

"Bougainville, Crèvecoeur, and Chastellux:
Military *Philosophes* in North America, 1755-1783"

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Many of the French *philosophes* wrote about the Americas, but few had the opportunity to visit the hemisphere they were discussing with such interest. Three exceptions were military officers who had or subsequently acquired reputations as minor *philosophes* in the salons of Paris: Colonel Louis-Antoine de Bougainville (1729-1811), Lieutenant Michel-Guillaume Jean de Crèvecoeur (1735-1813), and Major-General François-Jean de Beauvoir, Chevalier de Chastellux (1734-1788).

Bougainville was born a commoner, but his father's ennoblement in 1741 and his mother's noble ancestry, not to mention the family's modest wealth, helped him to make his way in the world. He received an excellent education in the classics, mathematics, and the sciences, studying under Jean le Rond d'Alembert and Alexis-Claude Clairault, and published his *Traité de calcul intégral* (1755), an important work on integral calculus, at the age of twenty-two. Meanwhile, he pursued a military career, serving as Lieutenant-General Louis-Joseph de Montcalm-Gozon, Marquis de Montcalm's senior aide-de-camp in Canada during the Seven Years' War. Later transferring to the navy, Bougainville led a scientific naval expedition around the world in the late 1760's, and his book *Voyage autour du monde* (1771), with its fascinating account of his visit to Tahiti, aroused strong public interest. Bougainville was a naval captain during the battles of the Chesapeake and the Saintes during the War of American Independence, and his service to the constitutional monarchy and French Republic as an admiral and scientist was only interrupted by a two-month period of imprisonment during the Terror. Napoleon named him a senator and count of the empire.¹

Bougainville's colleague, surnamed Jean de Crèvecoeur, was a Norman nobleman. After an education in Normandy and England, he served in Canada during the Seven Years' War as an ensign in the Compagnies franches de la Marine or colonial regulars of the Ministry of the Navy and Colonies then a lieutenant in the Régiment d'infanterie de La Sarre.² Montcalm made use of Crèvecoeur's skills in mathematics and sketching by having him prepare maps and perform other services for the engineers and artillery, and the young officer won Bougainville's praise in a report to the king. In 1759, following the Battle of the Plains of Abraham, Crèvecoeur was a prisoner of war at the Hôpital général in Quebec, and General Monckton ordered him shipped to England via New York with other paroled officers. For some unknown reason, Crèvecoeur's fellow officers had him expelled from his regiment at about this time and he sold his commission for a trifling sum. Depressed and virtually penniless, he disembarked in New York instead of returning to France.³ Assuming the English name John Hector St. John, Crèvecoeur

worked in the colonies as a surveyor, salesman, and farmer, married an American woman, and became a naturalized British subject.⁴ During the 1770s he began to write extensively about life in North America, posing as an American farmer of British descent. The *Letters from an American Farmer* (1782) gained him fame and entrance into the Paris salons during the 1780s. Crèvecoeur was a Loyalist during the American Revolution, served as the French consul in New York after the war, and lived in retirement in France during the French Revolution and Empire.

The third officer, the Chevalier—and later Marquis—de Chastellux, was a colonel with the French army in Germany during the Seven Years' War and was one of Lieutenant-General Jean-Baptiste-Donatien de Vimeur, Comte de Rochambeau's senior officers during the American War of Independence. He was already the well-known author of *On Public Happiness* (1772) and a member of the Académie française prior to joining the expedition to the United States. He researched and wrote his *Travels in North America* (1786) in the months between each campaigning season, making further revisions upon his return to France. Chastellux died a year before the outbreak of the French Revolution.⁵

Recent historians have done a great deal to combat various heroic myths about Montcalm, La Fayette, and Rochambeau's officers, providing a more sophisticated, in-depth analysis of their ideas and attitudes. In their efforts to demythologize these officers, however, historians have sometimes gone too far, creating a new stereotype of officers in both wars as arrogant, elitist, and reactionary, cynically manipulating their virtuous Aboriginal, Canadian, and American allies. Dismissing the better-educated, more liberal officers who have left behind most of the written sources as an almost irrelevant minority of idealistic dreamers, they single out ferociously bigoted individuals to represent the "inarticulate" majority of French officers.⁶ In any event, the search for the ever-elusive "typical" officer, which relies on considerable guesswork, draws attention away from the officers who had the most influence in the upper echelons of the army and navy and among the king's ministers, higher nobility, and intellectual community. Bougainville, Crèvecoeur, and Chastellux had a substantial impact among French intellectuals. Each of these men grappled with the major issues of the Enlightenment, and their experiences in North America helped them to define their ideas. Four important themes which they addressed were the ideal of the noble savage, slavery, politics, and religion. Their concept of progress helped to shape their views in each of these areas.

All three of the military *philosophes* had personal contact with native peoples, although Bougainville and Crèvecoeur had far more extensive experience with them than Chastellux. Like most officers in Montcalm's army, Bougainville had almost daily contact with France's native allies when on campaign. Since Bougainville spoke English, and was Montcalm's senior aide-de-camp, he was usually in charge of interrogating British and American prisoners brought in by the Aboriginals and assessing information collected by native scouts. Like other French officers, he was horrified by native military customs such as the killing of soldiers and civilians without distinction, massacres of prisoners of war, scalping, torture, and in the case of the Ottawa nation, cannibalism. He could not help regretting the necessity of encouraging these allies to attack enemy troops and settlements, but felt that the French would lose the war if they did not have the natives on their side.⁷ Nevertheless, he was able to overcome many of the prejudices toward Aboriginals displayed by his colleagues, and even lived with the Kahnawake

Mohawks for a few weeks as the guest of a chief. The Mohawks adopted him into their tribe, and rumours circulated that one of the native women had borne him a son.⁸ Seeing the natives in peace as well as war gave him a more rounded picture of native society, and Bougainville was able to admire the natives without idealizing them. If the consumption of prisoners only a few hundred metres from the French headquarters horrified the young colonel, he could still compare native warriors to the heroes of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.⁹ He displayed a similar attitude when he visited Tahiti with the French navy in the late 1760s, praising many aspects of Polynesian culture but not hiding the fact that the Tahitians had the same foibles as other peoples, waging senseless wars and obeying the whims of despotic kings. With some justification, Bougainville prided himself on his scientific approach to cultural issues, and in the preface to his account of his circumnavigation of the world he ridiculed the prevalent *esprit de système* or doctrinaire theorizing and "that class of lazy and vainglorious writers, who, in the darkness of their studies, philosophize without seeing the world and its inhabitants, and imperiously submit nature to their imagination."¹⁰ This warning, however, did not prevent Denis Diderot from writing his *Supplément au Voyage de Bougainville*, in which he wedded fragments of Bougainville's careful anthropological observations with the outpourings of his own vivid imagination to produce a classic portrait of the noble savage.¹¹

The only one of Montcalm's officers to be affected by the ideal of the noble savage to any degree was Lieutenant Michel-Guillaume Jean de Crèvecoeur. Crèvecoeur knew Aborigines well from his cartographic expeditions in Canada and the Ohio valley, and he projected a highly positive image of them in his stories, considering them mild, industrious, and generous. He also, however, discussed what he perceived as their faults, among them "moroseness" in peace and "ferocity" in war. In one of his literary "letters", Crèvecoeur wrote that he hoped his sons would emulate the Aborigines' quietness, modesty, and absolute harmony with one another, and in several other "letters" he attempted to undermine the common perception of natives as savages. In one story, for example, he meets a party of Aboriginal hunters in the woods. They all shake hands and enjoy a "hearty supper" of bear meat and peach brandy followed by pleasant conversation around a fire before going to sleep on a bed of leaves.¹² If natives were savages, he implied, this was the last thing one would want to do on sighting them. In another story, an Aboriginal man named Tewenissa tracks a young child lost in the woods and returns it to his frantic parents, then modestly declines any reward for his neighbourly assistance.¹³ In all of these accounts Crèvecoeur portrayed the natives as normal people, and if he occasionally exaggerated their virtues, he rarely strayed too far from reality. Crèvecoeur also praised the liberty and equality prevalent in native societies, for "though governed by no laws", he wrote, one can "yet find, in uncontaminated simple manners...all that laws can afford."¹⁴ This notion that natives enjoyed a civil society without the benefit of law is reminiscent of European images of the noble savage, which postulated that humans are naturally good in the state of nature.¹⁵ However, Crèvecoeur also saw colonial farmers as people possessing virtue and simplicity, requiring the benefit of only a few written laws. He often drew parallels between the natives and settlers, hoping that the two groups could share a common level of civilization. Crèvecoeur was convinced that peace and harmony could exist between these rival peoples, if only justice and friendship could prevail. He based his belief, rightly or wrongly, on his knowledge of relations between Canadians and Aborigines and between New Englanders and surviving pockets of Christian natives in that region.¹⁶ Crèvecoeur believed that Aborigines, while primitive, possessed many

"civilized" traits such as civility and basic agricultural knowledge, and hoped that if Europeans encouraged this commitment to agriculture the natives could make some progress toward civilization and the benefits of peace and a stable, sedentary life. He was convinced that the sedentary Wampanoag people of Nantucket engaged in the whaling industry were more successful in achieving an advanced "degree of civilization" than those who were purely dependent on hunting. Natives would survive as communities in possession of small portions of their former lands, but he felt that this was better than the complete destruction of these peoples.¹⁷ While Crèvecoeur admired the natives in their pre-contact "state of nature", he believed that this paradise had its drawbacks and that it was beneficial and imperative that they "progress" to the next, intermediate stage of civilization and stay there with the American colonists, not moving on to the final stage of luxury, poverty, and corruption. This scenario is reminiscent of Jean-Jacques Rousseau's model of civilization, and even reflects Rousseau's preferences, although it is uncertain whether Crèvecoeur had read Rousseau prior to becoming the protégé of the *salonnière* Élisabeth-Sophie de Bellegarde, Comtesse d'Houdetot, whom Rousseau had been in love with.¹⁸ Crèvecoeur's racial views on natives are slightly unclear, for he once expressed his concern that the Indians would succumb to the "superior genius of Europeans".¹⁹ He probably meant that Europeans' innovations gave them a practical advantage over the natives, who possessed equal intelligence.

Chastellux paid far less attention to natives than Bougainville and Crèvecoeur, in part because he had less contact with them but mostly because he perceived native culture as the antithesis of progress. His book *On Public Happiness*, published in 1772, was a survey of human history with the aim of demonstrating that governments should strive to provide the greatest happiness for the greatest number of individuals. While perfection would always be elusive, he argued, humans could certainly ameliorate their present condition.²⁰ Chastellux may not have been quite as optimistic as the Marquis de Condorcet or even Crèvecoeur about the possibilities for human perfectibility, but like Condorcet and Voltaire he certainly belonged to the Enlightenment school of historical progress.²¹ Chastellux visited a settlement of pro-American Oneida and Tuscarora refugees near Schenectady, New York, in December 1780, and was singularly unimpressed by everything he saw. He described the village as "nothing but an assemblage of miserable huts in the woods", and called a native woman "hideous, as they all are, and her husband almost stupid".²² He discussed the natives' increasing military weakness and their cruelty in war, and considered the destruction of the Iroquois Confederacy necessary and desirable. The more stubborn natives, he predicted, would be driven west and the ones attached to the Americans "will ultimately become civilized, and be intermingled with them. This is what every feeling and reasonable man should wish, who, preferring the interests of humanity to those of his own fame, disdains the little artifice so often and so successfully employed, of extolling ignorance and poverty, in order to win acclaim in Palaces and Academies."²³ Evidently, Chastellux had little sympathy for Rousseau's primitive community or Diderot's noble savage; such illusions must not be permitted to disrupt the march of progress. Instead, Chastellux praised American society and noted with approval the increase in population and settlement and the development of the arts and sciences.²⁴ Americans were still very awkward at the minuet and their manners required cultivation, but with time and heroic effort they could win even these coveted emblems of civilization.²⁵ The three French officers had some disagreements about the extent to which the natives should be admired, but they all

agreed that natives were human beings like everyone else and should participate in the inevitable march of progress. Crèvecoeur wanted this march to end at an intermediate stage of simple civilization where basic material wants were satisfied, and certainly had no interest in the minuet, but Bougainville and Chastellux considered a complex, sophisticated civilization the best hope for humankind.

Slavery was another issue discussed by all three officers. Bougainville was untroubled by the moral issue of slavery in the 1750s, and saw it purely in terms of economics or military advantage. In December 1758 Bougainville proposed that a small French naval force land troops near the border between Virginia and North Carolina to divert British efforts against Canada in 1759, and that the French encourage a mass rising of the slaves to disrupt the local economy.²⁶ However, most of these slaves would presumably return to bondage after the French raid was over. In 1761, after the loss of Canada, Bougainville wrote two memoirs proposing that Canadian settlers be attracted to Louisiana and that African slaves be imported to serve these white settlers. He pointed to the example of Saint-Domingue (Haiti), which thanks to its slave economy produced twenty times as much wealth as Canada each year. There is, he wrote, "not a negro in Saint-Domingue who does not contribute by his production to the maintenance of several families in France, and who does not augment as much the population of the kingdom."²⁷ These are clearly not the words of an abolitionist. In Tahiti, however, Bougainville was highly critical of the kings and notables who "have the power of life or death over their slaves and servants", sacrificing some of them to the gods.²⁸ He also demonstrated considerable sensitivity toward the cultural values of Aborigines and Tahitians, but did not betray any concern for black culture. These apparent contradictions suggest that Bougainville considered blacks more culturally backward and barbarous than most other peoples, and that this justified their enslavement as long as they were not treated with arbitrary cruelty.

Crèvecoeur passionately condemned slavery, "that shocking insult offered to humanity", but at the same time it is possible that he owned slaves himself, for his semi-autobiographical narrator possessed several of them.²⁹ He drew a sharp contrast between the humane treatment of slaves in the northern colonies, where they were "truly speaking, a part of our families", and the cruel lot of slaves in the South, yet hoped that "the time draws near when they will all be emancipated."³⁰ Crèvecoeur argued that free blacks would be loyal and obedient labourers, if treated with justice, but never provided examples of free blacks in non-manual occupations. Nevertheless, he at least said that they could learn to read and write and never suggested that blacks were inferior in intelligence.³¹

Chastellux was pleased to learn that Virginian planters were interested in the abolition of slavery, either from idealistic, philosophic motives or due to pragmatic economic arguments based on labour costs and productivity. He himself was in favour of abolition, although his attitudes toward blacks were more than tinged with racism. Chastellux considered blacks part of the same species as whites, but felt that the differences between the two groups were based on more than skin colour. For example, although Chastellux believed that blacks in Virginia were "generally less depraved" than their African counterparts, indicating that they were capable of cultural "improvement", he also noted their "natural insensibility", which made it somewhat easier for them to bear suffering than whites.³² He also worried that blacks would constitute a large, separate, hostile community once they obtained their freedom, for a racial barrier as well as a class

barrier divided them from their masters. His solution to this problem was callous to say the least, for he advocated exporting large numbers of black men, while black women would be given their freedom if they married white men, producing mulattos, quadroons, and so forth until the blacks turned into whites and were completely assimilated.³³ If Chastellux was not a strict biological racist, he certainly devalued black American and African culture as backward and uncivilized, with superior European civilization as the only alternative. All three officers considered blacks culturally inferior, even depraved, but while Bougainville considered enslaving such people legitimate, as long as they were not arbitrarily killed or excessively maltreated, Crèvecoeur and Chastellux were abolitionists. Crèvecoeur was more optimistic than Chastellux that blacks and whites could live together in harmony, with whites providing the paternal leadership and the appropriate cultural and religious norms.

All three officers discussed political issues, although Bougainville, who served the Bourbons, French Republic, and Napoleon with equal diligence, was not as interested in political theory as Crèvecoeur or Chastellux. During the Seven Years' War he was almost certainly the author of an essay which expressed horrified astonishment at the "almost republican liberty" of the American colonists, and the way they "conserve the right to examine and reject...the orders that can come from the court of England."³⁴ In Canada he worried about insufficient social distinctions between noble and non-noble seigneurs, but in Tahiti in 1768, by contrast, he considered the "cruelly disproportionate" social stratification barbarous, and was disappointed when the Tahitians did not prove to be "enjoying a liberty which was only subject to laws established for the happiness of all."³⁵ However, this did not represent a softening in his attitude toward equality and democracy. Bougainville was with the French fleet in Boston in 1778, and after a second riot between French soldiers and a Boston mob, he could only conclude that the people of this "ferocious" new republic were affected by the same foibles that had plagued the people of the old world since time immemorial.³⁶ Like many other French officers in both wars, Bougainville supported the concept of the rule of law, but was less concerned about whether or not a government was autocratic, as long as it respected the liberties of the propertied classes, and the common people, excluded from real power, enjoyed a modicum of justice. Of the three officers, Bougainville was the most cynical about human progress, and dismissed moral progress as unachievable. He preferred the quest for increased scientific knowledge to the examination of political issues.

Crèvecoeur, a naturalized British subject, praised British liberty, American equality, and New England democracy, and felt that taxation of the colonies was unfair, if not absolutely illegal.³⁷ However, he also became a Loyalist, convinced that colonial grievances did not justify a bloody, destructive rebellion led by self-serving politicians.³⁸ In his view, the original colonists had brought with them British liberty, and the governments and laws which the colonists created, ratified by the crown, made Americans prosperous and free. To willingly cast off this successful "ancient connection" in favour of political "innovations" with very unclear consequences was extremely unwise.³⁹ Crèvecoeur was a democrat, but suspicious of people threatening to destroy his familiar and happy world. Having briefly lived in England as a youth, he could not see the British as truly evil, or the enemy. Perhaps this is why he had been so unpopular with the officers in his regiment in Canada.

The Chevalier de Chastellux was certainly one of the most politically liberal officers in Rochambeau's army, and even described himself as a "good Whig".⁴⁰ He

supported the American Revolution not only because it promised to cut the British Empire down to size, a perspective common with other officers, but for ideological reasons as well. Lockean reasoning appealed to him: "I am firmly convinced that the Parliament of England has no right to tax America without her consent, but I am even more convinced that when a whole people says 'I want to be free,' it is difficult to prove that it is wrong."⁴¹ The general also, like John Locke, believed that there must be some correspondence between a citizen's property and his influence on the government, so he strongly approved of the constitution of Massachusetts, with a popularly elected House of Representatives and a Senate of men of property with a limited veto over bills passed by the lower house.⁴² Chastellux was less enthusiastic about Pennsylvania's democratic constitution, fearing that the state's leaders would have to pander to citizens who did not yet merit their confidence.⁴³ Pennsylvania's multi-ethnic composition, he thought, meant that the people of the state had no identity of their own, and were "more attached to individual than to public liberty, more inclined to anarchy than democracy."⁴⁴ He saw "equality of rights" and "private interest linked to the general good" through "mixed government" as the basis of freedom and political stability.⁴⁵ While Chastellux was concerned about "factions" or party politics arising in peacetime, he was optimistic about the long-term survival of democratic forms in America, even in Virginia, whose aristocratic "national character" could be altered but never completely effaced.⁴⁶ The vote ought to be linked to property, not merely residence, because as poverty and inequality grew in the United States, political tensions would also increase if the poor exploited what amounted to a universal male franchise and the rich had no legal means of countering their political power. In addition, the dignity of every office had to be guarded so that people respected the state and its authority, as in the Roman Republic.⁴⁷ Chastellux believed that legislators had to work with the material they already had, improving it as best they could rather than ignoring reality.⁴⁸ His constitutional theories combined Aristotle, Locke, and Montesquieu; he was certainly no Rousseauian democrat. All three French officers followed Voltaire's lead in supporting the rule of law, and Crèvecoeur and Chastellux believed that citizens should participate in their government. Their colleague Bougainville was not opposed to some broad constitutional arrangement, but he was highly suspicious of any popular role in the state.

Bougainville is again the most conservative of the three *philosophes* when it comes to religion. Despite the educated elite's frequent anti-clericalism in the 1750s, Bougainville had little but praise for the Roman Catholic establishment in Canada, more specifically its utilitarian role in helping the sick, mentally ill, orphans, and the "deserving" poor.⁴⁹ He also testified to the religious orthodoxy of common Canadians, with apparent approval.⁵⁰ While his ship was at Montevideo in 1767 he discussed the recent expulsion of the Jesuits from their missions in Paraguay, and was sympathetic toward the order, saying that the Jesuits were generally devout people and that their civilizing mission among the Indians benefited humanity.⁵¹ Bougainville's mother, aunt, and brother were Jansenist Roman Catholics, and Bougainville himself seems to have been a sincere Roman Catholic, even if he was not as openly pious as his sibling.⁵²

Although Crèvecoeur was not overtly hostile to Christianity, his religious convictions were more deistic than Christian. He praised Quakers for their peaceful, moral lives and simple worship and beliefs, which he considered based on the "most essential duties of Christianity".⁵³ His principal argument was that freedom of conscience and a mixing of religious groups led inevitably to deism. According to this theory,

religious zeal, fanned by persecution, slowly faded into religious indifference in North America's free environment, and when young people from different denominations intermarried, they taught the next generation a diluted or more primitive form of Christianity. The end result was that people were peaceful, prosperous, and happy, and believed in God and his moral precepts, but paid little attention to the formalities of religion.⁵⁴ Crèvecoeur attacked the notion that "a unity in religious opinions was necessary to establish the unity of law and government", and maintained that attempts to enforce religious conformity had caused almost all calamities in history. He argued that "a discord of religious opinions is the true principle on which the harmony of society is established."⁵⁵

Chastellux's religious views were also firmly deist in nature. He was not particularly impressed by any of the religious denominations in the colonies, even the Quakers, for he saw these "imperious...and self-opinionated" sects all misreading "the great book of Nature".⁵⁶ He took comfort in the idea that intolerance and persecution still existed, but were no longer in fashion.⁵⁷ In a letter to George Washington, accompanying the generous gift of a cask of Bordeaux wine, he remarked that "the true ministers of God are those who...promote the happiness of mankind which constitutes for the greatest part in freedom and liberty."⁵⁸ He was not troubled by the fact that in Virginia the clergy were prohibited from holding public office.⁵⁹ Like many other deists, such as Crèvecoeur, he favoured religious tolerance, but was even more interested in the demise of traditional organized religion and its doctrines, in other words, "superstition".

The French officer corps was heavily influenced by the Enlightenment, and this is especially true of Bougainville, Crèvecoeur, and Chastellux, who became *philosophes* in their own right. Although they differed in many respects, with Bougainville being more conservative and probably closer to the majority of officers in his opinions, the three men shared many ideas. They assumed that all human beings were essentially the same, despite major cultural differences, and that no culture could attain perfection. Even the proto-Romantic Crèvecoeur doubted that moral perfection was possible. As a result, while they could often admire the native peoples of North America, they did not see them as a different species from Europeans and believed that they should come to terms with the European world. Even blacks, who were supposedly handicapped by a barbarous culture, might be capable of redemption. The three Frenchmen, eager disciples of the European arts and sciences, believed that however imperfect European culture was, it represented the best hope for humankind. If Crèvecoeur had doubts about embracing European civilization, Bougainville and Chastellux were convinced that European elite high culture was the standard of human progress. They generally agreed that the educated, propertied classes deserved legal recognition as citizens, although again Bougainville differed from the others over the democratic nature of the new society. Religion, in turn, was useful when it coincided with the true interests of society and the state, and the church or churches taught morality and took care of the poor and unfortunate. However, Crèvecoeur and Chastellux in particular were sceptical of any religious doctrine which strayed from natural morality, and while such beliefs might be tolerated to keep the masses happy, the sooner they disappeared the better.

Bougainville, Crèvecoeur, and Chastellux were interested in North America because it seemed to provide valuable evidence for their assumptions about humankind. Although their faith in a happier future where good manners prevailed may seem

somewhat naive today, and their theories often appear strange, we should not cynically dismiss these men as idle dreamers or hypocrites. They lived in an imperfect world and belonged to a military profession devoted to the science of killing fellow human beings. Despite the ugly reality of war, revolution, and terror, however, they dared to hope for a more decent and civilized world.

¹Bougainville Papers, Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouvelles Acquisitions Françaises (BN N.A.F.) 9406, fols. 2-4; René de Kerallain, *Les français au Canada: la jeunesse de Bougainville et la guerre de sept ans* (Paris: Daupéley-Gouverneur, 1896), 28-29, 36; Jean-Etienne Martin-Allanic, *Bougainville navigateur et les découvertes de son temps* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1964), 1-3; and Martin L. Nicolai, "Bougainville, Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, Comte de", in *Encyclopaedia of the Colonial Wars of America* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1994).

²Service historique de l'Armée de Terre, Vincennes, document cited in Robert de Crèvecoeur, *St. John de Crèvecoeur: sa vie et ses oeuvres* (Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles, 1883), 12; "État des sujets que le Roi a agréés pour les charges vacantes dans le second bataillon du régiment d'infanterie de la Sarre", 25 July 1758, *Collection des manuscrits du maréchal de Lévis (Lévis MSS)*, ed. Henri-Raymond Casgrain, 12 vols. (Quebec: L.J. Demers & frère, 1891-1895), 3: 148; and Howard C. Rice, *Le cultivateur américain: étude sur l'oeuvre de Saint John de Crèvecoeur* (Paris: Champion, 1932; Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1978), 9-13.

³See Bougainville's report to the king published in the *Gazette de France*, 10 March 1759; Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm, to François-Charles de Bourlamaque, Montreal, 4 May 1758, *Lévis MSS*, 5: 237; Montcalm to Bourlamaque, Quebec, 18 March 1759, *ibid.*, 5: 298; Benoît-François Bernier to François-Gaston, Chevalier de Lévis, Quebec, 4 Oct. 1759, *ibid.*, 10: 11; Bernier to Bougainville, Quebec, 21 Oct. 1759, *ibid.*, 10: 23-25; Bernier to Bougainville, Quebec, 5 Nov. 1759, *ibid.*, 10: 37; and Michel Chartier de Lotbinière, Marquis de Lotbinière, to Nicolas Renaud d'Avène Des Méloizes, New York, 7 June 1790, cited in Rice, *Cultivateur américain*, p. 11.

⁴Crèvecoeur's surname at birth was Jean de Crèvecoeur, but he signed his name Saint-Jean de Crèvecoeur on his marriage certificate as a compromise between his French and American names. Gay W. Allen and Roger Asselineau, *St. John de Crèvecoeur: The Life of an American Farmer* (New York: Viking, 1987), 32-33, 74-75.

⁵François-Jean de Beauvoir, Chevalier de Chastellux, *Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781 and 1782*, ed. Howard C. Rice, 2 vols. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963), 1: 1-41.

⁶See Guy Frégault, *Canada: The War of the Conquest*, trans. Margaret M. Cameron (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1976) and William J. Eccles, "The French Forces in North America during the Seven Years' War", *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 3: xv-xxiii for two harsh assessments of Montcalm and his officers. Lee Kennett, *The French Forces in America, 1780-1783* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1977) is quite sympathetic toward French officers during the American War of Independence, but

Gilbert Bodinier, *Les officiers de l'Armée royale: Combattants de la guerre d'Indépendance des Etats-Unis, de Yorktown à l'an II* (Vincennes: Service historique de l'Armée de Terre, 1983) portrays the officer corps as almost uniformly reactionary.

⁷Louis-Antoine de Bougainville to Jean-Pierre de Bougainville, Montreal, 2 July 1757, BN N.A.F. 9406, fol. 62 and Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, *Adventure in the Wilderness: The American Journals of Louis Antoine de Bougainville, 1756-1760*, ed. and trans. Edward P. Hamilton (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 191.

⁸René de Kerallain, "Bougainville à l'escadre du cte. d'Estaing: guerre d'Amérique 1778-1779", *Journal de la Société des américanistes de Paris (JSAP)* 19 (1927): 172 and de Mun, "Notice sur mon frère le Sauvage", BN N.A.F. 9406, fol. 369.

⁹Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, "Mémoire sur l'état de la Nouvelle-France (1757)", *Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec (RAPQ)* (1923-24): 66. This was not the first time such a comparison had been made. See Joseph-François Lafitau, *Customs of the American Indians Compared with the Customs of Primitive Times*, 2 vols., ed. and trans. William N. Fenton and Elizabeth L. Moore (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1974).

¹⁰Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, *Voyage autour du monde par la frégate du roi "la Boudeuse" et la flûte "l'Étoile", en 1766, 1767, 1768 et 1769*, ed. Jacques Proust (Paris: Gallimard, 1982), 46. See also Gilbert Chinard, *L'Amérique et le rêve exotique dans la littérature française au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1913), 374-82.

¹¹Denis Diderot, *Supplément au Voyage de Bougainville: publié d'après le manuscrit de Léningrad*, ed. Gilbert Chinard (Paris: Librairie E. Droz, 1935).

¹²Michel-Guillaume Jean de Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1912), 53, 226-27. See also *ibid.*, 80-81.

¹³Michel-Guillaume Jean de Crèvecoeur, *Sketches of Eighteenth Century America: More "Letters from an American Farmer"*, ed. Henri L. Bourdin, Ralph H. Gabriel, and Stanley T. Williams (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1925), 133-34.

¹⁴Crèvecoeur, *Letters*, 211.

¹⁵Cornelius J. Jaenen, *Friend and Foe: Aspects of French-Amerindian Cultural Contact in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), 14, 17, 28; Olive P. Dickason, *The Myth of the Savage and the Beginnings of French Colonialism in the Americas* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1984), 63-84; and Philip P. Boucher, *Les Nouvelles Frances: France in America, 1500 to 1815: An Imperial Perspective* (Providence, R.I.: John Carter Brown Library, 1989), 12-17.

¹⁶Crèvecoeur, *Letters*, 62, 173. For a less rosy image of native-European relations in these regions see Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975); Neal

Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence: Indians, Europeans, and the Making of New England, 1500-1643* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982); Francis Jennings, *Empire of Fortune: Crowns, Colonies & Tribes in the Seven Years War in America* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1988); and Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

¹⁷Crèvecoeur, *Letters*, 107, 109, 120, 215, 219-24.

¹⁸Allen and Asselineau, *St. John de Crèvecoeur*, 83-84.

¹⁹Crèvecoeur, *Letters*, 106.

²⁰François-Jean de Beauvoir, Chevalier de Chastellux, *De la félicité publique, ou considérations sur le sort des hommes dans les différentes époques de l'histoire*, 2d ed. (Paris: Antoine-Augustin Renouard, 1776) and Norman Hampson, *The Enlightenment: An Evaluation of Its Assumptions, Attitudes and Values* (Harmondsworth, U.K.: Penguin, 1990), 232-33.

²¹See Voltaire, *Essai sur les moeurs et l'esprit des nations et sur les principaux faits de l'histoire depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à Louis XIV* (Paris: Éditions Garnier frères, 1963) and Marie-Jean-Antoine-Nicolas de Caritat, Marquis de Condorcet, *Sketch for a Historical Picture of the Progress of the Human Mind*, trans. June Barraclough (London: Weidenfeld, 1955).

²²Chastellux, *Travels in North America*, 1: 208.

²³*Ibid.*, 1: 208-209.

²⁴*Ibid.*, 1: 80-81.

²⁵*Ibid.*, 2: 496.

²⁶Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, "Si la France faisait un armement considérable pour le Canada, quelle en serait l'opération la plus avantageuse au salut de cette colonie", 31 Dec. 1758, *RAPQ* (1923-24): 19.

²⁷Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, "Moyens de peupler La Louisiane-- Encouragements à donner aux habitants du Canada pour passer au Mississippi", June 1761, BN N.A.F. 9406, fol. 319.

²⁸Bougainville, *Voyage autour du monde*, 267.

²⁹Crèvecoeur, *Letters*, 142 and Crèvecoeur, *Sketches*, 44-46.

³⁰Crèvecoeur, *Letters*, 142, 160-65, 172-73 and Crèvecoeur, *Sketches*, 83, 145.

³¹Crèvecoeur, *Letters*, 164, 192-93.

³²Chastellux, *Travels in North America*, 2: 438-39.

³³*Ibid.*, 2: 440-41.

³⁴Anonymous, "Extrait des mémoires de Mr. de Montcalm", National Archives of Canada, MG18, K7, vol. 1. Bougainville helped to keep Montcalm's campaign journal up to date, and was one of two officers who had access to it during the war. There is virtually no doubt that he was the author of this essay.

³⁵Bougainville, "Mémoire sur l'état de la Nouvelle-France", *RAPQ* (1923-24): 61 and Bougainville, *Voyage autour du monde*, 267.

³⁶René de Kerallain, "Bougainville à l'escadre du cte d'Estaing: guerre d'Amérique 1778-1779", *JSAP* 19 (1927): 170.

³⁷Crèvecoeur, *Letters*, 39-40 and Crèvecoeur, *Sketches*, 80, 88, 94, 124-25, 137.

³⁸Crèvecoeur, *Letters*, 200-9 and Crèvecoeur, *Sketches*, 178-192, 212-13, 235-332.

³⁹Crèvecoeur, *Letters*, 42, 201.

⁴⁰Chastellux, *Travels in North America*, 1: 110, 174.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, 1: 160.

⁴²*Ibid.*, 1: 162-63.

⁴³*Ibid.*, 1: 181.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 2: 437.

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 1: 163, 2: 398.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, 2: 435, 437-38.

⁴⁷Chastellux to James Madison, on board *l'Émeraude*, Chesapeake Bay, 12 Jan. 1783, *ibid.*, 2: 533-36.

⁴⁸For a further discussion of Chastellux's political views see Alan C. Kors, "François-Jean Marquis de Chastellux", in *Abroad in America: Visitors to the New Nation 1776-1914*, ed. Marc Pachter (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1976), 2-11.

⁴⁹Bougainville, "Mémoire sur l'état de la Nouvelle-France", *RAPQ* (1923-24): 64.

⁵⁰Bougainville to Jean-Pierre de Bougainville, 1758, cited in Guy Frégault, "Une société à hauteur d'homme: la Nouvelle-France", *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 17 (1963): 10.

⁵¹Bougainville, *Voyage autour du monde*, 129-44.

⁵²Martin-Allanic, *Bougainville navigateur*, 12-13.

⁵³Crèvecoeur, *Letters*, 114, 137-38, 195-96.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, 44, 46, 48-51 and Crèvecoeur, *Sketches*, 63-65, 152-71.

⁵⁵Crèvecoeur, *Sketches*, 152.

⁵⁶Chastellux, *Travels in North America*, 1: 165-68.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, 1: 165.

⁵⁸Chastellux to Washington, Philipsburg, N.Y., 18 July 1781, *ibid.*, 2: 369.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, 2: 442.