Revolutionary Emigrés and Exiles in the United States:

Problems of Economic Survival in a New Republican Society

Thomas Sosnowski

The French Revolution in its many phases, including the Reign of Terror, encouraged many "citoyens" and "citoyennes" to abandon their homeland and to seek refuge often in distant lands. During the 1790s, at least ten and perhaps as many as twenty-five thousand took up residence in the fledgling United States.[1] Included in this migration were thousands of settlers from St. Domingue who also sought refuge from the Toussaint L'Ouverture revolution. They were welcomed by Americans, especially in cities with established French communities: New York, Boston, Charleston, and especially Philadelphia. But they, like most immigrants, faced numerous problems upon arrival—language, lodging, and work. Here we will focus on the economic activities of some of these émigrés during their American sojourn.

The migration of émigrés to the United States began in the early 1790s and persisted at least until 1797. They were monarchists, constitutionalists, and republicans—each escaped different phases of the Revolution, especially the Reign of Terror. French aid during the War for American Independence as well as Rousseauean literature made the new trans-Atlantic republic an attractive choice for many émigrés. Here sojourned an admirable array of intellectual, social, and political luminaries, as well as a host of lesser known and unknown Frenchmen whose lives were endangered by revolutionary developments in France and St. Domingue. They created clubs and associations, while establishing businesses to serve their ethnic needs, so similarly to other immigrant groups who arrived in the United States in the following centuries.[2]

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[1] Fernand Baldensperger, *Le mouvement des idées dans l'émigration française*, 1789-1815 (Paris, 1924), 1: 105.

[2] For an introduction to the émigrés in America, consult the following works: Frances Sargeant Childs, *French Refugee Life in the United States, 1790-1800* (Baltimore, 1940); Durand Echeverria, *Mirage in the West: A History of the French Image of American Society to 1815* (Princeton, 1957); Bernard Faÿ, *L'esprit révolutionnaire en France et aux États-Unis* (Paris, 1925); Howard Mumford Jones, *America and French Culture, 1750-1848* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1927); Roger Kennedy, *Orders from France: The Americans and the French in a Revolutionary World, 1789-1820* (New York, 1989).

Many of these émigrés were truly exiles, who looked upon their residence in the United States as temporary. Some of them, however, changed their commitment to return because of the longevity of their sojourn, marriage, success in business, or simply inertia.[3] Forced to emigrate with celerity, many had little or no money. Some displayed ingenuity in their choice of jobs; others were not as successful in adjusting to a new society and economy. And yet some succeeded in avoiding any work by carefully watching over their limited financial resources.

The most noticeable group of émigrés were the luminaries whose past or future fame would make them objects of detailed studies. They included La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, Châteaubriand, Louis-Philippe, Mme de la Tour du Pin (du Gouvernet), Moreau de St.-Méry, Volney, and, of course, Talleyrand. These émigrés and others established close contacts with one another, often through Moreau de St-Méry's bookstore in Philadelphia. Many maintained journals or diaries or later published memoirs about their experiences. Some also wrote commentaries on their sojourns, adding substantially to the "voyage" literature so popular in this era. They were, in the words of one historian, "explorateurs malgré eux."[4] These writings provide a good starting point for our research on this group.

Several émigrés arrived in the Unites States with some sources of income and never apparently sought employment. For example, the Duke of La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt received some money from time to time from his family, even though his wife, still resident in France, had to divorce him legally in order to maintain some of the family property.[5] For him and some contemporaries, a form of eighteenth century "money-laundering" must have been used. Psychologically depressed because of his misfortunes and worried about the fate of his family and friends, he understood the necessity of remaining active.[6] Although he established himself in the French community of Philadelphia and often socialized with Americans, especially the distinguished Chew family, he kept himself busy by studying and writing. His first work was *Les prisons de Philadelphie* in which he praised the reforms which he saw in operation there.[7] Nonetheless, after more than a year, he began his travels—to release himself from anxiety and depression. The result was his *Voyages dans les États-Unis de l'Amérique* which fills eight volumes.[8] He traveled as far south as South Carolina and in the north through New England, and even parts of Canada. De Tocqueville he was not, but thoughtful and perceptive he was (although some contemporaries thought him plodding and boring).[9] When the political climate in France improved, La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt returned to his homeland where he published his chef-d'oeuvre.

[3] See J.G. Rosengarten, *French Colonists and Exiles in the United States* (Philadelphia and London, 1907); Marcus Lee Hansen, *The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860* (Cambridge, Mass., 1941), esp. 59.
[4] Baldensperger, 1: chap. 2.
[5] See "Lettre à Madame de Liancourt" in La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *Journal de voyage en Amèrique et d'un séjour à Philadelphie*, ed. Jean Marchand (Paris, [n.d.]), 125-131.
[6] To become acquainted with the personality and motivations of La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, read his *Journal* which he apparently never edited.
[7] La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *Les prisons de Philadelphie par un Européen* (Paris, *an* VIII).
[8] La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *Voyage dans les États-Unis d'Amérique*, 8 vols. (Paris, *an* VII) was translated into English as *Travels through the United States of America* (London, 1800). This article uses the latter edition.
[9] To become acquainted with his personality, consult Thomas C. Sosnowski, "La Rochefoucaul-Liancourt's Exile in America," *Selected Papers, Consortium on Revolutionary Europe* 25: 568-575. Also useful for the European perspective is Ferdinand Dreyfus, *La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, 1747-1827* (Paris, 1903).

The most well-known émigré was the former bishop of Autun, Talleyrand. Similar to his friend, La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, he could depend on private resources during his American sojourn. From time to time, he traveled to various parts of New York and Pennsylvania. Philadelphia, however, was his focal point. There he entertained often at the residence of Théophile Cazenove, his friend and business consultant.[10] In his *Mémoires* he excoriated Americans as an uncivilized lot, but the cynic can be detected in his letters and others works. Even though Americans were boorish in his estimation, their land could be a source of additional revenues for he speculated in real estate in upstate New York (i.e. the regions north and west of Albany) and Maine, hence the special relationship with Cazenove. He even encouraged Mme de Staël to join in these ventures. Even more bizarre was the expression of his plans for American citizenship in order to continue with his business activities.[11] This did not materialize for he was soon to return to France where his meteoric rise to power quickly led to his role in giving birth to the XYZ Affair and so-called Quasi-War or undeclared war with the United States.[12] U.S. neutrality proclaimed by George Washington during the French revolutionary wars undermined the treaty of alliance between France and the new U.S. which was signed in 1778 during the U.S. Revolution. The addition of a trade agreement (Jay's Treaty) in 1795 with the United Kingdom which was favorable to the British aroused anti-American sentiment in France and Francophobic activities in the U.S. leading to an undeclared, naval war on the Atlantic Ocean by 1798.

Another group of nobles, led by the Count of Noailles, organized an alternate way of life in the U.S. With the assistance of the almost ubiquitous Cazenove, an agent of the Holland Land Company, and Robert Morris, another speculator whose financial talents greatly aided the Republic during its struggle against Britain, they purchased a large tract in remote, north central Pennsylvania on the banks of the Susquehenna River. This they named Azilum and here they tried to create a frontier version of palace and salon society. For example, their "Grande Maison" was a two-storey structure which measured sixty by eighty feet (18.29 by 19.51 meters) and boasted large fireplaces and many a large window—surely not the ordinary domicile on the frontier! Here the French settlers, if we can call them that, gathered at least once per week in their best attire to maintain the traditions of the salons. Noailles and his comrade, Omer-Antoine Talon, tried to develop the image of gentlemen farmers, while also introducing some small measure of "industrial" activity with the production of spirits and potash. But the venture by these nobles was only marginally successful, in part because of their lack of skills, their inability to work with the Americans, and their desire to return to France as soon as possible.[13] In addition, one cannot overlook Le Ray de Chaumont and the development of his "grand" community in northern New York, near present day Watertown (very close to the Canadian border) called Castorland which attracted some twenty families between 1796 and 1800. The nomenclature (*castor* means beaver in French) was, in itself, sufficient propaganda to whet the economic appetites of some settlers, since furs were still popular in European

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[10] See La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *Journal*; Talleyrand, *Mémoires* (Paris, 1957), 1: chap. 8.

[11] Consult *Talleyrand in America as a Financial Promoter, 1794-96: Unpublished Letters and Memoirs*, trans. and eds. Hans Huth and Wilma J. Pugh (Washington, 1942), 96.

[12] For more information on the Quasi-War, consult Thomas C. Sosnowski, "Bitter Farewells: Francophobia and the French Émigrés in America," *Proceedings, Consortium on Revolutionary Europe*, 21: 276-286. Also see Alexander DeCondé, *The Quasi-War: The Politics and Diplomacy of the Undeclared War with France, 1797-1801* (New York, 1966).

[13] See Isaac Weld, *Travels Through the States of North America* (New York and London, 1968), 2: 350-1 where he predicts failure. Also consult La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *Voyage*, 157-70.

fashion and would remain so for several decades. One article referred to "intrigues practiced by great American proprietors to seduce French adventurers to this country and to sell them territories to which they cannot prove their right."[14] It implicated Robert Morris in these underhanded business dealings. At this time, it is difficult to ascertain if these French purchasers were exiles or truly adventurers. It must be noted that this same area is where Joseph Bonaparte invested significantly in real estate a quarter of century later and which he visited annually for over a decade.[15]

The most unusual, if not the most admirable, of this group of noble émigrés was Mme de la Tour du Pin. She and her husband barely escaped France during the Reign of Terror and arrived in the United States with limited funds with which they purchased a farm outside Troy, New York, near Albany. Unlike the nobles at Azilum, Madame and her husband truly farmed the land with their own hands and during their first year with the assistance of several slaves whom they were required to manumit by state law in 1795.[16] She even did her own cooking with the help of a cookbook, *La cuisine bourgeoise*. On one occasion while she was attempting to butcher a lamb for dinner, she was interrupted by the unexpected arrival of Talleyrand who said: "On ne peut embrocher un gigot avec plus de majesté." Surprised, but not upset, she invited him and his companion Beaumetz to partake of the repast.[17] Mme de la Tour du Pin and her husband accepted the challenges of their changed status and made the best of a difficult situation, even with a sense of humor.[18]

Finally, some others did not "work" but traveled extensively. For example, Louis-Philippe, i.e. the Duke of Orléans, and his two younger brothers arrived in the United State with extremely limited funds. However, instead of seeking employment, they followed the lead of La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt and traveled. His diary gives a taste of his interests and American experiences, but unfortunately he made no additional entries after he reached Kentucky, well before the end of his travels. What remains of this diary includes some transliterations of an Indian language in Tennessee as well as a careful account of his financial budget.[19] Another traveler was Colbert-Maulevrier whose *Journal* remains an interesting commentary on his travels beyond the Appalachians and into Canada. Both he and the Duke de Montpensier, Louis-Philippe's brother, added visual interpretations with their own watercolors.[20] Included with these "explorers" was Constantin Volney who apparently depended on personal sources of income for he devoted himself to the study of the geography of the United States which he brought together in his landmark *Tableau du climat et du sol des États-Unis*.[21] To this list, one might add an early émigré, Lézay-Marnésia,

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[14] Claire Bonney, *French Émigré Houses in Jefferson County* (Basel, 1985), 21. Important to this study is Thomas J. Schaeper, *France and America in the Revolutionary Era: The Life of Jacques-Donatien Leray de Chaumong, 1725-1803* (Providence, 1995). The article in question appeared in the Boston *Gazette and Weekly Republican Journal*, 22 June 1795. It should be noted that there was a precedent for these accusations in the sale of lands for Gallipolis, Ohio in 1789.

[15] Schaeper, *LeRay de Chaumont.*

[16] Marquise de la Tour du Pin, *Journal d'une femme de cinquante ans, 1778-1815* (Paris, 1914), 2: chap. 1-3.

[17] Mme de la Tour du Pin, 2: 31-2.

[18] A good biography of her fascinating life should be examined: Alix de Rohan Chabot, *Madame de la Tour du Pin. Le talent du bonheur* (Paris, 1997).

[19] Louis-Philippe, *Diary of My Travels in America*, trans. Stephen Becker, and ed. Henry Steele Commager (New York, 1977).

[20] Louis-Philippe, *passim*.

[21] Constantin-F. Volney, *Tableau du climat et du sol des États-Unis* (Paris, 1803); also published in English as *A View of the Soil and Climate of the United States of America* in 1804 and reprinted in 1968. In order to assess the significance of his work, read Anne Godlewska, "Geography under

whose travels to the Ohio region in the early 1790s resulted in a proposal to establish a utopian (for him, that is) settlement, Saint Pierre, with "une monarchie libre et si bien organisé"—a truly aristocratic milieu.[22] Many an historian seems to have heard of Châteaubriand and his American voyage in the early 1790s. However, what he did and where he went was greatly distorted by his romantic ruminations, his extensive readings, and the passage of time before he wrote his memoirs.[23]

A special case has to be made for Moreau de St.-Méry. Here was a talented government official who had to develop other skills for economic survival. His first job was that of a shipping clerk in New York City: "In spite of my age, my unsettled health and my ability, M. Guerlain put me in charge of the outdoor work at his place of business."[24] Later, he described his work in the following manner: "this sort of galley-slave labor gave me plenty of time to dwell on its distressing features; and my morals as well as my body suffered from it."[25] He quit this job and organized a partnership with the German noble, the Baron de la Roche, to open a bookstore in Philadelphia, an arrangement that did not remain amicable.[26] Eventually, he was able to buy his partner's share. His business, which also included the publication of books and the émigré newspaper, the *Courrier français*, appears to have been successful, at least according to the evidence in his *Voyage*. But another exile, the Chevalier Pontgibaud de Moré who returned to the United States to seek his bounty for his service to the War for American Independence, gave a different evaluation: "Nor was I particularly astonished either to learn, some months later [after visiting the business establishment], that he was bankrupt, but I may remark that he failed for twenty-five thousand francs, and I would not have given a thousand crowns for all the stock in [his] … shop."[27] It must be added that his store was also a gathering site for a number of the émigrés who lived in Philadelphia or were passing through. Mme Moreau de St-Méry would sometimes break up these gatherings which lasted until very late at night because her husband had to be refreshed to face a day's work the next morning![28] In this situation, one notices a conflict between two opposing forces: commercial prosperity and the desire to maintain a comfortable social enclave with his ethnic colleagues.

One path to a successful American sojourn can be seen in the activities of Brillat-Savarin, the noted gastronome and author of the *Physiologie du gout ou*

Napoleon and Napoleonic Geography," *Proceedings, Consortium on Revolutionary Europe* (1989), 1: 282-302.

[22] Claude-François Adrien, Marquis de Lézay-Marnésia, *Lettres écrites des rives de l'Ohio* (Fort Pitt and Paris, *an* IX [1801]) in *Nineteenth-Century Literature on Microcards* (Louisville, Ky, 1956) was written in the early 1790s.

[23] René de Châteaubriand, *Travels in America*, trans. Richard Switzer (Lexington, Ky, 1969) is apparently a collection of some thirty years of reading. Many of the places he claims to have visited in 1790, like Chillicothe, Ohio, did not exist in the U.S. of 1791.

[24] Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Voyage aux États-Unis de l'Amérique*, ed. Stewart L. Mims (New Haven, 1913) has been translated by Kenneth Roberts and Anne M. Roberts as *Moreau de St-Méry's American Journey, 1793-1798* (Garden City, N.Y., 1947) which has been used in this paper. For this quotation, see page 124.

[25] Moreau de St-Méry, 127.

[26] Ibid., 196-203.

[27] Chevalier de Pontgibaud [de Moré], *A French Volunteer of the War of Independence*, trans. and ed., Robert B. Douglas (New York, 1898), 128-9.

[28] Allen J. Barthold in his "French Journalists in the United States, 1780-1800," *The Franco-American Review* (1937), 1: 224 relates a story about Mme Moreau de St-Méry breaking up parties with Talleyrand because of the morning's work schedule. She said to him: "Vous ferez demain le paresseux dans votre lit jusqu'au midi, tandis qu'à sept heures du matin votre ami sera forcé d'aller ouvrir son magasin."

Méditations de gastronomie transcendante. Here was someone who was willing to speak the language of Americans and dress like them, while modeling his behavior on theirs. He experimented seriously with American food and found reason to popularize at least one American delicacy—the turkey. He called himself a "dindonophile"![29] As for his income, he tutored Americans in French and often played in an orchestra. These two activities were common for the émigrés, since occasionally there were notices in the newspapers advertising their tutorial services and skills.[30] Similarly, John Bernard, in his recollections of his work with the American theatre in the first decade of the nineteenth century emphasized the importance of the French émigrés in raising substantially the quality of American culture, both in music and drama.[31] This Briton also declared: "One of the ruling amusements of the Carolinas was dancing, the French having apparently inoculated all classes in this taste in its most confirmed state."[32] In reality, they tutored the American aristocracy in this fine art and, indeed, took advantage of its strong cultural base which developed during the colonial era among Southern plantation owners.

A large percentage of the French aliens in the United States in the 1790s were refugees from St. Domingue who settled conspicuously in the Atlantic seaports. Charleston, especially, opened itself to receiving large numbers of these dispossessed (perhaps subconsciously the white elite realized that they could have the same problem in their state since their substantial slave population made up approximately two-thirds of South Carolina's population). Many arrived with few possessions and little or no money. They, who lived in comparative ease as owners of plantations in France's wealthiest colony, were now poverty-stricken. Cities like Charleston and Philadelphia raised money to assist them. Even the new U.S. government allocated some funds for this effort.[33] Of course, numerous American families opened their homes to them. In addition, the émigrés of Philadelphia organized the French Benevolent Society in 1793 with the sole purpose of assisting their countrymen.[34] The members, who had to be French, paid two dollars for membership and could solicit funds from non-members.

However, this charity could not last indefinitely. But as one of these refugees relates: "Misfortune was as relentless to us as a raven to the victim it attacks, not leaving a moment of respite. Long illness, fruit of our suffering and exhaustion, assailed us all at once." Then it was time to work. Again, they seemed to follow the example of the émigrés from France—some performed on musical instruments.[35] As for others, let us examine the words of a Creole from St. Domingue: "one is a gardener, another a school teacher; this one makes marionettes, that one gives

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[29] [Anthelme] Brillat-Savarin, *Physiologie du gout ou méditations de gastronomie transcendante* (Brussels, 1835), 280, 131.

[30] I examined a variety of newspapers in the Early American Newspaper series on microcard for the 1790s, but especially *Minerva, National Gazette, Boston Gazette and Weekly Republican Journal,* and *American Mercury.* For a good introduction to the French language newspapers, consult Samuel Joseph Marino, "The French Refugee Newspapers in the United States, 1789-1825" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1962).

[31] John Bernard, *Retrospections of America, 1797-1811*, ed. Mrs. Bayle Bernard (New York and London, 1969, reprint of 1887 edition), 262. Also see Walter J. Fraser, Jr., *Charleston! Charleston: The History of a Southern City* (Columbia, S.C., 1989), 184.

[32] Bernard, 207.

[33] *National Gazette*, 13 Feb. 1792. Important for this topic is Winston C. Babb, "French Refugees from Saint Domingue to the Southern United States, 1791-1810," (Ph.D. diss.: University of Virginia, 1956).

[34] *National Gazette*, 9 Mar. 1793.

[35] Althéa de Puech Parham, ed. and trans., *My Odyssey: Experiences of a Young Refugee from Two Revolutions, a Creole of Saint Domingue* (Baton Rouge, 1959) 102.

concerts; some teach dancing, others sell confections; the shrewdest ones go into business, and some have already become well enough known to be considered illustrious personages. For you know that here gold is the first title of nobility."[36] Already it was apparent to him and others who visited the U.S. at the end of the eighteenth century that social class status depended heavily on wealth, not birth. Among the most ingenious was a certain Frenchman who established a bathhouse in Philadelphia, as well as a M Collot whose ice cream was highly regarded.[37] Not all were successful. Mme de la Tour du Pin visited some refugees who settled near the Hudson River who barely eked an existence out of their lands.[38] And La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt hinted that those who were recent exiles from St. Domingue, now dispossessed, were the successful ones, while the Creoles could not adjust as easily.[39]

What we have examined so far points out the complexities of exile life in America for these French. As refugees from France and St. Domingue, they were forced into situations that they little understood; indeed, some were even unwilling or unable to understand the adjustments that had to be made. La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt examined this problem a few times in his *Voyages* and decried those who remained depressed. For example, in assessing the activities of a certain M de Boui in upstate New York, he reflected: "May he live there, if not happy, at least content; but it is greatly to be feared, that the peevishness of his temper, which this unfortunate man has contracted, will dry up every source of promised happiness and comfort which this world might yet afford."[40] Although the Duke was psychologically depressed, he did not permit that condition to paralyze him as it did others. Action, especially with a sense of humor and determination, was required always. Both he and Mme de la Tour du Pin criticized strongly the lazy sort, the ones who were unwilling to try.[41] Dwelling on their misfortunes was not their ideal existence. Evidently many would not accommodate themselves to their changed economic and social status.

It appears as if, and this one expects, certain nobles who took refuge in the United States were able to refrain from "labor" because of outside sources of income, even though this might not have been substantial. Obviously, the tradition which frowned on "labor" and punished it with derogation remained strong among them. Influenced most probably by the vogue of travel literature at the time and nascent romanticism, they traveled around the States, even to remote areas like the Ohio River Valley and Tennessee. Some were forced out of economic necessity to work like Moreau de St-Méry, but not willingly. However, it must be noted that in his case, he arrived with some substantial possessions including a pianoforte. The Chevalier de Pontgibaud is especially poignant: "But a man must live, and the most curious spectacle was to see these Frenchmen, fallen from their former greatness and now exercising some trade or profession."[42] The ambiance of pre-revolutionary France made nobles consumers of goods and services, not producers. The threat of derogation, coupled with social pressures, strengthened this situation which was undermined, if not overturned, by their refugee status.

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[36] Parham, 180-1.
[37] Moreau de St-Méry, 323.
[38] Marquise de la Tour du Pin, 2: 36.
[39] La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *Voyage*, 3: 518.
[40] Ibid., 1: 288-9.
[41] Ibid., 1: 290; Marquise de la Tour du Pin, 2: 36.
[42] Pontigibaud [de Moré], 128.

The vast majority of these émigrés remain unknown to us today. It is interesting to examine newspapers of the 1790s and discover how little it said about this large group of foreigners. Instead they focused on the developments in France, but there is seldom a comment about those who escaped and lived among them.[43] Occasionally one sees a notice for a French tutor.[44] Evidently everyone knew what was happening in these relatively small American cities that the newspapers did not have to report much local news. What appeared important to them came from Europe —especially France, Britain, and even Poland—and sometimes the commentary they could produce about American politics.

This paper examined, in part, the experiences of some well-known exiles, but more research remains to be done. What happened to the "unknown" refugees must be uncovered through the examination of city directories, ship registers, and even census data—a task beyond the time restraints of this presentation. The census becomes problematic since the first one took place in 1790 and then as required by the Constitution was repeated decennially in 1800—and this was after many of the exiles returned to their homeland. The experiences of those from St. Domingue should also be re-explored and especially in the context of American slavery in Virginia and South Carolina where so many sought asylum.

As indicated earlier, many of the émigrés returned to France as soon as it was safe. Those who depended on their families for survival quickly bid farewell to the United States. Some, like Noailles, were never comfortable in frontier America, and while continually pining their fate, gave up their business and agrarian pursuits to sail east to Europe. The XYZ Affair and the Francophobia it engendered gave additional impetus for the departure of these French aliens. Indeed, Volney and Moreau de St.-Méry felt that they were forced to leave with the endangerment of their lives and property.[45]

This episode also symbolizes the role of asylum that the United States has played a number of times in the past two centuries. The sincere welcome given to these French refugees was demonstrated with financial and moral support. Many of them responded by sharing their talents, especially seen in the theatre and music. But even some of those who did not "work" shared their talents by their detailed studies of the early American Republic, such as La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt and Volney. Even Louis-Philippe fondly recalled his American sojourn when he became the King of the French. Of course, Talleyrand never forgot the Americans with their "primitive" behavior and the supposed slights he felt—most probably this was the source of the XYZ Affair. Many retained an exile mentality and rushed to return to the *patrie,* while others slowly adjusted to their new surroundings, giving some credence to Crèvecoeur's famous description of "What is an American?" in the early 1780s: "Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men, whose labours and posterity will one day cause great changes in the world."[46] His prophecy could also be claimed by Canadians and Australians two centuries later.

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[43] Refer to note 30, above.

[44] For one example, see the Philadelphia *Minerva*, 13 June 1795. One can also find announcements in the French language newspapers like Moreau de St-Méry's *Courrier françois*, 2 Nov. 1797.

[45] For one study, consult Sosnowski, "Bitter Farewells."

[46] J.Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer and Sketches of Eighteenth Century America*, ed. Albert E. Stone (New York, 1983), 70.