

The Gazette of the American Friends of Lafayette

No. 92

friendsoflafayette.org

June 2020



**Washington and Lafayette discuss current events in
Yorktown while following CDC guidelines.**

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President's Message



Dear Friend of Lafayette,

As we all try to persevere in the midst of a pandemic, a frayed economy, and nationwide protests and unrest, we offer the 92nd edition of *The Gazette of the American Friends of Lafayette*.

This issue contains scholarly studies – Professor Paul Spalding’s article about Lafayette’s exile in Danish Holstein, Michael Geiger’s piece about his quest to identify “Lafayette muskets,” and Billy Mayer’s article about Lafayette’s relationship with Native and African Americans.

Ernie and Janet Sutton have contributed two excellent trivia questions (and responses) and a Lafayette sighting. John Becica has chipped in with a genealogy of Adrienne Lafayette.

There are several articles about the Farewell Tour by Barbara McJoynt and New Hampshire historian Aurore Easton. Both Frank Womble and Julien Icher have written about the wonderful new mural commemorating Lafayette’s visit to Northampton Court House, now Jackson, North Carolina. As Julien, the Executive Director of The Lafayette Trail reports, a Lafayette Trail marker will be coming to Jackson soon.

Pierre Larroque has an engaging account of a Lafayette stone in Warrenton, Virginia, which is appropriate because the French word for stone is, of course, *pierre*. Colleen Shogan has written an interesting article about Lafayette and the American Women’s Suffrage movement. Hank Parfitt has written about two members of the Lafayette Escadrille. I hope you find my piece on Lafayette and “Yankee Doodle” enjoyable.

You will also find a review of two Lafayette-related 2019 books and notices of new publications. Don’t miss as well reports of past AFL events and notice of the postponement of the West Point meeting to June 2021, authored by treasurer, event planner extraordinaire, and aide-de-camp Chuck Schwam.

Thanks to our able membership chair, Almut Spalding, I can report that the AFL continues to thrive. In the past 8 months, 34 new members have joined – 13 Individual, 1 Individual Life, and 10 Family memberships. We currently have 349 members in the US, 4 members with APO addresses, 20 members in France, and one each in Canada and the United Kingdom, for a total of 375.

Here, thanks to Almut, is a map showing the distribution of our members among the states.



As you know, Lafayette visited all 24 states and Washington City during the Farewell Tour. He also visited Wheeling, which is now part of West Virginia. Of these 26 venues, we have members in 23. Please contact your friends in Vermont, Maine, and Mississippi so that we will be able to report coverage that is coterminous with Lafayette's journey in the next *Gazette*.

Best regards,
Alan R. Hoffman

AFL Annual Meeting at West Point Postponed to 2021

by Chuck Schwam



After planning the annual meeting for June 11th to 14th at West Point, we moved the event to August 6th to 9th due to the COVID-19 pandemic. However, after a great deal of deliberation, we have decided to postpone the West Point event to June 10th to 13th, 2021. We will gather at the Thayer Hotel (as originally planned in 2020), and our itinerary will stay the same.

Many factors weighed in the decision to postpone the West Point meeting, including New York State guidelines. Certainly, normalcy was a factor as well. Normal attendance, normal touring, normal meals, normal socialization were all at risk. Waiting for normalcy (or a better representation of it) seems prudent. Our hope is that in June 2021, we can have what is close to a normal and fun meeting.

The Thayer Hotel will automatically cancel any existing reservations, and they will notify you of the cancellation via email sometime on or after June 22nd. You will need to reserve your room again for June 10th to 13th, 2021. I will email you instructions on how to reserve your rooms for 2021 sometime this summer. The Thayer is offering the AFL the same rate for 2021.

I did not deposit the \$200 AFL registration checks. I have emailed everyone who had already sent in a check with these three options: (1) I deposit it towards 2021's registration, (2) I tear it up, or (3) I return it to you. **Please let me know which option you prefer before June 22nd.**

We will hold our 2020 annual business meeting in Yorktown on the afternoon of Saturday, October 17th, 2020. If we cannot gather in Yorktown on October 17th, we will hold the business meeting via video conference for all to see and participate.

We will be unveiling the Rochambeau statue the morning of October 18th, attending the annual Yorktown Day Association dinner that evening, attending the annual Yorktown Victory celebration on October 19th, and, of course, enjoying our world-famous cocktail reception that evening.

It is my sincere hope that we can gather in Yorktown (October 17th to 19th, 2020) and again at West Point (June 10th to 13th, 2021). I promise to communicate regularly regarding these two events.

Rochambeau Statue in Yorktown

by Chuck Schwam

Artist Cyd Player has been hard at work constructing Rochambeau for the final Yorktown statue. Rochambeau will be joining Lafayette, de Grasse, and Washington on the Yorktown waterfront as part of a statuary hall of fame.

The framework has been covered (see below) and the famous general is taking shape. Once the “sculpting” is finished, the statue will be sent off to be galvanized and painted.

The unveiling is scheduled for October 18th, 2020. (Save the date !!!) After a brief ceremony and unveiling that day, we will host a party in the Yorktown Freight Shed for statue donors and all AFL members. It will be a wonderful day to celebrate France’s involvement in the American Revolution. I hope to see you then.



Yorktown Victory Celebrations

by Chuck Schwam

The 2019 Yorktown Victory Celebration was a huge success. It was a beautiful day for ceremonies and parades. The world-famous AFL cocktail reception at the Hornsby House was great fun as well.



Jerry Meekins and Jenny Cote carry the flag of the American Friends of Lafayette during the Yorktown Day Celebration Parade on October 19, 2019.



AFL member Willie Ingram (92 years young) stands with the statues of Lafayette, Washington, and de Grasse. Rochambeau will be added October 18, 2020.



Honorary Flag-bearer Bill Cole Proceeds towards the Stage at the Victory Monument.



AFL Members and Friends in the Pavilion during Presentations at the Hornsby House

The 2020 celebration promises to be a great time as well. On Sunday, October 18 we will unveil the Rochambeau statue on Yorktown riverfront. There will be a ceremony followed by an elegant luncheon on the banks of the York River.



Swem Library at the College of William & Mary

The next day, Monday, October 19, we will participate in the annual Yorktown Victory Celebration with parades, patriotic exercises, and our famous cocktail party (again !!). We have also arranged a private visit to Swem Library at the College of William & Mary. The library will be displaying Revolutionary War artifacts and Lafayette-related documents exclusively for us.

We expect a large turnout for these two days in Yorktown. Unlike past years, we will have an official AFL hotel to accommodate us (October 18th & 19th), and we have negotiated a fabulous rate. We promise to update you on this soon.



The AFL has negotiated with the other twelve sponsoring organizations for the right to be hosts of the Yorktown Victory Celebration on October 19, 2024. This is significant since that date is the 200th anniversary of Lafayette's visit to Yorktown in 1824. Even though the AFL was not designated to host until 2030, the Yorktown Day Association understood the importance of the date and will allow the AFL to host the festivities (which will obviously be geared specifically towards our hero).

The above event will be just one of MANY events planned for 2024 as we celebrate the 200th anniversary of Lafayette's Triumphal Tour of 1824-1825. Frankly, you should clear your calendar for the entire year of 2024. It is going to be one giant party spanning the country from as far north as Portland, Maine, to as far south as New Orleans, and as far west as St. Louis.

AFL on Veterans Day

by Chuck Schwam



Every year, Colonial Williamsburg and the Sons of the American Revolution honor America's Veterans with a ceremony at the Governor's Palace Revolutionary War Cemetery (in Colonial Williamsburg). The ceremony took place on November 10th, 2019. The theme for this Veterans Day event (in addition to recognizing all veterans) was to celebrate the 100th anniversary of women in the military. As in years past, AFL member Kim Claytor (above) represented the American Friends of Lafayette in wonderful fashion.

Lafayette Day in Virginia

by Chuck Schwam

On February 24, 2015, the Virginia Assembly passed House Joint Resolution No. 797 “*Designating March 14, in 2015 and in each succeeding year, as a Day of Honor for the Marquis de Lafayette in Virginia.*” The American Friends of Lafayette celebrated this event for the fifth year in a row on March 14th, 2020 at Virginia’s State House in Richmond. Lafayette visited the State House on October 28, 1824.

Twenty-five AFL members gathered at the State House in Richmond to lay a wreath in front of the Houdon bust of Lafayette. Speeches were given and songs were sung all to honor Lafayette.



After the ceremony, AFL members were treated to an enjoyable and educational tour of the State House. The tour once again was given expertly by Mark Greenough. He did a magnificent job of mixing humor, history, and interesting facts about one of the oldest state capitol buildings still in continuous use.

Members listened intently as Mark Greenough gave the exact speech that Chief Justice, John Marshall gave when Lafayette visited the State House nearly 200 years ago. AFL’s own Julien Icher had the honor of orating Lafayette’s response to Chief Justice Marshall.



Mark Greenough

Next, AFL members walked over to Meriwether's for lunch and the chef did not disappoint. A special French meal was prepared including *Coq au Vin*, *Salade Niçoise*, and *Crème Brûlée*. It was a delicious way to celebrate the “father” of Franco-American friendship.

After lunch, attendees were treated to a private tour of the Valentine Museum and the adjacent Historic Wickham House (built in 1812). The generous folks at the Valentine brought out several items specific to Lafayette, including a dress worn by a young girl who greeted Lafayette when he visited Richmond in 1824. This dress was quite ornate and included a likeness of Lafayette on the waist sash.

After the tour, many AFL members went to the famous Jefferson Hotel (circa 1895) for happy hour. A great time was had by all, and I would like to thank Jim Dillard and Robert Kelly for helping me organize this fantastic event.



Valentine Museum



Historic Wickham House



New AFL members James and Sacha Lauvige participate in the Lafayette Day ceremony in the rotunda of the Virginia State House in Richmond Virginia. These two fine young men recently moved to the United States from France with their parents Anne and Jerome Lauvige.

Welcome to the United States Lauvige family and welcome to the AFL!!!



AFL members relax at the historic Jefferson Hotel in Richmond, VA.

Annual AFL Book Donation

by Chuck Schwam

Like many AFL members, Chuck Schwam enjoys giving lectures about Lafayette. Chuck's favorite audience is elementary school children. He annually brings his Lafayette enthusiasm to Terraset Elementary School in Reston, Virginia where his niece is a teacher. Consequently, it was natural for the AFL to pick Terraset Elementary School as this year's recipient of the AFL's book donations.



Terraset Elementary School students captivated by the story of Lafayette



Terraset Elementary School
Librarian Deana Dueno



Special thanks to AFL members Deedy Jensen, Libby McNamee, Jeff Finegan, and Jenny Cote for generously donating their books.

Massachusetts Lafayette Day

by Alan R. Hoffman

Each year on or about May 20, the anniversary of Lafayette's death in 1834, the Massachusetts Lafayette Society conducts ceremonies which include a color guard from the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts, the singing of the national anthems of the United States and France by a chorus of the International School of Boston, the reading of the Governor's Lafayette Day Proclamation in English and in French, the laying of a wreath at the Lafayette Monument on the Boston Common, a luncheon, and speakers. Because of the pandemic, this year's ceremonies were cancelled.

A week before this year's event would have taken place, the Consul General of France at Boston, Arnaud Mentré, asked if I would join him at a wreath-laying ceremony in Boston. I agreed, and drove to the city unimpeded by significant traffic, parked, and walked through barely populated streets, masked and gloved. The ceremony was short and somber befitting the occasion and the times we live in. The Consul remarked that we will have a very big event next year on Lafayette Day.



The Consul General of France in Boston prepares to lay a wreath at the Lafayette Monument at the Boston Common on May 18, 2020.



Consul General Arnaud Mentré proceeds towards the Monument with the wreath.



The Consul General and MLS President Alan Hoffman observe a moment of silence.



Alan Hoffman and the Consul's Assistant hold the Proclamations in English and French declaring May 20, 2020 Massachusetts Lafayette Day.

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts



A Proclamation

Whereas, This year we honor the 263rd Anniversary of the birth and the 186th Anniversary of the death of Gilbert du Motier, Marquis de La Fayette, one of America's greatest soldiers, statesmen and the best friend this country ever had; and

Whereas, This year is the 103rd anniversary of the arrival of the American Expeditionary Force in France in 1917, where Colonel Charles Stanton electrified the French people by exclaiming at Lafayette's tomb in Paris: "Lafayette, we are here!"; and

Whereas, As a young man, La Fayette became inspired by the American colonists' struggle for independence, envisioning the Revolution as a turning point in the fight for freedom for all mankind, and thus beginning his long years of service to this country; and

Whereas, The young Frenchman abandoned his position and honors at home to help our young nation by participating in numerous battles as a general in George Washington's army, enduring hardships, and setting a constant example of bravery, dignity and duty; and

Whereas, General La Fayette made clear the destiny of this nation when he wrote: "The fortune of America is closely bound up with the fortune of humanity; she will become the safe and respected refuge of virtue, honesty, tolerance, equality and of a peaceful liberty"; and

Whereas, La Fayette was a life-long crusader for human rights and a constant supporter of the abolition of slavery,

Now, Therefore, I, Charles D. Baker, Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, do hereby proclaim May 20th, 2020, to be,

MASSACHUSETTS LAFAYETTE DAY

And urge all the citizens of the Commonwealth to take cognizance of this event and participate fittingly in its observance.

Given at the Executive Chamber in Boston, this first day of May, in the year two thousand and twenty, and of the Independence of the United States of America, the two hundred and forty third.

BY HIS EXCELLENCE

CHARLES D. BAKER
GOVERNOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH

KARYN E. POLITICO
LT. GOVERNOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH

WILLIAM FRANCIS GALVIN
SECRETARY OF THE COMMONWEALTH

God Save the Commonwealth of Massachusetts

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts



Une Proclamation

Considérant que cette année nous honorons le deux cent soixante-troisième anniversaire de la naissance et le cent quatre-vingt-sixième anniversaire de la mort de l'un des plus grands amis des États-Unis d'Amérique, Gilbert du Motier de Lafayette; et

Considérant que cette année commémore le cent troisième anniversaire de l'arrivée du Corps Expéditionnaire américain en France en 1917 où le Colonel Charles Stanton salua solennellement le peuple français devant la tombe de Lafayette en proclamant « *Lafayette, Nous Voilà!* »

Considérant que, encore jeune homme, Lafayette a été inspiré par la lutte pour l'indépendance des colons américains, pressentant que la Révolution serait un tournant décisif dans le combat pour la liberté de toute l'humanité, et consacra donc de longues années au service de ce pays comme soldat, homme d'État et ami; et

Considérant que le jeune Français abandonna rang et honneurs dans son pays pour aider notre jeune nation, prenant part à de nombreuses batailles en tant que général dans l'armée de George Washington, endurant des privations et donnant un exemple constant de courage, de dignité et de dévouement total à son devoir; et

Considérant que le général Lafayette rendit évident le destin de cette nation quand il écrivit "L'avenir de l'Amérique est étroitement lié à l'avenir de l'humanité; elle deviendra le refuge sûr et respecté de la vertu, de l'honnêteté, de la tolérance, de l'égalité et d'une liberté pacifique"; et

Considérant que le général Lafayette était un militant contre l'esclavage et pour les droits de l'Homme tout au long de sa vie,

Considérant qu'en ces temps d'épreuve et d'angoisse, il est salutaire de se souvenir d'un des grands héros de la genèse de notre nation,

En, foi de quoi, Moi, Charles D. Baker, Gouverneur du Commonwealth du Massachusetts, en conformité avec le chapitre 148 des Lois de 1935, proclame par la présente le jour officiel du 20 mai 2020,

LE JOUR LAFAYETTE

Il encourage les citoyens du Commonwealth à prendre connaissance de ce fait et à participer en conséquence à sa commémoration.

Donné à la Chambre exécutive à Boston, ce jour du mois de mai de l'année deux mille vingt et deux cent quarante-sixième année de l'indépendance des États-Unis d'Amérique.

PAR SON EXCELLENCE

CHARLES D. BAKER
GOVERNOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH

MARYN B. POLITICO
LT. GOVERNOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH

WILLIAM FRANCIS GALVIN
SECRETARY OF THE COMMONWEALTH

Dieu Garde Le Commonwealth du Massachusetts

Robert Selig Receives Médaille d'Or des Valeurs Francophones

by Chuck Schwam

AFL member Robert Selig has received the Renaissance Française Gold Medal for Francophone Values (Médaille d'Or des Valeurs Francophones). Founded in 1916 by French President Raymond Poincaré, the Renaissance Française is under the auspices of the French government. Its main mission is the promotion of French culture as a cradle of humanism and respect for all beliefs and nationalities. The Gold Medal for Francophone Values recognizes individuals who devote themselves to the development of the French language and culture in their country.

Although the April 7th ceremony at La Renaissance Française has been postponed, Robert received the medal in March. The ceremony will be rescheduled.



Robert A. Selig is a historical consultant who received his Ph.D. in history from the *Universität Würzburg* in Germany in 1988. He has published several books on the American War of Independence. He has also published more than 100 articles in American and German scholarly historical magazines.

He is a specialist on the role of French forces under the *Comte de Rochambeau* during the American Revolutionary War and serves as project historian to the National Park Service for the Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route National Historic Trail Project. Robert is also a world-renowned lecturer and finds himself regularly on the road speaking on various Revolutionary War topics.

Please give Robert three Huzzahs for his great work which has been appropriately recognized.

The Friends of Lafayette Website

by Bonnie Fritz

Did you Know? The American Friends of Lafayette website is a great resource for all things related to the AFL. It is more than just the place to renew your membership.

www.friendsoflafayette.org is your resource for:

- Other member contact information
- Member spotlights
- The complete history of our association
- Event information
- References, including a bibliography of EVERYTHING written about Lafayette (almost)
- Links to Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram

For example, you can access online views of EVERY Gazette since February 1942! From the Home page menu, click the MORE bars, then News, then Gazettes.



All members are welcome to submit updates, stories, pictures, or news for posting on the website. We are interested in what you are up to in between meetings and *Gazettes*. Simply email americanfriendsoflafayette@gmail.com.

Forget Netflix. *Vive Lafayette!!!*

Unwanted Refugee: Lafayette in Danish Holstein, 1797-1799

by Paul Spalding¹

Author's Note

Many Americans associate Lafayette with our own War of Independence (1775-1783), while the French know him also as a major figure in the opening stages of the French Revolution (1789-1799). Less known is his incarceration for five years (1792-1797) as a “prisoner of state” by the Prussian king and Austrian Habsburg emperor. Perhaps the most obscure chapter of Lafayette’s long life is his exile thereafter, on the periphery of northern Europe, before he was able to slip back into France in 1799.

In 2012 and 2015 my wife Almut and I visited formerly Danish Holstein (now far northern Germany) where Lafayette spent many months of his post-imprisonment exile. Successor buildings have replaced the original manor houses of Lehmkuhlen and Wittmoldt, where he spent most of his time as a renter and guest, respectively. Many places he would have recognized still exist in nearby Plön. The town’s large white palace still rises in all of its original splendor over the northern shore of Large Lake Plön. Lafayette and his family were often to be found in the left wing of the palace over dinner or tea as guests of Duke Peter Friedrich Wilhelm of Oldenburg, and in the palace’s right wing as guests of local Danish administrator August Hennings and his family.

Among people in the surrounding countryside, the Lafayettes visited the Schreiber von Cronstein family at their estate of Nehmten on the southern shore of the Large Lake Plön. The original manor house that Lafayette knew still exists and is the repository of papers from the Wittmoldt estate on Small Lake Plön where Lafayette lived for most of his Danish exile. With the gracious permission of Nehmten’s present owner, Baroness Bernadette von Fürstenberg, and with the generous help of Plön District Archivist Heide Beese, we were able to enter the former wine cellar of the manor house, where the estate’s archives (and not a drop of wine) are now to be found. Room after room of documents witness there to centuries of local history, including the several months when a certain notorious family of refugees resided in the area, a family named Lafayette.

The following essay draws in part from that material, and expands on a presentation originally given at the 2016 German Studies Association’s annual meeting in San Diego.



The old Nehmten manor house is now uninhabited, although the owners live on the grounds and continue to maintain a thriving farm. Below the main stairs of the manor house is the entrance to the estate's former wine cellar and today's archives. (photo by Almut and Paul Spalding)

Recent wars and political persecution in the Middle East, Central and South America, Africa, and elsewhere have produced waves of refugees.² Analogous events occurred at the end of the 18th century, when ideologically inspired radical groups and traditional states plunged Europe into violence. Estimates are that from 60,000-130,000 *émigrés* from Revolutionary and Napoleonic France were living abroad at any one time, from 1789-1815. Many of them sought safety in German-speaking lands, especially in the north. Anywhere from 4,000 to 40,000 are thought to have found temporary shelter in Hamburg,³ the largest north German city. Some moved on to Hamburg's rural hinterland, the then-Danish province of Holstein.

A rare abundance of archival evidence on both sides of the Atlantic tells the story of one particular Holstein refugee: the former Marquis de Lafayette. His was a relatively privileged exile. Still, he suffered the torments of banishment. The very advantages he enjoyed may serve to underscore characteristic ordeals of refugee status at any time.

Lafayette's residence in Holstein was only a chapter in several years of exile during most of the French Revolution. In August 1792, a Jacobin coup overthrew the constitutional order that Lafayette had helped to establish in France. He fled for his life into neutral Belgian territory. The new French government declared him to be a traitor worthy of death, and added him to a list of thousands of political emigrants whose citizenship was revoked and property confiscated.⁴ Instead of reaching the Republic of the United Netherlands, England, and eventually the young United States, as he had hoped, Lafayette fell into the hands of the Austrian

Habsburg “Holy Roman” emperor Francis II and Prussian king Frederick William II, the leading counter-revolutionary monarchs of the time. A military tribunal determined “that the existence of M. de Lafayette...was incompatible with the security of the governments of Europe,”⁵ and sentenced him to incarceration as a “prisoner of state” until an eventually restored French king could offer final judgment. Lafayette spent the next five years in a succession of prisons, from a first jail in today’s Belgium to a final one in today’s eastern Czech Republic. Finally, under pressure by victorious French forces, the emperor sent Lafayette northwest under a military escort that released him to the American consul in Hamburg on 4 October 1797.⁶ Thereafter, Lafayette withdrew to farming estates two days’ travel or about 80 km north near Plön in Holstein, where he would stay for much of the next two years.⁷



Denmark in the late 18th century, including its southernmost province of Holstein
(map by Eckhart Spalding)

Holstein was a privileged refuge. A remarkably tolerant German-speaking province of the neutral kingdom of Denmark-Norway, it enjoyed distance from the violence engulfing so many other places. An émigré called the province “this happy earth, virgin among the horrors of war.”⁸ Upon arrival, Lafayette himself noted that Holstein was out of the emperor’s reach, populated by partisans of liberty and sympathetic aristocrats, and obscure enough to allow him his privacy.⁹ He would call it “the most tranquil place in Europe.”¹⁰ Lafayette was also able to fall back there on strong networks of support and communications. They included relatives, natives of Hamburg and Holstein, sympathetic local officials, and visitors and correspondents ranging from fellow refugees to former colleagues.¹¹

Generous financial assistance spared Lafayette the embarrassment of immediate economic need. His wife’s aunt Adrienne de Tessé hosted him for many months on her estate of Wittmoldt, at a large house on a peninsula extending into the Small Lake Plön.¹² Tessé gave Lafayette a few of her belongings to sell in Hamburg for his daughter’s trousseau when she married in May 1798.¹³ Former U.S. consul John Parish loaned Lafayette 1000 *louis* after he arrived in Hamburg.¹⁴ A former aide, Charles Cadignan, informed him of an offer made by the American envoy in London, Rufus King, to loan him any necessary funds, and Lafayette accepted gratefully. Thereafter, King confirmed the offer in a letter to Lafayette, and U.S. consul Samuel Williams wrote King via Cadignan that he, the new consul in Hamburg, had advanced Lafayette 2150 marks banco. Other payments followed at least into the early summer of the next year, for a total of over \$6800 (24,000 francs).¹⁵ Lewis Littlepage, American aide to the former Polish king, informed Adrienne Lafayette that 500 ducats were at her disposal on his account.¹⁶ Before the first winter had passed, Hamburg merchant-banker Georg Heinrich Sieveking announced that a Miss Edwards of London had left Lafayette a sizeable bequest. With interest accumulated since she first drew up her will in 1793, the gift amounted to 1100£ sterling, similar to what King had loaned Lafayette. Funds from these sources would sustain Lafayette and his family in Holstein, help émigré friends, and enable his wife to travel to France in an eventually successful effort to recover a portion of her fortune.¹⁷

Many visitors found their way to Lafayette’s Danish exile. They included former military aides René Pillet and Jean-Xavier Bureaux de Pusy,¹⁸ and close friends countess Diane de Simiane and princess Adélaïde d’Hénin.¹⁹ They also included other exiles, including former legislator Antoine-Chrysostôme Quatremère de Quincy,²⁰ former general and member of the French upper house Mathieu Dumas,²¹ and former adjutant general and commander of the guard of the Legislative Corps, Jean-Pierre Ramel.²²

Lafayette retained excellent relations with enlightened and socially elite Hamburg residents who had supported him in prison. Among them were the Sieveking and Reimarus families,²³ newspaper publisher Johann Wilhelm von Archenholz, and John Parish, a merchant-banker who had served for many years as U.S. consul in Hamburg.²⁴

Holstein nobles visited Lafayette and hosted him, including members of the Stolberg, Von der Wisch, Ahlefeldt, Schreiber von Cronstein, and Reventlow families.²⁵ A particularly

noteworthy acquaintance was Peter Friedrich Wilhelm, duke of Oldenburg, who, for alleged reasons of mental illness, had been forcibly retired to Plön.²⁶

There were several sympathetic officials in the region. They included the U.S. and Batavian (Dutch) consuls in Hamburg.²⁷ They also included August Hennings, royal Danish district administrator in Plön, who declared in his diary, “It is impossible to find a morally better, more engaged and passionate person than [Lafayette].”²⁸ Like the duke of Oldenburg, Hennings had special reason to empathize with an exile like Lafayette. While the duke had been confined to the Plön palace on suspicion of mental imbalance, August Hennings, who inhabited another wing of the palace with his family, had been sent from the Copenhagen court to serve in these Danish boondocks for his all-too progressive political inclinations.



Palace and town of Plön, viewed from a peninsula in Large Lake Plön
(photo by Almut and Paul Spalding)

After many months, thanks to these networks of support, Lafayette would be able to reach a safe and permanent home. The Batavian minister resident in Hamburg, Balthasar Elias Abbema, took the initiative, without Lafayette’s knowledge, to request his government to allow resettlement in the Batavian Republic.²⁹ French Foreign Minister Charles Talleyrand was a longtime, sympathetic acquaintance of Lafayette.³⁰ Though bound by policies laid down by the French Executive Directory, eventually, at the beginning of 1799, Talleyrand was able to inform Abbema through diplomatic channels that the Directory no longer had objections to Lafayette’s residence in the Batavian Republic. Abbema had a passport issued for Lafayette under the name

of “Mottier” in order to allow him to pass incognito through British Hanoverian territory.³¹ The exile picked up the passport on 1 February, and drove west by carriage via Osnabrück. Within days he had arrived in the Dutch city of Utrecht, whence he turned south to the small town of Vianen. There, on the doorstep of France, he awaited the first sign of favorable political change to slip back into his homeland: a sign that came late that year.³²

Though Lafayette enjoyed many privileges, his refugee status in Holstein and his struggle to overcome it also exhibited traits common to the experience of many other forced migrants of modern times. He was unwanted. His financial situation was precarious. The past haunted him. He felt isolated. He had to avoid political engagement and speaking out in his temporary place of refuge. He had political tensions with other refugees. He was anxious about the fate of acquaintances, and his own safety. He was uncertain of finding any permanent residence for many months.

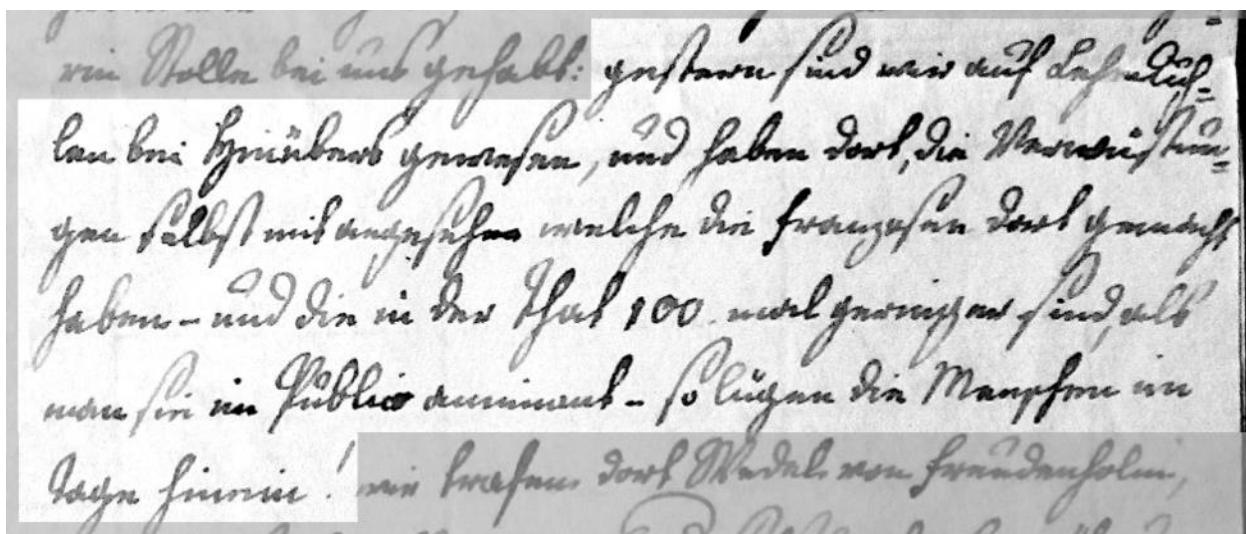
Refugees are typically unwelcome, obviously by those who drive them away, but also by many of those who host them. When the Holy Roman emperor released his most famous political prisoner, he stipulated that Lafayette leave all the territories of the German states within twelve days, including Hamburg, the place of his release. But even before leaving the city, Lafayette encountered some local hostility. Upon awakening in the *König von England* ('King of England') inn after his first full day in Hamburg, he found a sarcastic note pinned to the door of his room, by a man who had served in the counter-revolutionary army of the French royal princes. “M. de Lafayette will not receive anyone today. He always sleeps from 5-6 October,” the note read. The allusion was to a widespread allegation that Lafayette had fallen asleep on the night in 1789 when he was commanding National Guard troops at Versailles, only to awaken as a mob broke into the palace and threatened the royal family.³³

Lafayette was not welcome in England and British Hanover (the latter immediately across the Elbe from Hamburg and Holstein) due to his contributions to the American War of Independence, which had humiliated the British king and torn from him his grandest overseas possessions. “It is impossible that I go to England,” he flatly wrote his friend princess Hénin,³⁴ an émigré residing in the London area, which hosted the largest single community of French refugees, some 40,000. He later declared, “The British court I dislike and mistrust...” for its counter-revolutionary policies. He even believed it complicit in his five-year incarceration.³⁵

Lafayette’s political support and his objections to undemocratic rule by the Executive Directory ruling France made him unwanted there too. In negotiations for his release from Austrian Habsburg incarceration, French officials stipulated that Lafayette not return “right away” to France.³⁶ Thereafter, just as Lafayette was in the process of being released, two Directors carried out a coup known by its Revolutionary calendar date as the “18th Fructidor” (4 September 1797). The new rulers annulled elections and stripped rivals of office, even sitting legislators. They imprisoned many and deported others to the disease-plagued prison camps of French Guyana. Lafayette soon made clear that he was no supporter of the new regime. French Foreign Minister Talleyrand agreed that Lafayette’s “indiscretions” risked losing him all chance of returning soon to France.³⁷ Lafayette recognized that the new Directory wished “my temporary absence,” especially as he was known to oppose what he called its “arbitrary” measures.³⁸ One of the coup leaders, Director Emmanuel-Joseph Sieyès, carried a special

“acrimony” toward Lafayette that reached back several years.³⁹ Also, Lafayette suspected French leaders of fearing his popularity.⁴⁰

Shortly after moving to the Holstein countryside near Plön, a lakeside town of about 1000 residents, Lafayette faced snubs and bias. While Lafayette was attending a noon-time salon hosted by Peter Friedrich Wilhelm, duke of Oldenburg, at the palace in Plön, the duke’s cousin Peter Friedrich Ludwig, prince-bishop of Lübeck, arrived from his residence in nearby Eutin. Ludwig expressed surprise at Lafayette’s presence, avoided the ex-prisoner ostentatiously, and made it known how he resented being invited to a place with such a guest.⁴¹ A Danish minister, count Friedrich Levin von Holmer, behaved in a similar way.⁴² The wife of the Russian envoy in Eutin said over lunch that she would not mind seeing Lafayette cut to pieces.⁴³ Lafayette and his family were also the object of what seems to have been some local prejudice against the French generally and refugees in particular. When a woman of noble background visited a residence the Lafayettes had just vacated, she noted with surprise that, contrary to rumors, the place had not been left in shambles: “Yesterday we were at Hinübers, on [their estate of] Lehmkuhlen, and looked ourselves at the [alleged] ravages that the French [i.e., the Lafayettes and their guests, recent renters of the manor house] caused there – which are in fact 100 times less than the general public assumes. That’s how openly people lie!”⁴⁴ This underscores how even the Lafayettes were subject to unkind stereotypes about their foreign nationality and refugee status.



Excerpt of the letter noting that the Lafayettes did not leave behind a total mess at Lehmkuhlen, as had been alleged in local gossip. See the English translation above. The transcribed German reads

as follows: ...gestern sind wir auf Lehmkuhlen bei Hinübers gewesen, und haben dort, die Verwüstungen selbst mit angesehen welche die Franzosen dort gemacht haben – und in der That 100-mal geringer sind, als man sie im Publico annimmt – so lügen die Menschen im Tage hinein!

(Gutsarchiv Nehmten, SCA 79)

As weather grew warm again after Lafayette’s first winter in Holstein, he set his eyes on moving to the so-called Batavian Republic, the revolutionary successor state to the former Republic of the United Netherlands.⁴⁵ Though Lafayette had given support to Dutch democrats a decade before and retained sympathies among them,⁴⁶ political conditions would not allow him to go there. The country was under the influence of its larger sister republic, France, whose

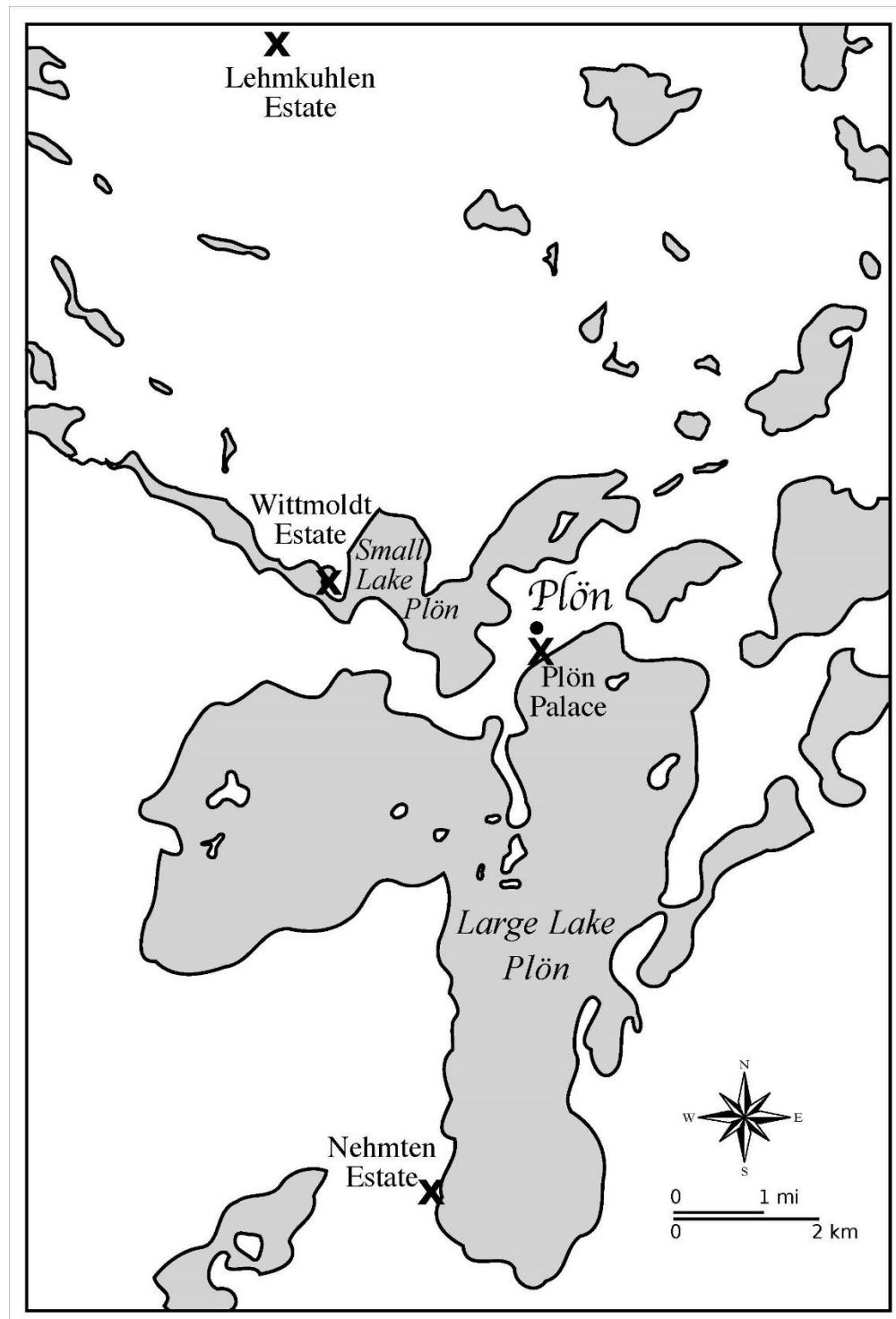
Executive Directory was unwilling to allow Lafayette to come so close to French territory.⁴⁷ He became aware that the French ambassador appointed to The Hague in early 1798, Charles Delacroix, was personally hostile to him.⁴⁸ A sympathetic French official even tipped Lafayette off that if he stepped on Dutch soil, an unnamed French general was determined to have him killed.⁴⁹ In early spring, Lafayette wrote princess Hénin, "...The monarchical governments detest me, as you well know, and all the Republican governments of Europe are provisionally submissive to a single government [France's] that is not in a hurry to see me again."⁵⁰

Repeatedly, Lafayette considered moving to the young United States he had helped found.⁵¹ Perhaps distance would encourage his removal from the French list of proscribed émigrés, he reasoned, and perhaps he could receive the land offered him at the end of the American War of Independence for his military service.⁵² But many American contacts indicated that it was an inauspicious time to do so. Federalist and Jeffersonian parties were at each other's throats, the former identifying Lafayette with the Jeffersonians and even the radical French Jacobins. France and the U.S. were also in an undeclared sea war, fomenting hysteria and suspicions among Americans against the French.⁵³ On 4 July 1798, President John Adams appointed George Washington commander-in-chief of forces to be raised in preparation for war with France, and two days later Congress passed the so-called "Alien Enemies Act," which stipulated that in a declared war, the President was authorized to arrest and deport citizens of the enemy nation.⁵⁴ It was one of four related bills signed into law by President Adams in 1798, which came to be known collectively as the Alien and Sedition Acts.

In addition to being unwelcome by many, Lafayette faced other challenges typical for refugees. Despite loans, his financial situation was precarious. The French government had seized all his property when it branded him an émigré and counter-revolutionary, immediately after his flight in 1792. Although Lafayette had once been one of the richest men in France, he estimated that he had spent two-thirds of his fortune "in the cause of the people" during the American War of Independence and the early phases of the French Revolution, and that the Jacobins had seized the rest.⁵⁵ At the time of his flight, he had accumulated a debt of 320,000 francs. During his prison years, he assembled an additional debt of 68,000 francs to Gouverneur Morris, U.S. ambassador to France, and 43,000 francs to John Parish, a merchant-banker who, for most of Lafayette's imprisonment, served as U.S. consul in Hamburg. Many of those to whom Lafayette had made loans were bankrupt and would never be able to repay him.⁵⁶ On the other hand, old creditors demanded repayment of loans they had made to him or his wife.⁵⁷ He was miserable over finding himself unable to help penniless friends. "For us, poverty is nothing compared to the misfortune of our friends. ...The ruin of those whom we love, to whom we have obligations, is an insupportable idea. But...can we borrow money on the fortune we do not have...?"⁵⁸

Lafayette did help earn his keep at the working farm of Wittmoldt owned by his wife's aunt countess Adrienne Tessé, on Small Lake Plön, to which he and his family moved in early spring 1798. He gardened and cared for livestock, developing what proved to be a passion for farming, including a life-long interest in the merino sheep for which Holstein was well-known.⁵⁹ By late summer, he was citing gardening as his favorite way to relax, and boasting of having read the entire 12 volumes of an encyclopedia of agriculture. "Pleasantries aside, agronomy and the farming life have ever greater charms for me, and my taste for natural history strengthens

every day.”⁶⁰ He enjoyed making “agricultural speculations,” and looked forward to “the happy time when I will be able to have a field on French soil...”⁶¹



**The area of Plön in Holstein, with key places where Lafayette spent time:
the estates of Lehmkuhlen, Wittmoldt, and Nehmten, and Plön Palace**
(map by Eckhart Spalding)

Lafayette was haunted by the past and accusations that his situation was a fault of his own making. In letters to acquaintances, he went into repeated, lengthy, even obsessive detail to describe his version of events in which his role and intentions had been attacked. Prominent among those events were two in which he commanded the Paris National Guard. One was the so-called Women's March on Versailles that culminated in a mob attack on the royal palace early on the morning of 6 October 1789, when Lafayette was alleged to have been still asleep and so neglected his duty to protect the royal family. The other was the so-called "Champ de Mars Massacre" on 17 July 1791, when Lafayette ordered the Guard to fire on a violent crowd, angry at the king for having attempted to flee the country. Yet a third event was his flight from France, leading to charges of treason against him.⁶² Lafayette encouraged former aide and fellow prisoner Jean Xavier Bureaux de Pusy to edit and place in journals anonymous articles ghost-written by Lafayette, and to collect and edit materials for a voluminous history of the time, one that would serve to recover and burnish his reputation.⁶³ Though Pusy would eventually give up⁶⁴ and emigrate to the U.S., Lafayette never stopped pursuing his almost Nixonian interest in explaining his actions.⁶⁵ They were always, in Lafayette's account, consistent with a pure dedication to constitutionally grounded liberty.⁶⁶

Like many refugees, Lafayette often felt isolated from friends, family, and news. He spoke of his asylum as "a solitary landscape,"⁶⁷ a "retired country seat,"⁶⁸ "my remote place of retirement."⁶⁹ Though his teenage son George Washington Lafayette rejoined his family in early March 1798 after a long exile of his own in America, Lafayette and son experienced a "cruel separation" at the end of July, when their respective wife and mother Adrienne felt obliged to return to France to salvage what she could from her inherited property, taking the daughters with her.⁷⁰ Lafayette complained of the "insupportable estrangement" he suffered.⁷¹ He felt "little informed" about events in the outside world.⁷² He wrote of his "retreat" as "distant from all news, from all discussion with public men or even easily with my friends."⁷³

He had to limit political engagement in his northern asylum. Incited by a French envoy's call for those sympathetic with France to form a lobby on its behalf, the Hamburg city council issued an edict on 2 March 1798, banning any assemblies challenging traditional authorities and admonishing all foreigners in the city to avoid criticizing the governments of Hamburg and the Empire.⁷⁴ In neighboring Holstein, Lafayette knew that even though his host country, the Kingdom of Denmark-Norway, was not politically to his taste,⁷⁵ it was trying with great effort to maintain a position of neutrality on the combustible European stage.⁷⁶ Shortly after the Hamburg edict against potentially disruptive assemblies by foreign residents, the Copenhagen court asked civic and district officials in Holstein to report any similar political activity by émigrés.⁷⁷ Friedrich Karl von Reventlow, former Danish diplomat and brother of the official directing the chancellery responsible for German-speaking lands of the kingdom, confirmed that Lafayette was "quiet and withdrawn," and had not engaged in "petty arts and intrigues to excite the spirit of Revolution in the North."⁷⁸ Lafayette would have liked to offer his services to mediate between France and the U.S. in their undeclared war at sea, but admitted, "I can do little in the present situation beyond offering fervent wishes, private remonstrations without influence, in the midst of such a storm of passions."⁷⁹ His was, as he put it, an "inactive but not unconcerned retirement."⁸⁰ To be sure, reticence to engage himself politically in Hamburg and Holstein did not keep Lafayette from trying to place an anonymous essay in London's *Morning*

Chronicle,⁸¹ or commissioning articles through proxies,⁸² nor did it keep him from writing French officials on behalf of his former aides, proscribed along with him when they fled France in August 1792;⁸³ and on behalf of political prisoners still held by the imperial court in Vienna and other counter-revolutionary regimes.⁸⁴

Lafayette had political tensions with other refugees. He refused to receive Charles Dumouriez, former French foreign minister and general, who had moved to Hamburg after rebelling against the French regime and turning over a group of high officials to the Austrian Habsburgs.⁸⁵ Alexandre Lameth and his brothers were old political adversaries from the early Revolution.⁸⁶ For a time, Alexandre had been a co-prisoner with Lafayette, but his early release led to suspicion that he had collaborated with the authorities. In Holstein, Lafayette suspected Alexandre of using correspondence to harm him.⁸⁷ He communicated to the Lameths by third parties, then directly by letter, that any friendship was no longer possible.⁸⁸

Lafayette worried about acquaintances' fate. He wrote the French Executive Directory on behalf of the officers who had fled France with him in 1792, taking full responsibility for the flight upon himself and asking that they be allowed to return.⁸⁹ He wondered who among his friends in Paris had been caught up in the waves of arrests following the Coup of 18 Fructidor (4 September 1797), or who among them had been forced to flee.⁹⁰ He tracked the fate of the fugitives,⁹¹ those deported to prison camp in French Guyana (Cayenne) in South America,⁹² and those who managed to escape the camp.⁹³

He was anxious about his own safety. Even in his early days of exile, he worried that Denmark might become a theater for French expansion or confrontation between French and Russian forces, forcing him out of Holstein.⁹⁴ He did not want to chance falling into Russian hands in particular, and being carried off to Siberia at the orders of the Francophobe tsar Paul I.⁹⁵ He wondered if he dare accompany his chronically ill wife to some mineral waters (Bad Nenndorf) to the southwest, across the Elbe, for fear, he wrote, "that I be arrested again under the first pretext they invent against me."⁹⁶ Not only was the place in reach of French troops and on imperial territory, it was a short distance west of Hanover, capital of a principality of the British crown that held no love for Lafayette.⁹⁷

He was uncertain of finding a permanent residence. By autumn 1798, his stay at the Wittmoldt estate of Adrienne de Tessé was coming to an end, as his host made plans to sell the property.⁹⁸ Lafayette excluded moving to an undemocratic country.⁹⁹ He also knew that America's "Quasi-War" with France made a trip to the U.S. inadvisable, and he needed permission from the French government to move to the Batavian Republic.¹⁰⁰

Lafayette's exile was privileged in many ways. Still, he faced very real ordeals, those familiar, in some form, to most persons driven to abandon their homelands. Perhaps precisely the privileged nature of his exile can help highlight universal challenges of refugee status. If conditions were that bad for this particular refugee with all his extraordinary advantages of status and friends, how much worse displacement must have been at the time for others and, of course, still is today for the vast majority of those fleeing violence, persecution, and poverty.

¹ With many thanks to Eckhart Spalding of the U of Arizona for constructing the accompanying maps, and to Almut Spalding of Illinois College for aiding and collaborating in ways beyond enumeration. Special gratitude also goes to the Nehmten estate's present owner Baroness Bernadette von Fürstenberg and Plön District Archivist Heide Beese, for making available the archives of the estate.

² Viet Thanh Nguyen, who fled Vietnam at age four, cites the figure of some 60 million stateless refugees in the world today: "The Hidden Scars All Refugees Carry," *New York Times*, 3 Sept. 2016, vol. 165, Issue 17344, p. A19.

³ Irmgard A. Hartig, "Französische Emigranten in Deutschland zur Zeit der Revolution und Napoleons," *Deutsche Emigranten in Frankreich/ Französische Emigranten in Deutschland, 1685-1945*. 2nd ed. (München: Klein & Volbert, 1984), 46.

⁴ A sequential compilation of laws against emigrants and their families appears in *Longman Companion to the French Revolution*, ed. Colin Jones (NY: Longman, 1988), 194-198. Lafayette (hereafter cited as "L") defended himself at length against what he considered false accusations about his conduct in the Revolution up to his flight in 1792, and declared himself willing to make a similar defense in writing and speech before the French Council of 500, as part of his rehabilitation: to René Pillet, 4 April 1799, Lafayette Collection, Rare and Manuscript Collections, Carl A. Kroch Library, Cornell Univ., Ithaca, NY (hereafter cited as "LCI"), 21/1; to Louis Romeuf, 11 May, 21/9.

⁵ L to William Short, 16 Sept. 1792, LCI, 18/6.

⁶ On L's incarceration, see Paul Spalding, *Lafayette: Prisoner of State* (Columbia, SC: Univ. of SC Press, 2010).

⁷ L and his family lived initially at the Wittmoldt estate that Adrienne Tessé, aunt of his wife Adrienne Noailles Lafayette (hereafter "ANL"), had bought in 1796. It was a short distance northwest of Plön, across the Small Lake Plön. Thereafter, for a few months (Nov. 1797-April 1798), the Lafayettes and their friends the Maubourgs rented the two-story, French-style house on the Lehmkuhlen estate east of Preetz near Kiel, owned by Hanover court counselor (*Hofrat*) Gerhard Friedrich Otto von Hinüber (1752-1815). The house was razed in 1975. After a first winter at Lehmkuhlen, the Lafayettes returned to Wittmoldt. The house they occupied there was razed in 1834. On Lehmkuhlen and Wittmoldt, see *Topographie des herzogthums Holstein, des fürstenthums Lübeck und der freien und Hanse-Städte Hamburg und Lübek*, ed. Johannes von Schröder (Oldenburg in Holstein: Fränckel, 1841) 2:73-75, 478-479. A German-language book on this period, without benefit of the extensive L papers in France (Château La Grange) and the U.S (especially Cornell Univ.), is by Alfons Galette, *General Lafayette in Wittmoldt. Ein Leben für die Freiheit* (Plön: Sönksen, 1989).

⁸ From the *Souvenirs* of Jean-Étienne-Marie Portalis, member of the Council of Ancients, forced to flee after the coup of 18 Fructidor (4 Sept. 1797): cited by Detlev W. Schumann, "Französische Emigranten in Schleswig-Holstein," *Nordelbingen* 21 (1953): 132.

⁹ L at Wittmoldt to Diane de Simiane, 11 Oct. 1797, in *Mémoires, Correspondance et Manuscrits* (hereafter "MCM"), 6 vols. (Paris: Fournier, 1837-38), 4:380; to princess Adélaïde d'Hénin, 24 Oct. 1797, Marquis de Lafayette Papers, Château Lagrange, Courpalay, France (microfilm copy in Library of Congress, ID No. MSS83803, Washington DC; hereafter cited as "Lagrange"), folder 19.

¹⁰ L at Wittmoldt to Staël, 23 July 1798, in "Lettres inédites de La Fayette à Mme de Staël," ed. Haussouville, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, ser. 7, 6 (Nov.-Dec. 1926), 312. The policy of the Danish government, promoted by both Andreas Peter Bernstorff, Danish foreign minister and president of the German Chancellory in Copenhagen, and Carl von Hessen, governor (*Staathalter*) of Schleswig and Holstein, was to welcome refugees from Revolutionary France regardless of political or religious convictions. Besides sympathy for their situation, there was self-interest in the economic advantages they might bring for the kingdom. Also, Holstein nobles were generally well disposed to the émigrés. Renate Erhardt-Lucht, *Die Ideen der Französischen Revolution in Schleswig-Holstein* (Neumünster: Wachholz, 1969), 173-180.

¹¹ L enjoyed a host of powerful acquaintances abroad, with whom he corresponded directly or indirectly even if they did not aid him overtly in exile. They included George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, James McHenry, and other leading veterans of the American War of Independence. Though forced to work around policies of the ruling Executive Directory, French Foreign Minister Charles Talleyrand was for L "my dear Talleyrand": 7 Jan. 1798, Lagrange, folder 23. L's "friends" in Britain included leading Whigs in Parliament such as Charles James Fox ("the excellent friend," L dubbed him), Samuel Whitbread, Richard FitzPatrick, and Lord Robert Spencer: Pierre-Auguste de Lajard, (émigré in Britain and former French minister of war) to L, n.d. (ca. early 1798), Lagrange, folder 23.

¹² When Tessé began planning to sell the estate, L wrote ANL how painful "abandoning the dear peninsula" was for him: 6 Sept. 1798, LCI, 20/18. The sale came only in 1803: *Topographie des herzogthums Holstein* 2:478.

¹³ Hennings to Anton von Halem, 23 April 1798, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Carl von Ossietszky Hamburg (hereafter “SUB HH”), NHA: 41, 117r; n.d. (ca. May 1798): gifts from M. and Mme de Tessé and Mme de Staël, Lagrange, folder 400. Adrienne Noailles countess de Tessé, her husband René Mans de Froully count de Tessé, and Alexandre François count de Mun had signed jointly the contract to buy the Wittmoldt estate for 90,000 imperial dollars (*Reichsthaler/Rtlr*) on 9 June 1796, Gutsarchiv Nehmten, GA 4.

¹⁴ L at Wittmoldt to Lajard, 16 June 1798, LCI, 20/3.

¹⁵ Rufus King (hereafter “RK”) to L, 7 Nov. 1797, and Samuel Williams in Hamburg to RK, 29 Dec., in *Life and Correspondence of RK*, 6 vols. (NY: Putnam, 1894-1900), 2:239, 267; statement of advances from American diplomats to L to 12 May 1798, n.d. (ca. June 1798), Lagrange, folder 240; payments made by T. Pinckney at London to L’s account, n.d. (ca. June 1798), LCI, 11/17.

¹⁶ Littlepage in Warsaw to ANL, 22 Jan. 1798, LCI, 70/14; likewise, his letter to “Monsieur,” 15 Dec. 1797, 70/13.

¹⁷ RK to Samuel Williams, 1 Sept 1797, George Washington (hereafter “GW”) Papers, Library of Congress, Washington DC; Cadignan in Hamburg to RK, 19 Sept. and 13 Oct.; L at Wittmoldt to RK, 13 Oct.; RK to L, 7 Nov.; Williams to King, 29 Dec., in *Life and Correspondence of RK* 2:229-232, 239, 267; Sophie Reimarus to Hennings, 2 March 1798 (Edwards bequest of 1100£), NHA 6:749, SUB HH; L to Edwards’ brother and older sister (2 letters), 17 March, LCI, 19/32-33; payments by RK to L’s account, n.d. (ca. June), 11/17; L to Sieveking, 21 March; ANL, receipt of 3000 Mark Banco from Edwards bequest, 7 April, NS I:C7, StA HH; L, *MCM* 4:371. The Edwards bequest was probably the basis for a report reaching British Secretary of War William Windham in mid-Oct. 1797, “of a large sum, 14,000£, supposed to be sent from here [London] to La Fayette”: diary, entry of 13 Oct., in Windham, *Diary*, 379; L, n.d. (ca. 1810), “Compte rendu Sur la fortune du Gal Lafayette a differentes époques de sa vie,” in *Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Retirement Series* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2004-), 2:14 (22-23).

¹⁸ Although Pillet and Pusy kept continual contact with L, at least by correspondence, L had occasional contact also with other former military aides who had fled France with him. One was Col. Anselme Sicard, who dined with L in Dec. 1798: L at Wittmoldt to ANL, 19 Dec., LCI, 20/36.

¹⁹ Simiane’s escort, Joseph Masclet, reported to her 19 Nov. as the date of their departure for Wittmoldt: 4 Nov. 1797, LCI, 73/6. Soon he wrote of Mme de Staël and Maubourg’s sister Marie de Maisonneuve joining them when they passed through Paris: to André Masson (in Hamburg), 7 Nov., LCI, 73/8. On delays, see René Pillet to Mme de Staël, 18 Nov. 1797, in André Maurois, *Adrienne; ou, la vie de Mme de La Fayette* (Paris: Hachette, 1961), 383-384; Masclet to Anne-Louise de Noailles-Mouchy, princess de Poix, 18 Nov., LCI, 73/10. On their arrival in Hamburg and Holstein, see L at Lehmkuhlen to André Masson and René Pillet in Hamburg, 13 Dec., LCI 19/14; to Tessé, n.d. (late Dec.), Chavaniac, n. 33, copy at Regenstein Library, Univ. of Chicago, Gottschalk Papers, Special Collections (hereafter “GPC”), box 91. On Hénin’s departure, see L in Hamburg to Hénin, n.d. (ca. 29 Aug. 1798), LCI, 20/39; at Wittmoldt to Hénin, 9 Sept., 20/12.

²⁰ L to Hénin, 29 Jan. 1799, LCI, 20/44. Detlev Schumann describes Quatremère and his Holstein exile in “Französische Emigranten in Schleswig Holstein,” *Nordelbingen* 21 (1953): 133-134.

²¹ Dumas at Lehmkuhlen to Hamilton, 8 Dec. 1797, in *Papers of Alexander Hamilton*, 27 vols. (NY: Columbia UP, 1961-1987), 21:323; L at Lehmkuhlen to André Masson and René Pillet in Hamburg, 13 Dec. 1797, LCI 19/14. Dumas stayed as guest of count Christian Günther and countess Friederike Luise zu Stolberg-Stolberg at their Holstein estate of Tremsbüttel, under the cover name “Elias Funck.” As “Funck,” Dumas referred to visiting L at Lehmkuhlen, on 14 Nov 1798, LCI, 58/42.

²² L at Wittmoldt to Hénin in Richmond near London, 29 Dec. 1798, LCI, 20/37. Ramel had escaped the prison camp at Guyana, to which he had been deported after the coup of 18th Fructidor (4 Sept. 1797).

²³ L wrote, for instance, of how physician Johann Albert Hinrich Reimarus had loaned him his carriage when L was in Hamburg: in Wittmoldt to ANL, 2 Aug. 1798 (2nd letter to her that day), LCI, 20/8.

²⁴ L mentions several of these persons as he prepared to leave for the Batavian Republic: to ANL, 29 Jan. 1799, LCI, 20/45. Also, he held discussions with other émigrés on occasional trips to Hamburg. In a letter to Hénin from Hamburg, 29 Jan. (LCI, 20/41), he mentioned having met with Eugène d’Arnauld de Vitrolles, a young officer in an émigré army; and François de Reynauld de Montlosier, former member of the Constituent Assembly.

²⁵ Count Friedrich Leopold zu Stolberg, chief minister of the prince-bishop of Lübeck, his wife Sophie, and his younger sister Luise (Auguste Louise zu Stolberg, widow of Andreas Peter Bernstorff) paid a first visit to the Lafayettes at Wittmoldt on 28 Oct. 1797: J.H. Hennes, *Friedrich Leopold Graf zu Stolberg* (Bern: Lang, 1971), 509-510. Stolbergs were already close to Pauline de Montagu, sister of ANL, and came to Wittmoldt on this occasion especially to see her and meet ANL. Friedrich wished to keep some personal distance from L out of antipathy for his political views, though Luise was more sympathetic. Stolbergs would continue to see L on occasion: Detlev W. Schumann, “Neue Studien zur französischen Emigration in Schleswig-Holstein,” in *Nordelbingen* 22 (1954): 152-155. Auguste von Warnstedt in Preetz described the friendly visit of the Ahlefeldts and Wisches to L, to Christiane

von Dallwigg at Nehmten Estate on the southern shore of Large Lake Plön, 14 and 16 Apr 1798, Gutsarchiv Nehmten, SCA 76. In the former letter, Warnstedt described Ahlefeldt as having been “totally enamored with La Fayette” (*hat...einen Narren in La Fayette gefressen*). Johann Christoph von der Wisch/ Jean-Christophe de Wisch had retired to Preetz in 1794 after serving in the French army in the American War of Independence, including at Yorktown, and in the early years of the French Revolution, rising to the rank of major general (*général de division*). Later L referred to “my friend Wisch” to Pillet, 20 May, Chavaniac, env. 4, doc. U, copy GPC, box 91; and “my excellent De Wisch” to Pusy, 4 June, LCI, 20/2. Christiane von Dallwigg, stepdaughter of Gabriel Friedrich Schreiber von Cronstern, lord of Nehmten estate, recorded in her diary a visit by L and his aide René Pillet to the estate on 16 May: Tagebuch-Notizen 1798-1810, Gutsarchiv Nehmten, SCA 78. L’s friends the Hennings of Plön were also close friends of the Schreiber von Cronstern family, as appears in Cecilie von Hennings (daughter of August and Sophie) to Christiane von Dallwigg, 30 May, Gutsarchiv Nehmten, SCA 150. L wrote Hénin of an upcoming visit to the Emkendorf estate of Friedrich Karl von Reventlow and his wife Julia née Schimmelmann, 2 July, LCI, 20/5; then reported on it in a letter to Hénin of 9 Aug., LCI, 20/12.

²⁶ On this unusual gentleman, see August Mutzenbecher, “Peter Friedrich Wilhelm, Erbprinz von Holstein-Gottorp,” in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 25:469.

²⁷ L felt able to ask the newly arrived U.S. consul in Hamburg, Joseph Pitcairn, to serve as witness at the civil ceremony of his daughter’s marriage before the French consul: at Wittmoldt to Pitcairn in Hamburg, 2 May 1798, LCI, 19/44. The civil ceremony took place that very day; the religious ceremony before a priest at Wittmoldt two days later: ANL to Mme Chavaniac, 22 May, LCI, 100/41. The Dutch envoy, Balthasar Abbema, arranged for L’s eventual move to the Batavian Republic, and expressed “devotion” to him and a wish to “embrace” him before his departure: in Hamburg to L, 12 Jan. 1799, Lagrange, folder 23.

²⁸ Entry for 19 July 1798, SUB HH, NHA: 2, p. 3. Hennings also recorded in his diary a visit by the L family to his home in Plön shortly thereafter, on 23 July. The Hennings and L families had already become acquainted at the beginning of L’s Holstein exile: Cecile Hennings in Plön to Christiane von Dallwigg, 24 Oct. 1797, Gutsarchiv Nehmten, SCA 150.

²⁹ Abbema met L immediately after his arrival in Hamburg, and suggested to his government on 8 Oct. 1797 that it offer L and his family asylum: Joachim Nuhout Van der Veen, note, 11 Oct., in Register of Resolutions of the Department of Foreign Affairs, Nationaal Archief, The Hague, Nummer Toegang 1.02.09, Nr. 2:1872. Subsequently he kept L posted on developments: Abbema to L, 20 Oct., Lagrange, folder 22; and L in Harburg to René Pilet, 30 July 1798, Chavaniac, env. #4, doc. C.C., copy in GPC, box 91, 2a.

³⁰ L avowed to GW, “Talleyrand has continued very constant and friendly to me,” 20 Aug. 1798, in *Letters of Lafayette to Washington*, ed. Louis Gottschalk (NY: Hubbard, 1944), 376; also in *Papers of GW, Retirement Series*, ed. Dorothy Twohig (Charlottesville, VA: UP of VA, 1998), 2:542.

³¹ Abbema to L, 12 and 21 Jan. 1799, Lagrange, folder 23; 21 Jan., passport for L and company, 1 Feb., LCI, 1/8.

³² L stayed 10 months in Vianen at the rented home of his daughter Anastasie and her husband Charles Maubour. Shortly after Bonaparte and his allies overthrew the Directory on 8-9 Nov., L crossed into France and gained Bonaparte’s acquiescence to his retirement at a rural estate ANL had recovered some 35 km southeast of Paris: Paul Spalding, “After Seven Years of Prison and Exile, Why Didn’t L Move to America?” in *Symbol in Two Worlds*, ed. Diane Shaw (Easton, PA: American Friends of Lafayette, 2013), 12-28.

³³ The writer of the note was Alexandre Louis de Rohan-Chabot, prince de Léon. His act inspired an uncle, Marie Charles de Rohan-Chabot, count de Jarnac, immediately to write a long, happily never published denunciation of L: “Songe du La Fayette à Hambourg la nuit du 5 au 6 octobre 1797” (31 handwritten pages), with an introductory note signed 15 Oct. 1797, Lagrange, folder 74D; *Universel*, 1 Nov. 1797, GPC, in fiche series VIII/91; Félix France d’Hézecques, *Recollections* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1873), 309. Perhaps L would have felt satisfaction in knowing that the two Rohan-Chabots were, respectively, grandson and son of the chevalier Guy Auguste de Rohan-Chabot, who had once infamously ordered thugs to beat up the young Voltaire for insolence, then arranged for him to be thrown into the Bastille. For the incident involving Voltaire at the end of 1725, see Roger Pearson, *Voltaire Almighty* (NY: Bloomsbury, 2005), 65-67. Ironically, L’s grandson marquis Adrien Jules de Lasteyrie du Saillant would marry a Rohan-Chabot (Olivia) in 1846, and the papers of L’s adversaries would end up at Lagrange (microfilm reels 53-55, Jarnac-Lasteyrie Papers, 1745-1880). The Library of Congress register of L’s papers identifies Marie Charles de Rohan-Chabot as “Guy Auguste”: “Biographical Notes” in Kells and others, *Marie Joseph...du Motier, Marquis de Lafayette: A Register of the Microfilm of His Papers in Chateau La Grange*, p. 6. However, this was his infamous father’s name.

³⁴ L at Lehmkuhlen to Hénin, 27 March 1798, LCI, 19/36.

³⁵ At Wittmoldt to McHenry, 30 Aug. 1798, LCI, 20/16.

³⁶ L at Lehmkuhlen to French Executive Director Jean-François Rewbell, 6 March 1798, Lagrange, folder 21.

³⁷ Masclet to Simiane and to Masson, 7 Nov. 1797; to anon., 11 Nov. (“indiscretions”); and to the princess de Poix, 18 Nov., LCI, 73/7-10; see also his letter from Paris of 31 Nov., cited in *MCM*, 1839 ed., vol. 8:83. The French envoy in Hamburg, Charles Reinhard, informed L of this state of affairs by letter of 7 Nov., Lagrange, folder 22.

³⁸ Initially, L refused to write the new Directory for these reasons: L at Lehmkuhlen to Mme Simiane, 7 Jan. 1798, *MCM* 4: 401-402. L also explained to GW how the French Directors “wish for my temporary absence”: 20 May, in *Letters of L to Washington*, 370; similarly, to James McHenry, 30 Aug., LCI, 20/16. Anyway, he wrote Pierre Samuel Dupont de Nemours, he preferred to adjourn his return to France while it was under an “arbitrary” government: 7 Aug., LCI, 20/10.

³⁹ Anon. in Paris to L, 9 June 1798, Univ of Chicago Library, Lafayette-Bonaventure Collection, p. 6b.

⁴⁰ L at Wittmoldt to Hénin, 2 July 1798, LCI, 20/5.

⁴¹ Reinhard in Hamburg to Talleyrand, 22 Dec. 1797, Archives du Ministère des Relations Extérieures, Paris, Correspondance politique, Hambourg, tome 112, 215r-v.

⁴² Hennings to Reinhard, 3 Nov. 1797, SUB HH, NHA 42:66-67, 64.

⁴³ Hennings diary, entry for 19 July 1798, SUB HH, NHA:2, 9th p.

⁴⁴ Auguste von Warnstedt to Christiane von Dalwigk, 11 June 1798, Gutsarchiv Nehmten, SCA 79. The place was a rented estate called Lehmkuhlen near Preetz, about an hour and a half north of the Wittmoldt estate. From 17 November 1797 to April 1798, the Lafayettes had lived here. An example of a copper etching that mocks émigrés in Hamburg, from the Staatsarchiv Hamburg, appears in Hartig, “Französische Emigranten in Deutschland,” 53-54 (visual 85). Also, here (pp. 54-55) are the reproduction and description of a pamphlet calling for the expulsion of émigrés from Hamburg due to their alleged political threat as well as the role they supposedly played in inflation, particularly of housing prices, and in economic competition: “Should we folks here drive away the emigrants, or should they drive us away?” (*Sollen wir Hiesige die Emigranten oder sollen diese uns vertreiben?* [1797]).

⁴⁵ From the beginning of his exile, L corresponded with the Batavian resident in Hamburg, Abbema. An example is his letter to Abbema of 9 Jan. 1798, La Grange, copy in GPC, box 91, where he refers to being “touched” by Abbema’s “signs of friendship.”

⁴⁶ L to Pusy, 30 June 1798, Lagrange, folder 74ter.

⁴⁷ L wrote to James McHenry that the Dutch had planned to offer him asylum after his release from prison, but a Jacobin coup carried out under French pressure on 21-22 Jan. 1798 dashed the plan: 30 Aug., LCI, 20/16; similarly, to GW, 5 Sept., in *Letters of L to Washington*, 379. But French pressure against allowing L to enter the country remained even after the Batavian Jacobins were themselves thrown out of power. On 24 July, Maarten van der Goes, foreign relations secretary of the Batavian Republic, noted to Balthasar Abbema, Batavian consul in Hamburg, that inquiries at the end of 1797 with French foreign minister Talleyrand had met with advice not to allow L to enter Batavian territory. Nevertheless, Goes promised he would try again through Rutger Jan Schimmelpenninck, Batavian minister in Paris: Nummer Toegaang 1.02.09, Nr. 3. 1873-75, Nationaal-Archief, The Hague; French version in Lagrange, folder 22. Late in the year, 1 Nov. 1798, L wrote ANL that the alleged statements of the French Directors and the silence of Batavian officials continued to prevent his move to the Batavian Republic: in *Correspondance inédite, 1793-1801*, ed. Jules Thomas (1903), 358.

⁴⁸ L at Lehmkuhlen to Hénin, 27 March 1798, LCI, 19/36.

⁴⁹ Vincent Lombard de Langres (former French ambassador to The Hague), *Mémoires antédotiques pour servir à l'histoire de la Révolution française*, vol. 1 (Paris: Ladvocat, 1823), 322.

⁵⁰ L at Lehmkuhlen to Hénin, 27 March 1798, LCI, 19/36.

⁵¹ Three of many examples were letters to GW in 1798, announcing his hope to be at Mt Vernon in early autumn: 20 May, in *Letters of L to Washington*, 371; and to Isaac Winslow and Thomas Perkins of Boston (2 letters), 30 May, expressing the hope he and son GWL would set sail in July, copy of former in GPC, box 91; latter in Pierpont Morgan Library, NYC, LHMS (Literary and Historical Manuscripts), Autograph Letters of Lafayette.

⁵² ANL at Lehmkuhlen to her aunt Chavaniac, 28 Feb 1798, LCI, 100/38.

⁵³ Among those discouraging L from coming to the U.S. were GW and Alexander Hamilton: Hamilton in NYC to L, 28 April 1798 and 6 Jan 1799, *Papers of Alexander Hamilton* 21: 450-452 and 22:404-405. Sentiment against L and the French in general in some American circles may be divined by a letter of Abigail Adams in Philadelphia to her older sister Mary Cranch in Braintree, 26 May 1798, where she worried that L would have “crept unsuspected into the Bosoms of Americans, until he had bit like a Serpent and stung like an Adder [Prov 23.32]. Was there ever a more basely designing and insidious people [as the French]?”: in *New Letters of Abigail Adams 1788-1806*, ed. Stewart Mitchell (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1947), 181. French contacts also advised L against voyaging to America because he would find his loyalties so divided: anon. in Paris to L, 9 June, Univ. of Chicago Library, Lafayette-Bonaventure Collection, p. 6b; L at Wittmoldt to Hénin, 2 July, LCI, 20/5. To be sure, L declared early in

his Holstein exile that he would prefer “a French farm...1000 times more than a residence in any other country”: L at Lehmkuhlen to Jean-Louis Emmery (member of the Council of Ancients), 7 Jan., *MCM* 4:400.

⁵⁴ An Act Respecting Enemy Aliens, 6 July 1798, Lillian Goldman Law Library, Yale Univ., on-line at http://avalon.law.yale.edu/18th_century/alien.asp. Washington noted how Secretary of War James McHenry brought the commission personally to Mt. Vernon, in his journal entry of 11 July: *Diaries of GW*, vol. 6, eds. Donald Jackson and Dorothy Twohig (Charlottesville: UP of Virginia, 1979), 307.

⁵⁵ In another place, he described having expended 3/5 of his original capital before his flight on 10 Aug. 1792, when the Jacobins confiscated the rest. “My old fortune is thus reduced to zero”: at Wittmoldt to Lajard, 16 June 1798, LCI, 20/3.

⁵⁶ L in Vianen to GW, 9 May 1799, in *Letters of L to Washington*, 392 (his own finances); Mallet du Pan to Franz II, 11 June 1796, in Mallet, *Correspondance inédite* 2:98 (Maubourg and Pusy); L, n.d. (ca. 1810), “Compte rendu Sur la fortune du Gal Lafayette a différentes époques de sa vie,” in *Papers of TJ, Retirement Series* 2:14 (22). To be sure, ANL still hoped to reclaim property of her own. She continued borrowing from Parish on the basis of the mortgage on inherited property east of Paris, in the province of Brie: ANL at Lehmkuhlen to Mme. Chavaniac, 23 Dec. 1797, LCI, 100/37.

⁵⁷ Gras at La Chaise Dieu in the Auvergne to Beauchet (Lafayette business manager), 8 Feb 1798, and response to Gras, n.d. (ca late Feb.), LCI, 96/13; Gouverneur Morris in Ottensen to L at Wittmoldt, 30 June, copy in GPC, 57/12 (“Previous to my departure, it will be necessary to settle for the 100,000 *livres* I advanced to Mme de La Fayette...”).

⁵⁸ L at Wittmoldt to Lajard, 16 June 1798, LCI, 20/3. To be sure, immediately upon his release, L had granted generous annuities by mortgage on ANL’s property, to Justus Erich Bollmann and Francis Kinloch Huger, whom imperial forces imprisoned for trying to rescue L in 1794: 6 Oct. 1797, Lagrange, folder 18.

⁵⁹ Ducoudray-Holstein, *Mémoires of Gilbert...* (1824), 273. ANL would emphasize her husband’s new-found love of agriculture, when she wrote her manager Beauchet to obtain the extensive farm of La Grange as her portion of the family inheritance: n.d. (ca. late July 1798-Sept. 1799), LCI, 35/38.

⁶⁰ L at Wittmoldt to ANL, 2 Aug. 1798 (1st letter to her, of that date), LCI, 20/7.

⁶¹ L at Wittmoldt to ANL, 8 Aug. 1798, LCI, 20/11.

⁶² Examples were in his letters to Pillet, 21 May 1798, LCI, 100/40; and to Pusy, 26 June, Lagrange, folder 382.

⁶³ L at Lehmkuhlen to Pusy, 25 Dec. 1797, in *MCM* 4:395-398; 27 Dec., LCI, 19/18; L to “friends” in Hamburg, ca. late Feb 1798, copy in GPC, 57/12.

⁶⁴ L was plainly upset about Pusy surrendering the project, and tried to browbeat him to return to it: from Wittmoldt to Pusy, 24 Apr 1798, LCI, 19/43; 13 May and 29 May, Lagrange, folder 20; 4 June, LCI, 20/2.

⁶⁵ Other letters by L, asking for sources to defend his role in historical events, include an undated note to a “dear friend” in Hamburg (Archenholz?), LCI, 14/1. L wrote a very lengthy apologia to his friend August Hennings on 15 Jan. 1799, just before L departed for the Batavian Republic. In the English translation, it is some 50 pages long: *Correspondence and Manuscripts of General Lafayette* 3 (London: Saunders & Otley, 1837): 207-257.

⁶⁶ Already at the end of 1797, L explained the 6 Oct. 1789 attack on Versailles to Hennings: Hennings to Karl Reinhard, 3 Jan. 1798, SUB HH, NHA: 42, 89-92. He also mentioned the project of how to justify his flight from France in letters to Pusy, including one of 29 May, Lagrange, folders 75bis and 20. He encouraged publication of his version of his release from prison, allegedly correcting misinformation from Vienna: to Mme Tessé, ca. early 1798, Chavaniac, n. 19, copy in GPC, box 91. An example of his notes to Pusy about documentation and editing that would defend and burnish L’s reputation is a set of undated notes (ca. 1798), LCI, 7/8; and notes to Pusy from Lehmkuhlen, undated (ca. late Feb?), Lagrange, copy in GPC, 57/11; 14 Apr 1798, LCI, 19/39. L’s efforts to justify his role in the French Revolution continued after his move to the Netherlands in early 1799: see René de Chambrun, notes about the Revolution by L and Pusy, Lagrange, 74bis. L gave unusually frank expression of the torment he underwent in remembering the violence and failures of the Revolution, in response to a critical letter from Mme Tessé: L to Tessé, 25 March 1798, Chavaniac, no. 31, copy in GPC, box 91. As he prepared to leave Holstein for the Batavian Republic, he wrote an extensive defense of his political behavior in the French Revolution to Hennings: *MCM* 3:219ff. Much of L’s extensive correspondence with friends about the past, with commentary, would eventually find publication by his family in 1837-1838, shortly after his death: *MCM*. Other correspondence would appear in such works as *Correspondance inédite* (1903) and *Letters of Lafayette to Washington 1777-1799*, ed. Gottschalk (1976).

⁶⁷ L at Lehmkuhlen to Claude-Emmanuel de Pastoret, 6 Jan. 1798, LCI, 19/20; similarly at Wittmoldt to “Éleuthère” (Joseph Masclet) in Paris, 30 Oct. 1797, in Jules Cloquet, *Recollections of the Private Life of General L* (London: Baldwin and Cradock, 1835), 58.

⁶⁸ L at Lehmkuhlen to William Gordon, 23 Jan 1798, cited in Gordon to GW, 25 Jan., GPC, 57/12; similarly to GW, 27 Dec. 1797, in *Letters of L to Washington*, 365. On the other hand, the estate house at Lehmkuhlen was filled at times with some 25 persons, including not only L's family but also Maubourg's and several visitors: August Hennings in Plön to his sister Sophie Reimarus in Hamburg, 4 March 1798, SUB HH, NL Hennings 81. One of those visitors, Joseph Masclet, complained that Lehmkuhlen was also infested by "these blasted black butterflies": in Hamburg to Mme de Staël, 11 March, Univ. of Chicago Regenstein Library, Bonaventure-Lafayette Collection, vol. 3-4.

⁶⁹ L in Hamburg to William Vans Murray in The Hague, 24 July 1798, LCI, 20/6.

⁷⁰ L and George Washington L (hereafter, "GWL") at Wittmoldt to ANL, 8 Aug. 1798, LCI, 20/11. ANL already expressed fear of such a "cruel separation" in a letter from Lehmkuhlen to aunt Chavaniac, 28 Feb., LCI, 100/38. L himself noted the dispersal of family and friends at the end of July, and in particular the "cruel pain of separation" from his wife and daughters as he would see them off on 30 July: in Hamburg to Louis Romeuf, 29 July, in *Correspondance inédite*, 336; see L in Harburg to René Pilet, 30 July, Chavaniac, env. #4, doc. C.C., copy in GPC, box 91, 1a ("...I am going to say my last adieu to the dear objects of my regrets, who are leaving within the hour"); at Wittmoldt to ANL, 2 Aug. (2nd letter to her that day), LCI, 20/8 ("This exile has become quite a bit more painful since I've been separated from you"). GWL had been re-united with the family on 3 March: August Hennings in Plön to sister Sophie Reimarus, 4 March, SUB HH, NL Hennings 81. The French Directory erased ANL and her sisters from the émigré list by decree of 26 April: Archives Nationales, cited in *La Fayette et son temps. Expositions 3 juillet-6 septembre 1976*, ed. Josanne Pothier (Brioude: Marie de Brioude, 1976), 26. GWL received a passport by late summer, enabling him to enter France at will: L to Mme Tessé at Wittmoldt, 1 Aug., Chavaniac, no. 8, copy in GPC, box 91.

⁷¹ To ANL in Paris, 2 Aug 1798, LCI, 20/7.

⁷² L and GWL at Wittmoldt to ANL, 8 Aug 1798, LCI, 20/11. However, in the same letter L referred to reading letters from various correspondents as well as the London *Morning Chronicle*. Indeed, he was not so distant from Hamburg, the news emporium of northern Germany, and received regular mail by couriers from both that city in the south and Kiel in the north. He referred to two postal days a week at Plön: to Jonathan Russell, 25 Aug., LCI, 20/14. See Paul Spalding, "Hamburg als weltweites Kommunikationszentrum während Lafayettes Gefangenschaft und Exil, 1792-1799," in Anselm Steiger, ed., *Hamburg. Eine Metropolregion zwischen Friher Neuzeit und Aufklärung, 1500-1800* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2012), 349-360. Still, for someone who had lived in the center of Paris and with easy access to the offices and salons of the powerful, exile on a Danish Holstein estate could not help but seem deficient in news.

⁷³ To Samuel Du Pont, 7 Aug. 1798, LCI, 20/10.

⁷⁴ Published on 7 March 1798 in Hamburg's *Neue Zeitung*, cited in Galette, *General L*, 95. The secretary of the French legation in Hamburg described to the French foreign minister the negotiations that the French envoys had recently had with the Hamburg City Council or Senate on this matter: Lemaistre in Hamburg to Talleyrand, 9 March, Archives du Ministère des Relations Extérieures, Paris, Correspondance politique, Hambourg, tome 112 (reel P 10371), 368r-v.

⁷⁵ He wrote his wife of wanting to move to the Batavian Republic so as no longer to live "in a country constituted in the old style": 30 Aug. 1798, LCI, 20/15.

⁷⁶ L remarked that Denmark had been maintaining its neutrality in the face of pressure, even threats from England and Russia: to James McHenry, 30 Aug. 1798, LCI, 20/16. Friedrich Christian zu Schleswig-Holstein, son-in-law of the Danish king, wrote of Denmark's desperate effort to remain neutral, in an undated (ca. March) letter to his sister Luise, in *Aus dem Briefwechsel des Herzogs Friedrich Christian zu Schleswig-Holstein*, p. 165. Karl von Hessen-Cassel, Danish governor (*Statthalter*) of the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein, wrote from Schleswig to L's old comrade in arms Johann Christoph von der Wisch in Preetz to ask L to serve as a political intermediary, assuring the French Directory that despite Russian demands, Denmark sought only friendship with the Republic. L's friend Hennings discouraged him from involvement: Hennings, diary, entry for 23 July, SUB HH, NHA: 2.

⁷⁷ German Chancellory in Copenhagen, decree, 17 March 1798, in Galette, *General L*, 95-96.

⁷⁸ Friedrich Reventlow at his estate Emkendorf to his brother Cai in Copenhagen, 1 June 1798, cited in Otto Brandt, *Geistesleben und Politik in Schleswig-Holstein um die Wende des 18. Jahrhunderts*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1927), 151, note 1.

⁷⁹ L to Isaac Winslow in Boston, 30 May 1798, copy in GPC, box 91; likewise, at Lehmkuhlen to James McHenry, 26 Dec. 1797, in Bernard Steiner, *Life and Correspondence of James McHenry* (Cleveland: Burrows, 1907), 287; to GW, 27 Dec., in *Letters of L to Washington*, 367; in Hamburg to William Vans Murray in The Hague, 24 July 1798, LCI, 20/6; and to Pierre Samuel Dupont de Nemours, 7 Aug., 20/10.

⁸⁰ L at Wittmoldt to Patrick Henry, 30 Aug. 1798, Lagrange, folder 233 (reel 25).

⁸¹ L at Lehmkuhlen to André Masson and René Pillet in Hamburg, 13 Dec. 1797, LCI, 19/14.

⁸² An example appears in L to Tessé, n.d. (early 1798), Chavaniac, n. 19, copy in GPC, box 91: he seeks to work through Hennings, publisher of *Genius der Zeit*, and “friends in Hamburg,” presumably including Archenholz, publisher of *Minerva*.

⁸³ L at Lehmkuhlen to French Executive Directors Paul Barras and Jean-François Rewbell (2 letters), 6 March 1798, Lagrange, folder 21; also to Bonaparte on the same date, in *MCM* 5: 148ff; and to Talleyrand the next day, Lagrange, folder 21. A second time, on 29 Nov. 1798, L wrote the French Directory on the same topic: folder 21.

⁸⁴ L at Lehmkuhlen to Talleyrand, 7 March 1798, Lagrange, folder 21.

⁸⁵ Hennings in Plön to Charles Reinhard, 14 Dec. 1797, SUB HH, NHA:42, 84-85.

⁸⁶ In an undated writing (ca. 1798) apparently dictated by L, “Messieurs de Lameth et leurs amis,” Lagrange 59c, L dated their rupture from 6 Oct. 1789, on grounds that the Lameths and their circle had been close to Orléans, promoted continued disorder after L wished it to end, and sought a change of administration to their satisfaction and in opposition to L. In another undated writing (ca. 1798), this one to Joseph Masclet, L counted the alienation as dating from the king’s arrest on his attempted flight to Varennes, on 21 June 1791, which spelled the effective end of a constitutional monarchy: LCI, 19/19.

⁸⁷ L at Wittmoldt to ANL, 8 Aug 1798, LCI, 20/11.

⁸⁸ L to Alexandre Lameth, 30 Nov. 1797, in *MCM* 4:386-388; to Hénin, n.d. (ca. Nov.), in Maurois, *Adrienne*, 379; L at Lehmkuhlen to André Masson and René Pillet in Hamburg, 13 Dec., LCI 19/14; to Pierre Marie de Grave, 15 Dec., LCI, 19/17; to Jean Bureaux de Pusy, 20 Dec., in *MCM* 4:392-393; to Alexandre and Charles Lameth (2 letters), 16 Feb. 1798, LCI, 19/30 and 32; to “friends” in Hamburg, ca. late Feb., copy in GPC, 57/12.

⁸⁹ His approaches to the Directory on this subject included the following letters: L in Hamburg to Director Paul Barras, 5 Oct. 1797, in *Correspondence inédite*, 327-328; at Lehmkuhlen to Directors Barras and Jean-François Rewbell, 6 March 1798, Lagrange, folder 21; in Hamburg to the entire Executive Directory, 27 Nov., folder 21; and 20 Dec., folder 22. L was behind a note in César Maubourg’s hand to supporters, presumably in Paris, on behalf of former Lt. Benyamim von Sievers. Sievers had been imprisoned at Spandau, Berlin, for attempting to help L and fellow prisoners in Olmütz. The note recommended Sievers, since released, for an officer’s commission in the French army: n.d. (ca. 1799), LCI, 3/41.

⁹⁰ L at Lehmkuhlen to Claude-Emmanuel de Pastoret, and to anon. (Jean-Baptiste Suard?), 6 Jan. 1798, LCI, 19/20; to Emmery, 7 Jan., *MCM* 4:399.

⁹¹ Examples included Vincent-Marie Viénot de Vaublanc, who fled to Italy and Switzerland: L at Wittmoldt to GW, 5 Sept. 1798, in *Letters of L to Washington*, 379-380.

⁹² L at Wittmoldt to ANL, 2 Jan. 1799, LCI, 20/40. Among those he cited here were François Barthélémy, François Barbé-Marbois, Jean-Charles Pichegrus, Guillaume Alexandre Tronson-Ducoudray, Antoine Victor de Murinais, André-Daniel Laffon de Ladebat, André-Charles Brotier, and Charles Honoré Berthelot La Villeheurnois, the last five of whom died in Guyana.

⁹³ L at Wittmoldt to Hénin, 5 Dec. 1798, LCI, 20/33 (Jean-Pierre Ramel and Jean-Charles Pichegrus, who had escaped Guyana for London).

⁹⁴ Hennings in Plön to Gerhard Anton von Halm (senior counselor in the grand duchy of Oldenburg) at Eutin, 18 March 1798, SUB HH, NL Hennings 42, p. 110. L wrote of his concern that French tensions with Denmark might force him to leave, to Joseph Masclet, 17 July, Lagrange, folder 20A (in *MCM* 4: 425). Soon after, he referred to “dangers menacing Holstein”: in Hamburg to Louis Romeuf, 29 July, in *Correspondance inédite*, 337; then described them as the French coveting the Elbe and the Russians pressuring the Danish court: in Harburg to René Pillet, 30 July, Chavaniac, env. #4, doc. C.C., copy in GPC, box 91, 1b. That day he learned of a Russian fleet sailing behind the Elbe estuary: in Hamburg to ANL, 30 July, LCI, 24/34.

⁹⁵ At Wittmoldt to ANL, 2 Aug. 1798 (2nd letter to her that day), LCI, 20/8.

⁹⁶ At Lehmkuhlen to Hénin, 16 April 1798, LCI, 19/40. Bad Neundorf is 25 km west of the city of Hanover.

⁹⁷ When Abbema was finally able to issue a passport for L to enter the Batavian Republic, he noted that it would be best to travel through British Hanoverian territory under an assumed name, “M. Mottier”: to L, 12 Jan. 1799, Lagrange, folder 23.

⁹⁸ L first informed his wife of these plans by letter of 6 Sept. 1798, LCI, 20/16.

⁹⁹ To ANL, 27 Sept. 1798, LCI, 20/21.

¹⁰⁰ To ANL, 29 Oct. 1798, in *Correspondance inédite*, 363.

Surrender at Yorktown, Lafayette and “Yankee Doodle”

by Alan R. Hoffman

On October 20, 2011, I arrived at Washington, DC to present a lecture about Lafayette and the Farewell Tour at the Lafayette Elementary School, my aide-de-camp Charles “Chuck” Schwam having done the advance work for the talk. As I had plenty of time to kill before the 6:00 p.m. start, I went directly to the National Museum of American History, which had been closed for renovations the last time I had been in the District.

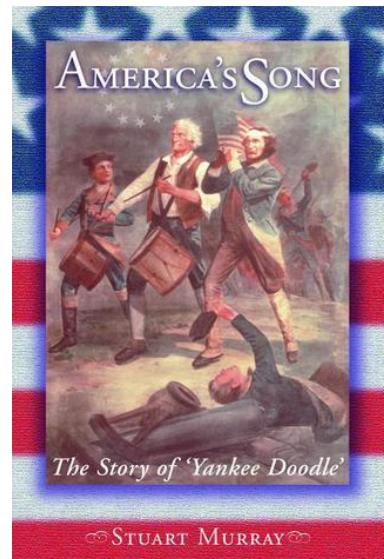
I spent about an hour touring the Museum and was disappointed and dismayed by the paucity of information about the role of France in the American Revolution and the critical role as soldier and statesman of General Lafayette. Indeed, the only reference to Lafayette in the Museum that I could find was on an informational panel about the surrender of the English Army at Yorktown, which stated, in words or in substance, that when the English refused to look at the line of American soldiers but only faced the French, Lafayette ordered a *French* band to play “Yankee Doodle.” As you may know, “Yankee Doodle” was sung by the English army during the French and Indian War as a derisive commentary on their country-bumpkin American allies. Although the English continued to mock the Americans with “Yankee Doodle” early in the American Revolution, this song soon morphed into a kind of national anthem or badge of honor for the Americans, with new and improved lyrics.

Lafayette ordering a French band to play an American anthem originally composed by the English – that seemed preposterous to me. Lafayette was a major general in the Continental Army who commanded American troops, not French. I had in my briefcase *America’s Song: the Story of “Yankee Doodle”* by Stuart Murray (Images from the Past, 1999), which I had brought along to read on the plane – in retrospect, a remarkable coincidence. I also had a copy of *Lafayette in America in 1824 and 1825*, Levasseur’s Journal which I had translated and published in 2006. In both, Lafayette orders an *American* band to play “Yankee Doodle.”

In his book, Murray describes how “the sullen Redcoats, striding between their [the French and American] ranks kept their heads rigidly turned toward the French, bluntly ignoring the Continental Army.” He continues:

It was as crude an insult as any Britisher could hurl at the Americans, and Washington’s young French aide, the Marquis de Lafayette, bridled. Furious, Lafayette snapped out a command to nearby American musicians. Fifes and drums exploded with a racket that startled the British, who jerked their heads around as one man, unintentionally acknowledging the triumphant Americans, whose resounding music was “Yankee Doodle.” [*America’s Song*, pp. 167, 170.]

In *Lafayette in America in 1824 and 1825*, Levasseur, Lafayette’s private secretary and scribe, tells the story of the surrender by recounting a long conversation that he had with a wizened old veteran whom he met during the visit to Yorktown on October 19, 1824:



It was evident to us that the English, in their misfortune, were particularly driven to despair by being obligated to lay down their arms before the Americans; for their officers and soldiers put on a show of turning their heads toward the French line. Lafayette noticed this, and avenged it in a very pleasant manner; he ordered the band of his light infantry to play the melody of *Yankee Doodle*, a melody which the English had applied to a song they had composed to ridicule us at the beginning of the war, and which they had never failed to sing in front of the prisoners that they had made of us. They were so thin-skinned at this pleasantry that many of them smashed their arms in anger while laying them down on the slopes.

[*Lafayette in America in 1824 and 1825*, pp. 210-211.]

Armed with these sources, I proceeded to an administrative office on the ground floor and asked if I could meet with the curator in charge of the American Revolution exhibit. They reached her by phone at her office on a different floor, and I persuaded her to meet me in the lobby. She arrived accompanied by a tall young man – an intern or perhaps a bodyguard – and we conversed. As to the general lack of emphasis on the French role, she remarked that their exhibits were driven by objects and they were lacking those related to the French. As to my complaint that the one reference to Lafayette in the Museum was incorrect, she agreed to review the two sources that I showed her. I believe she made copies of the pages before I left.

Since that time, I have wondered periodically about the source of the Lafayette “Yankee Doodle” story. I could not find it in James Thatcher’s *Military Journal during the American Revolutionary War* (1823) or in Joseph Plum Martin’s *Narrative of some of the Adventures, Dangers and Sufferings of a Revolutionary Soldier* (1830), two principal primary sources. There are many references to the story after Levasseur published his journal in 1829.

Just recently, I was perusing some old editions of the *Gazette of the American Friends of Lafayette*, and I struck pay dirt. In introducing an excerpt from historian Jared Sparks’ notes of his conversations with Lafayette, which took place in France at LaGrange in November 1828, about the American Revolution, Professor Louis Gottschalk wrote that the passage in the *Gazette* “has never been published in full.” Here is the excerpt from *Gazette* No. 2, which related to the Lafayette “Yankee Doodle” tale (the entire *Gazette* No. 2 is reprinted below):

The English marched out between the American & French army drawn up in parallel lines. Lafayette observed as they passed, that they turned their heads towards the French, and would not look at the Americans. A little piqued at this piece of affectation, he thought he would try the effect of music upon them. He ordered his band to strike up Yankee Doodle. The British turned their heads at the sound of this tune.

My tentative thesis, therefore, is that Lafayette himself was the source of the “Yankee Doodle” story. Perhaps Levasseur was present at LaGrange when Sparks and Lafayette conversed, or he heard the tale from Lafayette on another occasion. Perhaps, the old soldier whom Levasseur gives as his source was a mere convention, or not. In any event, I would love to hear from anyone who is aware of a source for the Lafayette “Yankee Doodle” story that precedes Jared Sparks’ interview and the publication of Levasseur’s Journal.

Gazette of the American Friends of Lafayette

No. 2: FEBRUARY, 1944

PUBLISHED OCCASIONALLY FROM EASTON, PENNSYLVANIA

Editorial

THERE has never been any question of where we, *The American Friends of Lafayette*, stand on the issue of French liberation. We have been unequivocal in our support of, first, the Free French, later the Fighting French, and finally the French Committee of National Liberation. We have endorsed the patriotic role of General de Gaulle, convinced that he represents the democratic forces dedicated to liberating France from the German conquerors and their Vichy collaborators. We have avoided partisanship in our attitude towards certain elements in the liberation movement. In our resolution of May 20, 1943, we said: "We do not cast doubt upon the patriotism of General Giraud. We support every move that may promote understanding and cooperation between the divided French forces." History, in the past year, has demonstrated the correctness of our position.

The unity of the French people of all classes, military and civilian, metropolitan and overseas, under the leadership of General de Gaulle, is now an accomplished fact. In France and her possessions only the known enemies of the United Nations are hostile to the French Committee of National Liberation. We believe this cannot be said of some of the French people in this country and some Americans attached to France. For we are unwilling to condemn as defeatists and collaborationists certain groups which cannot see that today every genuine French patriot must rally to the support of the French Committee.

We have an interest in this as citizens of one of the United Nations. As members of *The American Friends of Lafayette* we have a special interest. A society named for General Lafayette could not be other than deeply concerned about any people's struggle for national liberation. And today we know that freedom is indivisible: If the French people do not regain their freedom, we shall lose ours.

The equivocal and possibly pro-Vichy elements mentioned above may point to the fact that the recognition extended by our Government to the regime led by General de Gaulle was a grudging, half-way measure. The business of American

patriots is to correct our Government's policy. French unity against Hitler and against Vichy is now a definite reality. It is a virtue of American war leaders that they recognize realities of this nature. Our government has shown itself capable of abandoning or correcting policies which are found to obstruct victory. Support from us, in the form of resolutions and public statements, strengthens that decisive section of our war leadership which sponsors correct war policies.

Above all we must not be influenced by unsound or misinformed elements sometimes found in Franco-American circles. Who are these people? It requires very little interpolation to have Tom Paine's great lines against a negotiated peace apply exactly to our circumstances. He wrote in *Common Sense*, in the chapter headed *Thoughts on the present state of American affairs*:

"Though I would carefully avoid giving unnecessary offense, yet I am inclined to believe, that all those who espouse the doctrine of reconciliation may be included within the following descriptions:

"Interested men who are not to be trusted; weak men who cannot see; prejudiced men who *will not* see; and a certain set of moderate men who think better of the European world than it deserves; and this last class, by an ill-judged deliberation, will be the cause of more calamities to this continent than all the other three.

"It is the good fortune of many to live distant from the scene of sorrow: the evil is not sufficiently brought to their doors to make them feel the precariousness with which all American property is possessed."

—T. E. N.

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Lafayette at Yorktown

IN November, 1828, the American historian, Jared Sparks, passed two or three weeks at Lagrange, the home of Lafayette. The two men had several conversations about the history of the American Revolution. Sparks made notes of these conversations. They are now to be found

in the Harvard College Library among the Sparks MSS. The following note deals with the capitulation at Yorktown. It is to be found in Sparks MSS, XXXII, Vol. I, pp. 207-[210] or (because Sparks skipped the numbers between 207 and 248) 207-250. Much of the content of this memoir by Sparks is known through Sparks's several writings on the American Revolution, but this passage has never before been published in full. In his notes Sparks shows a carefulness for accuracy that is often lacking in his published works.

LOUIS GOTTSCHALK

After the redoubts had been taken, and while the Americans were at work on the second line of trenches, a flag came out with a letter to Gen'l Washington, proposing a cessation of hostilities for arranging the terms of capitulation. The French and American officers were assembled in the trenches with Washington at their head. The terms of capitulation were discussed. The Marquis de Chastellux, and some others of the French officers, as well as the Americans, spoke in favor of liberal terms, and showing generosity. Lafayette said he agreed with the spirits of their proposals, but said he thought their course was clearly marked out by a precedent of no distant date. He proposed that the capitulation should be on precisely the same principles as in the case of the capitulation of Charleston by Genl. Lincoln. This was approved and agreed to.

The English marched out between the American & French army drawn up in parallel lines. Lafayette observed as they passed, that they turned their heads towards the French, and would not look at the Americans. A little piqued at this piece of affectation, he thought he would try the effect of music upon them. He ordered his band to strike up Yankee Doodle. The British turned their heads at the sound of this tune.

Cornwallis did not march out with the army. When the British officers came up,

Ohara presented his sword to Rochambeau, although the difference of uniform made it impossible for him to mistake Rochambeau for Washington. The French general pointed him to the American Commander in Chief.

The day after the capitulation, Washington, Rochambeau, & Lafayette sent their aids with their compliments to Lt. Cornwallis. He received them politely, & told Lafayette's aid, that he should be glad to see his general. Lafayette paid him a visit the next day, & found him with his officers. He took Lafayette aside, and with a map of Virginia in his hand explained to him in what manner he should have escaped, had it not been for the storm which prevented. Two nights before the capitulation he had prepared to cross over to Gloucester, & force his way into the country with the determination to proceed to Carolina. The storm was so violent, that it was impossible to cross the river & his plan was defeated. He pointed out on the map the route, which he intended to pursue. But Lafayette assured him, that all his efforts would have been in vain, that the Americans would have pursued him and cut off his retreat before he could have escaped from Virginia.

Cornwallis returned his visit the next day, and was not a little surprised to find at Lafayette's quarters the same negro spy, whom he had supposed to be acting in his interests but who was in reality engaged in the service of Lafayette. "Ah you rogue," said Cornwallis to him, "then you have been playing me a trick all this time."

As soon as the capitulation was over Lafayette went on board to de Grasse & proposed to him to sail immediately to Charleston, & take with him forces to co-operate with Greene & capture Charleston. Lafayette would command the American forces. De Grasse declined, stating that it was necessary for him to proceed to the West Indies. When Cornwallis saw Lafayette going off to the vessel he said to some of his officers, "He is now for Charleston, & they will certainly succeed against that place." Lafayette is sure that nothing would have been more easy had not de Grasse's obstinacy defeated the project. Naval officers are always impatient to be on their own element, and never contented to act in concert with land forces.

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"The one goal of my life—the well-being of all, and liberty everywhere." Lafayette.

Another Unpublished Account of the Battle of Green Springs: Muhlenburg to Weedon

IN the first issue of the GAZETTE, there appeared a letter by Major Galvan on the Battle of Green Springs (with an introduction by Dr. Julian P. Boyd). Following the publication of this letter, a number of communications were received from readers. Through the kindness of one of the members of the American Friends of Lafayette, we present another unpublished letter on the Battle of Green Springs. This confidential letter was written by Brigadier-General John Gabriel Peter Muhlenburg to Brigadier-General Weedon, who was then located at Fredericksburg. As to the spelling, capitalization, and punctuation, the letter is reproduced exactly as written in the original document.

Camp (Malvern Hill) July 29, 1781.
This Morning, My Dear General, at half past 9 o'Clock I was favored with Yours of the 27th, enclosing two Sheets of paper; This Seasonable Supply enables me to convince You, that I am not only a Man of my Word, but also a Fair Correspondent, for here, let me see, exactly at 10 o'Clock, I am writing away pell-mell with a borrowed pen & Ink on the very paper You sent me.

News You say must naturally originate with the operating Army. This may have been the case heretofore; & may happen again, but at present it will not apply, we have now been ten days encamp't in Malvern Hills, without being able to find out what His Lordship has in view; This much is certain, that a Fleet of Transports is now lying in Hampton Roads with some troops on Board, but you know They may as well be destind up the Bay as for Sea. Spies have been sent out from every Quarter, but the Deel a one has return'd, so that at present we deal altogether in conjectures & guess work — I am happy to hear that Affairs look promising in other parts — If Lord Cornwallis can not brag much of his Jaunt thro Virginia We may likewise be Silent on that score — The Affair at Green Springs, *Sub rosa* might have prov'd fatal to this Army, and the State, owing to the impetuosity of our Brother Brigadier (Wayne) — For your own Satisfaction I will give You a little Sketch of the matter, but it will not do, to make it public —

On the morning of the 6th the Marquiss rec'd intelligence that half of the British Army had cross'd over the river & that the remainder was in Motion — Anxious to give them a Slap at parting I was ordered to March with the Continental Light Infantry as far as I thought prudent — Wayne with the Pensa Line was ordered to follow — & the Militia with the Park of Artillery was halted near Dinneastles 15 Mile from Jimstown — When I got within four Mile of the Enemys camp we took a pris-

oner, from him we learnt that the whole British Army lay still in their old Camp & that nothing but their Baggage & Negroes had cross'd — On this intelligence I halted until The Marquiss & Wayne came up — The Question was askd, Shall we with the two Continental Brigades risque anything serious! My Opinion was totally ag'st it as the Main dependence of the Army rested in those two Brigades & the Militia were 15 Mile distant. The Enemy might destroy us by pease meel The Marquiss was of the same Opinion, & as there was no Water where we halted, I was ordered to March three Mile back with the light Infantry and two Pennsylvania regt & to leave Colonel Stewarts Regt with one piece of Cannon, who were to act as a covering party to some Horse who were sent to reconnoitre — At 3 o'Clock pm. I recd orders to send on to Gl. Wayne his two Regts. & one of mine, with two field pieces which I did and at the same (time) ordered on about 400 Riflemen.

At 5 o'clock I recd intelligence that the Riflemen were engaged with the Enemys pickets & that the Pensa line had advanced so far that they could not retreat without engaging — We had now seven Mile to March to their Assistance, which we completed in One Hour and fifteen Minutes, when we got to Green Springs we met the Pennsylvania Line broke all to pieces, not more than Six or Seven in a Body — Their field pieces lost — the Regt. of L.I. entirely seperat'd from them The British Infantry in pursuit & Tarlton with 500 Horse within a Mile ready to Charge — in this Nick of time we came up & began to display on the rising Ground near the Springs, amidst such Clouds of Dust, That the Enemy thought our whole force was there; (& this Tarlton gives as a reason why he did not Charge.) some of them attempted to turn our right Flank, but on receiving two rounds from about 200 of my Men they Halted — We staid upon the Ground about two Hours after the Pennsylvanians had left it & then March'd slowly for our old Camp — the Enemy did not pursue a Step — from this, my Dr Sir You will be able to Judge whether the Step on our side was prudent, & whether the Enemys if they had acted properly might not have totally destroyed both Brigades — Should any thing new turn up in a day or two, as I have still a sheet of paper, I shall certainly write You imediately. Be pled to present my most respectfull Compliments to Your Lady.

I am Dear General
with respect & Esteem
Your Most Obed. Servt.

P. MUHLENBURG

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Lafayette to his wife: "I hope that, for my sake, you will become a good American, for that feeling is worthy of every noble heart. The happiness of America is intimately connected with the happiness of all mankind; she will become the safe and respected asylum of virtue, integrity, toleration, equality, and tranquil happiness." (1777. At sea aboard "La Victoire.")

GAZETTE OF THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF LAFAYETTE

Lafayette, Symbol of Liberalism

LAFAYETTE was quite typical of the French aristocracy before he became interested in America. His devotion to liberty and equality was born only after he had decided to join the American insurgents; it was not the cause of his volunteering to come to this country. Having determined to come here, he became interested in American ideals. Those ideals developed while he was in America and especially when he began to feel a warm devotion to George Washington. Seldom has one prominent man in history so deliberately modeled after another as Lafayette did after Washington.

Upon his return to France after the Battle of Yorktown, Lafayette began for the first time to take a personal interest in his peasants, to wish to free the Negroes, to bring about toleration for Protestants, and to advocate other liberal reforms. Yet he was not a republican. During the French Revolution, which followed shortly, he might have aided in establishing a republic, but instead stood quite definitely for a strong constitutional monarchy. In 1791, in fact, he ordered his men to fire upon a republican demonstration; and in 1792, when the king was in danger, he tried to save the monarchy. Failing, he deserted the French army. Of all this Lafayette kept Washington informed and clearly expected Washington's approval.

Lafayette might now have become a symbol of counter-revolution, were it not for the fact that he was imprisoned by the very German Governments that were using force to quell the Revolution; and those Englishmen and Frenchmen who stood out as friends of liberal thought tried now to save him. Thus once more, the name of Lafayette became a rallying cry for liberals.

It was only after his imprisonment that Lafayette became a friend of the republic. Upon Bonaparte's becoming First Consul he supported the Consulate. Perhaps he thought, as did Bonaparte himself momentarily, that the Consul would become a French Washington. But he was soon undeceived. He openly opposed the creation of the Life Consulate and thenceforth lived in quiet but well-known hostility to the dictatorship of Napoleon. He emerged from retirement only when, during the Hundred Days, a liberal constitution was granted to France, and took a leading part in the new legislature.

After Waterloo he was largely responsible for Napoleon's second abdication.

It was during the Restoration that the noblest period of Lafayette's career took place. He fought the Bourbons in the Chamber of Deputies, opposed their intervention in Spain to suppress revolution there, championed the abolition of the slave-trade, organized relief and aid for the Greeks in their effort to secure independence, and sent encouragement to Latin-American and Italian revolutionaries. When reelection was stolen from him by the manipulations of the Bourbons, he accepted an invitation to revisit America, where he was systematically feted and celebrated as no other man ever has been in this country. Reelected in 1827 to the Chamber of Deputies, he took the lead once more in championing liberal and lost causes and in defying tyranny.

Finally, the Revolution of 1830 overthrew the Bourbons. A popular republican movement demanded him as leader and he accepted. Again at the head of a citizen militia, he completed the revolution but proved unwilling to create a republic. He put an Orleanist relative of the Bourbons upon the throne and left the republicans chagrined and defeated. The conditions under which Lafayette accepted Louis Philippe as king are still much mooted, but whatever they were, the king did not abide by them. He soon rid himself of Lafayette, who once more passed into the opposition.

Lafayette's last years were spent mostly in supporting the cause of revolution in Portugal, Belgium, Italy and Poland. He might yet have become republican had he lived until the next revolution, but in the seventy-seven years that were allotted him his liberalism never quite overcame a distrust of republican institutions for France. Perhaps this explains why he is more of a hero in America than in France, where royalists dislike him because they think he betrayed the monarchy and republicans because they believe he betrayed the republic. But who can doubt where he would stand today? Fascism would have been too reminiscent of the Bourbons, Bonaparte, Talleyrand, and Louis Philippe to fool him long. Freedom, whether in monarchy or republic, was his ideal; and where do Frenchmen find freedom today?

LOUIS GOTTSCHALK

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"Serving America is to my heart an inexpressible happiness." Lafayette.

Books

Secretary Norton reports stocks of the following Lafayette publications, sponsored by our Society or by certain individual members, on deposit in Easton:

CEREMONIES IN COMMEMORATION OF THE ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEATH OF GILBERT DU MOTIER, MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE. Washington, 1934. 91 p. (73d Congress, 2d Session, House Document no. 407)

GAZETTE OF THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF LAFAYETTE, volume one, no. 1, February 1942.

Gottschalk, Louis. FRANKLIN AND LAFAYETTE, Washington, 1939, 18 p. (Reprinted for The American Friends of Lafayette from the Bulletin de L'Institut Francais de Washington, numero douze, Decembre 1939).

Gottschalk, Louis. . . . LADY-IN-WAITING: THE ROMANCE OF LAFAYETTE AND AGLAË DE HUNOLSTEIN. Baltimore, 1939. 137 p.

Hume, Edgar Erskine. LAFAYETTE IN KENTUCKY. Frankfort Ky., 1937. 115 p.

Revel, Joachim du Perron, comte de. A MAP OF YORKTOWN . . . WITH NOTES BIOGRAPHICAL, NAUTICAL & CARTOGRAPHICAL. 1942.

Shriver, J. Alexis. LAFAYETTE IN HARFORD COUNTY, 1781. Bel Air, Maryland, 1931. 121 p.

If any active member has not received copies of these they will be sent upon request. In some cases the stock is nearly exhausted.

In an early issue of the GAZETTE a selection of titles from the Society's stock of duplicates of Lafayette books, that is, books other than our own publications as listed above, will be offered. Also a partial list of titles wanted for our Collection. Mr. Norton suggests that one urgent "want" can be listed right now:

B. F. Stevens' FACSIMILES OF MANUSCRIPTS IN EUROPEAN ARCHIVES RELATING TO AMERICA, 1773-1783. London, 1889-1898. 25 volumes.

★ ★ ★

Simon Bolivar to Lafayette: "You are the citizen hero, the Colossus of liberty, who, with one hand assisted America, and with the other, the old world." 1824.

★ ★ ★

Fort Schuyler Indian pow-wow in 1784. The speech of Red Jacket—"Let the ears of Kayewla be opened to receive our words. We love to hear thy voice; it does us good, and never wounds our hearts. Thy words are truth. Thy predictions have been accomplished. We remember the words thou didst speak to us seven suns ago. They have all been verified. Thy words to-day shall be proclaimed among the six nations. They will strengthen the chain of friendship which we trust will endure forever."

"Lafayette, We Are Here!"

PROFESSOR ALBERT H. GILMER of Lafayette College, a member of the Executive Council of the American Friends of Lafayette, was recently in Washington. In conference with General John J. Pershing at his quarters at the Walter Reed Hospital, Professor Gilmer gave General Pershing an opportunity to read for the first time his own words spoken at the tomb of Lafayette on July 4, 1917. As Pershing spoke extemporaneously on that historic occasion, it was of interest to him to review his own words.

—J. B. M.

At that time, after Brand Whitlock's long address and Col. Charles E. Stanton's short talk as representative appointed by General Pershing to speak for the American Expeditionary Force, that ended with the famous phrase, "Lafayette, we are here!" General Pershing arose at the request of French and American officials, and made a few effective remarks. He had no notes, nor did he later make any record of the speech. But Col. Stanton's secretary recorded the remarks in shorthand and typed it for Col. Stanton. It was a copy of this that Prof. Gilmer delivered to General Pershing who read it carefully, nodded his head, and said, "I recall now. That is what I said."

Prof. Gilmer showed him also a photostatic copy of a letter of August, 1917 in which appeared in print for the first time the phrase and where it was first wrongly attributed to Pershing. The letter said, "General Pershing got off his horse before Lafayette's tomb." Upon reading this General Pershing looked up, quickly recalling the scene, and said decisively, "We didn't have horses at the cemetery." He added, "So this is how it all began?"

He was also keenly interested in the letter to Prof. Gilmer from Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, of July 5, 1943, in regard to the authenticity of Colonel Stanton's dynamic phrase. General Eisenhower's letter closed with the sentence, "It was a grand phrase, and I only wish we had one that would tell us succinctly the story of the Allied occupation of North Africa and succeeding events."

When it was suggested that possibly General Eisenhower might repeat General Pershing's experience by marching his victorious troops through Paris and on out to Lafayette's grave, General

Pershing looked up quickly and said spiritedly, "I hope sincerely he may."

In speaking of the interview, Prof. Gilmer observed that General Pershing seemed to be in good health for his 83 years, walking with only slight aid from his cane, with the accustomed flash in his eyes, resonance in his voice and mentally alert. The general was interested in and much pleased with the material, autographed some of the documents, and asked to have copies of the articles.

(Reprinted from *Easton Express*)

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The Lafayette Ambulance

THE Lafayette Ambulance, presented to the American Field Service by Lafayette College and the American Friends of Lafayette in March, 1943, has served through the desert campaigns and is now in Italy. More detailed news is lacking at this time. So reports Mr. Stephen Gallati of New York, Director General of the American Field Service. We may be assured that this ambulance, bearing the name of Lafayette, is doing its part with honor in the war.

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Books and Articles on the American Revolution Published in 1942 and 1943

- Adams, R. G. and Peckham, Howard H. *LEXINGTON TO FALLEN TIMBERS, 1775-1794: episodes from the earliest history of our military forces.* Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1942. 41 p.
- Boyce, Myrna. *THE DIPLOMATIC CAREER OF WILLIAM SHORT.* (Journal of modern history, XV, 97-119, June, 1943.)
- Brunhouse, Robert L. *THE COUNTER-REVOLUTION IN PENNSYLVANIA, 1776-1790.* Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Historical Commission, 1942. viii, 368 p.
- Forbes, Esther. *PAUL REVERE AND THE WORLD HE LIVED IN.* Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1942. xiii, 510 p.
- Gipson, Lawrence Henry. *"SOME REFLECTIONS UPON THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION"* and other essays in American Colonial History. Bethlehem, Department of History and Government, Lehigh University, 1942. Six essays reprinted from various magazines.
- Gottschalk, Louis. *LAFAYETTE AND THE CLOSE OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.* Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1942. xii, 458 p.
- Guttridge, G. H. *ENGLISH WHIGGISM AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.* Berkeley, University of California Press, 1942. 153 p.
- Hart, Freeman H. *THE VALLEY OF VIRGINIA IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, 1763-1789.* Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1942. xii, 223 p.
- Hoffman, Robert V. *THE REVOLUTIONARY SCENE IN NEW JERSEY.* New York, American Historical Company, 1942. 303 p.
- Jackson, Luther Porter. *VIRGINIA NEGRO SOLDIERS AND SEAMEN IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.* (Journal of Negro History, XXVII: 247-287, July, 1942.)
- Langstaff, John Brett. *DOCTOR BARD OF HYDE PARK:* the famous physician of revolutionary times, the man who saved Washington's life. New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, 1942. 365 p.
- Lewis, Charles Lee. *I HAVE NOT YET BEGUN TO FIGHT: errors surrounding the accounts of John Paul Jones' historic words* (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXIX: 229-237, September, 1942, and XXIX: 401-406, December, 1942.)
- Lorenz, Lincoln. *JOHN PAUL JONES: FIGHTER FOR FREEDOM AND GLORY.* Annapolis, United States Naval Institute, 1943. xxii, 846 p.
- Macmillan, Margaret Burnham. *THE WAR GOVERNORS IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.* New York, Columbia University Press, 1943. 309 p. (Studies in history, economics and public law, no. 503.)
- Miller, John Chester. *ORIGINS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.* Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1943. xiv, 519 p.
- Morais, Herbert Montfort. *ARTISAN DEMOCRACY AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.* Science and society, VI: 227-241, 1942.)
- Root, Winfred Trexler. *THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION IN NEW BOOKS AND NEW LIGHT.* (*Canadian Historical Review*, XXIII: 300-315, September, 1942.)
- Root, Winfred Trexler. *THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION RECONSIDERED.* (Canadian Historical Review, XXIII: 16-29, March, 1942.)
- Rossmann, Kenneth R. *CONWAY AND THE CONWAY CABAL.* (South Atlantic Quarterly, XLI: 32-38, January, 1942.)
- Tornquist, Karl Gustaf. *THE NAVAL CAMPAIGNS OF COUNT DE GRASSE DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, 1781-1783 . . . tr. from the Swedish . . . by Amandus Johnson.* Philadelphia, Swedish Colonial Society, 1942. 203 p.
- Tornquist was an officer serving with the French fleet. The original Swedish edition of this work was published in Stockholm in 1787.
- Van Doren, Carl. *MUTINY IN JANUARY: the story of the crisis in the Continental army.* New York, Viking Press, 1943. 288 p.
- Winwar, Frances. *LAFAYETTE RETURNS.* (*The University Review*, University of Kansas City, VIII: 236-243, 1942.)
- Note: In the next issue of the *GAZETTE* we will publish an extensive list of recent publications on the French in America and related Franco-American topics.

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Lafayette to his son, when he joined the Huzzars to fight under Napoleon: "France whether free or not, is still our country."

★ ★ ★

George Washington to Lafayette: "Your love of liberty, the just sense you entertain of this valuable blessing, and your noble and disinterested exertions in the cause of it, added to the innate goodness of your heart, conspire to render you dear to me; and I think myself happy in being linked with you in the bonds of the strictest friendship."

**Parents and Siblings of Adrienne Lafayette
by John C. Becica**



Miniatures of Lafayette & Adrienne

A number of biographies of our hero gloss over the details of his wife Adrienne's family. I present here some information about her parents and siblings.

Adrienne's Parents – the Noailles Family



*Henriette Anne Louise d'Aguesseau
The Duchesse d'Ayen*

*Jean-Paul-François de Noailles
The Duc d'Ayen*

Adrienne's Father

Adrienne's father, Jean-Louis-Paul-François de Noailles, (Oct. 26, 1739 - Oct 20, 1824) became the 5th Duc d'Ayen upon his grandfather's death in 1766. He later became the Duc de Noailles upon the death of his father in 1793. In addition to his being a renowned military man, his eminence as a chemist gained him election to the French Academy of Sciences in 1777 during the American Revolution.

With five daughters to marry off, and with a desire to limit his dowry exposure, he saw the fabulously wealthy, young, orphaned Lafayette as an excellent match for his second daughter, Adrienne, and negotiated their marriage with Lafayette's maternal great-grandfather, the Comte de La Rivière.

At about the same time, with no sons to perpetuate the family name, he arranged for his first daughter, Louise, to marry a cousin, Louis de Noailles. Louis was five months older than Lafayette, and they soon became fast friends.

Adrienne's father later opposed the strong-willed 19-year-old Lafayette's plan to go to America to aid the Patriots, and solicited an edict from Louis XVI forbidding it. Of course, we know that our hero defied the King and his father-in-law and sailed to America on a ship he purchased anyway!

While other family members remained in France during the French Revolution, Adrienne's father traveled to Switzerland until the conclusion of the war, where he remained protected from the Reign of Terror which took his mother, his wife, and his daughter Louise to the guillotine.

He later married a woman he had met in Switzerland, but had no further offspring. He died in France a few months after Lafayette had arrived in America for his 1824-1825 Triumphal Tour.

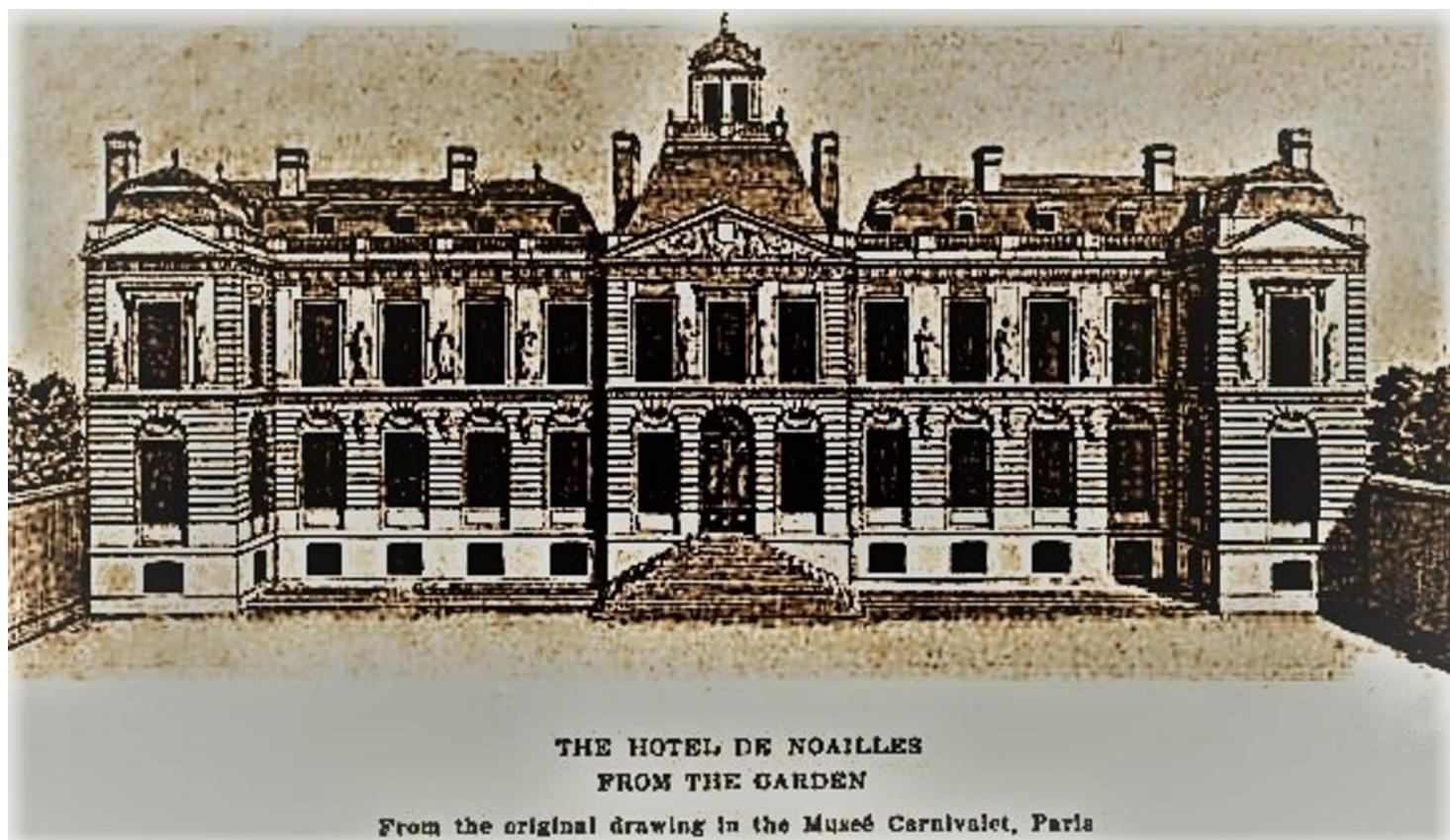
Adrienne's Mother

In 1755, in an arranged marriage, Adrienne's father wed her mother, heiress Henriette Ann Louise d'Aguesseau (February 12, 1737- **Guillotined July 22, 1794**).



Adrienne's mother, painted in 1789 at age 52, five years before her execution during the Terror

Adrienne's father was age 16, and her mother had just turned 18 at the time of their marriage. Known as a pious and charitable woman, Adrienne's mother took charge of educating her brood of daughters at their opulent mansion, the Hotel Noailles in Paris. She strongly opposed her husband's desire to marry off her young 12-year-old daughter to the Marquis de Lafayette, and succeeded in delaying the marriage until both youngsters were a bit older (Lafayette was 16 and Adrienne 14 on their wedding day). In a compromise between Adrienne's parents, Lafayette and Adrienne were introduced to each other under chaperoned circumstances, and later Lafayette was moved into the Hotel Noailles for several years so the youngsters could get to know each other. During this time, Lafayette was aware that he was betrothed to Adrienne, but she was not. In a twist of fate, he LIKED her, and she FELL HEAD OVER HEELS for him. Lafayette and Adrienne were married on April 11, 1774 at the Hotel Noailles. Adrienne's older sister Louise had married Louis de Noailles the previous Fall.



Adrienne and her Siblings

Adrienne's parents produced eight children: two sons, both of whom died young, and six daughters, one of whom also died in infancy.

1. Son Adrien Paul Louis de Noailles (1756-1757). Died at age 11 months.
2. Daughter Anne Jeanne Baptist Pauline Adrienne **Louise** Catherine Dominique de Noailles (1758-1794). **Died at the guillotine July 22, 1794 at age 35.** She was married to Louis, Viscount de Noailles, who was a close friend of Lafayette, joining him in America during the American Revolution at the battle of Yorktown.
3. Marie **Adrienne**, Françoise de Noailles, (1759-1807). Married Lafayette; died at age 48 from the aftereffects of imprisonment with her husband and surviving daughters at Olmutz, and from medical treatments involving lead poultices and the administration of lead by mouth. (Burton, Jane K., "Adrienne Noailles Lafayette (1759-1807) as Medical Patient: Lafayette's 'Better-Half' in the worst of times", p 8)
4. Unnamed Daughter (1760-1760). Died in infancy.

5. Daughter Françoise Antoinette Louise **Clothilde** de Noailles (1763-1788). Married twice, in 1779 and again in 1784. Died in childbirth three years after her second marriage at age 24.
6. Daughter Ann **Pauline** Dominique de Noailles (1766-1839). Married in 1783. Died at age 72.
7. Daughter Angélique Françoise d'Assise **Rosalie** de Noailles (1767-1833). Married in 1788. Died at age 65.
8. Son Louis Gabriel de Noailles (1768-1770). (His mother was suffering from Smallpox. She survived; the baby son did not)

Three female members of the family went to the guillotine together on July 22, 1794, only days before the end of the Terror: **Adrienne's paternal grandmother, Adrienne's mother, and her sister Louise.**

Adrienne escaped death because American Ambassador Gouverneur Morris was successful in having her moved down on the list of people to be executed. Had the terror continued longer, she might have lost her life at the guillotine as well. James Monroe succeeded in getting her released from prison, but she then elected to join Lafayette's incarceration at Olmutz. She died at age 48 in 1807 debilitated by the conditions she had experienced in prison with Lafayette and by lead poisoning from her medical treatment. He was devastated, but lived 27 more years.



Adrienne Lafayette in her later years

After the French Revolution, the three surviving Noailles sisters were able to recover some of their grandmother's family property from the estate of their mother. Adrienne and Lafayette received Château La Grange-Bléneau, 30 miles east of Paris. Sister Pauline inherited the château at Fontenay nearby. Sister Rosalie received Tangri in the Pas de Calais. Offspring of departed Louise and Clothilde also recovered some of the family lands.



*Adrienne's maternal ancestral home, Château La Grange-Bléneau
where the Lafayettes lived out their remaining years*

Lafayette and Women's Suffrage

by Colleen Shogan

August 26, 2020 marks the centennial of the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, which stated that the right to vote shall not be denied on the basis of sex. This historic change did not transpire overnight; the women's suffrage movement was the longest social movement in American history, spanning at least eight decades in duration.

Interestingly enough, the extraordinary story of the suffragists intersects with the legacy of the Marquis de Lafayette. In 1913, American suffrage leaders Alice Paul and Lucy Burns decided to adopt some of the more militant tactics they observed when campaigning for women's right to vote in Britain. They organized a suffrage parade in Washington, D.C. on March 3, one day before Woodrow Wilson's inauguration. The parade didn't exactly go as planned, as unruly onlookers accosted the marchers and assaulted them. However, Paul and Burns were not disheartened. The last phase of the movement had begun, and suffragists began to consider new attention-grabbing demonstrations to make their cause known.

In 1916, Alice Paul created her own suffrage organization, the National Woman's Party (NWP), whose sole purpose was advocating for a federal amendment. Paul and her supporters moved into Cameron House, located on Lafayette Square directly north of the White House. At the end of 1917, the owners sold the house to the Cosmos Club, so the National Woman's Party needed to find another home.

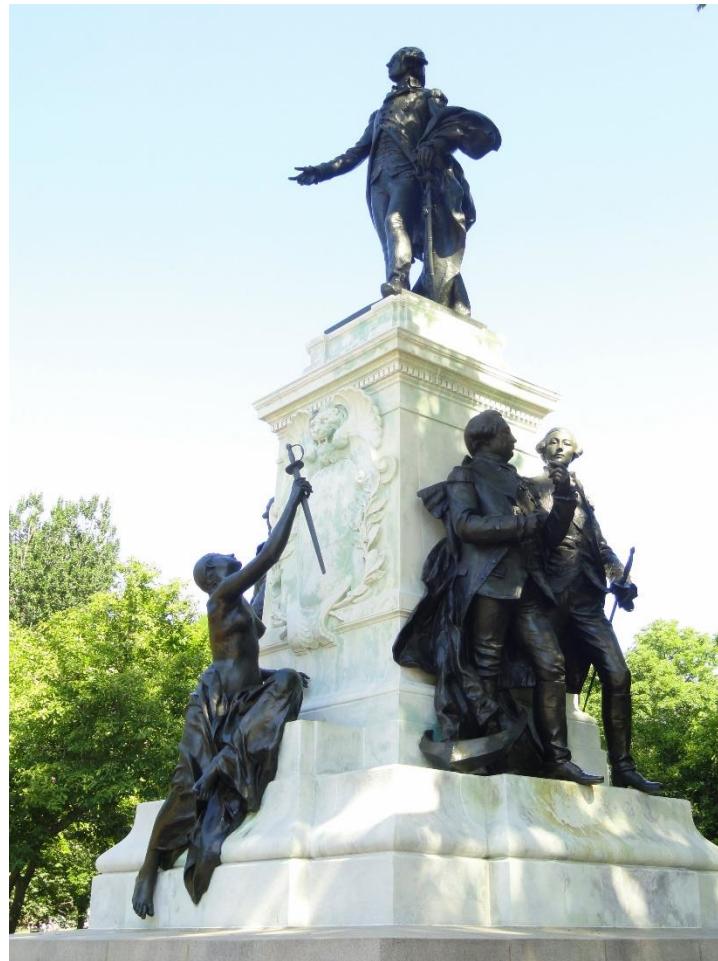
They didn't move far. Alice Paul and the NWP moved across Lafayette Square to 14 Jackson Place, which they used as a base of operations until 1922. Why did the suffragists want their headquarters located on Lafayette Square? In short, Alice Paul had a plan to attract even more attention to the plight of women's suffrage.

The first pickets arrived at the White House gates on January 10, 1917. Twelve women picketed that day, making them the first group to ever protest in front of the White House. The suffragists who picketed were known as the "Silent Sentinels" because they stood silently with placards, even when they were the targets of threats and taunts from hostile onlookers. Initially, the suffragists were tolerated; even Woodrow Wilson tipped his hat to them as he exited the White House grounds.

The United States entered World War I on April 6, 1917. Soon thereafter, the mood concerning the pickets began to change. The suffragists started to use Woodrow Wilson's own quotes about democracy to promote their cause for the right to vote, twisting his own rhetoric against him. On June 22, 1917, Lucy Burns and Katherine Morey were arrested while picketing; the official charge was obstructing traffic. The arrests continued over the next several months. When suffragists were apprehended in front of the White House or in Lafayette Square, they were either sent to the Washington, D.C. jail or the Lorton Prison, approximately 22 miles south of the city.

Lucy Burns spent more time in prison than any other American suffragist. She was jailed on six separate occasions and was subject to solitary confinement and forced feeding. November 14, 1917 was the “Night of Terror” in which prison guards at Lorton physically abused the 33 suffragist prisoners. The guards were instructed by the prison warden, who tired of demands to treat the suffragists as political prisoners, to teach them a lesson. During that night, Burns had her hands shackled above her head to the top of her cell, forcing her to stand for the duration. Dora Lewis lost consciousness due to a beating, and another woman, Alice Cosu, suffered a heart attack after witnessing the physical assault on Lewis.

However, arrests and repeated imprisonment did not deter Alice Paul or her supporters. In addition to protesting in front of the White House, the suffragists viewed the statue of Lafayette in the eastern corner of the park as sacred ground. Lafayette represented a revolutionary spirit who made considerable sacrifices for the cause of liberty and democracy. They engaged in countless demonstrations and protests in front of his statue, at times burning Woodrow Wilson’s statements about suffrage, which they felt were not supportive enough of their cause. During other demonstrations at Lafayette’s statue, suffragists climbed onto the statue and declared, “Lafayette, we are here!”, repeating Colonel Charles Stanton’s exclamation at Picpus Cemetery in Paris on July 4, 1917.



*Statue of Lafayette in Lafayette Square, Washington, D.C.
by Alexandre Falguière and Antonin Mercié, 1891*

On August 6, 1918, suffragist Hazel Hunkins led a large demonstration at Lafayette's statue with over one hundred women participating. After Dora Lewis began to speak, she was immediately arrested. Hunkins took her place and stated, "Here, at the statue of Lafayette, who fought for the liberty of this country, and under the American flag, I am asking for the enfranchisement of American women!" She was subsequently arrested. That day, the police took almost fifty women to jail.

In mid-September 1918, the National Woman's Party organized another demonstration at Lafayette's statue. This time, kindergarten teacher Berthe Arnold spoke: "We, the women of the United States, denied the liberty which you helped to gain, for which we have asked in vain for sixty years, turn to you to plead for us. Speak, Lafayette! Dead these hundred years but still living in the hearts of the American people. Speak again to plead for us, condemned like the bronze woman at your feet, to a silent appeal...Let that outstretched hand of yours pointing to the White House recall to him his words and promises, his trumpet call for all of us to see that the world is made safe for democracy." No one was arrested that day, since the police were ordered not to bring any more attention to the suffragists.



Suffragists gathering at Lafayette's statue in mid-September, 1918
Source: Library of Congress

In May 1919, when Woodrow Wilson was in Europe negotiating the League of Nations treaty, he convinced a senator of his party, William Harris from Georgia, to switch his vote concerning women's suffrage. The amendment finally passed the Senate on June 4, 1919 and progressed to the state ratification process.

In total, over 200 women served prison or jail sentences because of their protests and picketing for the right to vote. During the darkest days before the amendment was ratified, countless suffragists marched by Lafayette's statue on a daily basis, drawing inspiration from his message concerning the importance of equality and liberty and his dedication to the fulfillment of democratic ideals.

Editor's Note: Colleen Shogan is the Senior Vice President of the White House Historical Association and the Chair of the Women's Suffrage Centennial Commission.

Lafayette Trivia Question: Postal History of Lafayette

by Ernest & Janet Sutton

To the Lafayette philatelist, these stamps are well-known:

- 200th Anniversary of Lafayette's Birth (Scott # 1097)
- Arrival of Lafayette in America 1777 (Scott # 1010)
- Lafayette: US Bicentennial (Scott # 1716)

When and where were they first issued? What did Lafayette bring on his arrival in 1777?



For the really savvy French Lafayette philatelist, consider the first stamp issued to honor Lafayette at Paris on September 15, 1927 (Michel # 224-225).



What does the ideology on these French stamps represent? Are you reminded of Col. Charles E. Stanton's famous announcement at the Picpus Cemetery in 1917? "Lafayette, We are Here!"

Lafayette Trivia Question: Under the Coverlet with Lafayette?

by Janet and Ernest Sutton

As we are today “In the Time of COVID-19,” to borrow a line from Gabriel García Márquez, some periods of time are popularly described in just a few words: the Gay Nineties, the Roaring Twenties, the Swinging Sixties. The Era of Good Feelings defined the national mood of the United States from approximately 1815 to 1824, during the end of President James Madison’s second term, and continuing during President James Monroe’s time in office.

The phrase Era of Good Feelings was coined by Benjamin Russell in the Boston Federalist newspaper *Columbian Centinel* on July 12, 1817, following Monroe’s visit to Boston, Massachusetts, as part of his goodwill tour of the United States promoting national pride, patriotism, optimism, and harmony. “Discord does not belong to our system,” he declared in his inaugural address. “Harmony among Americans... will be the object of my constant and zealous attentions.”

During this era, the Erie Canal was under construction, Thomas Jefferson founded the University of Virginia, “Rip Van Winkle” was published, Spain ceded Florida to the US, the Federalist political party collapsed leaving Democratic-Republicans as the sole political party, the United States became isolationist under the Monroe Doctrine, the nation’s defenses were strengthened, westward expansion was encouraged, six new states were admitted to the union, industrial production moved from individual itinerant workers into factories, protective tariffs encouraged industry, food production and distribution was more reliable due to more road construction, currency was stabilized with a new National Bank, and Lafayette, the last surviving Major General of the American Revolution, received an invitation to visit the United States, all expenses paid.

In this Era of Good Feelings, a new age of prosperity and optimism in the United States, what would a middle-income household, updating home decor for the bedroom, choose for a bed covering?



James Monroe

James Monroe, oil sketch by E.O. Sully, 1836, after a contemporary portrait by Thomas Sully; in Independence National Historical Park, Philadelphia.
Courtesy of the Independence National Historical Park Collection, Philadelphia.

The Stone is Still There!

by Pierre Larroque (with the help of Ellen McCarthy)

It all started, as usual, with Ellen coming up with a find, a suggestion, and a Lafayette treasure hunt challenge.

Two years ago, my wife Debbie and I had planned to go visit Ellen and her husband Charlie Howell (both AFL Members) at their country house near the Shenandoah National Park in northern Virginia.

Just before leaving our house in the DC area, I received a mysterious email from Ellen suggesting that we stop in the little city of Warrenton, Virginia, on our way to their place, and that we try to find “*The Lafayette stone*.”

Needless to say, we were at once perplexed and amused: a Lafayette stone? In sleepy Warrenton? But stop we did, and yes, hidden at the side of the courthouse in the town’s center, there it was: “*The Stone upon which General Lafayette is said [maybe?] to have stood*”!

I was overjoyed.



The stone



Pierre & Debbie Larroque on the stone!

I stood on that stone - where Lafayette is said to have stood! – took pictures, had our pictures taken; even one with a good-natured passerby who was completely bemused.



A happy but bemused Virginian celebrating Lafayette



The stone by the side of the Courthouse

I could not stop smiling for the remainder of our drive. As for my friends in France, I am told that they burst out in laughter at reading of my joy at finding a stone upon which it is said that Lafayette may have stood, and of the honor I felt in standing myself on that stone.

And, unsurprisingly, Ellen researched and found the story behind that stone:

On August 23rd & 24th, 1825, Lafayette visited Warrenton, Virginia. Travelling with him were former President James Monroe, Lafayette's son George Washington Lafayette, Col. Robert Randolph, Thomas Fauntleroy, and Congressman Charles Fenton Mercer. While in Warrenton, Lafayette ... addressed the public (a crowd estimated to number 5,000 to 6,000 people) from the Courthouse steps. ...

In 2000, the Fauquier Historical Society held a 'Salute to Lafayette' commemorating the 175th anniversary of his trip ... including a ceremony placing the stepping stone from the old courthouse, which Lafayette is said to have stood on to receive welcoming remarks from members of the community and/or to deliver his speech to the assembled multitude that September, and installing a commemorative plaque, donated by the Bartenstein Family of Warrenton, on the grounds of the current courthouse.

Source: Erin Clark, Fauquier History Museum, Old Jail, Warrenton, Virginia
www.fauquierhistory.com.

So, as you would expect, we now stop by Warrenton every time we drive to the Shenandoah, and check to see that "the stone" is still there.

It is. You must come, see it, and stand on it too.



Lafayette-Inspired Whiskey

by Chuck Schwam



Two Worlds Whiskey is an American whiskey crafted exclusively for France. Named to honor Lafayette, “the hero of two worlds,” Two Worlds Whiskey celebrates the historic Franco-American alliance by sharing the best whiskey America has to offer with her first ally, France.

Their first bourbon for sale is called *La Victoire* and was batched in Kentucky in December 2019. It arrived at their bottling site in the Cognac region in March 2020. Batch One will soon be bottled and packaged for release in France.

A small batch of just 11 barrels, *La Victoire*, Batch One features a core of complex 14-year-old straight bourbon whiskey balanced with a delicate, fruity four-year-old straight bourbon whiskey and rounded out by a creamy five-year-old straight bourbon whiskey. The result is a decadent whiskey with notes of toffee, tarte tatin, pastry cream, fresh pear, apricot, nutmeg, and clove spice that pairs beautifully with dessert and excels as a digestif.

LA VICTOIRE

BARREL STRENGTH.
NO ADDITIVES.
NON-CHILL FILTERED.

La Victoire, Batch 1 is a **straight bourbon** whiskey bottled in France at **barrel strength** at **54.7% alc./vol.**

La Victoire, Batch 1 is an **extremely limited edition**, with **only 2,107 bottles** produced, exclusively available for pre-sale on KissKissBankBank.

Besides this first offering honoring the ship that brought Lafayette to America in 1777, the company also plans to distill whiskey honoring two other ships, *L’Alliance* and *L’Hermione*, each one distinct, and having more of the finishing done in France.

More information can be found at these two websites:

<https://www.kisskissbankbank.com/en/projects/twoworldswhiskey>
<https://twoworldswhiskey.com/>

The Long-Lost Guns of the Marquis de Lafayette

by Michael A. Geiger



Fig. 1

Setting the Scene

The Evening of March 25th, 1777
 The docks of Pauillac, between the mouth of the Garonne River
 and the City of Bordeaux France.

After five months of discrete meetings and secretive planning, it is on this very evening in southern France that two gentlemen come aboard a two-masted ship named *La Victoire*. The anchor raised, and sails set upon the western winds, the voyage begins to join a far-off rebellion in America. This quiet voyage will soon change the course of history of two continents. What transpires from its quiet echo will be heard around the world.

The eldest of the two gentlemen boarding, at nearly 55 years of age, is Johann de Kalb. Originally from Germany, Johann was a former officer of long-standing in the French military service.¹ He had completed sensitive missions for the King and Minister. In such a position, he became a trusted confidant of Charles Francois de Broglie. The Comte de Broglie had been the head of King Louis XV's secret service, le Secret du Roi. As the King's secret service had kept its eyes on internal ministers as well as foreign governments, it had become an affront to certain French nobles as well as to the king's minister to find evidence that they had been spied upon by their countrymen. Rather than expose the Secret Du Roi and other failures of King Louis XV, the Comte de Broglie allowed himself to be exiled from government affairs, taking the King's secrets with him. To protect himself and his secrets, King Louis XV never bothered to right the wrongs that were done to those who had worked faithfully for him in his secret service. The king took the secret to his grave that these faithful men had been spying on their countrymen upon the King's order. Eventually, Louis XV passed on, and his grandson, the new King Louis XVI took over the reins of government. At this time the Comte de Broglie appealed to the new king to clear his name, showing the proof that he had always been the most loyal of subjects to Louis

XV and the monarchy, even to the extreme of allowing himself to be exiled from all government affairs, instead of outing the former king's secrets. However, Louis XVI was unwilling to out the secrets of the former king, nor did he wish to risk causing the Monarchy itself to appear weak. The best Louis XVI would do for Broglie was to place him in charge of a few troop regiments at the out-of-the-way fortress town of Metz.

The Comte de Broglie had been of high standing among military leaders during the Seven Years' War. Upon seeing that no assistance in clearing his name or standing was coming from Louis XVI, Broglie sought to restore his name by seeking glory in a hoped-for appointment as the military leader to the American Congress and army. He was well-qualified for the position and could move the French in Canada to join the fight. He planned to become the experienced leader in charge of the inexperienced soldiers of the young American rebellion in rising against the King of England. Broglie hoped that his good name and standing in the eyes of his countrymen would be restored by recovering France's standing in the world, which had been so much tarnished and reduced by the great losses suffered by France in the Seven Years' War.

Johann de Kalb had previously been to America late in the 1760s, in service to King Louis XV and his minister, the Duc de Choiseul. The reason for Kalb's voyage at that time was to judge the willingness of the American rebels to sustain an all-out rebellion against the British King, at which point the French would perhaps be willing to assist. In the process, they might recover their standing and clout among the empires of the world. They might also wrest the commerce and trade with America from the British, and perhaps recover the lost colonial territory of New France with its rich fur trade and commercial prospects. During this trip to America, Kalb, having learned fair English, had made many American contacts.

Upon Kalb's return, as France cut back military spending, he had been relieved of active military duty and spent some years with family and personal pursuits. Eventually again seeking active service, he was appointed to serve under the Comte de Broglie at Metz. As Kalb served the Comte to his satisfaction, Broglie became his avid supporter. At this time, much of the French military was cut back or furloughed. Kalb was then requested by Broglie to travel once more to America, this time to encourage the new American Congress to place Broglie himself as the sole head of the American rebellion's new military. Broglie would offer his vast experience as a successful military leader against the British, for a sum, with a guarantee that he would accomplish the revolution in but three years, promising to return the army promptly back to Congress. If successful, the Comte de Broglie would return to France as a hero of both continents.

The American agent, Silas Deane, had arrived at Paris on July 6, 1776, publicly portraying himself as a merchant. Deane had been tasked by the American Congress with seeking French government assistance for the Americans in the form of money and arms, as well as the enlistment of a few qualified French officers to the American cause. He was to let the French know that the Americans would pay back any loans by awarding France its commercial trade. On November 7th, 1776, Kalb, on his mission for Broglie, had signed on with Silas Deane in exchange for an appointment as a Major General for the United States. Whether or not Broglie would be accepted to lead the American war efforts, Kalb would still be gainfully employed and in good position to seek his own glory. Kalb was set to ship out from the port of Le Havre on one of the first ships arranged by Deane; however, a recent ban on such voyages by the minister of

France meant that the expected voyage was not to be. This led Broglie and Kalb to arrange another more confidentially planned voyage, eventually leading Kalb to board this second ship that now was secretly sailing from Bordeaux.

The younger gentleman boarding *La Victoire*, not yet 20 years old, is the young Marie-Joseph Paul Yves Roch Gilbert du Motier, at present, the Marquis de Lafayette. Lafayette had been a captain of the Noailles Dragoons which was assigned to summer service at Metz under the Comte de Broglie. As Lafayette's grandparents and parents had all passed on, his recent inheritances made him the wealthiest young man in all of France at that time.

Two years before, in August of 1775, 17-year-old Lafayette, along with two close friends, his brother-in-law, the Vicomte de Noailles, and the Comte de Segur, also officers belonging to the Noailles Dragoons, were invited to a dinner honoring the visiting younger brother of the English king, the Duke of Gloucester. A Freemason as was Broglie, and sympathetic to the rights of man and to the Americans, the Duke's words during that dinner described the American demands for liberty and self-determination. Such words stirred Lafayette and his two friends' hearts and imaginations. Fired up by the dinner discussion, Lafayette and friends promptly resolved to sail off together to America to join that rebellion at the first opportunity. Being young and restless, all were eager to make their marks in the world by allying in arms with the Americans, fighting beside them for liberty, the rights of man, as well as standing against the English. Spiritually armed with his recently adopted republican and Masonic principles of liberty and self-determination for all, Lafayette hoped to make a name for himself in seeking that glory. At the same time, he perhaps also hoped to avenge the childhood loss of his father who had died of a British cannonball at an earlier battle while fighting the British at Minden in the Seven Years' War. The perfect opportunity to mend his heart and fulfill his dreams of glory had opened to him. In June 1776, as Lafayette had been placed on reserve with no prospects of military advancement, he determined to leave France as soon as possible.

"Cur Non?" he surely said to himself in his native French. In English "Why Not?" Lafayette adopted those very words as his personal motto and placed them on his coat of arms for the remainder of his life. (Fig. 1)

At first chance, the three friends sought out Silas Deane to begin the process of enlisting for the American service. However, as both of their own families refused to give permissions, the Vicomte de Noailles and the Comte de Segur decided not to cross them, and the two elected to forego the adventure and remain in France. If Lafayette was to go to America, it would sadly be without his two closest friends.

On December 7, 1777, Lafayette joined Kalb and met again with Silas Deane. On this day, Lafayette officially signed up to join the American Revolution as a Major General. Upon eventually finding this out through a letter of goodbye from Lafayette, the Marquis' father-in-law, the Comte de Noailles, did all in his power to keep his young son-in-law in France, including asking the Comte de Vergennes, Minister of the King, to forbid the voyage by having the king issue a Lettre du Cachet upon Lafayette. Determined, but confused and unsure of himself, Lafayette did manage to avoid all of them as he pursued his plans. A bit more than three months from the day he signed with Silas Deane, his first voyage to America begins...

Already aboard *La Victoire* are the ship's captain and crew, along with several other presently unemployed French military officers who had also signed on with Silas Deane. One of those officers, Lieutenant François Auguste Dubois Martin,² was a brother to M. Dubois Martin, who had for some time been employed by the Comte de Broglie as his personal and most trusted secretary. If the congress is warm to Kalb's mission for Broglie, Dubois Martin is to return to France and Broglie with the news. Lieutenant Dubois Martin had been enlisted three months earlier by Broglie, Kalb, and Lafayette to travel to Bordeaux, make the arrangements to quietly purchase a ship and see to its fitting out for the voyage, all with the utmost secrecy.

The reason Bordeaux harbor was chosen as the point of departure for this secret voyage was that the French government, in order to appease the British Lord Stormont, English Minister to France, had taken the public posture of disclaiming and refusing any off-duty French officers who officially asked for permission to enlist in the American rebellion against the King of England. However, such enlistments and assistance to the rebellion were unofficially and privately applauded by all of France, including the French government. Plans had been in the making for many French officers to ship off to America, but quite a few of those officers were not the quiet type. Many bragged openly about having signed up in the American fight against England in the cafes and bars and streets. However, the ports of northern France were full of Lord Stormont's spies on the watch for just such French reactions to the American rebellion. Upon documenting such, Lord Stormont demanded that the Minister of France, the Comte de Vergennes, address this. If the king and government of France were found to be giving tacit approval or assistance to the American rebellion, consequences could unfold that France was unprepared for at this time. As such, any French officer who sought official permission was denied. Further orders went out by Vergennes to bar any ships from sailing that were known to be carrying French officers to America. Many of those who had enlisted now found themselves barred from shipping out. As Kalb's voyage for Broglie from Le Havre was one of those barred voyages, it was decided by Broglie and Kalb, recently joined by Lafayette, to quietly obtain and outfit a ship of their own at Bordeaux in southern France, far away from the prying eyes and ears of the British spies. Having decided, they would need just the right person to assist in making the arrangements. Their timing was perfect.

Lieutenant Dubois Martin had just arrived in Paris. Brother to de Broglie's personal secretary, M. Dubois Martin, the Lieutenant was also known as "Little Dubois Martin" to the Comte de Broglie. Several months before, Lieutenant Dubois Martin had been sent by his regiment from Port-au-Prince, Saint-Domingue, to sail to Bordeaux on a mission to obtain and arrange new arms and uniforms for his regiment. Having finished the task, just before shipping back to Saint-Domingue, the Lieutenant decided to visit his brother M. Dubois Martin in Paris, arriving there just as the decision to purchase and outfit a ship of their own had been made by Broglie, Kalb, and Lafayette. Little Dubois Martin was enlisted by them, as he would draw no undue attention by making further purchases, provisions, and shipping arrangements back in Bordeaux. He was ideally qualified to accomplish the undertaking without exciting suspicions of the British, or the local French authorities, as it would be assumed such further arrangements were for his regiment back in Port-au-Prince. He returned immediately to Bordeaux, and soon arranged for the purchase and equipping of a ship along with its crew and its cargo for 112,000 livres. The deal agreed, the lieutenant and the former owner of the ship made a brief trip back to Paris to settle the financing; Lafayette was immediately required to pay 25% of the purchase price.

And so it was that Lafayette's ship, *La Victoire*, replete with a ready captain and crew, along with a shipment of grain and cargo that was sold to them with the ship, came to be purchased and further outfitted by Lafayette and company. All was arranged within a few months, and all were ready to ship off for America, eventually to land near Charles Town (Charleston), South Carolina in June 1777 to join the early American struggle for independence.

The Quest to Identify the Guns Brought by Lafayette

Such is the short story with minor details of the known departure and outfitting of Lafayette and company on the Marquis' first voyage to America aboard *La Victoire*. The story is short for good reason. There are not many of the now more than 240-year-old details of secretly provisioning the ship to be found among the few known accounts, writings, memoirs, and histories of those involved. The information concerning this voyage is spread out in collections and universities of two continents and two languages. While the ship was being provisioned by Lieutenant Dubois Martin, and to avoid suspicions, Lafayette himself took a trip to England. Kalb remained in Paris until all was ready. Lafayette left the details of provisioning *La Victoire* to others, all done in secret. These details were perhaps not considered important enough by those who created and lived that history to be mentioned in the brief memoirs left by any of them that currently exist. And further, after depositing Lafayette and company at Charles Town, South Carolina, *La Victoire*, the ship itself, had sunk on a bar while leaving the bay. It is not expected that we may ever find a ship's log or a manifest of cargo, nor receipts for purchases made at Bordeaux by the Lieutenant. Perhaps more explicit information of exactly what Lafayette brought aboard *La Victoire* may one day be uncovered. Perhaps not.

We do know the names of many who were aboard when the ship sailed, and we know their aims and much of what became of them, although the details of the voyage and landing are sparse. Some very few facts are found in light descriptions with small clues that tell us the ship *La Victoire* was also outfitted with some arms, munitions, and uniforms, along with 12 French officers, a few of their assistants, the Captain and a Dutchman working on the crew. No primary source evidence has yet been discovered that Lieutenant Dubois Martin arranged a purchase of arms and uniforms, that he may have been ordered to do so by Lafayette himself, although it seems likely that he did. In Lafayette's memoirs,³ he admits to some arms being aboard; "A heavy ship, two bad cannons, and some guns, could not have escaped from the smallest privateer." He also mentioned that he and a Dutch crew member agreed to blow up the ship should they be caught by the British, so perhaps there may have been enough contraband arms and munitions aboard to have gotten them imprisoned or possibly even put to death for assisting the rebel insurrection in America. Lafayette's close friend, the Comte de Segur, admitted in his memoirs that "He had bought a ship which was to await in a port of Spain, he had armed it, had obtained a good crew, and had filled this ship not only with weapons and ammunition, but still a fairly large number of officers."⁴ In 1824, we have early American accounts of Lafayette's landing, stating that after arriving in Charles Town and being shown the fort and works that had lately been defended by General Moultrie and the local militia, Lafayette had given General Moultrie 100 muskets along with uniforms for 100 men.^{5,6} In other accounts, it is said that Lafayette donated the monies to Moultrie sufficient to outfit 100 men with muskets and uniforms.⁷ Yet, this account of donation of monies to General Moultrie may be in doubt, as the Chevalier du Buysson, who had accompanied Lafayette and Kalb aboard *La Victoire*, tells us in

his personal journal that Lafayette had borrowed \$7000 in Charles Town to equip his caravan to travel to Philadelphia.⁸ There is no mention yet found of a shipment of arms accompanying them after Lafayette and his cohorts departed South Carolina in wagons and carriages to meet the American Congress and Commander-In-Chief in Philadelphia, nearly a month after their landing. There is no known mention of Lafayette having brought along any arms when he joined with George Washington after first meeting him at Philadelphia.

Further, it must be noted that the British eventually captured Charles Town, South Carolina, three years after Lafayette's landing. Nearly 6000 muskets were said to have been captured there at that time. More than 5000 of those muskets are said to have been blown to smithereens in a depot where they were to be stored. One of the captured muskets was said to have been left loaded, cocked, and primed, and had accidentally been fired off in that depot which also held many kegs of captured gunpowder. If any muskets that may have been donated by Lafayette were still in Charles Town at that time, it is doubtful that any trace of them will be found.

But it does seem, according to these sparse accounts, that our favorite young French general of the American Revolution was also a 19-year-old gunrunner supplying arms for our revolutionary war effort. If so, and if any of those firearms may have survived, it behooves us today, if humanly possible, to identify, find, and preserve any of those guns that are said to have been smuggled aboard *La Victoire* and into America in June 1777, should any traces of them still exist. We can only wait and hope that some primary source account may surface, or perhaps Lafayette may have left us a clue of how to identify his muskets.

But herein lies another problem. Considering that during the American Revolution, America had eventually imported 43,000 or perhaps many more military muskets from France, how could we today possibly distinguish which, if any, of the survivors, would have come by Lafayette in mid-1777, versus the tens of thousands of others that had been gifted or sold to America by the French king, or were left here by French troops, or perhaps brought over to America after the war? The surviving French firearms of the period that we do find often confuse us even further. The dearth of arms at the time caused every type of part, piece, and model of French muskets to be obtained and used by the Americans in the war. We have found French muskets from the early 18th century, as well as French models 1717, 1728, 1745, 54, 63, 66, 68, 70, 71, 73, and 1774. We find French arms that had been manufactured at Tulle, Charleville, Maubeuge, and Saint Étienne. These arms were marked and stamped in a multitude of ways and found in a multitude of configurations. Those who study these revolutionary war period French arms easily get lost in trying to understand them. The British arms of the period are seemingly simpler to understand. Arms made for their military were generally sent to the Tower of London, and marked as such, and were made by a more limited number of controlled contractors than were the French arms. Looking among the existing French examples for arms that perhaps had arrived with Lafayette aboard *La Victoire* would seem daunting. Many might consider such a task to be perhaps absurd, at best.

But sometimes to move forward, it might help to look back to see if we started on the right road to begin with. Looking back at one of the earliest historic American arms collectors of note, we find Charles Winthrop Sawyer.⁹ He too attempted an early search for Lafayette's muskets. He left us but a few crumbs to ponder, perhaps to encourage us forward to continue the

search. This honored and early firearms collector had written one of the first, if not the first book regarding historic American firearms. His book was titled *Firearms in American History*, and was self-published in Boston in 1910.

On page 114 of *Firearms in American History*, Sawyer, perhaps the father of historic American gun collectors, left us with the following:

Lafayette, coming in 1777, brought the Americans as a present a mixed lot of firearms, about 250 of which were muskets, and it is believed that most of those muskets were model 1763, Charleville manufacture. Arms of that model and armory were and sometimes are now called Lafayette muskets.

That Lafayette had brought about 250 muskets in 1777 is stated by Sawyer as a known fact, though I have yet to find a primary source for his claim. Perhaps it was just verbally passed down to his time. Perhaps a record of this still exists somewhere. We can only hope a primary source for his claim will one day be uncovered.

Although one can easily get lost in the maze of individually handcrafted French firearms models, types, and armories of the period, researchers have come a long way since Sawyer's time in understanding more about them, and the artisanal workshops in which they were made. Today, many collectors would doubt Sawyer's belief that any muskets that may have been brought by the young and wealthy Lafayette would be of the Model 1763 Charleville type of muskets. By 1777, when *La Victoire* was being outfitted, those 1760s French muskets were 11 to 14 years old, and those older-style muskets were quite disliked by the French military of the time.¹⁰ They were considered as unreliable and inferior in comparison to the newest French models of the 1770s. The parts of the earlier model firearms were not manufactured to strict standards at all and were often of poor quality. If any part needed replacement, that part was far too often not interchangeable with any other parts made for the same model. The arms were also heavier than arms produced in the 1770s. Therefore, the French were likely quite happy to provide them to the Americans.

Consider the following: by 1768, to those in control of purchasing arms for the French military, the older 1760s models of muskets were considered worthy only of selling them off to the slave trade, to foreign governments, or for scrap.¹¹ Between 1765 and 1769, more than 450,000 guns in the king's stockpiles had been rejected as being defective by inspectors. At that time, every piece and part of a musket was handmade by artisans. Exact uniformity for military armaments was a necessity, as were high quality and interchangeable parts. These qualities were a much lacking necessity at that time before the perfection of mass production. And that is precisely what the French government officials in charge of arms set out to change. The Charleville armory, producing arms strictly for the king's arsenal, and mentioned by Sawyer as the place to begin looking for Lafayette's muskets, had been closed in 1769, along with the Maubeuge armory. They remained closed at least until the later 1770s. All production for the king's armories and military use was thereby intended to be moved to the town of Saint Étienne, to be put under strict production controls to achieve uniformity. Not that Saint Étienne was organized. Far from it. Saint Étienne had been described by an inspector as like a den of Vulcan, with vast numbers of family-operated artisan arms-making workshops and forges selling their production to several merchants. It was a town of air thick with smoke, bodies covered in black,

and the hills echoing the forging, pounding, and filing of metal ever since the early 16th century. Located in the Forez (forest) region of the Loire, Saint Étienne was safely inland and considered easily protected from foreign invaders. It had iron ore and coal mines, sufficient waterways, vast forests for fuel and wood for stocks, and was a town filled with experienced workers in the trade. However, the independent workshops and workers were considered disorganized and insufficient. This multitude of artisan workshops lacking enforcement of quality and standards resulted in poor quality, sub-standard work, with parts for firearms not being uniform, nor made to the regulations of the government. As such, the town of Saint Étienne was looked upon as ideal for a centralized arms manufactory. Those in charge of the king's arms at the time believed they simply needed to combine output at Saint Étienne into one large main operation under one entrepreneur, with proper government oversight to control the town's output from the top down. They needed the right person to control it, armed with sufficient money, and guaranteed annual contracts.

Jean-Joseph Carrier de Monthieu, descended from the Carrier arms merchant family, the most successful and wealthiest of Saint Étienne arms merchants, was chosen to be the sole contractor to the government. He would also be given rights to sell to the French colonies and foreign governments. In exchange, he was expected to build a large centralized factory in which to accomplish the task. Meanwhile, he would be the sole buyer of parts from the many workshops for all that was sold to the king. Anything not up to government specifications would be rejected. Carrier Monthieu then built two large mills to begin this centralized production. Meanwhile, he still needed to contract out the parts to artisan workshops, but he would control the production, assembly, final sale, and delivery of the finished product.

Carrier Monthieu's mills soon turned out arms with lock-plates marked "Manuf. Royale de St Etienne" expressly for the king's arsenals. Such pieces would have a government inspector from the military to examine, accept, or reject each of them. Accepted products had locks marked with the government inspector's mark of HB, below a crown, as the mark of the king.¹² Carrier Monthieu also turned out arms marked simply as "Manufacture de St Etienne" without the "Royale" or military inspector's acceptance marks upon them. These arms would be offered for sale to the colonies and foreign governments.

In finding the above, it becomes much more likely that the 19-year-old Marquis de Lafayette, considered to be one of the wealthiest men in France, would not have considered buying any of the old time-worn and inferior muskets that were at that point nearly as old as he was. Lafayette, being military-minded, intending to arm his own regiment in America, would have known the arms of the 1760s were inferior, and would surely have wanted the latest firearms available. The model 1774 was the newest model that would have been available at Bordeaux, as the latest 1777 model was not put into production until 1778. Such arms would be easily obtained at Bordeaux harbor. The city was the second-largest slave trading port in France, behind the port of Nantes. Ships and provisions for the colonies were regularly supplied there. That Bordeaux was an ideal place to purchase such muskets becomes evident in that Lieutenant Dubois Martin had been sent there to acquire new firearms for his colonial regiment at Port-au-Prince. With such understanding, the previously daunting task of finding and identifying the most likely candidates that might be the long-lost guns of Lafayette becomes a bit simpler. Any arms that Lieutenant Dubois Martin would have acquired at Bordeaux would likely be of the most recent Model 1774 and made at Saint Étienne. If arranged by Dubois Martin under the

guise of their being shipped to the colony at Saint-Domingue, they should likely also be marked "Manufacture de St. Etienne," but not "Manuf(acture) Royale de St. Etienne." (Fig. 2)



Fig. 2

I grew up in southeastern Pennsylvania where I had been brought up and soaked like a teabag in our collectively esteemed colonial and early American history. The road that the family front door opened upon is called the old Bethlehem Pike. At the time of the American Revolution, it was the main road for traveling overland from Philadelphia to New York. As such, the pike had been traveled by a virtual who's who of colonial and revolutionary America. Lafayette himself traveled upon it right after he sustained a musket ball in his left calf during his first taste of actual warfare at the Battle of Brandywine, near Philadelphia. It was Henry Laurens, the president of the Continental Congress, fleeing the recent English occupation of Philadelphia, who took Lafayette by carriage up that Bethlehem Pike to mend at the Moravian village of Bethlehem, just a few miles from where I was born. Not surprisingly, my interest in and fondness for that early revolutionary war history, and many of the unforgettable men who by destiny were associated with it, has stuck with me all my life.

On a trip many years ago through the northeastern states, I stopped at an out-of-the-way antique shop on a back road in New Hampshire. It was there I found and acquired an old oak board oil painting of a youthful general seated on a black horse, musket by his side, with a battle-weary look on the officer's face, and in the horse's worn expression as well. Showing this painting to my older brother, he thought it to be a painting of the Marquis de Lafayette, as the blue and tan officer's uniform and the musket appeared to be from the revolutionary war period. Encouraged by this find, I researched and devoured every picture, portrait, and book that I could find related to Lafayette's life. I found myself enthralled and inspired by the experiences he had and the life he lived. A life seemingly of the highest integrity with complete dedication to the

highest of morals and values. While his life was not always easy, it was a life of service to the highest good, and always well-lived. The story of his life is most inspiring.

Like Lafayette and many of us, at a young age I too left my family to make my place in the world. I have for many years lived far away from where I grew up in what was colonial America, spending most of my adult years in San Diego, California. I have often missed the patriotic history and spirit of the past found only in those former colonial parts of our country, seemingly much taken for granted by many who are surrounded by it their entire lives. Being brought up in a house that had originally been built in the early 18th century, replete with a flintlock rifle on the fireplace mantle, I always treasured early American history and historical antiquities and arms. My brother has been a collector of such since he was a teenager. His son, my nephew, has been immersed in patriotic history and historic arms since age seven. He is likely to be at this point among the most knowledgeable of such of his generation, with a burning appreciation of historic arms and early American history. His present homestead in Lancaster was built of logs in the mid-18th century, reflecting his love for the history that had built our nation. With such a family, I have had a welcome ear from all. We have shared and deepened our knowledge of American history and arms together.

And such it was when I stopped some years ago at a used gun shop just outside of San Diego and purchased an old musket that I believed was likely to have been from the revolutionary war period. (Fig. 3)



Fig. 3, Collection of the Author

At that time, I knew little to nothing of details of firearms of the revolutionary war period. I had just begun to research and try to understand them for myself. In investigating my newly found musket, that like myself was now far removed from the roads traveled by those such as George Washington and Lafayette, I looked carefully upon it for any clues or traces of history that it could tell me. The only thing I knew for sure was that the lock was engraved "Manufacture de St Etienne". The style of the lock was soon enough found to be specific to French military muskets that dated between a French Model 1770 and a Model 1774 musket lock. (Fig. 4) I found that I had been correct that this musket was made right at the beginning of my favorite time in history, the early years of our American Revolution.



Fig. 4

Another thing I noticed on the lock is that just above the engraved place of Saint Étienne manufacture, and just forward of the hammer is another die-stamped mark. The mark is quite small, measuring only about 6mm, just more than $\frac{1}{4}$ inch high and wide. This mark looked to me to be a capital scripted letter L, with a poorly stamped letter C in the center of the upright post of the L. I wondered if I could find anything in books about this mark that may have been used on other muskets of that period. Only one person from St. Étienne, France was found from my limited research who had used an L-C style of a mark, and that was an early arms dealer named Louis Carrier. His mark had been found on at least one US-marked early 18th-century musket still in use during the revolutionary war period.¹³ The only problem was that Louis Carrier had died in the early 1700s. This could not possibly be his mark on a 1774 lock. I continued for some time to look for someone else with the elusive initials of LC in the listings of those working at Saint Étienne at that time, without success.

As much as a part of me loathes our electronic age of cell phones and computers seemingly glued to our appendages, I am grateful for cameras in modern cell phones. Today, one is easily able to instantly photograph and magnify something such as this small $\frac{1}{4}$ " high mark and view it clearly. (Fig. 5)



Fig.5

Upon magnifying and photographing the mark, it became evident that I had wasted much time pursuing it as a combined mark for LC. What became evident is that there is not a C stamped in the middle of the upright L. The entire top 2/3rds of the post of the L, forms a lower-case letter f, with the entire mark combining the L and f as one mark.

Monograms were popular in the 18th century, particularly in France. I found this mark to be a monogram made of two letters combined: a Capital Script L, with a lower-case f made of the upright post of the L, thus creating a monographic stamp mark for Lf. (Fig. 6)



Fig. 6

This find excited me as the only person whom I could think of that might have used such an Lf mark as a monogram was the Marquis de Lafayette, whom I had already long been studying. Serendipity? Fate? Luck? Perhaps, but either way, I enjoyed considering that this musket may have been his own.

Before getting too excited over it, and before suggesting the possibility to anyone else, I needed to find something more than this one-off mark on a one-off French 1774 musket lock to prove or disprove anything. After all, the stamp is also applied exactly where an inspector's mark would be applied if the musket had been made for the king's arsenal.¹⁴ After searching known records of those who worked at Saint Étienne at that time, I found no one noted as working, nor inspectors at Saint Étienne having such combined letters in their names. I proceeded to the next question that came to mind.

Did Lafayette ever use an abbreviation of the initials of his name, and if so, in what form? In researching his known signatures and abbreviations, I found that Lafayette had used the abbreviation of Lf quite often, both from Louis Gottschalk's book, *Lafayette Comes to America*,¹⁵ as well as from existing documents signed with his initials. (Fig. 7) With this finding, I was impelled to push forward with this direction of research.

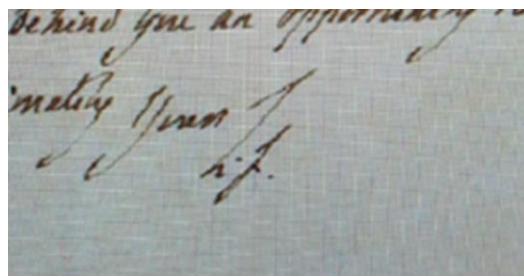


Fig. 7

Around this time, in furthering my knowledge of antique and American revolutionary war arms, I began to acquire quite a library of early firearms books, as well as of all things Lafayette. I acquired the earlier mentioned book, published now 110 years ago in 1910, called *Firearms in American History*, by Charles Winthrop Sawyer. At page 114, I found Sawyer had written that Lafayette, coming in 1777, had brought about 250 muskets, and that arms of that type had at one time been called "Lafayette Muskets."

As previously mentioned, Sawyer had stated that "it is believed that the most of those muskets are model 1763, Charleville manufacture," not Saint Étienne.

Model 1763 Charleville manufacture? Charles Sawyer gave this dog a bone of hope, then tried to take it away. Grrrrrrowl said the dog. Already having evidence that perhaps Lafayette's muskets were not old used Charlevilles, and perhaps were new model 1774s manufactured at Saint Étienne, I was not ready to give up that bone without a struggle. As Sawyer is no longer around to debate, I needed to find more information about those muskets and manufactories. If humanly possible, I need to find another musket example marked Lf on the lock like the musket I already had in hand. I slowly pushed forward.

Three years passed before I finally found another 1774 Saint Étienne musket with lock marked the same, but it had been sold just before I found the expired listing on an online gun-selling site. This one was also identified as being 1774, Manufacture de St Étienne, with what the seller remarked was a capital L with a letter C stamped in the center of the L. Poor guy, he too should have used his cell phone camera and looked at it a bit more carefully as I finally did after owning such a piece for a few years. If two of us had misidentified the Lf mark as Lc, how many others through time had also done so, overlooking the possibilities that the Lf monogram presented? I attempted a fruitless search to contact the seller to encourage him to pass on to his buyer that I was interested in this piece, should he ever wish to part with it. Unfortunately, I had no luck in tracking this one down. It is still out there somewhere.

Eventually I found Ken Alder's book, *Engineering the Revolution: Arms and Enlightenment in France, 1763 to 1815*, a book I would recommend to every collector of French arms. His research thoroughly convinced me that Charleville arms were not likely to have been obtained, nor even desired by Lafayette.

My online search terms for finding more examples had been entered as searching for a "1774 Saint Etienne musket." Sawyer's mention of Charleville muskets did finally encourage me to examine all French guns made, including those manufactured and marked as Charleville muskets. I changed my search terms, and added "Charleville musket" to the search, instead of searching only for Saint Étienne muskets. I quickly found that everyone in the American gun-collecting community quite wrongly denotes all colonial to pre-1850 French muskets as "Charleville" muskets. It does not matter if the piece was made at Saint Étienne or Maubeuge or Paris or Tulle. If it is a French musket from the colonial and revolutionary period, and even extending to the mid-1800s, American collectors as a whole call them all by the nickname of Charleville, or even as a "Charlyville" musket. Quite a misnomer. The "Brown Bess" designation for English muskets is the same type of a nickname and misnomer as "Brown Bess" is not a model. It is a nickname for a style. However, in changing my search parameters, although I now had to sift through thousands of muskets, my search began to turn up positive results.

After several years of researching available books, collections, gun shows, along with a multitude of online "Charleville" type muskets in museums and auction records, belonging to collectors, arms traders, online sellers, etc., and after sifting through thousands of photographs of "Charleville" type muskets and replicas, I have so far found and documented 13 still existing Lf-marked examples. All 13 are of the same French Model 1774, all monogrammed with Lf, and all engraved as "Manufacture de St Etienne." The engraving or Lf marks are at times still clear, and

at times well worn. Three examples have been found in the collections of noted arms collectors.¹⁶

I have acquired 3 and ½ of these known examples. The ½ is designated as such because it is an American restocked "composite" piece of the revolutionary war period. The lock is the elusive 1774 Lf-monogrammed "Manufacture de St Etienne." The rest of the musket is a "mish-mash" of French and American parts of the period. Composites are muskets that were re-assembled using parts from other muskets, a common practice at the time of the American Revolution. No part of a musket that was still repairable or reusable would have been thrown away, and the gunsmiths would reuse them with newly fabricated parts for a completed product. Such composite muskets are found at times with combinations of French, British, German, Dutch, or American parts or rebuilt with American stocks.

One Lf-marked example that I have obtained is considered an exceptionally rare Model 1774 Officer's Fusil. Other than the lock, barrel, and screws, the hardware of a French Officer's Fusil is of brass or bronze, as is a French naval or marine musket.

Otherwise, the hardware on all other known examples is all of iron. Iron fittings were standard on French infantry muskets. My other two Lf-monogrammed muskets are good examples of the infantry style iron outfitted muskets. One of these had at some point ended up at a New Hampshire state militia armory, as it has a serif stylized N H stamped into the top and side of the barrel at the breech.

In examining all photos and accessible examples of all other Lf-monogrammed muskets, they are all the approximate model of 1774. Overall, I have found the following about all of them.

- 1) All known Lf-monogrammed examples are found only here in the United States.
- 2) All are engraved with "Manufacture de St Etienne," with round flash pans, all but one bridled.
- 3) None of the Lf-marked St Étienne manufactured muskets are engraved "Manuf Royale de St Etienne" with the known "HB" military inspector's mark under a crown, as is found on the Model 1774 Saint Étienne "Royale" royal armory muskets.
- 4) None of the Lf-marked musket barrels have been found to show evidence of barrel proof marks with proof stamps as were required of the royal armory musket barrels.
- 5) All known examples marked Lf are about .69 caliber bore, with approximately 42-1/2" long barrels. This barrel length is common to dragoon muskets, and 2" shorter than standard.
- 6) The examples that have been examined follow approximately the French Royal Model 1774, although some Lf marked muskets show minor variations. Noted variations are barrel bands used for a Royal Model 1772, or the lack of a bayonet retaining spring. These muskets are at times described as being dated from 1771 through 1774 models. This may be attributed to the Lf "Manufacture de St. Etienne" muskets not being Royal arms muskets, nor held to the same standards of identical parts to be used in their construction. Hence, whatever parts from recent

minor model changes at the time available for their assembly may have been used, particularly as these muskets were not inspected by the royal inspectors, nor sold to the royal armory.

7) Only the one previously mentioned example has so far been found that is constructed with all brass furniture, in the style of a French Marine Musket/French Officer's Fusil, and was originally found by a collector in southeastern PA. With the discovery of this 1774 officer's fusil monogrammed with Lf, one may speculate that this fusil was used by Lafayette himself. Perhaps he had used it at the Battle of Brandywine, where he was wounded in the calf before being carried to the Moravian village of Bethlehem to recover. I cannot imagine that he would have cared to hobble about continuing to carry his musket after being injured. Although, if this piece had come to America with Lafayette, it could also have been used by the other French officers who had come over with him in 1774, or it could have been given to someone else. As other Lf-marked brass mounted Officer's Fusils have not yet surfaced, it is unknown if any more than this one brass mounted Officer's Fusil was brought to America in the same shipment with the other Lf-marked muskets, nor if any other Lf-marked Officer's Fusils still exist.

8) A total of three Lf-marked pieces, including the above-mentioned brass-mounted Officer's Fusil, are attributed to having originally turned up in southeastern Pennsylvania.

9) A total of three Lf-marked pieces are additionally marked with NH on the barrels, evidencing they at some point were added to the New Hampshire state militia arsenals. The NH stamps are believed to be post-revolutionary war. None of the Lf-marked muskets with NH marks on the barrels are marked the same as the surviving model M1763/1766/1768 Charleville/Etienne/Maubeuge muskets which were part of two shipments of muskets that had been landed at Portsmouth New Hampshire in early 1777.¹⁷ Those examples are marked on their barrels as NH with battalion marks and are sequentially numbered. They are known to have been among the 10,000 muskets delivered in April/May 1777, in the arrival of the *Mercurie* and *Amphitrite* shipments that had come through the shell company of Roderigue Hortalez et Cie, via arrangements by Beaumarchais and the Comte de Vergennes in France.

10) Two existing Lf-marked examples are branded with early "UNITED STATES" brands burned into the stocks. As American revolutionary war soldiers were often found to leave the service taking their American government-issued muskets with them, in April 1777, General George Washington ruled that all government-supplied muskets were to be branded "United States," and many muskets sent to or through the military arms depots in need of repairs had their stocks branded with variations of this. Of the two Lf-marked and branded examples, one is branded "UNITED:STATES" with "US" on the obverse. This brand is recognized by current researchers as being applied during the summer to fall of 1777.¹⁸ As such, it may have been applied to this musket if sent to a repair depot just after the Battle of Brandywine. The other branded example has "U.STATE" branded into the stock, which is considered likely to be a 1778 brand mark from another repair depot.

11) Three of the Lf-marked muskets have had US markings stamped at the rear of the lock-plate, or, at the rear of the lock-plate and at the breech of the barrel. It is unknown and unverified if these US marks were stamped during or after the American Revolutionary War.

12) Last notation is the placement of the Lf monograms. Some are nicely placed, centered and horizontal, others lean left or right, or are atop the factory engraving. It appears that the individual(s) charged with applying the monogram may have at some point been tired, distracted, or less considerate as to how the stamp was placed on the plate. No doubt it would have been a chore to remove locks, hammer the die stamps, and replace each of the locks, particularly if there was an order of 250 or so musket locks to be stamped at once. Because of minor differences, it appears that at least two Lf die stamps had been used. (Fig. 8) Perhaps the first Lf die stamp too much resembled an LC mark, or, one may conjecture how many individual stamps could be gotten from a single die before it needed to be replaced.

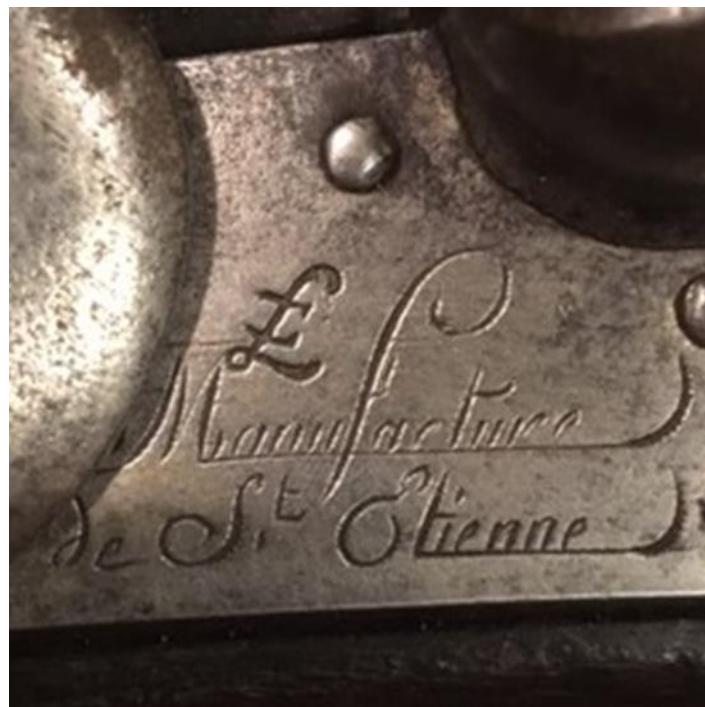


Fig. 8, Courtesy of Michael R. Carroll Collection

Conclusion

There is yet another possibility to consider. Both Charles Sawyer's belief, as well as my own, may both be correct. *La Victoire* may have been outfitted with a large shipment of the king's old surplus muskets, including Charleville Model 1763 muskets. The total value of the ship with cargo was said to be 112,000 livres. This indicates that the value of *La Victoire* with cargo greatly exceeded the value for such a ship filled only with grain and wine. Such a high cargo value may indicate that a large arms shipment had also been included in the price, which is the opinion of French historian and Lafayette biographer Patrick Villiers. Both Broglie and Kalb were well connected to Beaumarchais and his arms and musket shipments to America. Kalb was originally scheduled to ship aboard one of the Beaumarchais arms-carrying ships, the voyage later cancelled by orders of the Comte de Vergennes. Lafayette may have been partnered with Broglie, Kalb, Dubois Martin, or others including Beaumarchais, for the purchase and shipping of such an arms shipment. Guns and arms to sell or barter with the Americans could assist in paying for the expenses of the voyage, the costs to outfit the parties involved after landing in America, or perhaps profit all involved.

However, even if such a shipment of the king's muskets were aboard *La Victoire*, Lafayette likely had also brought along a personal shipment of new 1774 muskets of his own, perhaps the same 250 as were claimed by Sawyer. The Marquis, as a Major General, would have expected needing to outfit and arm a regiment of his own upon arriving in America. With two separate arms shipments aboard, not only would marking his personal muskets with his monogram have distinguished them from any other guns shipped for barter, such a mark could always identify them as belonging to him and his intended regiment.

In summary, with 13 so far discovered and noted, these 13 Lf monogrammed muskets must still speak for themselves among all of the surviving muskets imported from France during the war. It should not be surprising that any personally included muskets of Lafayette would have been lost to history, as secrecy, battles and campaigns fought, the small, obscure, and time-worn mark of the owner, and nearly 10 generations of time have since passed. I am left but to reflect upon the words of Charles Winthrop Sawyer, a father of collecting historical arms in America, and his mention that certain French muskets had early on been called Lafayette Muskets.

Ultimately, I reflect upon that youngest American General, the Marquis de Lafayette himself, and I thank him. I also thank the somewhat forgotten General Johann de Kalb. His paternal care was so influential and helpful in assisting Lafayette in coming to America. General de Kalb eventually gave his life to the American revolutionary war effort in fighting Cornwallis, dying mostly forgotten at the Battle of Camden. Lafayette lay the cornerstone for his monument when he returned to America for a brief visit there nearly 50 years later. I also thank Lieutenant Martin Dubois, his brother M. Martin Dubois, and all of the French officers who had arrived with Lafayette. With a salute from my heart, I salute General George Washington and thank him for having taken Lafayette as an adopted son. I thank and salute all involved for what they accomplished, and for coming back to me in spirit at least, to guide and move me forward to find and bring forth these discoveries. I thank those spirits for bringing me with them on one more extension of the rediscovery and celebration of their trials, exploits, and glory. I consider every one of them, in spirit, as my brother in arms in this venture.

Without some hard evidence contrary to what is herein presented, I care not what others may think or say for or against my conclusion, but I have already joined those former generations and revolutionary war ancestors in once again calling these particular French Model 1774 Lf-monogrammed Saint Étienne muskets as "Lafayette Muskets." Perhaps future generations will do so as well. And I do believe the Marquis de Lafayette himself would surely tell me if he could,

Cur Non?

Why not?

*Lf
Manufacture de St Etienne*



Collection of the Author

¹ *The Life of John Kalb, Major General in the Revolutionary Army*, 1884, Friedrich Kapp.

² *When Lafayette Came to America*, Edited by Gilbert Chinard, 1948, Publication Number Three, American Friends of Lafayette, Easton PA.

³ *Memoirs Correspondence and Manuscripts of General Lafayette*, 1837, Vol. I, p. 13, published by his family.

⁴ *Memoirs of the Comte de Segur*, 1825-27, as translated to English.

⁵ *Sketch of the Tour of General Lafayette*, p 7, 1824, by John Foster, accounts that Lafayette donated arms to General Moultrie.

⁶ *Life of the Marquis de La Fayette*, p35, Robert Waln Jr., 1825.

⁷ *Memoirs of Lafayette by Marquis de Lafayette*, 1824, as submitted to District clerk of Massachusetts, by E.G. House. It is clear that this was not authored by Lafayette, as the editor, in regarding the account of Lafayette's reception, added: "These statements were copied principally from the public newspapers; and it was thought to be unnecessary to give credit for them, or to insert the usual marks of quotation."

⁸ *The True Lafayette*, p 88, 1919, George Morgan, Lippincott pub.

⁹ *Firearms in American History: 1600 to 1800*, p 114, Boston 1910, Charles Winthrop Sawyer.

¹⁰ *Engineering the Revolution: Arms and Enlightenment in France, 1763 to 1815*, 1997, pp 189, Ken Alder.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² *Muskets of the Revolution and the French Indian Wars*, Fig 370, p 178, 2005, Bill Ahearn.

¹³ *Muskets of the Revolution and the French Indian Wars*, 2005, p 179, 2005, Bill Ahearn.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ *Lafayette Comes to America*, p 171; 1937, Louis Gottschalk.

¹⁶ Personal collections of Dr. Rex Kessler, Michael R. Carroll, and Bill Ahearn's personal example shown in *Muskets of the Revolution*, fig 416, p 195.

¹⁷ *New Hampshire Marked French Muskets of the Revolutionary War*, Michael R. Carroll.

¹⁸ *Continental Arsenal Marks and Stamps 1776-1798*, by Rex Kessler, MD with Col. J. Craig Nannos USA Ret. and Leslie Barbara Potter, J.D. contributing, 2020, in publication by Mowbray Publishers.

**Lafayette's Southern and Western Country Tour
(February 23 – May 25, 1825)**
by Barbara Ayers McJoynt

Lafayette spent thirteen months in America during his 1824-1825 visit. He traveled five thousand miles to all twenty-four states, and every mode of transportation was used. He met nine of our first ten presidents and all the notables of the day.

Without a doubt, if your ancestors were in the country at the time, they most likely saw him. Your great-great-grandmother may have danced with him. He slept at the White House and on the ground at several Indian reservations. There were endless repetitions of ceremonies, receptions, banquets, balls, Masonic rituals, and placing of cornerstones as he traveled from city to city and town to town. The citizens wore their best clothes. Triumphal arches were erected in towns large and small. The best food was served and the best china and silver were taken from storage. There was no controversy about entertaining him except who would have the honor of providing horses, carriages, and drivers. He would often attend two banquets a day (without complaining) in order to make his hosts happy. He was indeed "The Guest of the Nation," and the citizens remembered and loved him for services rendered to their country.

Presents of every description were given to Lafayette. Some, such as animals, were sent to his home in France. Souvenirs appeared everywhere in the form of fans, snuffboxes, kerchiefs, fruit jars, gloves, etc. Staffordshire Potteries in England turned out blue pictorial commemorative platters, plates, and cups. You can see many of these in local museums today.

Now let us journey with Lafayette on his southern and western country tour, where we will trace, like threads of gold, the history of that faraway but not forgotten time.

February 23 – March 18, 1825: Lafayette and his entourage left Washington, D.C. by steamboat for Norfolk, Virginia. He traveled on to Halifax, North Carolina, arriving on February 27. Sentries were stationed near a large bell to ring on sight of the boat and begin the ceremonies. If you visit this area today, you may see evidence of this visit. After traveling in rain and mud through Falls of Tar River and Raleigh, he arrived in Fayetteville, the first town named for him. The citizens entertained him royally the three days he was with them. On March 6, he and his fellow travelers got lost in the woods in Cheraw, South Carolina, but recovered their route after much work.

In Camden, South Carolina, Lafayette dedicated a monument to Baron DeKalb on March 8. After three days of traveling and visiting Columbia, he arrived in Charleston. A banquet for eighteen hundred people was held for him. Francis Huger, who had been five years old when Lafayette arrived at his home in South Carolina in 1777, and who had been a young student when he had tried to rescue Lafayette from Olmütz Prison in 1795, and his five-year-old son now accompanied "The Guest of the Nation" to Beaufort, South Carolina. When on land, Lafayette traveled in a favorite carriage given to him for the trip by Mrs. Eliza Custis Law. Much damage was done to the carriage due to roads that were nearly impassable.

March 19 – March 30: Lafayette, with a large delegation following him, arrived at Savannah, Georgia. Here he saw alligators for the first time. He visited the site of the Battle of Savannah. Cornerstones were placed for monuments to Casimir Pulaski and Nathaniel Greene. An acquaintance from France, Achille Murat, was visiting, and Lafayette got to converse with him in French. Then it was on to Augusta on March 22, where he saw a race of three steamboats and heard “Yankee Doodle” played all the time. Lafayette became very ill, but had no time to stop; it was on to Sparta and Milledgeville, the capital of Georgia at the time, where a lovely banquet was prepared.

The roads were very rough to Macon and to the Creek Reservation, where he arrived on March 30. Georgia commemorated this visit by naming a nearby settlement LaGrange and another Fayetteville.

March 31-April 7: Somewhere along the way, Lafayette had to abandon the “favorite” carriage. It could not endure the rough trails. Now the entourage had more access to the fine waterways and ships in the area. His entertainment and adventures with the different Indian tribes along the Georgia-Alabama border are most interesting. There were disappointments also. He saw how the white men had preyed on the Indians by selling them liquor. He learned that just before he arrived, the Creeks had given over their land to the United States. Lafayette witnessed and felt the anger of the different Indian tribes over their treatment by the white men. This is a study unto itself.

Crowds of Indians followed and cheered as they crossed the Chattahoochee River. He met a young mixed-race leader named Chilly McIntosh. The Creeks introduced him to the game of lacrosse (stickball), which they played for him. A few days later, an elder Creek chief spoke beautifully through an interpreter to the guest, “The youngest among us will tell our grandchildren that they have touched your hand and seen your face; they will perhaps see you again, for you are a favorite of the Great Spirit and never grow old.”

Lafayette arrived in Montgomery, Alabama on April 3. He saw many French who had settled Gallipolis. Then it was down the Alabama River to Selma, Claiborne, and Mobile, arriving on April 7.

April 8-18: The group sailed by steam to New Orleans, Louisiana. They stayed six days and felt as if they were home in the predominantly French city. In spite of many severe storms, they attended the theater every night. Everywhere they went it was “Vive Lafayette!” Lafayette received a regiment of free blacks who had fought in the Battle of New Orleans. The observations he made throughout the South, but particularly in this city, worried him about the institution of slavery in America. When he had an opportunity anywhere he visited, he spoke on behalf of freedom for the Negro. During a three-day trip on the Mississippi River aboard the steamboat *Natchez*, he had plenty of time and leisure to observe wood on the shore that had been prepared for shipment to other growing states. Negroes were singing, but he knew they were doing the hard work and being bitten by the horrible mosquitoes. He spent two days in Natchez, but visited no other places in Mississippi. During his journey, he collected animals and particularly geese and other fowl to take home to LaGrange.

April 19-30: Lafayette’s steamship now traveled to St. Louis. The governor refused to receive Lafayette and his group, but former territorial governor William Clark did. The ship continued to Kaskaskia, Illinois. He spent one day there and was treated well by its citizens.

May 1-12: The steamship descended the Mississippi River to the Ohio River and then ascended to the Cumberland. Lafayette reached the important city of Nashville, Tennessee on May 3. Andrew Jackson and his wife were waiting for Lafayette. He stayed at the Jacksons' home, the Hermitage. He learned about how Americans really lived by their farming, fishing, and traveling. Jackson gave him many plant samples for him to take back to LaGrange. It was a relaxing time for him and his traveling companions. A problem did arise, however, when a watch given to Lafayette by George Washington was stolen. It was not found until 1874, and then returned to his heirs.

After the delightful visit at the Hermitage, it was on to Shawneetown, Illinois. On May 8, on the Ohio River, a "snag" punctured the hull of his steamship, the *Mechanic*, which sank, taking with it Lafayette's gifts, collectibles, and correspondence. He and fellow travelers spent a night under the trees on shore. There are differing stories concerning Quiz, the dog that had traveled thus far with him. Some sources say that at the last minute before the rescue, Quiz appeared. Other say that Quiz drowned. The travelers were rescued when another ship came down the river and took them aboard.

May 12- 20: Louisville, Kentucky was a boom town. Many Revolutionary soldiers had built beautiful homes, and "Our Guest" and his fellow travelers visited them. They visited Indian tribes and saw the collection from the Lewis and Clark expedition. They passed through Shelbyville to Frankfort, the capital. The entire population of 2,000 citizens welcomed them. Crowds followed as they journeyed to Lexington and then on to Cincinnati, Ohio. The United States had awarded many revolutionary veterans with free land, so Lafayette met many who recounted their experiences in that great war.

In Lexington, Lafayette visited Ashland, the home of Henry Clay. While in Cincinnati, a red carpet was placed on the ground for him. Posterity has recorded that Lafayette avoided walking on it and said, "American soil is good enough for me to walk on." Thus, 7,000 of its citizens marched along with him on good American soil.

May 21-25: Back on ship, Lafayette and his shipmates traveled north-northeast on the Ohio River to Wheeling, Virginia, now West Virginia. He then traveled the new "national road" to the town. What a luxury this road was! The town was not prepared. Learning their guests have arrived, the citizens quit everything in their daily lives and began joyous festivities for their guests.

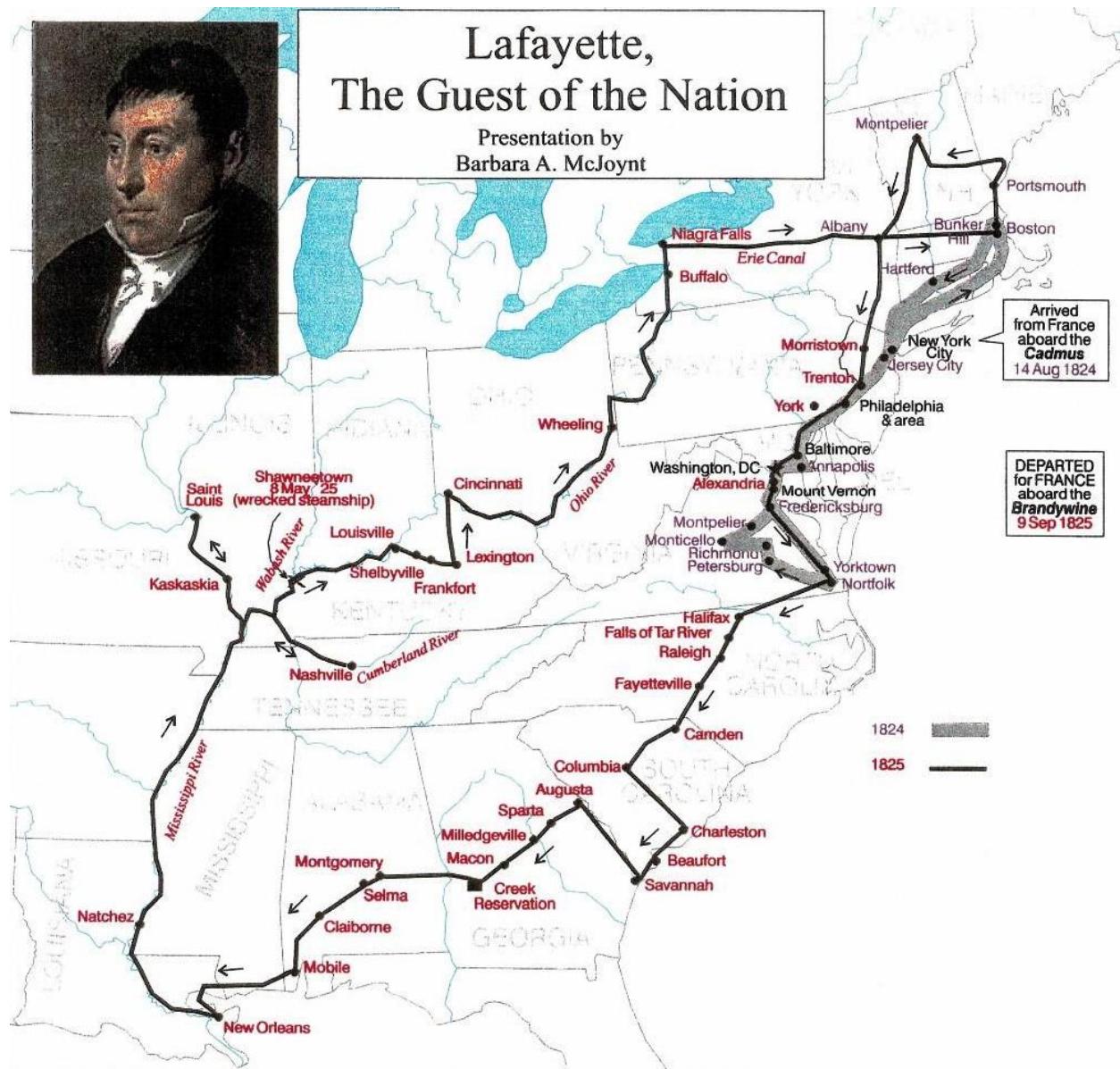
This ends Lafayette's "Southern and Western Country Tour." He had now visited twenty-two of the twenty-four states, met their people, and seen the rewards of the sacrifices made in the American Revolution. If he lost Quiz in the shipwreck, he must have felt regret. Slavery certainly left him with much regret. His proposed solution to this problem was education and gradual emancipation.

May 26- September 9: Lafayette continued his journey eastward. He visited Niagara Falls, sailed on the Erie Canal, and reached his desired destination, Bunker Hill, by June 17th, the 50th anniversary of the iconic battle. Thousands of people witnessed his placing the cornerstone for the monument. All of the honors he had in other places were doubled here.

Lafayette then took a New England tour, visiting New Hampshire, along with Maine and Vermont, his twenty-third and twenty-fourth states. He stopped in on many of his old acquaintances in New England and on his trip back to Washington, D.C., where he stayed at the White House as a guest of President John Quincy Adams. In a previous issue of the *Gazette*, this author has written about

Lafayette's trip down the Potomac River to the ship *Brandywine* that he boarded for his trip home to France on September 9. Lafayette left a perfect gift to our nation, one of goodwill. We will not forget. The members of the American Friends of Lafayette remember and will continue to share his story.

Recommended reading: *Lafayette, the Guest of the Nation;: The tracing of the route of Lafayette's tour of the United States in 1824-25*, by Jane Bacon MacIntire, published in 1967. Map is taken from her book, but enhanced by Albert Durfee McJoynt.



Concord Welcomes Revolutionary War Hero Lafayette in Style*

by Aurore Eaton

On the morning of Tuesday, June 21, 1825 the Marquis de Lafayette left Boston, Massachusetts and, traveling as fast as a horse-drawn carriage could take him, managed to make stops in Salem, Derry (then part of Londonderry), Suncook Village, and Pembroke, New Hampshire—a distance of around 62 miles. The French hero of the American Revolution was now in the last weeks of his Farewell Tour through the 24 states, and he still had many more places to visit.

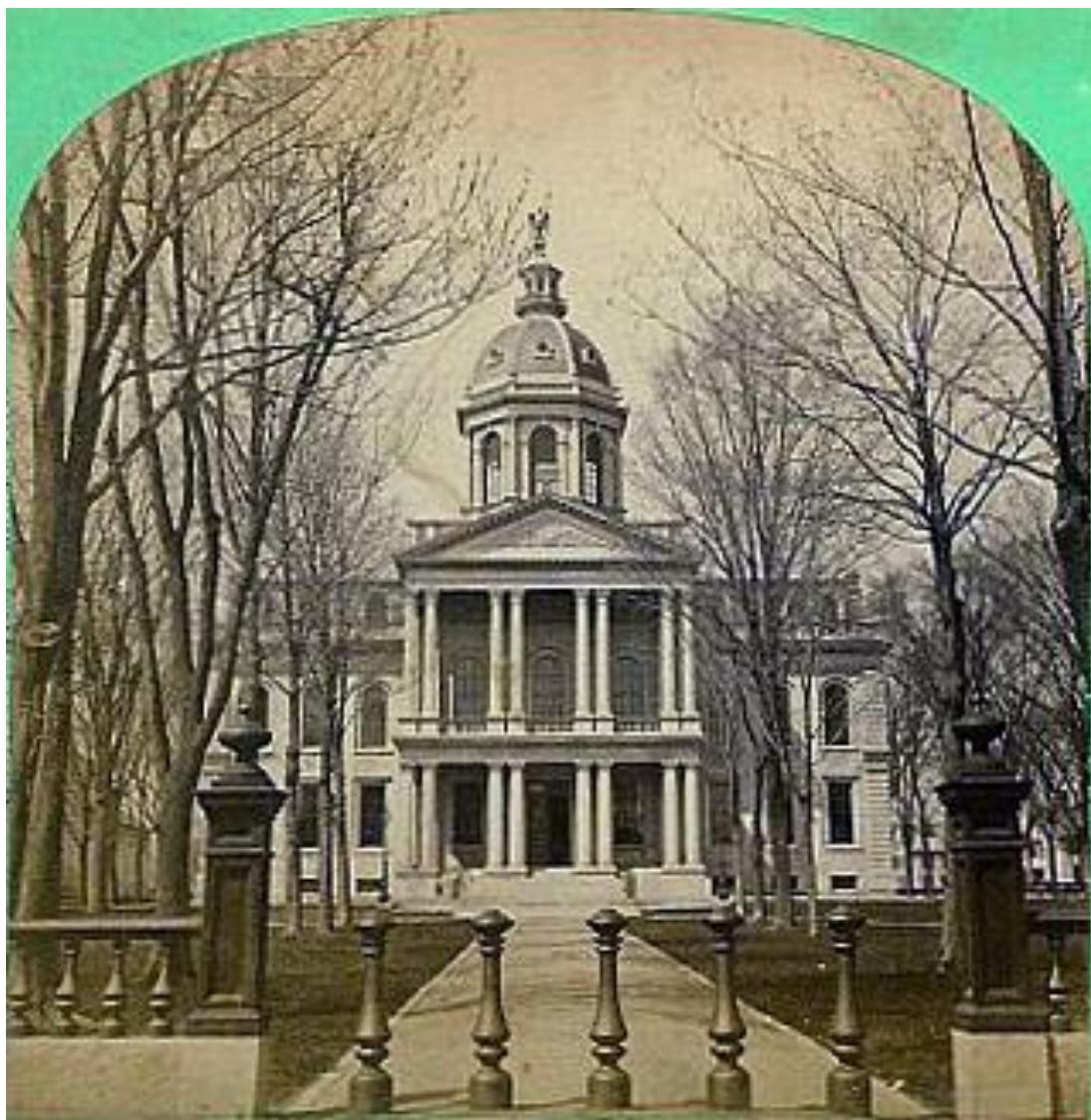
Lafayette spent that night at the home of war veteran Caleb Stark, the son of Lafayette's fellow officer in the Continental Army, the late Major General John Stark. Early on Wednesday, June 22, Lafayette and his entourage were conducted to the state capital of Concord, New Hampshire by a delegation of New Hampshire legislators. The procession traveled along what is now Route 3. Upon arriving at the town line, Lafayette was welcomed by the chairman of the local organizing committee, William A. Kent, who began his short address with the words, "General Lafayette, on behalf of the citizens of Concord, we offer you a cordial welcome to our Village, and our hospitalities." The Concord Register newspaper reported that "The General, in his usual appropriate and feeling manner, thanked the gentlemen of the committee, and the citizens of Concord, for the very affectionate manner in which they welcomed his entrance into their town."

The procession was joined by militia units which welcomed Lafayette with trumpet, bugle, drum, and fife music, and with a gun salute. The newspaper reported, "Those who witnessed the scenes of the 22nd, will never forget it. The vast hosts of people, streaming in currents from every quarter like tributaries to the sea...and the universal and powerful excitement felt and expressed, in every way, at the coming among us of so famous and glorious a character as Lafayette..."

The procession traveled down Main Street to its north end, and then turned around and made its way to Mr. Kent's house somewhere in Concord, "amidst the hearty and reiterated cheerings of an immense concourse of people." Here Lafayette enjoyed an elegant luncheon with the gentlemen and ladies of the town. The citizens were greatly impressed with Lafayette and his staff, which included his son Georges Washington Lafayette and his personal secretary Auguste Levasseur. The newspaper reported the local sentiment, "We shall long remember with pleasure their friendly demeanor and their elegant manners, uniting the grace and politeness of the ancient court of France with the simplicity of New England Republicanism..."

At noon the procession was formed again and Lafayette was brought to the State House where he was greeted by thousands of people, including a large group of aging veterans of the American Revolution. No one was more thrilled to see Lafayette than General Benjamin Pierce, who stood at the head of the veterans, waving his hat with great enthusiasm. Pierce had fought at the Battle of Bunker Hill in 1775 and had served as an ensign during the Revolution. After the war he had moved from his native Massachusetts to Hillsborough, New Hampshire where he had established a large farm. He was a former state legislator and Governor's Councilor. He earned

the title of “General” through his appointment as Brigadier General of the New Hampshire militia. General Pierce would be elected Governor of New Hampshire in 1826, and his son Franklin Pierce would be elected the 14th President of the United States in 1852.



New Hampshire State House

In the State House, Lafayette was welcomed by Governor David L. Morril and was personally introduced to every legislator. Afterward, General Benjamin Pierce gave a speech honoring Lafayette, who then met with 210 Revolutionary soldiers who had come from all parts of the state to pay their respects. At 3:00 p.m. Lafayette joined the veterans and about 400 other citizens in front of the State House for a grand banquet. Many after-dinner toasts were delivered, accompanied by ceremonial cannon fire. And everyone sang. One tune written for the occasion began with the words: “North, and South, and East, and West—Grateful homage have expressed—Greeting loud the nation’s guest; Son of Liberty...” It was a nostalgic occasion that no one present would ever forget.



Benjamin Pierce helped welcome Lafayette to Concord in 1825. This illustration in the 1922 "History of Hillsborough" is by George Waldo Browne.

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*This article appeared on November 4, 2019 in the *New Hampshire Union Leader*. It is printed in the *Gazette* with the permission of the author and the *Union Leader*. The image of the State House was added by the *Gazette* editors.

New Hampshire Bids Farewell to Lafayette*

by Aurore Eaton



Detail of the plaque in Lafayette Park in Manchester dedicated on Nov. 11, 1957, in commemoration of the bicentennial of the birth of the Marquis de Lafayette in 1757.

The town of Dover, New Hampshire had planned a marvelous series of events for the Marquis de Lafayette's visit on June 23, 1825. All went well, and after an exhausting day Lafayette stayed overnight at the mansion of local merchant William Hale. At 8:00 a.m. the next morning, Lafayette's barouche was escorted by several carriages filled with dignitaries to the Dover Manufacturing Company. When they arrived, the large gate of the cotton textile factory was flung open to reveal a double line of female workers—200 total—dressed in white with blue sashes. Newspapers later reported that "The General, on entering the Factory yard, was repeatedly cheered with the huzzas of hundreds from the tops of the buildings surrounding the factory yard..."

The factory was quiet for a few moments until "as if by magic, it was instantly in full operation, attended throughout by the girls who had received the company on entering the yard, each at her proper place, and busy in her proper employment." After witnessing this extraordinary scene, Lafayette traveled to Maine where he visited Portland, then the state's capital, and several other towns. He returned to New Hampshire on June 26, intending to traverse the state from east to west as rapidly as possible. He spent that night at Piper's Tavern in Northwood, a place he had visited on June 23.

On June 27 Lafayette arrived in Concord for the second time, having spent an eventful day and evening there five days before. He stopped at the Phoenix Hotel on Main Street at around 9:30 a.m. where he was met by an enthusiastic crowd. After breakfast he, his son Georges Washington Lafayette, and his secretary August Levasseur were conducted to the Senate chamber in the New Hampshire State House. He was addressed by Matthew Harvey of Hopkinton, President of the Senate, who concluded with the words, “You are now about to leave us—and when you go, believe me, Sir, you will have the kindest wishes of the State of New Hampshire, for your future health and happiness.”

Afterwards Lafayette was warmly received in the Representatives chamber, and he also met with dignitaries in the Council chamber where Secretary of State Richard Bartlett presented him with a map of New Hampshire. After expressing his sincere gratitude, Lafayette continued on his journey, but not without stopping at the home of William A. Kent who had hosted a luncheon for him during his previous visit to Concord.

Lafayette next stopped in Hopkinton, where he attended a reception at Wiggin Tavern. In Warner he was welcomed by Dr. Moses Long, Jr., whose father had fought in the American Revolution. A procession escorted Lafayette to Captain Kelley’s Tavern and then to the town green, where he enjoyed refreshments with the townspeople. Lafayette later stopped at Raymond Tavern in Bradford, which was located on what is now Lafayette Square.

He was met by an impressive procession at Sunapee which escorted him to Newport. He stopped at the home of Colonel William Cheney, a politician, industrialist, and state militia officer. Here he was greeted by a group of his fellow veterans of the American Revolution, and later was entertained at the home of businessman James Breck.

In many of the places Lafayette visited on his 1824-1825 farewell tour of America the citizenry erected triumphal arches in his honor. Newport did not disappoint, as the locals there had built fine arches over the village bridge and in front of the Cheney and Breck houses.

Lafayette’s presence and his kind and dignified demeanor made a lasting impression in Newport. As historian Edmund Wheeler wrote in his 1879 “History of Newport,” “Bright eyes and waving handkerchiefs greeted him from every window as he passed...As he left, all hearts followed him with benedictions.”

Lafayette traveled on, arriving in Claremont at 9:30 p.m. The town was brilliantly lit, and a large crowd cheered as he arrived. He stayed overnight at the Tremont House, and 6:00 a.m. continued northward. He stopped briefly at Cooke Tavern on what is now Route 12A. At around 7:00 a.m. Lafayette’s barouche crossed the bridge spanning the Connecticut River at Cornish. Arriving in Windsor, Vermont, he began the next leg of his journey.

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*This article appeared on November 18, 2019 in the *New Hampshire Union Leader*. It is printed in the *Gazette* with the permission of the author and the *Union Leader*.

Lafayette—“The Best Friend This Country Ever Had.” *

by Aurore Eaton

On the morning of Tuesday, June 28, 1825 honorary citizen of the United States the Marquis de Lafayette crossed over the wooden bridge that spanned the Connecticut River in Cornish, New Hampshire. Entering Vermont, he and his entourage proceeded at a break-neck pace to complete his 13-month Farewell Tour of all the 24 states. As the last living Major General of the American Revolution, Lafayette was honored everywhere as the “Nation’s Guest.”

On September 6, 1825 Lafayette celebrated his 68th birthday at the White House with President John Quincy Adams. The next day he boarded the newly-commissioned naval vessel, the USS Brandywine, and returned to his native France. The frigate had been named after the Battle of Brandywine fought on September 11, 1777 where Lafayette had been wounded. He died in Paris on May 20, 1834 at the age of 76.

General Lafayette’s traveling companion and personal secretary, August Levasseur, recorded many details of the farewell tour in his journal. His eyewitness account was published in 1829 in the original French and in an English translation. In 2006, New Hampshire resident Alan R. Hoffman published a new translation that has brought fresh attention to this unique episode in history, entitled *Lafayette in America in 1824 and 1825: Journal of a Voyage to the United States*.



Aurore Eaton



Alan Hoffman

Hoffman currently serves as President of both the American Friends of Lafayette and of the Massachusetts Lafayette Society. He lectures frequently about General Lafayette, including as a scholar in the New Hampshire Humanities Council’s “Humanities to Go” program. Hoffman shared the following thoughts about his book and about Lafayette for this column:

“I was surprised and very happy to learn that there weren’t many differences between the French that Levasseur wrote and the French that I had learned in my six years as a student in a country day school in Brooklyn, New York. This project became a labor of love. Having an

empty nest at home enabled me to spend a part of almost every evening and parts of the weekend translating the 1,100 pages in the two volumes of Levasseur's journal. During the two years of my work, I probably spent 20% of the time trying to ascertain *le mot juste* from among the various definitions. When I felt that I had succeeded in this, it was very satisfying.

"The most surprising thing I learned about Lafayette was the extent to which he was a genuine crusader for human rights, broadly construed. His causes involved national revolutions in America, France, Spain, Greece, Poland, and South America, which he believed was the best way to assure human rights to the people. He advocated for Protestants, who were second-class citizens in France. He had a long anti-slavery career, and Levasseur reflected his position—education, and gradual emancipation—in the book. He was against solitary confinement, having experienced it in his 5-year imprisonment in the 1790s. He was for universal manhood suffrage in France. His last speech in the French Chamber of Deputies was against the death penalty.

"What I most want Americans to know about Lafayette is that he was the best friend this country ever had. He played an important military role in the American Revolution, particularly the Virginia Campaign and the siege of Yorktown. His diplomacy helped to persuade the French Court to send a French expeditionary force and a French fleet to America in 1780. French troops, French ships, and French siege guns combined with the Continental Army and Virginia Militia in the Yorktown victory which was the last major combat of the war.

"Lafayette continued to work for American interests after the American Revolution, assisting Ambassador Jefferson in the 1780s to open up numerous French ports to American goods, including whale oil, on favorable terms. The people of Nantucket, Massachusetts were so grateful that they dedicated one day's milk from every cow on the island and sent a 500-pound cheese to Lafayette in France.

"Finally, he strove to apply what he called 'American doctrines' to Europe. On July 11, 1821, Lafayette wrote Jefferson: 'Was it not for that deplorable circumstance of Negro slavery in the Southern States, not a word could be objected, when we present American doctrines and constitutions to old Europe.'"

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*This article appeared on November 25, 2019 in the *New Hampshire Union Leader*. It is printed in the *Gazette* with the permission of the author and the *Union Leader*.

New Mural Commemorates Lafayette's Visit

by Frank Womble

Lafayette was four days into his southern tour of the United States when he stopped in the small rural town of Northampton Court House -- present-day Jackson, North Carolina -- on Sunday, February 27, 1825. A vibrant outdoor mural by eastern North Carolina artisan Napoleon Hill commemorating the event was installed in the town in November 2019.



The stop at Northampton Court House is not well represented in historical texts. Auguste Levasseur, Lafayette's private secretary, does not mention it in *Lafayette in America in 1824 and 1825*. He merely notes that Lafayette's party departed nearby Murfreesboro where they had spent the previous night, and continued to Halifax that same day.¹ The Northampton Court House event is significant because the official North Carolina delegation traveled from Raleigh and met Lafayette there.²

A local doctor, Thomas O'Dwyer, recorded Lafayette's visit to Murfreesboro and Northampton Court House. O'Dwyer was a practicing medical doctor and businessman who served Hertford and adjacent counties. In his 1825 diary, he recorded in detail his day-to-day activities in northeastern North Carolina and southeastern Virginia. His personal observations are likely the only extant eyewitness account of the details of Lafayette's stop at Northampton Court House.

Lafayette's journey was by carriage over poor roads. The road from Richmond to Raleigh was so bad that his party had been forced to take the sandy Lower Road by Suffolk, Virginia, into northeastern North Carolina instead of a more direct route. Road conditions combined with wet weather became a significant factor and delayed his arrival in Murfreesboro.

On February 25th, O'Dwyer records "a notice gone round calling the citizens together at Mr. Maney's office to make preparations for receiving General LaFayette who is said to be in Suffolk and will be here [Murfreesboro] tomorrow or next day."³ A committee of four was appointed to travel to nearby Somerton, Virginia to "meet the General and invite him to the Boro [Murfreesboro] to partake of a dinner."⁴ A committee of arrangement, including O'Dwyer, was appointed to receive the General. They eventually met Lafayette's party about a mile outside Murfreesboro on the night of February 26th and escorted them into town. Lafayette's arrival was delayed due to day-long rain which bogged his horses down in the mud. Levasseur records that the horses were "planted in the mud up to the knees" and "seemed to have taken root there."⁵ The horses were eventually extricated after about an hour's effort. Levasseur paid a high compliment to the citizenry of the town: "Finally, we arrived, and we were very amply compensated by the cordial hospitality of the inhabitants of Murfreesboro, who spared nothing to prove to General Lafayette that the citizens of North Carolina were no less sincerely attached to him than those of other states."⁶ The committee escorted him to his lodgings (at the Indian Queen Inn) where the General and his party sat down to "an excellent supper" at 11:00 o'clock.⁷

The following morning, Dr. O'Dwyer breakfasted with Lafayette at the Indian Queen Inn and decided to accompany his party onward to its next stop. He observed "the People assembling to see this good and great man."⁸ Lafayette's party "sett off at 10:00 o'clock for Northampton Courthouse" where they arrived "after 2:00 o'clock...where the General...was received by the State Committee."⁹ Including a brief stop at Zion Meeting House¹⁰ a few miles west of present-day Conway, it had taken more than four hours to travel by horse-drawn carriage the twenty miles between the two towns, an average speed of less than five miles an hour.

North Carolina's state official delegation included Judge John Louis Taylor, the first Chief Justice of the North Carolina Supreme Court, and Colonel William Polk, a renowned Continental Army officer during the American Revolution. Polk fought alongside Lafayette at the Battle of Brandywine in 1777, where both were wounded. "The General was conducted in to the Court House and addressed by Judge Taylor, after which the General and Col. Polk embraced in an affecting manner. We then went to the [Calvert] Tavern where dinner was prepared; after partaking of which the General...sett off for Halifax, previous to which I had the pleasure of shaking him, his son and Col. Lavasure (*sic*) by the hand. They are pleasant agreeable men."¹¹

Dr. O'Dwyer remained at Northampton Court House overnight while one of his party, John Southall, continued to Halifax. He returned to Murfreesboro the following day, where he "called at the P. O. [post office] and saw the Raleigh Paper which says great preparations are making for the reception of Gen LaFayette."¹²

Napoleon Hill has no formal art training, but his beautiful murals depicting rural life can be seen on walls across Halifax and Northampton counties. His Lafayette mural, recently commissioned as a joint project by the Town of Jackson and the Northampton County Tourism Development Authority, depicts Lafayette's arrival at Northampton Court House. The colorful artwork is quite large, measuring about nineteen feet long and seven feet high. Depicted from left to right are Judge Taylor, Lafayette, and Colonel Polk. The image of Lafayette is an excellent likeness of the 1823 portrait by Ary Scheffer that hangs in the U. S. House of Representatives. Behind the three men stands a depiction of the coach similar to the one used by Lafayette. This image is based on a period carriage preserved at the Agriculture and Transportation Museum in Murfreesboro. The 1819 county courthouse is depicted at the left rear behind the horse. At the right rear is the Calvert Tavern. A 24-star United States national flag, the first referred to as "Old Glory," waves in the breeze at the far left.

After leaving Northampton Court House, Lafayette's North Carolina journey took him to Halifax, Enfield, Falls of Tar River (present-day Rocky Mount), Raleigh, and his namesake town of Fayetteville. He was celebrated at every stop. The smallest town that he visited in the state has not forgotten him and honors his memory with this remarkable artwork. Visitors can view the mural on the exterior west wall of the Embassy Cafe at 124 W. Jefferson Street in downtown Jackson.

¹ Auguste Levasseur (author), Alan R. Hoffman (translator), *Lafayette in America in 1824 and 1825: Journal of a Voyage to the United States* (Manchester, NH: Lafayette Press, 2007): 304.

² J. Bennett Nolan, *Lafayette in America Day by Day* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1934): 275.

³ Dr. Thomas O'Dwyer, *Diary of 1825, Murfreesboro, NC* (Winton, NC: Liberty Shield Press, 1996): 17.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Levasseur, 303.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ O'Dwyer, 19.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid., 19-20.

¹² Ibid., 20.

General Lafayette, Northhampton Court House, and the North Carolina State Welcoming Committee

by Julien P. Icher

One of the very first official Lafayette Trail markers will be going to the town of Jackson, North Carolina to commemorate Lafayette's visit on February 27, 1825.

It was a well-established tradition in the United States during Lafayette's Tour, for a governor to receive the Nation's Guest at the state line and extend an official welcome on behalf of the people of that state.

Murfreesboro, North Carolina, was the closest small town able to dispatch a local committee to southern Virginia to facilitate Lafayette's entrance into North Carolina. A small group of Murfreesboro representatives proceeded to Virginia north of Somerton where they met with General Lafayette and joined the Virginians in charge of the "Nation's Guest." Approaching the Virginia line, the Murfreesboro committee was expecting to see the NC state's committee ready to be entrusted with Lafayette's care. However, because of poor weather and other reasons that remain largely unknown, the state committee got as far as Northhampton Court House (now Jackson, NC). It therefore fell on the Murfreesboro representatives to extend the official welcome from the state to Lafayette, with their limited resources.

An Irish immigrant by the name of Thomas O'Dwyer was in regular communication with the committee men selected to proceed to Somerton in southern Virginia to join the Virginians accompanying Lafayette and facilitate entrance in the state of NC. Dr. O'Dwyer was based in the Murfreesboro area in Hertford County. He was involved in the reception of Lafayette in Murfreesboro but did not travel to Somerton as part of the selected committee of arrangements for his town. Instead, he was to wait for Lafyaette a mile from town and conduct him to the town center. O'Dwyer kept a personal diary in which he detailed the order of events leading to his first contact with Lafayette. According to the diary, Lafayette was lodged in Murfreesboro, although the location is not known.

The next morning, Lafayette continued on to Northhampton Court House (now Jackson), making a stop on the way at Zion Meeting House in the present-day community of Conway, which is also among the first Lafayette Trail marker recipients. At Northhampton Court House, Lafayette was met by the North Carolina State Committee. North Carolina Supreme Court Chief Justice John Louis Taylor and Col. William Polk both served on the state's reception committee designated to welcome Lafayette. Justice Taylor, chairman of the committee, invited Lafayette inside the courthouse and addressed him on behalf of the state committee. A dinner at a nearby Tavern opposite the courthouse followed and concluded Lafayette's reception in that town. Although modest in size, Northhampton Court House became, by this turn of events, the spot where the state of North Carolina officially welcomed Lafayette to its land. Lafayette proceeded west toward Halifax, where he spent the night of Sunday, February 27th.

The town of Jackson has recently decided to explore its Lafayette connection in an effort to revitalize its historic downtown. When the town was approached regarding a Lafayette Trail

marker, the interest was immediate. Town representatives mentioned that they had commissioned a Halifax County-based artist, Napoleon Hill, to paint a mural to be located on the west side of the Embassy Café, near the modern county courthouse. Quite an irony if you ask me that a Lafayette painting would be done by Napoleon!



Mural painting located in Jackson NC. Lafayette is represented in the middle, flanked on his right by Judge Taylor and on his left by William Polk. The likeness of Lafayette is inspired by Ary Scheffer's famous 1822 painting of the Nation's Guest.

The Jackson, NC marker will be placed a few blocks away from the courthouse on the opposite side of Jefferson Street, in a small park that the Jackson Town Board officially renamed "Lafayette Park" in a recent resolution.



Julien Icher and Bill Futrell, owner of the Futrell Pharmacy, a business adjacent to Lafayette Park, where the marker will be installed

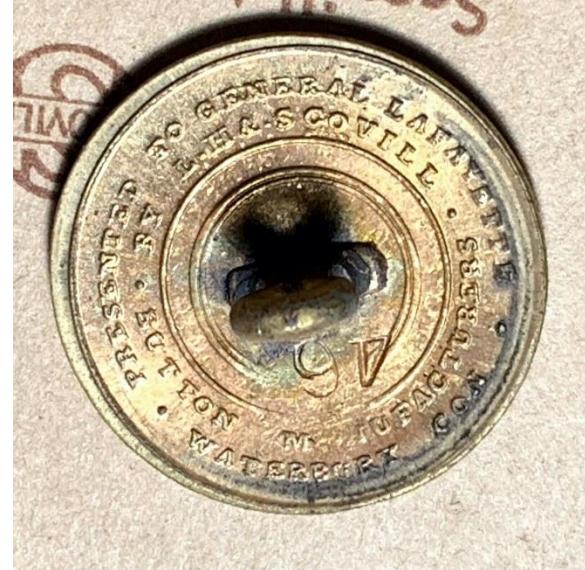
Lafayette Sighting:

What the Well-Dressed Man Wore at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, 1876 by Ernest and Janet Sutton

When the Marquis de Lafayette visited this country in 1824 as a friend instead of an active ally, the Scovill Manufacturing Company was a flourishing brass button concern that had been going for 22 years. As a token of their respect and appreciation of his services to the country, the company presented the Marquis with a full set of buttons carefully made in solid gold. As shown, the button is a very delicate piece of work. The reverse side bears the company name at the time, Leavenworth, Hayden and Scovill. The inscription reads "Presented to General Lafayette." The die was believed to have been cut by the United States Mint, the only place in those days that employed the combination of artist and artisan which the character of the work required. On the front of the button is the profile of George Washington, Lafayette's paternal friend.

The Lafayette Presentation Button was made for the second time fifty-two years later, at the time of the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia in 1876, when several sets of buttons were presented to the members of the official French Commission.

Once more history repeated itself in 1916 when the die was used to make a pair of gold cuff links for the Marquis de Chambrun, Lafayette's great-great-grandson, when he visited this country as a member of the French War Mission.

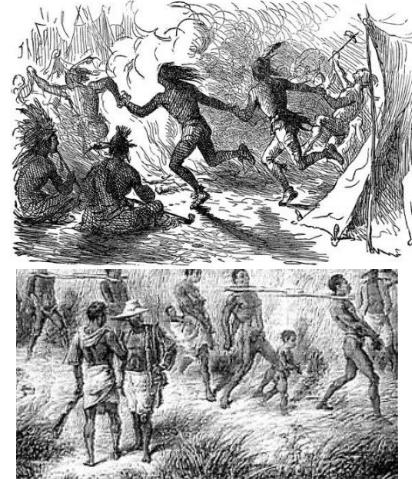


1946 Restrike of Lafayette button from the original dies with gold gilding (19.75 mm)
Reverse reads "Presented to General Lafayette · by L. H. & Scoville · Button Manufacturers · Waterbury Con · 46"

Editor's note: AFL member and avid button collector Jan O'Sullivan has also been researching these buttons since she acquired one at auction. More to follow in the next issue...

“Savages” and Slaves: An Enlightened Warrior -The Marquis de Lafayette’s Perception of Native Americans and the Institution of Slavery-

by Billy Mayer



“From Constantinople to Lisbon, from Kamschatka to Amsterdam, every bastille is ready to receive me. The Huron and Iroquois forests are peopled with my friends; the despots and the courts of Europe, they are the only savages I fear.”¹

-Lafayette, 1792-

“In the cause of my black brethren, I feel myself warmly interested and most decidedly side against the white part of mankind. Whatever be the complexion of the enslaved, it does not, in my opinion, alter the complexion of the crime which the enslaver commits, a crime much blacker than any African face.”²

-Lafayette to John Adams, 1786-

As the Marquis de Lafayette embarked on his tour of the United States in 1824, Americans warmly welcomed him to the country. In Utica, New York, the populace erected an arch with a flag that read, “LAFAYETTE, THE APOSTLE OF LIBERTY, WE HAIL THEE—WELCOME!”³ Romantically known as the “Hero of Two Worlds”, Lafayette valiantly served in both the American and French Revolutions, was a friend of the Native Americans, a passionate abolitionist, and devout follower of the Enlightenment. Lafayette’s journey began at nineteen years old when the American cause inspired him to confront the British Empire. He wrote, “My heart was enlisted and I thought only of joining my colors to those of the revolutionaries!”⁴ Lafayette deeply studied the ideals of the American Revolution and was compelled to fight for

the liberty and freedom of the colonists in the spirit of the Enlightenment. While in America, he quickly established a close bond with George Washington, who considered him an adopted son, and a few of the founding fathers including Jefferson and Madison. Interestingly, according to Louis Gottschalk, Lafayette knew very little or nothing about the *philosophes* Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Rousseau prior to 1783. There was no evidence that he had read any of their work or established a political worldview aside from his love for America and hate for Great Britain.⁵ Though he did not read many of the *philosophes*' works, Lafayette's ideas about both Native Americans and slavery drew on Enlightenment thought as well as his own experiences in the Americas.

During this period, many white settlers viewed the Native Americans as uncivilized savages who refused to conform to Western society. Lafayette, on the other hand, shared a special relationship with the Native Americans as he was adopted into the Iroquois tribe in 1778 and given the name Kayewla (fierce horseman) after one of their great warriors. To Lafayette, the Indians were far from savages and more representative of the ideals of the Enlightenment than his white counterparts. Rousseau observed, "The [savage] breathes only peace and liberty; he desires only to live and be free from labour."⁶ Lafayette saw the beauty of Native American culture, its simplicity, and embodiment of a society free from corruption and tyranny. Moreover, slavery had no place in Lafayette's perception of the world. He was a privileged French nobleman but never saw the logical justification for the institution of slavery and became a supporter of emancipation during the American Revolution. It was ironic, however, that a nation fighting for freedom had already enslaved a sixth of its population. As a man of the Enlightenment, Lafayette believed that the institution of slavery was part of the crumbling *ancien régime* and would eventually dissolve as civilization progressed. These perceptions characterized who Lafayette was as an individual and student of the Enlightenment. Upon arriving in America for the first time, he told Washington, "I am here to learn, not to teach."⁷ What he learned about America, the Indians, and slavery during the Revolution gave shape to his enlightened worldview and vigorous pursuit of liberty and freedom for all.

A Franco-American ‘Savage’:

The idea of the “noble savage” was a well-debated subject during the Enlightenment. Though Rousseau did not coin the term, the “noble savage” was a romanticized personification of the “savage” lifestyle and was not often referenced until its revival in 1859 by anthropologist John Crawfurd.⁸ Ter Ellingson, author of *The Myth of the Noble Savage* writes, “The noble savage, according to eighteenth-century French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau, is an individual living in a ‘pure state of nature’—gentle, wise, uncorrupted by the vices of civilization.”⁹ This assessment argued that the savage was morally superior to those corrupted by civilization and lived a more wholesome life within the state of nature. Ben Franklin reflected, “Savages we call them, because their manners differ from ours, which we think the perfection of civility; they think the same of theirs.”¹⁰

Unfortunately, white settlers and European travelers often shared a negative perception of the “noble savage.” In 1740, Irish immigrant Francis Cample wrote, “I have no confidence in the friendship of these savages, and have always felt that we have been warming a viper which will

some day show us its fangs. These savages will give us trouble yet.”¹¹ Fur trader Edmond Aitken added, “When they are our Friends, they are the Cheapest and strongest Barrier for the Protection of our Settlements; when Enemies, they are capable of ravaging in their methods of War, in spite of all we can do to render those Possessions almost useless.”¹² The relationship between the Europeans and Native Americans was complicated as their two worlds clashed. Enlightened individuals like Lafayette and Rousseau saw the virtuous part of Native American culture and embraced their natural goodness. In 1775, James Adair observed, “The equality among the Indians, and the just rewards they always confer on merit, are the great and leading – the only motives that warm their hearts with a strong and permanent love to the country. Governed by the plain and honest law of nature, their whole constitution breathes nothing but liberty.”¹³ Adair summed up the enlightened perception of Native Americans and how Lafayette viewed them.

However, when the term “noble savage” was unearthed again in the mid-19th century, Charles Dickens offered a dismissive assertion: “To conclude as I began. My position is, that if we have anything to learn from the Noble Savage, it is what to avoid. His virtues are a fable; his happiness is a delusion; his nobility, nonsense.”¹⁴ This closed-minded perception of the Native American way of life was held by many during this time period especially as European Americans began infringing on Native American territory and moving west. The Enlightened perception, unfortunately, struggled to survive the greed and corruption of Manifest Destiny. Fittingly, in 1745, Oneida leader Shickellamy concluded, “We are Indians, and don’t wish to be transformed into white men. The English are our Brethren, but we never promised to become what they are.”¹⁵ Therefore, as the vices of civilization consumed North America, the Native Americans suffered at the hands of Europeans as they fought to maintain their culture and way of life. Corruption and Manicheanism* slowly consumed the “noble savage” as the state of nature disintegrated between the fingers of greed and civilized expansion.

Rousseau contrasted the civilized man and savage in his *Discourse on Inequality* (1755):

Civilised man, on the other hand, is always moving, sweating, toiling and racking his brains to find still more laborious occupations: he goes on in drudgery to his last moment, and even seeks death to put himself in a position to live, or renounces life to acquire immortality. The savage lives within himself, while social man lives constantly outside himself, and only knows how to live in the opinion of others, so that he seems to receive the consciousness of his own existence merely from the judgment of others concerning him.¹⁶

*Manicheanism is a very important term for Enlightenment thought and Lafayette himself. Manicheanism was a dualistic religious system that focused on the battle between light and darkness in the world. More specifically, the darkness is evil and materialistic in nature while the light represents goodness, virtue, and what is spiritually good. Therefore, Lafayette lives in a Manichean world conflicted between light and dark. The dark and materialistic sources of white European civilization combat against the light and virtuous Native American way of life. I believe, that as an Enlightened warrior, Lafayette was a soldier in this conflict between light and dark as he tried to seek out the true meaning behind the Enlightenment as a man of action.

Rousseau justified his views on the corruption and duplicitous behavior of the civilized man in his *First Discourse on the Arts and Sciences* (1750): “Suspicious, offences, fears, coldness, reserve, hatred, and betrayal will always be hiding under this uniform and perfidious veil of politeness, under that urbanity which is so praised and which we owe to our century's enlightenment.”¹⁷ In 1752, Abenaki leader Atiwaneto confirmed Rousseau’s assertion when he addressed a colonial officer: “Your mouth is of sugar but your heart of gall. In truth, the moment you begin we are on our guard.”¹⁸ Although Lafayette read little of Rousseau’s work, he would have been well-acquainted with such ideas and the experiences he shared with the Iroquois not only complemented his evolving worldview but impacted his perception of civilization and respect for the “noble savage.” He refused to adopt the two-faced persona typical of greedy European expansionists. For him, these actions were ignoble for an enlightened individual.

In 1778, Lafayette became the only “Franco-American Indian” as he was adopted into the Iroquois tribe.¹⁹ The Native Americans had often viewed the French as fatherly figures so there was a natural respect shared between “savage” and Lafayette.²⁰ Though adoptees are usually presented as children, the Iroquois adopted Kayewla for his reputation as a warrior, enlightened spirit, and fatherly respect for the tribe. It was less familial and more honorary for Lafayette. After his arrival in America, Lafayette served as a major general in the Revolution, and he fought bravely in the Battle of Brandywine. In 1778, he was asked to attend a notable council of Indians to discuss their allegiances to the rebel cause in upstate New York. The perception of the “noble savage” was further tested. Upon arrival to the Indian camp, one of Lafayette’s aides mumbled, “Europe’s beggar seemed less disgusting than America’s savage.”²¹ Moreover, some of the Americans demanded that the tribes “bury the war axe and return to a peaceful posture, [or they would be targeted] for destruction in future operations.”²² Unlike other white allies, Lafayette did not threaten or speak ill of the tribes as a tactic to induce fear. He saw that approach as despicable and ineffective. Rather, his manners and appearance deeply impressed the tribes as he charismatically charmed them showing respect for their society. Furthermore, to strengthen the ties between the Americans and Indians, Lafayette ordered his engineer to build them a fort called Kanonwalohale. He ultimately recruited Oneida warriors for the American cause and courageously fought alongside them at the Battle of Barren Hill on May 20, 1778. Approximately 300 Oneidas served with the American army including Lewis Atayataghronghtha who was granted a commission as a lieutenant colonel.²³ Lafayette’s diplomacy won him the favor of the Native Americans and a place in their tribe because he approached them with respect for their culture and identity. Lafayette was an anomaly in this regard as white settlers and American military leaders alike generally treated the Native Americans as savages who resisted the will to conform to the European ways of life and punished them with violence.

Lafayette’s reputation with the Iroquois and Oneidas was important as he was called upon to mediate the peace talks between the Six Nations and the United States at the end of the American Revolution in 1784. Four of the Nations (Mohawks, Cayugas, Onondagas, and Senecas) had sided with the British while the Oneidas and Tuscaroras allied with the Americans. Consequently, to make peace here was crucial to the long-term stability and relationship among tribes as well as the United States. General Wolcott introduced Lafayette as “a great man among the French, one of the head warriors of the great Onondio [Louis XVI], and as you all know, a general in the American army and a headman among us, who comes with his friends to pay you a visit and give you the advice of a father.”²⁴ As a member of the tribe, Lafayette saw how the war

negatively impacted the Iroquois's cohesiveness as a unit while it drew them away from their cultural traditions and place in the state of nature. Lafayette advised, "Be wiser than the white men, keep peace among you." Arguably, he saw how contact with the Europeans and their wars could morally sabotage and corrupt the "savage" way of life. Although he did not spend extended amounts of time with the Iroquois, serving with them during the war and helping negotiate peace afterwards gave him an empathy, personifying Enlightenment thought, for the Native American struggle. The Chief of the Mohawks rose in agreement with Kayewla addressing Lafayette as "my father."²⁵ Great Grasshopper spoke on behalf of the Oneidas and Tuscaroras and presented Lafayette with a wampum belt previously owned by the French soldier Montcalm. As a sign of good faith, Lafayette returned the belt and said that he would always be ready to hold one end of it while the Americans held the other, thus binding together "the French and their children."²⁶ Those that had supported the British cause felt remorse for their actions. One Mohawk admitted, "[We] had listened to the wicked and shut our ears against thy voice...[we] quitted the good path [and ever since been] surrounded by a black cloud."²⁷ This black cloud was most likely the storm created between European civilization and the Native American lifestyle. A Seneca chief concluded, "The great Onondio would form a chain with America that would shine forever... [If the Americans would now be kind] peace will spread among all the nations."²⁸

Peace was declared after three weeks of negotiations in the Treaty of Fort Stanwix. Lafayette's presence at the conference brought international attention as this was a matter to be concluded between the Indians, Americans, French, and British. He later admitted that "My influence with the Indians was found greater than I myself could expect."²⁹ Though he was surprised, his influence signified a mutual respect between both parties as he represented a stable middle ground from which "civilization" and the state of nature could meet. Without Lafayette's sympathetic relationship with the Iroquois during this period, American retribution against the four hostile Nations may have resulted in disaster. On the other hand, the Americans awarded the Oneidas and Tuscaroras with land grants for their courage and devotion to the cause of freedom from Britain. Unlike others, Lafayette never forgot the Oneida contribution to the war effort.

In 1824, Lafayette returned to America for a tour of the country to commemorate its fiftieth anniversary. President James Monroe believed that "Lafayette and the peoples of the United States should have one last opportunity to see each other before the ever-relentless sands of time completely swept away the hallowed Revolutionary generation."³⁰ Lafayette arrived, once again, as divisive politics over slavery was pulling the nation apart. However, the General's tour became a celebration of the youthful United States as many prepared to welcome Lafayette to their hometowns. As the last living Revolutionary commander, Lafayette was revered as a legendary hero. However, as the festivities began in the county of Oneida, Lafayette began to wonder where his Indian allies had gone. The veterans had selectively forgotten the Oneida contribution to victory in the Revolution. Lafayette had not, and he inquired about their whereabouts with his hosts. His commitment to visit the Oneidas during this trip illuminated his continuous respect and paternal relationship with these forgotten allies.

Responding to his request, Utica's hosts sought to bring in some of the Oneida tribesmen from the countryside. Lafayette granted them a private audience; a courtesy given to no one else.

Here, they shared war stories but also the sad fact that their former allies were slowly consuming their territory as America began moving west. Glatthaar points out, “What Lafayette detected was a deep sadness, a longing for the old days before their world had begun to disintegrate in the midst of the American revolution.”³¹ Nevertheless, the Oneidas were honored that Kayewla remembered their services and contribution to the cause of liberty while also taking time to personally meet with them. Lafayette, like most, sought glory in his endeavors; however, the relationship he established and built upon with the Native Americans illustrated his appreciation for their cultural respect, moral superiority, and way of life. Lafayette once remarked, “The Huron and Iroquois forests are peopled with my friends; the despots and the courts of Europe, they are the only savages I fear.”³² As an enlightened warrior, Lafayette developed a warm appreciation for his friends of the forest especially for the simplicity and logical nature of their being. He loved his country but did not condone the violent reprisals of the Reign of Terror and was sickened by the corruption and greed that devoured civilization and its people. The Oneidas were friends that he could confide in and escape to as the functions of society declined. Both he and the Native Americans understood the importance of honor, respect, and unity. Lafayette, the idealist, shared much in common with the “savages” of America because he viewed simplicity and the pursuit of virtue as defining traits of an enlightened being. In other words, Lafayette most likely saw the wedge between civilization and the state of nature in a Manichean light. Society fell to darkness because of materialistic greed and violent corruption while the “noble savage” remained honorable and selfless within the light.

Unshackling the Chains:

As Lafayette contemplated his Manichean world, he sought to destroy another materialistic evil. The institution of slavery embodied the values of the *ancien régime* and challenged the virtues of the Enlightenment. As Rousseau famously wrote, “Man is born free and he is everywhere in chains.”³³ This was unacceptable in Lafayette’s worldview. Despite its supposed economic necessity, slavery had no place in society after the overthrow and destruction of the old regime. No man, woman, or child should be forced from their home and placed in chains for the material gain of a white empire. It is not clear when Lafayette became an advocate of emancipation; however, he did fight to free the blacks that served with him in the American Revolution including James Armistead.³⁴ As a follower of the Enlightenment, he sought to incite progressive change on behalf of those in shackles. Lafayette once told James Madison that one of his “hobbyhorses” was Negro emancipation. Madison recalled, “[His pursuit of emancipation] does him real honor, as it is a proof of his humanity. In a word, I take him to be as amiable a man as his vanity will admit, and as sincere an American as any Frenchman can be; one whose past services gratitude obliges us to acknowledge and whose future friendship prudence requires us to cultivate.”³⁵ However, to properly assess Lafayette’s actions against slavery, one must investigate how Enlightenment *philosophes* perceived the institution.

In his *Discourse on Inequality*, Rousseau identified the origins of slavery:

But from the moment one man began to stand in need of the help of another; from the moment it appeared advantageous to any one man to have enough provisions for two, equality disappeared, property was introduced, work became indispensable, and vast forests became smiling fields, which man had

to water with the sweat of his brow, and where slavery and misery were soon seen to germinate and grow up with the crops.³⁶

However, for enlightened *philosophes*, slavery was a metaphor used to explain the *ancien régime*'s oppression and infringement of people's freedoms. Jimmy Klausen argues that "reading Rousseau rhetorically is central to any rigorous attempt to come to terms with his concept of freedom, and reading Rousseauian rhetoric means juxtaposing infrequent references to African slavery with more frequent references to moral slavishness and despotic subjection."³⁷ This is known as political slavery while its physical counterpart is labeled civil slavery. Political slavery spread the fires of revolution throughout France. Those who felt the *ancien régime* deprived them of their personal liberties and freedoms were politically enslaved to a system that favored the wealthy minority. Civil slavery, on the other hand, was generally overlooked because of colonial isolation and situational ignorance. Many knew that the "Pearl of the Antilles" (St. Domingue) was the wealthiest sugar producing colony in the world but did not understand the labor requirements to accomplish this feat. The colloquial phrase "Out of sight, out of mind" fittingly described this situation.

Moreover, the historical "Freedom Principle," established in 1571, that consistently supported black liberty up through the French Revolution created the myth that "there are no slaves in France." As a result, when colonial slave owners travelled to France with their "property" a crisis of social hierarchy emerged. Sue Peabody opines: "The problem of social hierarchies in a world where all people are to be considered free (i.e., not subject to others' domination) has yielded, on one hand, a commitment to an ideology of absolute social equality and, on the other, a system of justification for why some classes of individuals are entitled to more privileges than others."³⁸ Therefore, those who opposed slavery on all accounts, like Lafayette, established organizations like the Society of the Friends of Blacks to enlighten the French people about the horrors of the institution. Established in 1788, this society published anti-slavery literature and involved itself in debates within the National Assembly. It ceased operation after the French revolutionary government took control in 1793. The Universal Emancipation decree was passed by the National Convention shortly thereafter.

Louis de chevalier Jaucourt, author of the *Encyclopédia* article on slavery, explained that the institution of slavery was not natural and that it could only flourish in arbitrary and despotic states where civil liberty died, and political enslavement prevailed. He concluded, "slavery founded by force, by violence, and in certain climates by an excess of servitude, cannot maintain itself in the world except by the same means."³⁹ Based on this assessment, slavery could not survive among the republican institutions of France and the United States because of the nature of their post-revolution governments. Therefore, it was counterintuitive that Napoleon reinstated slavery in the colonies in 1802 after the Convention abolished the institution in 1794. He vehemently proclaimed, "My decision to destroy the authority of the blacks in Saint Domingue (Haiti) is not so much based on considerations of commerce and money, as on the need to block for ever the march of the blacks in the world."⁴⁰ This was a surprising assertion coming from the man who declared that he was the revolution on horseback. Nevertheless, although the Haitian people eventually triumphed against their white masters, slavery remained a divisive issue in both France and the United States ultimately resulting in the American Civil War. Interestingly, Lafayette once said, "I would never have drawn my sword in the cause of

America, if I could have conceived that thereby I was founding a land of slavery.”⁴¹ He could not fathom that a country who fought on the principles of freedom and liberty could possibly justify the enslavement of one-sixth of its population for economic prosperity.

Therefore, as a man of action, Lafayette sought to devise strategies to lead to the eventual manumission of slaves and the disintegration of their chains after the American Revolution. In response to a letter from Lafayette, George Washington wrote, “The scheme...which you propose as a precedent, to encourage the emancipation of the black people of this Country from that state of Bondage in wch. [sic] they are held, is a striking evidence of the benevolence of your Heart.”⁴² The legacy he initiated here was groundbreaking.

Lafayette invested in an experiment of gradual manumission known as the Cayenne Experiment in the 1780s. Lida Rose McCabe, author of *Ardent Adrienne*, commented on the origins of this experiment: After the end of the Revolutionary War, the Comte de Ségur, one of Lafayette’s close allies, visited his plantation in Saint Domingue. “He brought back an account of the dissolute white society and the tortures of his own unhappy Negro slaves that made them all shudder in the house of Noailles.” Lafayette was indignant, and having no slaves of his own to emancipate, he determined to buy an operating plantation in French Guiana on the northern coast of South America.⁴³

In 1785, Lafayette bought his own plantation in Cayenne along with seventy slaves. He intended to eventually free all his slaves to demonstrate a feasible solution to end slavery entirely. On *La Belle Gabrielle*, the whip was outlawed, education was provided, free time allotted, and wages paid. Lafayette hoped that this meaningful transition would not only motivate the slaves to work and prepare them for freedom but create a stable and prosperous system without the necessity of chains and oppression. In a letter to Washington, Lafayette wrote, “If it be a wild scheme, I had rather be mad that way, than to be thought wise on the other tack.”⁴⁴

Thomas Clarkson, a famous abolitionist, observed:

By introducing several principles, and by making various regulations for the protection and comfort of the slaves, [Lafayette] thought he could prove to the planters that there was no necessity for the slave trade; that the slaves upon all their estates would increase sufficiently by population; that they might be introduced gradually and without detriment to a state of freedom; and that then the real interest of all would be most promoted.⁴⁵

Interestingly, after Lafayette established the experiment, he had little time to dedicate to the plantation himself because of the rapidly accelerating events in France. He rarely was able to attend meetings of the Society of the Friends of Blacks despite being a committed abolitionist. Therefore, he gave a *carte blanche* to his wife Adrienne to oversee operations at *La Belle Gabrielle*. *La Femme Lafayette* was, in fact, the benevolent master of the plantation and was thoroughly familiar with its operation. Her ultimate goal in this experiment was “that the Negroes... should before all else be taught the elements of religion and morality, thus preparing them for the liberty and the proper exercise of the freedom which one day would be theirs.”⁴⁶

He did not want to become like the slave master Monsieur Vanderdendur in Voltaire's *Candide*. Approaching Surinam, Candide came across a slave with no left leg and no right hand. The slave shared his story: "When we work in the sugar-mills and get a finger caught in the machinery, they cut off the hand; but if we try to run away, they cut off the leg: I have found myself in both situations...Dogs, monkeys and parrots are a thousand times less miserable than we are."⁴⁷ Such a scenario, even in a work of satire, was not far from the reality of slavery in the French colonies and exemplifies why Lafayette pursued this experiment. Slavery in the French colonies was even more oppressive than in the United States. The French economy, especially during the Revolution, relied on the import of sugar and other crops from their Caribbean colonies and therefore justified slavish conditions for maximum production. Between 1783-1791, approximately 790,000 slaves worked the plantations on Saint Domingue. Louis XIV had enacted *code noir* in 1685 which provided basic human rights for slaves and responsibilities to the master who was obliged to feed, clothe, and protect the general well-being of his labor force. *Code noir* sanctioned corporal punishment but did not specify the extent to which a master could effectively punish. One slave recorded the horrors he witnessed on Saint Domingue:

Have they not hung up men with heads downward, drowned them in sacks, crucified them on planks, buried them alive, crushed them in mortars?
 Have they not forced them to consume faeces? And, having flayed them with the lash, have they not cast them alive to be devoured by worms, or onto anthills, or lashed them to stakes in the swamp to be devoured by mosquitoes?
 Have they not thrown them into boiling cauldrons of cane syrup? Have they not put men and women inside barrels studded with spikes and rolled them down mountainsides into the abyss? Have they not consigned these miserable blacks to man eating-dogs until the latter, sated by human flesh, left the mangled victims to be finished off with bayonet and poniard?⁴⁸

Hearing of these nightmarish conditions, Lafayette passionately pursued his manumission experiment in Cayenne as he believed that the institution of slavery had no place within the Enlightenment and would eventually collapse under its own pressure. His solution was to offer a peaceful transition between slave and master so as to avoid the violence of a revolt that would occur in Saint-Domingue in 1791. Both Washington and Louis XVI declined to participate in his experiment, but this did not stop him. He invested large sums of money to put the experiment to the test and made little profit from it. However, Lafayette did not care about profit; he only wished to offer a transition away from slavery. This project was unproductively slow at the beginning, but eventually produced 500 clove trees across the plantation in 1791. The Estate Manager reported that that the stimulus of this experiment "worked like a charm," that the efforts of the laborers were redoubled, and they remained obedient to his wishes.

Unfortunately, before the experiment reached its peak, the French monarchy was overthrown with Lafayette barely escaping with his life. Upon his escape, he was arrested and imprisoned in Prussia and then Austria as a notable revolutionary. Nevertheless, Lafayette remained concerned about the well-being of his slaves and in a letter to Princess d'Henin dated March 15, 1793 wrote, "P. S. I know not what disposition has been made of my plantation at Cayenne, but I hope Madame Lafayette will take care that the Negroes who cultivate it shall preserve their liberty."⁴⁹ Regrettably, Madame Lafayette could not intervene at the plantation

because of the danger the newly established French government posed; therefore, *La Belle Gabrielle* fell into the hands of less noble individuals who subjected the half-emancipated slaves into bondage. After the Convention abolished slavery in February 1794, Lafayette's slaves felt an immense sense of gratitude for their treatment during this experiment. John Gillard explained, "They declared that if General Lafayette still owned the property of the Cayenne plantation they would not avail themselves of the liberty the law now allowed them-they would go only on condition that Lafayette was no longer their master."⁵⁰ The relationship shared between Lafayette and his slaves, though a distanced one, demonstrated the efficacy of the Cayenne Experiment. One could argue that he was infusing the Enlightenment into his slaves in hope that experiments like his would spread and help establish a peaceful transition from the shackles of the *ancien régime* to a free and virtuous society. Gillard points out that Cayenne was the only French colony that did not erupt into violence after the emancipation decree passed.⁵¹

Unexpectedly, Napoleon reinstated slavery in 1802 which resulted in rebellion on the Cayenne plantations but nowhere near as severe as the experience on St. Domingue. Nevertheless, though his experiment failed, Lafayette became a source of inspiration for the abolitionist movement. Frederick Douglass considered Lafayette "a true abolitionist who embraced racial equality" as he quoted the letters between Washington and Lafayette. Hank Parfitt adds, "Lafayette is one of the strongest examples of a European who rooted their abolitionism in a commitment to universal liberty and the dignity of all; in this he presents a marked contrast to certain later white abolitionists who were motivated by fears of miscegenation and who advocated a policy of deportation (colonization)."⁵² The Cayenne Experiment remains central to the understanding of Lafayette and his enlightened ideas about slavery because it was a unprecedented revolutionary project that transformed the words of the Enlightenment into meaningful action. Just as the French Revolution shook the foundation of government within France as well as abroad, the Cayenne Experiment demonstrated a feasible solution for the transition away from slavery and the economy that depended on it. The theme of this era was the desire to act against all that was corrupt, unjust, illegitimate, and oppressive. Therefore, Lafayette, as a man of action sought to solve the problem of slavery with both words and effective measures designed for long-term stability and the liberation of those in chains. One of Lafayette's earliest biographers, William Cutter wrote:

It is confidently believed if [the Experiment] would faithfully have been carried out under the constant charge and over-sight of its humane and sagacious projector, that it would have demonstrated beyond a cavil that grand problem of our age, by proving that it is both safe and politic to enlighten and instruct the slave, as well as feasible and wise to emancipate him on the soil."⁵³

Both the beginning of the Reign of Terror and Napoleon's rise inhibited the continuation and completion of the Cayenne Experiment. After the reinstitution of slavery in 1802, the slave trade was not abolished until 1826 and the institution itself until 1848.

Lafayette's legacy lived on through many as the institution of slavery collapsed in France and the French colonies while the fight continued in the United States. In a letter to Lafayette in 1786, George Washington had written:

The benevolence of your heart my Dr Marqs [sic] is so conspicuous upon all occasions, that I never wonder at any fresh proofs of it; but your late purchase of an Estate in the Colony of Cayenne with a view of emancipating the slaves on it, is a generous and noble proof of your humanity. Would to God a like spirit would diffuse itself generally into the minds of the people of this country.⁵⁴

Washington tried to execute a similar experiment starting in 1793 with the four outlying farms on his plantation, but none of the negotiations succeeded between him and potential estate managers. Nonetheless, though he was fearful to challenge the institution and the question of abolition directly, Washington left instructions in his will for the emancipation of all his slaves after his wife's passing.⁵⁵ Lafayette also inspired British author Frances Wright as she conducted a similar antislavery experiment known as Nashoba in 1825. According to Wright, the Nashoba experiment was "a bold plan to set up a utopian community of whites and freed slaves who would live together in full equality" near Memphis, Tennessee. Unfortunately, like Lafayette's plan, Nashoba also failed.⁵⁶ The US eventually waged some of its bloodiest and horrific warfare on itself to settle the issue of emancipation but ultimately prevailed in the spirit of Lafayette. Charles Sumner humbly wrote:

Lafayette was one who early consecrated himself to Human Rights, and throughout a long life became their representative, knight-errant, champion, hero, missionary, apostle – who strove in this cause as no man in history has ever striven – who suffered for it as few have suffered, and whose protracted career... is conspicuous for the rarest fidelity, the purest principle, and the most chivalrous courage, whether civil or military.⁵⁷

In just a few sentences, Sumner summed up exactly who Lafayette was and what he stood for as an enlightened being and seeker of justice for those trapped in chains.

Final Thoughts: An Enlightened Warrior

The Enlightenment, the *philosophes*, and their ideas sowed the seeds of revolution and led to the destruction of the *ancien régime*. Lafayette evolved into both an enlightened thinker as well as warrior. Until 1783, he had not read Rousseau, Voltaire, or Montesquieu. He was an Americanist at heart and passionately studied the institutions he helped create during his service in the Revolutionary War. He had a copy of the Declaration of Independence engraved in gold and placed on one side of a double frame. He hoped he could one day place the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen alongside its American counterpart.

The experiences he shared with the Native Americans during and after the American Revolution significantly impacted his enlightened worldview and fortified his appreciation for life in the Rousseauian understanding of the state of nature. Though his foible was the hunger for glory, Lafayette strongly connected to the "savage" way of life because he recognized the importance of respect, virtue, honor, moral superiority, and identity in Native American culture. He would have never been welcomed into the Iroquois tribe as Kayewla had he approached them in the stereotypical white, European way. These experiences expanded his understanding of the

Enlightenment's values and how simplicity can often demonstrate what is most important in people's lives. However, for many, the Hobbesian life [in the state of nature] was "nasty, brutish, and short." Lafayette was not fond of the complex, corrupt, and selfishness of European civilization. As an idealist, he tried to see the best in society and to implement strategies to improve its condition, but always found solace in his relationship with the Native Americans.

Slavery, on the other hand, was an evil that needed to be banished. As a man of logic, Lafayette saw little benefit in the enslavement of many for the gain of the few. Because he was born into wealth, he failed to see how the economy depended on slavery to survive. Nevertheless, as a social justice warrior and friend of blacks, he could not stomach the sight of those bound by chains. Unlike Candide, who lost the will to be optimistic because of slavery, Lafayette was determined to be the change he wished to see in the world. The Cayenne Experiment was the epitome of that. He had little faith in the politics and strife about slavery so he devised his experiment to offer a concrete solution to the poignant dilemma. Although his endeavor eventually failed because of revolutionary politics, he left a legacy of ingenuity, free-thinking, and abolitionist determination that inspired many including Washington, Wright, and Senator Sumner. When people first think about slavery and its eventual destruction, Lincoln comes to mind. Few people know about Lafayette's sincere commitment to manumission and that it was his efforts and influence that inspired the abolitionists and Union supporters to wage war to destroy the institution.

This paper sought to investigate General Lafayette's perceptions of Native Americans and slavery. Though distinctly different topics, they reflect the marquis's moralistic understanding of the Enlightenment. Lafayette, however, differed from the *philosophes* because he put his ideas into action and exemplified enlightened thought with both the "savages" and slaves. Morality and respect for all of humanity are what tie these two subjects together. Lafayette saw the corruption and Manichean greed of European civilization as a pestilence that took advantage of the simplicity and virtuousness of the Native Americans by war and territorial expansion, while on the other hand, exploiting blacks for economic and material gain. The treatment of the Indians and blacks did not embody the values of the Enlightenment and questioned whether the movement was misconstrued. Liberty and freedom from tyranny and oppression for all or just the white Europeans? Lafayette's warm and respectful relationship with the Native Americans and dedication to the abolition of slavery presented the image of a true enlightened warrior who passionately pursued change for those oppressed by the vices of European civilization.

About the Author:



William Mayer (Billy) is a 24-year-old graduate student studying Diplomacy and Military Studies at Hawai'i Pacific University in downtown Honolulu. In Fall 2017, he graduated with his Bachelor of Science in the same field and completed his capstone research project on Winston Churchill's leadership during the Second World War titled *A Churchillian Crusade: Bounded by Predestination and Freewill*. Upon starting his master's program, he continued to research Churchill and investigated different eras of his life to establish a well-balanced understanding of him and his leadership. He recently completed his

master's thesis titled *The Mirror and the Lantern: Churchill's Heroes and Role Models* which investigated how these men inspired Churchill's leadership upon becoming Prime Minister in May 1940. His interest in the Marquis de Lafayette only sprang up recently while he played the general himself in a Reacting to the Past French Revolution role-playing game. Although Lafayette sought glory, Billy found him to be a true embodiment of Enlightenment thought and meaningful action. The Cayenne Experiment exemplified this. Moreover, little has been written about his perceptions of the Native Americans which is why "Savages and Slaves" attempts to assess both spheres as it related to the Enlightenment worldview. Unfortunately, due to COVID-19, Billy was unable to walk in his graduation this spring but will graduate with honors and pursue a governmental or historical career in New York while his girlfriend attends law school at Albany.

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² Hank Parfitt, "Lafayette and Slavery," *The Lafayette Society*, 2016, accessed April 15, 2020, <http://www.lafayettesociety.org/lafayette-and-slavery/>.

³ Joseph T. Glatthaar and James Kirby Martin, *Forgotten Allies: The Oneida Indians and the American Revolution*. (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006), 5.

⁴ James R. Gaines, *Liberty and Glory: Washington, Lafayette, and Their Revolutions* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2007), 37.

⁵ Louis Gottschalk, *Lafayette Between the American and French Revolution (1783-1789)* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1950), 3.

⁶ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Discourse on Inequality*, 37, <https://aub.edu.lb/fas/cvsp/Documents/DiscourseonInequality.pdf879500092.pdf>.

⁷ *Memoirs Correspondence and Manuscripts of General Lafayette*, 1837, Vol. I, p. 19, published by his family.

⁸ Amelia Hill, "Racists Created the Noble Savage," *The Guardian*, April 15, 2001, accessed April 20, 2020, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2001/apr/15/socialsciences.highereducation>.

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¹⁰ Bruce E. Johansen, "Chapter 5: The Philosopher as Savage," *Forgotten Founders: Benjamin Franklin, the Iroquois, and the Rationale for the American Revolution*, (Ipswich, Massachusetts: Gambit, Inc.), 1982.

¹¹ "European Americans and Native Americans View Each Other, 1700-1775," *National Humanities Center*, accessed April 20, 2020, <http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/pds/becomingamer/peoplestext3/indianscolonists.pdf>, 8.

¹² National Humanities Center, 10.

¹³ National Humanities Center, 14.

¹⁴ Charles Dickens, "The Noble Savage," *Household Words* 7:168 (1853): <http://www.ric.edu/faculty/rpotter/temp/noblesav.html>.

¹⁵ National Humanities Center, 9.

¹⁶ Rousseau, 37.

¹⁷ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *First Discourse on the Arts and Sciences*, 1750, accessed April 20, 2020, <https://www.stmarys-ca.edu/sites/default/files/attachments/files/arts.pdf>, 5.

¹⁸ National Humanities Center, 10.

¹⁹ Gottschalk, 97.

²⁰ Ibid., 97.

²¹ David A. Clary, *Adopted Son: Washington, Lafayette, and the Friendship that Saved the Revolution*, (New York: Random House, 2007), 162.

²² Glatthaar and Martin, 190.

²³ Thomas Fleming, "Warriors for the Republic," *Journal of the American Revolution*, April 16, 2013, accessed April 12, 2020, <https://allthingsliberty.com/2013/04/warriors-for-the-republic/>.

²⁴ Gottschalk, 103.

²⁵ Ibid., 104.

²⁶ Gottschalk, 104-105.

²⁷ Glatthaar and Martin, 298.

²⁸ Gottschalk, 105.

²⁹ Ibid., 106.

³⁰ Glatthaar and Martin, 3-4.

³¹ Ibid., 315.

³² Lafayette, *Memoirs*, <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/7449/7449-h/7449-h.htm>.

³³ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract*, London: Penguin, 1968, 49.

³⁴ Parfitt, “Lafayette and Slavery.” James Armistead was a slave who volunteered to serve with Lafayette during the Siege of Richmond in 1781. He later spied for Lafayette as a fugitive slave in the ranks of Cornwallis’s army.

Armistead secured vital intelligence that contributed to the Franco-American victory at Yorktown in later that year.

³⁵ Gottschalk, 107.

³⁶ Rousseau, *Discourse*, 27.

³⁷ Jimmy Casas Klausen, *Fugitive Rousseau: Slavery, Primitivism, and Political Freedom*, New York: Fordham University Press, 2014, 3.

³⁸ Sue Peabody, *There Are No Slaves in France: The Political Culture of Race and Slavery in the Ancien Régime*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996): 9.

³⁹ Louis chevalier de Jaucourt, “Slavery,” *The Encyclopedia of Diderot & d’Alembert Collaborative Translation Project*, Translated by Naomi J. Andrews, Ann Arbor: Michigan Publishing, University of Michigan Library, 2012, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.did2222.0000.667> (accessed April 15, 2020), Originally published as “Esclavage,” *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, 5:934–5:939 (Paris, 1755).

⁴⁰ *Egalité for All: Toussaint Louverture and the Haitian Revolution*, directed by Noland Walker, PBS, 2009, YouTube, 2012, accessed April 23, 2020, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IOGVgQYX6SU>.

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⁴² Mary V. Thompson, “The Only Unavoidable Subject of Regret,” *George Washington’s Mount Vernon*, 1999, <https://www.mountvernon.org/george-washington/slavery/the-only-unavoidable-subject-of-regret/>.

⁴³ Lida Rose McCabe, *Ardent Adrienne: The Life of Madame de la Fayette*, (New York: Appleton and Company, 1930), 102.

⁴⁴ Parfitt.

⁴⁵ Thomas Clarkson, *History of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade by the British Parliament*, (London, 1808), Vol. II, 123-124.

⁴⁶ John T. Gillard, “Lafayette, Friend of the Negro,” *The Journal of Negro History*, 19:4 (1934): 362.

⁴⁷ Voltaire, *Candide, or Optimism*, London: Penguin, 2005, 51-52.

⁴⁸ Robert Debs Heinl, Michael Heinl, and Nancy Gordon, *Written in Blood: The Story of the Haitian People, 1492–1995* (2nd ed.), (London: University Press of America, 2005).

⁴⁹ Gillard, 363.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 363.

⁵¹ Ibid., 363.

⁵² Parfitt.

⁵³ William Cutter, *The Life of General Lafayette*, (New York: Derby and Jackson, 1849), 164.

⁵⁴ Gillard, 360.

⁵⁵ Thompson, <https://www.mountvernon.org/george-washington/slavery/the-only-unavoidable-subject-of-regret/>. Washington feared that addressing abolition directly would lead to the destruction of the United States before it had a chance to grow. Based on how divisive the issue was until the Civil War, one can surmise that Washington was right.

⁵⁶ Gail Bederman, “Revisiting Nashoba: Slavery, Utopia, and Frances Wright in America, 1818-1826,” *American Literary History* 17:3 (2005): 438.

⁵⁷ Parfitt.

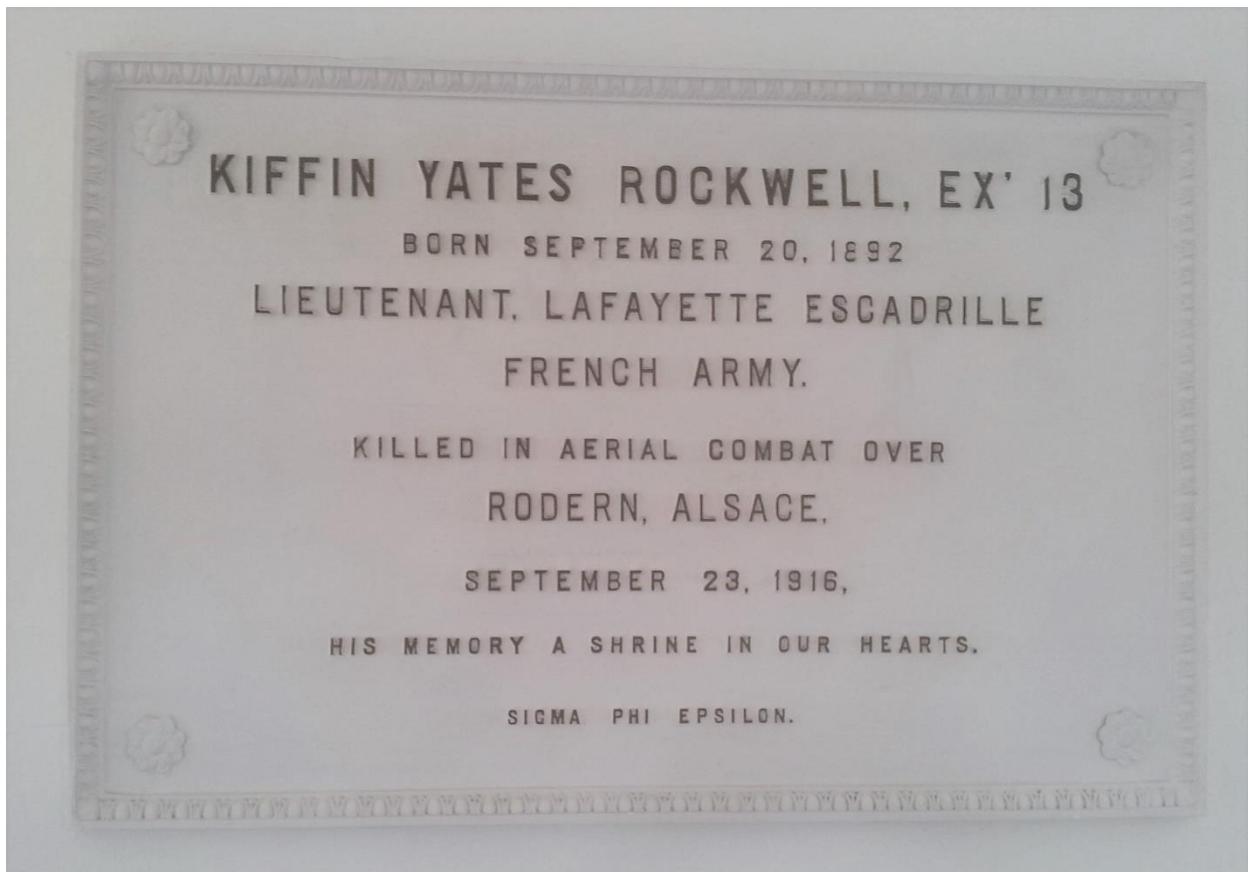
Two Notable Lafayette-Themed Books of 2019

by Alan R. Hoffman

The year 2019 saw two Lafayette-themed books published. Both are worthy additions to the Lafayette literature and will reward the time spent reading them. I give you my take on each of them here.

A Destiny of Undying Greatness: Kiffin Rockwell and the Boys Who Remembered Lafayette
by Mark M. Trapp

Mr. Trapp, while a first-year law student at Washington and Lee University in Lexington, Virginia, saw a plaque commemorating Kiffin Rockwell and his role as a pilot in the Lafayette Squadron in the French air forces in World War I. His curiosity piqued, he began a years-long journey to learn as much as he could about this courageous young man, a quest which came to include Kiffin's fellow Americans who flew for France before our entry into the Great War in 1917. During the early stages of his work, he resolved to name his first son Kiffin, and he did.

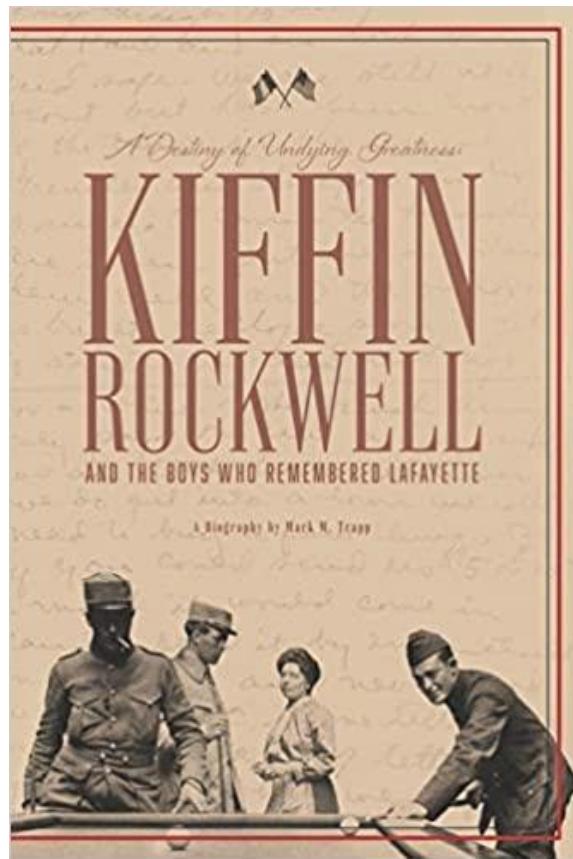


The Kiffin Rockwell Plaque at Washington and Lee University

This book is a charming and poignant account of Kiffin Rockwell and the other young American pilots who remembered what Lafayette had done for America and resolved to reciprocate. As soon as war broke out in 1914, Kiffin and his brother Paul wrote to the French

Consul General in New Orleans – they were living in Atlanta at the time – volunteering to fight for France. Before their letter was answered, the Rockwells learned of a ship sailing for Europe from New York City and travelled by train to board it. Upon their arrival in France, they initially joined the French Foreign Legion. Kiffin, having experienced trench warfare and recovered from his wounds, was able to attend a French flight school and to fly combat missions for France.

Through his extensive use of letters, diaries and newspaper accounts, attorney Trapp tells Kiffin Rockwell's story and that of his fellow pilots, largely in their own words. The "boys," as the author calls them, were incredibly idealistic and brave and ever-conscious of the enormous personal risks they were taking each time they left on a mission in one of the primitive airplanes they flew. Many of the boys in their letters or diaries referred to Lafayette when explaining their own motivations. The eulogies spoken to honor them almost always referred to Lafayette and Rochambeau.



The exploits of the Americans who flew combat missions for France, as well as the heroic deaths of a number of them, generated widespread and almost universally favorable publicity at home, and as Trapp contends convincingly, the boys who remembered Lafayette played a substantial role in inducing the American government to enter the war in 1917 on the side of the Allies.

Kiffin Rockwell was shot out of the sky over France on September 23, 1916. A leading American poet of the day, Edgar Lee Masters, wrote an inspirational poem entitled, "I Pay My Debt for Lafayette and Rochambeau, in Memory of Kiffin Rockwell."

Heights could not awe you,
 Depths could not stay you.
 Anguished we saw you,
 Saw Death way-lay you,
 Where the storm flings
 Black clouds to thicken
 Round France's defender!
 Archangel stricken
 From Ramparts of splendor –
 Shattered your wings!...

 But Lafayette called you,
 Rochambeau beckoned.
 Duty enthralled you.
 For France you had reckoned
 Her gift and your debt.

Mark Trapp's moving account of Kiffin Rockwell and the boys who remembered Lafayette does great honor to them and, it is hoped, will restore them to their rightful place in the pantheon of American heroes.

Revolutionary Brothers: Thomas Jefferson, the Marquis de Lafayette, and the Friendship that Helped Forge Two Nations by Tom Chaffin

Tom Chaffin's joint biography aims to tell the story of two great founders of the United States and their relationship. While Lafayette's close relationship with his mentor and paternal friend George Washington was unique, the bond Lafayette forged with Thomas Jefferson – principally while Jefferson served as the United States Minister Plenipotentiary to France from 1784 to 1789 – was a very strong one.

The title, *Revolutionary Brothers*, is perhaps a bit misleading. Lafayette's interaction with Jefferson during the American Revolution was neither extensive nor very productive. During the Virginia Campaign when they collaborated in 1781, Governor Jefferson proved incapable of providing Lafayette's troops with the provisions and support that they needed. However, their relationship flowered during Jefferson's ministry in France.

They collaborated in lobbying the French Court to open up numerous ports to American trade on favorable terms. At a banquet held in the rotunda of the newly-constructed University of Virginia during Lafayette's Farewell Tour in November of 1824, Jefferson's speech touted Lafayette's contributions to the success of American diplomacy this way: "I only held the nail; he drove it."

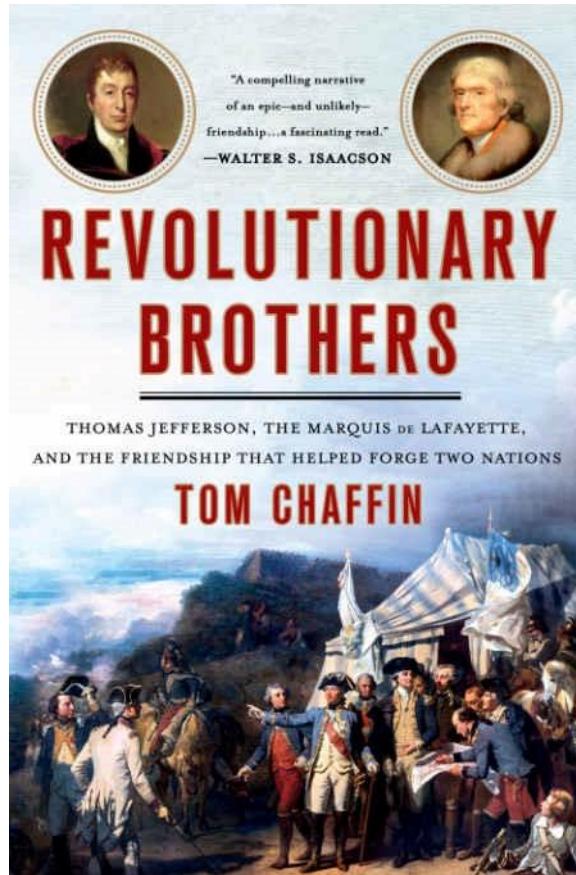
Jefferson did serve as an advisor to Lafayette during the early phase of the French Revolution. This advice was reflected most notably in the drafting of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, and as Chaffin notes, Jefferson reviewed three drafts prepared by

Lafayette. Lafayette and his colleagues actually met at Jefferson's apartments in Paris for drafting sessions. The Declaration became a part of the Constitution of 1791 and is the preamble to the current French Constitution.

Chaffin's book is more a pairing of two biographies than a tale of the relationship between the two great men. Perhaps that relationship is best told in AFL member Gilbert Chinard's *The Letters of Lafayette and Jefferson, with an Introduction and Notes* (The Johns Hopkins Press, 1929). Their relationship is seen as warm and friendly and close enough so that they could disagree frankly without the fear of destroying it.

On April 28, 1807, Lafayette asked Jefferson to go easy on Justus Erich Bollman, the doctor and adventurer who with Francis Kinloch Huger had tried to liberate Lafayette from Olmutz prison in 1794 and who was then caught up as a participant in the Burr conspiracy. Lafayette wrote, "It behooves me, the object of his noble Olmutz enterprise, to be intrusted [sic] in his fate by every sentiment of attachment and gratitude." Jefferson replied on July 19, 1807, "I am sorry to tell you that Bollman was Burr's right hand man in all his guilty schemes.... Be assured he is unworthy of ever occupying again the care of any honest man." Likewise, when Jefferson in a letter dated December 26, 1820 promoted his solution to the slavery problem – diffusion into the new territories of the Louisiana Purchase – Lafayette responded on July 1, 1821 in these terms: "Are You Sure, My Dear friend, that Extending the principle of Slavery to the New Raised States is a Method to facilitate the Means of Getting Rid of it? I would Have thought that By Spreading the prejudices, Habits, and Calculations of planters over a larger Surface, You Rather Encrease [sic] the difficulties of final liberation."

Chaffin writes well and his book is well-paced for an enjoyable read. His treatment of Lafayette's and Jefferson's characters seems accurate, and *Revolutionary Brothers* is a good introduction to each of them. The book would have benefitted from a closer editing, especially by an editor with broad knowledge of the period of the American and French Revolutions. For example, the author confuses John Laurens with his father Henry, such that he has John (not Henry) assigned to negotiate the peace treaty and imprisoned in the Tower of London. He also names the wrong James (Madison instead of Monroe) at one point as the successor to Gouverneur Morris as Minister to Paris.



Researching the French in America

by Norman Desmarais

Most people know that France helped America win its war of independence. They also think that French aid was limited to the siege of Yorktown, forgetting their participation in the battles of Stony Point, Rhode Island, and Savannah. In fact, their support actually began two years before France officially declared war against Britain and only a few months after Britain sent reinforcements to its troops in America to suppress the rebellion. My research to dispel this myth resulted in the publication of *America's First Ally: France in the Revolutionary War*, which is the first attempt to quantify French aid to the American colonies during the American War of Independence.

I was astounded to learn that French aid to the Americans included:

- An estimated 20 to 30 million livres in foreign aid (between \$1,558,400,000 and \$2,337,600,000 in today's money or, to put it another way, 18 to 54 tons of silver) was provided.
- Some 25 French suppliers and outfitters equipped the Continental Army.
- France sent at least 61 warships and more than 100 transports with 31,497 seamen and 12,680 soldiers to America. Of these 44,177 men, more than 5,040 perished to help procure American independence.
- In addition to 56 actions fought in New France (Canada), French troops fought in 32 battles on land in the American colonies.
- France also incurred casualties in 24 engagements on land in the West Indies and 21 in the East Indies.
- France lost 972 vessels captured or sunk, but French vessels captured or sank 1,081 British vessels.
- There were also at least 123 naval actions which resulted in no captures. These include fleet actions which caused much destruction on both sides, inconclusive actions, and those in which one party ceased action and sailed away.

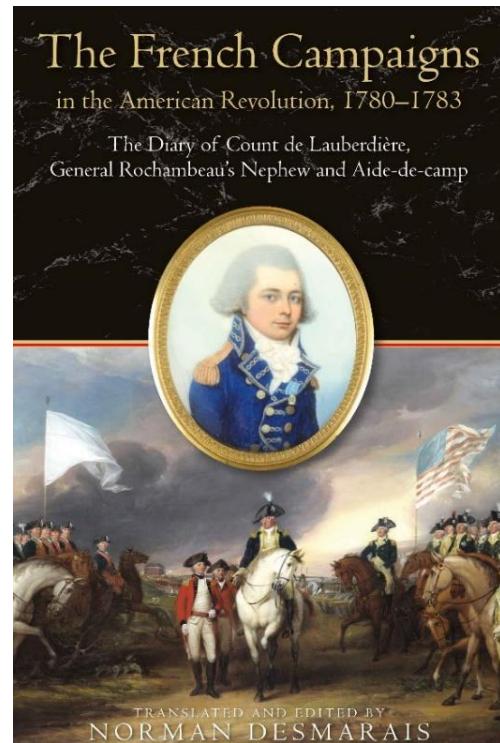
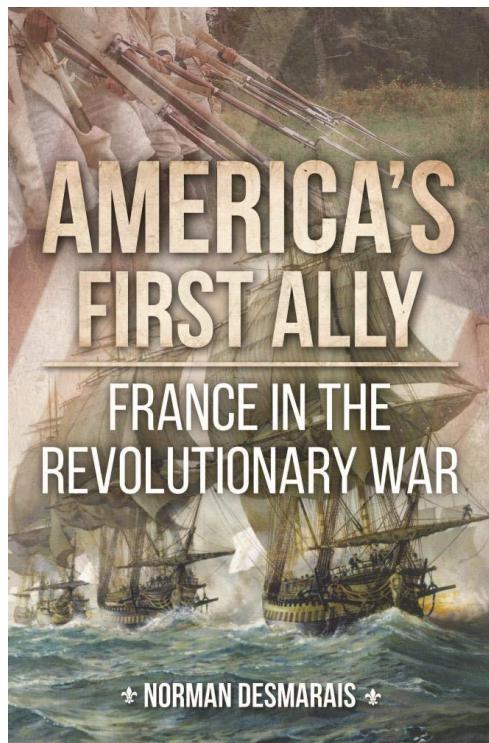
The introduction to *America's First Ally* gives an overview of France's intellectual and ideological contributions to the American and French revolutions. It covers the contributions of individual French officers and troops, and includes engagements involving people of French descent in areas explored and settled by the French, which were then part of British possessions after the Peace Treaty of 1763.

Britain gained control of the French territories in North America after its victory in the Seven Years War, better known as the French and Indian War. France lost Québec or New France (the area we now know as Canada) and her territories in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys – essentially all the land between the Appalachian and Rocky Mountains. As Britain already governed the 13 original colonies, its possessions now included almost all of North America, except for Western Florida, Louisiana and the territory west of the Rocky Mountains, which belonged to Spain.

America's First Ally covers many actions which are not included in most histories. It also delineates the volume or quantity of assistance provided by France. The ample documentation

lays the foundation for future research, and it can also be used for social or economic histories that examine the effects of the American War of Independence on the citizens and communities affected by the war.

While working on *America's First Ally*, I was translating *Journal de l'armée aux ordres de monsieur le comte de Rochambeau pendant les campagnes de 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783, dans l'Amérique septentrionale* which will be published later this year as *The French Campaigns in the American Revolution, 1780—1783: The Diary of Count of Lauberdière, General Rochambeau's Nephew and Aide-de camp*. The manuscript has never been published or translated. The Count de Lauberdière had a unique perspective on the American War of Independence and the French army in America. His journal contains detailed accounts of the army's camp in Newport, the march to Yorktown and back, the people they met, and the places they visited.



He describes the reception (or lack of it) that the French encountered wherever they travelled in America and the anti-French prejudices they found everywhere. He then explains how General Rochambeau dispelled those prejudices and won over the populace.

He discusses the total absence of culture, in his opinion, and how the colonials attempted to imitate European manners and styles. He marvels at how Philadelphia adopted Parisian fashions in the brief time between his visits. He recalls his visit to George Washington's home at Mount Vernon and makes pointed comments about his wife Martha.

There's a lengthy account of Admiral de Ternay's death and funeral in Newport, RI, touching accounts of friendships, and a description of a Quaker wedding which Lauberdière says

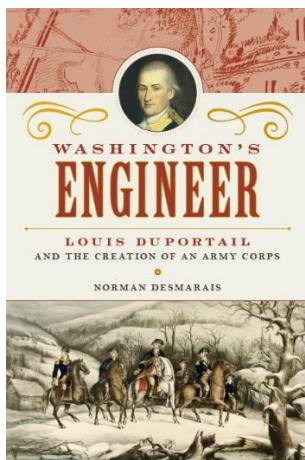
resembled a funeral more than a wedding. There's even an account of General Rochambeau's arrest for destruction of property.

Lauberdière expresses the culture shock of the Americans seeing the Frenchmen embracing on New Year's Day and of the French seeing the Americans shaking hands. However, by 1783, each nationality had accepted the other's customs which they used to express their sadness and cordiality as the French departed Boston to return to France.

After completing these two works, I was asked to write a biography of Louis le Bègue de Presle Duportail. The only biography about him was published in 1923. It has long been out of print, and it is very hard to find a copy today. Serge Le Pottier reworked and updated it for a French version published in 2011. Duportail was one of only four French officers authorized by King Louis XVI to go to America. He arrived in Philadelphia seven months before France declared war on England and a few months before the arrival of the Marquis de Lafayette.

The military engineer was the most difficult staff officer to obtain because of the highly technical skills required. French Minister of War, the Comte de Saint-Germain had such confidence in Duportail's abilities that he ordered Duportail to prepare a new edition of a training manual for the Royal Corps of Engineers shortly after his graduation from the military academy.

American engineers could create defensive earthworks, but they could not conduct a formal offensive siege. Their lack of skill turned operations into mere blockades which the Crown forces could simply outflank or choose not to attack. Duportail instructed the Americans on offensive siege strategy. He planned the defenses of Philadelphia and the Delaware River as well as the defenses of Valley Forge and Yorktown which resulted in the British surrender. He surveyed the defenses of West Point and the Hudson River and advised Washington on how to improve them. Duportail became the founder and first Commandant of the Corps of Sappers and Miners which became the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.



My version of the biography will be published later this year as *Washington's Engineer: Louis Duportail and the Creation of an Army Corps*. It begins by examining why America looked to the French as their principal ally in the American Revolution and why General George Washington chose a Frenchman as his chief engineer. It then explores the life of this man, who is virtually unknown in America and less known in his native France.

It explores Duportail's education, training and royal selection to sail to America. It studies the formation of the Corps of Sappers and Miners and the creation of the Army Corps of Engineers. It focuses on Duportail's services to the Continental Army and his solicitude for his men.

During the war, Washington wrote to the President of Congress expressing his desire to retain the French officers for another campaign because "their conduct has more than justified

the opinion expressed in my letter... They have been particularly useful in the course of this last period, and have acquired general esteem and confidence. I cannot forbear adding that the better the gentleman at the head of the corps is known the more he is found to be a man of abilities, and of distinguished military merit." He also noted, "I have a high opinion of his merit and abilities, and esteem him not only well acquainted with the particular branch he professes, but a man of sound judgment and real knowledge in military science in general."

Duportail's countryman Lafayette was cognizant of his abilities, paying him tribute as "one of the most honest officers upon this continent." Washington was so impressed with Duportail that he wrote "I shall ever retain a grateful sense of the aids I have derived from your knowledge and advice to me."

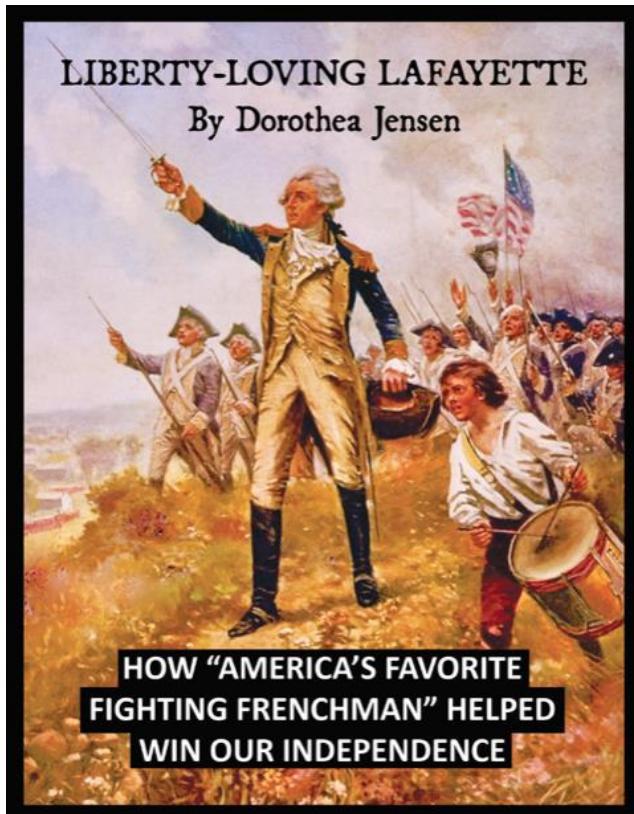
The biography covers Duportail's return to France and his service in the French army as well as his problems under the Reign of Terror and his escape to the United States. He purchased a farm and the house that served as his headquarters at Valley Forge. The book concludes with Duportail's unusual death at sea and the problems of settling his estate.



Editor's Note: Norman Desmarais, professor emeritus at Providence College, lives in Lincoln, RI and is an active re-enactor. He is a member of Le Regiment Bourbonnais, the 2nd Rhode Island Regiment, and the Brigade of the American Revolution. He is editor-in-chief of *The Brigade Dispatch*, the journal of the Brigade of the American Revolution, and the author of *Battlegrounds of Freedom*, the 6-volume *The Guide to the American Revolutionary War*, and *The Guide to the American Revolutionary War at Sea and Overseas* which covers more than 10,500 actions. He has also translated the *Gazette Françoise*, the French newspaper published in Newport, RI by the French fleet that brought the Count de Rochambeau and 5,800 French troops to America in July, 1780. It is the first known service newspaper published by an expeditionary force. In addition to works referenced in this article, and in this Editor's Note, Norman has written a number of scholarly articles.

New (and Somewhat Unusual) Lafayette Book Coming Out this Summer

by Dorothea Jensen, author of two historical novels for middle graders and young adults: *The Riddle of Penncroft Farm*, and *A Buss from Lafayette*



*So listen up, my children, and I'll do my best to tell
How a teenaged French aristocrat served all of us so well.
Without his help, we might have lost our fight for liberty
And we'd still be lowly subjects of the British monarchy!*

Thus begins *Liberty-Loving Lafayette: How "America's Favorite Fighting Frenchman" Helped Win Our Independence*, my new rhyming story describing the huge role the young Marquis de Lafayette played in our Revolution. Actually, I wasn't *planning* to write a poem about Lafayette, but playful couplets just started popping up in my head. After a while, I simply couldn't ignore them.

Of course, much of my inspiration came from the wonderful Broadway hit, *Hamilton*—which we all know did NOT have quite enough about Lafayette in it. “The Midnight Ride of Paul Revere,” by Longfellow, which I had to memorize in the fifth grade, came into the mix, too.

I wrote *Liberty-Loving Lafayette* with young (and older) adults in mind. I believe teens would enjoy performing these verses in the classroom, etc. I'm hoping that my catchy little couplets, a bit different from scholarly accounts, might hook them on learning more about "Our Marquis." The classic and colorful pictures I used as illustrations might help accomplish this, too.

This 64-page book includes a glossary and extensive end notes. These give much more information about events and people referred to in the verse.

Liberty-Loving Lafayette: How "America's Favorite Fighting Frenchman" Helped Win Our Independence will be available for pre-order in June, and come out in July. It will be sold on Amazon, Barnes & Noble, Apple, Google, IngramSpark and other outlets, and will be available in hardcover, paperback, and e-book formats.

Finally, here's another snippet from the story. I like to think it sums up pretty well why Congress overcame its initial reluctance and welcomed a 19-year-old Frenchman with no battlefield experience into our fight, and as a major general, too!

*But just in time a letter came from far across the sea
 From Deane himself, and Franklin, who were stationed in "Paree."
 "He is both rich and famous, this Marquis de Lafayette.
 His friends are French aristocrats, and Queen M. Antoinette.
 Just give him a high rank and let him bask in Glory's glow,
 But keep him safe, for heaven's sake (and never let him know).
 A dead marquis won't help us gain much-needed French support,
 But this lad's service in our cause will wow King Louis' court!"*

*So they made him major general for these diplomatic ends
 And Lafayette and Washington became the best of friends.*



Praise for *Liberty-Loving Lafayette* from Early (and Perhaps Familiar) Readers

"An ode to the great Lafayette, beautifully told and richly illustrated" —Alan R. Hoffman, Translator, *Lafayette in America in 1824 and 1825: Journal of a Voyage to the United States*, and President, The American Friends of Lafayette

"A great addition to the [Lafayette] canon"—Diane Shaw, Director Emerita of Special Collections & College Archives, Lafayette College

"Dorothea Jensen brings Lafayette to life for all ages"—Chuck Schwam, Publisher, *The Gazette of the American Friends of Lafayette*

James R. McConnell of the Lafayette Escadrille - The Last Pilot Killed in WWI before United States Declared War on Germany

by Hank Parfitt

Many AFL members will recall our 2011 meeting at the University of Virginia and the tour of the Albert and Shirley Small Special Collections Library, where we saw some materials related to the Lafayette Escadrille. The November 2019 issue of the *Gazette* had several excellent articles about these heroic, adventurous young Americans who fought for France in the skies over the battle lines of World War I. James McConnell was one of these flyers and one of 64 University of Virginia students killed in action in “The Great War.”

On the Grounds of the University of Virginia near the library, you may have noticed a huge bronze statue of a nude Icarus clad only in a very old-fashioned pilot’s helmet, a knife fastened with a belt about the waist, and what appear to be combat boots. This is *The Aviator*, by sculptor Gutzon Borglum, dedicated in 1919 to the memory of James McConnell. It celebrates his spirit with these words: *Soaring like an eagle into new heavens of valor and devotion.*

I probably passed by *The Aviator* a thousand times as an undergraduate at UVA from 1966-1970. Legend has it that inebriated frat boys would bring their equally inebriated dates there to earn points for their frat house if they got her to rub the statue’s...well, rub it “below the belt.” I never actually saw anyone do that, but it is true that the bronze in that particular area was very, very shiny. The statue has been restored recently and now has a uniform patina:



I hadn't thought too much about McConnell's statue until 2016, when I read an article on *The Aviator* in the UVA alumni magazine. Shortly after that, the *Fayetteville Observer* ran a story about a celebration in honor of James McConnell at a small private airfield in Carthage, North Carolina, a town of 2,205 souls located 40 miles west of Fayetteville. As it turns out, McConnell is a hometown hero in Carthage. His father was a judge in Chicago and later moved his family to New York and still later to North Carolina. James attended private schools up North, then enrolled at UVA in 1907 and transferred to the law school two years later.

James was very popular at UVA. He was a leader in student organizations and belonged to fraternities and secret honor societies, including the Seven Society, perhaps the most prestigious society at the University (members' identities are revealed only after death). In 1910, he left UVA without a degree to join his family in Carthage, for reasons unknown. Perhaps it had something to do with his sense of adventure. He had "a hatred of the humdrum, an abhorrence of the commonplace, a passion for the picturesque" according to his law professor Armistead M. Dobie.¹

In North Carolina, McConnell worked as a land agent for the Randolph and Cumberland Railroad. With apologies to land agents, presumably that was a rather "humdrum" job. However, the war in Europe was just the sort of adventure he sought and it also fulfilled his sense of duty. "These Sandhills will be here forever, but the war won't; and so I'm going...I'll be of some use, too, not just a sightseer looking on; that wouldn't be fair."²

McConnell took off for France in January 1915 to serve in the American Ambulance Corps. While serving in the Vosges, he was awarded the Croix de Guerre for "acts of conspicuous bravery" in saving the wounded under fire. He also acquired a profound respect for the French people and their cause. "The more I saw the splendor of the fight the French were fighting, the more I felt like an *embusque*, what the British call a shirker."³ With a determination to do more, he applied for and was accepted into their aviation school.

By the end of 1915, McConnell was enrolled as a student pilot at Pau in the south of France. By mid-April of 2016, he received orders to join a squadron of American pilots at Luxeuil in the Vosges. This was the American Escadrille, later named the Lafayette Escadrille, and he was among their first members. Another early member with McConnell was Kiffin Rockwell, a fellow North Carolinian, who reportedly said "I pay my part for Lafayette and Rochambeau."⁴ Even though he was one of the escadrille's best pilots with four enemy planes to his credit, Rockwell was killed in a dog fight in September 1916.

At Luxeuil, each pilot was given their very own Nieuport, the French biplane fighter or *avion de chasse*. Each plane had a machine gun mounted on the top wing, so the pilot had to reach over his head and fire with one hand while guiding the plane with the other and his feet. After a "timing gear" was developed so that the bullets could pass between the propeller blades, a Vickers machine gun capable of firing 500 rounds was mounted on the hood of each plane.



From their base in Luxeuil, the newly-trained pilots practiced in teams of 3 or 6 planes, learning to fly in different formations and to maneuver over battlefields, tasting anti-aircraft fire for the first time. After two months, the Escadrille was ordered to the Verdun Front. McConnell described their job as “keeping German airmen away from our lines...attacking them when opportunity offers.”⁵ By September of 1916, they were sent back to an area of the Vosges where most of the fighting was in the air, not the trenches. They were joined there by British squadrons and soon the air was filled with Nieuports and Sopwiths in dogfights with the German Fokkers. During this time, McConnell was promoted to Sergeant.

Crashes were common and McConnell himself injured his back in late August in a “smash-up.” While hospitalized, he wrote *Flying for France*. After his release from the hospital, he rejoined his unit just in time for their reassignment to the Somme in October 1916. His base camp there was much closer to the front and consisted mainly of tents in a muddy field, unlike at Luxeuil or Verdun, where the pilots stayed in individual cabins in posh villas. McConnell was in the air nearly every day, flying as high as 10,000-15,000 feet looking for enemy planes and then descending from above and jockeying for position, his plane and the target passing each other back and forth at “terrific speed” until “there’s nothing doing or the other fellow is dropped.”⁶

On March 19, 1917, McConnell led a patrol of three Nieuports on a patrol over the lines into German territory. One of the pilots turned back because of engine trouble and McConnell

was attacked from above by two German planes. He never returned to his base camp. French troops found his plane, the engine totally buried in the ground, in an apple orchard where the retreating Germans had cut down all the trees. It was apparent that McConnell was killed in the air. He was laid to rest in a temporary grave there and his personal effects sent home. In a letter to his fellow pilots with instructions for his funeral, McConnell had written, "My burial is of no import. Make it as easy as possible for yourselves. I have no religion and do not care for any service. If the omission would embarrass you I presume I could stand the performance. Good luck to the rest of you. God damn Germany and vive la France!"⁷

On April 6, 1917, the United States declared war on Germany, making James McConnell the last Lafayette Escadrille pilot killed while flying for France under French colors.



¹ UVA Magazine, Fall 2016, p 94.

² *Flying for France with the American Escadrille at Verdun*, James McConnell. Reprint 2010, p 6.

³ Ibid., p 13.

⁴ Ibid., p 43.

⁵ Ibid., p 29.

⁶ Ibid., p 57.

⁷ Ibid., p 84.

**Edmond C. Genet of the Lafayette Escadrille –
First Pilot Killed in WWI after United States Declares War against Germany**
by Hank Parfitt

Like James McConnell and Kiffin Rockwell and other Americans who flew for the Lafayette Escadrille in World War I, Edmond Genet answered the call to defend liberty by crossing the ocean and offering his service to a foreign country at war. In effect, these men were duplicating Lafayette's service to our country in the America Revolution, only in reverse. There is, however, a little-known fact about Edmond Genet that adds a peculiar twist to Escadrille lore – his great-great-grandfather was sent from Paris to America during the French Revolution as an emissary of the Girondin government.



Engraving of Citizen Genet by Gille-Louis Chretien, Jean Fouquet, artist, 1793

In 1793, France had just declared war on England when they sent "Citizen Genet" to influence our country's foreign policy and to persuade President Washington to repay the huge debt owed to France from the American Revolution. This congenial, flamboyant 30-year-old bureaucrat was welcomed at receptions and banquets by officials and leading citizens still grateful for France's help. He was a particular favorite with the anti-Federalists. However, after he used several American ports to raid British shipping and began recruiting an army of Americans to seize British and Spanish lands in North America, President Washington

demanded that France recall him. Genet knew the guillotine awaited him and he refused to return. Instead, he married the daughter of his friend and protector, the anti-Federalist New York Governor George Clinton, purchased a farm in New York, and settled down to a domestic existence.

In the case of the Escadrille pilot in WWI, there are striking similarities between Edmond Genet and Lafayette in terms of character, motivation, and the way their journeys unfolded. In the introduction to *War Letters of Edmond Genet*, the editor relates that Genet, born in New York State in 1896, essentially grew up as an only child because his two brothers were so much older. Edmond was left to find “his pleasures and interests for himself,” much like Lafayette as a boy living with his aunts in the Auvergne. Because of this, at an early age Edmond had formed “the key-note of his character and conduct...the ability to think out for himself a course of action, act upon it, and present his reasons (if at all) afterward.”¹

An independent, idealistic, and adventurous nature guided many of Edmond’s actions after childhood, just as it had in Lafayette’s case. After his father died when Edmond was 16, Edmond left home without permission and signed up with the US Navy, serving as an ordinary seaman aboard the *USS Georgia* for two years. He saw action at Vera Cruz and then in Haiti. While berthed in Port-au-Prince in December 1914, news of the war in Europe and France’s fight for freedom stirred Edmond’s emotions and idealism. During a two-week leave in New York, he presented himself to the French consul in order to arrange a passport to France, claiming to be 21 even though he was only 18 and using “family business” as a cover.

We also see similarities to Lafayette in the way Edmond left his homeland to fight in a foreign war – without consulting family members or sincerely requesting permission. Neither seemed to suffer much emotional pain in separating from family and friends. It is clear in his letters that Edmond was burdened by the knowledge that his leaving made him a deserter. However, he felt that he was answering a higher call by going to fight for France. Like Lafayette, his idealism compelled him to defy authority and break the rules. He booked passage to France on a ship named, appropriately enough, the *SS Rochambeau*. When his ship’s departure was delayed for a month, Edmond was in danger of being arrested the whole time, similar to Lafayette’s delay in leaving France for America.

Arriving in Lyon in January 1915, Edmond joined the Foreign Legion. After 6 weeks of training, he was sent to the Eastern Front, where he fought in the trenches for several months. The Second Battle of Champagne in September 1915 was the bloodiest battle fought by the Legion. Edmond was one of only 31 men in his company to survive the battle without injury (overall, there were 190,000 French casualties at Champagne in just 3 weeks). He continued fighting with the Legion well into 1916. However, he had become enchanted with the idea of flying for the French and put in an application for aviation school, where he was accepted in July 1916. After training for 6 months, he was welcomed as a new member of this small group of elite pilots and flew his first mission in his own Nieuport on January 29, 1917. He was promoted to sergeant on March 10 after he had made 20 sorties while based in the Somme.

On April 17, even though feeling ill, Edmond was aloft on a mission when a low cloud cover forced him to fly lower than normal, exposing him to antiaircraft fire. The other Escadrille pilot with him lost sight of Edmond's Nieuport and he eventually returned to base. Later that day, Edmond's lifeless body was found in his crumpled Nieuport, three miles from the French lines in the Somme. His injuries were so severe that it could not be determined if he had been hit by enemy fire or simply passed out at the controls.

With America's declaration of War ten days before his death, Edmond became the *first* American pilot killed while flying for France under the American flag. As an ironical footnote, it was Edmond who was on the sortie with James McConnell when that Escadrille pilot became the last to die *before* America entered the war. Edmond had also engaged the enemy on that mission and had been awarded the Croix de Guerre.

Edmond's record of desertion, which always haunted him, was expunged when the Secretary of Navy sent his family a letter stating "the record of Edmond Genet, ordinary seaman, shall be considered in every respect as an honorable one." Edmond was only 20 years old when he was killed and his career as a pilot lasted less than three months, but he flew 37 sorties during that time. This stanza from a poem published with *War Letters* pays tribute to a warrior whose life was brief but no less heroic for being so:

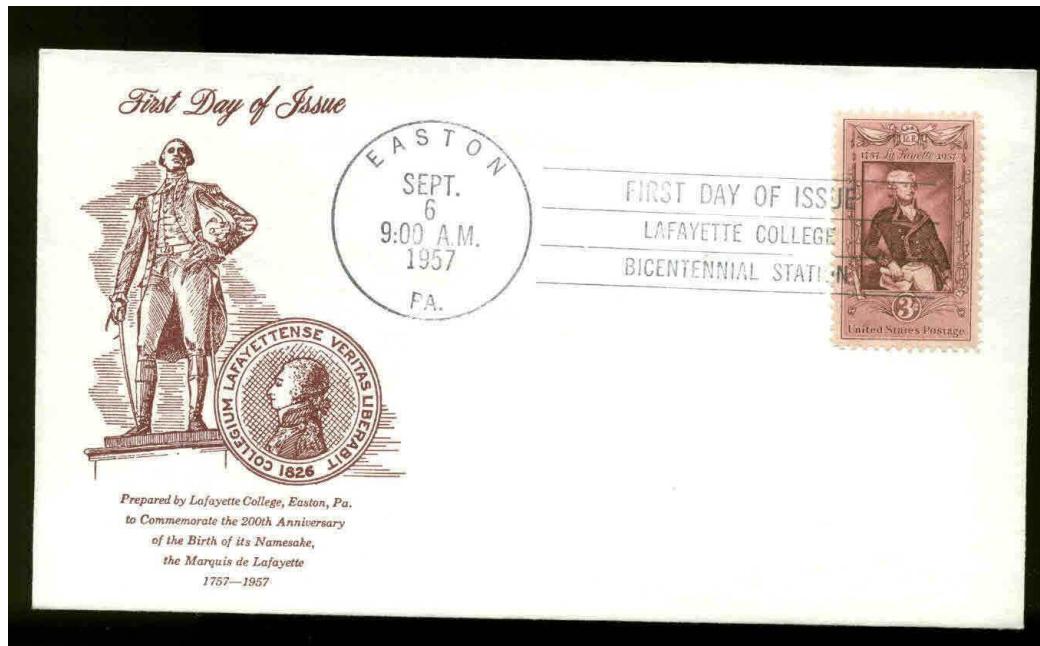
Like Meteors on a midnight sky
They break so clear, so brief –
Their glory lingers on the eye
And leaves no room for grief



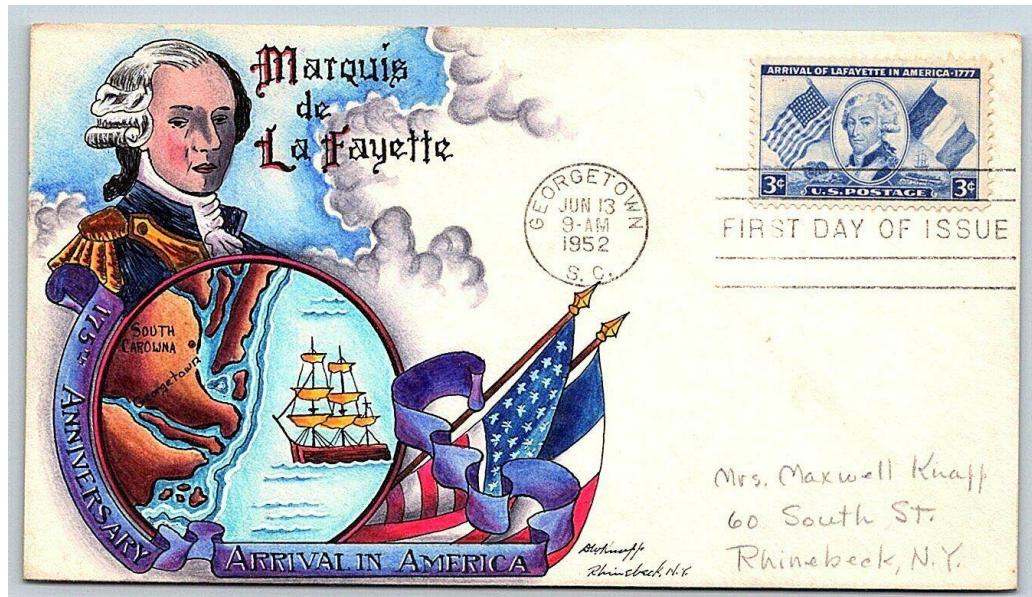
¹ *War Letters of Edmond Genet, First American Aviator Killed Flying the Stars and Stripes*, John Jay Chapman editor, Charles Scribner and Son, New York, 1918, p xi.

Lafayette Trivia Answer: Lafayette Postal History

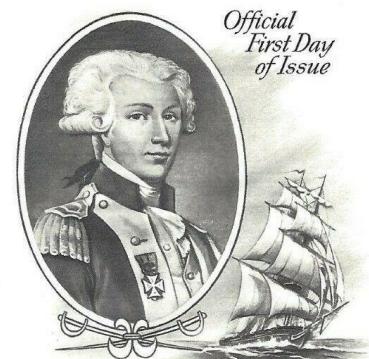
by Ernest and Janet Sutton



The stamp commemorating the 200th Anniversary of Lafayette's birth was issued simultaneously at Lafayette College, Easton, PA and Fayetteville, NC on September 6, 1957. Do you recognize the Lafayette Statue by Daniel Chester French on the campus of Lafayette College?



The 175th Anniversary of the arrival of Lafayette at Georgetown, SC was celebrated June 13, 1952. On the stamp, notice the Flag of the French Revolution, the gun, *La Victoire*, and the launch carrying Lafayette and his twelve officers ashore on the right. *La Victoire* was also carrying a significant shipment of rifles and numerous guns.



*200th Anniversary
The Arrival In America of
Marquis de Lafayette
1777-1977*

ArtCraft



Lafayette



U.S. Bicentennial 13c

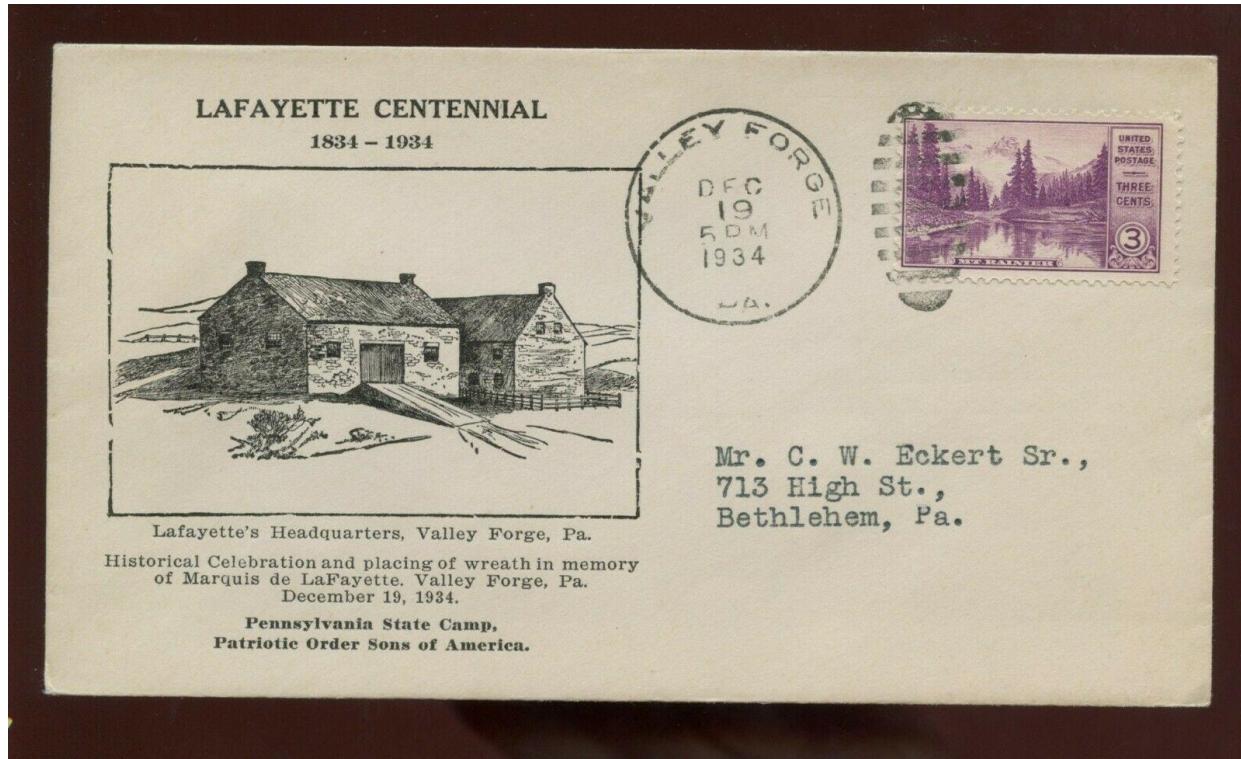
FIRST DAY OF ISSUE

Roland M. Roth
81 Chestnut Street
Cooperstown, New York 13326

The Bicentennial of Lafayette's arrival was celebrated this time in Charleston, SC.



This commemorative coin and French stamps were issued to honor the American Legion, founded in 1919, for their first convention in France since WWI, in 1927. The center design on the stamps shows a ship carrying returning American Legionnaires to France for that convention, with the Statue of Liberty in the background and the *Spirit of St. Louis* overhead, flying to Paris in the first solo trans-Atlantic flight, also in 1927. Lafayette and Washington look on from the sides. This was a special stamp issue that used both a red stamp for domestic mail and a blue one of the same design for international mail.



The Centennial of Lafayette's death was honored with this cachet canceled on December 19, 1934 during an historical celebration and wreath-laying at his former Headquarters, Valley Forge, PA. On December 19, 1777, General George Washington led the Continental Army into Valley Forge for what would become a six-month encampment.

Lafayette Trivia Answer: Under the Coverlet with Lafayette?

by Janet and Ernest Sutton

Jacquard-woven coverlets were preferred over hand-made quilts in upper middle-class households in the early to mid-19th century. Commonly made of cotton and wool, the coverlets were woven on floor looms with an attachment invented by the French weaver Joseph Marie Jacquard in 1804-1805. Using punch cards, the same type of cards used by Henry Hollerith in the late 19th century and in early computers, experienced weavers created intricate designs in the reversible coverlets. They were priced between \$2 to \$15 depending on size, colors, and intricacy of design. Sizes of coverlets were not standardized. Some surviving examples are measured at 96 inches by 76 inches, 101 inches by 81 inches, and 108 inches by 78 inches. Commonly the coverlets were made in two colors: blue and natural, or red and natural. Most were made to order, personalized with the name of the coverlet's owner and the date of manufacture on the edge of the coverlet.

One of the uncommon designs produced mostly in Dutchess County, NY, featured a slogan woven into each of the four corners of the coverlet: "Agriculture & Manufactures are the Foundation of our Independence July 4 Gnrl Lafayette." The slogan can be interpreted to mean that reliable food production through farming and production of manufactured goods create a stable economy, the foundation of democratic government. This slogan captures the foundation of the Era of Good Feelings.

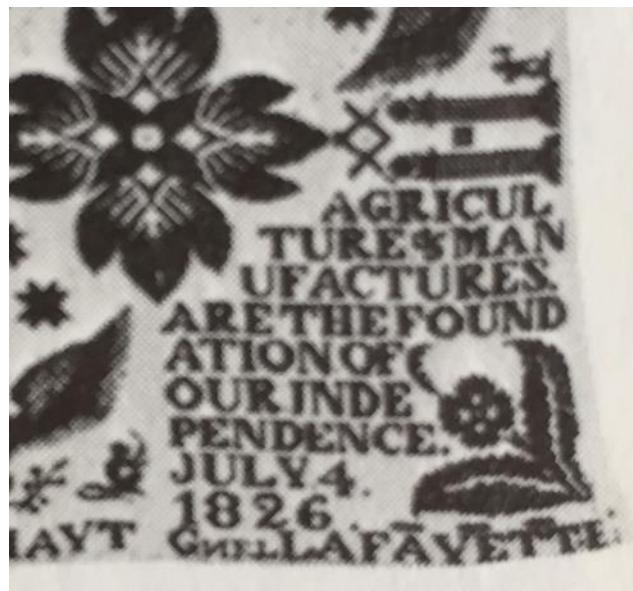
The dates woven into the majority of the coverlets with Lafayette's name range from 1824 to 1840, and those dates are accepted as the date the coverlet was made. These coverlets are another commemorative item made for the grand tour of the twenty-four states by the last surviving Revolutionary War major general, General Lafayette. Interestingly, the design was still being produced years after Lafayette's visit.

The National Museum of American History owns a blue and white Jacquard coverlet with Lafayette's name, described as a "double cloth, Figured and Fancy coverlet (that) features Great Seal eagles and Federal style steeple architecture in the borders, and 'Double Tulip' medallions in the center... The tulip medallion is repeated throughout the centerfield of the coverlet. The eagles in upper and lower edges have a Masonic symbol and little monkeys and dogs in-between. The words 'Agriculture & Manufactures are the Foundation of Our Independence July 4, 1825 P + Wagman GNRL Lafayette' are woven into each of the four corners." Often eight pointed stars and three leaf clovers form a triple rainbow over the eagles.

These "Agricultural" coverlets are complex in design, full of symbols of American Independence and the Masonic symbols acknowledging Lafayette as a Mason.

Some coverlets were woven with the "Agriculture" slogan but without Lafayette's name. The Anderson/Hawthorne Textile Database at the Foster and Muriel McCarl Coverlet Gallery at St. Vincent College in Latrobe, PA, recorded 125 extant examples of coverlets with the "Agriculture" slogan, and of those 31 have "Gnrl Lafayette" in the design. Examples of the

Lafayette design can be found in other major museums including the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Museum of Folk Art, The Dayton Art Institute, and the Henry Ford Museum.



Written in all 4 corners of the Lafayette coverlet is “Agriculture & Manufactures are the Foundation of our Independence 4 July 1826 Gnrl Lafayette.”
The Henry Ford Museum, Dearborn, MI



Jacquard loom with punch cards for a tricolor coverlet
The National Museum of the American Coverlet, Bedford, PA

Editor's Note: All the museums mentioned in this article rotate their coverlet collection. If you want to specifically see a "Lafayette" coverlet, call ahead to make an appointment. "Lafayette" coverlets may be indexed under "Agriculture" in their website's search tool.

Vive Lafayette!

Letters to the *Gazette*

- Albert Oberst - Got the hard copy!!! Another great edition!!!! Merci beaucoup!!!
- Catherine Allen - You should be very proud. I keep them all and find I return to them as I always learn something new. A beautiful publication - with great editors, too. I look forward to receiving my *Gazette*.
- Aurore Eaton - Wow - the *Gazette*! That's a really substantial and nicely presented publication! Thanks for sending it to me, and thanks again for including my columns.

We'd love to hear from you! Email your comments to the *Gazette* editors:
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The Gazette of the American Friends of Lafayette

Publisher: Chuck Schwam

Assistant Publisher: Bonnie Fritz

Editor: Alan Hoffman

Assistant Editor: Jan O'Sullivan

Layout Chief: Dan Fitzpatrick

Distributed by: Phil and Barbara Schroeder, John Becica



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First Class Mail