "Langhorne" was honoring Thomas's son Jeremiah Langhorne, who was the first Chief Justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court. The Attleborough Council decided to change the town's name to Langhorne in 1876.



*Langhorne Hotel-Tavern Maple and Bellevue Avenues
Earliest photo - before the 2nd floor was added (date unknown), 1910, and 2023*

In the 1900s, the Langhorne Hotel-Tavern became a typical country inn, a favorite place for many wealthy Philadelphia families. During World War II, when there was a housing shortage in the area, a federal government agency leased the building and converted it into five apartments for workers in local war plants. Five families occupied the building from August 1943 to July 1950. After the war, the building resumed being a restaurant. Today the restaurant remains a popular meeting place.

In the 1730s, Joseph Richardson (1695-1772) opened a general store next to the tavern. It was the earliest store in southern Bucks County. It remained the only store in the area until the 1770's. In 1738, Richardson built a limestone house on the southwest corner. He relocated the general store in the southeast corner of his new residence. His stock included wool blankets, fabric, needles, rope, salt, sugar, rum, deerskins, and nails. Old store ledgers revealed signatures of Indigenous people, Benjamin Franklin, John Hancock, and many local settlers. During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Richardson's store, the tavern and travel along the two roads drew more settlers and small businesses to Four Lanes End. Four Lanes End became the center of trade. Businesses in the area included apothecaries, physicians, confectioners, coach makers, wheelwrights or wagon makers, smiths, carpenters, joiners, turners, weavers, coopers, painters, and the brickyard.



Richardson House, engraving of 1879, door to the store on the left side and to the house door under the portico

Four Lanes End had become Attleborough when, about 1750, a man named Attlee kept the store for the Richardson family and people talked of “going to Attlee’s,” so that gradually, Four Lanes End was referred to as Attleborough. The establishment of the first Post Office in 1805 officially confirmed the name of Attleborough for the next 70 years. Richardson’s house remained in the family until 1919, when a group of citizens from Langhorne, Hulmeville, South Langhorne (Pennel), Langhorne Manor, and Middletown Township formed the Langhorne Community Memorial Association, dedicated to honoring all those who served in World War I, and purchased the house. A plaque on the side of the house lists the names of those residents who served their country in the military, three of whom were killed, and others who served as doctors, nurses and pastors. Today the Joseph Richardson House serves as home for the Peace Center and the Four Lanes End Garden Club and a meeting place for local community organizations.



Richardson House (2022), Bellevue Avenue side. The door of the store was replaced with a solid wall.

Opposite the Richardson House, on the southeast corner is the house of Gilbert Hicks (1728-1787), Chief Justice of the County Court, Loyalist and grandfather to the noted artist Edward Hicks (1780-1849). Gilbert Hicks built his house in 1763, and would commute 5 miles north to Newtown, the county seat, for his work as Chief Justice and leading official of the British Crown. When the war of independence became inevitable, Bucks was one of the first counties to act. The majority of Bucks County embraced the cause of independence, but a considerable minority of the population remained loyal to the crown. Isaac Hicks (1748-1836), Gilbert's son, who was a land surveyor, justice of the peace, Prothonotary of Bucks County, and the father of Edward Hicks, sided with the Non-Associators of Newtown in 1775, and avoided any activities that had to do with the move toward Revolution. Non-Associators were colonists who refused to support or join a military organization; instead they could pay a fine and suffer possible retaliation. They were not disloyal, but disinterested spectators of the struggle. Many were from the Mennonite, Moravian, and Quaker communities.



Gilbert Hicks House - earliest picture, 1905

Deeply impressed with the power of England, Gilbert honestly believed, as it was alleged, that the colonies would be crushed and ruined in a war with England. His family heritage rested on the privileges granted to them by England, and he had too much to lose by supporting the revolution. July 4, 1776, brought Gilbert's worst miscalculations. He was opposed to the unjust acts of Great Britain towards the colonies, but thought they had better wait until they grew stronger before they attempted to fight. With this honest conviction, Gilbert as the designated town official was directed by the King's Peace Commissioner, General William Howe, to read a proclamation forbidding the residents' taking up arms against the British, and offering pardons to anyone who would surrender at that time. Gilbert read the proclamation in Newtown on October 3, 1776. The town was soon in a wild state of excitement. Many local citizens were outraged, deeming Gilbert a traitor, and a group started on horseback to Four Lanes End to arrest him; thus, ending the career of a man who had once been one of the county's most respected judges.

Gilbert had sensed the mood of the crowd. Aware of the anger, he withdrew to his coach and hurried to his house at Four Lanes End. There are conflicting reports on how Gilbert managed to escape the angry mob. The most likely was that Gilbert had his enslaved worker, Ishmael, wear a suit of his clothing and ride to the hills to watch for approaching horsemen. When the riders were sighted, Ishmael allowed himself to be seen as a decoy leading them in the opposite direction while Gilbert packed and made for the woods. Ultimately, Gilbert settled in Nova Scotia, which remained under King George III, and he was given land and a pension for his loyalty, never returning to Four Lanes End. There was no evidence of cooperation with the British. His only offence was reading the proclamation at the courthouse in Newtown, as was required by his oath of office as the judge of the court.

Gilbert was automatically convicted of high treason and his forty acres were confiscated as enemy property, which included the house, tannery, and the hotel-tavern. A day or so after his escape, the house was searched, and wagons came and carted off much of the furniture for a future auction. Documents mention that Isaac and his family moved into Gilbert's mansion to escape the tensions in Newtown. They were confined to one room of the house. Isaac was forced to resign his position as court prothonotary, which left him without an income and with nowhere else to live. Isaac did not flee after his father's defiance, but he was distrusted and had to lie low in order to remain neutral in the conflict.



Hicks House, 1938

Later in life, Gilbert wrote to Isaac offering advice. In 1784, he begged Isaac not to meddle in politics, since he had made “himself retched [*sic*] by it.” Earlier in 1783, Gilbert advised, “Never act contrary to your conscientious feelings; never disobey the voice of eternal truth in your own soul....I disobeyed this inward monitor, and now am suffering the due reward of my deeds.” From these letters it appears that Gilbert was in full accord with the public sentiment of Newtown against the oppressive acts of Great Britain toward her colonies. The nature of his advice suggests, there is every reason to believe that if reasoned with calmly, Gilbert would have realized that matters had progressed too far for peaceful measures to prevail, and would have offered the patriot cause the same faithful service that he gave to his county under royal authority.

Gilbert died in Digby, Nova Scotia in 1786. There is no recorded date of death. It was said that he died by the hands of an assassin, who murdered him for the quarterly pension he had just received in cash from the British Government.

When Gilbert’s property came up for auction on August 24, 1779, Isaac won the bid, but did not pay until November 3, 1779. In the meantime, William Goforth had purchased the property. This started a dispute. Isaac asserted that he had the title by right of the deed of gift bestowed on him by his father. This dispute allowed Isaac to live in Gilbert’s house until April 16, 1781, when the court decided in Goforth’s favor. During this time Gilbert’s grandson Edward, a Quaker preacher and folk artist known for his *Peaceable Kingdom* paintings, was born on April 4, 1780, in his grandfather’s house. Over the years, Gilbert’s house was expanded and became commercial stores, with a wing parallel to Bellevue Avenue added in 1912. The corner, the original house, became Webb’s Dry Good Store, later Nangle’s Store, and currently is the Langhorne Coffee House.



Peaceable Kingdom (1834) by Edward Hicks 1780-1849

In July, 1776, Dr. William Shippen, Jr. (1736-1808), was appointed chief physician of the Continental army hospital in New Jersey by George Washington, and in October he became director general of all hospitals west of the Hudson. Dr. Shippen was sent to find a location in the northern part of Philadelphia to set up a hospital for the men who were suffering from starvation and diseases in the harsh cold winter. He chose Four Lanes End, a thriving village of trades and craftsmen, to locate his hospital. When George Washington's troops arrived in Four Lanes End on December 8, 1776, the soldiers' occupied five buildings: the Middletown Monthly Meeting, the Friends School House, the Gilbert Hicks House, and the Tannery as hospitals and the Richardson House for officers' and surgeons' quarters. Because Gilbert's property had been seized, they occupied Gilbert's property, with Isaac and family remaining upstairs, while the field hospital was on the first floor. Isaac even allowed the Legislature of New Jersey to meet at the house on Thursday, December 26 "to take action on the future" and "to consider the state of the country."

Jane Richardson (1766-1861), the 11-year-old daughter of Joshua Richardson (1733-1800), witnessed the arrival of the troops and the burial of soldiers in an unmarked location down the street. She described her experiences vividly years later, and they were subsequently written in the Journal of Joshua Richardson II in 1869. She described a man riding ahead of the army who requested the family to clear the kitchen and south room. The soldiers came before they were ready for them, filling the warm kitchen, with officers in the south room. They brought hay from the barn and placed it on the floor to sleep. From the high window of the house, Jane saw sleds standing outside the Hicks house just across the street. Coffins were drawn down to the burial site and individual soldiers were placed in shallow mass graves, three or four soldiers per grave. This continued until May 15, 1777, when the troops departed.

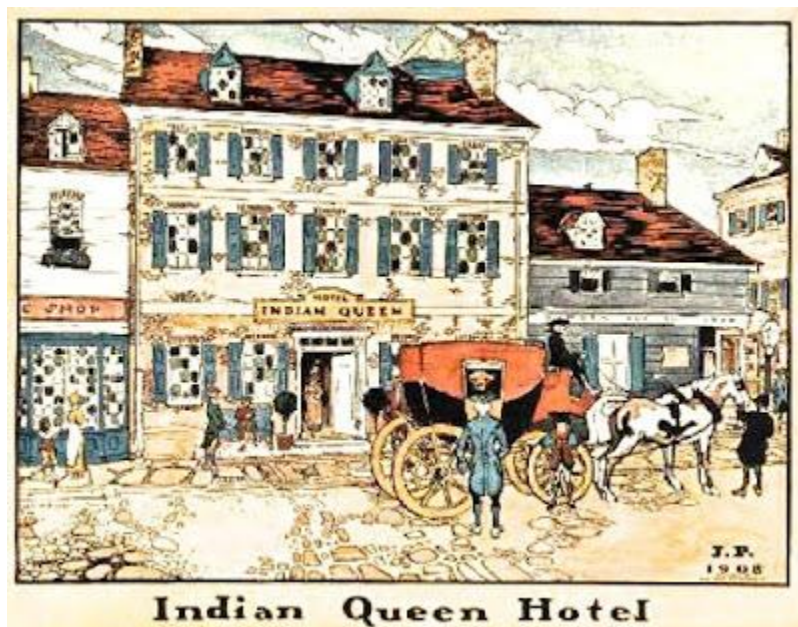
In 1992, an Archaeological Survey was made of the suspected burial site. Up to this time, only local lore and the unpublished journal kept the legend of the Revolutionary War Burial Site alive. When owners of the property applied for subdivision of this tract, a request was made to verify the information in both journals and letters that indicated the burial of Revolutionary War soldiers. The evidence compiled confirmed the 18th-century burial site by the discovery of rose-head coffin nails aligned vertically with wood fragments attached, among other evidence. Only several bone fragments and arcs of teeth were found that revealed the bodies to be young males. Most likely they were buried in shrouds, without uniforms or shoes, since their uniforms would have been needed by others.

According to available records, it appears that these buildings in Four Lanes End were the only military hospitals in the northern Philadelphia area. The soldiers who offered their loyalty and lives to their country represented 7 of the original 13 colonies. This single campaign had profound consequences for the future of our nation. Approximately 166 soldiers from the First Battle of Trenton (December 25, 1776), Second Battle of Trenton (January 2, 1777), and Battle of Princeton (January 3, 1777), were buried here, most of whom died not of wounds in battle but of disease and starvation.



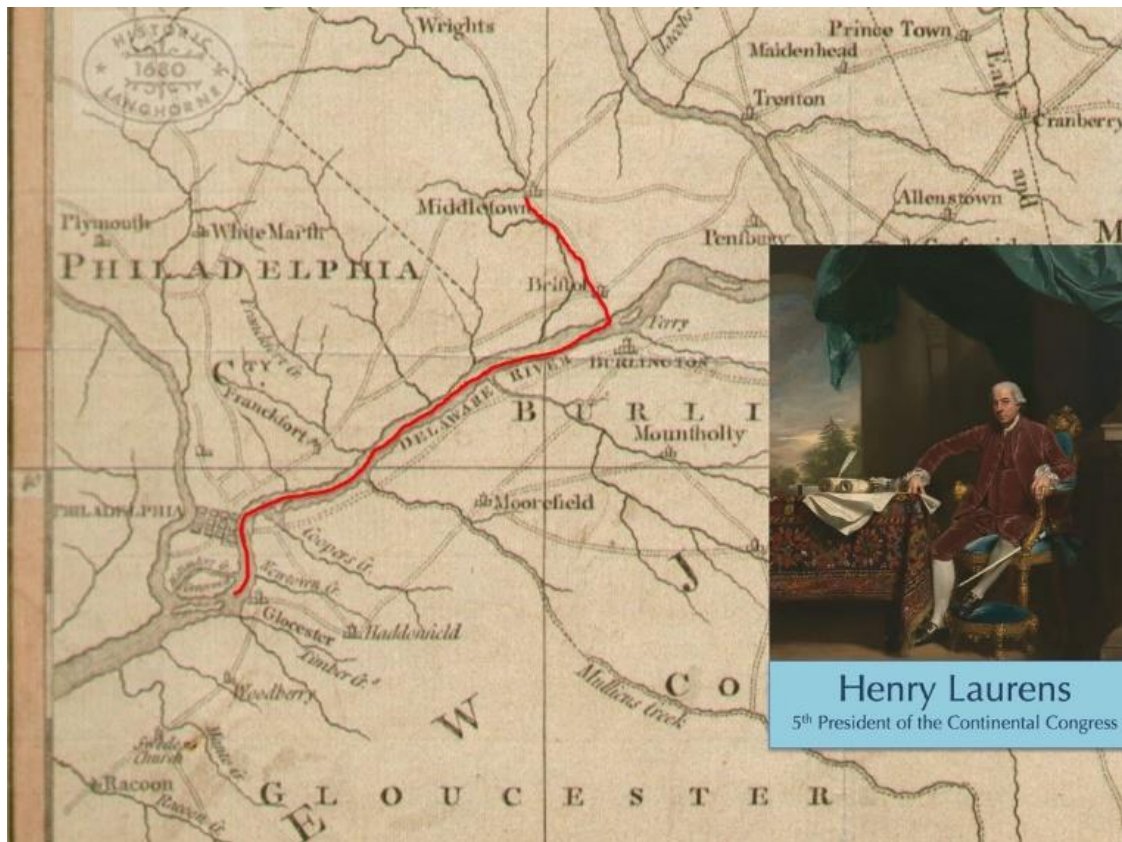
Revolutionary War Burial Site, South Bellevue and Flowers Avenues, Langhorne, Pennsylvania

September 11, 1777, at the Battle of Brandywine near the Birmingham meetinghouse, Lafayette was wounded while trying to turn retreating American soldiers around to face the British advance. A British musket ball passed through his left leg below the knee. After Washington's defeat, the army retired to Chester, and on the next day, September 12, Lafayette was taken by barge to the Indian Queen Hotel in Philadelphia, which was located near 4th Street and Franklin Court. The army surgeons decided to send Lafayette to Bethlehem, where, with the aid and co-operation of the Moravian congregation, a General Hospital of the Army had been established.



Indian Queen Hotel, Philadelphia, by James Moore Preston (1908)

Lafayette left Philadelphia and was taken up the Delaware River by boat to Bristol, Bucks County. There are differing stories as to when he arrived in Bristol. Some say he arrived around September 18, but it seems he may have arrived several days earlier. In Bristol, he received overnight medical care at the home of Simon Betz and was nursed by Betz' niece, Mrs. Charles Bessinette. There he was fortunate to meet Henry Laurens, a member of Congress from South Carolina, who offered to transport him to Bethlehem in one of his private coaches, a rare luxury in those days. A group of French officers accompanied him as he traveled up to Bethlehem.



Lafayette's route from Philadelphia to Four Lanes End

There is no definite information as to the exact day Lafayette left Bristol, but we do know that on the first night of his journey, either September 18 or 19, he stayed at the Joseph Richardson House. The distance between Bristol and Four Lanes End is 7.5 miles. While the French officers slept in the Hicks House, still occupied by Isaac Hicks, Lafayette stayed at the Richardson House. The Richardsons' family story was that Lafayette stretched out his leg on the table to have his wound dressed and split the leaf of a table. The table remained in the family until 1927-28, when it was sold.

Lafayette left Four Lanes End on September 20, since it was recorded that he passed through Newtown, probably taking Swamp Road since it was the shortest route to Bethlehem, 54 miles. No reliable information exists on the route taken, after they passed through Newtown. According to the documentation, if they left Four Lanes End on the 20th and reached Bethlehem on the afternoon of the 21st, they traveled about 46 1/4 miles in two days.



Richardson House (2023)

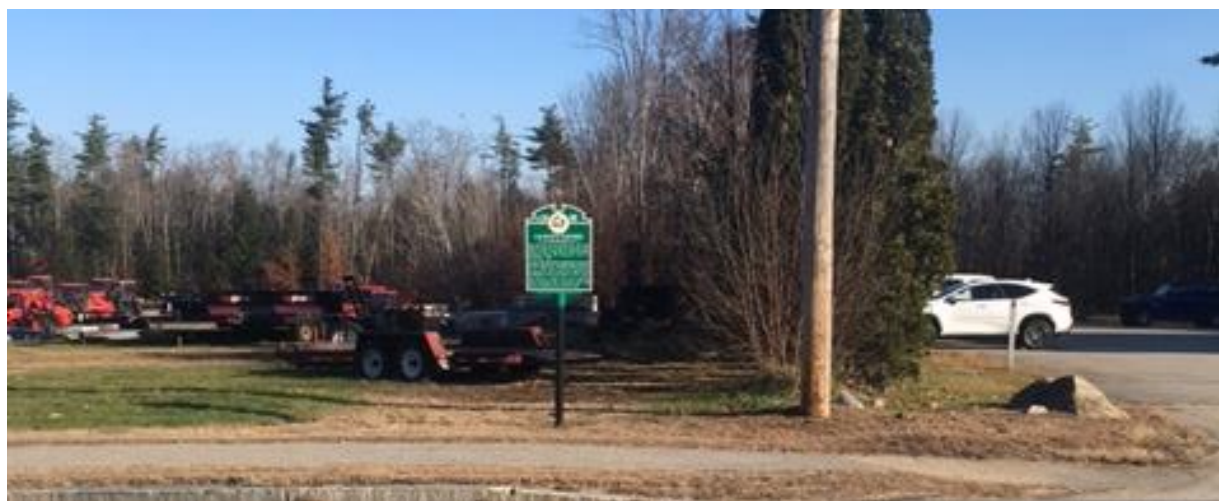
Lafayette's story has always been part of Langhorne's history. Though a short visit, his stop at the Richardson House supported the importance of Four Lanes End as a center of commerce, craftsmanship, and hospitality. Over the years the road Lafayette traveled has been diverted around the historic center of Langhorne, so many may pass and never see the Hicks House, Richardson House, or the Langhorne Hotel-Tavern. This diversion allows the historic center to remain quiet and enables the visitor to discover our revolutionary war history without distraction. For more information on the history of Four Lanes End, Attleborough, Langhorne, visit www.historiclanghorne.org, and on your next travels, detour to our historic center and discover a crossroads of history.

About the Author

Carol Ann Aicher, a resident of Langhorne since birth, is currently on the board of the Historic Langhorne Association. She presents historic tours and ghost tours of Langhorne, and historic programs on notable Langhorne residents. She recently updated Historic Langhorne's self-guided walking tour book. Dr. Aicher has taught Graduate Pedagogy at the Manhattan School of Music since 2001. She has teaching studios in both Manhattan and Langhorne, teaching piano and guiding all instrumentalists in new learning techniques, strengthening their connection between learning, practicing, and performing in order to reduce performance anxiety and to facilitate peak performance.

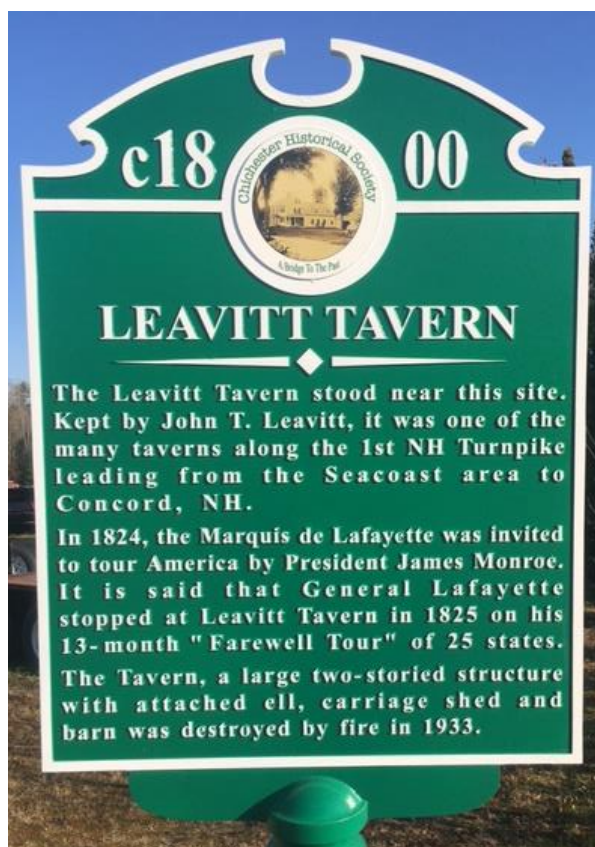
Lafayette Sighting: Chichester, New Hampshire

by Alan R. Hoffman



View of the marker from Route 4

The Chichester Historical Society recently installed this beautiful marker in the place where Leavitt Tavern once stood – which is now occupied by a tractor company. Located on New Hampshire Route 4, formerly the First New Hampshire Turnpike, about eight miles east of Concord, New Hampshire, the marker contains an excellent image of the tavern.



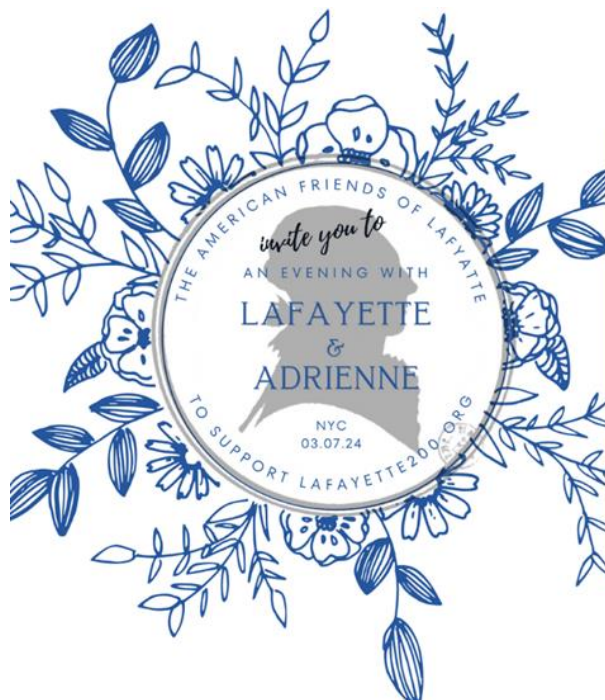
The marker (left) and a closeup of the photo of Leavitt Tavern (above)

Chichester is on the route that Lafayette took in June 1825 as he headed from Concord east to Maine, his 23rd state, and also as he returned west through Concord on his way to Vermont, the 24th state that he visited on his Farewell Tour. As the marker reflects, it is believed that Lafayette stopped briefly at Leavitt Tavern here.

A folk painting by the tavern owner's son, Joseph Warren Leavitt, appears to show Lafayette at the tavern. This image below is a painting on wood acquired by the Chichester Historical Society. This painting is based on Leavitt's original work which is in the collection of the American Folk Art Museum in Manhattan.



Painting of the interior of Leavitt Tavern



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