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Posthumous America

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NOTES

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Introduction

1. On the ambiguity of the term “America,” see Isaac, “‘America’ Between Past and Future,” in *America Through European Eyes*, 263–64. In the present study, the term “America” refers exclusively to the thirteen British colonies before the War of Independence and the expanding territory under the jurisdiction of the United States of America following their independence in 1783.

2. Regarding the works written by French travelers in the United States during this period, see especially those by Echeverria and Everett, *The French Image of America*.

3. François Barbé-Marbois, “Mémoire sur le commerce entre la France et les États-Unis,” quoted by Chevignard in “D’une révolution à l’autre: les consuls de France aux États-Unis, 1783–1789,” 67.

4. Vermont in 1791, Kentucky in 1792, Tennessee in 1796, and Ohio in 1803.

5. These successive stages in the expansion of the American nation include the purchase of Louisiana from France (1803), the annexation of Florida (1819), the entry of Texas into the Union (1845), the relinquishing of the Oregon Country by England (1846), and the acquisition of New Mexico, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, and California following the war with Mexico from 1846 to 1848.

6. The most densely populated of the thirteen colonies at that moment were Virginia, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and the Carolinas.

7. The censuses completed in each decade in the United States indicate the following numbers of inhabitants: 12,900,000 (1830), 17,100,000 (1840), 23,200,000 (1850), and 31,400,000 (1860).

8. “An inhabitant of Philadelphia who had only seen three coaches, then two or three ships from London each year and some small boats going to the Colonies, had seen, in the course of his life, three hundred coaches and from twelve to fifteen ships leave for all the ports in the world no matter how far-flung” (Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Voyage aux États-Unis de l’Amérique*, 299).

9. On this question, see Furstenberg, *When the United States Spoke French*.

10. La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *Voyages dans les États-Unis d’Amérique, fait en 1795, 1796 et 1797*, 1:81.

11. This inherent challenge to the representation of the United States has continued well after the eighteenth century, owing to its ongoing pursuit of economic and demographic development. Georges Duhamel emphasizes, for example, the city of Chicago, whose rapid growth outstrips any discourse that attempts to characterize it at a given moment: “Chicago stretches along the edge of Lake Michigan for forty-five kilometers. Stretches or rather stretched: before I can finish my sentence, Chicago is a mile longer. Chicago! Tumor City! Cancer City! Where any statistic comes after the battle, where any addition is to be redone before it is finished.” Duhamel, *Scènes de la vie future*, 89.

12. Rémond, *Les États-Unis devant l’opinion française*, 3.

13. Rémond, *Les États-Unis devant l’opinion française*, 22.

14. Rémond, *Les États-Unis devant l’opinion française*, 22.

15. On Benjamin Franklin’s *Avis*, see Harsanyi, *Lessons from America*, 42–43.

16. Rémond, *Les États-Unis devant l’opinion française*, 24.

17. On this question, see chapter 2, pp. 77–123.

18. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (third edition, December 2006) provides these three definitions of the word “posthumous”: “Of an action, reputation, etc.: occurring, arising, or continuing after death,” “Of a child: born after the death of its father,” “Of a book or writing: published after the death of the author.”

19. The impression of having witnessed a major historical rift is expressed primarily by the contemporaries of the Revolutionary War and of the French Revolution through the evocation of multiple catastrophes in the works examined in this study.

20. Chateaubriand, *Mémoires*, 1:429.

21. Riffaterre, *La Production du texte*, 151; emphasis original.

22. Mathy, *Extrême-Occident*, 15.

23. Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d'un cultivateur américain*, 1784, 1:32.

24. Tocqueville, *De la démocratie en Amérique*, 1:14.

25. Musset, *Poésies complètes*, 274.

26. Chateaubriand, *Mémoires*, 1:474. On this scene, see chapter 3, p. 170.

27. Jullien, *Récits du Nouveau Monde*, 22.

28. On this question, see my article, “Posthumous Louisiana,” 164–81.

29. Tocqueville, *De la démocratie en Amérique*, 2:291.

30. Tocqueville, *De la démocratie en Amérique*, 2:291.

31. Chateaubriand, *Mémoires*, 1:474. On this passage, see chapter 3, p. 170.

32. See the letter of October 2, 1801, from Chateaubriand to Louis de Fontanes in *Correspondance générale*, 150. On October 8, 1801, Chateaubriand published in the *Mercur de France* a “Discussion historique sur les ruines trouvées sur les bords de l’Ohio dans l’Amérique septentrionale et dont il est parlé dans le *Voyage en Pennsylvanie* de M. de Crèvecoeur” [“Historical discussion on the ruins found on the banks of the Ohio in North America of which it is spoken in the *Voyage en Pennsylvanie* by M. de Crèvecoeur”]. This text was republished in 1802 in the *Génie du christianisme*, 546–47; 1130–32.

33. The hero of Alain Mabanckou declares: “The religion of the dream is anchored in the consciousness of the youth of the country. . . . I also felt the duty to keep the dream alive” (*Bleu-Blanc-Rouge*, 139).

34. Chateaubriand, *Atala*, 1:16.

35. On this question, see pp. 127–29.

36. On this question, see pp. 124–27.

37. The study of Thomas Philbrick, *St. John de Crèvecoeur*, is an exception. It demonstrates the originality of the *Voyage dans la Haute Pensylvanie* compared to *Lettres d'un cultivateur américain*, whereas the first text is often compared negatively to the second. Howard C. Rice refers to it, most notably, as a “mediocre book” (*Le Cultivateur américain*, 104).

38. Passages of Crèvecoeur’s narrative that weren’t included in Plet’s edition are quoted from the original edition: *Voyage dans la Haute Pensylvanie et dans l’État de New York, par un membre adoptif de la Nation Onéida, traduit et publié par l’auteur des Lettres d’un cultivateur américain*, 3 vols. (Paris: Édition Marandan, Year IX [1801]).

39. Plet, “Postface,” in *Voyage dans la Haute Pensylvanie*, 349.

40. It is, for example, regrettable that chapter 3 of the third volume is absent from Plet’s edition. Significantly placed at the end of the first half of the book, this “eighteenth-century version of the journey into ‘the heart of darkness’” (Philbrick, *St. John de Crèvecoeur*, 155) describes the manner in which the characters bond again with a past that American civilization has forsaken.

41. See our article, “Crèvecoeur: The Art of Equivocation,” 147–49.

42. Published by Prault in 1792 and reprinted in 1800, the *Letters Written from the Banks of the Ohio* were reedited by Benjamin Hoffmann and translated into English for the first time by Alan J. Singerman in 2017. All the quotations from the text refer to this recent edition (published by Penn State University Press).

Chapter 1

1. Fitzgerald, *The Crack-Up*, 69.
2. Crèveœur, *Lettres d'un cultivateur américain*, 1787, 1:475.
3. Crèveœur, *More Letters from the American Farmer*, 154.
4. Chevignard, "Confusion, Fusion, Diffusion," 143.
5. Crèveœur, *Lettres d'un cultivateur américain* (1784, vol. 2; 1787, vol. 3) is the French version of the *Letters from an American Farmer* (1782, vol. 1). On the differences between these two versions, see pp. 25–35.
6. This term is used by Chevignard in *Au miroir de la mémoire* [*In the Mirror of Memory*], 16.
7. Philbrick, *St. John de Crèveœur*, 16.
8. On the causes of Chateaubriand's trip to America, see chapter 3, pp. 129–31.
9. Lezay-Marnésia celebrated his fifty-fifth birthday a month after his arrival in the United States, on July 29, 1790.
10. Robert de Crèveœur, *Saint-John de Crèveœur*, 8–9.
11. Robert de Crèveœur, *Saint-John de Crèveœur*, 14.
12. On these hypotheses, see Chevignard, *Au miroir de la mémoire*, 13.
13. On this question, see the letter from Crèveœur to Franklin quoted by Gilbert Chinard in *Les Amitiés américaines de Madame d'Houdetot*, 13.
14. Lezay-Marnésia's stay in the United States lasted from July 1790 to May 1792; Chateaubriand's from July to December 1791.
15. See Mitchell, *St. Jean de Crèveœur*, 307–9.
16. "Au rédacteur du *Mercur de France*, 4 janvier 1783," *Lettres d'un cultivateur américain*, 1784, 1:ix.
17. Lopez, *Mon Cher Papa*, 162. Élisabeth-Françoise-Sophie de La Live de Bellegarde, comtesse d'Houdetot (1730–1813), inspired a violent passion in Jean-Jacques Rousseau, as well as the character of Julie in *La Nouvelle Héloïse*. In 1757, she began a love affair with Jean-François de Saint-Lambert that lasted for half a century. In addition, she enthusiastically supported the cause of the American rebels and became very close to Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson. The sympathy she felt for the United States, as well as a friendship she had formed years before with the father of Crèveœur, led her to help the author of the *Letters from an American Farmer*: she hosted him in her home in 1782 and, as the reader shall see, played a decisive role in the literary and diplomatic career of her protégé. On Madame d'Houdetot and Crèveœur, see Chevignard, "Les Souvenirs de Saint-John de Crèveœur sur Mme d'Houdetot."
18. Robert de Crèveœur, *Saint-John de Crèveœur*, 70; emphasis added.
19. On the relationship between Crèveœur and Madame d'Houdetot, see Robert de Crèveœur, *Saint-John de Crèveœur*, 71.
20. Quoted by Chevignard in *Au miroir de la mémoire*, 20–21.
21. D. H. Lawrence, *Studies in Classic American Literature*, 33.
22. As D. D. Moore remarks, "Such blurring of Crèveœur and the rustic Farmer James continues to the present moment despite the recent flowering of scholarship on Crèveœur and his ambitious epistolary fiction, *Letters*." *Letters from an American Farmer*, x.
23. White, "Crèveœur in Wyoming," 380.
24. Crèveœur, *Voyage dans la Haute Pensylvanie*, 2002, 26.
25. On this question, see Chevignard, "Saint John de Crèveœur en Bavière (1808–1809)."
26. The fourth letter in the *Lettres d'un cultivateur américain* is titled "Thoughts of an American Farmer on His Fate and the Pleasures of the Country," 1784, 1:47–80. It is the translation of a rewriting of Letter II of the *Letters from an American Farmer*, 14–27.
27. Crèveœur, *Letters from an American Farmer*, 15–16.

28. Crèvecoeur, *More Letters from the American Farmer*, 273; emphasis added.
29. On this question, see Traister, “Criminal Correspondence,” and the introductions of Moore to *More Letters*, xlvii–lvi, and *Letters*, xx–xxiii.
30. Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer*, 191.
31. Jehlen, “J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur,” 204–22.
32. In “Crèvecoeur Revisited,” Cunliffe rejects the term “collaborator” to characterize Crèvecoeur, preferring “neutralist” or “quietist” (135).
33. Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d'un cultivateur américain*, 1784, 1:392–93.
34. Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d'un cultivateur américain*, 1784, 1:405.
35. This text is titled “Esquisse de ma vie depuis ma sortie de prison à New York le 17 septembre 1779 jusques à mon retour dans la même ville comme consul de France le 17 novembre 1783” [“Outline of my life from my release from prison in New York on September 17, 1779, until my return to the same city as the French Consul on November 17, 1783”]. It is introduced by Chevignard in “St. John de Crèvecoeur à New York en 1779–1780,” 161–73.
36. Crèvecoeur, “Esquisse de ma vie depuis ma sortie de prison à New York,” in “St. John de Crèvecoeur à New York,” 170.
37. Plato, *The Sophist*, 135.
38. On the metamorphosis of Crèvecoeur into a writer from the Revolutionary War on, see Chevignard, “St. John de Crèvecoeur in the Looking-Glass,” 178.
39. On Brissot and Crèvecoeur, see Rice, *Le Cultivateur américain*, 204–13.
40. Brissot, *Examen critique des Voyages dans l'Amérique septentrionale de Monsieur le marquis de Chastellux, ou Lettre à Monsieur le marquis de Chastellux, dans laquelle on réfute principalement son opinion sur les Quakers, sur les Nègres, sur le Peuple et sur l'Homme*, 17.
41. On this society, see Darnton, “The Craze for America: Condorcet and Brissot,” in *George Washington's False Teeth*, 127–28.
42. Brissot, *Mémoires sur ses contemporains et la Révolution française*, 2:410.
43. Brissot, *Mémoires sur ses contemporains et la Révolution française*, 2:411.
44. On the French translation and the rewriting of the *Letters*, see pp. 25–35.
45. On Sophie d'Houdetot's circle of acquaintances, see Chinard, *Les Amitiés américaines de Madame d'Houdetot*, and Lopez, *Mon Cher Papa*.
46. Brissot, *Mémoires sur ses contemporains et la Révolution française*, 2:400.
47. Other than “the night of fire at Port-Royal” (from November 23 to November 24, 1654), during which Blaise Pascal had a mystical experience that influenced the rest of his opus, one may also put in this category the experience Rousseau had on the way to visit Diderot at the Vincennes prison that inspired him to treat the question on the arts and sciences proposed by the Académie de Dijon.
48. The first letter of the third volume of the *Lettres d'un cultivateur américain* (1787, 3:1–34) recounts the circumstances in which Crèvecoeur learned, upon returning to the United States in 1783, of the destruction of Pine Hill and the death of his wife.
49. Rice, *Le Cultivateur américain*, 75–106.
50. Chevignard, “Saint-John de Crèvecoeur. Letters from an American farmer et Lettres d'un cultivateur américain: Genèse d'une œuvre franco-américaine” (thèse, Université de Lille III, 1989).
51. On this problem, see Aldridge, “Le problème de la traduction, au XVIII^{ème} siècle et aujourd'hui,” 747.
52. Literal translation was defended by those who saw it as a way to learn foreign languages. In *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* (1693), John Locke recommended to novice Latinists to throw away their grammar books and take up the translation of pleasant books.
53. On this question, see Aldridge, “Le problème de la traduction,” 754–55.
54. The twelve letters of the *Letters from an American Farmer* (comprising 173 pages in Moore's edition) became the three volumes of the 1787 edition of the *Lettres d'un cultivateur américain*, including, respectively, 478, 437, and 592 pages in the Cuchet edition.
55. On this question, see the prologue of chapter 1, pp. 19–21.

56. On this question, see the letter from Crèvecoeur to the comtesse d'Houdetot quoted by R. de Crèvecoeur, *Saint-John de Crèvecoeur, sa vie et ses ouvrages*, 379–80.
57. See Rice, *Le Cultivateur américain*, 75–76.
58. Named consul in New York in July 1783, Crèvecoeur left for America in September of the same year. He had to entrust the publication to Saint-Lambert, Lacretable, and Target, who assumed the responsibility of negotiating with the publisher, Cuchet, and reading the proofs for him.
59. On this question, see p. 31.
60. For example, Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d'un cultivateur américain*, 1784, 1:289.
61. Bernardin de Saint-Pierre alludes to the "Anecdote d'un chien sauvage," in *Paul and Virginia* (1787), 139.
62. Crèvecoeur, *Sketches of Eighteenth-Century America*, 132–34.
63. On this question, see Rousseau, *Emile, ou de l'éducation* (1762), in *Œuvres complètes*, 4:598.
64. On the reception of this text, see Rice, *Le Cultivateur américain*, 82–83.
65. On this question, see F. Lestringant, *Cannibals*.
66. Apostolidès, "L'altération du récit," 76.
67. On this topic, see Rousseau, "Discourse on Inequality," 66.
68. Rousseau himself emphasizes the dangers of an excessive use of the concept of state of nature: "Our politicians offer the same sophisms about love of freedom as our philosophers do about the state of nature" ("Discourse on Inequality," 106).
69. The tendency of the French partisans of the independence of the United States to repeat the same set of ideas is emphasized by Echeverria in *Mirage in the West*, 79.
70. This idyllic vision is expressed many times in the *Lettres* and notably in the following excerpt: "Ah! Why, my friend, hadn't I learned to play the lyre? I could perhaps have tried to put into song our American water nymphs, our pastoral Gods, the green of our mountains, the fertility of our valleys, the majesty of our rivers" (1784, 1:73).
71. Rice, *Le Cultivateur américain*, 207.
72. Cunliffe, "European Images of America," 494.
73. On the use of Crèvecoeur's *Lettres* by the Scioto Company, see chapter 2, pp. 83–84.
74. Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer*, 19.
75. Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d'un cultivateur américain*, 1784, 1:59–60.
76. Book IV of the *Georgics* is devoted to bees.
77. Saint-Lambert, "Discours préliminaire," in *Les Saisons*, vi.
78. Diderot, *Œuvres complètes*, 5:240.
79. Crèvecoeur compares the barns of Ulster County in the New York colony to the "temples of Ceres" (*Lettres d'un cultivateur américain*, 1784, 1:200).
80. Quoted by Rice, *Le Cultivateur américain*, 85.
81. Quoted by Rice, *Le Cultivateur américain*, 86.
82. Chateaubriand declares, concerning the *Mémoires* of Madame de Rémusat: "The author burned them during the Hundred Days, and then wrote them again: they are now only memories reproduced by memories; the color has faded. . . ."
83. Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d'un cultivateur américain*, 1784, 1:47–80.
84. Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d'un cultivateur américain*, 1784, 1, 49; emphasis added.
85. The "Pensées d'un cultivateur américain" are signed "St. John." Although one must be careful not to identify the author completely by his alter ego in the *Lettres d'un cultivateur américain*, the choice of this signature nonetheless indicates that the content is autobiographical.
86. Cullen, *The American Dream*, 37.
87. Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d'un cultivateur américain*, 1784, 1:1–12.
88. Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d'un cultivateur américain*, 1784, 1:137–71.
89. Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d'un cultivateur américain*, 1784, 1:23.

90. On this dichotomy, see the prologue to chapter 1, pp. 16–17.
91. Chateaubriand, *Mémoires*, 2:410; emphasis added.
92. On this question, see pp. 47–48.
93. Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d'un cultivateur américain*, 1784, 1:228–29; emphasis added. The autobiographical dimension of this text is not only emphasized by the signature—St. John—but by a footnote by the editor, who states: “This scene took place between the author and his daughter” (*Lettres d'un cultivateur américain*, 1784, 1:229).
94. Delon, “Introduction,” in *Œuvres de Sade*, 2:xix.
95. The progressive expansion of the *Lettres d'un cultivateur américain* recalls the successive and ever-expanding versions of the story of Justine: *Les Infortunes de la vertu* (1787), *Justine ou les malheurs de la vertu* (1791), and *La Nouvelle Justine ou les malheurs de la vertu* (1797). On the origin of the “myth of Justine,” see Delon, “Introduction,” in *Œuvres de Sade*, 2:ix–xix.
96. Gracq, *En lisant en écrivant*, 97.
97. On this question, see Compagnon’s preface to *Du côté de chez Swann*, 7–45.
98. On the origin of the *Voyage dans la Haute Pensylvanie*, see Rice, *Le Cultivateur américain*, 103.
99. Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d'un cultivateur américain*, 1784, 1:281.
100. On this mythical period evoked by Hesiod—who located it in a distant past—see Minois, *L'Âge d'or*.
101. On this question, see Moore’s introduction in *More Letters from the American Farmer*, lvii.
102. For a comparison of an American colonist and Robinson Crusoe, see Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d'un cultivateur américain*, 1784, 1:126.
103. Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d'un cultivateur américain*, 1784, 1:55.
104. The power of paternal sentiment is discussed several times in the *Lettres d'un cultivateur américain* (e.g., 1784, 1:54, 259).
105. Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d'un cultivateur américain*, 1784, 2:54–55; emphasis added.
106. On the American Dream, defined as “the first of those great moments of secular mysticism which modern man has been experiencing for the last two hundred years,” see Echeverria, *Mirage in the West*, 116.
107. Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d'un cultivateur américain*, 1784, 1:105.
108. See the letter of February 16, 1788, from Franklin to Crèvecoeur, translated by R. de Crèvecoeur, *Saint-John de Crèvecoeur*, 372.
109. Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d'un cultivateur américain*, 1784, 1:287.
110. Letter from Lord Dunmore to Lord Dartmouth, December 24, 1774, quoted by Miller, *Origins of the American Revolution*, 77.
111. On the readers of Crèvecoeur’s *Lettres* who decided to emigrate to the United States, see Rice, *Le Cultivateur américain*, 204–13.
112. Echeverria, *Mirage in the West*, 144–61.
113. Echeverria, *Mirage in the West*, 147.
114. On this subject, see Condorcet, *Writings on the United States*.
115. Echeverria, *Mirage in the West*, 155.
116. Trained as a doctor, Georges Duhamel compares the Americans to bearers of the virus of the “material or mechanical civilization” that threatens to contaminate the “moral or genuine civilization” of which Europe is the cradle (*Scènes de la vie future*, 13).
117. Rice, *Le Cultivateur américain*, 96.
118. Sollors, *Beyond Ethnicity*, 76–77.
119. Sollors, *Beyond Ethnicity*, 80.
120. “*Ubi panis ibi patria* is the motto of all emigrants” (*Letters from an American Farmer*, 31). “*Ubi panis ibi patria*”: Latin for “Where my bread is, there is my homeland.”
121. On this question, see the prologue of chapter 1, pp. 22–24.

122. Letter from Crèvecoeur to La Luzerne, New York, May 16, 1788, quoted by Chevignard, “D’une révolution à l’autre: les consuls de France aux États-Unis, 1783–1789,” 73.
123. Letter from Crèvecoeur to La Rochefoucauld, New York, December 1, 1788, in Chevignard, “D’une révolution à l’autre,” 74; emphasis added.
124. On this question, see Lopez, *Mon Cher Papa*, 165–66.
125. On Crèvecoeur’s supporters, see R. de Crèvecoeur, *Saint-John de Crèvecoeur*, 78.
126. Chevignard, “Les Souvenirs de Saint-John de Crèvecoeur,” 260.
127. Jefferson attended the marriage of America-Francès de Crèvecoeur with the diplomat Louis-Guillaume Otto on April 13, 1790, in New York.
128. See the “Épître dédicatoire” of the *Lettres d’un cultivateur américain*, 1784, i:iii–vi.
129. Lafayette recommended Crèvecoeur to Washington. See R. de Crèvecoeur, *Saint-John de Crèvecoeur*, 138.
130. Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d’un cultivateur américain*, 1784, 1:v.
131. Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d’un cultivateur américain*, 1787, 3:406.
132. Letter from Crèvecoeur to Brissot, December 20, 1787, quoted by Chevignard, *Au miroir de la mémoire*, 105–6; emphasis added.
133. Chevignard, *Au miroir de la mémoire*, 102.
134. Gracq, *En lisant en écrivant*, 97.
135. Référence GEN MSS 722, Box 1, Folder 6. J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur papers, Series II, Writings. The tables of contents of the manuscript and the 1787 volume are reproduced in the appendix, pp. 187–88.
136. There is a German, a Frenchman, an Englishman, a Scot, and an Irishman.
137. Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d’un cultivateur américain*, 1787, 3:91.
138. Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d’un cultivateur américain*, 1787, 3:96.
139. Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d’un cultivateur américain*, 1787, 3:85.
140. White, “Introduction to and Translation of Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur’s ‘Origin of the Settlement at Socialburg,’” 237.
141. Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d’un cultivateur américain*, 1787, 3:96.
142. See especially the “Forty-First Anecdote” (*Lettres d’un cultivateur américain*, 1787, 3:139), in which the generosity of the patriots is demonstrated.
143. Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d’un cultivateur américain*, 1787, 3:161–208.
144. Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d’un cultivateur américain*, 1787, 3:209–15.
145. Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d’un cultivateur américain*, 1787, 3:209.
146. Crèvecoeur describes the rebirth of New London, Connecticut, after its partial destruction in 1779 (*Lettres d’un cultivateur américain*, 1787, 3:514–15).
147. Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d’un cultivateur américain*, 1787, 3:574.
148. Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d’un cultivateur américain*, 1787, 3:576.
149. Letter from Crèvecoeur to Jefferson, New York, November 9, 1787, in Boyd, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, 332.
150. Letter from Crèvecoeur to La Luzerne, New York, May 16, 1788, quoted by Chevignard, “D’une révolution à l’autre,” 71.
151. Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d’un cultivateur américain*, 1787, 3:499.
152. On this question, see R. de Crèvecoeur, *Saint-John de Crèvecoeur*, 95.
153. Quoted by Chevignard, *Au miroir de la mémoire*, 103.
154. On this episode in Crèvecoeur’s life, see pp. 23–24.
155. Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d’un cultivateur américain*, 1787, 3:565.
156. Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d’un cultivateur américain*, 1787, 3:495.
157. Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d’un cultivateur américain*, 1787, 3:497; emphasis original.
158. Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot is the author of *Réflexions sur la formation et la distribution des richesses* [*Reflections on the Creation and Distribution of Wealth*, 1766], which was a source of inspiration for Adam Smith’s *The Wealth of Nations* (1776). Crèvecoeur was a distant relative.
159. On the physiocratic school, see Vardi, *The Physiocrats*.

160. “This nation, like all those that are republican and commercially oriented, nearly always puts the sentiment of self-interest before that of honor.” Letter from D’Annemours to Castries, Baltimore, March 31, 1783, quoted by Chevignard, “D’une révolution à l’autre,” 69.
161. On the criticism of commercialism in the United States by Chateaubriand, see pp. 177–80.
162. Cullen, *The American Dream*, 40.
163. On this question, see Crèvecoeur, *Voyage dans la Haute Pensylvanie*, 1801, 1:vii.
164. Crèvecoeur, *Voyage dans la Haute Pensylvanie*, 1801, 1:viii.
165. Crèvecoeur, *Voyage dans la Haute Pensylvanie*, 1801, 1:xii; emphasis added.
166. Letter from Lezay-Marnésia to his wife, Philadelphia, April 24, 1792, quoted by Bourget-Besnier, *Une famille française sous la Révolution*, 53.
167. Chateaubriand, *Mémoires*, 1:539.
168. Crèvecoeur, *Voyage dans la Haute Pensylvanie*, 1801, 1:viii.
169. Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d’un cultivateur américain*, 1784, 1:98.
170. Crèvecoeur, *Voyage dans la Haute Pensylvanie*, 2002, 185–86.
171. Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d’un cultivateur américain*, 1784, 1:25.
172. Crèvecoeur, *Voyage dans la Haute Pensylvanie*, 2002, 26.
173. Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d’un cultivateur américain*, 1784, 2:309.
174. Crèvecoeur, *Voyage dans la Haute Pensylvanie*, 2002, 112.
175. Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d’un cultivateur américain*, 1784, 1:229.
176. Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d’un cultivateur américain*, 1784, 2:240–67.
177. Crèvecoeur, *Voyage dans la Haute Pensylvanie*, 2002, 196.
178. Crèvecoeur, *Voyage dans la Haute Pensylvanie*, 2002, 198.
179. See, for example, “Le père infortuné” [“The Unfortunate Father”], in *Lettres*, 1784, 1:356–61.
180. In the *Lettres d’un cultivateur américain*, Crèvecoeur establishes no autobiographical pact with his reader, since “Saint-John” is presented as the son of an American colonist, who is a fictitious double for the author and not for Crèvecoeur himself. The choice of this name nonetheless indicates that the author recognizes that he was, at least partially, inspired by his own experiences in creating his character, and if it is an interpretive leap to identify Crèvecoeur with Saint-John, it would be impossible to assert that the fictional character owes nothing to the biography of the author who purposefully gave him his own surname.
181. On this question, see Mitchell, *St. Jean de Crèvecoeur*, 293.
182. On this question, see Rice, *Le Cultivateur américain*, 38.
183. Brissot, *Mémoires*, 2:400.
184. Rice, *Le Cultivateur américain*, 40.
185. Quoted by Chevignard, “St. John de Crèvecoeur à New York,” 166–67; emphasis added.
186. Rice, *Le Cultivateur américain*, 39.
187. Mitchell, *St. Jean de Crèvecoeur*, 293.
188. “I write thirteen hours a day that feel like thirteen minutes.” Letter from Casanova to Opiz, January 10, 1791, quoted by Luna, *Casanova mémorialiste*, 55.
189. Childs, *Casanova*, 59.
190. Casanova, *Histoire de ma vie*, 2:1194–95.
191. “You did not want me to know that you existed until I arrived here, because you feared that I would turn around and go back to have the satisfaction of seeing you; but I will see you *tomorrow*. You had me informed that your house would always be open to me. But no. The order you gave to Marcoline shows me that you do not want to see me again *right now*. You have perhaps left *this morning*. God knows to go where” (Casanova, *Histoire de ma vie*, 2:1195; emphasis added).
192. Kavanagh, “Casanova’s Autobiography of Chance,” 158.
193. Crèvecoeur, *Voyage dans la Haute Pensylvanie*, 2002, 238.

194. “A Snow Storm as it Affects the American Farmer,” in *More Letters*, 142–45. The letter titled “Description d’une chute de neige” is its translation and rewriting (*Lettres d’un cultivateur américain*, 1784, 1:261–84).
195. On Crèvecoeur’s borrowings, see Philbrick, *St. John de Crèvecoeur*, 149–50.
196. Adams, *Crèvecoeur’s Eighteenth-Century Travels*, xxxvii.
197. On this episode, see Adams, “Crèvecoeur and Franklin,” 273–79, and *Travelers and Travel Liars*, 158–61.
198. On Benjamin Franklin and his rise to the rank of “public figure” in the French consciousness in the eighteenth century, see Lilti, *Figures publiques*, 87–95.
199. Crèvecoeur, *Voyage dans la Haute Pensylvanie*, 2002, 31.
200. For example: “(The chapter that contained the details of the journey up to this fort was, with the exception of a few lines, so badly damaged that we were unable to translate it)” *Voyage dans la Haute Pensylvanie*, 2002, 82.
201. Crèvecoeur, *Voyage dans la Haute Pensylvanie*, 2002, 186.
202. Crèvecoeur, *Voyage dans la Haute Pensylvanie*, 1801, 1:vii.
203. On this subject, see Chevignard, “Entre débris et débuts” [“Between Debris and Beginnings”], 124–25.
204. Chateaubriand, *Mémoires*, 1:463–66.
205. Napoléon is described as the “Washington of France” in the *Voyage* (1801, 1:iv).
206. An earlier version of the following section, “A Memorial of the Amerindian Civilizations,” has previously been published as “Chateaubriand, Crèvecoeur, and the Twilight of Native American Civilizations,” in *Loxias* 56 (March 2017): <http://revel.unice.fr/loxias/index.html?id=8618>.
207. Crèvecoeur, *Voyage dans la Haute Pensylvanie*, 1801, 1:204.
208. On the fascination Crèvecoeur expressed for the vestiges of the past, see his text written in 1803 and quoted by R. de Crèvecoeur, *Saint-John de Crèvecoeur*, 5.
209. Volney, *Les Ruines*, xi–xii; regarding Chateaubriand’s “vertiges,” see Chevignard, “Entre débris et débuts,” 122; for the references to the *Voyage* in the *Génie du christianisme*, see p. 190, note 32.
210. Chateaubriand, *Mémoires*, 1:429.
211. Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer*, 81.
212. For a reflection on this passage, see Hollier, “Incognito,” 25–43.
213. Chateaubriand, *Mémoires*, 4:607–08.
214. On these two movements that developed during the second half of the nineteenth century, see Figueiredo, “Aux sources du débat écologique contemporain,” 69–82.
215. Chateaubriand, *Mémoires*, 1:498. Pinchot, *The Training of a Forester*, 13.
216. Figueiredo, “Aux sources du débat écologique contemporain,” 77.
217. Nietzsche, *Seconde considération intempestive: de l’utilité et de l’inconvénient des études historiques pour la vie*, 75.
218. Chateaubriand, *Atala*, 99.
219. Crèvecoeur, *Voyage dans la Haute Pensylvanie*, 1801, 3:106.
220. Crèvecoeur, *Voyage dans la Haute Pensylvanie*, 1801, 3:112; emphasis added.
221. Volney, *Tableau du climat et du sol des États-Unis d’Amérique*, 2:370.
222. Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer*, 17.
223. Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d’un cultivateur américain*, 1784, 1:2.
224. Crèvecoeur, *Voyage dans la Haute Pensylvanie*, 1801, 3:113.
225. Crèvecoeur, *Voyage dans la Haute Pensylvanie*, 1801, 3:118.
226. On this topic, see Chateaubriand, *Voyage en Amérique*, 178.
227. Crèvecoeur, *Voyage dans la Haute Pensylvanie*, 1801, 3:390.
228. Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer*, 81.
229. *Odes*, III, 30. On Horace and the search for immortality through writing, see Jackson, *Those Who Write for Immortality*, 1–23.
230. Sayre, *Les Sauvages Américains*, 204.

231. Certeau, *The Writing of History*, 216; emphasis original.
232. Clements, *Native American Verbal Art*, 8.
233. McNally, *Honoring Elders: Aging, Authority, and Ojibwe Religion*, 271.
234. McNally, *Honoring Elders*, 273.
235. Crèvecoeur, *Voyage dans la Haute Pensylvanie*, 2002, 55.
236. Chateaubriand's *Voyage en Amérique* (1827) describes a comparable discovery of ruins whose origin remains unknown (*Voyage*, 221).
237. Crèvecoeur, *Voyage dans la Haute Pensylvanie*, 1801, 1:205–6.
238. Crèvecoeur, *Voyage dans la Haute Pensylvanie*, 1801, 3:276.
239. *Mémoires*, 1:470. Chateaubriand returns to this idea, that he was already formulating in 1797 in the *Essai historique, politique et moral sur les révolutions anciennes et modernes, considérées dans leurs rapports avec la Révolution française* [Historical, Political, and Moral Essay on Ancient and Modern Revolutions Considered with Respect to Their Relationship with the French Revolution], 147.
240. Chateaubriand, *Voyage*, 137.
241. Chateaubriand, *Atala*, 18.
242. On this question, see Chateaubriand, *Mémoires*, 2:44.
243. Faÿ, *L'Esprit révolutionnaire*, 301.
244. For a comparison of the destinies of *Atala* and the *Voyage dans la Haute Pensylvanie*, see also Rice, *Le Cultivateur américain*, 104–5.

Chapter 2

1. Editor's foreword, in *Letters Written from the Banks of the Ohio*, 45–46.
2. The theory of degeneration is presented by Buffon notably in *Animaux de l'ancien continent*; *Animaux du nouveau monde*; *Animaux communs aux deux continents* (1761) [*Animals of the Old Continent*; *Animals of the New World*; *Animals Common to Both Continents*] and *De la Dégénération des animaux* (1766). On this theory, see Roger, *The American Enemy*, 1–29; Duchet, *Anthropologie et histoire*, 214–57; and Echeverria, *Mirage in the West*, 3–38; 65–66.
3. Behind the allusion to “biased authors” we recognize the Jesuit Joseph-François Lafitau: in his *Moeurs des sauvages américains, comparés aux moeurs des premiers temps* [*Manners of the American Savages Compared to the Manners of Antiquity*, 1724], he establishes a regular parallel between the Amerindians and the peoples of antiquity.
4. See Mazzei, *Recherches historiques et politiques sur les États-Unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale*, 4:100. Concerning the squabble between Brissot and Mazzei, see Rice, *Le Cultivateur américain*, 91–92.
5. Lezay-Marnésia, *Letters*, 70.
6. Lezay-Marnésia misrepresents what Crèvecoeur actually stated, since the fish of which the latter speaks weigh between twenty and eighty pounds. See Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d'un cultivateur américain*, 1787, 3:408.
7. It is to Lezay-Marnésia that Volney is referring behind the anonymous prophet of the “Empire of Ohio”: “We are pretty far from the poetic felicity sung by the *American Farmer* and from the delights of the future capital of the *Empire of Ohio* prophesied by another writer. If the makers of such fictions could hear their own panegyrics, surely they would be disgusted by this banal rhetorical talent that, in the present case, has destroyed the fortune of five hundred families” (*Tableau du climat et du sol*, 2:391).
8. Lezay-Marnésia, *Essai sur la nature champêtre*, 5.
9. The poem “Les Lampes” was published for the first time in the *Journal de Paris* of April 27, 1788, before being reprinted in *Les Paysages, ou essai sur la nature champêtre, poème* [*Landscapes, or Essay on Rural Nature, Poem*, 1800].
10. Lezay-Marnésia, *Le Bonheur dans les campagnes*, vi.
11. Rousseau, *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, 5.

12. The Northwest Territory was a territory created in 1787 by the United States in which slavery was forbidden. It included the present-day states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin, and disappeared in 1803 when its southeast section was admitted to the Union as the State of Ohio. The colony of “Asylum” is an example of other options available at this time to French emigrants like Lezay-Marnésia and his followers. Founded in 1793 at the instigation of Antoine-Omer Talon and the vicomte de Noailles, it was situated in the State of Pennsylvania and intended for refugees from France and Saint-Domingue (today the island shared by Haiti and the Dominican Republic). On Asylum, see Furstenberg, *When the United States Spoke French*, 227–45.

13. Moreau-Zanelli, *Gallipolis*, 335–36.

14. Grimm, *Correspondance littéraire*, 7:127.

15. On this question, see Bonnel, *Éthique et esthétique du retour à la campagne au XVIIIEM^e siècle*, 56–67.

16. In 1778, Lezay-Marnésia published an *Essai sur la minéralogie du bailliage d’Orgelet en Franche-Comté* [Essay on the Mineralogy of the Bailiwick of Orgelet in Franche-Comté].

17. Moreau-Zanelli, *Gallipolis*, 171.

18. Lezay-Marnésia, *Le Bonheur dans les campagnes*, 188.

19. Duprat, “Pour l’amour de l’humanité,” 1:xxx.

20. Bonnel, *Éthique et esthétique*, 233–94.

21. Rousseau, *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, 444.

22. On this question, see Knee, “Wolmar comme médiateur politique,” 117–27.

23. The *corvée* was unremunerated work that was required of a lord’s serfs; *mortmain* was the right of a lord to inherit the property of his vassals.

24. Lezay-Marnésia, *Plan de lecture pour une jeune dame*, 152.

25. Bonnel, *Éthique et esthétique*, 300. On the evolution of the political positions taken openly by Lezay-Marnésia during the revolutionary period, see Bonnel, *Éthique et esthétique*, 297–336.

26. On the question of intermediate bodies, see Carcassonne, *Montesquieu et le problème de la constitution française au XVIII^e siècle*. Regarding the organization of provincial states and the political role of the nobility, see, respectively, Lezay-Marnésia, *Le Bonheur dans les campagnes*, 28 and 88–89.

27. Bourget-Besnier, *Une famille française*, 25.

28. On the composition of the Scioto Company, see Moreau-Zanelli, *Gallipolis*, 91.

29. The contract with the American Congress stipulated that the Ohio Company would make four payments of \$500,000 each, and that at the time of each payment, it would take ownership of one-quarter of the total area. Consequently, it had to have a minimum of \$500,000 on hand to be able to sell the slightest parcel of land. On this question, see Moreau-Zanelli, *Gallipolis*, 15–38.

30. The first document (Paris: Prault, 1789), twenty-four pages long, is not signed, but everything indicates that its author was William Playfair. The second document is held at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (Pb 1597).

31. On January 9, 1789, two pacts were made between General Arthur Saint Clair and various Amerindian tribes in the Northwest Territory. These pacts were never respected and, as early as the spring of 1789, there was an Amerindian attack on an isolated homestead in the region. The unrest grew increasingly worse until the Battle of the Wabash on November 4, 1791, which was a major victory for the Amerindians. On this battle, see p. 200, note 50.

32. Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d’un cultivateur américain*, 1787, 3:387–437.

33. Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d’un cultivateur américain*, 1787, 3:415–16.

34. See Moreau-Zanelli, *Gallipolis*, 108.

35. Moreau-Zanelli, *Gallipolis*, 188.

36. Lezay-Marnésia bought more land than the minimum required for inclusion in the Société des Vingt-Quatre: on January 14, 1790, he acquired twenty thousand acres for

himself and one thousand acres for his daughter. On the fifteenth, he bought another one thousand acres, then one hundred more on February 11.

37. Alfred de Lezay-Marnésia, *My Memories* [1851] in *Letters Written from the Banks of the Ohio*, 146; emphasis added.

38. Letter from Lezay-Marnésia to his wife (Paris, November 9, 1789), quoted by Bourget-Besnier, *Une famille française*, 25.

39. Despite their entreaties to Pope Pious VI, the Twenty-Four failed in their attempt to obtain the creation of a new bishopric. On Lezay-Marnésia's plans in the area of religion, see Moreau-Zanelli, *Gallipolis*, 199–208.

40. Lezay-Marnésia remarks, revealingly, "If I had been able to choose my fate, it is that of Abraham or Boaz that I would have preferred" (*Letters*, 75).

41. Moreau-Zanelli, *Gallipolis*, 189.

42. Some of the members of the Society of the Twenty-Four did not belong to the aristocracy: Jean-Paul Guérin, Lezay-Marnésia's secretary, for instance, and Jean-Daniel Smith, a medical doctor, were among the partners.

43. Moreau-Zanelli, *Gallipolis*, 195.

44. March 15, 1790, quoted by Duval in *Écrits révolutionnaires, 1790–1794*, 7. On Cloots, see Soboul, "Anacharsis Cloots," 29–58, and Labbé, *Anacharsis Cloots, le Prussien francophile*.

45. March 22, 1790, quoted by Bonnel, *Éthique et esthétique*, 381.

46. On this question, see Moreau-Zanelli, *Gallipolis*, 195–96.

47. Dillon, *Mémoires*, 205.

48. Bonnel, *Éthique et esthétique*, 381.

49. Moreau-Zanelli, *Gallipolis*, 306.

50. At the beginning of the expedition, General Saint Clair commanded around two thousand men, accompanied by around two hundred civilians. But in the month of November, desertions and illnesses reduced the expedition to 1,120 members, including the civilians. At dawn on November 4, 1791, Saint Clair's men were surprised by a thousand warriors led by Little Turtle, chief of the Miamis, and Blue Jacket, chief of the Shawnees. After several hours of combat, Saint Clair gave the order to retreat. Of his 920 men who fought that day, 631 were killed and 264 wounded. As for the two hundred civilians, they were nearly all massacred. The Amerindian forces only had to grieve twenty-one dead and forty wounded. The rout of Saint Clair at the Battle of the Wabash is the worst defeat ever suffered by the American army while fighting the Amerindians. On this battle, see Eckert, *That Dark and Bloody River*, 558–69.

51. The defeat of Saint Clair had long-term repercussions in the history of the United States. After the House of Representatives began its investigation into the military disaster at the Battle of the Wabash, George Washington established the position that the president has the right to refuse to divulge documents or other materials that contain information that he believes should remain confidential. This decision gave birth to the doctrine of executive privilege that was invoked, notably, by Richard Nixon at the time of the Watergate affair and by Bill Clinton during the Lewinsky affair. On the history of executive privilege, see Garvey and Dolan, "Presidential Claims of Executive Privilege," 1–42.

52. On this topic, see *My Memories*, in *Letters Written from the Banks of the Ohio*, 154. Each time that it is possible, we will quote excerpts from the *Souvenirs* published in the appendices of the *Letters* of Lezay-Marnésia. When we quote passages from the *Souvenirs* that were not reproduced in the *Letters*, we will refer to the original edition.

53. Lezay-Marnésia, *Mes souvenirs*, 22.

54. "Circumstances did not allow three of them to be brought out that were published as essays by Prault in 1792. The Girondins ruled at the time. Other factions followed the Girondins, and the liberty of the press was reduced to the freedom to take immense risks" ("Letter to Monsieur Audrain, Merchant in Pittsburgh," in *Letters*, 139).

55. Desan, "Transatlantic Spaces of Revolution," 502.

56. See Ammon, *The Genêt Mission*, and Furstenberg, *When the United States Spoke French*, 44–53.
57. Brissot, *Nouveau voyage dans les États-Unis*, 2:424–25.
58. On the possible involvement of Brissot in the Scioto Company, see Desan, “Transatlantic Spaces of Revolution,” 478–79.
59. Brissot, *Nouveau voyage dans les États-Unis*, 2:426.
60. Editor’s foreword, in *Letters Written from the Banks of the Ohio*, 45.
61. Lezay-Marnésia, *Letters*, 139.
62. Anonymous, *Nouveau prospectus de la Compagnie du Scioto* (1790).
63. Lezay-Marnésia, *Plan de lecture*, 1800, 205–23.
64. Brissot comments, in regard to the Northwest Territory, that it is “completely unknown to the Europeans,” *Nouveau voyage dans les États-Unis*, 417.
65. The expression “American letters” refers to the corpus of letters by Lezay-Marnésia studied here, including the *Letters Written from the Banks of the Ohio*, the letters of the *Nouveau prospectus*, and the “Letter to M. Audrain.”
66. See Moreau-Zanelli, *Gallipolis*, 253.
67. Anonymous text. Whenever possible, we will quote excerpts of this letter reproduced in the *Letters Written from the Banks of the Ohio*.
68. *Prospectus pour l’établissement sur les rivières d’Ohio et de Scioto en Amérique*, 8.
69. *Letter Written by a Frenchman Immigrating to the Lands of the Scioto Company*, in *Letters Written from the Banks of the Ohio*, 125; emphasis original.
70. *Letter Written by a Frenchman Immigrating to the Lands of the Scioto Company*, in *Letters Written from the Banks of the Ohio*, 126.
71. *Letter Written by a Frenchman Immigrating to the Lands of the Scioto Company*, in *Letters Written from the Banks of the Ohio*, 126.
72. The author of the *Nouveau prospectus* was probably William Playfair. On his role in the activities of the Scioto Company, see pp. 82–84.
73. We refer here to the original edition of this text. Whenever possible, we will refer to the excerpts published in the appendices of the *Letters Written from the Banks of the Ohio*.
74. After embarking for the United States in May 1790, Dom Didier went to Gallipolis, where he lived briefly before moving to Missouri. He died there in 1799.
75. Lezay-Marnésia, *Letters*, 129.
76. Lezay-Marnésia, *Letters*, 129; emphasis added.
77. Lezay-Marnésia, *Letters*, 130.
78. The first is an “Excerpt of a Letter from M. de Marnésia, October 12, 1790,” in *Letters Written from the Banks of the Ohio*, 128–30; the second is an “Excerpt of a Letter from M. de Marnésia to M. de Beyerley,” in *Letters Written from the Banks of the Ohio*, 131–32.
79. The declarations of Lezay-Marnésia appear still more unrealistic when they are considered in the context of the unrest that characterized the Northwest Territory at that time: his letter is dated only eight days before the defeat of Josiah Harmar by Shawnee and Miami warriors at the Battle of Pumpkin Fields on October 22, 1790 (129 dead and 64 wounded on the American side).
80. “M. de Marnésia Writes on September 24 to M. Gréa,” in *Letters*, 131.
81. “Excerpt of a Letter from M. de Marnésia to M. de Beyerley,” in *Letters*, 131.
82. *Lettre écrite par un Français émigrant sur les terres de la Compagnie du Scioto*, 23.
83. *Lettre écrite par un Français émigrant sur les terres de la Compagnie du Scioto*, 25.
84. On the obstacles to the success of the plans concocted by Lezay-Marnésia and the Society of the Twenty-Four, see pp. 86–87.
85. Moreau-Zanelli, *Gallipolis*, 345.
86. “Letter from Columbus,” in the *Journal of Christopher Columbus*, 198–200.
87. Levine, “The Idea of America,” in *America Through European Eyes*, 20.
88. Levine, “The Idea of America,” in *America Through European Eyes*, 19.
89. Guyot, *Analogie et récit de voyage*, 54.

90. See Levine, “The Idea of America,” in *America Through European Eyes*, 24.
91. On the concept of doxological America, see pp. 6–7.
92. Lezay-Marnésia, *My Memories*, in *Letters*, 154.
93. Rufus Putnam (April 9, 1738–May 4, 1824) began his military career during the French and Indian War before winning fame in the War of Independence. In 1786, he created with General Benjamin Tupper the Ohio Company of Associates, whose goal was to acquire and populate lands in the Northwest Territory. Named administrator of the company, Putnam arrived at the mouth of the Muskingum River on April 7, 1788, and founded the first settlement in the Northwest Territory: Marietta.
94. Moreau-Zanelli, *Gallipolis*, 335.
95. Moreau-Zanelli, *Gallipolis*, 335–36.
96. November 15 is also the date at which the break between Lezay-Marnésia and the other members of the Société des Vingt-Quatre is consummated. The marquis announces in a letter his decision to found a settlement on his own lands, independent of Aigle-Lys and Gallipolis, owing to growing disagreements with his associates. On this episode, see Moreau-Zanelli, *Gallipolis*, 338–51.
97. On *Le Bonheur dans les campagnes*, see pp. 80–81.
98. On the importance of reciprocity in the exchange of gifts among the Hurons, see Dickason, *Le Mythe du Sauvage*, 130.
99. Liebersohn, *Aristocratic Encounters*, 1.
100. On *Aline, reine de Golconde*, see Kavanagh, “Bouffler’s *La Reine de Golconde*.”
101. The tale by Boufflers, *Aline, reine de Golconde* (1761), has been reedited by Carrell in *Le Lit bleu* [*The Blue Bed*], 345–55.
102. Lezay-Marnésia, *My Memories*, in *Letters*, 153.
103. On the “Anecdote of a Wild Dog,” see pp. 28–32.
104. Boufflers, *Aline, reine de Golconde*, 350.
105. Desan, “Transatlantic Spaces of Revolution,” 474.
106. Ansart, “From Voltaire to Raynal,” 79.
107. Letters from Bernardin de Saint-Pierre to M. Hénin (October 2, 6, 20, and 21, 1778) in *Correspondence*, 1:215–36.
108. See Moreau-Zanelli, *Gallipolis*, 69–70, and Carré, “Les émigrés français en Amérique,” 4.
109. Voltaire, *Philosophical Letters*, 13.
110. Chastellux, *Voyages de M. le marquis de Chastellux dans l’Amérique septentrionale*, 2:257.
111. Chastellux, *Voyages de M. le marquis de Chastellux dans l’Amérique septentrionale*, 2:252, 256.
112. Chastellux, *Voyages de M. le marquis de Chastellux dans l’Amérique septentrionale*, 2:257–58.
113. In *Aminta* (1581), the first act finishes with a piece by the “Golden Age” chorus, in which love is opposed to the stifling laws of honor.
114. Chastellux, *Voyages de M. le marquis de Chastellux dans l’Amérique septentrionale*, 2:259.
115. Lezay-Marnésia, *Plan de lecture*, 1800, viii–ix.
116. Lezay-Marnésia, *Essai sur la nature champêtre*, 103.
117. On this question, see our article “Bâtir des châteaux en Amérique,” 320–21.
118. Lezay-Marnésia, *Mes Souvenirs*, 23.
119. The establishment of Frenchman Bay that Rosalie-Josèphe Bacler de Leval wanted to found in the current State of Maine is another example of a colony whose ideal consisted in the reproduction of the advantages that the aristocracy enjoyed in France. On this question, see Childs, “Fontaine Leval,” 187–222.
120. Lezay-Marnésia was in Bethlehem at the end of August 1790.

121. It took the victory of Anthony Wayne over the Amerindian Confederation of the West at the Battle of Fallen Timbers (August 20, 1794) and then the signature of the Treaty of Gand (December 24, 1814) after the War of 1812 with the British to remove the remaining two obstacles to the western expansion of the United States.

122. The term “uchronia” was invented in 1857 by Charles Renouvier when he began a novel titled *Uchronie (l’utopie dans l’histoire)*, first published in 1876. In *Uchronie*, Renouvier imagines an alternative history that would have been born if Christianity had not spread throughout Europe.

123. Louis Geoffroy-Château is considered to be the author of the first uchronic work, *Napoléon et la conquête du monde, 1812–1832* (1836), although the term “uchronie” was invented by Renouvier (see the preceding note). Geoffroy-Château invents a world in which Napoleon seized Saint Petersburg in order to make it his winter quarters during the Russian campaign. The author imagines that this strategy would have permitted Napoleon to avoid the disastrous retreat toward Western Europe and, in the long run, unify all the peoples on earth in a French empire. On this text, see Gallagher, “What Would Napoleon Do?” 315–36.

124. Brackenridge, *Modern Chivalry*, 221.

125. This comment by Duval d’Éprémesnil is quoted by Lescure in the *Mémoires sur les Assemblées parlementaires de la Révolution*, 2:6.

126. Lezay-Marnésia declares his adherence to the political ideas of the Impartials in the *Letters*, 61–62.

127. Desan, “Transatlantic Spaces of Revolution,” 493.

128. Written in 1790, this text was published the following year in the *Almanach des Muses*. It is reproduced in the appendices of Lezay-Marnésia’s *Letters*, 117–22.

129. On Crèvecoeur and the concept of “melting pot,” see p. 46. Glazer gives the following definition of the theory of the “salad bowl”: “But for most of those who advocate multiculturalism, it is a position-taking stance on the racial and ethnic diversity of the United States. It is a position that rejects assimilation and the ‘melting pot’ image as an imposition of the dominant culture, and instead prefers such metaphors as the ‘salad bowl’ or the ‘glorious mosaic,’ in which each ethnic and racial element in the population maintains its distinctiveness” (*We Are All Multiculturalists Now*, 10).

130. Anonymous, *Prospectus*, 11–12.

131. A character speaks, for instance, of the six months of hard work to “drain a few acres of swamp and to clear seventeen acres,” in *Voyage dans la Haute Pensylvanie*, 1801, 1:47. Regarding the question of Crèvecoeur’s publicity for America, in the *Voyage*, see pp. 63–65.

132. On this concept, see Freud, “Negation” [1925], 235–42.

133. The idyllic character of the Islands of the Blessed is emphasized by Pindar in *Olympian Odes, Pythian Odes*, 71.

134. On the ambiguity of the term “utopia,” both “non-existent country” and “country of felicity,” see Funke, “L’évolution sémantique de la notion d’*utopie* en français,” 20.

135. Des Pintreaux (August 14, 1758, Pont-Audemer–August 17, 1842, Saint Louis, Missouri) was elected to the House of Representatives of the United States by the State of Pennsylvania (1792–98) and became judge in the Pennsylvania jurisdiction (1794). In 1805, he was appointed by Thomas Jefferson as judge of the territory of Louisiana. On des Pintreaux, see Cleland, “John B. C. Lucas, Physiocrat on the Frontier,” 1–15; and McDermott, “John B. C. Lucas in Pennsylvania,” 209–30.

136. Cleland claims that the documents available on M. des Pintreaux contradict nearly every detail of the narrative of Lezay-Marnésia (“John B. C. Lucas, Physiocrat on the Frontier,” 3). McDermott had reached a similar conclusion in his study, stating that the third of the *Letters* was “in the main a literary indulgence on the part of Lezay-Marnésia” (“John B. C. Lucas in Pennsylvania,” 211). In *L’Heureuse famille*, Lezay-Marnésia tells the story of Allard, an affluent worker and his wife, Amélie, from a noble but impoverished family. Their child, Basile, falls in love with Lucie, the daughter of poor farmers, and decides to marry her.

Amélie opposes this misalliance, out of pride, before progressively accepting the union of Basile and Lucie.

137. See p. 60.

Chapter 3

1. Mondésir, *Souvenirs d'Édouard de Mondésir*, 22.

2. In his *Souvenirs*, Mondésir describes a scene in which, like Ulysses, Chateaubriand had himself tied to the mast of the ship during a storm. On the reasons for the dissension between Chateaubriand and Mondésir during their journey, see Berchet, *Chateaubriand*, 163–70.

3. Chateaubriand, *Mémoires*, 1:453–54. A slightly different version of the same text appears in the *Voyage en Amérique*, 150.

4. Bazin, *Chateaubriand en Amérique*, 66. The canvas of Copley (1738–1815) was inspired by a true event that occurred in 1749. Brook Watson, a fourteen-year-old orphan who was serving as a sailor on a commercial vessel, was attacked by a shark in the port of Havana where he was swimming alone. His companions, who were waiting on board to escort the captain to shore, sent out a lifeboat to help him. Watson survived the attack but lost his right leg. This painting is conserved at the National Gallery of Art in Washington. It represents the exact moment when, while Watson is on the point of being saved by his comrades, a shark is closing on him with wide-open jaws.

5. Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d'un cultivateur américain*, 1787, 3:102–5.

6. On the origin of the *Voyage en Amérique*, see pp. 132–34; on the origin of the American books of the *Mémoires d'outre-tombe*, see pp. 36, and 173–74.

7. See, for example, Chateaubriand, *Mémoires*, 4:208.

8. Readers of the *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem* (1811), such as Alphonse de Lamartine, likewise followed in the steps of Chateaubriand with the intention of refuting his observations and to distance themselves from a cumbersome model. On this question, see Moussa, “Un voyage dans l’*Itinéraire*,” 93–102.

9. On these letters by René de Mersenne, see Bédier, “Chateaubriand en Amérique,” 504.

10. Sainte-Beuve, *Chateaubriand et son groupe littéraire*, 1:207; emphasis original.

11. Faguet, *Dix-Neuvième Siècle. Études Littéraires*, 3.

12. Bédier, “Chateaubriand en Amérique: Vérité et fiction,” later revised and republished in *Études critiques*, 127–94; Bédier, “Chateaubriand en Amérique: Vérité et fiction (Suite),” 59–121; Bédier, “Chateaubriand en Amérique: Réplique à un contradicteur,” 80–109.

13. Among the studies that treat this problem, see Dick, “Quelques sources ignorées,” 228–45.

14. See Chateaubriand, *Travels in America*, trans. R. Switzer, and Bassan, “Le Vertige du temps,” 96–101.

15. Berchet, *Chateaubriand*, 188–89.

16. Chateaubriand quoted by Berchet, *Chateaubriand*, 189.

17. Painter, *Chateaubriand: une biographie*, 189.

18. Chateaubriand, *Atala*, 16.

19. In 1791, the existence of this passage allowing people to travel by sea from Greenland to the Pacific Ocean was still an unresolved problem. George Vancouver concluded, after his expedition from 1791 to 1795, that there was no maritime passage south of the Bering Straits. The explorer Alexander Mackenzie confirmed Vancouver’s opinion after his journey by land between 1789 and 1793, whose results were not known until 1801. Chateaubriand published in the *Mercure de France* on August 14 and on September 11, 1802, an account of Mackenzie’s voyage before returning to the Northwest Passage in the preface of

Voyage en Amérique, where he notes other expeditions led at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The first successful navigation of this passage was the Gjøa expedition (1903–6), led by Roald Amundsen.

20. Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d'un cultivateur américain*, 1787, 3:525.

21. Chateaubriand, *Mémoires*, 1:469.

22. Regarding the financial support granted by Jean-Baptiste de Chateaubriand to his brother, see Berchet, *Chateaubriand*, 159.

23. The fate of people close to Chateaubriand justified, unfortunately, his fears: his brother, Jean-Baptiste de Chateaubriand; his sister-in-law, the comtesse de Chateaubriand; her parents; and M. de Malesherbes were all guillotined on April 22, 1794.

24. In Letter VIII of the *Lettres persanes* (1721), Usbek explains to his friend Rustan that it was the relentless attacks against him by his enemies during his absence from the court that had led him to the decision to leave Persia. Regarding the influence of the *Lettres persanes* on *Les Natchez*, see Yee, *Exotic Subversions*, 28.

25. On Malesherbes, see Grosclaude, *Malesherbes*.

26. On the relationship of Malesherbes to Rousseau, see Fumaroli, "Chateaubriand et Rousseau," 208–9.

27. Bazin, *Chateaubriand en Amérique*, 53.

28. Regarding the obstacles to the discovery of the Northwest Passage by Chateaubriand, see Painter, *Chateaubriand: une biographie*, 208.

29. Chateaubriand, *Voyage*, 165–66.

30. Chateaubriand, *Voyage*, 402.

31. Hollier, "French Customs, Literary Borders," 43.

32. Letter of November 1844, quoted by Lebègue, "Les Avatars du voyage de Chateaubriand en Amérique," 102.

33. Reichler, "Le deuil et l'enchantement," 159.

34. On this question, see pp. 34–35.

35. The publication of the *Œuvres complètes* was necessitated by the fragile financial situation of Chateaubriand after his dismissal from the Villèle ministry on June 24, 1824. On the stages of their marketing, see Levailant, *Splendeurs, misères et chimères*, 219–32.

36. Chateaubriand, *Essai sur les révolutions*, 53.

37. Chateaubriand, *Essai sur les révolutions*, 53; emphasis original.

38. Chateaubriand, *Essai sur les révolutions*, 443.

39. Chateaubriand, *Mémoires*, 1:470.

40. Chateaubriand, *Les Natchez*, 103.

41. Degout, "De la remémoration d'outre-tombe," 102–8.

42. Scott de Martinville applied in 1857 for the patent of the phonograph, an apparatus for engraving acoustic vibrations on a sheet of paper. It was not until 1877 that Edison discovered how to conserve the sounds and to reproduce them at will: the phonograph was born.

43. This copy is conserved at the Bibliothèque nationale de France (French manuscript 12454, folios 46–48).

44. Degout, "De la remémoration d'outre-tombe," 105–6.

45. Chateaubriand devotes a section to wild turkeys that turns out to be inspired by Bartram's text, as is clear when one compares *Travels Through North and South Carolina* (58) and *Voyage en Amérique* (194). On this question, see the critical edition of the *Voyage en Amérique* by Switzer (1:135) and the edition published by Regard in *Œuvres romanesques et voyages* (p. 1293, n. 1).

46. On La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, Volney, and Saint-Méry, see Furstenberg, *When the United States Spoke French*.

47. "Présentation," in *Voyage en Amérique*, 44.

48. See, for example, the narrative of Chastellux, *Voyages de M. le Marquis de Chastellux dans l'Amérique septentrionale*, 1:244.

49. Moreau de Saint-Méry's account offers numerous short notes containing information for potential travelers. See, for example, his *Voyage*, 84.
50. La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *Voyages*, 2:336.
51. Lestringant, "Rhétorique et dispositif d'autorité," 3.
52. "Des cannibales," in *Essais*, 211.
53. See Jeanneret, "Léry et Thevet," 240.
54. Regarding the progressive questioning of cosmographic discourse, see Lestringant, "Le déclin d'un savoir."
55. The *Cosmographie universelle* (1575) by André Thevet borrows broadly from the three-volume work by the Venetian, Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Delle navigationi et viaggi* (1550–1606). On this question, see Lestringant, *L'Atelier du cosmographe*, chap. 2, "Leçons antiques: un Orient livresque," 59–77.
56. See Riberette, "Chateaubriand et Beltrami," 40–47.
57. Cooper, *The Letters and Journals of James Fenimore Cooper*, 1:212; emphasis added.
58. On the concept of "autopsy," see Lestringant, "Le déclin d'un savoir," 252.
59. On this terminology used by Chateaubriand to distinguish two stages of his literary apprenticeship, see pp. 134–35.
60. On this question, see Chateaubriand, *Voyage*, 364–65, note 23.
61. Rossi, "Présentation," in *Voyage en Amérique*, 43.
62. On the travel narratives of these authors, see the bibliography.
63. Chateaubriand, "Alex. Mackenzie," in *Œuvres complètes*, 88.
64. "I invent a language that must necessarily spring from a very new poetics, that I could define with these few words: *to paint not the thing but the effect that it produces*," Stéphane Mallarmé, letter of October 30, 1864, to H. Cazalis, in *Œuvres complètes*, 681; emphasis original.
65. Chateaubriand, "Alex. Mackenzie," 87.
66. On the concept of geometric spirit in the eighteenth century, see Frängsmyr, Heilbron, and Rider, *The Quantifying Spirit of the Eighteenth Century*.
67. The Niagara Falls are described, notably, by La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt (*Voyage*, 2:10–17) and Saint-John de Crèvecoeur (*Voyage dans la haute Pensylvanie*, 2:73–87).
68. On the Northwest Passage, see pp. 129–31.
69. See the prologue of chapter 3, pp. 127–29.
70. See the prologue of chapter 3, p. 127.
71. The example of Madison Stathers illustrates the denunciatory intention of certain readers of Chateaubriand. In *Chateaubriand et l'Amérique*, she declares that her ambition is to prove that he never visited the places described in *Atala*, and that his life was "a continual lie toward the world" (112).
72. In the vocabulary of Gérard Genette, an "analepsis" is the relating of an event that preceded the main story being told (*Figures III*, 77–121). Similarly, an analeptic representation of North America constitutes a return to an earlier past: the narrator remembers a period that preceded the time of his actual trip, a reminiscence that allows him to enhance the America that he had, in fact, known.
73. An earlier version of the following section, "Mourning for (New) France," has previously been published as "Chateaubriand and the Mourning of (New) France" in *French Forum*.
74. Craiutu and Isaac, *America Through European Eyes*, 7.
75. Chateaubriand, *Atala*, 33.
76. On the history of New France, see Havard and Vidal, *Histoire de l'Amérique française*.
77. Chateaubriand, "Préface de la première édition (1801)," in *Atala*, 22.
78. Furstenberg, "The Significance of the Trans-Appalachian Frontier," 657.

79. “I have come to say a few words about the destinies of America, of these other peoples, heirs of the unfortunate Indians: *I have no other pretention than to express regrets and hopes.*” Chateaubriand, *Voyage*, 137; emphasis added.
80. On the recovery of the manuscript of the *Voyage en Amérique*, see p. 134.
81. On “uchronia,” in Lezay-Marnésia’s *Letters*, see pp. 112–14.
82. Samuels, *The Spectacular Past*, 270.
83. Barbé-Marbois, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, 289.
84. Chateaubriand, *Voyage*, 371.
85. On Chateaubriand and the colonial ideology in France, see Prasad, *Colonialism, Race, and the French Romantic Imagination*, 72–98.
86. In 1790, Chateaubriand had planned to discover this route between the Sea of Greenland and the Pacific Ocean before quickly abandoning the project. On this subject, see the prologue of chapter 3, pp. 124–32.
87. On the “policy of fusion” established by Napoleon, see Morrissey, *The Economy of Glory*.
88. On this question, see p. 164.
89. This question quickly arises in the preface of the *Voyage* (113), concerning the languages of India.
90. On the question of Lezay-Marnésia’s description of Saint-Pierre, see pp. 112–14.
91. On the representations of slavery in French literature and culture, see Miller, *The French Atlantic Triangle*.
92. See Havard and Vidal, *Histoire de l’Amérique française*, 101.
93. See Guion, “Langue et nation,” 347–63.
94. Bouhours, *Les Entretiens d’Ariste et d’Eugène*, 163.
95. Bouhours, *Les Entretiens d’Ariste et d’Eugène*, 163.
96. Reichler, “Le deuil et l’enchantement,” 157.
97. Miller, “‘Slaves’ in My Family,” 109.
98. Rossi, “Présentation,” in *Voyage en Amérique*, 62.
99. Chateaubriand refused to support in the legislature the head of government, Villèle, who was engaged in a controversial plan to convert pensions. Irritated by this lack of political solidarity, Villèle obtained from Louis XVIII the dismissal of Chateaubriand.
100. “Préface générale (edition de 1826),” in *Œuvres complètes*, 1:iv; emphasis added.
101. See Lefort, “Mort de l’immortalité ?” 3:197.
102. Fumaroli, “Chateaubriand et Rousseau,” 213.
103. Beginning with the French Revolution, America is less and less described as a double for France but rather as an *other* for it. On this question, see the conclusion, pp. 182–83.
104. Chateaubriand, *Itinéraire*, 904.
105. Montesquieu, *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence* (1734).
106. Chateaubriand, *Itinéraire*, 905.
107. “Polémique (Paris, 5 décembre 1818),” in *Œuvres complètes de M. le Vicomte de Chateaubriand*, 28:191.
108. “Polémique (Paris, 5 décembre 1818),” in *Œuvres complètes de M. le Vicomte de Chateaubriand*, 28:192.
109. “Polémique (Paris, 5 décembre 1818),” in *Œuvres complètes de M. le Vicomte de Chateaubriand*, 28:194.
110. “Polémique (Paris, 5 décembre 1818),” in *Œuvres complètes de M. le Vicomte de Chateaubriand*, 28:191.
111. Chateaubriand, *Voyage*, 221.
112. An inscription indicates the place and date of the composition of books VI to VIII of the *Mémoires d’outre-tombe*: “London, from April to September 1822.” Nonetheless, the edition by Berchet highlights events that took place in 1843 (see Chateaubriand, *Mémoires*,

1:427, note 1). The final version of these books was not achieved until three years later, as indicated by the note “Revised in December 1846” placed at the beginning of the books VI, VII, and VIII. The final writing of the *Voyage en Amérique* thus preceded that of books VI to VIII of the *Mémoires*.

113. On the adoption of cosmographic discourse in the *Voyage*, see pp. 140–43.

114. Thevet, *Le Brésil d'André Thevet*, 194.

115. Montalbetti, *Le Voyage, le monde et la bibliothèque*, 177.

116. On analogy in the *Itinéraire*, see Guyot, *Analogie et récit de voyage*, 149–212.

117. Chateaubriand, *Mémoires*, 1:436.

118. See, respectively, Léry's *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Brésil*, 257, and Herodotus, *Histoires*, 2:114.

119. On this question, see Richard, *Paysages de Chateaubriand*.

120. See Dobie, “La rhétorique du rapprochement,” 63–87.

121. Chateaubriand compares the pyramids of Egypt to those he observed on the banks of the Ohio River: “[The Pyramids] reminded me of monuments that were less pompous but that were also tombs; I’m speaking of the sod structures that cover the ashes of the Amerindians on the banks of the Ohio. When I visited them, I was in quite a different *frame of mind* than when I beheld the mausoleums of the Pharaohs: at that time I was beginning the journey, and now I am finishing it. The world, in those two periods of my life, appeared to me precisely as an image of the two deserts where I saw those two kinds of tombs: happy solitudes, arid sands” (*Itinéraire*, 1144, emphasis added).

122. *Voyage au Mont-Blanc*, in Chateaubriand, *Œuvres complètes*, 7:822.

123. See Proust, *Le Temps retrouvé*, 226.

124. See the excerpt of the *Itinéraire* quoted in note 121.

125. “[I]f the human body has been once affected simultaneously by two exterior elements, as soon as the soul later imagines one of them, it will remember also the other, that is, it will consider them as both being present, unless other causes are in play that prevent their presence.” Spinoza, *Éthique*, 1:211.

126. Riffaterre, *La Production du texte*, 137.

127. Berchet, “Préface,” in *Mémoires d'outre-tombe*, 1:22.

128. Chateaubriand, “Préface testamentaire,” in *Mémoires d'outre-tombe*, 1:758.

129. On this question, see the study of Cavallin, *Chateaubriand mythographe*, as well as his article titled “Chateaubriand mythographe,” 1087–98.

130. Cavallin, *Chateaubriand mythographe*, 13; emphasis original.

131. Dobie, “La rhétorique du rapprochement,” 84.

132. On this question, see pp. 151–52.

133. “Proposition faite à la chambre des pairs,” in *Œuvres complètes de M. le Vicomte de Chateaubriand*, 30:42.

134. Chateaubriand, “Proposition faite à la chambre des pairs,” in *Œuvres complètes de M. le Vicomte de Chateaubriand*, 30:41.

135. Tocqueville favored the colonization of Algeria in the name of the overriding interests of France. As Nesbitt remarks, “Tocqueville’s writings on Algeria consistently subordinated the Rights of Man to those of the French citizen. These texts reveal that in the context of his political functions, Tocqueville placed the rights of the French citizens and the need to shore up an infirm French democratic tradition before the human rights of its colonial subjects. Tocqueville could simultaneously defend the use of violence against Algerian subjects while condemning French slavery because his predominant criterion in all of these writings was not the problem of human rights, but the glory and solidity of the democratic French state” (“On the Political Efficacy of Idealism: Tocqueville, Schoelcher, and the Abolition of Slavery,” in *America Through European Eyes*, 95). On Tocqueville and the colonization of Algeria, see likewise Pitts’s introduction to her edition, *Alexis de Tocqueville: Writings on Empire and Slavery*.

136. Dobie, “La rhétorique du rapprochement,” 85.

137. Regarding Rousseau's influence on Lévi-Strauss, see *Tristes tropiques*, 421.
138. In the part devoted to the Nambikwaras, Lévi-Strauss cites an account written by a fellow ethnographer concerning the members of this tribe (310). In order to counter this "heartbreaking description" with memories of a period ten years earlier that he had spent in the company of the Nambikwaras, Lévi-Strauss included a text composed when he was living with them (310–11). This practice of self-quotation and contextualizing by an older author of notes he had taken during his journey echoes the duality of Chateaubriand in the *Voyage en Amérique* where "the novice author" and the "aged writer" share the paternity of the text (see pp. 134–135). Regarding the functioning of the memory, Lévi-Strauss uses the expression "mental tracking" (143) to designate the passage from Brazil to South Asia in the fourth part of his work. The memory of a hotel in Brazil, for example, recalls that of a trip to Pakistan in 1950 (125).
139. Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes tropiques*, 32–33; emphasis original.
140. Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes tropiques*, 33.
141. See Debaene and Jeannelle, "Où est la littérature?," *Fabula/Les colloques, L'Idée de littérature dans les années 1950*, June 2004 <http://www.fabula.org/colloques/document66.php>.
142. "Alex. Mackenzie," 88.
143. On this question, see pp. 143–46.
144. According to Weber, the disenchantment of the world consists in breaking away from magic as a means of obtaining salvation. This concept is used in the revised 1920 edition of *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. It was later espoused by Marcel Gauchet in *Le Désenchantement du monde* (1985).
145. "Alex. Mackenzie," 88. The line of verse comes from Fontanes, "La forêt de Navarre," in *Œuvres*, 1:4.
146. Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes tropiques*, 348.
147. Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes tropiques*, 348.
148. Mourrot, *Le Génie d'un style*, 170.
149. Chateaubriand, *Voyage*, 178.
150. Scève's "Le Microcosme" (1562), may be found in his *Œuvres poétiques*, 234.
151. Fragment quoted by Berchet in *Mémoires*, 1:48.
152. See, for example, P. Desportes, "Chanson," in *Choix des poésies*, 232.
153. This term was found before in the writings of Pascal (see Jungo, *Le Vocabulaire de Pascal*, 55), of Choiseul in 1762 (see Gohin, *Les Transformations de la langue française*, 273), and of Mercier on the eve of the Revolution (see Mercier, *Mon bonnet de nuit*, 2:127).
154. For Du Bellay, see *Les Regrets*, 205; for Montaigne, the "Apologie de Raimond de Sebond," in *Essais*, 630.
155. As we saw earlier, Édouard de Mondésir compares Chateaubriand to Cervantes's hero: "The chevalier, I would almost say the Don Quixote, who often liked to take risks, wanted to go swimming in the ocean." See his *Souvenirs*, 22.
156. See "Des cannibales," in *Essais*, 208–21.
157. On this question, see p. 162.
158. "Whatever absurdity might be found in this parallel, whose goal, here again, is the purification of the American episode, disappears thanks to the magic of Ronsard's verse," Didier, "Voyages croisés," in *Chateaubriand Mémemorialiste*, 65.
159. See Cabanès, "L'encadrement du *Voyage en Amérique*," 61–67.
160. "Chryso-genous" is a neologism invented by Chateaubriand. It refers to an aristocracy "born of capitalist wealth. This neologism, with its Greek etymology, is a humorous reference to Byzantine titles" (Berchet in *Mémoires*, 1:534, note 2). We will comment later on the use of this term by Chateaubriand (pp. 177–80).
161. Chateaubriand, *Voyage*, 381.

162. Chateaubriand, *Mémoires*, 1:524–25. Page numbers in the following text all refer to this volume. In the *Voyage* (373), Chateaubriand evokes in similar terms the radical changes in the United States since his stay there.

163. Chateaubriand, “Préface testamentaire,” in *Mémoires*, 1:758.

164. Hazard, “Chateaubriand et la littérature des États-Unis,” 46–61.

165. Vail, *De la littérature et des hommes de lettres des États-Unis d’Amérique*, xvi.

166. Hazard, “Chateaubriand et la littérature des États-Unis,” 52.

167. Jefferson, *Notes*, 64.

168. Baudelaire, *Edgar Allan Poe, sa vie et ses ouvrages*, in *Œuvres complètes*, 2:249–95.

169. “Both young and old, America chatters and rambles with remarkable glibness” Baudelaire, *Edgar Allan Poe, sa vie et ses ouvrages*, in *Œuvres complètes*, 2:320.

170. Might Chateaubriand be thinking of Presidents Martin Van Buren (1837–41), William Henry Harrison (1841), or John Tyler (1841–45)?

171. On this question, see pp. 146–56.

172. Chateaubriand, *Voyage*, 381.

173. Whereas Chateaubriand announced the formation of an aristocratic class in the United States, Tocqueville asserted that the law on inheritance served the cause of social equality: having adopted the principle of equal shares between heirs, the United States mitigated the bequeathing of entire estates to one person. On this question, see Tocqueville, *De la Démocratie en Amérique*, 1:42.

174. As Paul Krugman observes, “The current generation of the very rich in America may consist largely of executives rather than rentiers, people who live off accumulated capital, but these executives have heirs. And America two decades from now could be a rentier-dominated society even more unequal than Belle Époque Europe” (“Why We’re in a New Gilded Age”).

175. On Buffon’s theory on the degeneration of species in America, see pp. 77–78, and p. 198, note 2.

176. On this question, see Roger, *The American Enemy*.

Conclusion

1. Philo-Americanism is a discourse expressing admiration and enthusiasm first for the English colonies in North America and subsequently for the United States itself (there was a philo-Americanism before and after the War of Independence). America was thus conceived as a model that the French were to imitate as they sought to reform their own political institutions and to promote values that, supposedly, had found their full expression across the Atlantic (in particular, religious tolerance and freedom of speech, as well as equality before the law and of social classes). Philo-Americanism is organized around recurrent themes and based on the same authorities whoever the speaker was, turning it into a coherent and systematic discourse rather than a disparate assortment of pro-American sentiments. Its characteristics will be further developed in the course of this conclusion. In regard to anti-Americanism, Roger, in his benchmark study of the topic, gives the following definition: “Anti-Americanism is an unbridled discourse, not only because it is rife with irrationality and bubbling with humors, but also because it takes an essayistic form, rather than that of a dissertation or a demonstration. (It does not follow ‘orders’ either; there is no anti-American conspiracy.) Its logic is one of accumulation, accretion—‘I’ll take that one’ or ‘give me a little bit more of that’—in short, it is a mad dash that ignores the Aristotelian principle of non-contradiction” (*The American Enemy*, xvi–xvii).

2. “Introduction,” in *America Through European Eyes*, 7–8.

3. Echeverria, *Mirage in the West*, 183. By “American Dream,” Echeverria is referring to the whole set of opinions favorable to the United States in Old Regime France and not to what this idea evokes today, that is, the myth of guaranteed prosperity for hardworking people

who have come to seek a better life in America. In the rest of this conclusion, the expression is used in the sense given by Echeverria here.

4. Echeverria, *Mirage in the West*, 183.
5. In regard to French anti-Americanism in this period, see Echeverria, *Mirage in the West*, 175.
6. On this question, see Chateaubriand, *Atala*, 22.
7. "Fusées," in *Œuvres complètes*, 1:665–66.
8. Regarding Duhamel and the discourse of French intellectuals on America in the modern period, see Mathy, *Extrême-Occident*, 52–103.
9. Duhamel, *Scènes de la vie future*, 16–17.
10. Duhamel, *Scènes de la vie future*, 217.
11. See, respectively, Debray, *Contretemps*, 104, and Aron and Dandieu, *Le Cancer américain*.
12. Regarding Chateaubriand's pessimism toward the United States, see pp. 173–80. For Europe's attitude in the 1830s, see Roger, *The American Enemy*, 53.
13. See "Frenchmen in America, 1776–1783," in Echeverria's *Mirage in the West*, 79–115.
14. See Moreau-Zanelli, *Gallipolis*, 414–15.