

CINCINNATI FOURTEEN



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CINCINNATI FOURTEEN



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ON THE COVER: Thomas Pinckney by Samuel F.B. Morse, 1818-1819, acquired by the Society of the Cincinnati in 2019.

IT HAVING PLEASED THE SUPREME GOVERNOR OF THE UNIVERSE, IN THE DISPOSITION OF HUMAN AFFAIRS, TO CAUSE THE SEPARATION OF THE COLONIES OF NORTH AMERICA FROM THE DOMINATION OF GREAT BRITAIN, AND, AFTER A BLOODY CONFLICT OF EIGHT YEARS, TO ESTABLISH THEM FREE, INDEPENDENT AND SOVEREIGN STATES, CONNECTED, BY ALLIANCES FOUNDED ON RECIPROCAL ADVANTAGE, WITH SOME OF THE GREAT PRINCES AND POWERS OF THE EARTH.

TO PERPETUATE, THEREFORE, AS WELL THE REMEMBRANCES OF THIS VAST EVENT, AS THE MUTUAL FRIENDSHIPS WHICH HAVE BEEN FORMED UNDER THE PRESSURE OF COMMON DANGER, AND, IN MANY INSTANCES, CEMENTED BY THE BLOOD OF THE PARTIES, THE OFFICERS OF THE AMERICAN ARMY DO HEREBY, IN THE MOST SOLEMN MANNER, ASSOCIATE, CONSTITUTE AND COMBINE THEMSELVES INTO ONE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, TO ENDURE AS LONG AS THEY SHALL ENDURE, OR ANY OF THEIR ELDEST MALE POSTERITY, AND, IN FAILURE THEREOF, THE COLLATERAL BRANCHES WHO MAY BE JUDGED WORTHY OF BECOMING ITS SUPPORTERS AND MEMBERS.

THE OFFICERS OF THE AMERICAN ARMY HAVING GENERALLY BEEN TAKEN FROM THE CITIZENS OF AMERICA, POSSESS HIGH VENERATION FOR THE CHARACTER OF THAT ILLUSTRIOUS ROMAN, LUCIUS QUINTUS CINCINNATUS; AND BEING RESOLVED TO FOLLOW HIS EXAMPLE, BY RETURNING TO THEIR CITIZENSHIP, THEY THINK THEY MAY WITH PROPRIETY DENOMINATE THEMSELVES — THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI. THE FOLLOWING PRINCIPLES SHALL BE IMMUTABLE AND FORM THE BASIS OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI:

AN INCESSANT ATTENTION TO PRESERVE INVIOLETE THOSE EXALTED RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES OF HUMAN NATURE, FOR WHICH THEY HAVE FOUGHT AND BLED, AND WITHOUT WHICH THE HIGH RANK OF A RATIONAL BEING IS A CURSE INSTEAD OF BLESSING.

AN UNALTERABLE DETERMINATION TO PROMOTE AND CHERISH BETWEEN THE RESPECTIVE STATES, THAT UNION AND NATIONAL HONOR SO ESSENTIALLY NECESSARY TO THEIR HAPPINESS, AND THE FUTURE DIGNITY OF THE AMERICAN EMPIRE.

TO RENDER PERMANENT THE CORDIAL AFFECTION SUBSISTING AMONG THE OFFICERS. THIS SPIRIT WILL DICTATE BROTHERLY KINDNESS IN ALL THINGS, AND PARTICULARLY, EXTEND TO THE MOST SUBSTANTIAL ACTS OF BENEFICENCE, ACCORDING TO THE ABILITY OF THE SOCIETY, TOWARDS THOSE OFFICERS AND THEIR FAMILIES, WHO UNFORTUNATELY MAY BE UNDER THE NECESSITY OF RECEIVING IT.



Leadership is a cornerstone of our One Society of Friends, along with brotherly kindness and a unwavering commitment to the ideals we inherited from our Revolutionary ancestors. Leadership can take many forms, as the articles in this issue of *Cincinnati Fourteen* demonstrate.

Leadership in its most elemental form—of men in desperate combat during one of the Revolutionary War's greatest battles—is a theme of Page Teer's account of his propositus, Col. Samuel John Atlee, a hero of the Battle of Brooklyn. Colonel Atlee was a leader on the battlefield and later, after enduring a long imprisonment in the hands of the British army, served as a member of the Continental Congress, working to provide for the needs of the army—a different kind of leadership, requiring more steady determination and political skill than physical courage.

Leadership includes pushing the boundaries of knowledge. The career of Admiral Joseph-Bernard, marquis de Chabert de Cogolin, an original member of the French Society and the subject of a feature in this issue, reminds us that our Revolution occurred during a period of important scientific progress and technological change. Chabert was a leader in science and a leader of men, wounded while commanding one of the largest warships in the Battle of the Chesapeake.

The American Revolution tested the leadership abilities of hundreds of men. Some, like British General Thomas Gage—the subject of *The Last Word* in this issue—enjoyed successful careers only to have the Revolutionary War expose their inability to provide effective leadership when it counted most. Others, like George Washington and the comte de Rochambeau,



Leadership is Our Cornerstone

among the subjects of a painting in our collections discussed in this issue, overcame barriers of language and culture to provide the leadership needed to win the Revolutionary War.

In this issue we also celebrate the return of Samuel F.B. Morse's great painting of President General Thomas Pinckney to Anderson House. We acquired the painting in November 2019 and it underwent careful conservation for more than a year before returning last month. Thomas Pinckney was called on repeatedly to lead—in battle, as a diplomat, and as the head of our Society—and did so with skill and, in battle, extraordinary courage. We celebrate his leadership, but we also celebrate the leadership of many of you who contributed financially to acquire the painting and restore it. You led by example. In any endeavor, that's the most important kind of leadership.

In this issue we also celebrate the decades of leadership William Russell Raiford gave to our Society. His leadership was an expression of his commitment to the ideals of our Society and reflected the brotherly kindness he felt toward the members of our great fraternity. Leadership, in any arena, is sustained by personal relationships. Those relationships are what makes our Society as lively today as it was when it was founded.

William Postell Raiford
Assistant Secretary General

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From the President General



Mary and I participated in the ceremony at the suggestion of Commander Bertrand de Parscau du Plessix, French navy liaison to the Pentagon and a member of the French Society (at left). We joined Will Ball, former secretary of the navy and a member of the Maryland Society, and Admiral Pierre Vandier, chief of staff of the French navy. Admiral Vandier was fascinated to learn that the Diamond Eagle, which I wore during the ceremony, was a gift to George Washington from the officers and men of the French navy.

The Cause of All Mankind

A few weeks ago, at the invitation of Admiral Pierre Vandier, the chief of staff of the French navy, I had the opportunity to participate in a wreath laying ceremony at the French Soldiers and Sailors Memorial in Annapolis, Maryland. I was grateful for the opportunity to express our Society's respect for the French officers and men who served in our War for Independence, including those who gave their lives in the service of their king to help secure the freedom of the United States. I was also proud that the event was orchestrated by one of our members, Commander Bertrand de Parscau du Plessix, French navy liaison to the Pentagon and a member of the French Society. The memorial marks a spot where French servicemen were buried during the Yorktown campaign.



The memorial to French soldiers and sailors in Annapolis was the work of Baltimore sculptor J. Maxwell Miller. It was dedicated on April 10, 1911, by President Taft and French Ambassador Jean Jules Jusserand before a crowd of thousands.

American soil holds the graves of many thousands of young men who died in our Revolutionary War. The memorial in Annapolis is particularly poignant because their names were not recorded. All we know is that they died a long way from home in a strange country fighting for a cause they may not have understood, but which was, in fact, the cause of all mankind.

They could not have understood the importance the American Revolution would have for the fate of the world. No one did. The most far-sighted Americans hoped that the Revolution would be the beginning of a new order of the ages, in which the natural and civil rights of people would be realized. Even they did not imagine how much the ideals of their Revolution would transform the world and that the benefits of their Revolution would ripple outward for centuries.

All we can be sure of about the young Frenchmen buried at Annapolis is that they shared bonds of brotherhood with the men with whom they served. We can hope that those bonds comforted them in their last hours and that their brothers-in-arms remembered and respected them.

When we honor them we reach across the centuries and embrace them as brothers in a cause far greater than any of us. We do so with no small measure of humility, recognizing our own inability to see what the future holds, but convinced that their sacrifice helped make a better world and that they must not be forgotten.

Honoring those who sacrificed for our independence is the high purpose of our Society. Our Institution speaks of cordial affection and brotherly kindness in all things, and these we owe to the young Frenchmen who lie in Annapolis and the young Americans who lie beneath Washington Square in Philadelphia and in many other places scattered through the country, and to those American and French sailors whose bodies were committed to the sea.

We honor them by encouraging our countrymen to understand and appreciate the vast consequences of what they did, for us and for all the world. We honor them by recognizing their humanity and remembering them with the same cordial affection we extend to one another. And we honor them by ensuring that our Society endures, and that its ideals are perpetuated from generation to generation, so that their sacrifices will never be forgotten.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'W. Pless Lunger'.

W. Pless Lunger
President General

SCIENTIST at Sea

Admiral Joseph-Bernard,
marquis de Chabert de Cogolin

Admiral Joseph-Bernard, marquis de Chabert de Cogolin, was one of the most brilliant original members of the Society of the Cincinnati. His career illustrates the dramatic advances in the scientific understanding of the world during the middle decades of the eighteenth century, the prowess of the French navy at the height of its ambitions, and the role of science in the expansion of European empires at the height of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment. A scientist and sailor, his life was devoted to understanding the shape of the world and the means to measure and navigate it with unerring precision.

Chabert was a member of an aristocratic Provençal family whose sons sought distinction in the navy. He was born February 28, 1724, in Toulon, the home of France's Mediterranean fleet. His grandfather was a rear admiral and his father, Joseph-François de Chabert, was a post captain. The younger Chabert entered the navy in 1741 at age seventeen and was enrolled in the Gardes de la Marine, the training companies from which officers were drawn, to learn navigation, naval maneuvers, musketry, and the management of naval artillery. He immediately displayed an aptitude for science and a gift for drawing maritime charts. He was posted to Brest, the home of the Atlantic fleet, and appointed sous-brigadier of the Gardes de la Marine.

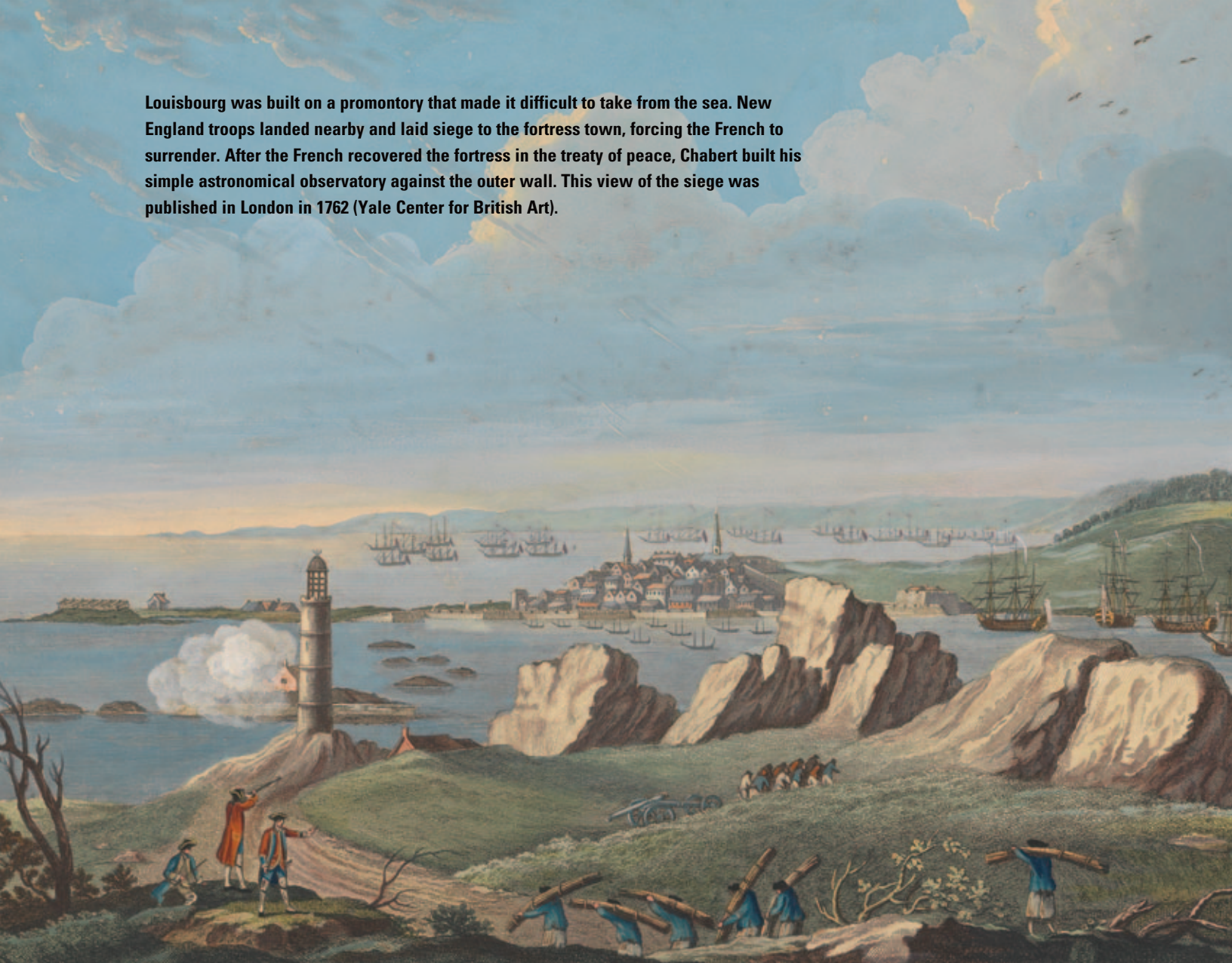
The second quarter of the eighteenth century was a remarkable period in the history of French cartography and geodesy—the scientific examination of the Earth's shape. In 1736-1737 the French Academy of Sciences dispatched expeditions to Lapland (close to the Arctic Circle) and Peru (close to the Equator). The former proved that the Earth is, as Isaac Newton had predicted,

flatter near the poles, while the latter proved that the Earth bulges outward near the Equator. At home, astronomer and surveyor Cassini de Thury undertook a “geometrical description of the kingdom” involving the triangulation of the whole of France that took over forty years to complete. The project established the location and spatial relationship of towns, fortifications, roads, rivers, and other natural features to a degree of precision that rivals modern satellite imagery.

Chabert began his career during this period of exciting scientific progress and imperial ambition, in which French science was harnessed to make extraordinary advances in marine architecture, naval artillery, navigation, and cartography that seemed destined to make France the leading imperial power in the world. This period of dramatic scientific advances was also a period of almost continuous war between the European powers. When Chabert joined the navy, France, allied with Spain and Prussia, was at war with Britain and Austria in what was known as the War of the Austrian Succession.

In Britain's North American colonies that war began in 1744 and was called King George's War. French troops and their Indian allies fought British regulars and colonial militia on the frontiers of New York and New England, but the most important campaign of the war was an attack on the French fortress of Louisbourg on Île Royale, now known as Cape Breton Island. The fortress commanded the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the water route to the St. Lawrence River, critical to the defense of the French colony of Quebec. It was the key to the French empire in North America and had been built at such enormous expense that Louis XV commented

Louisbourg was built on a promontory that made it difficult to take from the sea. New England troops landed nearby and laid siege to the fortress town, forcing the French to surrender. After the French recovered the fortress in the treaty of peace, Chabert built his simple astronomical observatory against the outer wall. This view of the siege was published in London in 1762 (Yale Center for British Art).



wryly that he ought to be able to see its ramparts from Versailles. The attack was mounted by Massachusetts militia supported by the Royal Navy. Impregnable from the sea, the fortress was vulnerable to attack from the land. Massachusetts militia landed on the coast, laid siege to the fortress, and captured Louisbourg in June 1745.

Twenty-two-year-old Chabert made his first voyage to America in 1746 in the expedition sent to retake Louisbourg, capture Nova Scotia, and if all went well, mount an attack on Boston. The French fleet was scattered and damaged at sea before reaching Louisbourg and failed to mount a serious campaign to recapture the fortress, but Chabert nonetheless completed important new

and accurate maps of the region. Assigned to a succession of swift, highly maneuverable frigates, Chabert prepared new charts of the Baie de Chibouctou on the coast of Nova Scotia, which the English called Halifax harbor, and the harbor of Annapolis Royal, the capital of British Nova Scotia. Mapping Annapolis Royal, an important British naval port, required both skill and stealth.

Returning to European waters, Chabert was captured at the Battle of Cape Finisterre off the coast of Spain on May 3, 1747, while serving aboard the forty-four-gun frigate *La Gloire*. Exchanged in 1748, he was promoted to ensign. Although Chabert was just twenty-four, his academic and technical abilities were clear.



He was retained in Paris to learn astronomy in preparation for teaching other naval officers celestial navigation and hydrography.

As it turned out the French did not have to recapture Louisbourg. The British returned it to France at the end of the war in return for French possessions in India. The decision disgusted the Massachusetts men who had captured the fortress and sowed distrust of the British imperial bureaucracy in New England that persisted for decades.

The French Ministry of the Marine promptly sent Chabert back to Île Royale, the most easterly French possession in the Western Hemisphere and a natural point from which to begin the

precise mapping of the western shores of the Atlantic Ocean. Chabert constructed an observatory, made extensive observations of latitude and longitude—more accurate than any done before—and prepared detailed charts of the waters around the island. He also prepared the most accurate charts yet made of the east coast of Nova Scotia and a detailed chart of the southern coast of Newfoundland. By establishing the exact longitude of Île Royale—his calculations were correct to within three kilometers while earlier calculations were off by fifty—Chabert laid a foundation for efforts to solve one of the greatest scientific challenges of the eighteenth century: the best way to determine longitude at sea.

Chabert returned to France at the end of 1751, having established himself as one of the leading hydrographers in the French navy. His charts and astronomical observations were published in 1753 as *Voyage fait par ordre du roi en 1750 et 1751, dans l'Amérique septentrionale*. Honors soon followed. Chabert was made a chevalier of the Order of Saint Louis, an unusual honor for a young ensign. In 1756 he was promoted to lieutenant.

For the next twenty years he devoted himself to scientific and technical achievement. In 1758 he was admitted to the French Académie des Sciences. In 1760 he was instrumental in selecting the site in the south Pacific for the French observation of a transit of Venus. During the next decade Chabert spent much of his time charting the Mediterranean, work he had begun in the 1750s, and experimenting with the use of marine chronometers to determine longitude. In 1771 he was promoted to captain and two years later became deputy head of the Dépôt de la Marine. A further promotion to brigadier of naval forces followed in 1776.

When France went to war with Britain in 1778, the fifty-four-year-old Chabert was given

command of the *Vaillant*, a sixty-four-gun ship of the line in Admiral d'Estaing's fleet, dispatched to American waters in the summer of 1778. Chabert captured the English bomb *Galiote* on the coast of Rhode Island in August and then fought in the battles for Saint Lucia in December and Grenada in July 1779, and in the Siege of Savannah in the fall of that year.

After returning to France, Chabert was given command of the eighty-gun ship of the line *Saint-Esprit*, one of the four most heavily armed warships in the fleet of Admiral de Grasse. He commanded her in the Battle of Fort Royal at Martinique on April 29, 1781, and sailed north with Admiral de Grasse to the Virginia Capes at the end of the summer. He was severely wounded while engaging five ships of the line in the Battle of the Chesapeake. Promoted to rear admiral, he recovered in time to take part in the capture of St. Kitts in early 1782, then returned to France escorting a convoy from Saint Domingue.

Chabert resumed his scientific work in France, devoting himself to the problem of determining longitude at sea. He published a major paper on marine chronometers in 1785. On September 24, 1786, he presented King Louis XVI with a map of the Atlantic Ocean, with the latitude and longitude indicated with the greatest precision known to science.

That proved to be a high point in Chabert's life. In 1792 he fled Revolutionary France and settled in England, where he lived for a time with the astronomer Nevil Maskelyne. Chabert did not return to France until 1802, resuming his last great work—a general sea atlas of the Mediterranean. He was then approaching eighty



Chabert commanded the eighty-gun *Saint-Esprit* in the naval action off St. Kitts in early 1782. His vessel is at far left, below and slightly to the right of the compass rose on this contemporary perspective view of the battle. The French fleet is closest to the viewer. French troops have landed and are attacking the British fort on Brimstone Hill, at upper left. This was the last naval battle in which Chabert participated. He devoted the rest of his life to scientific work (Society of the Cincinnati).

and was increasingly infirm. In 1803 he went blind, effectively ending his long and distinguished career in science and at sea. By the time he died in 1805 he had accumulated most of the honors France could bestow on him. He was a senior admiral in the French navy, a commander of the Order of Saint Louis, and a distinguished member of the Académie des Sciences and the Académie de Marine, as well as the leading scientific societies in Berlin, Bologna, Stockholm, and London.

Toward the end of his eventful life, Chabert sat for Antoine Vestier, who portrayed the aging scientist-sailor in uniform, wearing the medal and star of the Order of Saints Maurice and Lazarus, a Roman Catholic order of knighthood; the red sash of the Order of Saint Louis; and the Eagle insignia of the Society of the Cincinnati, which was associated with Chabert's most important wartime command in a life of scholarship devoted to measuring the world.



Antoine Vestier painted this portrait of Chabert near the end of his eventful and productive life (Musée National de la Marine, Paris).



FROM YORKTOWN TO 2021

by John P. Beall

While studying the march to Yorktown in preparation for my trip, I marveled at the strategy and perfect timing of the march that changed the shape of the world and led to the formation of our country. I can also attribute my ability to participate in this incredible *séjour* this year to perfect timing. It was not possible in 2020 when I was selected, nor was it possible for me to visit France in July 2021 at the customary start of the American scholar journey. Even as I write this now, after pandemic restrictions were reinstated, it would not be possible for me to return. The scholar from France was not able to travel at all this year or last year. This trip, an immense gift under regular circumstances, was an even greater gift given the uncertainties. For the entire six weeks I toured France, my hosts extended an incredible welcome to me and I was treated as a member of the family in each home.

My trip began at Anderson House. Sitting in the archive on my pre-departure library day, I perused the diary of the baron de Dillon, an officer in Lauzun's Legion. The story of

how the diary traveled from Newport to Yorktown to France and then to Australia before arriving in the mail at Anderson House was fascinating. It is fitting that his diary now rests only a few blocks from where Lauzun's Legion camped on Rock Creek before crossing the Potomac on their march to Yorktown. While it



Hubert de la Jonquière and John Beall visited the Pérouse Museum in Albi in the Tarn Department. This landlocked city of the southwest of France was home to several officers of the French navy during the period of the American War of Independence, including Jean-Baptiste La Pérouse. An original member of the French Society, La Pérouse picked up where Captain Cook left off exploring the Pacific, sailing around the Pacific Rim and much of Polynesia before his ship disappeared near the Marquesas Islands. A Cincinnati Eagle is among the exhibits in the museum.

goes unmentioned in the part of his account that I read, it was interesting to consider the health hazards that Dillon faced during his march. The war was fought during a smallpox epidemic—Washington and his military forces made some difficult decisions along these lines—but even without the benefit of treatments for this disease, the doors of homes were still open to Dillon along the way.

After landing in Paris, I explored the meaning of the French-American relationship through the centuries with my first host, Yorick de Guichen, a former French scholar. On a forty-kilometer bicycle ride—an excellent cure for jet lag—we made a *Tour de Cincinnati* just six days after the final leg of the Tour de France. Over those forty kilometers I saw many memorials to French and American heroes of the Revolutionary War. We visited the American Escadrille de Lafayette of World War I and retraced the steps of the French Society's annual Yorktown Day procession from the Admiral de Grasse Memorial to the Picpus Cemetery and paid our respects at the tomb of Lafayette. Later, we went to see where the French Society was founded.

The dynamic of the French-American relationship comes alive to Yorick. His recent book, called *Meaning*, follows the tour of the Patrouille de France across the United States to commemorate the centennial of the end of World War I. We continued to explore these themes at World War I memorials on the way to Versailles. In the palace, I encountered the halls where Adams, Franklin, Jefferson, and Wilson carried on their respective negotiations. Portraits of the commanders of the French forces during the Revolutionary War and a depiction of Yorktown hang in the galleries.

I was collected by Philippe de Gouberville near Tours, where the contrast between the past and

present in France came into stark relief. At the Château Clos Lucé, where Leonardo da Vinci completed the *Mona Lisa*, we explored the technologies he developed, some of which still serve their purpose today. Not only the flying machines, but prototypes of tanks and machine guns, canal locks used by the Potomac Company hundreds of years later, and water storage methods still discussed today as a means of energy storage. King Francis I's fascination with da Vinci's technology is reflected in the advanced architectural features of the Château de Chambord.

At this point Philippe also assisted me in securing my French *passé sanitaire* QR code in a pharmacy built into the cliffs along the river. The QR code was necessary for travel, dining, and touring for the rest of the journey, as it turned out that foreign vaccination records needed to be entered into the French system. I am grateful for his help because the trip would have taken a very different form if he had not made this possible!

Forging ahead to Angoulême, Amaury and Pamela de Montleau cast open the doors of their home and those of Aquitaine. This is a region of trade that proved important during and after the Revolutionary War. It was here that John Paul Jones purchased the cannons for his ship, and here Franklin and Jefferson commissioned munitions for the war effort. After the war, trade with this region influenced American cuisine, and the family that had once made cannons for the Revolutionary War began trading in goods such as cognac in the United States.

Amaury and I saw extraordinary museum exhibits at the Cité du Vin in Bordeaux, the Hennessy distillery, and a temporary exhibition on architectural beauty at the Martell distillery. Each was designed in novel ways that brought subjects to life by engaging multiple senses,



Béatrice and Hubert de la Jonquière joined John Beall overlooking the hilltop city of Lautrec and the Occitanian countryside. Lautrec was a center of the manufacture of the blue pastel dye, but it is still renowned for its produce, particularly pink garlic.



John visited the ramparts of Carcassonne with Clément and Hubert de la Jonquière.

leveraging technology, and showcasing viewer voting as part of the exhibition. Amaury and I spent almost as much time talking about the design and curation of the exhibitions as we did about their contents.

In the Tarn Department of Occitanie, I encountered a region of amazing variety with the de la Jonquières, a family with two generations of French Scholars. Between the red and pink of the Roman brick in Toulouse and the blue *pastel* and violets found throughout, this region is full of color. Occitanie was also heavily fought over through history. With Clément, we saw medieval cities that cap the hilltops of this area, leaving the valley floor for agriculture. At Carcassonne, we toured a hilltop city that has been there since the Romans ruled the land, with fourth-century guard towers still a part of the defensive system. Rome is not so far removed here—Toulouse's legal code was Roman and separate from other regions of France until the French Revolution.

Hubert and I visited Albi Cathedral, the largest brick building in the world, which was spared demolition during the French Revolution because it was a marvel of engineering even at that time. This region also has a strong naval tradition despite being a landlocked city. Hubert and I then visited the Museum of La Pérouse. La Pérouse, who served as a naval officer in the American Revolution, went on to explore the Pacific. His path took him to the west coast of North America, Australia, the Far East, and Polynesia.

While exploring Amiens and the Château de Bovelles, I enjoyed

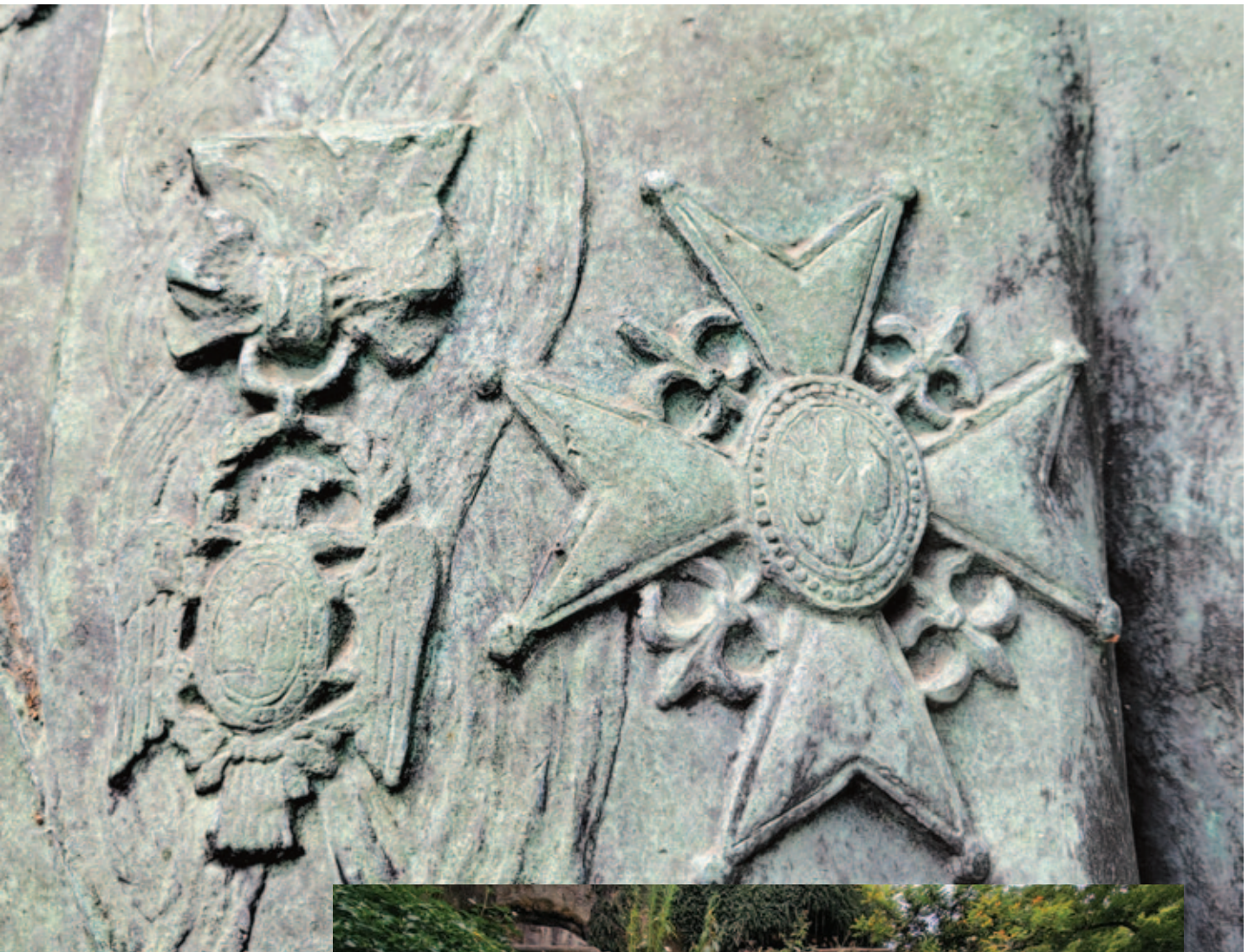
conversing with Jacques de Larosière and his family. On my first morning, I was told the story of Jean-Baptiste de Gribeauval, the builder of Bovelles and the developer of the replaceable parts process for manufacturing artillery only a few years before the American Revolution. This was a technological innovation that Napoleon would later use to his advantage.

Jacques is passionate about many subjects, including renewable energy. While the stopover afforded glimpses into France's past, I was also able to experience the workings of France today and glimpse into the future of French innovations. I discussed the complications of wind power in France with Jacques and the need for better corporate reporting that clearly addresses environmental risks. Fortunately I was able to continue this conversation with my next host.

At Chateaubriant on the marches of Brittany, I



John Beall, Jacques de Larosière and his grandson, Iann Petty visited the Hortillonnages, or floating gardens, of Amiens.



met Patrick de Cambourg, who is directing European Union efforts to address renewable energy problems. Between touring sites related to the history and culture of Brittany and playing some golf, we discussed technical issues including the merits of having sector-specific standards versus broadly applicable standards, as well as how it might be possible to represent results that cannot be quantified.

My next stop was further into Brittany with Alexandre Berthier. Sainte Marine is a picturesque seaside town where women wore the traditional Breton headdresses immortalized by Gauguin and other modern artists. I also visited the Pont-Aven art colony with Alexandre's children one day. Alexandre is working on a book about his propositus, focusing on his service in the American Revolution as a cartographer for the French forces. My stay with the Berthiers offered an opportunity to catch my breath from travel, as well as working half-time in the evenings after dinner.

At Le Mans, Henri d'Oysonville collected me at the train station and we drove (at a reasonable speed) by the famed racecourse of the *24 Heures du Mans*. We set off for my final stop at the Château de Courtalain with the de Gontaut-Biron family. My trip would end as it began, contemplating the duc de Lauzun and his Legion. In fact, his portrait was in my bedroom.

Anne-Charles follows technology closely, and while I was staying with his family, we toured a local startup that is developing flywheel technology for energy storage as an alternative to batteries. Before I left, I met some reenactors who portray figures from the French armed forces in the American Revolution.

Over my six-week visit, each of my hosts inspired me in their own way. Many of the families encouraged international exchanges, education at international schools, or career placements in other countries. I met a great many writers and authors on my journey among the various Cincinnati families, which seems to be a distinguishing characteristic of our Society and something I wish to emulate. I learned that the Society of the Cincinnati represents the French-American relationship at its most personal.

The Battle of Yorktown was not an ending, but a beginning. The desire to continue that relationship and find new applications for it was a consistent theme throughout my stay, and the lasting impact the French and American Scholar Program has had on the lives of multiple alumni I met along the way was palpable. Thank you to Henri d'Oysonville, the French and American Exchanges Committee, and each of my hosts for planning this incredible experience.

The Admiral de Grasse Memorial near the Trocadéro in Paris commemorates his victory at the Battle of the Chesapeake, and is the site of the French Society's annual Yorktown Day ceremony.



WASHINGTON REVIEWING OUR ALLY

*by Emily L. Parsons
deputy director and curator*

The French alliance has inspired scores of artworks since the Revolutionary War. The most famous depict the arrival of General Rochambeau and his army in Newport in July 1780 or the allied siege of Yorktown in the fall of 1781. A painting recently acquired by the Society depicts a much less familiar scene on the march to Yorktown, but one that captures the spirit of the alliance with France and the importance of the French army's presence in America. Around the turn of the twentieth century, American illustrator Henry A. Ogden painted George Washington reviewing French troops in July 1781 at the encampment at Philipsburg, New York—the first camp shared by American and French armies during the war. The painting reminds us that the story of how the American and French armies got to Yorktown is just as important to tell as what happened after they arrived.

As the summer of 1781 began, Rochambeau's French expeditionary force had been quartered at Newport for almost a year, waiting for orders. George Washington and his Continental Army troops were camped at New Windsor, New York, keeping an eye on the enemy, who controlled New York City and nearby Long Island. At a meeting in late May in Wethersfield, Connecticut—midway between the American and French camps—Washington and Rochambeau discussed attacking the enemy in New York. They agreed to establish a joint encampment to the south in Westchester County where they would finalize plans for the campaign they hoped would end the war.

The allies chose the area around Philipsburg

(present-day Greenburgh) for the encampment—along the east bank of the Hudson River only about fifteen miles north of Manhattan. Stretching for more than four miles, the American and French camps occupied the hills of northern Westchester County, a secure position from which to reconnoiter the British defenses. The area had been a lawless no-man's-land for most of the war, with local loyalist and patriot militias harassing residents and travelers and seizing property. British partisans and loyalists in the Philipsburg area retreated as the allied armies approached, destroying farms, fields, and even woodlots as they left. "Casting your eyes over the countryside," wrote the comte de Clermont-Crèvecoeur, a lieutenant in the Auxonne Regiment of the French army, "you felt very sad, for it revealed all the horrors and cruelty of the English in burned woodlands, destroyed houses, and fallow fields deserted by the owners."¹

General Washington and the Continental Army arrived first, on the fifth anniversary of the declaration of American independence. The Americans established their camps close to the Hudson River, near the present-day villages of Dobbs Ferry, Ardsley, and Hartsdale. Although Washington maintained his headquarters at a farmhouse in present-day Hartsdale, he consistently wrote "Head Quarters, near Dobbs Ferry" at the top of his orders and correspondence.

The French army arrived two days later, on July 6, 1781, after a grueling march through the stifling summer heat. "It is impossible to be more uncomfortable than we were that day," recalled Clermont-Crèvecoeur. "More than four hundred soldiers dropped from fatigue, and it was only by



and other commands. Their commanders spent the encampment discussing plans for their attack on the British. While Washington preferred an assault on New York City, Rochambeau was skeptical they had the manpower and resources to dislodge the British from the city. The French general was not sure he could convince Admiral de Grasse to sail from the West Indies as far north as New York to support the allied effort. Before they broke camp at Philipsburg in mid-

August, Washington and Rochambeau learned that de Grasse would not sail to New York, and they decided to meet the enemy in Virginia.

The two armies began the joint encampment with a grand review on July 8. George Washington and other senior officers watched as American troops, then the French regiments, marched past. Most of the surviving accounts of the review were written by French officers, who



were struck by the unimpressive appearance of the American soldiers. The comte de Clermont-Crèvecœur, a young French artillery officer, wrote that “the men were without uniforms and covered with rags; most of them were barefoot. They were of all sizes, down to children who could not have been over fourteen.” He returned from the review “following the generals of the French army, who looked quite different and much more glamorous.” The comte de Lauberdrière, an aide to Rochambeau, was more charitable about the American army. “There are some very handsome men in all their regiments,” he wrote, but he criticized their arrangement. “They are in the ranks by seniority. This method presents a very bad impression and harms the appearance of a troop because it occurs frequently—a tall man between two short ones, a short one between two tall ones.”³

The French troops at the review impressed Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., an aide-de-camp to General Washington. “A very fine Body of Troops compose the French Army,” he wrote, “which seems anxious to give some Marks of Heroism, to distinguish their Attachment & Military Pride.” Lauberdrière commented that the French soldiers had to prepare for the review in a hurry. “We had only one day to repair the damage of the march,” he wrote. “Even so, the troops appeared in the finest dress. Mr. de Rochambeau positioned himself in front of the white flag of his senior regiment and saluted General Washington. Almost all the officers of the army, having

dismissed their troops, accompanied him. Our general received his highest compliments on the appearance of his troops. It is true that, without any choice, on our departure from France, all those we had were superb.” Another of Rochambeau’s aides-de-camp, Baron Ludwig von Closen, assumed that Washington was less impressed: “Because he had already seen it at Newport, it could not have made as much of an impression on him as on the other American officers, who seemed to be ecstatic over it.” Washington’s writings omit any mention of the review at Philipsburg, but he made his enthusiasm for the French alliance and the presence of Rochambeau’s army in America well known.⁴

In the watercolor-and-gouache painting the Society recently acquired, artist Henry A. Ogden focused on the review of the French troops at Philipsburg. He depicted the Soissonnais Regiment—in their white uniforms with pale red facings—marching past the mounted senior officers of the allied armies. During the march to Philipsburg, the regiment stood out to Abbé Claude Robin, a chaplain with Rochambeau’s army: “The regiment of Soissonnais has in all this tedious march, had the fewest stragglers and sick of any other; one of the principal causes was, without doubt, the precaution of the Colonel, who, on purpose for the campaign, had linen breeches made for his whole regiment.”⁵

Ogden included the commanding officer of the

Opposite top: Many of Henry Ogden’s early works were published as wood engravings in *Harper’s Weekly*, including *Disbanding the Continental Army, at New Windsor, New York, November 3, 1783*, which appeared in the October 20, 1883, issue of the magazine. Ogden created many well known images of Civil War battles, but he excelled at scenes of military life from the Revolutionary War and the Civil War, including depictions of soldiers in camp and on the march and of officers socializing, conferring, and observing battle from a distance (Society of the Cincinnati).

Opposite bottom: This print of Ogden’s *Washington’s Farewell to His Officers* illustrates his scrupulous attention to uniform details. The original painting, dated 1886, is in the extensive collection of Ogden’s work at the New-York Historical Society. Like many of his drawings and paintings, it was published as a chromolithograph, a common medium for popular prints around the turn of the twentieth century. In this case the print was published around 1893 (Library of Congress).

Soissonnais, the comte de Saint Maime, walking between the regiment's flagbearers with his sword raised. General Washington, raising his hat in salute, is flanked by Rochambeau and the chevalier de La Luzerne, French minister to the United States. Next to them, in the foreground of the painting, are Major General Benjamin Lincoln and Brigadier General Henry Knox of the Continental Army, and the duc de Lauzun, a brigadier general of the French army and commander of Lauzun's Legion. On the opposite side of the marching French troops, Continental Army soldiers, distinguished by their buff-and-blue uniforms, stand in a line watching the review. One of the Continentals carries the American flag. A camp of white tents appears on a hilltop in the distance.

This work celebrates the alliance with France. Ogden titled the painting *Washington Reviewing Our Ally—the French—1781*, which remains on a typed paper label signed by the artist on the back side of the artwork. Sometime later—whether by Ogden or a subsequent owner—a brass plaque was added to the front of the frame bearing a more assertive title, *When America Needed France*. The composition is dominated by French soldiers and flags. Among the reviewers, the artist placed French generals in their elaborate uniforms at the head of the group—even though George Washington was the primary reviewer at the event and was named first in the artist's original title.

Henry Alexander Ogden (1856-1936) was a successful American illustrator, mostly of historical military scenes. From the 1870s until he retired in the 1920s, he produced drawings and paintings for publication in periodicals and books. Ogden was at various times employed by *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly* and the Strobridge Lithographic Company, while also working freelance, selling his illustrations to dozens of publishers. His largest and most important project was a series of color plates for *Uniforms of the Army of the United States* first published in 1890. Each drawing depicts uniforms of a

specific period, the artist arranging soldiers of different ranks in a military setting. Ogden labored over the historical accuracy of his artworks, referring to original uniforms and weapons as well as historical documents.

Ogden had particular interest in colonial and Revolutionary America, a favorite topic in his generation, and contributed illustrations to many books in the field, including *George Washington: An Historical Biography* by Horace E. Scudder (1889) and the multi-volume *History of the United States* by E.M. Avery (1904-1910). Ogden was the author, as well as illustrator, of *George Washington: A Book for Young People* (1932). While his paintings are not infallibly accurate, Ogden was a pioneer in carefully researching early American uniforms, equipment, and the historical settings he depicted.

Despite the hundreds of Ogden illustrations available in print, his depiction of the French troops at Philipsburg does not appear to have been published. It was not included in any of the books to which he contributed, and it does not appear in any of his other published works. We can only surmise that he intended it for a work that was never published or was left out of one of the many books and magazines to which he contributed for reasons we may never know.

The first recorded owner, after the artist, was Irma Jacqueline Freivogel of Chaumont, France, who acquired the painting in America as early as the 1960s. Her grand-nephew and grand-niece, Stephen Popper III and Susan Popper Korb, inherited the painting in the 1990s. When looking for a new home for it this summer, they sought out the Society because of our mission, the importance of the French alliance in our history, and the painting's depiction of six original members of the Society of the Cincinnati. We are fortunate to have been able to acquire the painting, which enhances our ability to interpret French participation in the American War for Independence and the campaign to Yorktown.



Washington Reviewing Our Ally—the French—1781 depicts a symbolic moment in the Revolutionary War and illustrates Henry Ogden's use of rich color and the remarkable attention to fine detail that distinguishes his work from that of most earlier historical artists (Society of the Cincinnati).

¹ Comte Jean-François-Louis de Clermont-Crèvecoeur, "Journal of the War in America during the Years 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783," in Howard C. Rice, Jr., and Anne S. K. Brown, eds., *The American Campaigns of Rochambeau's Army, 1780, 1781, 1782, 1783*, (2 vols., [jointly published], Princeton: Princeton University Press and Providence: Brown University Press, 1972), 1:32.

² *ibid.*, 32-33; Norman Desmarais, ed., *The Road to Yorktown: The French Campaigns in the American*

Revolution, 1780-1783, by Louis-François-Bertrand du Pont d'Aubevoye, comte de Lauberdrière, (El Dorado Hills, Calif.: Savas Beatie, 2021), 104; John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington*, vol. 22: April 27-August 15, 1781 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1937), 332.

³ Clermont-Crèvecoeur, "Journal of the War in America," 33-34; *The Road to Yorktown*, 106-107.

⁴ Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., to Richard Varick, July

13, 1781, in Mary Sudman Donovan, *George Washington at "Head Quarters, Dobbs Ferry," July 4 to August 19, 1781* (Bloomington, Ind.: iUniverse for the Dobbs Ferry Historical Society, 2009), 30; *The Road to Yorktown*, 107; Evelyn M. Acomb, ed., *The Revolutionary Journal of Baron Ludwig von Closen, 1780-1783* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1958), 91.

⁵ Abbé Robin, *New Travels through North-America* (Philadelphia: Robert Bell, 1783), 35.

An Appreciation



A gifted pianist, President General Raiford posed at the grand piano at Anderson House for his official Society portrait.

WILLIAM RUSSELL RAIFORD

1930-2021

William Russell Raiford was admitted to the North Carolina Society of the Cincinnati in 1961 and spent the next sixty years in the service of our One Society of Friends. Bill was born on May 21, 1930, in Valdosta, Georgia, and grew up in Thomasville, Georgia. Near the end of his life he retired to Thomasville, where he passed away on August 18, 2021. In between he had a remarkably energetic and productive life, much of it dedicated to his family, his country, and the Society of the Cincinnati.

Bill was a man of many talents, cultivated with the patient discipline he learned as a young man. He was a fine pianist and writer, but these abilities were not apparent when first meeting him. The first thing you noticed about Bill was that he carried himself ramrod straight, with the grace of an athlete, and that when you encountered him he gave you his full attention. Having met him, no one was ever surprised to learn that he was a graduate of the United States Military Academy at West Point, class of 1952, and that he was awarded the Bronze Star and other decorations for distinguished service in the Korean War. He had a soldier's bearing, even in his last years.

He left the U.S. Army in 1957 to work for IBM in its work supporting North American air defenses and coordinated IBM's support of U.S. Army mobile computer operations during the Cuban Missile Crisis. He was subsequently executive assistant to the president of IBM's Federal Systems Division.

Bill was a lifelong learner, rarely satisfied and constantly pushing himself. He attended graduate school at Rutgers University to study international banking, the Wharton School of

Finance, the New York Institute of Finance, Georgetown University (where he studied advanced mathematics), and George Washington University (where he studied Russian). In mid-career he left national defense—he was then an advisor to the Defense Intelligence Agency—to enter the banking and investments field. In 1981 he launched his own investment counseling firm, Asset Management International, which merged with E.F. Hutton in 1985. He worked with that firm and its successors through a variety of mergers, finally retiring in 2001.

His career was busy and so was his family life. Bill and Chase, his wife of forty-four years, raised three sons who grew into honorable and accomplished men. But he carved an extraordinary amount of time out of his life for the Society of the Cincinnati. He was appointed chairman of a young members committee of the General Society in the 1960s, shortly after he was admitted to the North Carolina Society. Bill was one of the longest-tenured members of the Society of the Cincinnati—a member for sixty years—but what made his career in the Society so extraordinary was the rich array of roles he played. He was a longtime member of the Society's Investment Committee, and was among those responsible for developing the investment strategies and policies that have served the General Society well for decades.

Bill was elected vice president general in 1995—an almost unprecedented leap into the Society's senior leadership, since he had no prior service as a general officer. It proved to be a high point in his Society career. By the mid-1990s Anderson House was over ninety years old and showing its age. Systems, some modernized in the 1960s,

were wearing out. Behind the scenes, the building was inadequate to the modern mission of the Society, including the operation of a special collections library and a museum, both requiring effective climate control, storage, and other facilities.

With the help of architects and engineers, the Society's leaders developed a renovation plan. Most of the work was accomplished during the tenure of Mac Matthew as president general and Bill Raiford as vice president general between 1995 and 1998. "Mac was in Charleston," explains past President General Ross Perry, "focused on raising money, and Bill, who lived in the D.C. area, was the onsite project manager and Mac's eyes and ears. Bill was at Anderson House almost every day, spending the night there quite often, and his efforts and diligence helped bring the work in under budget and ahead of schedule." Skid Masterson, who later served as president general himself, recalls that Bill made "rapid decisions about details of the job not in the contract and resolution of issues in near real-time. In particular, when some of the work items turned out to be more expensive than budgeted, he negotiated compromises on the spot, playing a key role in keeping to the schedule and the budget."

Bill was also instrumental in forging close connections between the General Society and its constituent society in France. The late Philippe, marquis de Bausset, then a young journalist assigned to Washington, enjoyed telling the story that he met Bill the first time he came to Anderson House in the 1960s. He heard someone playing the piano in the ballroom, and went in to listen and introduced himself to Bill. The two became lifelong friends, and both worked to draw the French Society closer to the General Society.

This effort culminated in the spectacular Paris Triennial in 2001. Past President General Forrest Pragoff recalls:

I first met Bill Raiford in 1997, when the Delaware Society agreed to co-host the 2001 Triennial with the French Society. At the time I was vice president of the Delaware Society and was appointed co-chair of the 2001 Triennial Organizing Committee. Bill was then vice president general. Bill worked closely with French Society President Jean-Melchior, marquis de Roquefeuil, French Society Vice President Philippe, marquis de Bausset, and with me to plan a series of events in Paris for more than five hundred participants. I was immediately struck by Bill's enthusiasm for our One Society of Friends and his unflagging energy as we spent countless hours sorting through the myriad details involved in a Triennial.

In the process, I also learned that Bill had been at Anderson House almost every single day for close to a year, overseeing major improvements to the house and especially to the modern library. Here was a man who cared deeply about the Society of the Cincinnati and its activities. He was a powerful spokesman for the Society and he could articulate the most important facets of our mission, but he was also willing to roll up his sleeves and see to the details that are so critical to complex projects like historic building renovations and Triennial meetings in a foreign city.

Bill succeeded Mac Matthew as president general in 1998 and presided over the final work involved in modernizing Anderson House. He also involved new men in the work of the General Society. Past President General Jonathan Woods remembers that Bill was largely responsible for his start in the Society leadership:

When then President General Raiford was setting up his administration, he purposely choose to include



Bill Raiford recruited young members, including Jonathan Woods, to play active roles in the leadership of our Society. By 2008, when the two met at the Society's 225th anniversary gala, Bill's former Investment Committee chairman was treasurer general.



"As president general," Jonathan writes, "I was truly honored to present past President General Raiford with the Washington-Lafayette Eagle for Service of the Highest Distinction for his decades of dedicated service. I truly believe it may have been the only time in his long wonderful life that he was speechless."

some young members in leadership roles. He felt it was important for the health and future of the organization to test and mentor potential future leaders. I was one of the beneficiaries of his strategy. After being a member of the Investment Committee for two triennia—past President General Catesby Jones was then the chairman—President General Raiford selected me to serve as chairman for his administration. That opportunity started me on the leadership trail of our One Society of Friends. And as a result, at least in part, I am now the most recent past president general after holding five out of six of the general offices of our Society. I am truly grateful to Bill for giving me the opportunity to be more involved with the General Society and I have enjoyed a special friendship with him ever since.

Bill continued to serve our One Society of Friends after he retired as president general at Versailles in 2001, particularly by nurturing the relationship between the French Society and its American counterparts. For that remarkable service he was honored by the French government with the Legion of Honor. Past President General Rob Norfleet remembers:

I served as treasurer general during Bill's tenure as our president general, and I grew to know him, respect him, and admire him. While it is difficult for me to select from our Cincinnati forged friendship, I share two major experiences that, in many ways, define the essence of Bill.

When Bill was awarded the French Legion of Honor in Paris, I found myself standing near him and watched him swell with pride as the medal was pinned on his lapel. He stood, characteristically erect, and taller than anyone else in the room on that day. When it was over and the crowd had mostly dispersed, I found myself next to Bill and was

touched by his humility and emotion. With tears in his eyes, he expressed to me his pride and happiness at receiving the honor and his sadness that his beloved wife, Chase, was not alive to share the moment.

The second experience also occurred in France. After I became president general in 2004, Bill implored me to fly to Paris to attend a religious ceremony dedicated to the burial of the heart of Louis XVII. The history leading to this event is a bit too long to relate here, but to the French Society, and especially Bill, it was mandatory that the president general should attend.

Janie and I arrived in Paris after a particularly difficult flight from the USA, changed into fresh attire and joined Bill, a few other members of the Cincinnati who had also flown to Paris, and many of our French members, at the cathedral. The service was lengthy, punctuated by a sumptuous lunch, between the service and the actual burial. I remember how emotional Bill was about this event and how grateful he was that Janie and I had made the trip. To Bill this demonstrated the affection that the members of our Society feel for our French friends. Bill Raiford was a man who loved his family, his country and the Society of the Cincinnati. He was also my friend, and I shall always cherish our time spent on this earth together.

Rob's sentiments are shared by hundreds of members of the Society of the Cincinnati Bill Raiford touched during his sixty years as a member. He was altogether original—determined, full of energy, proud of his Southern roots yet cosmopolitan, a skilled storyteller, a gentleman and a patriot, committed to his family and dedicated to our One Society of Friends.



Several members of the Raiford family—from left, Dr. David Raiford and his wife, Lisa Raiford, Dr. William P. Raiford and his wife, Dr. Kimberly Raiford, Past President General Raiford, Mr. Richard Raiford and his wife, Karen Raiford, and Bill's grandson Mr. Michael Raiford—were together in May 2017 when Bill was presented with the Washington-Lafayette Eagle. All three of Bill's sons, as well as grandsons Michael and James (another doctor in the family), are members or successor members of the North Carolina Society.

Then Vice President General Pless Lunger congratulated Bill on being honored with the Washington-Lafayette Eagle at the Society's spring banquet in 2017.

At Anderson House



Conservation work on the Pinckney portrait began with tests to determine the right solvents to remove old varnish and decades of grime. The conservation team also had to decide how to remove the canvas from the Masonite board to which it was glued decades ago in an ill-conceived effort to stabilize the painting and disguise damage to the canvas.

THOMAS PINCKNEY IS BACK!

In the winter of 1818-1819, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney—then the president general of the Society of the Cincinnati—commissioned Samuel F.B. Morse to paint a portrait of his brother Thomas Pinckney, joking that the artist should paint Thomas “twenty years younger than he really was.” Morse began the portrait in Charleston, probably in the house at 94 Tradd Street he used as his studio that winter, and completed it back in Boston, where Morse did most of his work.

The three-quarter-length portrait depicts a seated Thomas Pinckney in the War of 1812 uniform of a major general, holding a sword, and wearing the Eagle insignia of the Society. Thomas and Charles were original members of the South Carolina Society of the Cincinnati, which held a special place in the culture of early national Charleston. While the other state societies south of the Potomac had either ceased functioning or soon would, the South Carolina Society of the Cincinnati endured, drawing strength from the dominance of Charleston in South Carolina social life of the state.

Morse probably delivered the finished portrait to Charles Cotesworth Pinckney when he came back to Charleston for the

winter of 1819-1820. The elder Pinckney paid Morse three hundred dollars for the painting. Five years later Thomas Pinckney succeeded his late brother as president general of the Society of the Cincinnati—the fourth in the continuous line of presidents general that began with George Washington.

Morse’s portrait of Thomas Pinckney remained in family hands for nearly two hundred years. It was exhibited occasionally—enough to be recognized as one of Morse’s finest works—but was mostly out of public view until 2019, when it was consigned for sale at Freeman’s auction house in Philadelphia.



President General Pless Lunger welcomed the portrait of his predecessor Thomas Pinckney in December 2019 when it arrived from Philadelphia and we began a twenty-one month campaign to restore the painting to its original appearance.

For the last twenty years the Society has been actively collecting portraits of original members, other important Revolutionary War figures, and later portraits of hereditary members wearing the Society’s Eagle insignia. Some have been acquired by purchase, including our portrait of French General Claude-Anne de Rouvroy, marquis de Saint-Simon, by Spanish painter Vicente Lopez, which we purchased in Spain, and our portrait of Continental Army lieutenant colonel (and postwar general)



The conservators removed decades of dirt and old varnish—here the portrait is about half cleaned.

Ebenezer Huntington by John Trumbull and an extraordinary portrait of Joseph Winter, an enlisted man portrayed by John Neagle in 1829 when Winter was a homeless veteran living on the streets of Philadelphia, both of which we purchased at auction.

We were particularly fortunate in our acquisition of the Huntington and Winter portraits. None of our potential competitors recognized their historical importance and we were able to bring them to Anderson House for a tiny fraction of their real value—and without exceeding the modest budget for museum acquisitions we set aside each year. There was no chance we would acquire the Thomas Pinckney portrait on such terms. Freeman's auction house made it the centerpiece of its November 2019 sale and the press ensured that potential buyers were aware of it.

The Society was only able to acquire the portrait through the remarkable generosity of Society members and supporters of the American Revolution Institute of the Society of the Cincinnati. Responding to a spirited campaign to raise the funds needed to buy and conserve the painting, 195 individuals and nine constituent societies made contributions to the project. Their collective support made it possible for us to acquire the portrait *and* conserve it. The conservation of the painting and frame was completed at the beginning of September 2021.

The conservation effort involved much more than the periodic cleaning and stretching that oil portraits on canvas conventionally need. When the Society acquired the portrait from Freeman's, it was exactly two hundred years old. For much of that time it was displayed in private homes and exposed to the atmospheric pollutants common in nineteenth-century houses—soot and gases from wood and coal fires, gas and kerosene lighting, and smoke from pipes and cigars. The organic varnishes used on early nineteenth-century paintings did not resist these pollutants very well. They absorbed whatever was in the air, particularly in the first years after they were applied, when they were dry to the touch but still somewhat plastic. Even under ideal conditions—and conditions were never ideal—the varnishes then in use tended to turn yellow and brown with age.

As a result the Pinckney portrait, like most paintings of its period, got very dark and dirty very quickly. The owners had a choice: live with an increasingly dark portrait or clean it. Cleaning was a service offered in many cities by local artists, who used solvents to strip off the old varnish before applying a new top coat. Often those solvents were very harsh—turpentine, kerosene, or whatever was at hand—and stripped away some of the original paint along with the varnish. Artists like Samuel Morse and his

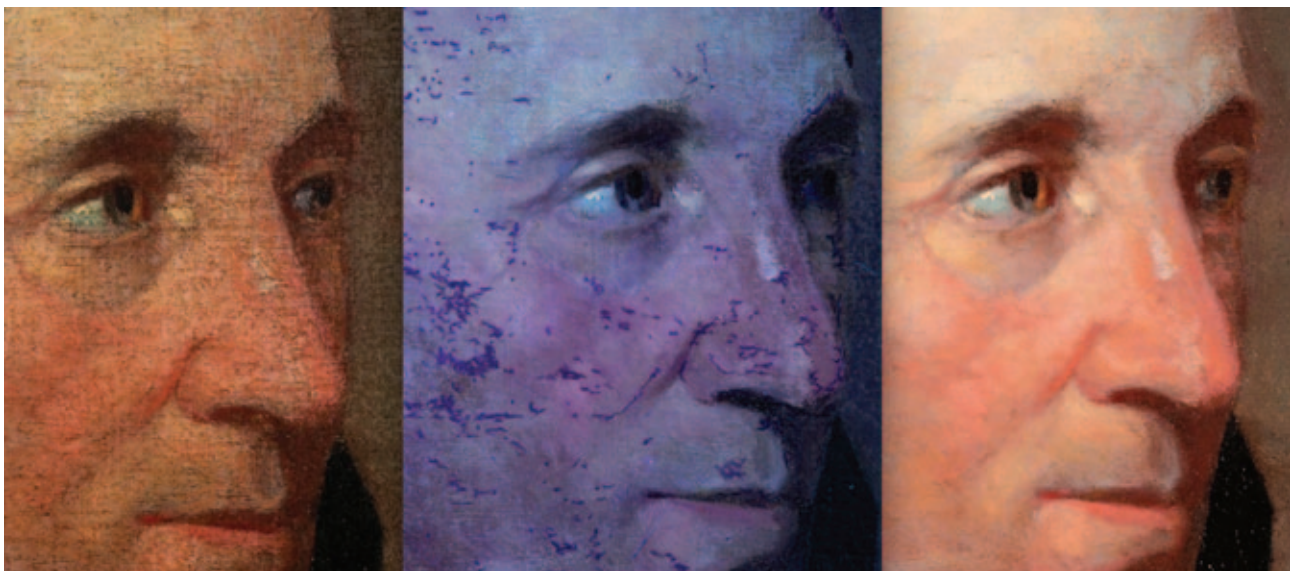
contemporaries knew this was likely to happen. They used expensive, hard-drying paints with a high lead content for faces and other important features to minimize the damage caused by vigorous cleaning, but recognized that backgrounds might eventually be so damaged that a future artist might repaint them or at least apply new paint to fill in areas where the original paint was lost, often far less skillfully than the original artist.

In addition to paint lost to cleaning, paintings are often damaged by mishandling, building fires, accidents, and even the chaos of war. We do not know all of what happened to Morse's portrait of Thomas Pinckney, but it was probably in Charleston and undoubtedly in South Carolina during the Civil War, with all of the risks that involved, and remained there in the difficult decades that followed. By the time it was a hundred years old, the painting was probably deteriorating.

Sometime between about 1930 and 1960 the

painting was cut off its stretcher and glued to a sheet of Masonite, a kind of engineered wood made of steamed and pressed wood fibers patented in 1924 and still widely used when flexible, inexpensive construction materials are needed. Masonite contains an abundance of acid that leaches into canvas and accelerates deterioration of the fabric. Conservators no longer use it for that reason, preferring less damaging (though often more labor-intensive) solutions. The Pinckney portrait was probably glued to Masonite to mask a tear in the canvas. Once glued to the board, the tear was disguised with overpainting. How many different layers of varnish and overpainting had been applied by that time, or were added later, is impossible to determine.

In this condition, the portrait was displayed at the Smithsonian Institution in a landmark temporary exhibition, "If Elected: Unsuccessful Candidates for the Presidency, 1796-1968," in 1972. Thomas Pinckney received the third most electoral votes for president in 1796—the first



After surface cleaning (left) and examination under ultraviolet light revealed areas of old paint loss and overpainting (dark areas in the image at center), David Olin restored the subtle details of Pinckney's face with pigments carefully matched with the colors Morse used.



Before conservation (left), the portrait was dark and details were obscured by generations of yellowed varnish, clumsy overpainting, and improper restoration efforts. After conservation (right) the colors are once more bright and the hidden details are again clear as Morse intended.



contested presidential election in our history—after John Adams and Thomas Jefferson. Under the system then in use, electors cast two votes without distinguishing between their choices for president and vice president. Many Federalists voted for Adams and Pinckney. Democratic-Republicans voted for Jefferson and Aaron Burr. Alexander Hamilton preferred Pinckney to Adams and maneuvered to get Pinckney the most electoral votes, which would have elected him president. In the end Adams secured seventy-one votes, Jefferson sixty-eight, and Pinckney fifty-nine.

When the portrait reached Anderson House in December 2019 it was indisputably handsome but clearly in need of professional conservation to restore it to its original character. Early in 2020 the Society turned the painting over to Olin Conservation, Inc., of Great Falls, Virginia, one of the most respected painting conservation firms in the United States. The firm is run by David Olin, a second-generation painting conservator who combines the skills of an artist with the technical expertise of a chemist and the practical skills of an expert craftsman. Olin Conservation has carried out some of the most important painting conservation projects of recent decades, including the restoration of the massive Gettysburg Cyclorama. We previously worked with the firm on the expert conservation of the Key Room murals at Anderson House and have been in discussion with David Olin for several years about the much-needed conservation of *The Triumph of the Dogaresa*, the massive painting in the Great Stair



In his Great Falls, Virginia, studio, conservator David Olin explains how he revived the surface of Morse's masterpiece, revealing lively colors and details of the original composition not seen since the painting was new.

Hall—a project we need to raise the funds to carry out.

Olin Conservation had already conserved Samuel Morse's 1819 portrait of President James Monroe, so the staff was acquainted with the materials Morse used and the style of his work. David Olin was sufficiently interested in the project that he offered to waive a portion of the cost of his own time devoted to it, which he contributed as a gift-in-kind.

The work began in March 2020 and spanned more than a year. The team started with careful tests to identify the varnishes used and the proper

solvents to remove them without stripping the paint beneath. Ultraviolet and microscopic examination of the cleaned surface revealed areas of paint lost to improper cleaning and filled with later paint, which the conservation team carefully removed, leaving only what Morse had applied.

The team also undertook the extraordinarily difficult process of removing the canvas from the Masonite. Tests conducted around the edges, where the canvas met the Masonite, led the team to conclude that any solvent that would soften the adhesives might do more damage to the two-hundred-year-old canvas, so they turned the painting face down and ever-so-carefully *chiseled* the Masonite off the canvas without damaging the aging fabric. The canvas was then attached to a new liner (with reversible adhesive) and properly attached to a stretcher.

At that point the work of restoring lost paint could begin, using pigments carefully matched to those Morse used, but applied over a thin layer of modern varnish to allow later generations to distinguish the new material from the original. Much of this restoration work was fairly straightforward, but some of it required study and interpretation to restore the painting to the one Morse presented in 1819. For example, the conservators discovered that an artist repainting a portion of the portrait after a too-vigorous cleaning had moved the left arm of the chair

from its original position under Pinckney's left arm to a point beyond his arm, which was left unsupported. This early restorer painted his new left chair arm in a lower plane than the right chair arm Morse had painted, making the chair appear absurdly lop-sided and ill proportioned. David Olin and his team restored the left arm of the chair to its proper position. They also restored details to Pinckney's trousers that had been degraded by heavy cleaning, and were able to restore the details in the clouds and sky in the background—features characteristic of Morse's portraits, many of which include such clouds and the sky depicted in the same beautiful cerulean.

The project was a marriage of art and science. The results—in the original frame restored by our neighbors at Gold Leaf Studios, one of the nation's top historic frame conservators—are now on view in the East Stair Hall of Anderson House. There Samuel Morse's great portrait of Thomas Pinckney has taken its proper place among portraits of our presidents general, from George Washington to Jonathan Woods. In the new year it will travel back to Charleston, where it will be on display at the Gibbes Museum of Art for six months in the city where it was painted, looking—thanks to the support of our members, our constituent societies, and our friends and the work of a gifted conservation team—as handsome as it looked two hundred years ago.

THANKS TO ALL OUR SUPPORTERS FOR MAKING THE THOMAS PINCKNEY PORTRAIT PROJECT A SUCCESS

Samuel F.B. Morse's extraordinary portrait of Thomas Pinckney wearing the Society of the Cincinnati Eagle was acquired by the Institute in late 2019 thanks to extraordinary generosity from Society members, constituent societies, Institute Associates, staff, and friends. Shortly after we purchased the portrait at auction, we raised the funds to have major conservation work performed on the canvas and the frame.

Some 195 donors and nine constituent societies donated all of the funds needed to pay for the acquisition and conservation of the Thomas Pinckney portrait. Never before have so many donors come together to support an acquisition or a conservation project of this magnitude. We celebrate the collective generosity of this special donor group for their historic support. Thank you all!

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“Behaved like heroes”

Colonel Samuel John Atlee and his Battalion *by M. Page Teer (Pennsylvania)*

My mother, Dorothy, was a New Yorker who visited North Carolina in the mid-1920s, tasted black-eyed peas, met my father, Nello, and never returned home. She brought her *Mayflower* heritage and years later she would become regent of the Mayflower Society and the president of the Daughters of American Revolution. Her devotion to history kindled my lifelong interest in family origins.

Shortly after I married a Southern belle, Joan, and U.S. Army Chief of Staff General Harold K. Johnson pinned my gold bars, I was deployed to Vietnam, where I grew up and came to appreciate family history even more deeply. My new father-in-law had the most intriguing certificate on his wall, membership in the Society of the Cincinnati. For decades I walked many a peaceful hilltop cemetery throughout the Piedmont of North Carolina and collected family stories, finding at least fourteen *propositi* on my father's side. I submitted several fruitless applications to the North Carolina Society of the Cincinnati, only to learn that the *propositi* were already taken.

Feeling I had exhausted my father's side of the family, I began looking through New York records for my mother's family, Atlee. I soon

chanced upon a reference to an Atlee leading to a Wayne in my family tree who served as treasurer of the Pennsylvania Society of Cincinnati. As luck would have it, I lost the reference. After months of scrambling to retrace my steps, however, I found it again, and unable to contain my excitement, I shouted in triumph. It had been right under my nose the whole time! I can only say to all those out there who are searching for a *propositus*, stay at it!

I shifted my research from New York to Pennsylvania, which led me back to the North Carolina (and North Carolina Society Registrar Perry Morrison, who provided priceless help), then to Rhode Island, and finally back to Pennsylvania again, where Membership Chairman Cliff Lewis said, "Let me look." From there the pieces began to fall into place.

In the early eighteenth century the Atlees were a genteel English family, well established in Middlesex, west of London. Samuel's father, William Atlee, came to British America in 1733 as personal secretary to Emanuel Howe, who had been appointed governor of Barbados. Among the governor's four sons were Richard and William Howe. As Admiral Lord Howe, Richard

would command the Royal Navy in North American waters during the Revolutionary War. His brother General William Howe would command the British army sent to crush the American rebellion in 1776. William Atlee's son Samuel John Atlee would oppose them.

William's stay in Barbados was short but eventful. In 1734 he married Jane Alcock, who had followed him from England. She was the daughter of a minister and a cousin of William Pitt. They were married in Bridgetown, the largest town on the island, and soon thereafter sailed for Philadelphia. This may, indeed, have been their plan when they left England. Apparently his or her family, or perhaps both, objected to the match, so they ran away to America. They lived briefly in Philadelphia, where their eldest son, William Augustus Atlee, was born in 1735. They then moved to Trenton, New Jersey, where Samuel John Atlee was born in 1739, followed by a sister and another brother. William died in 1744, when Samuel was just five years old.

Jane moved her young family to Lancaster, Pennsylvania, a growing market town in the hinterland west of Philadelphia. They probably moved there at the suggestion of Edward Shippen III, who became a friend, teacher, and patron to the young men of the family. In Lancaster William Augustus and Samuel, when they were old enough, studied law in preparation for joining the bar. William Augustus served as a clerk in the county recorder's office and was admitted to the bar in 1753, when he was just eighteen. He quickly became one of the leading lawyers in the county and in 1777 was appointed an associate justice of the Pennsylvania Supreme Court.

Samuel never practiced law. He was attracted by a military career. He was commissioned an ensign in Col. William Clapham's regiment in April

1756 and was promoted to lieutenant in December 1757. His regiment was assigned to Fort Augusta, a stronghold at the junction of the east and west branches of the Susquehanna, at what later became Sunbury in Northumberland County. During the French and Indian War this was a frontier region. Three other forts—Fort Halifax, Fort Hunter, and Fort Harris—linked Fort Augusta to the strategic river crossing at Harris's Ferry. The forts were log blockhouses surrounded by stockades, built to bar the advance of the French and their Indian allies into southeast Pennsylvania. In the summer 1757 Atlee and a longtime friend, Samuel Miles, were nearly ambushed by Indians while they were outside Fort Augusta picking wild plums. The friends escaped to the fort after the Indians shot and killed a guard posted nearby. Atlee was eighteen that summer. Despite his youth, he was briefly given command at Fort Halifax.

In 1758 Atlee served with Clapham's regiment in the Forbes expedition, which set off from Carlisle and crossed the mountain ridges of western Pennsylvania toward French Fort Duquesne. Proceeding methodically west, the troops constructed Fort Ligonier to cover their advance. The French and their Indian allies attacked the British and provincial troops about forty miles west of Fort Ligonier on October 12. The British and American troops drove them back in what became known as the Battle of Loyalhanna, in which Atlee distinguished himself. As the expedition approached Fort Duquesne a few weeks later, the outnumbered French abandoned the fort and retreated without a fight. Atlee probably encountered George Washington for the first time during the latter part of the Forbes expedition, when George Washington and his Virginia regiment joined the march.

The capture of Fort Duquesne eliminated the threat to Pennsylvania. Samuel Atlee was promoted to captain in May 1759. The rest of



During the French and Indian War Samuel Atlee and the soldiers of Clapham's regiment were stationed at Fort Augusta, a stockade fort at the confluence of the east and west branches of the Susquehanna River—a critical point for the defense of Pennsylvania. Joseph Shippen, son of the Atlee's friend and patron Edward Shippen III, drew this map of the route to Fort Augusta in 1756 (Pennsylvania State Archives).

Atlee's service was quiet. In 1762 he married Sarah Richardson, the daughter of a Lancaster County farmer, and with the end of the French and Indian War he settled on a farm not far from the town of Lancaster. He was then twenty-three, but it must have seemed that the most dramatic part of his life was over.

A decade later he was drawn back into military service. Atlee was one of the most experienced officers in Lancaster County and was involved in raising and drilling troops at the beginning of the Revolutionary War. Pennsylvania government, guided by the pacifist principles of the Quakers, did not require military service and did not

support a militia. The colony was defended by voluntary "Associators," among whom Samuel Atlee was an active leader. In early 1776 the colony's Revolutionary government agreed to assemble two rifle battalions and one musket battalion to defend the state. The riflemen, organized in a single regiment, were placed under the command of Atlee's friend Samuel Miles. After John Cadwalader declined to command the musket battalion, Atlee was appointed colonel on March 21.

The British army arrived off New York at the end of June 1776. The fleet of warships and transports looked, an American wrote, like "all London



Atlee's musket battalion was stationed on the extreme left flank of Lord Stirling's line, depicted in dark blue on this eighteenth-century manuscript map. Atlee's command fought the British for the hill at right center near the bottom of map. When the rest of Stirling's command retreated, Atlee's battalion was forced to conduct a fight withdrawal toward the upper right, toward the marshy ground where Stirling's command, including Atlee's men and the heroic Maryland Line, covered the army's retreat (Library of Congress).

afloat." Pennsylvania authorities directed Miles and Atlee to march their men to Philadelphia and on to New York to reinforce the army General Washington was gathering there to defend the city. At the beginning of August the musket battalion was in Perth Amboy, New Jersey, across a narrow channel from Staten Island, where the British army was encamped. Atlee wrote to Benjamin Franklin on August 2 that the battalion had been ordered to march before it was properly supplied, and that his men lacked adequate bedding and basic clothing. "The soldiers in their present state cannot keep clean and therefore healthy," he wrote. They justly complain, "and was it not for the Strictness of discipline kept up, I should be diffculted to keep them to their duty. Were we situated any other where than in the

Face of the Enemy I shou'd look upon it as a piece of cruelty to keep so strict a Hand over them in the Condition they are, but the least relaxation might be of infinite disservice."

Washington shifted the musket battalion to Long Island, where the British were expected to launch their campaign to take the city, first occupying the banks of the East River at Brooklyn and then crossing over to Manhattan. Washington was intent on stopping them on Long Island, and arrayed his army facing south along a series of ridges and hills called the Gowanus Heights, south and east of Brooklyn. On August 12, he placed the commands of Atlee and Miles, together with the troops of the Maryland Line under William Smallwood and the Massachusetts

troops of John Glover, under the command of Brig. Gen. William Alexander, generally known in the army as Lord Stirling, because he claimed to be the legitimate heir to a Scottish peerage, though the British Parliament declined to recognize the claim. The men gathered into Stirling's brigade proved to be some of the most valuable soldiers in Washington's army.

General Sir William Howe, whose father had employed Samuel Atlee's father as personal secretary a generation earlier, landed his men on Long Island unopposed, protected by the guns of the fleet commanded by his brother, Admiral Lord Richard Howe. On the morning of August 27 the British advanced on the Gowanus Heights in three columns. On the left, a column under Major General James Grant took the road closest to the Narrows. In the center, a second column moved toward the middle of the American position on the heights. On the right, or east, a third British column led by light infantry and followed by troops under Lord Cornwallis marched for Jamaica Pass, a gap in the ridgeline beyond Washington's left flank which the American general had unwisely left unprotected.

Stirling's brigade was posted on the American right, near the Narrows, barring Grant's approach. Grant's attack was a diversion, intended to occupy the American troops on the British left while the third column marched through Jamaica Pass, beyond the east end of the American line, and interposed itself between the bulk of Washington's army on Gowanus Heights and Washington's fortified lines around Brooklyn. Those lines guarded the East River crossing to Manhattan that was the American army's only way to escape Long Island if the battle went badly. The lines were a refuge in which the army might withstand a frontal assault—hoping to slaughter the British as American troops had done at Bunker Hill—but which could not withstand a siege, which the British army was

equipped to carry out. Washington's best chance to defeat the British was on the high ground of the Gowanus Heights, if the British could be drawn into a frontal attack there.

Although Howe intended Grant's attack as a diversion, it quickly developed into some of the most severe fighting of the battle—and indeed of the entire Revolutionary War. It proved to be Samuel Atlee's most important moment of the war. He left us an account of the Battle of Brooklyn from his perspective, at the heart of one of the great battles of the war.

Atlee was posted along the road that came north from the British camp past the Red Lion Inn, up a ridge and then around the low ground of Gowanus Creek and then up to the fortified heights of Brooklyn. Today the entire battlefield is buried under streets of Brooklyn, but in 1776 the land was rural, cleared for farming and divided by hedges, stone walls, and wooden fences, the landscape dotted with farm houses, small woodlots, and orchards. Atlee could see Grant's column, with field artillery in front, advancing from two and half miles away.

On Stirling's order Atlee advanced his musket battalion to contest the British passage of a stretch of low, swampy ground while the rest of the brigade formed on the ridge to the north. "This order I immediately obeyed," Atlee wrote,

notwithstanding we must be exposed, without any kind of cover, to the great fire of the enemy's musketry and field-pieces, charged with round and grape shot, and finely situated upon the eminence above mentioned, having the entire command of the ground I was ordered to occupy. My battalion, although new and never before having the opportunity of facing an enemy, sustained their fire until the brigade had formed; but finding we could not possibly prevent their crossing the swamp, I ordered my detachment to file off to the left, and

take post in a wood upon the left of the brigade. Here I looked upon myself advantageously situated, and might be enabled, upon the advance of the enemy, to give him a warm reception. In this affair I lost but one soldier, shot with a grape shot through his throat.

Posted on the extreme left of Stirling's line, Atlee took the initiative to move his battalion to a cleared hill some three hundred yards further east, which he could see was an ideal position from which the British might flank Stirling's entire brigade. The British had the same idea. A savage fight for the hill ensued, which Atlee thought the British would have won if they had been better marksmen. Atlee's men halted from the shock of heavy British fire, but when he ordered them to advance, they responded, he wrote proudly, "with the resolution of veteran soldiers." Atlee directed his men to hold their fire until they closed with the enemy and could aim properly at close range. The British line fell apart and fled. He stopped his excited men from pursuing the enemy, recognizing a stone wall at the base as a natural breastwork from which his men would be cut down. After exchanging disciplined fire with the enemy, Atlee watched with pleasure as they withdrew.

The British made a second attempt on the hill about twenty minutes later, in which Lt. Col. James Grant (not to be confused with Maj. Gen. James Grant), leading the attack, was killed. By then Atlee's ammunition was exhausted. He ordered his men to take the cartridge boxes from the dead and wounded British soldiers on the field, but the ammunition on hand was not sufficient to meet another attack. Fortunately an ammunition wagon belonging to Huntington's Connecticut troops arrived to resupply the battalion.

Within half an hour the British made a third attack on the hill, which Atlee's men beat back, inflicting severe losses on the enemy. As the

British withdrew, Atlee could hear firing to the north, in the rear of the brigade. Atlee could not have known it—he believed "this strength of the British Army" had been thrown up the road from the Red Lion Inn—but the firing he heard was from the British flanking column that had marched unopposed through Jamaica Pass and into the rear of Washington's position. Atlee was concerned enough to order his men off the hill to join up with the main body of Stirling's brigade. He was shocked to find "upon coming to the ground occupied by our troops, to find it evacuated and the troops gone off, without my receiving the least intelligence of the movement, or order what to do."

What followed was pure improvisation. Atlee withdrew to the north and west, where he encountered British grenadiers in the rear of Stirling's former position, blocking the retreat of the brigade. Atlee managed to get his men into line and force the grenadiers to retreat, but by then his men were out of ammunition again. He had no choice but to order a rapid retreat northward. Organization quickly collapsed. "What of my party, or if any, in this flight were killed, wounded, or taken, I cannot tell, as it is uncertain how many, or who they were, that followed me." Atlee tried to reach the road that led to the American lines around Brooklyn, but he found it well guarded by the British. The remnant of the battalion took refuge on a hill west of the road, barred to the north by swamps. Afraid to be taken by Hessians, who had a reputation for slaughtering prisoners, Atlee and the twenty-three men left with him moved off to the east and surrendered around five in the evening to a battalion of Scottish Highlanders.

As Atlee and his men were marched off as prisoners, they were met, he recalled, with "the most scurrilous and abusive language, both from the officers, soldiers, and camp ladies, every one at that time turning hangman, and demanding of the



As the right flank of Washington's army disintegrated, Samuel Atlee and his musket battalion struggled to maintain order and hold off the advancing British troops. Artist Alonzo Chappel captured the chaos of the battle in this painting from 1858 (Brooklyn Historical Society).

guard why we were taken, why we were not put to the bayonet, and hanged." Atlee concluded:

Thus ended this most unfortunate 27th of August, 1776, during which myself and my detachment underwent great fatigue, and escaped death in a variety of instances. And I am happy to reflect that during the whole of this perilous day, one and all, to the utmost of their powers and abilities, exerted themselves in performing their several duties, for which I shall ever retain a grateful sense, and do, for and in behalf of my country, return them my sincere acknowledgments, as I flatter myself, under God, they were the means of twice preserving the brigade from being cut to pieces: first, in preventing the troops in which Grant bore a command from falling upon the left flank; and lastly, in so truly bravely

attacking the Grenadiers, where Monckton commanded, and thereby preventing the destruction of the rear.

Atlee and his men had done all they could do.

With other prisoners, Atlee suffered from want of proper food and clothing. Prisoners were crowded into old sugar warehouses, the largest buildings the British could easily secure, and other buildings unfit for habitation, and ultimately crammed aboard rotting hulks moored in the East River. In November Atlee wrote directly to General Washington, asking for his assistance in securing his exchange for a British official held in Connecticut.

"I can so well conceive the Desire that persons in Captivity must feel for Releasment, and a Return to their Friends," Washington replied, "that I do not wonder at your anxious Endeavours to procure your own." But Washington informed Atlee that he could not make such a proposal to General Howe, though he would support the exchange if it could be arranged. "As to the scanty Allowance of Provisions" provided to the prisoners, Washington added that "I would Hope that it proceeded from the State of General Howes Stores and not from any desire in him to add Famine to the Misfortune of Captivity."

A sympathetic British officer wrote in his diary that the prisoners taken around New York:

have no real cause of complaint, as they are served with the same kind of provisions issued to the King's troops, at two third allowance, which is the same as given to the King's troops when on board Transports. They certainly are very Sickly, owing to their want of Clothing and necessities, salt provisions, confinement, foul air, & little exercise. They are confined principally in the Churches, Sugar houses, and other large buildings, and have the liberty of walking in the yards. But they are such low spirited creatures, particularly the Americans, that if once they are taken sick they seldom recover.

Atlee remained a prisoner for more than two years. During that time he continued to wear his uniform, although doing so assured him of constant abuse from his captors, and he worked to secure proper treatment for other prisoners. He composed his account of the Battle of Brooklyn while in captivity and sent it to his brother William Augustus:

We have often been amused with the expectation of a general exchange of prisoners, but hopes have been, as often, frustrated. It is now again talked of, but how it may terminate time only must determine.

I have, for your amusement of an hour, sent you enclosed a true and impartial statement of the transactions of the 27th of August, in which, I flatter myself, I bore no disgraceful part. You may, if you think proper, communicate the contents to some few of your friends and let them be judges whether I deserve censure or reward. I should not be displeased if Congress saw it.

Samuel Atlee was finally exchanged on October 1, 1778, for Colonel Christopher Billopp, a loyalist officer from Staten Island.

Pennsylvania officials quickly recommended Atlee's promotion to brigadier general and his reinstatement to command, but without a brigade to assign to him, Congress took no action on the proposal. Instead he was elected as one of Pennsylvania's delegates to the Continental Congress, an assignment for which he proved to be well suited. Although Atlee had never held public office, he threw himself into congressional business, especially army affairs. He served in Congress from November 1778 to October 1782, in the Pennsylvania legislature in 1782, 1785, and 1786, and as a member of Pennsylvania's Supreme Executive Council in 1783. After peace was secured he was appointed a commissioner to negotiate with Indians for the cession of lands in northern and western Pennsylvania. He was as able in public office as he had been as a soldier.

Samuel passed away on November 25, 1786, while in Philadelphia for meeting of the legislature, and was laid to rest in the churchyard of Christ Church. He was just forty-seven when he died, but he had lived a remarkably eventful life. He was a soldier of two wars and an honored hero of the Battle of Brooklyn. The day after the battle a report came from Washington's headquarters that Atlee and his battalion had "behaved like heroes."



The British herded American troops captured at the Battle of Brooklyn into unheated sugar warehouses where they went without food, blankets, and basic clothing. Those makeshift prisons were demolished long ago. This heavy lock from the Rhinelander sugar warehouse, preserved in the Museum of the City of New York, is a grim reminder of the suffering of Atlee and his battalion and thousands of other prisoners who suffered at the hands of the British (Museum of the City of New York).