A Future French King Visits the Virginia Backcountry in 1797

The Travel Diary of Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans

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In the spring of 1797 Louis Philippe, then Duke of Orleans and later the last French king (reigning 1830 – 1848), undertook a four month long tour through the backcountry of Virginia, Tennessee, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, and New York. Subsequently he visited more populated areas of New England and the Middle Atlantic states before departing United States territory via the Mississippi River and New Orleans in February 1798. The prince, age 24, was accompanied by his two younger brothers and a middle-aged manservant known only as Beaudoin. Louis Philippe intended to record details of his experiences and reflections as he journeyed into the backcountry; he set out with two blank notebooks in his saddlebag. He made extensive entries during the months of April and May 1797, until his party reached Bardstown, Kentucky; afterward he recorded only expenditures and his dwindling financial resources. He filled one notebook while in Virginia, the other while visiting a group of Overhill Cherokee and traversing Tennessee and Kentucky. The present article takes the first volume for its primary topic and a second article will explore the other. The first notebook illuminates conditions in the backcountry in the Federal period and reveals both how an unusual visitor perceived the frontier and its people, and how those Americans reacted to three French royals in their midst.

A brief account of Louis Philippe's earlier life and his reasons for traveling in America increases understanding of his journal and of his uniqueness among European commentators upon the great experiment underway in the United States. Born October 6, 1773, he was the eldest son of the head of the younger branch of the French royal family. His father was Louis Philippe Joseph, Duke of Orleans, the direct male descendant of a younger son of Louis XIII; he was an intelligent and ambitious man whose hopes were often thwarted by his position several removes from the French throne. While limited in the political roles they might play, the Orleans men had excelled as capitalists and entrepreneurs, amassing an immense

private fortune. Thus Louis Philippe and his three siblings were raised in an atmosphere of luxury and refinement, confident of their unmatched social status and historic inheritance. Nevertheless they were not treated indulgently. Their private education was demanding and inculcated in them a strong sense of responsibility and the importance of working steadily to cultivate their abilities.

As heir apparent to an exalted rank, Louis Philippe particularly received the imprint of the viewpoints and prejudices of his father, who was very much a devotee of Enlightenment thought and of French Masonic ideas and practices. Religious influences and spiritual instruction were notably absent from the youth's upbringing. Scientific and technological subjects and attitudes were stressed; he excelled at geography and geology, including their economic aspects. The guiding lights of the Orleans dynasty were human reason rather than emotion, material reality rather than spiritual belief, and pragmatic progress rather than divine providence. Contemporary England was upheld as a model of human advances in government, science, and economic affairs; English was the first foreign language Louis Philippe studied.

The eruption of the French Revolution in 1789 and its subsequent radicalization drastically altered the lives of both father and son, as well as the course of French political life. The father seized the opportunity for political leadership, renamed himself Philippe Égalité (Philippe Equality), won election to the first revolutionary assemblies, and became a leader of liberal aristocrats seeking reforms. Louis Philippe, scarcely 16 years old, joined the youth section of the Jacobin club. When Austrian and Prussian armies threatened France along its Belgian border, he volunteered for the revolutionary forces and served on the front as an inexperienced but brave infantry captain (1792 – 1793). The Orleans men declared themselves in favor of a reformed monarchy featuring popular representation through an elected assembly, a written constitution, and legal guarantees of basic human and civil rights. Thus they created *orléanisme*, a political stance in the center between the relatively conservative traditional French monarchy and the more radical republican form of government advocated by some revolutionaries. Because Orleanism might appeal not only to the center but also to moderate old-liners and moderate republicans, it was perceived as a political threat to both sides of the political spectrum.[1]

As the French Revolution grew increasingly radical, both King Louis XVI and Louis Philippe's father were executed. Members of the royal family were imprisoned or fled abroad into exile. For several years (1793 – 1796) Louis Philippe wandered about western and northern Europe in countries

that had taken a neutral stance in the hostilities pitting revolutionary France against Austria, Prussia, Great Britain, and others. He traveled strictly *incognito* and often was accompanied only by Beaudoin, who refused to leave him. His two younger brothers were imprisoned in a small damp cell in Marseilles; his sister and mother were subjected to detention in a small house. The vast properties of the family were sequestered by the radical government.

Louis Philippe arrived in the United States in October 1796 primarily as a result of a bargain struck with a new moderate republican government, the *Directoire* (Directory). This government sought to reconcile conflicts among French citizens and win majority support as public opinion shifted toward the center. In hopes of neutralizing the attractiveness of Orleanism, the Directors offered to free the younger brothers if all three surviving Orleans men would go to the United States and promise to remain there and not interfere in French internal affairs. The Directory also pledged greater freedom to the Orleans women and some access to family funds for all five. Louis Philippe had grown tired of constantly moving, borrowing money, and concealing his identity. He had often considered someday visiting the United States and now he could save his family by doing so. He agreed to the terms and the American government pledged to accept these high ranking exiles. The three royal brothers were reunited in February 1797 in Philadelphia.[2]

While in America the Orleans brothers openly acknowledged their identity and simply turned their respective titles into last names. Thus Louis Philippe, Duc d'Orléans, became *Monsieur* d'Orleans, the middle brother (Antoine Philippe) became *Monsieur* de Montpensier, and the youngest (Louis Charles) became *Monsieur* de Beaujolais. They were welcomed by Philadelphia high society, which was relatively wealthy, educated, and sophisticated. Louis Philippe had a private interview with outgoing President George Washington and all three witnessed the inauguration of John Adams. They discovered congenial Frenchmen in America's capital as well; other refugees had settled there and created an active social and intellectual life centered at a French bookstore. Most of them were liberals who shared many aspects of Louis Philippe's political program. He must have felt encouraged after talking with them.

However, he decided to demonstrate respect and support for the current government of France. According to a recent biographer, he firmly believed the French had the right to choose their own government and that ultimately his nation would decide to turn to him as its constitutional king. Until that time, he would remain available but would not intervene in domestic French

affairs. He would busy himself and his brothers in learning about America and exploring its various regions. Just as a hotly contested legislative election approached in France, the brothers and Beaudoin departed on March 25 to travel deep into the interior of the country. By leaving behind Philadelphia's active French liberals, they made clear they would not attempt to influence the election.[3] Their itinerary was ambitious, taking them first along the best roads to already well-known places (Mount Vernon, Harper's Ferry, the Shenandoah (Sherando) Valley, Natural Bridge). They planned then to cross the eastern continental divide into areas just a few years removed from warfare with native tribes (Montgomery County, Abingdon, along the Holston River) and to mingle with American and foreign pioneers crowding the Great Road westward to new lands and Kentucky. The first major stage of their journey culminated as they crossed from Virginia into Tennessee near Cherokee ancestral homelands.

Since the French government failed to deliver the promised funds, these Frenchmen traveled simply. Each man had one horse, one blanket, one coat, one oilskin waterproof, and one saddlebag. They wore heavy tough buckskin riding pants and sturdy boots of American make. Their horses and riding gear were ordinary and serviceable. They personally carried guns, knives, maps, and compasses. Nothing in their attire or equipment marked them out as royalty, and experience proved that few people realized their true status. They slept and ate at crowded inns along the way or stayed with families to whom they had letters of introduction from mutual acquaintances. Language presented no barriers. Louis Philippe spoke fully fluent, almost unaccented English and German. Montpensier, Beaujolais, and Beaudoin easily carried on everyday conversation in English. They were better prepared than many visitors to communicate and to interact directly with a wide variety of people as they explored the backcountry in 1797.[4]

It is remarkable that Louis Philippe's journal of this early adventure survived to the present day. He relocated many times during the turbulent period following the outbreak of the French Revolution. Many of his brothers' letters, drawings, and souvenirs have disappeared without a trace. He highly valued his journal, maps, and memories of America, partly because they provided him with memories of his happiest times with his younger brothers, who died in 1807 and 1808 of tuberculosis contracted in prison. After leaving the United States, Louis Philippe remained pro-American for the remainder of his long life. As king, he cultivated friendly relations and he happily invited American visitors to the royal palace, where he displayed his treasures and chatted about his time in their homeland.

When his reign ended abruptly with revolution in 1848, he took pains to recover his travel journal from the wreckage of the palace; he was then 75 years old. His family kept it safely in their private archives until its publication in 1976, shortly after the 200th anniversary of his birth.[5]

An archivist of the royal papers has speculated further that the American notebooks "were testimony to the great adventure of his youth, when he explored a new, free land, and enlightened politics, fruitful contacts, and precious friendships."[6] She also argues the entries show a king in training, exploring subjects that might prove of value to a monarch. Instead of elevated style or romantic exuberance, pragmatic descriptions and observations abound. The journal was probably never intended for publication and as such it retains an energy, freshness, and directness that connects us with people of early America in a way that more polished works intended for the literary market do not. As the future king remarked, "What really interests me is the temper of the country, the state of its agriculture, dwellings, population, etc."[7] To appreciate fully this work, one must consider and test Louis Philippe's observations and conclusions, his factual accuracy and possible error, and the royal perceptions and misperceptions as one retraces his travels of spring 1797.

Once he left behind the polite conventions and wealthy society, the prince can be sometimes glimpsed in his travel diary struggling with new definitions of "normal" and "accepted." He knew that on the roads of the west he would encounter the already-fabled egalitarianism of the backcountry. However, he began his journey by riding south and east to visit former President George Washington at his home on the Potomac. Here, for the first time, a European royal confronted directly the racial realities created by the haste of European colonizers to exploit the economic resources of the New World. Egalitarianism was nowhere to be seen as he tried to make sense of the obvious inequality of slavery in a land where equality of rights and freedoms was celebrated.

The travelers arrived at Mount Vernon at six in the evening on April 5, 1797. Washington personally welcomed them and introduced them to another guest, his French namesake George Washington de LaFayette, teen-aged son of the Marquis who had fought on behalf of the American Revolution and championed the moderate stage of the French Revolution. Young LaFayette, too, was living abroad waiting for calmer times inside France. Louis Philippe began his diary entry with a description of the mansion (which he found a modest wooden building but beautifully situated) and of Washington's 10,000 acres of land and the approximately 400 slaves scattered among the various farms making up the plantation.

He then leapt immediately to consideration whether it would be possible to emancipate slaves gradually "without upheaval." He noted that Washington had prohibited whipping of his slaves and that Virginia state law equated killing of a slave by a master with ordinary murder. However, few masters seemed to follow Washington's example and few worried about the law defining murder; "here Negroes are not considered human beings."[8] Louis Philippe uniformly employed the term "*négre,*" equivalent to Negro, except for one use of "*mulâtre*" (mulatto) and one use of "*négrillons*" (small black boys and girls). The English translator used "Negroes" and "blacks" interchangeably and referred to the children as "pickaninnies." [9]

The diarist did not hide his surprise at both the number of enslaved people and their poor living conditions. He described "wretched wooden shacks" swarming with children "dressed in rags our beggars would scorn to wear."[10] Apparently it was here, too, that the young prince first encountered the numerous gradations of interracial mixing that Europeans seldom saw at home. Louis Philippe noted that the house servants were all mulattoes, described the varying skin tones and curliness of hair, and lamented the fate of one young boy of pale complexion who would nevertheless spend his life in slavery. He clearly found it difficult to escape Eurocentrism and his own personal background; his norms expected overwhelmingly white populations and filtered poverty through the eyes of wealth and privilege.

Yet when considering slavery in the United States, he may have consciously thought primarily of events in French colonial Saint-Domingue (present-day Haiti), where all combinations of racial blending had occurred and the condition of slaves on sugar plantations was more brutal than those working in general agriculture as at Mount Vernon. The extension of civil and political liberty in France itself had provoked various racial groups in the colony to demand the same rights for themselves. After five years of revolt, chaos, and bloodshed on the island, the radical revolutionaries abolished slavery in all French colonies in February 1794.

Nothing suggests that Louis Philippe personally discussed slavery with Washington as some visitors did. He apparently did not learn how many slaves Washington actually owned or that he planned to emancipate them in his will. Inventories of slaves drawn up as Washington prepared his will in 1799 showed 316 slaves at Mount Vernon (not 400) and of those 123 belonged to Washington. The others were "dower" slaves of his wife Martha and the Custis family, whose fate Washington could not control.[11] On the other hand, some of the personal information about slave life at Mount Vernon was supplied by slaves who spoke with Beaudoin. The man who served as valet, groom, and household supervisor for the princes was

personally free and a well-paid employee. Nevertheless he was obviously of a lower status and his role as servant allowed him to converse with servants and working men everywhere and to report back on these talks. Thus Louis Philippe did have a source of information flowing, as it were, from those on the bottom in America as well as those at the top.

According to Beaudoin, the house slaves had expressed hopes of gaining their freedom in perhaps ten years. They attended clubs held in Alexandria and Arlington, where "Quakers, Anabaptists, and Methodists" spread doctrines of freedom. Washington's slaves specifically disavowed violence, saying they did not want "to follow the example of the blacks in Saint-Domingue, they would do no harm to any man, etc."[12] Beaudoin also contributed the story of a cook/chef who had run away from the estate, leaving behind a young daughter who was happy her father was gone because that meant he was free.

Louis Philippe connected these accounts of freedom clubs with his (erroneous) belief that slaves composed three quarters of Virginia's population and would inevitably rise in bloody revolt. The source of his information about the population of Virginia is unknown and of varying accuracy. He recorded that the most recent census had shown about 770,000 people living in the state and that "it is estimated that some three fourths of them are blacks. This ratio is terrifying, and will sooner or later prove deadly to the southern states. Ideas of freedom have already made headway among them."[13] The duke was approximately correct on the census figures for the state's total population: in 1790 Virginia counted 747,550 people in the official census and in 1800 it contained 885,171. The 1790 count showed that 39.14 percent of the total were enslaved and the 1800 census showed 39.16 percent enslaved. Thus Louis Philippe undercounted whites and greatly exaggerated the number of slaves.[14] There is no doubt as to the inaccuracy of his observation and it led him to a dubious prediction.

Perhaps he accepted that inflated total of slaves for the whole state because the area he was visiting contained a large number of enslaved blacks. He asserted that slaves "must naturally hate" their white owners and that under the influence of doctrines of freedom and equality, a large black majority would someday wage racial war on a small white minority. The fear of a struggle similar to that in Saint-Domingue may have led Louis Philippe to his faulty census reporting. If so, he would not be the only European visitor to have such a conviction. Even that master of observation and analysis, Alexis de Tocqueville, prophesied thirty-five years later that a war between blacks and whites would wreak havoc in the southern states.[15]

The subject of slavery dominated his journal entries, and the French nobleman failed to record any extended personal portrait or impressions of George Washington. He noted Washington's "great courtesy" upon their arrival and then little else until the day of their departure. Louis Philippe then wrote "The general was kind enough to give us letters [of introduction] and some comments in his own hand on our proposed itinerary."[16] Decades later U.S. Minister to France Lewis Cass published Louis Philippe's memories of Washington.

> They coincide with the statements generally given by his contemporaries of his private life and personal habits. He was comparatively silent, somewhat reserved, methodical in the division of his time, and careful in his use of it. . . . His household was that of a wealthy Virginia gentleman of the old school—unostentatious, comfortable, and leaving his guests to fill up their hours as they thought fit, and at the same time providing whatever was necessary for pleasant employment.

The king, who suffered from vociferous attacks by the Paris press, also told the tale that one morning he inquired how the general had rested and received the reply, "I always sleep well, for I never wrote a word in my life which I had afterwards cause to regret."[17] Louis Philippe surmised that the former president's reply was prompted by an attack upon his recent policies by some "scurrilous" publication.

All of Washington's French visitors departed together the morning of April 10. Young LaFayette and his tutor shared a mid-day meal with the princes before departing for a different destination. Louis Philippe's party took a wrong turn and had to cut back on a poor-quality road in order to rejoin the main route to Leesburg, where they were to meet one of President Washington's relatives. They traveled late in miserable weather and spent the intervening night at "a detestable inn."[18] The next day they rode through a thickly-forested area with few settlers until reaching Leesburg where they found Colonel Ball, a cousin of Washington on his mother's side. They presented their letter of introduction, and Ball conducted them to his 1,500-acre estate along the Potomac River. Although Ball's house was "little more than a shack" in the royal estimation, his host delighted him by giving his party an entire room with two good beds. Louis Philippe's emphasis on the word "two" in his journal makes it clear that already the paucity of comfortable accommodations had become an irritating problem, one which grew as the travelers moved deeper into the backcountry. Despite the modest house, he noted that the estate was "a handsome holding that

anyone would envy if it were not in Negro country."[19]

However, as they entered the house, an incident occurred which indicated that perhaps they were no longer in "Negro country" and were much closer to the egalitarian frontier than the royal guest imagined. Louis Philippe recounted that

> As we entered the house he [Colonel Ball] did something that might have astonished me in another country: he held out his arm so I could help him out of his redingote [long double-breasted riding coat]. I thought of my own frequent pleas for help in putting mine on, and did not hesitate to take him by the sleeve. This won me no thanks, as he carried off the redingote without a word to me.[20]

This incident was not trivial in meaning. No house servant sprang forward to help the master and his guests out of their coats or to hang them up. Ball's expectation that a Bourbon prince would help him off with his riding coat was, in European terms, a shocking breach of etiquette. As Louis Philippe wrote, this egalitarian behavior might have amazed him "in another country," but not in the United States. Furthermore, his own pragmatic disposition suggested the logical nature of Ball's request; he who had wished for help with his coat should surely give help to others. It is tempting to see in this everyday experience a young prince from an older world being transformed by the new world; he was preparing to become the mature king in a bourgeois world who simply picked up his own umbrella and hooked it over his own arm when he went out walking in Paris on a rainy day.[21]

Riding westward the next day, the Orleans brothers traversed an area where, they saw, Quakers had settled in a group and slaves were few. They were rapidly leaving behind the long-settled plantation country and crossing the frontier to the backcountry, represented by thick forests and the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains.[22] In line with the incident at Colonel Ball's home, they were to discover that in general behavior was more deferential where slaves were numerous and more egalitarian in forested and mountainous regions where the work force consisted primarily of free people.

The Frenchmen's perception that the eastern part of Virginia with its fine mansions, aristocratic behaviors, and concentrated slave population constituted a distinct cultural, ethnic, and economic zone is confirmed by modern researchers. Cultural historians have identified and described various dominant "folkways" brought to the British colonies and firmly

implanted there by immigrants from different geographical areas of Britain.[23] The Tidewater area of Virginia was dominated by the aristocratic Cavalier lifestyle of the south and southwest of England; it was based on large agricultural landholdings and a subservient labor force. The transition to plantations worked by enslaved laborers was easily made. In contrast, Quakers often immigrated from the Midlands of England and settled together in clusters; their unique religious beliefs had frequently led them to be among the first free people opposing slavery.

By mid-April Louis Philippe had passed through portions of these two folkway regions and distinguished their differences in his journal. Upon entering the mountains and valleys of Virginia, he found a zone dominated by a third British folkway that remained the dominant cultural element for the remainder of his travel in the state. In the large geographic area composing the southern mountains and backcountry, the dominant English-speaking element was descended from immigrants from the borderlands of northern Britain. Whether they had lived in northern England, southern Scotland, or eastern Ireland, this "mixed people" had formed their culture under the intense pressure of endemic civil chaos and warfare inflicted upon them by would-be rulers, primarily the kings of Scotland and England. The group today called "Scots-Irish" by Americans may be the best-known borderlands element, but many thousands of strictly English, Scottish, and Irish people fled their homes and settled in the backcountry from southwestern Pennsylvania southward through Georgia by 1797. Scattered along the way among them were other ethnic groups in much smaller numbers (notably German, African, and Native American). The English speakers from the borderlands dominated the backcountry in part because their traditional way of life transferred so successfully to frontier conditions. They brought a tough military tradition and a personal sense of fierce pride, egalitarianism, and independence; these and associated traits came to compose the southern highland culture.[24] They settled in scattered homesteads that were linked to far-flung neighbors by strong kinship ties uniting nuclear families to extended families to large clans. All strangers were under suspicion and offering hospitality was not considered a virtue. Although most of the borderers were poor, a more affluent "backcountry ascendancy" provided strong leadership. The leaders (such as Andrew Jackson) invited poor men to participate politically by supporting members of the ascendancy and both elements cultivated the ideal of social equality and mutual esteem. The borderers preferred easily-replaceable houses and emphasized portable property in the form of livestock rather than field crops, preferences formed because they had been forced from their old homes or burned out repeatedly

in Britain. Men were warriors and women were workers. There was little concern to seek long-term material improvements, and men treasured the freedom to spend each moment as they would, regardless of the wishes of others, including paying customers. David Hackett Fischer notes that many outsiders traveling the area were puzzled or frustrated at some aspects of this culture; Louis Philippe was no exception, as shown below.[25]

Louis Philippe's reactions to the geographical features of Virginia's mountains and valleys themselves were filtered through his extensive experiences in Swiss and German Alpine areas, where he had spent many months in exile in 1793 – 1794. Thus the Blue Ridge Mountains seemed to him neither particularly lofty nor steep. Their unique hold upon the viewer was that "the range is drawn up like a regiment, and the eye follows its undeviating spine irresistibly." He quickly began to record in his diary a complaint about the mountains that revealed psychological discomfort. The countless trees and dense forests distressed him; they were barriers to vision and obstacles to travel. Even on the eastern slopes of the Blue Ridge he recorded with surprise that "the forest stretches uninterruptedly to the summits" and "the view from the far slopes of the Blue Ridge Mountains would be very beautiful if only the trees did not obscure it."[26] The next day he found the forested areas "monotonous" and any attendant agriculture "indifferent."

In welcome contrast to the repetitive view of mountains, the duke found the relatively treeless banks along the Shenandoah River "charming" when he crossed it at Keyes' Ferry. The visitors rode out of their way to see the picturesque junction of the Shenandoah and Potomac Rivers at Harper's Ferry. He found the river-hewn gap and frothy waters "quite wild" but not nearly so dramatic as similar gorges along the Rhine and in Switzerland. While the scenery did not enchant him, Louis Philippe did find points of great interest in this area. He accumulated geographic and economic information, such as where gaps in the ridges would allow for construction of canals to penetrate through the mountains and into the interior and where "good agriculture" had begun in deforested areas.[27] These early reactions to the landscape in the mountains and valleys and gaps set the tone for his later comments. He had barely entered the realm of the American wilderness and it was proving wilder than he found comfortable. Henceforth, areas which Louis Philippe described as beautiful or pleasant were either meadows or natural grasslands (as in south central Kentucky) or regions where people had cut down a critical mass of trees, imposing human structures and replicating primarily northwestern European patterns of agriculture.

Making their way toward the broad Shenandoah Valley, the Frenchmen spent an uncomfortable night in the billiard room of an otherwise full inn at Charles Town (then in Virginia but now in West Virginia due to the creation of the new state during the Civil War). The next day the riders covered the relatively short distance to Winchester, which was already a sizeable town.[28] Here they encountered in full flow the migration of Germans and German-speaking people moving southward from Pennsylvania. Winchester had proven the final stop for many of them, and the Roman Catholics among them already had their own church there.[29] Louis Philippe had become aware of the increasing influx of German speakers from his own passage across the Atlantic; his ship had carried several dozen "Germans and Alsatians" in steerage, fleeing war-torn Europe.[30]

In *The Golden Buck*, a well-known Winchester inn run by a much earlier German immigrant named Philip Bush, Louis Philippe chatted with the older man in German, giving him an update of developments he had recently seen in Germany. The inn was so pleasant that the princes lingered a day to get some necessary laundry done and planned to spend a second night. However, they made a mistake that violated the egalitarian sensitivities of their host and sent Bush into a rage. The error was to request to dine privately in their room rather than at the common table with the other visitors. Later Louis Philippe indicated the request was made because one of his brothers was feeling ill, but he did not say so at the time. The innkeeper exploded at the request and shouted that the Frenchmen considered themselves too good to dine with everyone else. Not even General Washington, Bush declared, had asked for such a thing and no one else would have the privilege either. Unknown to the traveling royals, George Washington had indeed stayed at the inn four decades previously while strengthening defenses of the town during the French and Indian War. Apologies for their misunderstanding did nothing to mollify Bush, and the princes then declared they would not stay a moment longer with someone so "impertinent." Before they could be thrown out they packed up, paid up, and trotted off. They found their dinner and passed the night several miles away.[31] Some two weeks later, Louis Philippe conceded he had erred. While describing their accommodation in Knoxville, he wrote that "the common board (where we are obliged by local custom to take our meals) is not bad."[32] In the backcountry, the offense was not actually to hold superior status or power; the offense was to appear to assume one's social superiority.[33]

The future king did not allow the unpleasantness with Bush at Winchester to deter him from enjoying his ride through the Shenandoah Valley or from seeking out other German-run inns. As they moved southward

in the broad valley and the mountains stood away at some distance, Louis Philippe grew more comfortable; he now had an expanded field of vision and saw types of agriculture to which he was accustomed. As for the German taverns and inns, he enjoyed their general ambience and perhaps above all their home-brewed beer. He found the beer a refreshing break from the strong spirits (whiskey, rum) and heavy ale and wines (sherry, port) which British-style public houses offered. He also happily employed his German language skills, talking with his host and hostess in their native tongue. He often considered their version of German impure or corrupted, almost a Swabian dialect compared to his own *hoch Deutsch* of the upper classes. Despite this preference, he found that ethnicity was no guarantee of cleanliness or quality. Inns in Strasburg and Staunton were excellent, while the one outside New Market was a "squalid boozing-ken."[34]

For several days the entries in the travel diary recorded stops (Keezletown, New Market, Staunton, and Lexington) and fairly repetitious descriptions of the countryside. The next major objective of the trip was a visit to Natural Bridge south of Lexington, so halts were brief. Louis Philippe did inscribe a jibe at American methods of naming geographic features: the uninspired name "South River" would surely be repeated many times across the nation, causing great confusion. And meanwhile he could find no single unifying name for the prominent ridge on the east side of the valley and running, as he estimated, some fifty miles. Apparently no one mentioned the terms "Massanutten" or "Peaked Ridge" (from the Joshua Fry-Peter Jefferson map of 1755). Instead, local residents gave him their name for the mountain's nearest face, such as "Three Head Mountain." He quickly noticed the point where the valley's mountain walls seemed to come closer. On the mountainsides, he observed a preponderance of *pins*, which could denote simply "pines" or a mixture of firs and other evergreens.[35] A persistent cool rain complicated travel; in the dark they missed river fords and took the wrong roads. They stayed at good and bad inns, meeting "decent" and "nice" people along the way. One horse became lame and they all walked for most of a day, preferring to remain together rather than have one of them (Beaudoin would be the obvious choice) fall far behind with the injured animal.

As they approached Natural Bridge, the duke found northern Rockbridge County "mountainous, indifferently farmed and uninteresting."[36] On April 18 they arrived at an inn chosen for its nearness to Natural Bridge. It was physically "a real hovel" operated by a Captain Bartley, who proved "a decent sort and a jokester." Based on this description, it seems likely that this may have been one of the inns operated by former soldiers as a condition

of receiving a pension or partial pay; often such innkeepers tried to avoid guests as a nuisance rather than entertaining them as Bartley did. On a cold morning with light snow, the captain conducted the Frenchmen to the stone bridge itself, a mere two miles away. At this site, Louis Philippe allowed himself to record perhaps his greatest appreciation of a natural wonder. "This is a very unusual bridge," he wrote. "It is a tall mass of rock which seems to have been hollowed out by the water's steady action, perhaps like the rifts of the Rhône. . . . This is truly an exceptional sight and though the region is scrubby, the bridge is surely picturesque."[37] This was high praise from a man whose reaction to unusual natural phenomena seldom entailed artistic sentiments. Even here most of his journal entry consists of his reasoned effort to understand the physical origins of the bridge, considering the factors of time, water, rock, and soil. He carefully recorded all the measurements of the bridge (how far above the water, width of the span and so on). He concluded this entry by noting briskly "Otherwise it seems to me that a good sketch and a precise description should do the trick and that it is not really worth a second trip." Montpensier made several sketches, now lost.[38]

The next day the brothers rode through the forest toward the James River, observing the high clay content in the soil and speculating on why some oak trees were in full leaf and others still barren. They took a ferry across the James River and approached a fork in the road. Here they apparently consulted their map carefully, as Louis Philippe gave a fairly detailed and accurate description of the two main routes before them. They desired to attain and follow the Great Road westward across southwestern Virginia and then swing south into Tennessee. They realized they needed to climb the eastern continental divide and cross the "Kanhaway" (New) River, via either Pepper's Ferry or "English's" (Ingles) Ferry. On the basis of advice from locals and their excellent map, first intended to guide postal carriers, the travelers decided to make their way to Fincastle and then follow the road to Ingles Ferry.[39]

The popularity of their choice was soon evident, as for the first time they encountered large groups of American settlers on the way to Kentucky. While all were eating mid-afternoon dinner at a tavern near Fincastle, one group of Kentucky-bound pioneers invited the Frenchmen to join their party. There was news of Indian unrest to the west and the four men would be welcome additions to the settlers' forces. The Frenchmen politely demurred since they were headed toward Tennessee. Later Louis Philippe gave other reasons for avoiding large groups of travelers, complaining they totally overwhelmed the tiny roadside inns and made very irritating companions.

"Every man has his own way of traveling and travelers are mutually annoying." A large group always contained "some who never shut up for a moment and others who . . . could not stop yawning, scratching, belching, etc."[40] They made sure the Kentucky-bound group had moved on before they emerged from their room the next morning.

Nevertheless, this spontaneous invitation by a group of pioneers to join them marching to Kentucky illustrates how ordinary Americans perceived the Frenchmen. Their clothing, equipment, and behavior allowed them to blend in with the heterogeneous flow of humanity moving along the main routes. The future Kentuckians did not think of them as possible foreign aristocrats, rather assessing them simply as more vigorous men going west to get a farm or otherwise make their fortunes there. It did not matter who they actually were or how they spoke; the frontier overlooked such differences.

Leaving the inn at Fincastle, the French travelers directed their horses southward and westward, forded the "Raunoake" (Roanoke) River a half dozen times and by nightfall were in present-day Shawsville. They spent a very pleasant night at the home of a son of Andrew Lewis in a landscape Louis Philippe enjoyed. He found the little river valley traversed in modern times by federal highways number 11 and 460 "a pleasant and comfortable place" with "lush meadows" and a pleasant stream. He visited the remains of an old fort he called "Voss's fort" (Fort Vause), which he thought Indians had captured "in the old days."[41] The following day began with the final climb up several hundred feet to reach the eastern continental divide near Christiansburg.

While nowhere near the Alps in height, the first substantial mountains west of the Shenandoah Valley constituted a major geographical barrier in the United States, which then stretched only to the Mississippi River. In his notebook Louis Philippe wrestled with a problem of perception—or misperception—that visitors in the same area may still experience. Of the mountains he had just climbed, the prince declared that "I do not know their height above sea level; not great, I suspect, because they rise above the valley floors no higher than the hills around Paris . . . and the Blue Ridge Mountains are real mountains by comparison." This perception was quite inaccurate, although perhaps understandable since he had no practical means of determining elevation above sea level. He did not seem to realize that the valley floors themselves were at a higher elevation than the area where he first saw the Blue Ridge and entered the Shenandoah Valley. For example, the elevation at Harper's Ferry is 535 feet above sea level, that at Fincastle is 1,115 feet, at Colonel Lewis' 1,397, and finally at Christiansburg between 1,968 and 2,133 feet. Various peaks visible in the Christiansburg

area approach or exceed 4,000 feet, whereas the tallest of the hills around Paris is Monmartre, at 427 feet. From the low-lying basin of the old city of Paris, only 115 feet above sea level, Monmartre's height deceived the eye, as the relative heights of Virginia's mountains sometimes did.

Louis Philippe had ascended almost 600 feet in altitude that very morning and he did complain about the long steep hill the road climbed to reach the continental divide. With irritation he ascribed the road's steepness to inferior road building. "Crossing the Alleghanys I saw evidence of the Americans' ignorance, or laziness, about mapping their roads. The one we followed crossed over the tallest of the rounded hills, leaving vales left and right where it would have been far easier to cut a road."[42] A road keeping to lower areas would, of course, still be required to ascend the same amount in altitude to reach Christiansburg. The choice lay primarily between a shorter steeper route which drained better and a longer meandering one more susceptible to mud. The Americans had chosen the former.

The travelers found Christiansburg, the new Montgomery County seat established only three years earlier, to be "a tiny village of about ten houses."[43] Riding westward from the village, Louis Philippe again observed that the forest completely carpeted the Alleghenies and that, compared to the Alps, no large bare rock faces were evident. These accurate factual observations evoked his interest in geology and an effort to explain these differences scientifically. He mulled over a widespread "notion" of why the smaller continent of Europe should have much higher, rockier mountains than the much larger expanse of eastern North America. He wrote that perhaps "the effect attributed to the trade winds is real" and that the ocean was deeper and had come further inland into eastern North America and was still slowly draining away. This gradual ebb of the water left intact the soil and plants in the American mountains, whereas a precipitous movement of water away from the Alps had torn plants and soil from the Alps, leaving bare exposed summits and large rocky faces.[44]

This explanation echoed a then-current theory of mountain formation, as presented by Austrian geologist Johann Gottlob Lehmann in his 1759 study of the natural history of the earth. Gottlob premised large original "primitive" mountains on earth, which were later overlain by the floodwaters recorded in the Hebrew and Christian scriptures. The larger steeper mountains were thought to have lost much soil and plant cover as the water receded rapidly, and over time smaller "secondary" mountains formed from that eroded material.[45] To an extent modern science has confirmed portions of this scenario, providing material evidence of the shallow sea that once covered much of Virginia and deposits of soil that Louis Philippe labeled "sandy."

As the four adventurers rode toward "the big Kanahaway" (New) River and the Ingles Ferry to cross it, the scarcity of settlers and the tiny size and primitive nature of their villages were obvious. Louis Philippe attributed the lack of settlement partly to poor soil and partly to the fears of Indian attacks that had persisted until a few years previously, when treaties were made with Cherokee bands in Tennessee, and General Anthony Wayne's victory on August 20, 1794, lessened the possibility of raiders from the north and west.[46] A halt at Fort Chiswell in Wythe County to shoe a horse enabled the visitors to validate the latter part of this theory. There they briefly examined the remains of "a big fort torn down since the peace." As historian Mary B. Kegley has ably argued, Louis Philippe's record of the once sizeable fort indicated that Fort Chiswell had been a substantial fortification.[47] The fort's deliberate demolition suggested to the Frenchmen that local whites no longer feared "*les indiens,*" as they commonly named Native Americans. Recent construction of "handsome" houses and inns in Wytheville (then Evesham), the county seat of newly-created Wythe County, reinforced this conclusion.

Back on the road, the royal brothers again encountered groups of settlers, these leaving North Carolina for the Cumberland area. They learned that "a prodigious number" had migrated through the area the previous year. The soil along the road was "yellow and sandy," and most of the pioneers passed by. Their route soon brought them to the "Holstein" (Holston) River as they headed toward Abingdon. There a substantial local landowner, whom they had met by chance, insisted they must visit and spend the night with him. Colonel Campbell led them to a 3,000-acre estate lying along the south bank of the Holston River in Washington County. Although Louis Philippe did not specify which of the numerous Campbell clan he visited, his description of the estate and Campbell's six sons make it possible to identify their host as Arthur Campbell (1743 – 1811), revolutionary soldier and colonel of the Washington County regiment for decades.

The Frenchmen were surprised at how few acres the colonel had cleared of trees and put under cultivation, particularly since he had "several Negroes" as well as six sons to help him. Campbell explained that he had several other properties and spent much of his time and labor on them. Despite his large property holdings, Campbell's house had somewhat limited space for guests, and the arrangements for sleeping amused the visitors. The family crowded the four visitors and two sons into one room with two beds normally used by the sons. Louis Philippe wryly recorded that "Montpensier was assigned to be my wife and Beaujolais was reserved for the elder son of the house." A younger son and Beaudoin slept on the floor. [48]

During relaxed conversation with their host, the Frenchmen realized another reason for Campbell's pressing invitation and hospitality to them. It became obvious that he was very interested in and reasonably well-informed about affairs in France (so far as a foreigner might be, noted Louis Philippe). Campbell made a hesitant inquiry as to the fate of the Duke of Chartres, Louis Philippe's title before the execution of his father. Campbell was "stunned" to receive confirmation of his suspicion that he was entertaining the head of the house of Orleans deep in the Virginia backcountry. Campbell then "redoubled his courtesy and deference, and he told me that my serenity was incredible, and that if he had lost all that I had lost, he would be heartbroken."[49]

Arthur Campbell was the only person west of the Blue Ridge to recognize the significance of the name of "*Monsieur* d'Orleans" and his true identity. His astonishment was great at finding a man of such a privileged position now in modest circumstances, cheerfully sharing the rigors of the American backwoods while waiting to be called to a throne in France.[50] Campbell's French sympathies indicated he was Democratic Republican in his politics, with an admiration for the earlier triumphs of the French Revolution. This incident made it clear that even in the backcountry, national political battles raged over foreign policy and political ideology. Like many in the American west, Campbell had chosen America's old ally France over the old enemy Britain and Thomas Jefferson over Alexander Hamilton. His choices were compatible with frontier egalitarian ideals.

Later, to his visitors' surprise, the colonel confided that his own family was originally named Camille and had left France for Britain as followers of William of Normandy. Over the centuries they had gradually changed the spelling of their name to its present form. He claimed kinship with an early revolutionary, Camille Desmoulins, and regretted his death on the guillotine. Louis Philippe concluded his host had a romanticized view of his obviously Scottish family origins and perhaps a lack of finesse about French affairs. Nevertheless he declared "the colonel is a stout fellow. . . he meant everything well and we can only be grateful to him" for his kindness.[51]

Louis Philippe in turn seemed at ease with the Campbells and used his visit to answer some of his own questions. One of their crops was unknown in Europe and fascinated the prince, who appeared interested in the possibility of large-scale production. Campbell had large groves of sugar maples, which Louis Philippe had admired in smaller numbers elsewhere but now made an object of serious investigation. He had observed that high-quality white cane sugar was seldom available in the backcountry, and

that either poor-quality dark cane sugar or maple sugar was served instead. He personally far preferred the taste and texture of the maple sugar and asked about its production. He wrote down estimates of a single tree's sugar output in good years versus bad, how the changes in weather affected the date of the sap rising and its volume and quality, and other points.[52]

Considering the scarcity of white sugar in the backcountry and the prevailing situation in foreign affairs, Louis Philippe's interest in maple sugar was probably not idle curiosity. Hostilities between major European powers were beginning to disrupt international trade. Britain and France were at war in 1797, with naval actions on the Atlantic and the Caribbean. The United States was on the verge of undertaking an undeclared naval war on France, as new President John Adams yielded to Alexander Hamilton's pro-British war-hawk wing of the Federalist Party. Somewhat later the British government cut off sugar supplies to France and much of continental Europe by exercising its naval might against neutral carriers as well as belligerents. The shortage stimulated experimentation in Europe with alternatives to Caribbean sugar, and by 1810 a Frenchman devised a commercially-feasible process to produce sugar from beets. Beet production was easily adaptable to European conditions and soon became a major source of sugar. Louis Philippe's hopes for the uniquely-flavored sugar from the beautiful North American trees came to naught. The Frenchmen also inquired closely about the wild grapes whose vines they had identified as intertwining among trees and shrubs. After locals assured them the taste of the grapes to come was quite bitter, their interest waned.[53]

Leaving Arthur Campbell's estate on April 24, the horsemen rode in "rotten weather" and searched in vain for a "tolerable inn" and finally settled for an "intolerable" one at that day's destination of Abingdon. The soil appeared better here, "rich and black," and they anticipated more effort to clear and farm this land. However they continued to traverse a huge forest dotted at long intervals with a small cleared field or stand of sugar maples. They passed the homes of, or hoped for a meal at, the houses of several families with familiar names in the area, such as Craig, Smith, Rogers, and others. At one mid-afternoon dinner they stopped at the home of a Major Fulkinson (sic), who had cleared 150 acres and was doing well. Louis Philippe took the opportunity to discuss further maple sugar prospects, for Fulkinson had another 450 acres with perhaps a thousand maples for sugar making.[54]

One night was spent "at the home of James Campbell, an Irishman who came into the region twenty-three years ago without a penny and now owns a fine house and extensive lands he himself cleared." Campbell's actions in

clearing and improving his land met with Louis Philippe's quick approval. Following widespread usage of the time, he called all immigrants from Ireland "Irlandais" (Irish) and thus the distinction between Scots-Irish and Irish can only be inferred from names. James Campbell's property lay close to the Virginia-North Carolina border in an area claimed by both states, so Campbell, as a good citizen, took the liberty of voting in both. His frontier stories entertained the visitors, who enjoyed his generous hospitality.[55]

Their hosts gave very careful directions as the travelers left on April 26, attempting to guide them to the road affording the greatest likelihood of finding food and a decent night's accommodation. As spring progressed, food for travelers was becoming scarce and declining in quality. The same was true of feed for their horses; little grass grew along the trails through the dense forests, and oat supplies were very low.[56] Some inns simply said they had no food to provide and pointed the Frenchmen onward. The previous year's potato harvest had been completely consumed in some areas, and no fresh fruits or vegetables were readily available. Eggs were in short supply, as the spring weather was just warming and hens beginning to lay.

Fatback bacon (or "fatty ham") and cornmeal were often the only staples remaining, or the only food locals felt they could spare to strangers. Better inns and some well-supplied homes had a little flour, milk, butter, coffee, and maple or coarse cane sugar. Coffee and pan-fried corncakes or wheaten pancakes sweetened with maple sugar were frequent fare; Louis Philippe found them rather tasty. Once freshly-killed venison was available. Other than coffee and water, whiskey was the main table beverage; cows' milk was reserved for calves. It seems clear that the number of permanent residents and the total food supply were small in relation to the throngs of pioneers who passed through southwest Virginia. Travelers hastened depletion of many foodstuffs humans or beasts might have enjoyed in the springtime, and transportation was too primitive and residents too poor to replace them.[57]

During this week of long rides and scant food, the services afforded to travelers became equally poor and tempers sometimes flared. The quality of the inns, as of food, declined. Whereas the royals had found earlier inns "intolerable," the ones in the Virginia-North Carolina-Tennessee border area were even worse. They typically consisted of one large room on the ground level for eating and drinking and one large common room in the attic or loft for overnight visitors to sleep two to a pallet or in blankets on the floor. To Louis Philippe's amazement, no chamber pots were provided for guests. When the Frenchmen inquired, they were advised they would

find several broken window panes in the attic room and should make use of these openings as needed. The promise of broken and leaky windows certainly held true; "it is a rare thing here to sleep in a hermetically sealed room" the eldest brother sighed. Finding themselves in a loft one night, the travelers rebelled when they discovered the only window, while properly broken, was in a gabled end wall ten feet above the floor! They absolutely demanded something to serve as a chamber pot and to their astonishment received a cook pot from the kitchen.[58] Clearly such inns did not expect female visitors to stop overnight.

After dismal service at one wretched inn, Louis Philippe showed his exasperation. "If it were only a hovel that would be bearable, but the surliness, the peevish and grudging reception of travelers, I found most intolerable."[59] Most types of service hit a similar low. "The indolence and churlishness of the workingmen around here are unparalleled," complained Louis Philippe. Blacksmiths declined to interrupt other activities to re-shoe their horses; cobblers declined the opportunity to earn money by mending their boots or saddles. One shoemaker dismissed their inquiries about a sewing repair on some tack by declaring "sometimes I work, but I am not in the mood right now." A bit later the frustrated travelers took revenge upon a ferryman who agreed to take them and their horses across the North Holston River and then showed little inclination actually to do so. The four men and their horses filled the modest-sized vessel, but the boatman refused to take them across the river. He loitered on the bank for 45 minutes with no explanation. At that point, the four Frenchmen took matters in their own hands. They untied the mooring ropes and began to push off. The boatman hastily jumped on board and conveyed them across the river. Once there he demanded in vain that they pay him 50 percent more than they had agreed upon. But he had lost his monopoly power over them. They mounted their horses, handed him the precise fare, and trotted off leaving him fuming.[60]

While some of these frustrating experiences doubtless arose from personal irascibility, together they typify behaviors of southern backcountry males that drew angry comments from many travelers. The assertion of individual independence, the apparent laziness, refusal to work to produce immediate material gain, and distrust and lack of hospitality toward strangers were all consistent with the traditional borderlands folkways. Satisfaction with inadequate buildings, failure to repair obvious problems such as broken windows, and reluctance to undertake profitable improvements equally mystified outsiders. All, however, were integral elements of the dominant culture brought to the area in the decades before 1797.

Despite all the tribulations of the trail, Louis Philippe could not help himself from noticing and enjoying the onset of spring in the mountains. He forgot momentarily his distaste for endless forests and wrote "the trees are *charmants* (entrancing) and in some stretches entirely green. The wild grape vine one of the last to leaf." Pleasure and the joy of discovery overcame him: "The forest is quite beautiful. The oaks tower to an extraordinary height; some are enormous around the trunk." For the first time he spied wild turkeys, grouse, and many doves. He was intrigued by woodpeckers and sapsuckers, which he called "forest magpies, or rather hoopoes" (a Eurasian bird). He watched the dipping flight of the cardinals, "some winey-red" and "others completely scarlet," and enjoyed the cascade of spring bird calls echoing in the trees.[61]

Despite the joys of spring, however, his settled prejudice for a human-dominated landscape remained firm.

> A landscape cannot be beautiful where there are only trees. Only a blend of meadows, tilled fields, and human dwellings composes a truly pleasant countryside that charms the eye. But here nature seems dead; the dwellings are so few and far between that the forest seems endless and when we do reach the end it proves only a few cleared acres, where we hardly have time to glimpse the sun and be reassured that we are still in a land something like our own![62]

As they followed the Great Road toward the Cumberland of western Virginia and Kentucky in late April they reached the fork turning southward to Tennessee. Here they separated themselves from the majority of travelers; the spring warmth suddenly turned to heat, the numbers of insect bites multiplied, and the din of mating frogs was "tremendous." They reached Knoxville on April 28 and found a very reasonable inn. In this sizeable and prosperous town they found more abundant and varied food, as the residents of this booming area could command local surpluses and pay well. The Orleans brothers had learned well the lesson of sitting at the common tables with others and found the food quite acceptable, even tasty. The brothers sensed they were on the cusp of a new stage of their adventure. The Cherokee village lay a short distance away, the vistas of town life had banished the oppressiveness of the wilderness, and Louis Philippe had filled his first notebook. With a pleasant sense of anticipation, the royal party adjourned to the "broad and beautiful" Holston River for a long, cooling soak.

The Frenchmen had visited in Virginia from April 5, 1797, when they crossed the Potomac to Mount Vernon, through April 27. The bulk of these three weeks had been spent traversing the most heavily-traveled routes through the backcountry (April 11 – 27). By April 10 they had encountered two distinctive cultural folkways transplanted from Britain: the Cavalier society of eastern plantation and slave owners, and very briefly, a small Quaker community. Once they crossed the Blue Ridge Mountains they entered the backcountry, whose population was predominantly English-speaking peoples from the British borderlands but also contained some Germans, African Americans, Native Americans and scatterings of others.

Throughout the entire journey Louis Philippe remained faithful to his declared interests in "the temper of the country, the state of its agriculture, dwellings, population, etc." (see note 7). He found the "temper" of Cavalier country to be ominous, for it was also "Negro country" and as such destined to failure. Slavery offended his own forward-looking political and ethical values and he assumed it must end. Yet he saw no peaceful way to its termination. Erroneously assuming a large majority of blacks in the population, he predicted a racial war waged by blacks upon whites to gain freedom and terminating with general devastation in the area.

In contrast, the Frenchmen found that the backcountry offered a far more optimistic outlook in "the temper of the country" and in the relations among its more diverse populations. Large waves of foreign immigrants and American-born migrants were on the roadways and trails in search of a better life for themselves and settling side by side in conditions of general equality of civil and political rights. German-speakers were fleeing to the Shenandoah Valley to escape the wars ravaging Europe, joining others who had left Pennsylvania for greater opportunities to the south and west. People from several European countries and areas of the eastern United States were streaming toward fabled rich lands in the Cumberland areas of western Virginia and Kentucky. The prince described not only the people but also the foods they consumed, their methods of travel, and the frightening scarcity of food in far southwest Virginia in late April. In conversations with pioneers, he found them to be optimistic about a better future, although slightly worried about rumored outbreaks of Native American hostilities. He inspected remains of American forts no longer in use and deduced that Native Americans were no longer a serious deterrent to white settlement.

All along the way the prince observed the state of agriculture, habitations, quality of soil, types of trees and other factors. Market agriculture and substantial dwellings (for some) appeared to flourish in the

Cavalier region, but they were obviously dependent upon enslaved workers and likely doomed. The valleys of the backcountry offered stretches of cultivated fields and grassy pastures such as Louis Philippe knew in Europe and he understood their potential. He reiterated that frontiersmen should clear more land of trees and replicate European agriculture as quickly as possible. He was markedly uncomfortable in extended dense forests where dwellings and cleared fields were widely separated. He approved efforts to capitalize upon useful forest products, maple sugar above all. He regularly recorded geographic and geological data, particularly his evaluation of soil quality, types of vegetation, and transportation routes.

The further west they rode, the more the royal party became aware of a widespread European culture they did not understand. Where the British borderlands peoples flourished in the more mountainous areas, satisfaction with inherited folkways and distrust of outsiders revealed a different face of frontier egalitarianism. Whereas Louis Philippe felt at ease with Colonel Arthur Campbell, a member of the backcountry ascendency, he found the assertion of social equality among all men difficult to accept. Like many Americans, he assumed a social order in which the lowly deferred to the well-born, the poor to the affluent, and servants and workers to those who paid their wages. His occasional social blunders and his expressed frustrations about surly innkeepers and lazy tradesmen all involve this issue and the responses of prickly frontiersmen. Similarly he did not understand why people who could raise their material standard of living by moderate exertions chose not to take advantage of these opportunities. His travel diary reveals that borderer descendants about 1800 continued to live in and for the present, to exercise freedom every moment to do as they would, to "serve" only in the military sense, and to consider the future more a threat to life than a chance to improve it. Overall, Louis Philippe left a record of the Virginia frontier filled with useful descriptions and the viewpoints of a well-educated, practical, and basically optimistic man. He railed at some backcountry ways primarily because he valued the political liberty and potential for a fuller life he saw there.

Endnotes

1. This article employs the political terminology used in France at the time. The first French National Assembly met in an indoor riding arena which had been converted into a huge semicircular auditorium. It had numerous aisles to facilitate ease of seating along rows of benches. There was no "center aisle." By chance, conservatives sat together to the speaker's right, liberals to his left, and the undecided gathered in the center.
2. The most balanced treatments of Louis Philippe in English are Paul Beik, *Louis Philippe and the July Monarchy* (Princeton, N.J: Van Nostrand,1965), and Thomas Edward Brodie Howarth,

Citizen-King: The Life of Louis-Philippe (London: Eyrie and Spottiswood, 1961). Two more recent biographies are Guy Antonetti, *Louis-Philippe* (Paris: Fayard, 1994), and Munro Price, *Louis-Philippe, le prince et le roi: La France entre deux révolutions* (Paris: Editions de Falbis, 2009).

3. Antonetti, *Louis-Philippe*, 288–289; 294–295.
4. Lewis Cass, President Andrew Jackson's Minister to France, testified to Louis Philippe's facility in learning languages. Lewis Cass, *France: Its King, Court, and Government by an American* (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1840), 73, 133.
5. Louis Philippe, *Diary of My Travels in America by Louis-Philippe King of France (sic) 1830 - 1848*, tr. Stephen Becker and preface by Henry Steele Commager (New York: Delacorte Press, 1978). Originally published in French as *Journal de mon voyage d'Amérique* (Paris: Flammarion, 1976). Citations used in this article will reference the English edition unless the French edition adds additional insight. Louis Philippe's royal title was *roi des français* and should be translated as King of the French (or French People); this new title deliberately stressed the importance of the citizens in contrast to the more geographic pre-revolutionary expression King of France.
6. Suzanne d'Huart, "Afterward," in Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 173, 160.
7. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 36, April 10.
8. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 32, April 5.
9. Louis Philippe, *Journal de mon voyage d'Amérique*, 53–55, April 5.
10. Louis Philippe, Diary, 31–32, April 5.
11. Henry Wiencek, *An Imperfect God: George Washington, His Slaves, and the Creation of America* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2003), 349–351; 353–356.
12. Louis Philippe, Diary, 32, April 5.
13. Louis Philippe, Diary, 32, April 5.
14. Non-white free people numbered only 12,866 and 20,493 in 1790 and 1800 respectively. Figures in early U.S. census reports may be found at Historical Census Browser. Retrieved August 16, 2011, from the University of Virginia, Geospatial and Statistical Data Center: http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/collections/stats/histcensus/index.html.
15. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Démocratie en Amérique* (Paris: Gosselin, 1835 and subsequent editions) I, 2, chap. 10, "Some Considerations on the Present State and the Probable Future of the Three Races That Inhabit the Territory of the United States," and particularly "The position that the black race occupies in the United States and dangers incurred by whites from its presence."
16. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 35, April 9.
17. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 35, April 9; Cass, *France*, 111–112.
18. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 35, April 10.
19. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 36, April 10.
20. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 36, April 10.
21. A habit made known to millions by Victor Hugo, *Les Misérables* (Paris: 1862 and subsequent editions), IV, 3 in which he describes the "bourgeois king" with approval. Traditional monarchists ridiculed this behavior.
22. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 36, April 11.
23. A study useful to historians of Virginia is David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Fischer discusses all three cultural folkways noted here.
24. Fischer, *Albion's Seed*, 605–782; an exhaustive account of the British borderlands and the southern Appalachian folkway, also referred to as the backcountry folkway or culture.
25. Fischer, *Albion's Seed*, 628, 660, 676, 740, 742.
26. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 39, April 11; 40, April 12.
27. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 39– 40, April 11.
28. The map in the American edition of the *Diary*, p. 10, places Charles Town, W.Va., on the lower Kanawha River near the Ohio River and labels it Charleston, completely confusing the town in

the Shenandoah Valley with the present capital of W.Va. Because of this error, much of the Frenchmen's route is shown incorrectly as well. The French map is correct.

29. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 40–41, April 11–12.
30. Cass, *France*, 107–109.
31. Louis Philippe's contemporary account is given in his *Diary*, 40–41, April 12 and 13. The expanded version is found in Cass, *France*, 114–15.
32. Louis Philippe, *Diary,* 63, April 29.
33. Fischer notes that elected officials and clan leaders took pains to act as though their humblest petitioner was their equal. Fischer, *Albion's Seed*, 754–755.
34. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 41–44, April 13–14.
35. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 43–44, April 14–16; *Journal de mon voyage d'Amérique*: 62, April 14 for *les pins*.
36. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 44–45, April 16–18.
37. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 46, April 18.
38. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 46, April 18.
39. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 47, April 19.
40. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 47–48, April 19.
41. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 48, April 20.
42. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 50, April 21. Elevations for various sites from U. S. National Oceanographic and Aeronautical Agency, accessed November 2, 2011, *www.forecast.weather.gov* for individual locations.
43. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 51, April 21. Old Montgomery County had just been divided into two counties (Montgomery and Wythe), each with a new county seat.
44. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 49–50, April 21.
45. I am indebted to Professor William Henika of Virginia Tech for sharing his knowledge about earlier theories of mountain formation and types and supplying me an introduction to Lehmann's work. A summary of Lehmann's theory may be found in Frank Dawson Adams, *The Birth and Development of the Geological Sciences* (New York: Dover, 1938 and subsequent editions).
46. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 51, April 21.
47. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 52, April 22; Mary B. Kegley, "The Big Fort," *Journal of the Roanoke Valley Historical Society* 10 (June 1978): 6–9. This issue also contains six pages of selected excerpts from Louis Philippe's journal with no commentary, titled "Seeing Virginia in 1797," 1–5.
48. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 52, 55, April 23.
49. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 56, April 23.
50. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 56, April 23.
51. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 56, April 23, 24.
52. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 55–56, April 23.
53. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 55, April 23.
54. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 56–57, April 24, 25.
55. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 58, April 25; French edition, *Journal de mon voyage d'Amérique,* 75.
56. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 61, April 27 and 63, April 29.
57. Fischer, *Albion's Seed*, 728–730 lists as typical borderer foodstuffs several items mentioned by Louis Philippe, including heavy reliance upon potatoes, pork products as a replacement for British mutton, corn (maize) in many forms, griddle cakes and pancakes, and homemade whiskey as a common table beverage.
58. Louis Philippe, *Diary,* 60–61, April 26.
59. Louis Philippe, *Diary,* 63, April 28.
60. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 59, April 26.
61. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 59, April 26.
62. Louis Philippe, *Diary*, 60, April 26.