



PROJECT MUSE®

Posthumous America

Benjamin Hoffmann, Alan J. Singerman

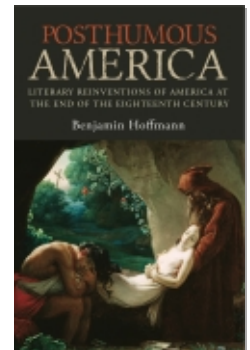
Published by Penn State University Press

Hoffmann, Benjamin & Singerman, J..

Posthumous America: Literary Reinventions of America at the End of the Eighteenth Century.

University Park: Penn State University Press, 2018.

Project MUSE., <https://muse.jhu.edu/>.



➔ For additional information about this book

<https://muse.jhu.edu/book/59028>

INDEX

.....

Note: Page numbers in italics refer to figures; those followed by n refer to notes, with note number.

L'Action des principes de la religion et de, la véritable philosophie (Lezay-Marnésia), 89

Adams, John, 86

Adams, Percy G., 63

adaptation method of translation, Crèvecoeur's *Lettres* and, 26–27

Adventures of Télémaque (Fénelon), 12

advertising function of posthumous accounts

definition of, 6

Lezay-Marnésia's *Letters* and, 96–97,

106, 123

Lezay-Marnésia's *Nouveau prospectus* and, 92

A la recherche du temps perdu (Proust). See *In Search of Lost Time* (Proust)

Alembert, Jean le Rond d', 80, 107, 130

Algeria, Chateaubriand on French conquest of, 164, 208n135

Aline, reine de Golconde (*Aline, Queen of Golconde*, Boufflers), 100–101, 103–4

alterity

Amerindian, Lezay-Marnésia's negation of, 100–102

analogic understanding as rejection of, 157, 158–59

and French anti-Americanism, 184, 185–86

French perception of, in America, 154–55, 182–83, 184, 185

America, French views on

and America as alterity, 154–55, 182–83, 184, 185

and America as mobile sign, 181, 182, 183

evolution from idealized past of Europe to its disquieting future, 181, 183, 184

French Revolution and, 182, 183

idealization of, as result of great distance, 3–4

as land of opportunity, 4

as utopia, 4

See also anti-Americanism; philo-Americanism

American Dream

Chateaubriand on death of, 178

Crèvecoeur on death of, 41

as part of Golden Age in Crèvecoeur's America, 41

as unnecessary to French after French Revolution, 182

Americanization, French fear of, 184–85

Amerindians

attacks on Ohio and Kentucky Territory settlers, 86–87, 199n31

perceived affinity of European nobles with, 99

resistance to US expansion, 2

Tocqueville on, 9

translation of Bible into Natick language as monument to, 66, 73

See also noble savage concept; *entries under* Chateaubriand, François-René de; Crèvecoeur, Michel-Guillaume Saint-John de; Lezay-Marnésia, Claude-François-Adrien de

Aminta (Le Tasse), 108

analeptic function of posthumous accounts, 12

in Chateaubriand, 146, 147–50, 163–64, 167–73, 181–82, 206n72

definition of, 6

analogy, as path to understanding

vs. aesthetic of convergence, 160–62

Chateaubriand's rejection of in *Mémoires d'outre-tombe*, 156–59

Chateaubriand's use of, in *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem*, 157

and ethnocentrism, 157, 158–59

Andrieux, François, 114–15

"Anecdote of the Sassafras and the Wild Vine" (Crèvecoeur), 37–38, 38–39

"Anecdote of the Wild Dog" (Crèvecoeur), 28–30, 32, 102

Ansart, Guillaume, 104–5

anti-Americanism

characteristics of, 210n1

- Chateaubriand and, 173, 175, 180
 evolution of eighteenth-century philo-
 lo-Americanism into, 181–83
 perceived characteristics of American
 culture in, 185–86
 and perception of America as model of
 undesirable future, 184–85
 and US culture as other, 184, 185–86
- Atala* (Chateaubriand)
 on Amerindians, 71
 anachronistic aesthetic of, 145
 Chateaubriand's transport of manuscript
 from England, 134
 critics on veracity of, 128
 on French loss of American colonies,
 147, 184
 model for *Atala* in, 172–73
 shell fragment intercepted by manu-
 script of, at siege of Thionville, 133
 success of, 76
 writing of, 132–33
- Atlantic crossing, time required for, 3
 and inaccuracy of descriptions of Amer-
 ica, 3–4
- Audrain, M., Lezay-Marnésia and, 121
- Avis à ceux qui voudraient s'en aller en
 Amérique* (Franklin), 4
- L'Axe du Loup* (Tesson), 12
- Baillet, M., 92
- Balzac, Honoré de, 54
- Barbé-Marbois, François, 1, 149
- Barlow, Joel, 82, 83
- Barth, comte de, 97
- Bartram, William, 63, 128, 137, 141–42, 143,
 205n45
- Bassan, Fernande., 128
- Baudelaire, Charles, 176, 177, 184
- Bazin, Christian, 125
- Beaumarchais, Pierre, 101
- Beauvau, Prince and Princess of, 25, 27
- Bédier, Joseph, 128
- Beltrami, Giacomo Constantino, 128, 142,
 143
- Berchet, Jean-Claude, 128–29, 170, 176
- Bergasse, Nicolas, 24
- Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, Moravian com-
 munity at
 French admiration for, 107–8
 history of, 107
 as model for Lezay-Marnésia's ideal com-
 munity, 105, 107, 108–10; and Golden
 Age, hope for, 108; Lezay-Marnésia's
 idealization of, 105, 110–11; as proof
 of Lezay-Marnésia's patriarchal mod-
 el, 105, 107, 108; removal of equality
 from model, 109–10; similarities to
 Lezay-Marnésia's program and, 109
- Beyond Ethnicity* (Sollors), 43–45
- Bleu-Blanc-Rouge* (Mabanckou), 12
- Bonaparte, Napoleon, 21, 59, 65, 147, 149,
 155, 164
- Le Bonheur dans les campagnes* (Lezay-Marné-
 sia), 79, 80–81, 99, 104
- Bonnel, Roland Guy, 15, 80
- Bornet, Claude, 43
- Boufflers, Stanislas de, 80, 81, 98
 See also *Aline, reine de Golconde* (Bouf-
 flers)
- Brackenridge, Hugh Henry, 113
- Brissot de Warville, Jacques-Pierre
 Chastellux and, 108
 and circular interplay of New World
 expectations and experience, 31–32
- Crèvecoeur's correspondence with, 48
 and Crèvecoeur's idealized America,
 36–37
 on Crèvecoeur's melancholy, 24–25
 defense of Crèvecoeur against critics,
 78
 and fictionality of Crèvecoeur's farmer
 persona, 60
 on French colonies in America, 88
 motives for visiting America, 139
- Bucolics* (Virgil), 108
- Buffon, Georges-Louis-Leclerc de, 77–78
- Butler, Richard, 83, 87
- “Des Cannibales” (Montaigne), 30
- Capital in the Twenty-First Century* (Piketty),
 179
- Carré, Henri, 105
- Carver, Jonathan, 143
- Casanova, Giacomo, 61–62
- Castries, Charles-Eugène-Gabriel de la
 Croix, Marquis de, 25, 47
- Certeau, Michel de, 73–74
- Cerutti, 80
- Chamfort, Sébastien-Roch Nicolas de, 80
 charity, and renewal of feudal relations,
 Lezay-Marnésia on, 80
- Charlevoix, Pierre-François-Xavier de, 128,
 143
- Chastellux, marquis de, 107–8, 109, 139

- Chateaubriand, François-René de
 alternative destinies as central theme in, 126–27
 on America: as ancient land of lost civilizations, 155; expectations vs. reality of, 11; role of, in regeneration of France, 184
 on Amerindian decline: causes of, 73; and effort to preserve memory through writing, 11, 66, 73, 75, 76; European influence as cause of, 153, 155; as harbinger of American decline, 177; and inevitable annihilation, 74; and lost languages, 150; as presage of French future, 152–56; as reflection on human impermanence, 146; as warning to France, 76
 on Amerindians: account of, as posthumous representation, 76; affinity with French, 153; disappointment in, 9; encounter with, in *Atala*, 71; fascination with, 11; and implied superiority of European culture, 75; influence of, 9; and search for Northwest Passage, 129; as well-informed, 142–43
 and anti-Americanism, 173, 175, 180
 appeal of ancient things to, 66
 as contemporary of American and French revolutions, 10
 and Crèvecoeur, familiarity with, 11
 on Crèvecoeur's *Voyage dans la Haute Pensylvanie*, 66
 on decline of civilizations, inevitability of, 152–53, 155
 on decline of France, 76, 146–47, 152–56
 diplomatic career of, 154, 207n99
 doxological America in, evolution of, 7
 exile in England, 133, 134
 final pessimism about America, 173–80
 on French culture, self-interest's triumph over duty in, 155–56
 and French imperialism, support for, 150, 151–52, 163–65, 208n135
 on French language, 150, 151–52
 and French Revolution, 55, 130, 131, 133, 154, 205n23
 on human inability to see future, 75
 influence of Crèvecoeur on, 125
 influence on Lévi-Strauss, 165–66
 interest in America, 129
 loss of manuscripts of French Revolution, 133
- Montesquieu and, 130
 and New France colonies: analeptic speculations about alternative futures based on, 147–50, 163–64; and French language, perpetuation of, 150; nostalgia for, 146–47, 184; pride in French glory reflected in, 149–50
 and Northwest Passage, search for, 129–31, 145, 167; and potential alternative futures, 126, 131
 parallels in work of, 159
 philo-Americanism of, and travelers' disappointment at reality, 186
 and polar conquest, plans for, 11
 posthumous America in, 15, 127, 131–32, 140; anachronisms in, 138–39, 145–46, 167–71; analeptic function of, 146, 147–50, 163–64, 167–73, 181–82, 206n72; and intrusion of fictional elements over time, 131–32; as meditation on what could have been, 150; reinvention of, over years before publication, 180; and role of America in regeneration of France, 184; specular function of, 146–47, 152–56; as unrecoverable ghost, 138
 recollections in, as either philosophical or affective, 161–62
 return to France after exile, and manuscripts abandoned in England, 134
 and Rousseau, influence of, 170
 scholarship on, 12–13
 and sharks, story of swimming near, 124–26
 ties to Lezay-Marnésia's and Crèvecoeur's works, 8, 11
 tragic consciousness of time in, 137–38
 ultimate insignificance of human achievement as common theme in, 126
 and use of fictional sources, 63
 on writing and memory, 6
 See also *Atala* (Chateaubriand); *Mémoires d'outre-tombe* (Chateaubriand); *Les Natchez* (Chateaubriand); *Voyage en Amérique* (Chateaubriand); *other specific works*
- Chevignard, Bernard, 14, 17, 23, 26, 48
 chiasmus
 in life of Lezay-Marnésia, 120–21
 in work of Crèvecoeur, 60, 121
 chrysoigenous aristocracy in America, Chateaubriand on, 178–79, 209n160

- cities, US, rapid growth of, 2
- civilization(s)
- American, French perception of, 42, 58
 - Chateaubriand on inevitable decline of, 152–53, 155
 - Crèvecoeur on American contributions to, 42
 - US, as other for French, 183, 184, 185
 - See also* Amerindians; *Mémoires d'outre-tombe* (Chateaubriand), on American decline
- Clavière, Étienne, 24
- Cleland, Hugh G., 203n136
- climate, as cause of American decline, Chateaubriand on, 179–80
- Cloots, Anacharsis, 85
- Club des Impartiaux, 114
- Code Noir (Black Code), Colbert and, 151
- Colbert, Jean-Baptiste, 151
- colonization, French, Chateaubriand's support for, 150, 151–52, 163–65, 208n135
- See also* New France colonies
- Columbus, Christopher, 8
- New-World reports by, as descriptions on his expectations rather than reality, 95–96
- commemorative function of posthumous accounts, 6
- in Chateaubriand, 132, 134, 135–38
 - in Lezay-Marnésia, 123
- conservation movement
- Crèvecoeur and, 67
 - vs. preservation movement, 68
- Cooper, James Fenimore, 142, 176
- Copley, John Singleton, 125, 204n4
- cosmography
- borrowed erudition as characteristic of, 141–42
 - characteristics of, 140–41
 - Chateaubriand's *Voyage en Amérique* as work of, 140–43
- Craiuutu, Aurelian, 146, 181
- Crèvecoeur, Guillaume-Alexandre “Ally” (son), 19, 20, 23
- Crèvecoeur, Guillaume-Augustin de (father), 17
- Crèvecoeur, Mehetable Tippet (wife), 19, 23
- Crèvecoeur, Michel-Guillaume Saint-John de
- on America: ambivalent attitude toward, 121; expectations vs. reality of, 11
 - on Americans’ as unworthy of free government, 48
 - on Amerindians: ambivalent view of, 69, 72; contact with, 18; destruction of, as warning to France, 76; ecumenical relations with settlers, 29–30, 31, 32, 193n70; effort to preserve memory of through writing, 11, 66, 67, 70–76; empathy with, 70, 71–73, 75; fascination with, 11; hypocrisy of Christian treatment of, 73; inability to foresee future, 69; inevitable annihilation of, 70, 73, 74; inferiority to Europeans, 69, 70, 71; as inhabitants of the present, 69, 75; lack of permanent monuments made by, 69, 74–75; languages, lack of abstract words in, 71, 72; as portrayal of expectations, 102; as posthumous representation, 67, 73, 74–75, 76; praise for eloquence of, 72; and preservation of Amerindian toponyms, 70; rejection of sedentary lifestyle by, 69, 72; as Rousseauian noble savages, 28–30, 31; spread of views across several characters, 70; and translation of Christian texts into Amerindian languages, 73; white colonists’ responsibility for annihilation of, 67, 69, 70–71
 - attack on, in Lezay-Marnésia’s *Letters*, 77, 78
 - attractiveness of ancient things to, 66
 - career of, 18, 19, 23
 - as contemporary of American and French revolutions, 10
 - correspondence, with son Ally, 20
 - creativity of, as nostalgic impulse of second self, 17, 21, 25, 35–37, 37–39
 - criticisms of, 77, 78
 - and ecological thought, 67–69
 - and English, excellent command of, 19, 20
 - on Federalist-Antifederalist debate, 52–53
 - as French Consul in New York, 25, 27, 37, 47–48, 60, 121, 130, 193n58
 - and French language: difficulty of re-learning, 19–20, 27; turn to writing in, after *Letters*, 20–21
 - and French Revolution, 24–25
 - on French Revolution, damage done by, 60–61
 - greater knowledge of America that Lezay-Marnésia or Chateaubriand, 18, 19
 - and Greycourt estate, purchase of, 19

- Crèvecoeur, Michel-Guillaume Saint-John de (*cont'd*)
 and happiness, as always "before," 123
 and idealized view of US, exploitation for book sales, 4
 and Lezay-Marnésia, influence on, 122
 on liberty, Americans' abuse of, 46–47
 life of: in Canada, 18; destruction of farm and death of wife, 192n48; in English colonies, 18–23; English pseudonym adopted by, 18–19; family and early life, 17; residence in England, 17–18; return to France, 19, 20–21, 24; wife and children, 19
 Madame d'Houdetot and, 25, 47, 191n17
 Malesherbes and, 130
 on Napoleon, 21, 65
 on newness of America, 7
 philo-Americanism of, and travelers' disappointment at reality, 186
 and physiocratic theory, 53
 posthumous America in, 15; as combination of collective image and individual nostalgia, 32; Crèvecoeur's lack of interest in return to, 60; as doubly fictionalized, 39, 63–64; as doubly posthumous, 64–65; as dream world of refuge, 60, 61, 62; and France as symbolic double of United States, 54, 58–59, 65; as Golden Age, 39–41; as idealization, 35, 138; masquerading as direct reporting, 36; vs. pessimism of his correspondence, 36; as response to nostalgic impulse, 32, 36–37; and role of America in regeneration of France, 184; specular function of, 154; as type of publicity, 32
 reputation of, 14
 and Revolutionary War losses, effect of, 35
 scholarship on, 13
 ties to Lezay-Marnésia' and Chateaubriand's works, 8, 11
 Turgot and, 53
 and War of Independence, 22–23, 24–25, 35, 41, 51
 and War of Independence, imprisonment during, 22–23; metaphysical crisis prompted by, 23, 24, 52–53; period of anguish following, 24–25; release, 23; as source of literary creativity, 16–17, 23–24; and splitting of self into two, 16–17, 22, 23–24, 25, 51
 work of, as chiasmus, 60, 121
 and writing, discomfort with, 27
 See also *Letters from an American Farmer* (Crèvecoeur); *Lettres d'un cultivateur américain* (Crèvecoeur); *More Letters from the American Farmer* (Crèvecoeur); *Sketches of Eighteenth-Century America* (Crèvecoeur); *Voyage aux grandes salines tyroliennes de Reichenhall* (Crèvecoeur); *Voyage dans la Haute Pensylvanie et dans l'État de New York depuis l'année 1785 jusqu'en 1798* (Crèvecoeur)
- Cronique de Paris*, 85
 Cullen, Jim, 35, 54
 Cunliffe, Marcus, 31–32
- Davies, Thomas, 24
 Davis, Lockyer, 24
 Debray, Régis, 186
 deception
 in hopes for France and America, Lezay-Marnésia on, 119
 and idealization of posthumous representations, 9, 123, 131, 167
 by land speculators, See Scioto Company
 Lezay-Marnésia's state of denial and, 117–18
 by writers on America, Lezay-Marnésia on, 77, 78
- Découverte des sources du Mississippi et de la Rivière sanglante* (Beltrami), 142, 143
 Degout, Bernard, 136, 137
 deism, Crèvecoeur's Socialbourg and, 51
De la littérature et des hommes de lettres des États-Unis (Vail), 175, 177
 Delawares, attacks on Ohio and Kentucky Territory settlers, 86–87
 Desan, Suzanne, 104, 114
Description of the Soil and the Productivity of this Portion of the United States (Scioto Company), 83
 descriptions of America, inaccuracy of delay in communication between US and France and, 3–4
 rapid cultural change and, 1, 2–3, 189n11
Le Désenchantement du monde (Gauchet), 167
 Desmoulin, Camille, 85
Dialogues de Monsieur le Baron de Lahontan et d'un sauvage (Lahontan), 30

- Dictionnaire philosophique* (Voltaire), 107
- Diderot, Denis, 33, 80, 104, 107
- Didier, Béatrice, 172
- Didier, Pierre-Joseph, 92
- Dillon, Henriette Lucy, marquise de la Tour du Pin, 86
- Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes* (*Discourse on the Origin and Foundations of Inequality Among Men*, Rousseau), 8, 28, 31
- Discovery of the Sources of the Mississippi and of the Bloody River* (Beltrami), 142, 143
- disenchantment, illusions about America and, 8, 167, 209n144
- The Disenchantment of the World* (Gauchet), 167
- Dobie, Madeleine, 163, 164
- Dom Juan* (Molière), 101
- doxological America
- changes over time in, 32
 - in Chateaubriand, evolution of, 7
 - Columbus's reports on New World and, 95–96
 - Crèvecoeur and, 32
 - definition of, 6–7
 - French Revolution and, 7
 - gaps between referent and, 6
 - as Golden Age, 7
 - interplay with actual experiences, in accounts of New World, 31–32
 - in Lezay-Marnésia's letters from America, 79, 95, 96–97, 102–3; basis in hopes rather than reality, 89, 92–95, 103
 - national variations in, 32
 - in posthumous representations of America, 6
 - slow reconfiguration of, 7
 - See also* advertising function of posthumous accounts
- Duhamel, Georges, 184–85
- Dupaty, Jean-Baptiste Mercier, 80
- Echeverria, Durand, 41–42, 60, 182, 210n3
- ecological thought, Crèvecoeur and, 67–69
- elegy, and posthumous representations of America, 6
- in Chateaubriand, 152, 165, 173, 184
 - in Crèvecoeur, 17
 - in Lezay-Marnésia, 80, 120, 121–22
- emigration to America
- by Chateaubriand, 36, 129–30, 205n23
 - of Crèvecoeur's family, 18
 - Crèvecoeur's warnings on, 117
 - as escape from French Revolution, 36, 82, 87, 96, 130, 205n23
 - as escape from poverty, 41
 - Franklin's encouragement of, 4
 - French criticisms of, after Revolution, 114–15
 - Girondins' views on, 88
 - by Lezay-Marnésia, 79, 87
 - Lezay-Marnésia's promotion of, 118, 120–21, 123
 - See also* Saint-Pierre settlement, Lezay-Marnésia's plans for; utopian project on Ohio River, Lezay-Marnésia's plans for
- Encyclopédie* of Diderot and d'Alembert
- Lezay-Marnésia and, 80
 - Malesherbes and, 130
 - on Moravian community in Bethlehem, 107
- Enlightenment thought
- Crèvecoeur's Socialbourg and, 51
 - progressive paradigm of New World and, 42
- En Lisant en écrivant* (Gracq), 38
- Eprémesnil, Jean-Jacques Duval d', 85, 86, 105, 113–14
- "L'Esquisse du Fleuve Obyo et du Pays de Kentuckey" (Crèvecoeur), 83–84
- Essais* (Montaigne), 169, 171
- Essai sur la nature champêtre* (Lezay-Marnésia), 79, 109
- Essai sur les moeurs et l'esprit des nations* (Voltaire), 107
- Essai sur les revolutions* (Chateaubriand), 133
- Essay on Rural Nature* (Lezay-Marnésia), 79, 109
- Essay on the Manners and Spirit of Nations* (Voltaire), 107
- Ethics* (Spinoza), 161
- L'Étudiant étranger* (Labro), 12, 54
- exoticism of America
- Chateaubriand and, 18
 - Crèvecoeur and, 43, 123
 - French, of nineteenth century, 4
 - Lezay-Marnésia and, 123
- exoticism of Amerindians, Lezay-Marnésia and, 101
- Faguet, Émile, 128
- Fantanes, Louis de, 80

- Faÿ, Bernard, 76
- Federalist-Antifederalist debate, Crèvecoeur on, 52–53
- Fénelon, François, 12
- fictionalization
- in Chateaubriand, 63, 131–32, 137
 - in Crèvecoeur, 39, 59–60, 63–64
 - in Lezay-Marnésia, 89, 92–95
- Figueiredo, Yves, 68
- Fontanes, Louis de, 167
- The Foreign Student* (Labro), 12, 54
- France
- decline of, Chateaubriand's fear of, 76, 146–47, 152–56
 - hopes for American colonies sympathetic to Revolution, 88
 - imperialism, Chateaubriand's support for, 150, 151–52, 163–65, 208n135
 - See also America, French views on; emigration to America
- Franklin, Benjamin
- comtesse d'Houdetot and, 191n17
 - Crèvecoeur and, 18, 25, 41, 63
 - emigration of French couple and, 120
 - and idealized view of US, encouragement of, 4
- "The French on the Banks of the Scioto, Epistle to an Emigrant to Kentucky" (Andrieux), 114–15
- French Revolution
- Chateaubriand and, 55, 130, 131, 133, 154, 205n23
 - Crèvecoeur and, 24–25
 - Crèvecoeur on damage done by, 60–61
 - and France as new world of liberty and equality, 114–15
 - and French view of America, 182, 183
 - Lezay-Marnésia and, 55, 82, 87, 88–89, 113–14
 - Lezay-Marnésia's Saint-Pierre settlement as uchronotopia recreating France without, 112–14
 - and reconfiguration of doxological America, 7
- Fumaroli, Marc, 154
- Furstenberg, François, 147
- Gauchet, Marcel, 167
- Genêt, Edmond-Charles, 88
- Genette, Gérard, 206n72
- Génie du christianisme* (Chateaubriand), 66, 140–43
- Georgics* (Virgil), 33, 108
- Girondins
- censure of Lezay-Marnésia's *Letters*, 15, 76, 87–88
 - hopes for American colonies sympathetic to Revolution, 88
- Golden Age
- comparisons of US to, 4
 - Crèvecoeur's posthumous America as, 39–41, 55–56, 181; destruction of with War of Independence, 41; in Early Republic, 55–56, 58–59; economic opportunity as necessary condition for, 41; and necessity of isolated autonomy, 39–41; and role of America in regeneration of France, 184
 - doxological America as, 7
 - Lezay-Marnésia on, 89, 107, 108, 122–23, 184
 - and utopia, fusion of, 40
 - Voltaire on Penn and, 107
- Gracq, Julien, 38, 49
- Grimm, Friedrich Melchior, 80
- guidebooks, characteristics vs. travel narratives, 139–40
- Guyot, Alain, 96
- Hamilton, Alexander, 86
- Happiness in the Countryside* (Lezay-Marnésia), 79, 80–81, 99, 104
- The Happy Family* (Lezay-Marnésia), 80, 120
- Hazard, Paul, 175
- Hemingway, Ernest, 12
- Henry, Patrick, 52
- Herodotus, 158
- Hesiod, 39
- L'Heureuse Famille* (Lezay-Marnésia), 80, 120
- Histoire de ma vie* (Casanova), 61–62
- history, vs. posthumous account, 5
- Hollier, Denis, 131
- Homer, 108
- Houdetot, Elisabeth-Françoise-Sophie-Lalive de Bellegarde, Comtesse de, 19–20, 25, 27, 47, 191n17
- idealization of America
- in Crèvecoeur, 21–22, 26, 33–34, 35, 36–37, 37–39, 138
 - French distance from America and, 3–4
 - in French view of America as France's past, 181, 183, 184
 - in Lezay-Marnésia, 78–79, 105, 110–11, 138
 - posthumous America as, 5–6

- in posthumous representations, 9, 123, 131, 167
- Rousseau and, 4
- Illusions perdues* (Balzac), 54
- imagination, truth of, Chateaubriand on, 143–46, 166–67
- immigration
- origins of migrants, 2
 - and population growth, 2
- In Search of Lost Time* (Proust), 38, 49, 160
- Irving, Washington, 176
- Isaac, Jeffrey C., 146, 181
- Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem* (Chateaubriand)
- and aesthetic of convergence, 160
 - on civilizations, destruction of, 155
 - evocation of memories from, in *Mémoires d'outre-tombe*, 159–60, 163, 208n121
 - use of analogy in, 157
- Jefferson, Thomas, 47, 63, 86, 175, 177, 191n17, 203n135
- Jehlen, Myra, 22
- Journey in Upper Pennsylvania and the State of New York from 1785 to 1798* (Crèvecoeur). See *Voyage dans la Haute Pennsylvanie et dans l'État de New York depuis l'année 1785 jusqu'en 1798* (Crèvecoeur)
- Julie ou la Nouvelle Héloïse* (Rousseau)
- aesthetics of, Crèvecoeur's adoption of in *Lettres*, 4
 - on appeal of country life, 80
 - aristocratic paternalism in, 81
 - comtesse d'Houdetot and, 191n17
 - echoes of, in Lezay-Marnésia, 79
 - and idealized view of US, 4
 - influence on Lezay-Marnésia, 80, 81
- Jullien, Dominique, 8
- Kléber, Jean-Baptiste, 164
- Krugman, Paul, 210n174
- Labro, Philippe, 12, 54
- Lacretelle, Louis de, 19, 27, 34, 193n58
- Lafayette, Gilbert du Motier, marquis de, 47, 107, 123
- Lahontan, Louis Armand de, 96, 143
- "Les Lampes" (Lezay-Marnésia), 79
- La Rochefoucauld family, Crèvecoeur and, 25
- La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, François-Alexandre-Frédéric, 2–3, 139
- la Tour du Pin, marquise de. See Dillon, Henriette Lucy, marquise de la Tour du Pin
- Launey, Emmanuel-Henri-Louis-Alexandre, comte d'Antraigues, 105
- law of suspects, Lezay-Marnésia and, 88
- Le Page du Pratz, Antoine-Simon, 143
- Léry, Jean de, 30, 142, 158
- Lestringant, Frank, 140
- Letters from an American Farmer* (Crèvecoeur)
- on Amerindians, effort to preserve memory of, 66
 - in anthologies of American literature, 20
 - attacks on Crèvecoeur in, 77, 78
 - on bees, and struggle for existence in nature, 33
 - and Crèvecoeur's nostalgia, 17
 - Crèvecoeur's turn to writing in French following, 20
 - dedication to abbé de Raynal, 47
 - differences from *More Letters* and *Sketches*, 21
 - farmer in, readers' confusion of with Crèvecoeur, 20, 191n22
 - as idealized account of American farm life, 21–22
 - interpretation of, in tandem with French version, 14
 - Lezay-Marnésia on fabrications in, 11
 - as literary, not documentary, account, 21
 - on newness of America, 7
 - publication of, 24
 - translation into French, 19
 - on translation of Christian texts into Amerindian languages, as type of monument, 73
 - on War of Independence, 22
 - "What is an American?" (Letter III), 20
 - See also *Lettres d'un cultivateur américain* (Crèvecoeur)
- Letters Written from the Banks of the Ohio* (Lezay-Marnésia), 95–104
- on America as lost paradise, 120
 - on Amerindians: and circular interplay of New World expectations and experience, 102; condescendence toward, 99; expected dominion over, 96; and Lezay-Marnésia's privilege, 99–100; literary models for, 100–102; as natural colonial subjects, 98–102; negation of alterity in, 98, 100–102;

Letters Written from the Banks of the Ohio
(cont'd)

rewriting of, to fit his expectations, 99–100, 100–102; visit from Huron queen and party, 97–102

attack on previous literary descriptions of North America, 77–78

attack on Scioto Company in, 106

on Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, as model community, 105, 107, 108–10; as Golden Age, 108; idealization of, 105, 110–11; as proof of Lezay-Marnésia's patriarchal model, 105, 107, 108; removal of equality from model, 109–10; similarities to Lezay-Marnésia's program, 109

censure by Girondins, 15, 76, 87–88

claimed accuracy of, 78

condescendence toward Americans in, 98

first letter, 97–104

and hope for revival of Old World through New, 76

on Lezay-Marnésia's despair in New World, 121–22

literary qualities of, 10

on Monsieur and Madame Pintreaux, 120–21, 122

portrait of America in: criticisms of, 78; as idealized, 78–79, 105, 110–11

posthumous representation of America in: advertising function of, 96–97, 106, 123; as descriptions on his expectations rather than reality, 95, 96–97, 103

publication history of, 76, 87, 89

on realities of settlers' life, 98

reception of, 14–15

Saint-Pierre as addressee of, 105, 112, 119

on Saint-Pierre settlement, plans for: Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, as model for, 105, 107, 109–11; as both reality and imaginary emotional escape, 117–19; comparison to Islands of the Blessed, 118–19; as idealization, 110–11; isolation of community within Pennsylvania, 115–17; land for, 112; Lezay-Marnésia's Freudian denial about, 118; naming of, 109; plans for expansion into Northwest Territory, 112, 115; as potential reality and imaginary emotional escape, 111–12; precise calculations used to project

practicality of, 117; and proposed peaceful relations with France, 115; removal of equality from Bethlehem model, 109–10; Saint-Pierre's earlier plan as model for, 105, 108; as uchronopia recreating France without Revolution, 112–14

on "salad-bowl" theory, 15, 116–17

second letter, 104–19

third letter, 119–23

three letters of, 89

and uchronical genre, 15

on utopian project, possibility of continuing, 106–7

"Letter to Monsieur Audrain, Merchant in Pittsburgh" (Lezay-Marnésia)

addition to second edition of *Reading Program*, 89–90

on American Golden Age, as available only in posthumous representation, 122–23

gap between writing and publication of, 102–3

on Lezay-Marnésia's utopian community, as no longer possible, 111

Lettre écrite par un Français émigrant sur les terres de la Compagnie du Scioto à son ami à Paris (Letter Written by a Frenchman Immigrating to the Lands of the Scioto Company to his Friend in Paris), 91–92, 94

Lettres d'un cultivateur américain (Crève-coeur), 1784 edition

aesthetics of, influence of French political context on, 25

on Amerindians: ecumenical relations with settlers, 29–30, 31, 32, 193n70; and portrayal of expectations, 102; as Rousseauian noble savages, 28–30, 31

"Anecdote of the Sassafra and the Wild Vine," 37–38, 38–39

"Anecdote of the Wild Dog," 28–30, 32, 102

on autonomy as condition for Golden Age, 40

on bees, and struggle for existence in nature, 33–34

as boundary of this study, 1

composite form of, 14

and construction of French doxological America, 32

- contrasting of present war with idealized past in, 37–39
- Crèvecoeur's losses as motive for therapeutic writing, 35–36, 37–39, 40
- Crèvecoeur's translation from English, 19, 25; and adaptation method of translation, 26–27; addition of pastoral tone to, 33–34; additions of material to, 26–27, 38, 192n54, 194n95; aesthetics of Rousseau's *Nouvelle Héloïse* and, 28; and *francisation* of text, 26, 27–30, 31, 32, 35; French support for American rebels as context for, 25; friends' help and influence on, 27, 33, 193n58; and idealization of text, 26, 33–34, 35; introduction of deism and theodicy to, 34; and invocations of Rousseau's state of nature, 27–30, 31, 32; and struggle to re-learn French, 27; as type of publicity, 32
- dedication to Lafayette, 47
- on economic opportunity, as necessary condition for Golden Age, 41
- on family insularity, as condition for Golden Age, 39–40
- as idealized account of American life, 21–22, 26, 33–34, 35
- illustrations in, 42–43, 43
- and interplay of expectations and actual experiences, 31–32
- interpretation in tandem with English version, 14
- on link between farmer's identity and land ownership, 35
- as literary account, 21
- marketing of, exploitation of idealized view of US in, 4
- on newness of America, 7
- and nostalgic paradigm of New World, 17, 32, 35–36, 42
- paternity and family as theme in, 40
- politics of, influence of French political context on, 25
- posthumous representation of America created by: Crèvecoeur's lack of interest in return to, 60; and double updating of past, 39; as dream world of refuge, 60; factors shaping, 26, 32; as Golden Age, 39–41, 55–56, 181; as idealization, 35; masquerading as direct reporting, 36; as response to nostalgic impulse, 36–37; as type of publicity, 32
- Proust and, 38
- published copy of, as Crèvecoeur's recreation of stolen manuscript, 34–35
- and Saint-John, relation of Crèvecoeur to, 196n180
- scholarship on, 13–14, 26
- shadow of Crèvecoeur's losses hanging over, 35–36
- "Story of André l'Hebridéen" (Crèvecoeur), 40
- success of, in Europe, 4
- temporal strata in, 36–37, 39
- use in Scioto Company advertisements, 83–84
- writing of, 25–26
- See also Letters from an American Farmer* (Crèvecoeur)
- Lettres d'un cultivateur américain* (Crèvecoeur), 1787 edition, 41–54
- additions to, 27, 38, 42
- "Combat Between Two Snakes," 54
- and Crèvecoeur as French Consul, embrace of Patriot cause by, 47–48
- on Early Republic, concerns about challenges faced by, 53–54
- on Federalist-Antifederalist debate, 52–53
- "5th Anecdote," 125
- on human penchant for destruction, 54
- illustrations in, 42–47, 44, 45
- influence on Chateaubriand, 125
- on liberty, as necessary for Golden Age, 46
- progressive paradigm of New World in, 42; and American as model of European future, 42; coexistence with nostalgic paradigm, 42, 47–48, 48–51, 53–54; in final letters on Early Republic, 51–54; vs. pessimism of Crèvecoeur's correspondence, 48; political necessity of embracing, 47–48
- and Revolutionary War as end of Golden Age, 51
- "Sketch of a Journey by Ménésink . . .," 51
- "Sketch of the Destruction of the Settlements . . .," 51
- on Socialbourg, establishment and demise of, 49, 50–51
- structure of: apparent lack of temporal or thematic order, 48–49; and coexistence of nostalgic and progressive

- Lettres d'un cultivateur américain (cont'd)*
paradigms, 53–54; as echo of Crève-
coeur's split self, 51; and imperative
of proliferation, 49; and letters on
colonial life, war-related letters as
commentary on, 50–51; restructuring
of earlier draft as clue to, 49–50
on US cultural homogeneity, difficulty of
achieving, 46–47
- Les Lettres écrites des rives de l'Ohio*
(Lezay-Marnésia). See *Letters Writ-
ten from the Banks of the Ohio*
(Lezay-Marnésia)
- Lettres persanes* (Montesquieu), 130
- Lettres philosophiques* (Voltaire), 107
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude, 165–66, 167, 168,
209n138
- Lezay-Marnésia, Adrien de (son), 87, 88, 120
- Lezay-Marnésia, Albert-Madelaine-Claude
de (son), 84, 87, 97, 98, 101, 102, 110
- Lezay-Marnésia, Claude-François-Adrien de
on America: ambivalent attitude toward,
121; expectations vs. reality of, 11;
Golden Age imagined in, 89, 107,
108, 122–23; as new, better France,
121, 181, 184; and travelers' disap-
pointment at reality, 186
- American letters of, 89–90
- on Amerindians: and circular interplay
of New World expectations and
experience, 102; condescendence
toward, 99; desire to preserve record
of, 11; expectations for dominion
over, 96; fascination with, 11; and
Lezay-Marnésia's privilege, 99–100;
literary models for, 100–102; as
natural colonial subjects, 98–100,
98–102; natural politeness of, 98;
negation of alterity in, 98, 100–102;
preconceptions about, 96; rewriting
of, to fit his expectations, 99–100,
100–102; visit from Huron queen
and party, 97–102
- appeal of country life to, 80
- on autocratic government, necessity of,
81
- Brackenridge's *Modern Chivalry* on, 113
- character of, 110
- and circular interplay of New World
expectations and experience, 31–32
- and Club des Impartiaux, 114
- as contemporary of American and
French revolutions, 10
- Crèvecoeur and, 11, 77, 78, 122
- on democracy, impracticality of, 81
- and denial, 118, 121
- doxological America in, 79, 95, 96–97,
102–3; basis in hopes rather than
reality, 89, 92–95, 103
- erudition of, 80
- and French feudal aristocracy, support
for return of, 81
- friends of, 80
- and happiness, as always “before,” 123
- influence of Crèvecoeur on, 122
- influence of Lahontan on, 96
- influence of Montaigne on, 96
- influence of Montesquieu on, 81
- influence of Rousseau on, 79, 80, 81,
96, 104
- influence of Voltaire on, 101
- life of, 81–89; army career of, 79–80; on
Azile farm in Pittsburgh, 87, 120,
121; death of, 89; financial ruin of,
89; and French Revolution, 55, 82,
87, 88–89, 113–14; literary career of,
80; married life at Château de Mou-
tonne, 80; political career in France,
81–82; return to France, 87–88,
120–21; return to France, melancholy
following, 87, 120, 122–23
- and moderate reform, support for, 81, 82
- paradoxical view of US political climate,
82
- posthumous America in, 15; advertising
function of, 92, 96–97, 106, 123;
commemorative function of, 123;
as descriptions on his expectations
rather than reality, 95, 96–97, 103;
as idealized, 138; Lezay-Marnésia's
politics and, 103–4; mythical past as
model for future in, 105; and role of
America in regeneration of France,
184; specular function of, 154
- scholarship on, 13
- and Scioto Company, attack on, 106
- ties to Crèvecoeur's and Chateaubriand's
works, 8, 11
- on women's education, 109
- works by, 79, 80
- See also *Letters Written from the Banks of
the Ohio* (Lezay-Marnésia); Saint-
Pierre settlement, Lezay-Marnésia's
plans for; utopian project on Ohio
River, Lezay-Marnésia's plans for

- liberty, Crèvecoeur on Americans' abuse of, 46
- Liebersohn, Harry, 99
- Literature and Literary Figures in the United States* (Vail), 175, 177
- Locke, John, 192n52
- Logan (Indian chief), lament of, 177
- Lost Illusions* (Balzac), 54
- Louisiana literature of nineteenth century, and posthumous representations of America, 9
- Louisiana Purchase, 2
- Louis XVI, trial of, 130
- loyalists, Crèvecoeur's leanings toward, 22–23, 40
- Mabanckou, Alain, 12
- Mackenzie, Alexander, 165, 204–5n19
- Madison, James, 86
- Malesherbes, Chrétien-Guillaume de Lamignon de, 130
- Mallarmé, Stéphane, 144
- Mariage de Figaro* (Beaumarchais), 101
- Martini, Pietro-Antonio, 43
- Mathy, Jean-Philippe, 6–7
- Mazzei, Filippo, 78
- McDermott, John Francis, 203n136
- melting pot
 - Crèvecoeur's formulation of concept, 116
 - evocation of, in frontispiece to Crèvecoeur's 1787 *Lettres d'un cultivateur américain*, 46
 - salad bowl model as alternative to, 203n129
- Mémoires* (Brissot de Warville), 24–25
- Mémoires de ma vie* (Chateaubriand), 162
- Mémoires d'outre-tombe* (Chateaubriand), 156–80
 - aesthetic of convergence in, 157; characteristics vs. analogy, 160–62; and common linking term, 160–62; and convergence of memories with observations, 159–60, 163, 208n121; political significance of, 163–65
 - on America character, and degeneration of talent, 176–77
 - on American aristocracy, development of, 178–79
 - on American decline: and American language, increasing poverty of, 176; Chateaubriand's lack of direct evidence for, 180; climate-based causes of, 179–80; excesses of philosophical liberty as cause of, 180; growth of selfishness and, 177, 179; as inevitable, 176–77; lack of literary or artistic accomplishment, 175–76; and loss of equality, 178–79; practical, material bent of character and, 175–76; radical decline over time, 174, 186; rampant commercialism and, 177–78, 179
 - on American language, decline of, 176
 - on Amerindians: decline of, as harbinger of American decline, 177; effort to preserve memory of through writing, 66
 - and analogy as path to understanding, rejection of, 156–59
 - as boundary of this study, 1
 - and burden of recording actual and alternative destinies, 126–27, 129
 - on chryso-genous aristocracy in America, 178–79, 209n160
 - and evolution of Chateaubriand's doxological America, 7
 - first view of America in, and aesthetic of conversion, 159–60
 - on France's colonial project: continuity of, in New World and Middle East/Africa, 163–65; narrator's travels as reflection of, 164–65
 - on French Revolution, 55
 - on futility of immortality through works, 67
 - homological relationship between history of author and epoch in, 162–65
 - on languages, inevitable loss of, over time, 66–67
 - literary qualities of, 10
 - on lost "primitive life" of America, 8
 - on manuscripts written in America, 132–33
 - mix of dream and reality in, 173
 - on Napoleon, 65
 - on Niagara Falls, 162–63, 164
 - nostalgia for sixteenth century in, 131–32, 165–73; and anachronistic vocabulary, 167–71; and Chateaubriand as Don Quixote figure, 170–71, 172; and double memory of actual trip and desired visit to pristine wilderness, 167–73; and quotations, blurring of time periods through, 171–73; and regret at missing initial contact with New World, 165–67; simplicity of first European visitors and, 165

- Mémoires d'outre-tombe* (*cont'd*)
 posthumous America in, 127; analeptic function of, 167–73 (*See also* nostalgia for sixteenth century in, *above*); and reinvention over years between experience of America and publication, 180
 scholarship on, 13
 on search for Northwest Passage, 130
 sources for, 128
 swim with sharks incident in, dubious reality of, 125–26
 synoptic vision of Chateaubriand's life in, 159
 temporal strata in, 36
 and triumph of poet over traveler, 129
 veracity of travels describe in, critical investigations into, 127–29
 on Villeneuve's use of analogy, 157–59
 writing of, 207–8n112
 mercantile spirit of America, Chateaubriand on, 177–78, 179
 Mercier, Alfred, 9
Mercur de France, II, 19, 34
 Mersenne, René de, 127–28, 145
 Miller, Christopher L., 153
Mirage in the West (Echeverria), 182
 Mitchell, Julia Post., 61
Modern Chivalry (Brackenridge), 113
 Molière, 101
 Mondésir, Édouard de, 124, 204n2
 Montaigne, Michel de, Chateaubriand and, 30, 96, 141, 169, 171
 Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat, baron de La Brède et de, 81, 130
 More, Thomas, 109
 Moreau de Saint-Méry, Médéric-Louis-Élie, 139
 Moreau-Zanelli, Jocelyne, 80, 85, 86
More Letters from the American Farmer (Crèvecoeur), 21, 39
 motives for travel in America, 129–30
A Moveable Feast (Hemingway), 12
 Muir, John, 68
My Memories (Albert de Lezay-Marnésia), 87, 97, 101
 Naigeon, Jacques-André, 33
Les Natchez (Chateaubriand)
 American research for, 129
 Chateaubriand's abandonment of manuscript in England, 134
 on decadence of French civilization, 154
 doubling of Chateaubriand's persona in, 134–35
 model for Céluta in, 172–73
 Montesquieu's *Lettres persanes* and, 130
 writing of, 132–33
 Nettancourt-Vaubécourt, Marie-Claudine de, 80
 Neville, M. de, 34
 New France colonies
 Chateaubriand on: analeptic speculations about alternative futures based on, 147–50, 163–64; and French language, perpetuation of, 150; nostalgia for, 146–47, 184; pride in French glory reflected in, 149–50; *See also* Saint-Pierre settlement, Lezay-Marnésia's plans for; utopian project on Ohio River, Lezay-Marnésia's plans for
 New World
 creation of prior to discovery, 31–32
 expectations about, circular interplay with actual experiences, in travel narratives, 31–32, 102
 newness of: as already lost in posthumous representations, 8; emphasis of French observers on, 7
 nostalgic paradigm of, in Crèvecoeur, 17, 32, 35–36, 42
 progressive paradigm of, in Crèvecoeur, 41–42; and American as model of European future, 42; coexistence with nostalgic paradigm, 42, 47–48, 48–51, 53–54; in final letters on Early Republic, 51–54; vs. pessimism of Crèvecoeur's correspondence, 48; political necessity of embracing, 47–48
 sixteenth-century reports on, 30
 Noailles, Louis-Marie-Marc-Antoine de, 2, 199n12
 noble savage concept
 in Crèvecoeur, 28–30, 31
 development of, 30–31
 in Lezay-Marnésia: and Amerindians as natural colonial subjects, 98–100; negation of Amerindian alterity in, 100–102
 and perceived affinity with nobles of Europe, 99
 Northwest Ordinance of 1787, 86
 Northwest Passage, 204–5n19
 Chateaubriand's search for, 129–31, 145, 167; and potential alternative futures, 126, 131

- Northwest Territory
 history of, 112, 199n12
 planned expansion of Lezay-Marnésia's
 Saint-Pierre settlement into, 112, 115
See also utopian project on Ohio River,
 Lezay-Marnésia's plans for
- nostalgia
 in Chateaubriand: for lost manuscript
 of *Voyage en Amérique*, 134; for New
 France colonies, 146–47, 184; for
 sixteenth-century America, 131–32,
 165–73
 in Crèvecoeur: coexistence with pro-
 gressive paradigm, in 1787 *Lettres*,
 42, 47–48, 48–51, 53–54, as creative
 impulse, 17, 21, 25, 35–37, 37–39; and
 New World portrayal, 17, 32, 35–36,
 42; and posthumous America, 32,
 36–37
 as element in posthumous representa-
 tions of America, 5, 9
 in Lahontan, for feudal nobility, 30–31
Nouveau prospectus de la Compagnie du Scioto
 (1790)
 citing of Crèvecoeur in, 92
 letters by Lezay-Marnésia in, 89, 92–95;
 advertising function of, 92; and crit-
 ical need to attract settlers, 94–96;
 and doxological America, presenta-
 tion to readers, 95; as fictions based
 on his hopes, 89, 92–95; influence
 of, 95; on Scioto lands as Promised
 Land, 94
 letters by others in, 92
 new wave of settlers enticed by, 95
 as response to criticisms of first prospec-
 tus, 90–92
- Ohio Company, 83, 199n29
- Ovid, 39
- Painter, George D., 128, 129, 130
Paintings of American Nature (Chateaubri-
 and). *See* *Tableaux de la nature améri-
 caine* (Chateaubriand)
- panegyric, Crèvecoeur and, 47
- Pascal, Blaise, 192n47
- pastoral tone, Crèvecoeur's addition to
Lettres translation, 33–34
Paul et Virginie (Saint-Pierre), 105, 108
- Paw, Cornelius de, 77–78
- Penn, William, 107
- Pennsylvania, religious and civil liberties in,
 as model for *philosophes*, 104–5
See also Bethlehem, Pennsylvania
- Philbrick, Thomas, 17–18
- philistinism in United States, Chateaubri-
 and on, 175–76, 179
- philo-Americanism
 as admiration for idealization of what no
 longer exists, 186
 basis in posthumous representation, 186
 of eighteenth century: assumption of
 American anteriority in, 183–84;
 evolution into anti-Americanism
 of nineteenth century, 181–83; and
 role of America in regeneration of
 France, 184, 210n1
 waning of, with experience of American
 reality, 186
- physiocratic discourse, 53
- Piketty, Thomas, 179
- Pinchot, Gifford, 68
- Pintreaux, Jean-Baptiste-Charles Lucas des,
 120–21, 122, 203–4nn135–136
- Plan de lecture pour une jeune dame*
 (Lezay-Marnésia). *See* *Reading Program*
for a Young Lady (Lezay-Marnésia)
- Playfair, William, 82, 83
- Plet, Françoise, 13
- posthumous America
 application of concept to other fields,
 11–12
 as basis of philo-Americanism, 186
 and breaches of truth, 5
 in Chateaubriand, 15, 127, 131–32, 140;
 anachronisms in, 138–39, 145–46,
 167–71; analeptic function of, 146,
 147–50, 163–64, 167–73, 181–82,
 206n72; and intrusion of fiction-
 al elements over time, 131–32; as
 meditation on what could have been,
 150; reinvention of, over years before
 publication, 180; and role of America
 in regeneration of France, 184; spec-
 ular function of, 146–47, 152–56; as
 unrecoverable ghost, 138
 corpus of works chosen to illustrate, 8–11
 in Crèvecoeur, 15; as combination of
 collective image and individual
 nostalgia, 32; Crèvecoeur's lack of
 interest in return to, 60; as doubly
 fictionalized, 39, 63–64; as doubly
 posthumous, 64–65; as dream world
 of refuge, 60, 61, 62; and France as

- posthumous America (cont'd)*
 symbolic double of United States, 54, 58–59, 65; as Golden Age, 39–41; as idealization, 35, 138; masquerading as direct reporting, 36; vs. pessimism of his correspondence, 36; as response to nostalgic impulse, 36–37; and role of America in regeneration of France, 184; specular function of, 154; as type of publicity, 32
 definition of, 5
 dialectic flow of loss and resurrection in, 6
 vs. elegy, 6
 evolution of, 9–10
 functions of, 6
 vs. historical accounts, 5
 in Lezay-Marnésia, 15; advertising function of, 92, 96–97, 106, 123; commemorative function of, 123; as descriptions on his expectations rather than reality, 95, 96–97, 103; as idealized, 138; Lezay-Marnésia's politics and, 103–4; mythical past as model for future in, 105; and role of America in regeneration of France, 184; specular function of, 154
 nostalgia as element in, 5, 9
 as retrospective idealization, 5–6
See also advertising function of posthumous accounts; analeptic function of posthumous accounts; commemorative function of posthumous accounts; specular function of posthumous accounts
- Préface testamentaire* (Chateaubriand), 174
 preservation movement
 vs. conservation movement, 68
 Crèvecoeur and, 67–68
- Prospectus pour l'établissement sur les rivières d'Ohio et de Scioto en Amérique (Prospectus for the Colony on the Ohio and Scioto Rivers in America, Scioto Company)*, 82–84
- Proust, Marcel, 38, 160, 162
 Pumpkin Fields, Battle of, 201n79
 Putnam, Rufus, 97, 202n93
- Raynal, Guillaume-Thomas-François, 47, 175
Reading Program for a Young Lady (Lezay-Marnésia), 80, 109
- See also* "Letter to Monsieur Audrain, Merchant in Pittsburg" (Lezay-Marnésia)
- Reading Writing* (Gracq), 38
- Recherches historiques et politiques sur les États-Unis* (Mazzei), 78
- Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains ou mémoires intéressants pour servir à l'histoire de l'espèce humaine* (de Pauw), 78
- reenchantment, analeptic representations and, 167
- regeneration, American as land of, 46, 104, 184
- Reichler, Claude, 132, 153
- Rémond, René, 3, 4
- René* (Chateaubriand), 134
- Restoration, Chateaubriand on, 154
- Rêveries du promeneur solitaire (Reveries of the Solitary Walker, Rousseau)*, 170
- Révolutions de France et de Brabant*, 85
- Rice, Howard C., 26, 43, 60–61
- Riffaterre, Michael, 6, 161–62
- Roger, Philippe, 186
- Ronsard, Pierre de, 172
- Rossi, Henri, 139, 143, 154
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques
 and Chateaubriand, influence on, 170
 comtesse d'Houdetot and, 191n17
 and Lezay-Marnésia, influence on, 79, 80, 81, 96, 104
 Malesherbes and, 130
 shock at Vincennes prison, 192n47
 on state of nature, 28, 31, 193n68;
 Crèvecoeur's invocation of, in *Lettres*, 27–30, 31; imitators' recasting as real historical period, 31
 and values of *Contrat social*, 81
See also *Julie ou la Nouvelle Héloïse* (Rousseau)
- The Route of the Wolf* (Tesson), 12
- Sade, Donatien-François-Alphonse de, 38
- Saint Clair, Arthur, 87, 106, 199n31, 200nn50–51
- Sainte-Beuve, Charles Augustin, 127–28
- Saint-Lambert, Jean-François de, 27, 33, 80, 191n17, 193n58
- Saint-Pierre, Bernardin de, 80, 105, 108, 112, 119
- Saint-Pierre settlement, Lezay-Marnésia's plans for

- Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, as model for, 105, 107, 109–11
- as both reality and imaginary emotional escape, 117–19
- comparison to Islands of the Blessed, 118–19
- as idealization, 110–11
- isolation of community within Pennsylvania, 115–17
- land for, 112
- Lezay-Marnésia's Freudian denial about, 118
- naming of, 109
- plans for expansion into Northwest Territory, 112, 115
- as potential reality and imaginary emotional escape, 111–12
- precise calculations used to enforce practicality of, 117
- and proposed peaceful relations with France, 115
- removal of equality from Bethlehem model, 109–10
- Saint-Pierre's earlier plan as model for, 105, 108
- as uchronotopia recreating France without Revolution, 112–14
- Saisons* (Saint-Lambert), 33
- salad bowl theory, 203n129
- Lezay-Marnésia on, 15, 116–17
- Samuels, Maurice, 148
- Sayre, Gordon M., 73
- Scènes de la vie future* (*Scenes of Future Life*, Duhamel), 184–85
- Scioto Company, 82–84
- advertisements by, 83
- Bissot on, 88
- deceptive representation of lands sold by, 83, 91–92
- founding members of, 82
- land-purchase scheme of, 82–83
- Lezay-Marnésia's criticisms of, 106, 121
- refusal to refund investors' money, 87
- reliance of word of mouth from first settlers, 83, 91–92
- use of Crèvecoeur excerpts in ads by, 83–84
- See also *Description of the Soil and the Productivity of this Portion of the United States* (Scioto Company); *Nouveau prospectus de la Compagnie du Scioto* (1790); *Prospectus pour l'établissement sur les rivières d'Ohio et de Scioto en Amérique* (Scioto Company)
- Seasons* (Saint-Lambert), 33
- Seton, William, 23
- Sketches of Eighteenth-Century America* (Crèvecoeur)
- “Anecdote of the Wild Dog” in, 28
- differences from *Letters from an American Farmer*, 21
- more-realistic focus on problems of American farmer, 21
- “Sketch of the Obyo River and of the Kentucky Region” (Crèvecoeur), 83–84
- slavery
- in eighteenth-century Americas, 86
- French, Colbert and, 151
- and Northwest Ordinance of 1787, 86
- social classes in America, Chateaubriand on, 178–79
- Société des Vingt-Quatre (Society of the Twenty-Four), 84–85, 87, 95, 97
- Société Gallo-Américaine, 24
- Sollors, Werner, 43–45
- Souvenirs* (Albert de Lezay-Marnésia), 87, 97, 101
- The Spectacular Past* (Samuels), 148
- specular function of posthumous accounts, 12
- in Chateaubriand, 146–47, 152–56
- in Crèvecoeur, 54, 58, 154
- definition of, 6
- in Lezay-Marnésia, 154
- speech, characteristics vs. writing, 73–74
- Spinoza, Baruch, 161
- state of nature
- development of concept, 30–31
- in Rousseau, 28, 31, 193n68; Crèvecoeur's invocation of in *Lettres*, 27–30, 31; imitators' recasting as real historical period, 31
- “Story of André l'Hebridéen” (Crèvecoeur), 40
- Story of My Life* (Casanova), 61–62
- Switzer, Richard, 128
- Tableau du climat et du sol des États-Unis d'Amérique* (Volney), 143
- Tableaux de la nature américaine* (Chateaubriand), 132–33
- Target, Gui-Jean-Baptiste, and Crèvecoeur's translation of *Lettres d'un cultivateur américain*, 27, 193n58
- Tasso, 108

- Tesson, Sylvain, 12
- Thevet, André, 142, 157, 206n55
- Tocqueville, Alexis de, 8, 9, 179, 210n173
See also *Voyage au Lac Oneida* (Tocqueville)
- topography, vs. cosmography, 141
- touristic guides, characteristics vs. travel narratives, 139–40
- Traité de la culture des pommes de terre* (Crèvecoeur), 20, 53
- Traité sur la tolérance* (Voltaire), 107
- translation, transposition vs. adaption methods of, 26–27
- transposition method of translation, 26
- travel narratives
bibliographies of, 10
characteristics vs. guidebooks, 139–40
interplay of expectations and actual experiences in, 31–32
as intertextual, 11
lack of literary pretensions in most of, 10
- Travels in America* (Chateaubriand). See *Voyage en Amérique* (Chateaubriand)
- Travels Through North and South Carolina* (Bartram), 63
- Treatise on Potato Farming* (Crèvecoeur). See *Traité de la culture des pommes de terre* (Crèvecoeur)
- Treatise on Tolerance* (Voltaire), 107
- “Les Treize Chapitres du Troisième Volume du Cultivateur Américain” (Crèvecoeur), 49–50, 187–88
- Tristes tropiques* (Lévi-Strauss), 165–66
- trolique*, Crèvecoeur on, 40
- truth, scientific vs. imaginative, Chateaubriand on, 143–46, 166–67
- Turgot, Anne-Robert-Jacques, 53, 195n158
- Turgot, Étienne-François, 53
- uchronia, Lezay-Marnésia’s Saint-Pierre settlement and, 113, 148
- uchronical genre, 203nn122–23
Chateaubriand’s *Voyage en Amérique* and, 148–50
definition of, 15
Lezay-Marnésia and, 15, 113, 148
need for retrospective analysis and, 148
- uchronotopia, Lezay-Marnésia’s Saint-Pierre settlement as, 112–14
- United States
growth of population, 2
growth of territory, 1–2, 189n5
- utopia
Crèvecoeur’s Socialbourg as, 50–51
French view of America as, 4
and Golden Age, fusion of, 40
Lezay-Marnésia’s Saint-Pierre settlement as, 113
- Utopia* (Moore), 109
- utopian project on Ohio River, Lezay-Marnésia’s plans for
acreage purchased by Lezay-Marnésia, 95
Amerindian possession of land for, 83, 86–87, 91, 97, 201n79, 203n121
collapse of, 106
complete separation from France, 88
French criticism of, 114–15
and French Revolution, flight from, 82, 88
ideas of, in *Le Bonheur dans les campagnes*, 80–81
importance of, 4
land purchased for, 84, 199n36
Lezay-Marnésia’s large investment in, 95
Lezay-Marnésia’s travel to site of, 86, 97
membership requirements for, 84
and mistaken beliefs about region, 82, 83
and *Nouveau prospectus de la Compagnie du Scioto*, 89, 92–95
and outlawing of slavery in Northwest Territory, 86
persistence in, after initial setbacks, 106
planned social stratification in, 85
and realities of settlers’ life, 97, 98
recruitment of indentured workers for, 86
religious character of, 84
as renewal of European feudalism, 80–81, 82
and Scioto Company land sales, 82–84, 87, 88, 199n29
and Society of the Twenty-Four, 84–85
- Vail, Eugène A., 175, 177
- Vergennes, Charles-Gravier de, 34, 105
- Villèle, Joseph de, 154, 207n99
- Virgil, 33, 108
- visitors to America, range of motives in, 139
- Volney, Constantin-François
on Amerindians, 71
appeal of ancient things to, 66
criticisms of Crèvecoeur and Lezay-Marnésia, 78, 198n7
motives for visiting America, 139

- and New World high society, 2
 weather tables by, 143
- Voltaire, 80, 101, 107
- Voyage au Lac Oneida* (Tocqueville), 9
- Voyage au Mont-Blanc* (Chateaubriand), 160
- Voyage aux grandes salines tyroliennes de Reichenhall* (Crèvecoeur), 20
- Voyage dans la Haute Pensylvanie et dans l'État de New York depuis l'année 1785 jusqu'en 1798* (Crèvecoeur)
- American as mythical French past in, 54, 58–59, 65
- on Amerindian languages, lack of abstract words in, 71, 72
- on Amerindians: ambivalent view of, 69, 72; Crèvecoeur's empathy with, 70, 71–73, 75; destruction of, as warning to France, 76; effort to preserve memory of through writing, 66, 67, 70–76; hypocrisy of Christian treatment of, 73; inability to foresee future, 69; inevitable annihilation of, 70, 73, 74; as inhabitants of the present, 69, 75; intellectual inferiority to Europeans, 69, 70, 71; lack of permanent monuments made by, 69, 74–75; as posthumous representation, 67, 73, 74–75, 76; praise for eloquence of, 72; and preservation of Amerindian toponyms, 70; rejection of sedentary lifestyle by, 69, 72; spread of views across several characters, 70; and translation of Christian texts into Amerindian languages, 73; white colonists' responsible for annihilation of, 67, 69, 70–71
- on attractiveness of ancient things, 65–66
- Chateaubriand essay on, 11
- and Crèvecoeur's nostalgia, 17
- Early Republic as Golden Age in, 55–56, 58–59
- and ecological thought, 67–68
- on farmers as destroyers, 68
- fictional account of Franklin speech in, 63
- as fictional creation from fragmented memories and sources, 59–60, 63–64
- on forests of America: need to preserve, 67, 68–69; white colonists as responsible for disappearance of, 67
- fragmented narration and geography of, 64–65
- France as possible US future in, 54, 58–59, 65
- on French Revolution, 55–56
- on human inability to see future, 75
- as intended fourth book of *Lettres*, 38
- and melancholy meditation on time and destiny, 75
- on Napoleon, 21
- opposition of America and negative Other of Europe in, 58–59, 65
- overlapping temporal strata in, 62
- Plet edition of, 13
- poor sales of, 76
- posthumous representation of America in: as doubly fictionalized, 63–64; as doubly posthumous, 64–65; as dream world of refuge, 61, 62
- publication of, and fictional status as issue, 60
- scholarship on, 13
- shipwreck trope in preface of, 55, 64, 65
- sloppy use of sources in, 63
- “Tale of a Flight into the Appalachians During the War of Independence,” 56–57
- temporal strata in, 62
- writing of, 20
- Voyage en Amérique* (Chateaubriand), 132–56
- on American character, likely changes in, 173
- on Amerindian decline: European influence as cause of, 153, 155; as presage of French future, 152–56; as reflection on human impermanence, 146
- on Amerindians: affinity with French, 153; lost languages of, 150
- anachronistic aesthetic in: critics' failure to recognize, 145–46; as reenactment, 138–39; and truth of the imagination, 145–46, 166–67
- borrowed erudition in, 141–43
- on Chateaubriand's preference for forests over cities, 146–47
- as commemorative representation of America, 132, 134, 135–38
- as cosmographical account, 140–43
- on decline of civilizations, inevitability of, 155
- and evolution of Chateaubriand's doxological America, 7
- heterogeneous subject matter in, 141

- Voyage en Amérique (cont'd)*
 as inventory of facts about America, 141
 “Journal sans date” section of: alternative copy of, 136–37; borrowings from Bartram’s *Voyages* in, 137, 205n45; and intrusion of fiction into memory, 137; past in, as unrecoverable ghost, 137–38; as reconstructed memory of aged writer, 135–38; three voices in, 137; tragic consciousness of time in, 137–38
 literary qualities of, 10
 manuscript of, as twice-lost and twice-written, 132–34
 meditations on alternative destinies in, 126
 multiple voices in, 132
 and New France colonies: analeptic speculations about alternative futures based on, 147–50, 163–64; specular function of encounters with remnants of, 146–47, 152
 on Niagara Falls, 146–47
 nostalgia for earlier period in, 131–32, 146
 original manuscript of: Chateaubriand’s nostalgia for, 134; irreplaceable authenticity of, 133–34
 posthumous America in, 132, 140; analeptic function of, 146; as reenactment, 138–39
 “Present State of the Savages of North America,” 154–55
 publication of, 154
 as pure travel narrative devoid of guidebook characteristics, 140
 as return to origin as person and writer, 126
 scholarship on, 13
 second manuscript of, Chateaubriand’s abandonment in England, 134
 swim with sharks incident in, dubious reality of, 125–26
 and truth of imagination vs. scientific truth, 143–46, 166–67
 uchronic speculation in, 148–50
 uneventful travel depicted in, imaginative embellishment of, 144–45
 “updates” added to, as more information from old sources, 142–43
 voice of both aged writer and novice author in, 134–35
 writing of, 132–33
Voyages (Bartram), 137
- Wabash, Battle of, 87, 106, 199n31, 200nn50–51
- War of Independence
 Crèvecoeur and, 22–23, 24–25, 35, 41, 51
 Crèvecoeur’s imprisonment during, 22–23; metaphysical crisis prompted by, 23, 24, 52–53; period of anguish following, 24–25; release, 23; as source of literary creativity, 16–17, 23–24; and splitting of self into two, 16–17, 22, 23–24, 25, 51
- Washington, George, 47, 51–52, 86, 141, 177, 200n51
- Watson and the Shark* (Copley), 125, 204n4
- Weber, Max, 167, 209n144
- White, Edward, 20, 50
- A word to those who would like to go to America* (Franklin), 4
- writing, characteristics vs. speech, 73–74
The Writing of History (Certeau), 73–74
- Wyandots, attacks on Ohio and Kentucky Territory settlers, 86–87
- Yellowstone national park, preservation movement and, 68