

1956

St. John de Crevecoeur as a Diplomat

James J. Hudson

University of Arkansas, Fayetteville

Follow this and additional works at: <http://scholarworks.uark.edu/jaas>



Part of the [International Relations Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Hudson, James J. (1956) "St. John de Crevecoeur as a Diplomat," *Journal of the Arkansas Academy of Science*: Vol. 9 , Article 12.
Available at: <http://scholarworks.uark.edu/jaas/vol9/iss1/12>

This article is available for use under the Creative Commons license: Attribution-NoDerivatives 4.0 International (CC BY-ND 4.0). Users are able to read, download, copy, print, distribute, search, link to the full texts of these articles, or use them for any other lawful purpose, without asking prior permission from the publisher or the author.

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by ScholarWorks@UARK. It has been accepted for inclusion in Journal of the Arkansas Academy of Science by an authorized editor of ScholarWorks@UARK. For more information, please contact scholar@uark.edu, cmiddle@uark.edu.

ST. JOHN DE CRÉVECOEUR AS A DIPLOMAT, 1783-1790

James J. Hudson
University of Arkansas

As the first French Consul to New York,^{1/} St. John de Crèvecoeur found Franco-American commercial relations in a rather precarious condition. Before the Revolutionary War, the English had supplied the Colonies with most of the manufactured articles they needed in exchange for raw materials. During the war the Americans had to look to France,^{2/} Holland, and Spain for manufactured products, but with the close of the war the commercial ties with these countries deteriorated somewhat.^{3/} It was soon revealed that political separation had not broken the many ties which linked Americans to the English people.^{4/}

Students of economic history have advanced many reasons for this apparent swing of the United States back to its wartime enemy. Chief among the causes for the British victory in regaining the bulk of American commerce was the general excellence of the product sent and the intelligence with which the English studied their market. They did not send lace handkerchiefs and fine champagnes, but pots, pans, guns, and agricultural equipment that the Americans could use. In spite of the rather heavy duties placed on American goods by the English, the Yankee merchant could still make a better profit by buying practical, salable goods than by purchasing luxury items from the French. Furthermore, the Americans had become used to British goods. A third reason lay in the fact that the English and the Americans spoke a common language, and therefore business relations were easier. Still another reason was that the French government, itself near bankruptcy, was unable to assist her merchants in extending loans to the destitute Americans, whereas the English government was able to do so.^{5/} It was into this rather unfortunate

ST. JOHN DE CRÉVECOEUR AS A DIPLOMAT, 1783-1790

trade situation that St. Jean de Crèvecoeur was thrust in the summer of 1783.

Crèvecoeur was eminently well qualified for the Consulship at the time of his appointment. He had lived some twenty years in America before and during the American Revolution and thoroughly understood American habits, characteristics, and problems. Indeed, he had written a highly successful and somewhat laudatory book on America -- Letters from an American Farmer. (Americans of all eras have characteristically liked and trusted those who have liked them.) In addition to his thorough understanding of America, Crèvecoeur numbered among his personal friends many prominent leaders in both America and France. In America, such figures as Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Robert Livingston were of great help while in France, Turgot, the financial wizard; Marechal de Castries, the Minister of Marine; the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, the Duke de Laincourt, and Lafayette furnished invaluable aid. It is not surprising that a diplomat with so fortunate a background would be especially interested in the success of commercial and cultural relations from both the French and the American viewpoint.

The new Consul to New York realized from the beginning that his chief problem was one of education on the part of both countries. To solve this, he wrote many letters to influential men in both France and America seeking to further understanding between the two.^{6/} He sent American newspapers to friends in France and requested that they be translated and published in the French newspapers.^{7/} The Consul often received newspapers and periodicals from Paris, many of which he himself translated into English and published in America. His letter to the Duke de la Rochefoucauld in February, 1784 stated clearly that his purpose was to translate for American consumption "whatever is most Edifying & most conducive to Establish here a National Respect for the Nation."^{8/}

ARKANSAS ACADEMY OF SCIENCE

Crèvecoeur often made contributions of his own to the various American publications. Perhaps his most important contribution to journalism was his series of articles on agriculture. These articles, written under the pen name "Agricola," extended over a period of six years,^{9/} and were concerned chiefly with the introduction of new crops and farming methods in the United States. For example, he advocated the planting of drouth-resistant grasses to combat summer pasture failures.^{10/}

There is some evidence that Crèvecoeur also attempted to found a monthly magazine whereby he could further advance the exchange of ideas between the two countries. In February, 1784, he wrote a friend in France,

I have persuaded a Printer here to undertake a Monthly Magazine which will be very usefull & Entertaining... I, who have set the scheme on foot, will put into his hands whatever I can Receive from Paris... Men here Love to be Instructed & let us have Proper Materials from whatever part in order to accomplish this Monthly Publication...^{11/}

Since the magazine is mentioned only one time in his letters, it is very likely that it was soon discontinued, if published at all.

Even before St. John de Crèvecoeur's appointment as Consul to New York, he had been active in promoting easier communications between France and the United States. After much correspondence with Benjamin Franklin^{12/} concerning the mechanics of a mail packet boat system, he was able to persuade the French government to inaugurate such a system between France and America. He was made director of the New York end of the system, and the first ship of the new line sailing from Le Havre September 18, 1783, found St. John as one of its passengers. Crèvecoeur wrote New

ST. JOHN LE CRÉVECOEUR AS A DIPLOMAT, 1783-1790

York's Governor Clinton late in 1783 describing the purpose of the new packet system as primarily an effort

to cement the Bonds of Friendship between his Kingdom (Louis XVI) and the United States of America... to carry the Mails to and from each Country, that Commerce may have the fullest Assistance.^{13/}

Throughout his term as Consul to New York he worked energetically to keep the packet system operating efficiently.^{14/}

Just before leaving for America to take over his duties, St. John de Crèvecoeur received a letter from Condorcet, head of the French Academy of Science, notifying him that he had been made a corresponding member of that society. Although appreciating the honor bestowed upon him, Crèvecoeur had some apprehension as to his ability to execute his commission from the Academy. He wrote,

I am afraid my ignorance and inaptitude will prevent me from fulfilling your expectations as intelligently and as fully as the commission which you have obtained for me from the Academie deserves...^{15/}

Even though he doubted his ability, he launched enthusiastically into the task of writing the Academy interesting pieces about America. In the five years between December 17, 1783 and December 1, 1788, he wrote over fifty letters. Most of these were long, and contained much of interest to the Academy on habits, customs, beliefs, agriculture, commerce, and resources of America.^{16/}

Crèvecoeur's efforts to secure interesting material for the Academy of Science did not conflict with his duties as "His Majesty's Consul," but rather the

ARKANSAS ACADEMY OF SCIENCE

one complimented the other. The spread of scientific knowledge in both America and France was one of his duties as outlined by the ministry. A letter to the Governor of New Jersey written by Crèvecoeur one week after his arrival in New York proposed the establishment of a botanical garden by that state. Crèvecoeur promised on behalf of King Louis XVI to contribute whatever plants from the royal nurseries that the New Jersey legislature should request. The Consul went on to say that he had brought with him for this purpose "Two Hundred different Kinds of Seeds of the most rare, useful and curious plants, all marked according to Linneian System."^{17/} The New Jersey House of Assembly voted on December 10 to accept St. John's offer on behalf of Louis XVI and requested Governor William Livingston to notify the Consul.^{18/} This Livingston did in a letter to St. John on December 19, 1783 in which he thanked Crèvecoeur and the King for the very kind offer, and assured the Consul "that whenever this State had formed an Establishment of a Botanical garden, His most Christian Majesty's Gracious offer will be Gratefully accepted."^{19/} A garden, however, was not established until 1788 when Andre Michaux established one at Bergen Neck.

On the same day that Crèvecoeur wrote the Governor of New Jersey suggesting the establishment of a Botanical garden, he also wrote a similar letter to John Dickinson, President of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. The latter answered a few weeks later stating that the Consul's offer had been placed before the assembly and would be voted on in the near future. Nothing more relating to the Pennsylvania project is found in St. John's letters. It must be assumed, therefore, that the offer was rejected. The reason may have been that Philadelphia already had a privately owned botanical garden.^{20/}

To promote further good will between the United States and France, he sent, early in December, 1783, a notice to the New York Gazette in regard to the

ST. JOHN LE CRÉVECOEUR AS A DIPLOMAT, 1783-1790

French Medical publication, the Journal de Médecine, chirurgie et pharmacie militaire. In this notice he indicated he was authorized by the king to offer this publication to those societies and individuals who would make good use of it.^{21/} As a result of this advertisement, St. John received during the next few months hundreds of letters from societies and individuals seeking to take advantage of the offer. A Joseph Hamilton from Connecticut wrote that he belonged to a society called "The first Medical Society in the Thirteen United States since their Independence." He stated that this society had not had a meeting since Crèvecoeur's article had appeared in the papers, but he was sure that the members would like to have the publication. William Bryand and John Gibson, "Practitioners in Physics and Surgery" wrote from Trenton asking for the publication.^{23/} One letter requested copies for the "University of Cambridge" (Harvard).^{24/} As the letters requesting the publication poured in faster than the Consul could possibly have filled them, he finally turned over the French originals to Dr. Joseph Brown, a New York surgeon, who translated them into English and published a sufficient number to fill all requests.^{25/} One of the new medical societies established to take advantage of Louis XVI's offer was the Medical Society of New Haven, Connecticut. To this society Crèvecoeur had offered "whatever books or other helps" it might need and also suggested the establishment of a botanical garden in connection with the society.^{26/} It seems that the citizens of New Haven were intrigued with the idea as is indicated by M. Pierrepont Edward's letter of February 11, 1784 in which he wrote, "I have read your letter to more than half of the city; and am daily obliged to parry their importunities to read them again..."^{27/} A few days later the committee of correspondence of the new society wrote:

We have communicated your Proposals to the Rev-

ARKANSAS ACADEMY OF SCIENCE

erend & worthy President Dr. Esra Stiles of our Colledge and submitted it to his consideration, whether it would not be of the greatest Utility to have it annexed to that Learned Seminary? ... if this Measure should not meet with success, it will not deter us from making this attempt in some other way...^{28/}

Apparently the city of New Haven and the College accepted Crèvecoeur's proposal, for his letter of March 19, 1784, extended congratulations on their initiative and sagacity.^{29/} A little later the same town accepted copies of the famous French Encyclopedia from Crèvecoeur and in turn extended "freedom of the city" to his friends Marechal Prince de Beauveau, the Duke de Laincourt, the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, Marquis St. Lambert, and others.^{30/}

In spite of ill health, Crèvecoeur was able to visit in Boston during the spring of 1784.^{31/} He used the two months he was in that city to good advantage collecting maps, charts, interesting data, and information for the Academy of Science in Paris.

At Boston, Crèvecoeur met John Peck, the famous American ship builder. He was so impressed with the American method of shipbuilding that he proposed that the French Government engage Peck to build one of his fast sailing ships for the Franco-American packet service. He wrote,

In point of swiftness these new vessels are the Birds of the sea, from 16 to 25 days is the common Length of their Passage from here to Europe... Vessels built on this Plan carry more sail, that is they cannot be overset, they carry Likewise 4 times the weight that others generally do.^{32/}

These recommendations by Crèvecoeur finally culminated in the French government commissioning Peck

ST. JOHN DE CRÉVECOEUR AS A DIPLOMAT, 1783-1790

to build a packet ship which was named, in honor of the Minister of Marine, the Marechal de Castries.^{33/}

Evidence of Crèvecoeur's strong interest in American public affairs is indicated in his letter of March 8, 1784, to Richard Morris, Chief Justice of the New York State Supreme Court, concerning the foundation of a Public Health Office in New York Harbor. In the letter he painted an alarming picture of the various plagues then sweeping Europe and Asia and pointed out the ease with which this epidemic could be brought to America. He then recommended the establishment of

a Health office, with such Powers and Regulations as will oblige all Vessels to Drop Anchor until thoroughly examined, and to land their Crews if necessary on Post Island, where proper Physicians & an Hospital should be built..^{34/}

Morris proved amiable to the idea and forwarded the French Consul's letter to the New York State Legislature.^{35/} A few years later a system similar to that recommended by Crèvecoeur was set up.

Crèvecoeur, too, was instrumental in establishing the first Catholic church in the city of New York. On April 6, 1784, the New York Assembly enacted a law granting religious toleration to all denominations. Soon afterward (June 19, 1785), St. Peter's, the mother church of New York Catholicism, came into being. Listed among its incorporators was the name of "Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, Consul General of France."^{36/}

In the spring of 1784, St. John carried his good will program one step further when he corresponded at length with Robert Livingston,^{37/} Chancellor of New York, concerning the beautification of New York City. He had drawn up an elaborate set of plans for the project some fifteen years before while a resident of that city.^{38/} The project called for the

ARKANSAS ACADEMY OF SCIENCE

planting of trees, the laying out of parks, and the construction of sidewalks. Although Livingston, better known as one of the plenipotentiaries who concluded the treaty of the Louisiana Purchase in 1803, agreed to use his influence to promote the plan, very little was accomplished until St. John had left the American scene several years later.^{39/}

In the summer of 1784, Lafayette paid a visit to the country he had helped liberate. During Lafayette's stay in America it seems that he renewed his friendship with St. John de Crèvecoeur. Evidently, Lafayette, also, believed that improved relations between France and the United States would require greater exchange of ideas between the two countries. This is brought out in St. John's letter of December 17, 1784, to the Duke de la Rochefoucauld:

M. le Marquis (Lafayette) approves of my ideas for a Bureau of Information, of which I wish him to be the first president. We shall not have to wear out the minister then, with projects to which he can only pay a fleeting attention. Our samples and our reports will all go to this office, which will pass upon them and make them known in our forlorn provinces where manufactures are conducted without taste and without precision required to establish our commerce upon a firm basis.^{40/}

This project was not mentioned again in his correspondence with the Duke, and it is likely that the bureau never received official recognition by the French government. Whether it succeeded or failed, it did show that at least some of the leaders in France were willing to make an attempt to investigate and correct the causes for Franco-American commercial failures.

If Crèvecoeur were convinced that France should be educated to like American products, he likewise

ST. JOHN LE CRÉVECOEUR AS A DIPLOMAT, 1783-1790

believed that the Americans should also be educated to use French products. An example of his work in this direction was his effort to establish a national wine cellar in New York.^{41/} During the war, the French had made the mistake of sending over inferior grades of wine causing the Americans to fall back on other varieties of wines and liquors. The Consul believed the only remedy for this was to send the best. He said,

I have never ceased asking that wines in cases might be shipped at half rate on the packets ... in order to be afforded to the Americans as low and cheap as possible.^{42/}

Crèvecoeur often received good French wine from his friend the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, and he made it a point to share this with his friends so as to cultivate their taste for it.^{43/} Crèvecoeur also tried to cultivate the American taste for fine French silks. He never lost an opportunity to use it judiciously in his dress, and, as French Consul to New York, he was highly esteemed as a social lion. Some progress toward cultivating the desire for silk was made, especially in the ranks of the American merchant aristocracy.

In his letters to French officials he stressed again and again that French merchants send goods of practical importance, such as ironware, nails, sheet lead, crockery, copper utensils, brooms, sail cloth, rope, anchors, writing paper, drugs, medicines, and glass.^{44/} To illustrate his point he wrote the Duke de la Rochefoucauld:

Would you believe it, England sends glass every year to the value of more than four million livres tournois? But if you stop to consider that everything here is built of wood, that a third of their wall-space is given up to win-

ARKANSAS ACADEMY OF SCIENCE

dows, that even their country churches often contain 1400 to 2000 panes, that building goes on every day, and breakage too, you will realize the enormous amount of this article that is used. As for nails, that is even more extraordinary: from the hulls of their ships to the roofs of their houses every thing is fashioned together with nails.^{45/}

The Consul endeavored at every turn to keep alive the memory of French-American Revolutionary War friendship. In an extensive correspondence with Ethan Allen, Vermont's revered commander of the "Green Mountain Boys," Crèvecoeur suggested the naming of various towns in that state in honor of famous Frenchmen. Allen, then a political power in Vermont, was pleased with the idea and as a result such towns as Vergennes, Champlain, Castropolis, Gallipolis, Turgotfield, and St. Johnsbury came into being.^{46/} Thrilled with his success in Vermont the Consul made similar recommendations,^{47/} but with less success,^{48/} to leaders in other states.

Illness forced Crèvecoeur to return to France in July, 1785, on what was intended to be a six-months' leave of absence.^{49/} This leave, however, was subsequently extended to almost two years, as he recuperated less rapidly than was expected.

Even in France, Crèvecoeur continued to work toward improvement of Franco-American relations. He entered into a discussion with Marechal de Castries, the Minister of Marine, on the subject of the packet boats. They had been running irregularly during the last six months, and St. John desired to get the system back in working order. He also suggested that Honfleur (LeHavre) be made a free port.^{51/} It appears that he obtained some results, for we find Jefferson writing John Jay in February, 1787:

... the enfranchisement of Honfleur... is in a

ST. JOHN DE CRÉVECOEUR AS A DIPLOMAT, 1783-1790

fair way of being speedily concluded. The exertions of Monsieur de Crèvecoeur, and particularly his influence with the Luke d'Harcourt, ... have been the chief consequence in this matter.^{52/}

In January of 1787, Crèvecoeur and Brissot de Warville organized a Gallo-American Society which was intended to facilitate the study of Franco-American problems. It appears, however, that the club never had more than four members and in the following year it merged with the Society of the Friend of the Blacks, also a Gallo-American affair. This last mentioned society was a much more active body having about three-hundred members, including Mirabeau, Lafayette, Luke de la Rochefoucauld, Sieyes, Gregoire, Voley, William Short, and Crèvecoeur.^{53/} Several of these Frenchmen apparently planned to migrate to the New World to found there a perfect society, but the French Revolution beginning the next year nipped this project in the bud. About all that came out of the plan were the books of Brissot de Warville and the famous Scioto project.^{54/} The Society of the Friends of the Blacks and Crèvecoeur in particular were blamed to some extent for the Scioto failure. It was claimed that Crèvecoeur over-propagandized^{55/} the beauty and ease of life in America, causing some five-hundred Norman families to immigrate to the Ohio River Valley^{56/} only to meet with disaster.

Soon after Crèvecoeur's return to New York in the late summer of 1787, he received a letter from John Paul Jones, the famous American naval commander, stating that the former had been elected to membership in the American Philosophical Society. The letter, dated July 17, 1787, reads:

I have the pleasure of complimenting you on having been named (at my request) by the President to be elected member of the American Philosophical Society... ^{57/}

ARKANSAS ACADEMY OF SCIENCE

His actual admission did not take place until the following January.^{58/} This was indeed a high honor since membership in this society was limited to the greatest scientists, philosophers, and statesmen of the day.

During the years of 1788-1789, the French packet system again began to fail, probably due to the general lack of interest in France.^{59/} Convinced, then, that there was little he could do for French-American commerce, St. John now devoted his energy to a new field. He became very interested in John Fitch's invention of a steam-propelled boat. In 1784 the United States Congress had promised 30,000 acres of land on the Ohio River to the person who should discover the "cheapest and simplest device for getting heavily laden boats upstream without being towed."^{60/} A Pennsylvanian, John Fitch^{61/} had subsequently invented a rather crude, but workable, steam boat. A Congressional investigation committee approved Mr. Fitch's device and voted to grant him the land. But suddenly James Rumsey advanced his claim that he had built a steam boat prior to Fitch's model. The storm raged for some time with Congress finally accepting the Rumsey model. At this point Crèvecoeur took a hand. In a letter to the Duke d' Harcourt, he explained the entire Fitch story and suggested that the French government ask the inventor to demonstrate his vessel on the Seine River.^{62/} Apparently the French passed up the opportunity, and it was not until the second decade of the nineteenth century that steam-powered vessels appeared on the Seine.

Early in his career as Consul to the United States, Crèvecoeur had at every opportunity urged French capitalists and financiers to invest in ventures in America. However, with the increased chaos arising out of the decentralized Articles of Confederation government, he wrote to a friend in France advising any prospective investors to hold off until the new Constitution then before the people could be put in-

ST. JOHN LE CRÉVECOEUR AS A DIPLOMAT, 1783-1790

to effect.^{63/} Shortly after the Constitution was ratified, and only a few months before resigning his post, Crèvecoeur seems again satisfied with the future of the American government. We find him writing to General James Webb explaining how New York might entice investments by French capitalists.^{64/}

Soon after the fall of the Bastille and the outbreak of the French Revolution, Crèvecoeur asked to be replaced in America. However, he was kept on duty at New York until the spring of 1790, when he was finally allowed to return to France.

In the preceding pages an attempt has been made to trace the activities of St. John de Crèvecoeur, the French Consul to New York, in his efforts to promote cultural and trade relations between France and America. It is fairly simple to trace his promotional attempts, but it is far more difficult to evaluate the actual success or failure of such activities. Certainly from a cultural point of view his efforts seem successful. He did much to secure books and other supplies for newly-established medical societies, colleges, and botanical gardens. He was a man of intense public spirit as is indicated by his efforts to establish a public health office in New York, an avenue of trees, new sidewalks, and a church. Most Americans were friendly to France throughout the 1780's and 1790's in spite of the Quasi-Naval War in the 1790's. Much of this good will, of course, sprang from the aid given by the French during the American Revolution, but, without a doubt, the activities of Crèvecoeur helped to keep that friendly spirit burning brightly. His letters and reports to the French government helped that country maintain a better understanding of the new American nation.

As for the success of Crèvecoeur's commercial efforts, less can be said. He was responsible for the establishment of the first packet system between France and America and made strenuous efforts to open the French port of Honfleur to free movement of Amer-

 ARKANSAS ACADEMY OF SCIENCE

ican trade. His efforts to advertise American products to Europe, and French products to America, should not go unnoticed; yet, at least from the French point of view, Franco-American trade declined steadily after 1785. With the signing of the Treaty of Amity and Commerce in 1778 France exported to the United States 3,200,000 livres worth of goods annually and imported from that country products valued at 2,460,000 livres. At the end of Crèvecoeur's tour of duty as Consul to New York, the French imports from America had increased three-hundred per cent while exports to America had fallen to only sixty per cent of the 1778 figure. This unfavorable balance of trade was only partially solved by American imports from the French West Indies. Without a doubt, Crèvecoeur's efforts were partly responsible for the increased French imports from America, but it can hardly be said that his activities damaged the French export trade to the United States. Had the French government heeded his recommendation to send utilitarian goods, much of the American market could have been saved.

FOOTNOTES

- 1/ On July 9, 1783, St. John de Crèvecoeur received formal notification from the French government of his appointment as Consul to New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut.
- 2/ A treaty of Amity and Commerce between the United States and France was signed at Paris February 6, 1778.
- 3/ E. Levasseur, Histoire Du Commerce de la France (Paris, 1911). 2 vols. p. 530.
- 4/ Henri See, Economic and Social Conditions in France During the Eighteenth Century. Trans. by E. H. Zeydel (New York, 1927). pp. 143-144.
- 5/ E. Levasseur. Op. cit. pp. 530-531.

ST. JOHN DE CREVECOEUR AS A DIPLOMAT, 1783-1790

- 6/ This writer has been able to collect over one-hundred such letters. Approximately one-half of these letters are written in the French language; the remainder in English. In the English letters Crèvecoeur's original spelling, punctuation, and capitalization are used. For this paper the French letters are brought into conformity with present-day rules.
- 7/ Letter, St. John de Crèvecoeur to the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, May 1, 1784. Microfilm. Library of Congress.
- 8/ Ibid. Feb. 17, 1784.
- 9/ Robert de Crèvecoeur, St. Jean de Crèvecoeur: Sa Vie et Ses Ouvrages (Paris, 1883). p. 380.
- 10/ Let., St. John de Crèvecoeur to the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, May 1, 1784. M'film. Lib. of Cong.
- 11/ Ibid. Feb. 17, 1784.
- 12/ Franklin had been one of the early promoters of the Anglo-American packet system which had been highly successful before the American Revolution. In a letter written early in 1783 Franklin had described in great detail the exact methods of building the packet ship, the best routes to use, and the English-American system which had just been reopened. John Bigelow (ed.), The Complete Works of Benjamin Franklin (New York, 1888). 10 vols. Vol. IX. pp. 4-6.
- 13/ George Clinton, Public Papers of George Clinton, First Governor of New York, 1777-1795 -- 1801-1804 (Albany, 1889-1914). 10 vols. Vol. VIII. p. 316.
- 14/ Some 30 of the letters to the Duke de la Rochefoucauld contained in the Library of Congress mention the "Pacquet boats."
- 15/ Let., St. John de Crèvecoeur to the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, Sept. 1, 1783. M'film. Lib. of Cong.
- 16/ This collection has been deposited in the Library

 ARKANSAS ACADEMY OF SCIENCE

- of Congress. The writer has microfilm copies of 53 of these letters.
- 17/ Let., St. John de Crèvecoeur to Gov. Livingston, Nov. 26, 1783. M'film. Lib. of Cong.
- 18/ Resolutions of the House of Assembly of the State of N.J., Dec. 10, 1783. M'film. Lib. of Cong.
- 19/ Let., Gov. Livingston to St. John de Crèvecoeur, Dec. 17, 1783. M'film. Lib. of Cong.
- 20/ The Philadelphia Botanical Garden was owned by John Bartram, a friend of St. John de Crèvecoeur. An account of this garden appears in Crèvecoeur, Letters from an American Farmer (New York, 1912). pp. 182-190.
- 21/ Advertisement in New York Gazette. Undated. M'film. Lib. of Cong.
- 22/ Let., Joseph Hamilton to St. John de Crèvecoeur, Dec. 22, 1783. M'film. Lib. of Cong.
- 23/ Let., William Bryant to St. John de Crèvecoeur, Dec. 22, 1783. M'film. Lib. of Cong.
- 24/ Let., John Warren to St. John de Crèvecoeur, Jan. 1, 1784. M'film. Lib. of Cong.
- 25/ Julia Post Mitchell, St. Jean de Crèvecoeur (New York, 1916). pp. 190-110.
- 26/ Let., St. John de Crèvecoeur to M. Pierrepont Edwards, March 27, 1784. M'film. Lib. of Cong.
- 27/ Let., The Medical Society of New Haven to St. John de Crèvecoeur, Feb. 20, 1784. M'film. Lib. of Cong.
- 28/ Ibid.
- 29/ Let., St. John de Crèvecoeur to M. Pierrepont Edwards, March 19, 1784. M'film. Lib. of Cong.
- 30/ Let., St. John de Crèvecoeur to a "Reverend Sir" (probably the Pres. of Yale College), May 1, 1785. M'film. Mass. Hist. Soc.
- 31/ Crèvecoeur had actually gone to Boston to visit his children. His wife had been killed by the Indian-Loyalist band which had destroyed the Crèvecoeur home in Orange County, New York during the Revolution (1779). The children had

ST. JOHN DE CRÉVECOEUR AS A DIPLOMAT, 1783-1790

been rescued and were living in Boston with a Capt. Fellowes at the time Crèvecoeur returned from France as Consul in 1783.

- 32/ Let., St. John de Crèvecoeur to the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, April 7, 1784. M'film. Lib. of Cong.
- 33/ Ibid. June 15, 1784.
- 34/ Let., St. John de Crèvecoeur to Richard Morris, March 8, 1784. M'film. Lib. of Cong.
- 35/ Let., Richard Morris to St. John de Crèvecoeur, March 8, 1784. M'film. Lib. of Cong.
- 36/ Roman Catholic Church Archdiocese of New York, prepared by the New York City W.P.A. Historical Records Survey (New York, 1941). p. 11.
- 37/ Robert R. Livingston took a very active part in the American Revolution. He was sent to New York to the Continental Congress, where he was one of the committee of five appointed to draft the Declaration of Independence. He became Chancellor of New York, 1777, an office which he held until 1801 and, as Chancellor, administered the oath of office to George Washington on the latter's inauguration as first President of the United States (April 30, 1789). It was as Chancellor that Crèvecoeur knew him.
- 38/ Let., St. John de Crevecoeur to Robert R. Livingston, March 8, 1784. M'film. Lib. of Cong.
- 39/ Let., Robert Livingston to St. John de Crèvecoeur, March 8, 1784. M'film. Lib. of Cong.
- 40/ Let., St. John de Crevecoeur to the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, Dec. 1, 1784. M'film. Lib. of Cong.
- 41/ Ibid. Undated.
- 42/ Ibid. March 15, 1785.
- 43/ Ibid. Jan. 5, 1784.
- 44/ Ibid. Nov. 5, 1784, and Report, St. John de Crèvecoeur to Marechal de Castries, March 1, 1785. M'film. Lib. of Cong.
- 45/ Let., St. John de Crevecoeur to the Duke de la

 ARKANSAS ACADEMY OF SCIENCE

Rochefoucauld, Nov. 5, 1784. M'film. Lib. of Cong.

- 46/ E. P. Walton (ed.), Records of Vermont Governor and Council (Montpelier, 1883). pp. 386-388.
- 47/ Let., St. John de Crèvecoeur to Winthrop Sargeant, Sept. 25, 1787. M'film. Mass. Hist. Soc.
- 48/ Ibid. Jan. 7, 1788.
- 49/ E. P. Walton (ed.). Op. cit. pp. 388-390.
- 50/ While in France during these months he divided his time between the quiet of his father's Normandy estate where he worked on a revision of his book Lettres d'un Cultivateur Americain and Paris, where he was caught up in the mad social whirl of Madame d'Houdetot's salon.
- 51/ Magazine of American History, July, 1880. p. 244.
- 52/ H.A. Washington, The Writings of Thomas Jefferson (Monticello, 1869). 9 vols. Vol. VI. p. 85.
- 53/ Howard M. Jones, America and French Culture (Univ. of N. Car. Press, Chapel Hill, 1927). pp. 129-130. Most of these men later became leaders in the great French Revolution. William Short was secretary to Thomas Jefferson when the latter represented the United States in France during the last half of the 1780's.
- 54/ Ibid., p. 130.
- 55/ J. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur, Letters from an American Farmer (New York, 1912). p. 236.
- 56/ These French families had purchased land from the Scioto Company-- an organization which did not actually own the land sold. Several months of confusion and hardship plagued the immigrants after their arrival. Finally the United States Government solved the unhappy situation by giving the French a few thousand acres of land in the upper Ohio River Valley. There is no evidence to indicate that Crèvecoeur was in any way involved in the unfortunate episode. Archer Butler Hulbert, The Ohio River: A Course of Empire (New York, 1906). pp. 263-265.

ST. JOHN DE CRÉVECOEUR AS A DIPLOMAT, 1783-1790

- 57/ Robert de Crèvecoeur. Op. cit. pp. 263-265.
- 58/ Proc. of the Amer. Philo. Soc., XXII, Part 11.
pp. 167-168.
- 59/ The storm of Revolution was brewing in that country and there was a much greater interest in domestic affairs than in encouragement of trade.
- 60/ Robert de Crèvecoeur. Op. cit. pp. 319-323.
- 61/ Robert Fulton is credited with having invented the steamboat in 1807, but Fitch at least built a workable device for the use of steam some twenty years before.
- 62/ Robert de Crèvecoeur. Op. cit. pp. 319-324.
- 63/ Let., St. John de Crèvecoeur to an unidentified friend, July 22, 1787. Photostat, The Hist. Soc. of Penn. Also see Let., Crèvecoeur to Bowdoin, Aug. 26, 1788. M'film. Mass. Hist. Soc.
- 64/ Let., St. John de Crèvecoeur to Gen. James Webb, March, 1789. Photostat. New York Pub. Lib.
- 65/ E. Lavasseur. Op. cit. pp. 530-531.