

**LAFAYETTE AND GENDER ISSUES  
IN THE TRANS-ATLANTIC REVOLUTIONARY WORLD  
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In his later years, Jefferson as sage of Monticello was asked by Nathaniel Burwell to send him a plan for the education of young women. Of course in 1786 Jefferson had written detailed suggestions to a young man for his education in academic disciplines, noting the best cities for libraries and mentioning the titles of specific books. To Burwell, however, Jefferson could only begin his 1818 response by commenting, "A plan of female education has never been a subject of systematic contemplation with me." He went on to suggest not a list of books but a series of general categories: novels, a range of artistic topics he called "amusements of life," and, finally, works on household economy.<sup>1</sup> As American minister to France at the beginning of the French Revolution, Jefferson had earlier compared the political activity of the French women he observed there to the absence of such direct activity by American women, and he termed that comparison "as Amazons to Angels." "Our good ladies, I trust, have been too wise to wrinkle their foreheads with politics."<sup>2</sup>

George Washington's views on the limited involvement of American women in promoting the adoption of the American Constitution were fundamentally similar to Jefferson's though Washington was much too refined to express them in the same blunt and direct terms.<sup>3</sup> As Linda Kerber has shown, very few of America's Founding Fathers supported a political role

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<sup>1</sup>Merrill Peterson, ed., *Thomas Jefferson: Writings* (New York, 1984), 1411. The significance of Jefferson's 1818 letter to his views on the education of women is largely missing from Brian Steele, "Thomas Jefferson's Gender Frontier," *Journal of American History*, 95 (2008): 17-42, esp. 27-28. In the process of preparing this paper, it became obvious that the original intent to cover Lafayette's behavior towards both genders would be too much for this occasion. I intend to discuss Lafayette and codes of masculinity at a future time. For help with this topic I wish to thank Susan Conner, June Burton, and Lloyd Kramer.

<sup>2</sup>Jefferson to Anne Willing Bingham, 11 May 1788, in *Ibid.*, 922-3; Jefferson to Thomas Mann Randolph, Jr., 27 August 1786, in Julian P. Boyd and others, eds., *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, 32 vols. to date (Princeton, 1950-), X, 305-309. Randolph eventually would become Jefferson's son-in-law.

<sup>3</sup>On Washington, see for example his courteous but aloof letter to Annis Boudinot Stockton, 31 August 1788, in John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of Washington*, 39 vols. (Washington, 1931-1940), XXX, 75-77.

for women outside those of Republican mother and wife.<sup>4</sup> The scholarly debate over the role of women in the French Revolutionary politics continued through the nineteen nineties between Olwen Hufton and Joan Landes. In her book *Visualizing the Nation*, Professor Landes remarked: "As it turned out, to be a citoyenne was not quite the same thing as being a citizen."<sup>5</sup>

What of those prominent persons who shaped and were shaped by these two revolutions? How did they change their views on gender, and is it possible to track that change? For some time I have been studying the life of Lafayette, and I would like to suggest some possibilities that this project has raised. In this project I have benefited from the researches of both Sylvia Neely and Lloyd Kramer, who in their books and articles have expanded upon the work begun by Stanley Idzerda in presenting Lafayette as a much more complex person than Louis Gottschalk's multi-volume biographical studies implied.<sup>6</sup>

To lay the groundwork for his interpretation of the revolutionary Lafayette Gottschalk made much of the impact of the death in Lafayette's infancy of his father and the absence of an "authority" (read: dominant male) figure in those early years.<sup>7</sup> Of course there were many men in Lafayette's early life: his tutor abbé Fayon, the men of the family of Lafayette's mother, the La Rivière's, his godfather the Comte de Lusignem, and of course his cousins the Noailles family. What Gottschalk may have underestimated were the positive influences of women in Lafayette's early years, especially his grandmother Marie-Catherine de Chavaniac (a strong and independent-minded widow) and her two daughters. Lafayette spent much of his first eleven years with them in Auvergne before moving to Paris.

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<sup>4</sup>See her "The Republican Mother: Women and the Enlightenment --- An American Perspective," *American Quarterly*, XXVIII (1976):187-205. A notable exception among the founders was Benjamin Rush (*Thoughts upon Female Education Accommodated to the Present State of Society, Manners, and Government* [Philadelphia, 1787]). For significant efforts of the post-Revolutionary War generation to expand primary education for girls, see Mary Beth Norton, *Liberty's Daughters: The Revolutionary Experience of American Women, 1750-1800* (Ithaca, NY, 1980), 256-94.

<sup>5</sup>Olwen Hufton, "Women in Revolution, 1789-1796," *Past and Present*, LIII (1971):90-108; Joan Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, NY, 1988). On this debate, see R. B. Rose, "Feminism, Women and the French Revolution," *Historical Reflections/Réflexions historiques*, XXI (1995): 187-205. Joan Landes, *Visualizing the Nation: Gender, Representation, and Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France* (Ithaca, NY, 2001), 4.

<sup>6</sup>For example, see Sylvia Neely, *Lafayette and the Liberal Ideal, 1814-1824: Politics and Conspiracy in the Age of Reaction* (Carbondale, IL, 1991) and Lloyd Kramer, *Lafayette in Two Worlds: Public Cultures and Personal Identities in an Age of Revolution* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1996).

<sup>7</sup>Louis Gottschalk, *Lafayette Comes to America* (Chicago, 1935), viii-ix. On Gottschalk's dependence on the quasi-Freudian theories of Harold Lasswell, see Stanley J. Idzerda, "When and Why Lafayette became a Revolutionary," *Proceedings of the Consortium on Revolutionary Europe, 1977*, (Athens, GA, 1977), 38.

The years in Paris that followed were much more typical of the era for Lafayette and his peers, and the friendships and male-bonding begun there would continue across the Atlantic as many of Lafayette's friends of that period followed Lafayette to America in Rochambeau's army. In that American correspondence during Lafayette's early twenties he tried to fit in with the gender attitudes of his Paris friends such as his cousin and brother-in-law the Vicomte de Noailles. He joked with Noailles about taking on mistresses (though Lafayette was chagrined to admit ---unlike his brother-in-law --- that he had none). He also joked with the French minister La Luzerne about the "pretty name" of the New Jersey town then known as Maidenhead.<sup>8</sup> Interestingly Lafayette desisted from including such banter in his correspondence as he grew older. Of course the remarks with Noailles about mistresses were significant. Noailles was rumored by many to have had affairs during the French army's residence in Newport, Rhode Island.

Lafayette's correspondence and public actions during the French Revolution reveal little about his views on women and especially their political struggles; however, it is important to note that one of the best surviving correspondences of those years are Lafayette's letters to his friend Mme de Simiane. Gottschalk claimed that the intimacy of expression must have indicated a sexual relationship, but there is no evidence to that effect. On the contrary, Mme de Simiane occasionally resided with the Lafayette family. To know anything about Adrienne de Lafayette's personal values as a member of the *dévotés* and her children's continued affection for Mme de Simiane (even after Lafayette's death) would have made this suggestion unlikely or impermissible. The correspondence is of course a detailed and complex accounting of Lafayette's political actions and motives that more closely approximates reporting to a colleague than bragging to a mistress. Théodore de Lameth concluded that the relationship was not physical, "Lafayette being more ardent in politics than with women."<sup>9</sup> Here we begin to notice something. The comments swirling around Lafayette may reveal more about the commentators than specifically about his relations with these intelligent women. In any event, as Mme de Simiane's politics grew increasingly more reactionary, Lafayette's correspondence with her decreased.

Another more prominent correspondent of and visitor with Lafayette was Germaine de Stael, a friend of the pre-revolutionary years. Once Lafayette returned to France after the Revolution, he acknowledged his reception of her gift copies of *Delphine*, *Corinne*, and her published *éloge* for her deceased father Necker as each publication appeared in print. On his

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<sup>8</sup>The town is now known as Lawrenceville. Lafayette to La Luzerne, 4 January 1781, to Vicomte de Noailles, 23 October 1780, in Stanley J. Idzerda and others, eds., *Lafayette in the Age of the American Revolution: Selected letters and papers, 1776-1790*, 5 vols. to date (Ithaca, NY, 1977-), III, 277-78, 205. George Washington attempted an off-color remark with Lafayette, but we do not have Lafayette's acknowledgment (Washington to Lafayette, 25 July 1785 in *Ibid.*, V, 339).

<sup>9</sup>Théodore de Lameth, "Mémoires," Bibliothèque Nationale, Mss., Nouvelles acquisitions françaises 1387, ff. 231-232. See Gottschalk's counter-opinion in his *Lafayette in the French Revolution through the October Days* (Chicago, 1969), 388-92. Lafayette wrote Mme de Stael on 5 October 1802: "Mme de Simiane will spend the month of Frimaire and part of Nivose with us" (letter of 13 Vendémiaire, in Haussonville, "Lettres inédites de La Fayette à Mme de Stael," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, sér. 7, VI (November 1921): 315. On her relations with Lafayette's children, see Mme de Simiane to Virginie de Lasteyrie, 21 [October 1834], Archives de Chateau de Lagrange[hereafter ALG], cote 429E.

receipt of the last, Lafayette reported to her about its reading before an assemblage at his country residence that included Mme de Simiane, Mme d'Hénin, and his wife. Lafayette explained, "it is in this gathering that you yourself might have chosen that I had the pleasure of reading your work." These private salons at Lafayette's country home during the Napoleonic era in which men and women equally shared the stage appear to have reflected the kinds of readings he had conducted at his American soirees in his Paris residence before the Revolution of 1789.<sup>10</sup>

With the occupation of Paris by the allied armies following the fall of Napoleon, Lafayette relaxed the style of his letters to Stael to include biting political witticisms such as "they say the two flags over the Tuileries [meaning England and Russia] agree little"; such as "how good you are to call your old friend of the other world and the other system"; such as "this game of marionettes, as you say so well..." The combination of thoughtful correspondence and visits lasted until Stael's death in 1817 and then was continued with her son Auguste.<sup>11</sup>

With the Restoration, Lafayette returned to an active political life on the French and European scene. He developed new friendships: the Irish writer Sydney Owenson and her husband Lord Morgan, the Scotswoman Fanny Wright (and her sisters Julia and Harriett and their friend Julia Garnett), and the Italian liberal Cristina di Belgiojoso. Much about their relations and correspondences has been summarized by Professors Neely and Kramer.<sup>12</sup> I would like to add a few other details, however.

Of course Lafayette was an admirer of the ideas of these women. He supported their republican perspective, their support of liberal issues such as abolitionism and expanded human rights, and their criticism of the prevailing mood of reaction. He enjoyed their books and ideas, but more than that. He was determined to promote their writings and actively sought to expand access to their ideas. To this end, he sought out French translators, fine-tuned their translations, occasionally mediated points of disagreement, and arranged for reviews and publicity about these books in prominent periodicals.

When in 1818 Lafayette received a copy of Lady Morgan's novel *Florence Macarthy*, he wrote to compliment her, "The courageous denunciation of the oppressors and opposers of your

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<sup>10</sup>Haussonville, "Lettres inédites de La Fayette à Mme de Stael," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, ser. 7, VI (November 1921):315-6, 318, 320-21. Lafayette to Auguste de Stael, 16 May 1818 (in the author's personal collection).

<sup>11</sup>Haussonville, "Lettres inédites," 332, 333.

<sup>12</sup>See especially Neely, *Lafayette and the Liberal Ideal*, 186-92, 200-204, 257-63 on Fanny Wright, and Kramer, *Lafayette in Two Worlds*, especially chapter five. For an interpretation of Lafayette as a father figure for Lady Morgan, see Jeanne Moskal, "Gender, nationality, and Textual Authority in Lady Morgan's Travel Books," especially 186-7, in Paula R. Feldman and Theresa M. Kelley, eds., *Romantic Women Writers: Voices and Countervoices* (Hanover, NH, 1995). Standard works on these women and their relationship with Lafayette include: Celia Morris Eckhardt, *Fanny Wright: Rebel in America* (Cambridge, MA, 1984) and Beth Archer Brombert, *Cristina: Portraits of a Princess* (New York, 1977). Any study of Lafayette and Cristina depends on the texts of Lafayette's letters in Aldobrandino Malvezzi, *La Principessa Cristina di Belgiojoso*, 3 vols. (Milan, 1936).

country [take highest merit]... It seems to me that the translator ... will require much dexterity, if I may so express myself, and that he should be much acquainted with the politics, manners, and popular phraseology of the united islands." It is not surprising to see that the following year the novel was published in Paris by Treuttel and Wurtz, one of Lafayette's favorite publishing house, in a translation by Jacques Parisot, one of France's most accomplished translators.<sup>13</sup>

We don't know if Lafayette was the key to securing Parisot's services, but one of Lafayette's favorite translators was Adèle Sobry, who he arranged in 1821 to translate Lady Morgan's *Italy* into French. He also intervened with Sobry to eliminate textual errors unknown to Morgan that might have subjected her to some public controversies. The next year, he engaged Sobry to translate Fanny Wright's *Views of Society and Manners in America*. The relations of Morgan and Sobry appear to have worked so well that she was engaged to translate Morgan's *Life and Century of Salvator Rosa* in 1824.<sup>14</sup>

Before Wright's book *Views of Society and Manners in America* could appear in French, Lafayette had already contacted Jullien de Paris to have it reviewed in his *Revue Encyclopédique*. After the review appeared, Lafayette pressed him for another follow-up article. Ever since the American Revolution, Lafayette had been acutely aware of the importance of favorable publicity. He had a modern politician's sensitivity for promoting his causes and those of his friends.<sup>15</sup>

Probably the greatest disappointment to Lafayette among his circle of writers was Frances Trollope. Lafayette had befriended her in 1823, invited her and her husband to stay at LaGrange, and added her to the circle that included James Fenimore Cooper, Benjamin Constant, Prosper Mérimée, and Sismondi. She noted in her journal at the time, "I know not where to find so intellectual, so amiable a set of beings as those I have been living amongst here."<sup>16</sup> When she

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<sup>13</sup>Lafayette to Lady Morgan, 23 November 1818, Lafayette Mss. I, Lilly Library, Indiana University[hereafter LI,Lilly].

<sup>14</sup>Lafayette to [Sobry], 21 June 1821 (*David Schulson Autographs Catalog* [New York, 2000], p. 12); Lafayette to Sobry, 19 May 1822 (*David Schulson Autographs Catalog* [online], 21 August 2001; Lafayette to Sobry, 5 March 1824 (Richard Davie, *Catalogue Ten: August 1996* (Nottingham, England, 1996), no pagination. Lafayette also wrote to Sobry to request her help as a translator for Lord Charles Morgan's *Sketches of the Philosophy of Morals* (an attempt to publicize the ideas of Bichat, Cabanis, and Destutt de Tracy). She appears to have rejected the offer, and no French edition appeared. Lafayette's postmarked letter was returned to him (Lafayette to Sobry, 2 December 1822, ALG, folder 388).

<sup>15</sup>Lafayette to Jullien de Paris, 6 March 1822, LI, Lilly. Kramer's speculation on Lafayette's efforts to further publicity was correct (Kramer, *Lafayette in Two Worlds*, 169), but he was unaware of the existence of the follow-up letter, Lafayette to Jullien, n.d. (eBay internet item 743443137, 12 December 2002). The original review-essay by Sismondi appeared in the January 1822 issue of the *Revue Encyclopédique* (pp. 556-72). Another review appeared after Lafayette's follow-up letters in the April issue (pp. 160-61).

<sup>16</sup>Frances Trollope, "Journal of a Visit to LaGrange," University of Illinois, Special Collections.

decided to travel to America, Lafayette provided her with letters of introduction for acquaintances at Cincinnati, Ohio. But when she returned, she carried an account of a coarser side of American life, which Lafayette had not expected. Her published report of a meal on a Mississippi steamboat seemed particularly graphic:

the voracious rapidity with which the viands were seized and devoured; the strange uncouth phrases and pronunciations; the loathsome spitting, from the contamination of which it was impossible to protect our dresses; the frightful manner of feeding with their knives, .... and the still more frightful manner of cleaning the teeth afterwards with a pocket-knife....<sup>17</sup>

Publication in 1832 of Trollope's book *Domestic Manners of Americans* led Lafayette to feel betrayed. He wrote to Fanny Wright: "Her abuse of the American character and American manners ... has not a little contributed to make her fashionable in the *juste milieu* of England."<sup>18</sup>

If Lafayette felt betrayed by Frances Trollope, other revolutions sweeping across Europe continued to provide thoughtful republican and liberal-minded women. The Italian Princess Cristina di Belgiojoso arrived in Paris in the spring of 1831 at a point when Lafayette was no longer connected with the government of Louis-Philippe, and he was conducting in his Rue d'Anjou apartment a Tuesday evening salon that included Odillon Barrot, Generals Fabvier and Lamarque, and Francois Corcelles. As the Vicomte Beaumont-Vassy later described it, the salon was regularly crowded with the famous, the large Lafayette family, and "women and young girls."<sup>19</sup>

Without funds in Paris, Belgiojoso quickly found that her republican principles earned her a job writing anonymous articles on Italian politics for the liberal journal *Le Constitutionnel*. As the articles started appearing, Lafayette congratulated her, "You judge with what interest I read the articles on Italian politics in *Le Constitutionnel* .... I find in them my dear and hardworking girl, who is going to place *Le Constitutionnel* again in the first ranks of my newspapers." Enclosed with this letter were subjects for her future articles, including important letters about the Polish insurrection, another of Lafayette's interests.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>For her account of the January 1828 trip on the steamboat *Belvidere*, see Frances Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, (New York, 1832), 37. On Lafayette's 1827 letter of introduction (lost), see Susan S. Kissel, *In Common Cause: The "Conservative" Frances Trollope and the "Radical" Frances Wright* (Bowling Green, OH, 1993), 17.

<sup>18</sup>Lafayette to Fanny Wright, 27 September 1832, LI, Lilly; Helen Heineman, *Mrs. Trollope: The Triumphant Feminine in the Nineteenth Century* (Athens, OH, 1979), 101.

<sup>19</sup>Edouard Ferdinand de Beaumont-Vassy, *Les Salons de Paris et la société parisienne sous Louis-Philippe Ier* (Paris, 1866), 7. Beaumont-Vassy makes clear that many of these young women were Lafayette's relatives, not adventuresses.

<sup>20</sup>Lafayette to Belgiojoso, 22 July 1831, in Malvezzi, *La Principessa di Belgiojoso*, I, 309. Since Malvezzi's book, the current location of most of her correspondence with Lafayette is unknown; it is no longer in the family archives (letter of 7 August 2001 from Lucetta Levi Momigliano, conservator of the Biblioteca di Castello di Masino).

Through 1832 and into 1833, Lafayette continued to send the princess important news on developments in or about Italy. For example, he forwarded her news of the publication of Mисley's memoirs, from whose editor he had confidentially received page proofs.<sup>21</sup>

Up to this point this article has mostly discussed Lafayette's personal and private efforts to assist women to publicize and popularize their ideas --- liberal, republican, and occasionally (as with Fanny Wright) verging on radical ideas --- that usually complemented Lafayette's beliefs. These were generally outside the public political sphere. That changed in 1830 when Lafayette met Maria Malibran. Malibran was an internationally famous soprano, one of the great voices of the era. By 1830 she found herself in a loveless marriage with Charles Malibran, a marriage that had been formalized in America before a French consul. In November she sought Lafayette's help to extricate her from that marriage. Perhaps Lafayette had been drawn into the matter because of its American aspects. He promptly referred her to William Cabell Rives, the American minister to France, then to the French lawyer De la Grange, who was knowledgeable on American law. The legal advice he gave was simple: have her husband commit some act of unfaithfulness, abandon her, or she could contest the absence of parental consent. When Lafayette met with the husband, he quickly realized that Monsieur Malibran would not cooperate.<sup>22</sup>

Lafayette next sought a political solution by beginning a legislative offensive in the Chamber of Deputies to modify the divorce laws of France. Probably realizing that his personal attachment to Malibran would jeopardize the public effort, he apparently enlisted his liberal colleague Augustin-Jean de Schonen, editor of the *Nouveau Journal de Paris*, to sponsor the proposal, which passed in December 1831. However, the proposal went down to defeat in the House of Peers in late March 1832.<sup>23</sup> Lafayette refused to give up the issue and wrote to Malibran, "It is superfluous to assure you that I am putting all my efforts into it."<sup>24</sup> After the two chambers resumed the following autumn, the proposal was reintroduced in December 1832 by Francois-Nicolas Bavoux, Schonen's co-editor. Lafayette was at first cautious of the new bill's prospects. "The annual proposal is going to be renewed in the Chamber of Deputies, but [the condition] of the Peers has not improved."<sup>25</sup> It again passed the Chamber of Deputies by a large majority. Lafayette turned optimist. "This majority is so imposing that it would be difficult for the Chamber of Peers to turn down the law."<sup>26</sup> Lafayette was correct but not as he had hoped. This time the House of Peers didn't bring the bill up for a vote and let it die without comment. A

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<sup>21</sup>Same to the same, 18 May 1833, in *Ibid.*, 2:29.

<sup>22</sup>On Malibran, see Remo Giazotto, *Maria Malibran: Una vita nei nomi di Rossini e Bellini* (Turin, 1986); the best biography in English is Howard Bushnell, *Maria Malibran: A Biography of the Singer* (University, PA, 1979).

<sup>23</sup>*Archives parlementaires*, LXXVI, 316; *Ibid.*, LXXVII, 55.

<sup>24</sup>Lafayette to Malibran, 13 September 1832, Bonaventure Lafayette Collection, XI, Regenstein Library, University of Chicago (hereafter BL-UChi).

<sup>25</sup>Lafayette to Malibran, 7 January 1833, Brussels, Bibliotheek, Koninklijk Conservatorium, Collection Malibran.

<sup>26</sup>Lafayette to Beriot, 23 March 1833, Library of Congress, Music Division (hereafter DLC-Music).

third time the bill was proposed in the Chamber of Deputies, from which it passed on 25 May 1833. It again languished among the Peers. By this time Malibran had moved her struggle to the courts seeking separation, which the courts approved in the summer of 1833.<sup>27</sup>

On 24 February 1834, the Chamber of Deputies again passed the divorce proposal almost unanimously. This fourth time Lafayette had become despondent on the matter. "We have done our annual proposition of law in the chamber. It will pass with us, but the Chamber of Peers is worth no more than last year...."<sup>28</sup> Again the Peers took no action, and the plan failed for a final time. Shortly after Malibran belatedly received and acknowledged Lafayette's letter, the general was dead.

In conclusion, what do we observe about Lafayette in these friendships? What of Lafayette's commitment to recognition of women as intellectual equals, and what of that connection to a liberal agenda? Certainly Lafayette had no feminist political agenda in the modern sense until his final years if we interpret his support for divorce law reform as a preliminary republican and liberal form of feminism. Nor can we conclude that Lafayette consciously promoted the careers of these women as a social agenda on gender; he doesn't say that directly. Throughout much of the nineteenth century, leading French politicians recalled that Lafayette loved to surround himself with women. With a literary wink and a nod, they claimed that Lafayette had his own personal agenda. Yet there remains no evidence of these charges; and the generous reception of these women by Lafayette's extended family and their concurrent romantic relations with other men of their own generation would tend to deny them.

Lafayette was caught up in his support of a liberal agenda that included a version of Jefferson's famous "aristocracy of talent" that continued to expand throughout Lafayette's life to include such social issues as abolition of slavery, the death penalty, and prison reform in addition to traditional liberal issues. Indeed, the most radical phase of his life may have been after 1830. On the other hand, many of those who had begun their liberal political journey with Lafayette --- especially the Americans --- became less interested in reform in their later years especially on gender issues.

Lafayette spent much of his youth around women of talent and ability. Many liberals of his era were unwilling or incapable of acknowledging women and encouraging their social and intellectual endeavors. This is not to say that Lafayette was interested in only young women of intelligence. He supported Sismondi, the Scheffer brothers, Carbonel, Fenimore Cooper, and many other bright young men across the Atlantic in their projects for liberal and republican causes. But he made no overt distinction for gender. To borrow Linda Kerber's classic expression on women and the Enlightenment and to turn that remark on its head, Lafayette was one of the few figures of the era who over time grew to see the Rights of Man as generic, not literal.<sup>29</sup> The broad sweep of his life indicates that as he grew older, he expanded his interpretation of those liberal principles to acknowledge and support women of talent.

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<sup>27</sup>Malibran to Lafayette, n.d., received by Lafayette on 10 August 1833, BL-UChi.

<sup>28</sup>Lafayette to Malibran, 10 February 1834, DLC-Music.

<sup>29</sup>For Linda Kerber's argument that most Enlightenment figures intended a narrow, gender-based definition of Man in their expressions of political liberty and civic freedom, see her "The Republican Mother: Women and the Enlightenment --- An American Perspective," 187-88.

