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**The Abbe Raynal and His Image
of America**

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Kurt Liedtke

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THE ARMY RAYNOLD I ALL OF AN ITA

by

Eurt Hiedtke

A THESIS

Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Michigan
State College of Agriculture and Applied Science
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24.12.17

For Tennine read Denine.

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P R E F A C E

The large number of different editions and the frequent quotation of passages from Raynal make a few explanations necessary. Quotations are - if nothing else mentioned - from Abbé Raynal's Histoire philosophique et politique des Établissements et du commerce des européens dans les deux Indes, Genève, 1780, 4 volume edition.

We read, for example, IV/17/II, p. 172 in a footnote, as Volume IV, Book 17, Chapter II, Page 172 in the above-mentioned edition.

As the arrangement of the chapters remained in general the same after 1780, references could be found within the given chapter of later editions.

In referring to Abbé Raynal's above-mentioned book the abbreviation Histoire des Indes is used in the text and for the footnotes, Indes, etc.

INTRODUCTION

Many studies have been made in the field of American-French relations. Therefore I do not think it necessary to repeat all arguments for the necessity of such investigations.¹ It is undisputed and much has to be done in order to evaluate all accessible material.²

As H.W. Jones indicates, there are different ways of approach for such a study.³ For members of the nations involved it is not easy to remain on neutral ground. We hope, it will be easier for a foreign observer.

In the field of American-French inter-relations some excellent general studies have been done, e.g., by H.W. Jones, Fay and Chinard.⁴

But we have the impression that people sometimes undertake too much at a time.

We think Echeverria's "The French Image of American Culture"⁵ a typical example. We do not doubt the necessity of such general studies but according to our opinion

¹ H.W. Jones, America and French Culture, 1750-1848.
P. Fay, The Revolutionary Spirit in France and America.
C. Chinard, Les réfugiés huguenots en Amérique.

² J. Monaghan, French Travellers in the United States.

³ H.W. Jones, Op. cit.

⁴ See note (1)

⁵ D. Echeverria, The French Image of American Culture, 1752-1808.

there is now, and danger that they lack a sound basis and therefore hardly scratch the surface. They should be based upon thorough studies of individual authors and their share in the nation or an image of a country in another society. Otherwise they will just compile general information to be found in handbooks, etc. We know very well that generalizations of this kind lead too easily to a wrong picture of the individual and of his importance in his time.

One of those men who have been "strangely slighted" ⁶ by historians or ideas is Abbé Raynal. He had, without doubt, an enormous influence in his time, ⁷ and we hope to be able to show what his view of America was.

His widely read Histoire des Indes gives in the 18th century to many Europeans the picture of America.

Critics in his time and to-day accuse him of having not given a "right" impression. ⁸ Everybody and especially those of us who had the privilege of seeing other countries - know how difficult it is to get and to transmit a "right" picture. In the case of Raynal we think something more, a basic misunderstanding of his main stress, is involved. We

⁶ Echeverria, p. 87.

⁷ Fay, Bibliographie critique des ouvrages français relatifs aux Etats-Unis (1770-1800)

⁸ See under his "Critics and Opponents".

will investigate this question in our paragraph, "His Aims".

First of all we think it necessary to show Raynal's time and his person in short. This will furnish the necessary background for the choice of his subjects and the means of information for his work.

After having applied our findings to his way of working we restrict ourselves in the main part of this thesis to the section of his Histoire des Indes giving information about America. The term "America" is generally used in this paper in a restricted sense, including only those British colonies in the East of North America which became in 1776 the United States of America.

In addition to the fact that there is only a limited space available another reason may justify my restriction. Emile Salone dealt with Raynal's writing on Canada with a somewhat different approach in his "Guillaume Raynal historien du Canada".⁹

Then it will be easier to understand Raynal's aims and the errors which occur in his "Histoire des Indes", too.

The confusing number of different editions makes an overview and an explanation for the choice of the 1780 edition necessary. This I used for most of my quotations. Translations, abbreviations, and imitations contributed their share in propagating Raynal's picture of America.

⁹ E. Salone, Guillaume Raynal historien du Canada, Paris, n.d.

The central task is then to investigate the details of his general view ¹⁰ and to deal with the British, American, and French attitudes toward the American Revolution which he presents. A summary of his opinions on the influence of the discovery of the New World and his outlook on America's future will conclude this main section.

We do not consider it our task to correct Raynal's errors and contradictions. We will try to represent his view of America as it influenced her picture in Europe. Before the final conclusion we thought it interesting to give in a short sketch the importance of Raynal's view in his age, some of his major critics and opponents and the reception of his picture of America. We are aware of the fact that this aspect demands fuller investigation, yet we hope to show what Raynal meant to his age. We cannot judge him from our point of view. We have to see in him a representative of his time writing for 18th century society.

¹⁰ The amount of material makes restriction to a few examples necessary.

I. Abbé Raynal, an Intermediary

A. His Time.

Abbé Raynal was a child of the age of Enlightenment and was very well acquainted with the philosophy of the Encyclopaedist School and with its main representatives.

As already once during the Renaissance and the Age of Discovery, and as later in the second half of the 19th century, science tries to offer a solution to all questions. All powerful man dares again to reject God, Christianity and all supernatural powers, he follows Rousseau's call: Back to nature! and wants to solve all problems on his own. It says, for instance, in the "Arrest de la Cour de Parlement" in connection with Raynal's Histoire des Indes:

O philosophie! Tu prétens être adorée comme
une Divinité bienfaisante! Tu veux rompre tous
les liens qui attachent les sujets à leur Roi
légitime...et tu aspires à devenir l'idole de
l'humanité...¹

The eyes of those overenthusiastic people are again directed to far distances as it was once in the Age of Columbus. But this time it is not the wish for mere discoveries or only the passion for gold, - this time it is more that they are at the steps of a new age and are aware of this fact. Raynal expresses this new tendency in the introduction to his fifteenth book:

¹ Arrest de la cour de Parlement, Extrait des Régistres du Parlement du 25 mai, 1781, p. 12.

"Ce n'est plus que de l'or que nos avides et
quelques Européens iront chercher loin de leur
patrie. Moins insensés, s'ils franchissent
encore les mers, ce sera pour se soustraire
aux calamités de leurs propres contrées: ce
sera pour trouver le repos et la liberté,
pour défricher des terres incultes; pour
couvrir de filets des rives poissonneuses..."²

"La question coloniale est au nombre des
grands problèmes politiques qui tourmentent
le siècle." ³

says Deschamps in his Histoire de la question coloniale en
France. The New World offered a wide and open field. A
chance to escape the narrowness and the difficulties of
Europe arising therefrom, with its religious and political
wars. This view of space and freedom fostered the attacks
of this philosophical age against intolerance, superstition,
servitude, and the "cupidity of the European governments." ⁴

The number of voyages to the New World grows and their
reports and the news from missionaries help to increase the
interest in exotic things.

Rousseau finds in these reports examples for his theory
of the "noble savage". He contrasts nature, which is always
good, with society, which is always bad. It needs Montesquieu
who recognizes the complexity of all problems and who sees
that the good and the bad are always intermingled in this
world.

² Indes, IV/15/Introd. p. 1

³ L. Deschamps, Histoire de la question coloniale en France,
p. 291.

⁴ Fay, Rev. Spirit, p. 9

But it is not only Montesquieu's clear-sighted moderation, it is also his different opinion about the importance of commerce which distinguishes him from Rousseau who regarded the spirit of commerce as bad. We could call Montesquieu the founder of economic science in France, and we will come across his name again in connection with the slavery problem. He answers the question, "l'esclavage est avantageux - mais à qui?" in the following way: "à la partie riche et voluptueuse de la nation." 5

Many of these trends of his time we will meet again in Raynal's Histoire des Indes, especially, (1) the tendency to deal with philosophical problems, (2) the preoccupation with economic questions, (3) the taste for exotic things, and (4) the knowledge about colonial expansion and all questions connected with this problem - should be remembered as characteristic for the latter half of the 18th century. 6

5 Jameson, Montesquieu et l'esclavage, p. 233.

6 It cannot be the task of this paper to develop a complete picture of the 18th century. For further references see: P. Fay, Revolutionary Spirit. It gives us quite a good impression of the time when Raynal's Histoire des Indes was published for the first time in 1770. He tries to point out that the interest in America was already roused by other books, too, e.g., De Pauw's Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains, Paris, au III, Un Précurseur de la Revolution, l'Abbé Raynal, 1922. Tengère gives additional information in Chapter III, Raynal et son temps, p. 63-97.

Guillaume Thomas François Raynal, born in 1713, educated at the Jesuit college at Pézenas, was ordained priest. But he left the church soon and went to Paris in 1747.

Tengère characterizes him: "Rien dans son caractère, rien dans son talent ne le met à part, ne l'élève au-dessus de la médiocrité," ² and takes at least half of this statement back in saying in a footnote to this sentence: "Il est bien entendu que cette médiocrité est toute relative. Elle est celle d'une élite fort distinguée quand on la compare au commun des hommes." ³

Then he adds in his text: "Et pourtant ce médiocre, à peine débarqué de sa province, se fait tout de suite sa place au soleil." ⁴ Raynal writes for the "Nouvelles littéraires" and edits from 1750-1754 the "Mercure de France." Here in Paris he has the best chances to absorb the "spirit of his age", and we will see how well he succeeds.

¹ We are very sorry that we could not get hold of Raynal's bibliography by M.B. Lunet. (Biographie de l'abbé Raynal, Rodez, 1866.) We had to depend on A. Tengère and notes in General Biographies for the information we thought necessary at this place in our thesis.

² Tengère. Précurseur, p. 9.

³ Ibid. p. 9, note (29)

⁴ Ibid.

"Les débats durent plus longtemps qu'un de ces plus
grands écrivains de son temps; car il sut profiter
du pouvoir que lui conféraient ses fonctions de
publiciste."⁵

He is introduced to leading members of French society.
He visits the Salons de Helvétius, d'Holbach et de M^{re}.
Geoffrin."⁶ "...il excelle surtout dans l'art de se
rendre indispensable," says Feugère⁷ about his activities.
Very soon he has the best connection with M. de Buzen-
ard and M. de Saint-Jérôme and knows the latest news as one
of the first in Paris. He has friends "dans les clans
les plus divers, passant des 'milieux' politiques ou financiers
aux 'bureaux d'esprit'."⁸ We will see how important
these connections will be for his main work, the Histoire
des Indes, which he always tried to keep up to date.

Paris is the place where his first book appeared.¹⁰
It is here where he recognizes: "Il y a trente ans que nous
n'avions aucun bon livre sur le commerce. C'était un art
mystérieux totalement ignoré du public et dont la clef
n'était qu'entre les mains de négociants et de quelques
ministres."¹¹

⁵ Feugère, Précurseur, p. 63

⁶ Larousse du xxe siècle, Paris, 1938, p. 945

⁷ Feugère, Précurseur, p. 63

⁸ Ibid., p. 77

⁹ Raynal, Histoire des Indes

¹⁰ Raynal, Histoire du stadthoudérat; Histoire du Parlement
d'Angleterre; Anecdotes littéraires; Anecdotes
historiques, militaires et politiques de l'Europe.

¹¹ Written by Raynal in 1784 and quoted in Feugère, Pré-
curseur, p. 123

He starts to collect material and "après avoir suivi, durant plus de vingt ans des débats qui le passionnait comme écrivain, comme homme d'affaires, comme citoyen..." ¹² he is ready to edit for the first time "une histoire générale de la colonisation comparée." ¹³ ...his Histoire des Indes.

With his philosophical and political mind¹⁴ is he especially interested in the conflict between Great Britain and her American colonies. He follows its development closely and comments on the facts in the new editions of his work in 1770, 1774 and 1780. ¹⁴

But he does not write so much for the sake of facts. He writes as a Frenchman and as a patriot. We have the impression that his critics did not evaluate this fact highly enough. If we take this under consideration, we will find it easier to understand "inconsistencies", "errors", and reproaches.

We cannot help, but we do not think his patriotism superficial or half-hearted. And it is not only a phrase when he says in his Histoire des Indes about the French:

¹² Tengère, Préc., p. 139

¹³ Salone, p. 13.

¹⁴ Further details under "Editions".

"Malgré tous les efforts que l'on a fait pendant les siècles, pour éteindre dans nos âmes le sentiment patriotique, il n'existe peut-être chez aucune nation plus vif et plus énergique." ¹⁵ This patriotism lasted through all his life.

We think it was not only the wish to become famous or to make propaganda for his work in the world which made him issue the 1780 edition. It was at least to the same degree his sincere conviction that his obligation toward his country made this step necessary. We know that it lead to the Arrest de la cour de Parlement ¹⁶ which ordered that his work should be burnt and that he had to leave the country.

He was in time informed by his friends and went from 1781 - 1784 to Belgium, Germany and Switzerland, never losing France and his work out of his eyes. From 1784 to 1791 he spent in exile in the Provence and was then allowed to return to Paris. And even if the letter to the Etats Généraux is not written by him ¹⁷ his well known letter to the National Assembly ¹⁸ proves to me his "consistency" on one line: the constant care for his country until his death in 1796. This deeper consistency and the strong influences of his age will help to explain many shortcomings in his work.

¹⁵ Indes, IV/17/XV/p. 223.

¹⁶ Arrest de la cour de Parlement Extrait des Régistres du Parlement, du 25 mai, 1781.

¹⁷ F.V. Grimm, Correspondance littéraire, vol. 12, p. 520.

¹⁸ Raynal, Lettre de M. l'Abbé Raynal, lue à l'Assemblée Nationale.

9. His Work

1. General Aspects

a) Subjects

We considered the tendencies and currents in the 18th century and saw how Raynal had a chance in Paris to watch them closely. His deep interest in historical events and his contact with the philosophers of his age led him to the field of history. Yet he does not want to write the history of wars but that of commerce and peace.

We think we can recognize from the beginning his already mentioned care for his own country. He is looking for examples to improve conditions in France and he looks, like his illustrious predecessors, Voltaire, Montesquieu, and Rousseau, toward England, and toward Holland, the lands he praises so often for their freedom. We saw that the Histoire du stathoudérat and Histoire du Parlement d'Angleterre were the first results of his historical studies.¹ But this is only a preliminary stage of his career, and his Anecdotes² as well as his Considérations sur la paix de 1783,³ and his Essai sur l'administration de St. Dominique,⁴

¹ See above, p.

² See above, p.

³ Raynal, Considérations sur la paix de 1783.

⁴ Raynal, Essai sur l'administration de St. Dominique, 1785.

are only minor offsprings besides his major work which made him famous all over the world, his Histoire des Indes. Here he has found his subject, a subject which offers him an opportunity to meet the demands of his age ⁵, to give information about the world and especially about the newly discovered areas, but at the same time he has a chance to express his own ideas, or better, to reflect those of his age.

As the Histoire des Indes is his significant work, we will restrict ourselves for the next two points to this work and then come to his writings about America only.

⁵ See above, p.

C. His Work

1. General Aspects

b) Sources

Raynal gives in general no sources. His Histoire des Indes has no footnotes, and no bibliography. So we have to discover by other means where his information comes from. But let the author speak in his own case first.

"J'ai appelé à mon secours les hommes instruits de toutes nations. J'ai interrogé les vivans et les morts, qui ont transmis leurs opinions et leurs connoissances, en quelque langue qu'ils aient écrit. J'ai pesé leur autorité, j'ai opposé témoignages, j'ai éclairci, les faits." ⁶

And now let us see what is behind those pompous words.

Raynal, who never left Europe, "avait besoin d'une foule de documents" to comply with this enormous task, he had set for himself in his Histoire des Indes. But "il les obtint sans peine, car il entretenait d'excellentes relations avec des ministres, des ambassadeurs, des financiers, des marins et des commerçants." And Tengère adds: "Rien ne le rebutait." ⁷ He interviewed first of all foreigners coming to Paris. "Il s'en emparait et les exprimait jusqu'à la dernière goutte." ⁸

⁶ Indes, I/1/ pp. 2-3.

⁷ Tengère, Précurs., p. 175.

⁸ Ibid., p. 175.

Very often he was not very careful in the selection of his witnesses. He took of whom he could find.

Further on he must have got quite good information through his connections with the Jesuits, who had missionaries all over the world.⁹ Besides oral reports and discussions with his many friends, he read a lot of books and quoted passages quite often without giving the sources. His opponents, critics and modern scholars found enough instances. Salone says about the section where Raynal is concerned with Canada: "C'est ~~un~~ Journal du voyage fait par ordre du Roy dans l'Amérique Septentrionale que Raynal a secours, le plus souvent."¹⁰

Thomas Paine mentions in his Letter Raynal's use of the pamphlet "Common Sense" and continues: "But there are other places where the Abbé has borrowed freely from the said pamphlet without acknowledging it."¹¹ Then he proves his statement by putting passages against each other. Echeverria mentions similarities between Raynal's work and William Smith's History of New York.¹²

In addition to these sources he had without doubt many chances to see people and to collect material during his

⁹ Tengère, pp. 106 107

¹⁰ Salone, p. 16.

¹¹ Paine, A letter addressed to the Abbé Raynal, vol. II, p. 25.

¹² Echeverria, p. 96.

stay in England and Holland.

We have enough proof of the personal efforts he made to get competent and up-to-date information. Fay says, for instance, "Il avait désiré se procurer de première main des documents et statistiques et s'était servi de Franklin pour faire parvenir à la société philosophique de Philadelphie une demande de renseignements (1774)." ¹³ He wanted exact figures on the population, the commerce and the wealth of the American colonies. But the Society was of the opinion that his research was of a too limited interest and refused his request. ¹⁴

So he had sometimes to use in his new edition figures and facts of British compilations from half a century ago. Even in his 1780 edition we find figures from 1763, 1768 and 1769. ¹⁵ And in many cases he does not mention dates of the census at all.

The pieces of his correspondence are too rare to find out how much information he got through those channels. But we know for instance that he wrote to Grèvecoeur to get more and better news about America. ¹⁶

¹³ Fay, Bibliogr. Crit., p. 45.

¹⁴ Early Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, 1884, dated Dec. 30, 1774.

¹⁵ Indes, IV/18/XX/p. 327

¹⁶ Tengeré, Précurseur, p. 368

And even Tengeré who doubts the value of his documentation¹⁷, who shows cases where Raynal changed dates of affairs¹⁸, and who says "le don de l'inexactitude est renforcé par un penchant invincible à l'exagération, par le goût du merveilleux et par de violents partis pris,"¹⁹ must agree that Raynal "...est toujours et sans se lasser à l'affût de tout ce qui lui permettra de se tenir au courant des découvertes intéressantes et de perfectionner son grand ouvrage." ²⁰

So he adds details from newspapers and magazines.²¹ But further important "sources" have to be mentioned in a special paragraph...his collaborators.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 215

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 215-216

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 216

²⁰ Ibid., p. 368

²¹ About R. de la Harpe and de la Harpe and Franklin's Polly Baker, see under "Errors".

C. His Work

1. General Aspects

c) Collaborators

We know that Raynal not only took information from the above-mentioned sources but that he also incorporated into his book many items which his friends furnished him and it is said that he inserted them without verification. These are generally only philosophical dissertations. ²²

Tengère mentions in a long list: "Thomas, l'illustre faiseur d'éloges académiques, Saint Lambert, Suard Guibert, Knyphausen, d'Holbach, Lagrange, Maigeon, La Roque, l'ex-jésuite Martin, le médecin Dubreuil et son inséparable ami, Pechméja, qui se rattache au groupe des languedociens: Valadier, l'abbé Pestre et Bonnaterre, Deleyre enfin et Diderot qui, à eux seuls, abbatirent plus de besogne que tous les autres ensemble." ²³

On this basis his critics built their theories. Tengère, for example, suspects that Raynal was more or less bold in his corrections and "c'est sans doute d'une main tremblante qu'il raturait Diderot." ²⁴ This explains to him slight variations between the text of the Histoire des Indes and Diderot's work, Diderot's collaboration, seems undoubted since the 1772 edition. ²⁵

²² Fay, Rev. Spirit, pp. 10-11.

²³ Tengère, Précurseur, p. 177.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 199.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 196

But until now it has been - and probably ever will be - impossible to attribute disputed parts to a certain collaborator. And I have the impression that Tengère, with the intention of doing them justice, goes sometimes too far in his hypothesis.

There are so many "collaborators" mentioned and if they had felt their contributions misused, or oppressed or injured by publishing "their work", without mentioning their names, they would have had a chance to announce their claims. But there are practically no indications of this nature to be found. And in the case of Diderot, it must be said that nobody could have forced him to take the work up again and again for new editions if the conditions which Raynal offered had been against his honor.

The Histoire des Indes is not at all a collection of a series of longer or shorter articles by different authors. Raynal's friend, Malouet, mentions his "amour propre d'auteur" ²⁶. He moderated Diderot's transgressions against religion and knew to insert his own ideas. "Diderot, malgré son génie, n'est qu'un sectaire hanté par une idée fixe; Raynal, avec son bon sens prosaïque est un publiciste clairvoyant." ²⁷ Salone regards the contributions of his friends more or less as "hors-d'oeuvre" ²⁸ and Mal~~X~~ouet says:

²⁶ Malouet, Mémoires, v. I, p. 81.

²⁷ Tengère, Précurseur, pp. 196-197.

²⁸ Salone, p. 10.

"...tout ce qu'il y a d'instructif et d'important...est véritablement la partie qui lui est propre." 29

Just as far as his writings about America are concerned I could not find anybody who doubted his authorship of this part of the book.

29 *Malouet*, v. I, p. 81.

2. His Writings About America

a) Their Place in his Work

Abbé Raynal deals in his Histoire des Indes with all sections of America. After having shown in Books 1 - 5 ³⁰ the discoveries, wars, conquests and establishments of the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English and the French and the connections of other European countries with the East Indies, he turns in his sixth book to America, where the discovery and the Spanish conquest of Mexico are described. Book 7 reports about Spanish settlements in Peru, 8, about those in Chile and Paraguay, and 9, about Portugal's settlements in Brazil. ³¹ Book 10 turns to the establishments of the European nations in the great Archipelago of America and Book 11 deals especially with the slave trade in order to get farm workers for the Antilles. He continues with the Spanish, Dutch, Danish (Book 12), French (Book 13) and English (Book 14) establishments on the isles of America (les isles de l'Amérique) ³².

Then he turns finally to the settlements in North America. He starts with the French (Book 15) and comes to the British colonies (Books 17 and 18), concluding with a general view of the influences of those settlements upon religion, government, politics, war, marine, commerce, agri-

³⁰ Vol. 1 in the 1780 edition of the Histoire des Indes.

³¹ Ibid., vol. II.

³² Ibid., vol. III.

culture, manufactures, population, taxes, public credit, fine arts, literature, philosophy, morals and he ends in reflections about the good and the evil which the discovery of the New World meant to Europe (Book 19). ³³

Chapter 39-52 of Book 18 since the 1780 edition have been printed separately as "Révolution d'Amérique" and at the same time in an English translation as "The Revolution of America" ³⁴. The latter fact indicates the importance of his writings about America. I think this interest may be explained best by his general aims.

³³ Ibid., vol. IV.

³⁴ For further information see "Editions" and "Bibliography".

2. His Writings About America

b) Aims

Raynal shows us the way which he wants to go in his opening chapter. He takes a view of the state of Europe before the discoveries were made, traces the events they have given rise to, and concludes with examining how present conditions of these several people have been affected by these discoveries. 35

No doubt, a typical product of the Age of Enlightenment, where everything "s'ouvrit à moi", as Raynal expresses it. 36

As all philosophers of his time he propagates the "new wisdom". In order to preach it, he employs history as others used tragedy, comedy, novel or short story.

As it is to be expected by its composition his work is a compilation with a breadth of sources and reflected in its different editions fairly well the shift in attitude towards America that took place between 1770 and 1780.

To appear "scientific" and "impartial" he gives often all possible views, and does not come to a definite conclusion. This makes it difficult for us to find out what he thought. If we want to get a sound basis for our judgment we have to look for "deeper aims".

³⁵ Indes, I/1/p. 2.

³⁶ Indes, I/1/p. 3.

Tengère says: "En composant son Histoire des Indes il poursuivait un triple dessein: il voulait en faire une oeuvre de science, une arme de combat, un instrument de renommée. ³⁷ That is true, without doubt, but I would take the second point first. In this respect I see some truth in the suspicion of the Arrest de la cour de Parlement: "cette histoire...cette rélation de faits arrivés sous différentes époques, est tellement entre-mêlée de déclamations impies, de reproches amers, de sarcasmes indécens et d'impostures grossières sur tout ce qui est relatif à la Religion chrétienne, et, par là même, absolument étranger à la matière que l'Auteur s'engage à discuter, qu'on droit qu'il n'a entrepris le détail historique qu'il présente, que pour réussir sous un seul et même point de vue tous les genres d'impiété." ³⁸ We know that this is a bill of indictment and goes into extremes.

But we mentioned already that extreme passages are probably written by Diderot and we could prove by numberless quotations Raynal's call to tolerance and moderation. Instead of Rabelais' motto at Thélème, "Fay ce que voudrais" ³⁹

³⁷ Tengère, Précurseur, p. 399.

³⁸ Arrest, p. 3.

³⁹ Rabelais, Oeuvre de Rabelais, vol. 1, p. 149

he proclaims: "Adore Dieu, Observe les loix, Aime ton Prochain", and concludes, "J'assurerois bien qu'il n'est mention dans les annales de cette isle, ni de disputes, ni de guerre de religion." ⁴⁰ "La tolérance" is for him "le fondement de la société". ⁴¹

That is what he sees in America and I think in this direction we find the connection with his already mentioned "deeper consistency" - his love for France, where religious disputes brought so much harm about the country.

In giving a view of America he wants to set at the same time an example for his own country. He wants to see it great and strong in the interest of France and of more of the whole world. "Son patriotisme, s'accord avec un pacifisme bien compris". ⁴²

And out of this attitude we understand that in spite of the fact that he sees the arguments and agrees with the complaints of the British colonies in America, he cannot recommend to them in his early editions the use of force to free themselves.

Here, I think, we find all accusations of anglomania which we find in nearly all writings concerned with Raynal. "S'il montre à la France les fautes qu'elle a commises, ce

⁴⁰ Indes, IV/17/XIX/p. 234.

⁴¹ Ibid., IV/18/IV/p. 273.

⁴² Tengère, Précurseur, p. 197.

n'est pas pour en triompher; c'est pour prouver qu'elles
sont réparable: car il a foi malgré tout, en ses destinées."⁴⁴

We think this the thread leading through all his work
toward his letter to the National Assembly.⁴⁵ If we
keep this in mind, many unsolved problems will assume a
different aspect.

⁴⁴ Précurseur, p. 197

⁴⁵ Lettre de M. l'abbé Raynal lue à l'Assemblée nationale.

2. His Writings About America

c) Errors and Contradictions

His critics and opponents accuse Raynal of errors and contradictions. ⁴⁶ They are, without doubt, right, but we think they sometimes forget reality. First of all, they are misled by his statement of "exactness" in his diction and writings. We regard it more or less as a trend of the time, of his scientific age ⁴⁷, a conventional statement for which readers of the 18th century were looking, before they took a work seriously. We have an excellent note about the impression he made, which is written by Frederick the Great, King of Prussia: "J'ai vu l'abbé Raynal. La manière dont il m'a parlé de la puissance des ressources et des richesses de tous les peuples du globe, j'ai cru m'entretenir avec la Providence." ⁴⁸

Then we should remember his very often questionable sources of information and the large number of collaborators. We know even to-day how difficult it is to get a "true" picture of another country with the help of all our modern means of information, the press, film, radio, extensive travel interchange, etc. And everybody who had the privilege

⁴⁶ See paragraph, "Critics and Opponents".

⁴⁷ Cf. later quotation from Tengère, Précurs., p. 211.

⁴⁸ Meister's translation quoted from Tengère, Précurseur, p. 82, note 66.

of visiting foreign lands found that there was a lot of misinformation and uncertainty in his previous ideas. Are we surprised that the picture was not correct 180 years ago?

In this respect Thomas Paine's statement is right: Never "...can any person gain a just idea of it (America) but by coming to it." ⁴⁹ We would not say "impossible", but difficult. And it would afford more thorough studies than Raynal did. "La fantaisie dictent son choix aussi souvent peut-être que l'amour du vrai." ⁵⁰ Here we find this consistent trend again. His fantasy is mainly occupied with the present conditions and the future of France. "Cette impartialité n'est pas de l'indifférence, il a l'âme sensible, comme il convient à cette époque attendre; il pleure abondamment et il s'en vante, comme on se vautera vers 1750 d'être impossible." ⁵¹ He was never indifferent toward his "idea behind", and in order to add different sights to his picture he even neglected facts.

Mazzei ⁵² gives a complete record of Raynal's errors and contradictions, as well as Paine, Salome, Tangère and Fay. Nearly all dwell, for instance, on the Polly Baker story. I think it quite a good example for Raynal's general

⁴⁹ Paine, vol. II, p. 250.

⁵⁰ Tangère, Précurseur, p. 211

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 211.

⁵² Mazzei, Recherches historiques et politiques sur les Etats-Unis de l'Amérique Septentrionale, 3rd part.

attitude towards details. He lives it in his Histoire des Indes 53 as a true story and draws moving philosophical conclusions from it.

A few years later Franklin tells him that this story was written by him for a newspaper "...pour remplir ma feuille de m'amuser à faire des contes..." 54 And what is Raynal's answer? "Ma foi, repartit M. l'abbé Raynal, quittant le ton de la dispute, j'aime mieux avoir mis dans mon ouvrage vos contes, que les vérités de bien d'autres." 55 Mazzei cannot understand that Raynal did not dismiss this story in his 1780 edition.

His aim was, as pointed out, above all to teach truth of a general nature. And Fay's statement in this connection summarizes this attitude. "Thus errors in the facts that he furnished generously on Pennsylvania and Boston seemed to him to be abundantly made up for by the great lessons which he drew from the morals of the Quakers, by his predictions of the glorious future of America and by the moral and political applications which he deduced from them." 56

53 Indes, IV/17/XXI/pp. 241-244.

54 Mazzei, vol. II, part 3, p. 24.

55 Ibid., vol. II, part 3, pp. 24-25.

56 Fay, Rev. Spirit, p. 12.

2. His Writings About America

d) Editions

As we saw, Raynal watches all historical events and especially those connected with the definite rupture between the British colonies in America and the mother country, until he finally deals with the history of the American Revolution. His wish to be up to date is one reason for new editions but not the only one.

If we follow the announcements of new editions in Grimm's correspondence, we will find statements like:

"On avait reproché avec raison, à cet écrivain un style fatigant et entortillé, la fureur des antithèses, et des portraits faits au hasard et chargés de contradictions...M. l'abbé Raynal nous dit, dans son avertissement qu'il a fait ses efforts pour se corriger de ses défauts dans son nouvel ouvrage." 57

"Elle vient de paraître fort retouchée, fort augmentée, et surtout plus correcte que les précédentes." 58

or that announcing the delayed 1780 edition:

"C'est un livre entièrement nouveau et par les corrections et par les additions que l'auteur y a faites." 59

We had a chance to look at a manuscript at the Clements Library at Ann Arbor, Michigan, and Raynal's wish to improve his style is quite obvious from the corrections

57 Grimm, vol. II, p. 240

58 Grimm, vol. IV, p. 453.

59 Grimm, vol. XII. p. 347.

which the text shows.⁶⁰ Another reason for so many editions in different places was the constant trouble he had in his own country. His work was prohibited in France right from the first edition and so he had to look for other places, Amsterdam, Maestricht, Edinburgh, Geneva, Lausanne, Neuchâtel, London, Avignon and Paris after the French Revolution.

I had an opportunity to consult editions of 1770, 1774, 1776, 1780, 1781 at the Library of the University of Michigan and a quite extensive collection of Raynal's "Révolution d'Amérique" at the Clements Library there.

The places for the publication of the latter mentioned extract of the chapters 38-52 of Book 13 of the 1780 edition range from Stockholm to Philadelphia.

It was said that "somebody" had taken this part out of the comprehensive history without the knowledge of the author. Paine suspects behind the person who purloined this part of the announced larger book an Englishman who "has endeavored to gloss over the embezzlement with professions of patriotism."⁶¹

The main reason for the necessity of so many editions is without doubt the popularity of Raynal's work in his time. Fay says: "C'est donc à tous point de vue, par son

⁶⁰ Raynal, Manuscript.

⁶¹ Paine, vol. II, p. 212.

genre, son influence et son retentissement, le texte capital sur les Etats-Unis vers 1770," 62

Even Tengère, the authority for studies concerning Raynal and the editions of his works, concludes in his "Bibliographie Critique": "Au reste, ces données bibliographiques resteront toujours forcément incomplètes et fragmentaires, attendu que les bibliothèques même les plus riches, ne possèdent pas une collection complète des diverses éditions et contre-façons de l'Histoire des Indes." 63 The Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris has with 169 volumes only 19 editions and Tengère mentions 18 other editions which he saw or got evidence of to be in other libraries. And he adds, "Mais sans doute, beaucoup existent qui m'ont échappé." 64 Tengère and Fay furnish in their critical bibliographies extensive lists of editions. Tengère distinguishes four different stages of the Histoire des Indes: The first from 1770 to 1774; the second from 1774 to 1780, the third from 1780 to 1820, the fourth the 1820 edition. 65 The existence of so many editions makes our task more difficult. The change of Raynal's

62 Fay, Bibliographie Critique, p. 46

63 Tengère, Bibliographie Critique, p. 3.

64 Ibid., p. 3.

65 Tengère, Bibliographie Critique., p. 4 and p. 15.

attitude towards America would be a topic of its own and to trace all details through the different stages and editions would be a special task if it is worthwhile at all. I will give examples but mainly use the Geneva 1780 edition,⁶⁶ which includes for the first time his writings about the American Revolution and is a kind of keystone in the development of his ideas. In this edition we find a clarified picture of America. Many former errors are corrected. It is printed after the historical development in America had reached its goal. That which Raynal wished - but did not know how it could be brought about - had happened. Besides religious freedom America got political independence. This was the life of freedom he longed for in the case of France. This recent proof that it was possible to be achieved inspired his 1780 edition which has improved not only in the severity of its attacks but in its style, too. No major changes took place afterwards.

⁶⁶ For complete title, see Bibliography, section Raynal.

2. His Editions About America

e) Translations, Abbreviations, Imitations.

The importance of the Histoire des Indes and the Révolution de l'Amérique can also be judged by the large number of translations appearing at once, first of all in English but then in Spanish, too, and of the Révolution de l'Amérique, even in German, Dutch and Polish. Grimm announces in June, 1779, a translation into Arabic. 67

In addition a number of abbreviations appeared in different languages 68 and under different titles. For many the complete edition was much too voluminous and many were especially interested in America. They appreciated those shorter editions. Tengère mentions: "Je relève environ 25 éditions de ces extraits et je suis sans doute bien loin de compte." 69

We had a chance to see some extracts. For instance, a translation into German: Franz Karsten's Europens Handel mit beyden Indien, 70 and there was mentioned that two other

67 Grimm, Vol. 12, p. 263, shows in June 1779 a note: "On assure qu'Achmet IV vient de faire traduire en arabe l'Histoire philosophique et politique du commerce des deux Indes de l'abbé Raynal."

68 Fay, Bibliographie critique, p. 44 for French abbreviations.

69 Tengère, Bibliographie Critique, p. 3.

70 Karten, Europens Handel mit beyden Indien, Rostock - Leipzig, 1780.

German translations had preceded him and another follows in 1782 with Staatsveränderungen von Amerika, durch den Abt Raynal.⁷¹ In Belfast appeared in 1775 The Sentiments of a Foreigner on the Disputes of Great Britain and America, and in the same year another edition in Philadelphia.⁷² A further abbreviation, without mentioning his name, Philosophical and Political History of the British Settlements and Trade in North America makes its appearance, in 1776 in Edinburgh,⁷³ and is reprinted in 1779 bound together with An Impartial History of the Present War in America from its Commencement to the Present Time (brought up to June, 1779).⁷⁴

Still larger is the number of writers dealing with America who use Raynal as a "source" - most times without mentioning his name. Fay has quite a good account of this group⁷⁵ and concludes: "Thus, up to 1789 hardly a year went by but an imitation of Raynal appeared."⁷⁶

We will see how much translations, abbreviations and imitations contributed to propagate his picture of America.

⁷¹ Staatsveränderungen von Amerika, durch den Abt Raynal.
The name of the translator is not given.

⁷² These editions were very popular in America.

⁷³ A two volume edition.

⁷⁴ A one volume edition.

⁷⁵ Fay, Rev. Spirit, p. 10, p. 182 ff.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 10

II. Raynal's View of America.

A. General Picture - Introductory Remarks

"The most brilliant and affirmative part of his formidable book, in which nothing is spared, is the picture of North America. He executed it with special care and put into it some of his most sonorous pages. In these his whole program is revealed, or at least all that he himself knew of his program. It is significant that he inserted them at the end of his sixth and last volume"¹ says Fay in general.

There would be different ways to show what kind of picture of America Raynal transmits by his work. We could follow his descriptions settlement by settlement, starting in the North and coming down to Florida, as he did. Mazzei for instance, is not satisfied with this arrangement of the material, and says he should have followed the historical data and reported about settlements in the order of their foundation.²

According to Raynal's attitude towards this subject - as developed in the first part of this paper - it would be the best way to do him justice not to dwell upon the many historical and geographical details but to view his work in the light of the general picture he wanted to give of America, as an example for France. With this intention

¹ Fay, Revolutionary Spirit, p. 12

² Mazzei, vol. II, part 3, p. 3

- 27 -

in mind an arrangement under the usual topics seems advisable. Examples will have to replace elaborate reports.

It is not at all as bad as Paine says in his letter: "His facts are coldly and carelessly stated. They neither inform the reader nor interest him. Many of them are defective and obscure." ³ But they are not the most important part. The ideas behind are of much more interest. We will find that out if we compare the emphasis with which he stresses certain fields. Physical conditions are quite interesting but they appear unimportant compared with his praise of the original inhabitants, or with his vehement attack in the slave labor question. What he wants to show to his country is a sound people living in an agricultural society under a just government and worshipping God freely. Many of his passages concerned with government questions sound as if they are addressed to France.

Raynal who followed during his first period the common belief that America was sterile for cultural products does not dwell - even in his 1760 edition - long on this question. If we remember this attitude toward his subjects, the different lengths of the following chapters will be easier to understand.

³ Paine, vol. II, p. 222.

II. Raynal's View of America

1. History

After the discovery of the New World at the end of the 15th century, it is forgotten for a while until the colonization starts. Those contacts of the early adventurers did not last for long. Raynal says in the case of France: "Depuis 1567, que l'intrépide Gascon avoit évacué la Floride, les François oublièrent le Nouveau-Monde. Égarés dans un canot de dogues inconcevables, ils perdirent la raison et l'humanité. Le peuple le plus doux et le plus sociable devint le plus barbare, le plus sanguinaire des peuples." ⁴ It is in this historical part where he takes France seriously to task. He describes for instance the status in Canada after the peace of 1661: "Ce fut après le recouvrement de la colonie, la même ignorance, la même négligence. Les François avoient mal formé leurs établissemens." ⁵

He always presents the whole European background and the activities of the European powers overseas, but French activities always receive a special treatment. He sees the main cause for all mischief not so much in the colonies but in the religious, political, and economic conditions in France. He is proud of the French explorers but he is ashamed of the situation at home.

⁴ Ides, IV/15/II/p. 7

⁵ Ides, IV/15/VI/pp. 43/44.

How he accuses the king in connection with the canceling of the edict of Nantes: "Il parle, et mille citoyens réverés par leurs vertus, leurs dignités, leurs talens, sont dévoués à la mort et à l'infamie, O peuples! ô troupeau d'imbéciles et de lâches!

"Et toi, tyran aveugle! ...C'est toi qui romps le pacte." He deplores the enormous and irreparable loss of best French blood and continues: "Le cosmopolite, dont l'âme vaste embrasse les intérêts de l'espèce humaine s'en consolera peut-être. Pour le patriote, il ne cessera jamais de s'en affliger." ⁶ And a patriot he is, there is no doubt. In the connection between the being and the church he saw one of the main obstacles for a free France.

We feel already here his attitude toward the divine right of kings. ⁷ And somewhat later it is clearly stated: "C'est donc en vain que les princes ont recours au ciel pour rappeler leurs droits, quand ils manquent à leurs devoirs. La loi qu'ils invoquent s'élève contre eux." ⁸

We think it absolutely necessary to see Raynal's picture of England and later of America against this background. We recognize already deep emotional feelings in those short quotations and the sometimes overstressed perfectness of the other side seems to be a natural human tendency.

⁶ Indes, IV/16/IX. pp. 110-111.

⁷ An extreme study about this conception shows its development: Figgis, F.N., The Divine Right of Kings.

⁸ Indes, IV/16/X. p. 117

But in general he tries to be objective. He describes how religious wars desolated England but started to populate America, and shows how the Puritans "tournèrent les yeux vers l'Amérique Septentrional, pour chercher la liberté civile et religieuse, ou'une ingrate patrie leur refusoit." ⁹ New England's foundation is laid, but he recognizes at the same time that the Puritans did not give the religious freedom to others after their arrival in America. He did not regard them as pioneers of religious liberty ¹⁰ - as they are sometimes thought of to-day. ¹¹

And he says about Charles II's unannounced attack upon the Dutch colony, "La Nouvelle Belge": "L'hostilité, ainsi commise, est une lâche perfidie. C'est l'action d'une horde de sauvages et non d'un peuple civilisé, d'un assassin de nuit et non d'un prince guerrier. Celui qui aura quelque confiance dans ses forces et quelques élévation dans l'ame ne surprendra point son adversaire endormi. Si vous n'en avez aucun (juste motif de m'attaquer), vous êtes un brigand dangereux contre lequel tous devroient se servir et qu'ils sont en droit d'exterminer." ¹²

We do not know what those people say to such passages who accuse him of Anglomania, and we do not see any reason

⁹ Indes, IV/17/I. p. 169.

¹⁰ Indes, IV/17/XVIII. p. 229 ff.

¹¹ I think that supports J. Miller's and T.H. Johnson's theory in The Puritans, American Book Company, 1938, pp. 3 and 4, who try to show that our present picture of the Puritans has been falsified by influences and changes during the 18th, 19th and 20 centuries.

why he should not praise British institutions which he really thinks good.

Raynal shows the foundation of the different British settlements along the coast from the north down to the south, and we will hear details in the following paragraphs.

II. Raynal's View of America

2. Physical Conditions of the Country.

In the days of Rousseau people were interested in exotic countries with an untouched nature. We feel that some of this enthusiasm is included in Raynal's work. On the other hand we see the influence of the scientific minded encyclopaedic group with their theories about the world.

In Raynal's Parallèle de l'ancien et du Nouveau Monde¹³ we encounter the idea of a new recently developed and until now neglected world. It shows that people do not yet have an exact idea of the size of this new continent. They believe it not quite half as large as Europe, and their conception about the oceans is still: "En un mot, l'océan roule sur ce globe pour le façonner au gré des loix générales de la gravité." ¹⁴

And here the general impression: "Les fleuves plus larges et plus longs en Amérique; des bois immenses au midi; de grands lacs et de vastes marais au Nord; des neiges presque éternelles entre les tropiques, peu de ces sables purs qui semblent être le sédiment de la terre épuisée;... un air frais et doux par une latitude où l'Afrique est brûlante, inhabitable; un climat rigoureux et glacé, sous le même parallèle que nos climats tempérés; enfin, une différence de dix ou douze degrés de température, entre

¹³ Indes, IV/17/II, p. 169 ff.

¹⁴ Ibid., IV/17/II, p. 171.

l'ancien et le nouvel hémisphère: ce sont autant
d'empreintes d'un monde naissant." 15

And he furnishes some reasons for this state of affairs according to the knowledge of his age: "Pourquoi le continent de l'Amérique seroit-il à proportion beaucoup plus chaud, beaucoup plus froid que celui de l'Europe, si ne recevoit l'humidité que l'océan y a laissée, en le quittant long-temps après que notre continent avoit été peuplé?...Si les eaux qui baignent encore les entrailles du nouvel hémisphère, n'en avoient pas inondé la surface, l'homme y auroit de bonne-heure coupe les bois, desséché les marais, consolidé un sol pâteux en le remuant ~~et~~ l'exposant aux rayons du soleil, ouvert une issue aux vents et donné des dignes aux rivières, le climat y eut déjà changé." 16

His first conclusion is: "Mais un hémisphere en riche et dépeuplé ne peut annoncer qu'un monde récent..."¹⁷ but then he changes it a little bit and says finally: "L'imperfection de la nature en Amérique, ne prouve donc pas la nouveauté de cet hémisphère, mais sa renaissance. Il a dû sans doute être peuplé dans le même temps que l'ancien, mais il a pu être submergé plus tard." 18

¹⁵ Ibid., IV/17/II. p. 172

¹⁶ Ibid., IV/17/II. p. 172 and 173.

¹⁷ Indes, IV/17/II. p. 173

¹⁸ Ibid., IV/III/6. 175

Even at that time people had a slight idea of the natural riches of this country. He mentions chances to fish at the seacoast, to hunt animals with excellent furs and mines "du fer, du plomb, du cuivre, du marbre, une substance analogue au charbon de terre." 19

To complete the picture he dedicates special chapters in Book 18 to typical trees (XXV) and birds (XXVI) in North America. Immense forests, wild animals and only a few savages - that was America. "La terre y sembloit inutile à l'homme. La mer et la terre étoient libres. Tout à coup l'homme y parut, et l'Amérique Septentrionale changea de face." 20 "Le Nouveau-Monde subit le joug de l'homme, à l'exemple de l'ancien." 21

19 Ibid., IV/17/VI, p. 184

20 Ibid., IV/17/V. p. 182

21 Ibid., IV/17/V. p. 183

II. Raynal's View of America

3. Population

a) Original Inhabitants

And what does Raynal say about the original inhabitants of this new continent? There are not too many and "...point d'hommes entièrement noirs;..."²² And how about their physical condition?

"La différence du climat, provenue du séjour de la mer sur les terres de l'Amérique, ne pouvoit qu'influer beaucoup sur les hommes et les animaux."

"I heard about vast forests and large rivers but "Combien, au contraire, la nature paroît avoir négligé le Nouveau-Monde! Les hommes y sont moins forts, moins courageux; sans barbe et sans poil; dégradés dans tous les signes de la virilité; foiblement doués de ce sentiment vif et puissant, de cet amour délicieux, qui est la source de tous les amours...le premier noeud de la société." ²³ And the women? "Les femmes plus foibles encore y sont maltraitées par la nature et par les hommes." ²⁴ They have to do all the work while the men go fishing and hunting or are out in wars. Such an indifference toward the fair sex makes the Frenchman

²² Ibid., IV/17/II. p. 172

²³ Ibid., IV/17/III. p. 173

²⁴ Ibid., IV/17/III. p. 173

suspicious. He links the reason for this attitude is "une imperfection dans les organes, une sorte d'enfance dans les peuples de l'Amérique, comme dans les individus de notre continent qui n'ont pas atteint l'âge de la puberté." 25

In this section of his book we find an uncertainty and a reflection of different opinions of his age. This uncertainty is quite obvious: "Si les peuples de l'Amérique n'ont pu venir de notre continent, et que cependant ils paroissent nouveaux; il faut avoir recours au déluge, qui dans l'histoire des nations, est la source et la solution de toutes les difficultés." 26 In such cases he reprinted familiar theories, because he did not know better explanations.

He also finds a way to reconcile different hypotheses of his age. He sees in the physical privation of the savages a proof for their moral greatness: "Mais ne pourrait-on pas dire que la passion pour les femmes languit moins par le tempérament des sauvages que par leur caractère moral?" 27

Raynal as a good disciple of Rousseau sees in the painting of the "noble savage" an excellent chance to oppose their natural virtues to the vices of civilized

25 Ibid., IV/17/III. p. 174

26 Ibid., IV/17/III. p. 174

27 Ibid., IV/15/IV. p. 21

nations and their kindness to our misery. 28 They are happier because they are better. "Tous les hommes parlent de la liberté; les sauvages seuls la possèdent." 29

Travellers and missionaries of the 18th century furnish reports about examples of tolerance, bold conception and frankness of savages. We find enough of those in Raynal's Histoire des Indes. He praises them for instance for the help they rendered to the Plymouth settlers: "Cette humanité mit les premiers colons en état d'attendre des compagnons, des animaux domestiques, des graines, tous les secours qui devoient leur venir d'Europe." 30 At another place he quotes a savage chief who shows in his speech a strong attachment to his paternal soil. "Nous sommes, répondit-il, né sur cette terre, nos pères y sont ensevelis." 31 "...ils sont les enfans les plus heureux de la terre." 32

"L'aspect du bonheur présent dérobe toujours à leurs yeux le mal qui peut le suivre. Leur prévoyance ne va pas même du jour à la nuit." 33 He sees in them a wonderful example for civilized nations and wants to have it preserved for the future: "Sans doute il est important aux générations futures de ne pas perdre le tableau de la vie

28 Ibid., p. 21

29 Ibid., IV/16/XIII. p. 125

30 Ibid., IV/17/XVIII. p. 231

31 Ibid., IV/15/IV. p. 14

32 Ibid., p. 20

33 Ibid., p. 23

et des mœurs des sauvages," 34 and he continues:

"C'est, peut-être, à cette connoissance que nous devons tous les progrès que la philosophie morale a fait parmi nous." 35

He gives us a significant example of their farsightedness in connection with the troubles between the British and the French in 1690. The Iroquois recognized in time what would happen to them if they helped the British to conquer Quebec. "Placés, disent-ils dans leur conseil, entre deux nations Européens, chacune assez forte pour nous exterminer, également intéressées à notre destruction lorsqu'elles n'auront plus besoin de notre secours; que nous reste-t-il, sinon d'empêcher qu'aucune ne l'emporte sur l'autre? Alors elles seront forcées de briser notre alliance ou même d'acheter notre neutralité." 36

He condemns all European interference with their natural life, especially the selling of alcohol and the use of firearms. Such a fight is murder in his eyes and he feels deeply sorry that it was so often committed in name of the European nations. He says for instance in connection with Denonville: "Il déshonora le nom François chez les sauvages par une infâmie perfidie." 38

34 Ibid., p. 33

35 Ibid., p. 33

36 Ibid., IV/15/VII. p. 49

37 Ibid., IV/15/X. p. 63

38 Ibid., IV/15/VII. p. 47

In spite of this idealistic picture of savages on the one side he does not leave the facts out. It is true that they do not suffer the illnesses of civilization, but there are those coming from nature. So he reports, for example, about the Eskimos: "...les Eskimaux ont deux grands fléaux à craindre; la perte de la vue, et le scorbut ..." and he continues: "La plupart en sont privés de bonne-heure." ³⁹ And still more dangerous is the scorbut, which consumes them slowly: "Le scorbut s'attache à leur sang, en altère, en épaisit, en appauvrit la masse." ⁴⁰ But the greater evil and the menace of their destruction comes from the European settlers.

³⁹ Ibid., IV/17/II. p. 126

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 127.

II. Nouvelle France

3. Population

b) White Population

With the coming of the white man to America a complete change in the picture of the country and in the life of the native tribes began. The discoverers, explorers and missionaries opened the way for the stream of settlers to come. Originally, "L'Angleterre n'étoit connue dans le Nouveau-Monde, que par des pirateries souvent heureuses et toujours brillantes." ⁴¹ But when the sufferings of the Puritans in England became intolerable, "...l'entousiasme, plus puissant encore que les persécuteurs, surmonta tous les obstacles, et cette région du Nouveau-Monde fut bientôt remplie de Presbytériens." ⁴² Soon "Des vues de fortune multiplièrent leurs compagnons dans des temps plus calmes." ⁴³ But in short not only people from England came. "Enfin l'Europe entière ajouta beaucoup à leur population." ⁴⁴ America became the haven for the oppressed: "Des milliers de malheureux, opprimés par la tyrannie ou par l'intolérance de leurs souverains,

⁴¹ Ibid., IV/17/I. p. 160

⁴² Ibid., IV/17/II. p. 169

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

allèrent à braver les rigueurs de l'hiver, chercher la vie et le salut dans cet autre hémisphère." 45

Raysal looks at the situation quite realistically. "Des hommes échappés à la verge des tyrans en passant les mers, perdoient tout espoir de retour, et s'attachoient pour toujours à une terre qui leur servant d'asyle, leur fournissoit à peu de frais une subsistance paisible." 46

Especially immigrants from Germany were quite numerous. All enjoyed the privilege of becoming citizens of the vast British Empire after seven years of residence.

"Tandis que la tyrannie et la persécution désolent et desséchoient la population en Europe, l'Amérique Angloise se remplissoit de trois sortes d'habitans." 47
The first and largest group he mentions are "les hommes libres." 48

And here we see how he changed his mind since his first edition. In 1770 he was under the complete influence of De Pauw's theory of the degeneration of the Americans under the influence of the climate of this country. 49
After severe attacks he changes his old statement and con-

45 Ibid., p. 169

46 Ibid., IV/18/XXXII. p. 351.

47 Ibid., IV/18/XXXII. P. 353.

48 Ibid., p. 353

49 De Pauw: Recherches philosophiques sur les Américains (Berlin, 1768 - Paris, an III).

Peuples, tout il les a donc en raison de cela: "Leurs
habitudes, étoient universellement sages moins fortes à
la guerre, moins propres aux arts que leurs ancêtres.
Parce que le soin de défricher la terre, de purifier
l'air, de changer le climat, d'améliorer la nature
absorboit toutes les facultés de ce peuple transplanté
sous un autre ciel, on en concluoit sa dégradation et
son impuissance de s'élever à des spéculations un peu com-
pliquées." 50

In this group of people he sees the hope for America.
Until now they have been too busy with hard manual labor,
but Franklin and some others have already proved that they
are able to achieve things in other fields, too. 51

In a second group of people he includes those farmers
who have been condemned by British courts to be shipped
to America, where they have to serve for periods of 7 to
14 years. They are bought by plantation owners from the
tribunals. They are not well received. "On s'est
universellement dégoûté de ces hommes corrompus, et
toujours prêts à commettre de nouveaux crimes." 52

They are replaced by Europeans who could not get
along in Europe and wanted to try their luck in the new

50 Ides, IV/18/XXXII. p. 353

51 Ibid., p. 353-354

52 Ibid., p. 354.

world. Usually these people have no money to cross the ocean. But "Après avoir acheté et vendu le nègre, le crime n'avait plus qu'un pas à faire: c'étoit de vendre son compatriote sans l'avoir acheté, et de trouver quelqu'un qui l'achetât; il l'a fait." 53 They depend completely on the grace of those who paid their transportation and they are sold in America to any place the "owner" liked. "Cette espèce d'esclavage est plus ou moins long; mais il ne peut jamais durer plus de huit années." 54

Children got their freedom as soon as they reached their majority. That means girls at the age of 18 and boys at 21. Nobody of those people has a right to marry during the time of the contract without the consent of the master, who fixed the price and makes the bargain.

Most of the people under such contracts were won under false pretences. "Des brigands...vautent avec enthousiasme les délices du Nouveau-Monde, et les fortunes qu'il est aisé d'y faire..." 55 The poor victims were shipped from Amsterdam or Rotterdam and as soon as they embarked in America they found conditions worse than those they had left. There was no chance to go back. Letters were suppressed and "L'illusion se perpétue en Europe" 56 that

⁵³Ibid., IV/18/XXII. p. 354

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 354

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 355

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 355.

America was a land of unrestricted possibilities. Haynes gives two reasons for the rapid increase in population (figures: 2,500,000 white and 400,000 black people)

1. the immigration of large numbers of Irish, Jews, French, and Germans,
2. The climate and the good chances for young people to marry and to maintain a large family on their farms. ⁵⁷

The third group of the population was made up by slaves whom we will treat in a special paragraph.

⁵⁷ Ibid., IV/18/XXXIII. p. 361.

II. Colonialism in America

3. Population

c) Slaves

With the Age of Enlightenment a humanitarian trend came up. It was not only the "noble savage" who was praised, but it was also a time where a feeling in sensitive men indicated that slaves were human beings, too, and that the way they were handled was inhuman and as unchristian as possible. French philosophers dealt with this question and Raynal is one who definitely took sides. "Si les colons purent témoigner à Raynal leur gratitude et s'autoriser de son ouvrage pour revendiquer leur libertés, ils trouvèrent en lui un adversaire résolu dans la question de l'esclavage." ⁵⁸ Before Montesquieu the slave question in its principle was hardly disputed. Raynal is influenced by him. From his humanitarian point of view the question was clear and he dedicates a special chapter to it in his Histoire des Indes (Chapter XVIII in Book 7). He is of the opinion: "Sans la liberté, ou la propriété de son corps et la jouissance de son esprit, on n'est ni époux, ni père, ni parent, ni ami... On n'a ni patrie, ni concitoyen, ni dieu." ⁵⁹

He is against the pretension that the slaves sold themselves. No human being has this right: "Dieu est mon

⁵⁸ Turgot, Précurseur, p. 155.

⁵⁹ Indes, II/7/XVIII. p. 194

côtre, ce n'est pas son maître. Il aime son enfant, et non son esclave. Comment accorderais-je donc au pouvoir de la politique, ce que je refuse à la toute-puissance ce divine? 60

He knows that the missionaries allowed the importation of slaves in order to protect the Indians from the cruelties of the Europeans. Now they asked the masters of slaves to treat them in a more human way.

For Raynal slavery is principally based "sur le mépris absolu de la dignité humaine dans le noir" as Deschamps phrases it. 61 Then he knows no compromise with a religion which tolerates slavery and he asks, "...si cette religion existoit, n'en faudroit-il pas étouffer les ministres sous les débris de leurs autels?"

This is his basic attitude toward the whole question, but as we saw so often, Raynal never neglects the facts. He knows that they are there and is familiar with the main difficulties and objections against the abolition of slavery: 1) cheap and easy to deal with manual labor and 2) the pretension that the slaves are better off than other workers and that they would not know what to do if they were freed.

60 Ibid., p. 194

61 Deschamps, p. 320.

Here Raynal with his practical mind makes proposals which many others, condemning slavery in principle, never did. In his moderate attitude he is first of all for a better treatment, then for a systematic preparation for their complete freedom. We observe here again a change from a more radical point of view in his early editions to a sage foresight in the measures to be employed in their freeing.

Raynal sees first signs of improvement. Speaking about Pennsylvania, he says: "...dans cette province l'esclavage n'a pas été un germe de corruption..." ⁶² He knows that the majority of the people are not bad, but that they lack the greatness of the soul refined to give something up which means a sacrifice to them. There are already exceptions and they will encourage others. He cites with pleasure the meditations of a Quaker in his congregation: "Jusques à quand aurons-nous deux consciences, deux mesures, deux balances, l'une en notre faveur, l'autre à la mine du prochain; toutes deux également fausses?" ⁶³ And all of a sudden comes a deep insight and self-accusation: "...et nous sommes chrétiens, et nous sommes Anglois! Peuple favorisé du ciel, et respecté sur les mers, quoi, tu veux être libre et tyran tout-à la fois? Non, mes frères, il est temps de nous accorder avec

⁶² Ibid., IV/18/V. p. 279

⁶³ Ibid., IV/18/XXXII. p. 359.

nous-même. Affranchissons ces malheureux victimes de notre
crime; rendons aux nègres la liberté que l'homme ne doit
jamais ôter à l'homme. Puissent, à notre exemple, toutes
les sociétés chrétiennes, réparer une injustice cimentée
par deux siècles de crimes et de brigandages!..." 64

This Quaker went home and liberated his slaves and the
other members of the congregation imitated his generous
example. May France, the country of such a high cultural
standing, follow in this direction, is Raynal's ardent
desire. What is all the talking about humanity and
Christianity good for as long as we do not treat slaves
as human beings and do nothing to abolish slavery?

64 Ibid., pp. 359, 360.

II. Raynal's View of America

4. Economy

a) Agriculture

Together with the turn toward nature a new period comes which recognizes the importance of agriculture as a secure basis for healthy living conditions and for a sound state. In France with its feudal system farmers were especially bad off. So we understand Raynal's attempt to stress over and over again how important a change from a dependent to an independent status of the farmer would be. He is looking for examples and finds one in the New World.

The conquest of America seems to have inaugurated a new type of settlement, a type which has an agricultural basis. "Les gouvernemens, fondateurs de ces colonies, ont voulu que ceux de leurs sujets qu'ils y transportoient, ne pussent consommer que les marchandises que leur fourniroit la métropole, les productions des terres qu'on leur accordoit." 65

The vast territories offered room enough for everybody. "L'agriculture est donc la première et la véritable richesse d'un état." 66 In the open country people can lead a healthy life and they can provide themselves to a great extent with necessary food and clothing. "Tout, en effet,

65 Indes, III/13/LV. p. 484

66 Ibid., IV/19/VII. p. 694

depend et résulte de la culture des terres. Elle fait la force intérieure des États, elle y attire les richesses du dehors." 67 So Raynal asks for a piece of land for everybody and demands from the state special care for its agriculture. "C'est donc à la racine qu'il faut arroser l'arbre. Les villes ne seront florissantes que par la fécondité des champs." 68

Raynal finds Pennsylvania a wonderful example for the soundness of an agricultural base. The progress is slow but steady: "La Pensilvanie, qui fonde sa fortune sur la culture et sur la multiplication des troupeaux, ne doit arriver que lentement à la prospérité: mais cette prospérité aura des fondemens plus sûrs et plus durables." 69 The fertility of the soil is different, but can be improved. Farmers could grow most of their European crops in the northern part of the country and in Maryland and Virginia tobacco, in South Carolina even rice and indigo.⁷⁰ Much land was still uncultivated. Along the sea-coast and on rivers and lakes the fishing was also of some importance.

⁶⁷ Ibid., IV/19/VII. p. 611.

⁶⁸ Ibid., IV/19/VII. p. 611.

⁶⁹ Ibid., IV/18/V. p. 283.

⁷⁰ Ibid., IV/18/XVII. p. 316. (Raynal takes such occasions to tell, e.g., the complete history of rice (p. 311) and of indigo (p. 312).)

II. Raynal's View of America

4. Economy

b) Manufactures

Raynal does not have too much to say to this subject. He sees just the beginning of a development of manufactures in America.

According to the above-mentioned conception of colonies, they are supposed to produce agricultural products and furnish raw materials if possible and to buy at the same time all other things needed from the mother country. This is the reason why all kinds of manufactures in the colonies are kept down as long as possible.

But just in the case of America the long distance from Great Britain makes the production of certain urgently needed everyday goods in the colonies necessary. Farmers provided themselves as far as they could, yet we see that they earn not enough for their products and the development of smaller manufactures follows, first of all in the sea towns. Philadelphia is an example for Raynal. There he mentions, for instance, the production of furniture. And he concludes: "Cette ville est accessible à tous les besoins de l'humanité, à toutes les ressources de l'industrie."⁷¹

The interests of the metropolis seem to be impaired by such an innovation. But finally the Americans get the permission to manufacture their own clothing: "...mais avec des

⁷¹ Ibid., IV/18/VI. p. 236

restrictions and interference among the provinces de l'Am. 1114
à travers les deniers de la justice." 74 No communications
in this respect are admitted between the different pro-
vinces and special shipment regulations are prescribed.

Seven years of apprenticeship are required for trades.
A master cannot employ a slave and not more than two ap-
prentices at a time. The iron mines are subjected to much
lighter restrictions. Iron can only be shipped in bars to
London.

We see that in these circumstances a real industry
could not develop and that the colonies depend in so many
things completely upon the mother country, even in the
supply by the commerce, which is also exclusively controlled
by England.

74 ibid., 1718/1719, p. 373

4. Economy

c) Commerce

If we open Reynal's book, we see already in the first chapter his attitude toward commerce; he flirts the "triple" attitude "préjugé d'un orgueil barbare contre le commerce,"⁷³ and he continues: "Nos pères insensés prirent pour base de leurs gouvernements, un principe destructeur de toute société, le mépris pour les travaux utiles." ⁷⁴

The merchant cultures of Lombardy and Flanders as well as the mighty organization of the Hanse are keystones on the way to a new age. Commerce became a force: "Les souverains opposèrent les corps de marchands et de métiers aux barons. On vit chimer peu-à-peu l'anarchie et le tyrannie féodales. Les bourgeois devinrent citoyens, et le tiers-état fut rétabli dans le droit d'être admis aux assemblées nationales." ⁷⁵

Right at the beginning of his book he asks the question: "...qui est-ce qui a fondé ces villes? qui est-ce qui a rassemblé, vêtu, civilisé ces peuples? et qu'alors toutes les voix des hommes éclairés qui sont parmi elles m'ont répondu: c'est le commerce, c'est le commerce."

⁷³ Ibid., I/1. p. 1. Introduction.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 14

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 3

A typical case of the type of Utilitarianism.

He draws with enthusiasm the picture of great commercial nations but he recognises in his realistic way of thinking, at the same time the dangers:

"Dès que le commerce, qui trouve à la fin sa mine dans les richesses qu'il entasse, comme toute puissance la trouve dans ses conquêtes, dès que le commerce, des Grecs eût cessé dans la Méditerranée, il n'y en eût plus dans le monde connu." ⁷⁷

According to Raynal's opinion individuals and states have fallen into a kind of slavery. With the situation of France in mind he thinks of the all-powerful Roman Catholic Church and the absolute sovereign. In the case of America it is the dependence upon orders issued in London.

He asks for liberation and "le commerce est l'exercice de cette précieuse liberté, à laquelle la nature a appelé tous les hommes, a attaché leur bonheur et même leurs vertus. Disons plus...nous ne les voyons libres que dans le commerce" ⁷⁸

He knows how the world goes and how relations between people develop: "Tous ces rapports (humaine) commencèrent par des combats; et finirent par des associations. La guerre et la navigation ont mêlé les sociétés et les peuplades." ⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 4

⁷⁸ Ibid., I/5/X/XIII. p. 677

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 678

but really such relations will only develop and remain if "l'alliage des nations fondue ensemble dans l'incendie des guerres, s'épure et se polit par le commerce."

In the case of America commerce is only a one-sided affair. Through the mother country goes all of it, and she controls it closely. The fur trade was normally the beginning but then agricultural products had to be shipped and commercial goods were needed. But everything had to go to and to come from England. The colonies were not allowed commercial activities on their own.

Raynal gives us a picture of those difficulties which hampered for instance the progress of Virginia: "L'acte de navigation...dont le but étoit d'assurer à la métropole l'approvisionnement de tous ses établissemens du Nouveau-Monde, le commerce exclusif de leurs productions fut observé avec une rigueur qui fit presque doubler de valeur ce que la Virginie doit acheter, et avilit encore plus de qu'elle avoit à vendre." 81

Even British ships could bring goods to America only if they came directly from a British harbor, and "les exportations devoient originaiement aboutir toutes en Angleterre." 82 There were only a few exceptions for the exportation of some goods as wheat, rice, vegetables, wood,

80 Ibid., I/5/XXX. p. 678

81 Ibid., IV/13/XII. p. 299

82 Ibid., IV/13/XXVII. p. 374

lacher, etc., but generally even Indians are closed for American products.

He remarks about the relationship between England and the colonies: "On s'écarte de ce principe d'impartialité, qui seul peut conserver l'égalité d'indépendance entre les membres d'un gouvernement libre; lorsqu'on obligea les colonies à verser dans la métropole toutes les productions, même celles qui n'y devoient pas être consommées; lorsqu'on les força à tirer de la métropole toutes les marchandises, même celles qui lui venoient des nations étrangères." 83

Freight charges grew and made goods more expensive to the customer - only to make a few richer, who controlled the commerce. England had the "préférence de vente et d'importation pour toutes les denrées et la préférence d'achat et d'exportation pour toutes les marchandises." 84

According to Raynal's above-mentioned conception of commerce all those restrictions are artificial and must lead earlier or later to serious quarrels.

83 Ibid., p. 374-375

84 Ibid., p. 375

5. Culture

He mentioned that from a Franciscan's point of view not much could be expected in America in the field of science and arts. Until recently the Americans were even thought incapable of achieving anything at all in this direction.⁸⁵ But we have already seen that Raynal gave up the theory of the degeneration of the Americans under the influence of the new climate: "...ou en concluait sa dégradation et son impuissance de s'élever à des spéculations un peu compliquées."⁸⁶ He says, "Jusqu'à nos jours, l'esprit a paru s'éteindre avec le corps dans les Indes Occidentales."⁸⁷ But in the meantime this impression has changed: "Vif et pénétrant de bonne heure, les hommes y conçoivent promptement; mais n'y résistent pas, ne s'y accoutument pas aux longues méditations. Presque tous ont de la facilité pour tout; aucun ne marque un talent décidé pour rien."⁸⁸

He does, of course, not overlook the exceptions, e.g., Franklin, who led to a change in the conceptions about America: "Pour dissiper ce préjugé injuste, il falloit

⁸⁵ De Pauw, Recherches philosophiques.

⁸⁶ Indes, IV/13/XV-II. p. 353

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 354

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 354

qu'on en fait usage, et de nos républicains de notre continent étonné à maîtriser la poudre. Il est si grand, si digne de cet homme illustre, réunis en société jetaient un jour éclatant sur plusieurs branches des sciences naturelles ..." 89

He thinks America has reached a stage where "on n'y manque plus de secours, de maîtres, de modèles. L'éducation s'y répand, s'y perfectionne de plus en plus," and "Dans les proportions (sic) on y voit plus de gens bien nés; plus de loisir et de moyens pour suivre son talent qu'on n'en trouve en Europe, où l'institution même de la jeunesse est souvent contraire au progrès et au développement du génie et de la raison." 90

So culture will spread as it did in Europe. The only difference he sees is the fact that it spreads in America from the North to the South whereas in Europe the South had enlightened the northern regions. 91

New England and Philadelphia are centres of this movement. To give an example, he shows Franklin's influence in establishing a library there in 1732: "...une belle collection des classiques, grecs et latins" 92 is donated to the public by the generous citizen Logan. And in con-

89 Ibid., p. 353

90 Ibid., p. 353

91 Ibid., p. 354

92 Ibid., IV/18/VI, p. 285

reaction with the improvement of the education system in
ventions Franklin again, "dont le nom se trouve toujours
mêlé aux choses grandes ou utiles opérée dans la région
qui l'a vu naître." ⁹³ All those beginnings indicate best
hopes for the future of Archaean culture.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 286

II. Raynal's View of Religion

6. Religion

As soon as Raynal comes to religious questions we find vehement attacks against the Catholic Church. He mentioned above that he regarded it as the main root of the "state of slavery" in which his country was living, because it sanctified the absolute king, "entitling" him to divine right.

Raynal sees the only way to freedom in the destruction of the Catholic Church. Then it would be possible to secularize the state. Tengère says, "Ce fongueux anticléricalisme procède, à vrai dire, d'une irreligion profonde." ⁹⁴ We are not informed about Tengère's religious opinions, but we think that he goes too far in his conclusions in the case of Raynal. He says, Raynal was for the abolition of Christianity. "Ce but est commun à tous les encyclopédistes, mais chacun d'eux a sa manière propre de le poursuivre. Ce qui distingue la manière de Raynal de celle d'un d'Holbach ou d'un Condorcet, c'en est la modération." ⁹⁵

Tengère's conclusion that he exempted to some extent Protestants and desists in his attacks only for tactical reasons goes too far. ⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Tengère, Précurseur, p. 237

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 237

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 238

He refers to them "with a respect always with reverence"⁹⁷ and he even announced in the preface of his 1780 edition a history of the dispersed Huguenot settlements, which, however, never appeared.⁹⁸ He recognizes that the monks rendered great services to civilization in earlier times and thinks the missions the best field for the monks of his day.⁹⁹

He mentioned already his conception of Puritanism and he gives examples for the intolerance of Puritans toward other Christian groups. New England Puritans "...sembloient ne s'être arrogé la liberté de penser, que pour N l'interdire aux autres." 100 "Tout l'Europe fut étonné d'une intolérance si révoltante." And he adds: "Mais chaque secte chrétienne n'a-t-elle pas toujours borné le nom d'injustice, de violence et de persécution aux rigueurs dont elle étoit la victime?" 101

He is convinced that "Tous les cultes partent d'un tronc commun, qui subsiste et qui subsistera à jamais, sans qu'on ose l'attaquer, branches qu'il repoussera, sans qu'il soit permis d'espérer d'en arracher une seule qu'avec effusion de sang." 103

⁹⁷ Ides, IV/15/II. p. 5 and IV/16/IX, pp. 107-110.

⁹⁸ Ibid., vol. 1, Preface.

⁹⁹ Ibid., IV/19/I, p. 468-469

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., IV/17/XIX, p. 235

¹⁰¹ Ibid., IV/17/XIX. p. 233

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 233.

...the only way to get peace: "sans cesse parler de l'amour de nos semblables!" 104 Try to eliminate all fanaticism and exercise tolerance! The behavior of the Quakers furnished to him an excellent example. "La fière simplicité de ces nouveaux enthousiastes qui bénissoient le ciel et les hommes, au milieu des tourmens et de l'ignominie, inspira de la vénération pour leurs personnes, fit aimer leurs sentimens, et multiplia leurs prosélytes." 105 Finally Charles II tried to stop the persecution but did not quite succeed. Raynal thinks the always present menace of the savages prevented a civil war in New England's theological disputes. 106

While New England never quite overcame this intolerant attitude, Pennsylvania really became "l'asyle des malheureux," 107 and tolerance was there the first commandment. 108 Quakers, Anabaptists, Anglicans, Methodists, even Catholics, worked and lived there peacefully to ether. Another group which he mentions are the "Dumplers" who "rejettoient avec raison, l'éternité des peines," and who "sont, par religion, ce que les stoïciens étoient par philosophie, insensibles aux outrages." 109

104 Ibid., p. 234

105 Ibid., IV/17/XX. p. 236

106 Ibid., p. 237

107 Ibid., IV 18/IV., p. 272

108 Ibid., p. 273

109 Ibid., IV/18/V, p. 275

They lived in villages and formed a kind of
communitistic society.

In contrast to the Puritans even the Catholics
in Maryland gave up their intolerance, which they had
experienced themselves.

Very soon this spirit of tolerance extended
itself all over the American colonies and Raynal con-
cludes: "C'est en partie à la découverte du Nouveau-
Monde qu'on devra la tolérance religieuse qui doit
s'introduire dans l'ancien. D'abord de toutes les
sectes dans l'Amérique Septentrionale, a nécessaire-
ment étendu l'esprit de tolérance au loin, et soulagé
nos contrées de guerres de religion." 110 The peace-
ful living together of different sects in this new
continent "...a refroidi la haine religieuse qui les
divisoit." 111

A clear view of the situation made it apparent:
"...qu'il y avoit par-tout de la morale et de la
bonne foi dans les opinions par-tout du désordre
dans les mœurs; et de l'avarice dans les âmes; et
l'on en a conclu que c'étoit le climat, le gouverne-
ment et l'intérêt social ou national qui modifioient
les hommes." 112

110 Ibid., IV/12/I, p. 469

111 Ibid.

112 Ibid.

II. Raynal's View of America

7. Morals

As a good child of his age Raynal tries to explain morals and customs by the influence of climate, government and social and national interest, as the last quotation in the preceding paragraph indicated. Those physical, social and political conditions were excellent in America.

Here as everywhere he is looking for an opportunity to show a picture of purity close to nature as an example to morally decadent Europe and to France especially. We mentioned already in connection with his view of the savages that he wanted to preserve the picture of their morals in his book.

In America we find a natural surrounding, a society based on agriculture, and he says "où règne une aisance honnête, suit du travail et de l'industrie, là sont ordinairement les bonnes mœurs." 113 He recognizes that especially in Protestant societies "parce qu'ils étoient les plus foibles, les plus laborieux et qu'ils avoient encore à justifier leur croyance par leurs vertus." 114

Here as above in connection with religion he mentions New England as an exception: "Le fanatisme, qui répandoit l'anarchie dans la métropole, introduisoit la subordination

113 Ibid., IV/16/IX, p. 103

114 Ibid.

dans le colon; ou plutôt des passions brutales tout le lieu de loi, dans un pays sauvage." 115 The religious intolerance included morals, too. "...le plaisir étoit interdit comme le vice ou le crime." 116 This period of excesses is followed by "un remords cuisant et douloureux ..." 117 Even if "ce sombre accès d'enthousiasme ne reprit plus aux Puriteins de la Nouvelle-Angleterre" 118 laws and restrictions are always too severe in this country.

Raynal is for instance against different standards for the two sexes and he inserts Franklin's "Polly Baker Story" as an example. 119 This girl was accused of having had her fifth illegitimate child. She takes up her own defense and bases it on God's commandment: "Increase and multiply!" She says: "...Non, Messieurs, le ciel n'est pas impitoyable, injuste comme vous." 120 The story asks for a change of laws which are too severe and inhuman. Raynal reports: "...ce discours produisit une révolution étonnante dans tous les esprits." 121

While having in New England a homogeneous group of the same descent and the same religion settled in closed communities, the situation is quite different in other

115 Ibid., IV/17/XVIII, p. 231

116 Ibid., p. 232

117 Ibid., IV/17/XI, p. 233

118 Ibid., p. 239

119 Published by B. Franklin in the Gentleman's Magazine.

120 Ibid., IV/17/XI, pp. 242-243

121 Ibid., p. 244.

peaks of America. These people from different European countries have settled - sometimes in fixed communities and sometimes in smaller groups. Different morals and different customs exist side by side and are long preserved. Raynal says, for example, about the strong Dutch influence in New York:

Les Hollandois, premiers fondateurs de la colonie, y établirent cet esprit d'ordre et d'économie, qui distingue par tout leur nation. ¹²²

Most of his praise goes to Pennsylvania where the wise Penn wanted to abolish all sources of vice, "l'indigence et l'oisiveté", by demanding that all children over the age of twelve learn a trade or profession. ¹²³ There is real equality and all are led to this common destination "qui est le travail, soit des mains ou de l'esprit." ¹²⁴

This getting along of different national and religious groups "devint un spectacle pour l'univers entier. Ses voisins, malgré leur barbarie, furent enchaînés par la douceur de ses moeurs, et les peuples éloignés, malgré leur corruption rendirent hommage à ses vertus." ¹²⁵

¹²² Ibid., IV/17/XVII, p. 260

¹²³ Ibid., IV/18/IV, p. 274 (refuted by Mazzei, Ft. 6, p. 55, v. 2.

¹²⁴ Ibid., p. 275

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 275

de l'air et de la civilisation qui ne généralisent
conditions everywhere. "Les fermes sont ce qu'elles
doivent être chez un peuple nouveau, chez un peuple
cultivateur, chez un peuple qui n'est ni poli, ni cor-
romp~~u~~ par le séjour des grandes cités: il règne générale-
ment de l'économie, de la propreté, du bon ordre dans les
familles." 126

In such healthy surroundings and under such favor-
able conditions: "Les fermes sont encore ce qu'elles
doivent être, douces, modestes, compatissantes et secour-
ables; elles ont ces vertus qui perpétuent l'empire de
leurs charmes. Les hommes sont occupés de leurs premiers
devoirs du soin et du progrès de leurs plantations, qui
feront le soutien de leur prospérité." 127

Feelings of equality and security reign. "A place
du luxe, qui ~~traîne~~ la misère à sa suite, au lieu de con-
traste affligeant et haineux, un bien être universel, ré-
partissement par la première distribution des terres, par
le cours de l'industrie, a mis dans tous les coeurs le
desir de se plaire mutuellement: ...On ne se voit jamais
sans plaisir...on mène enfin dans les colonies cette vie

126 Ibid., IV/18/XXXIV, p. 362-363

127 Ibid.

compagne, qui fut la première destination de l'homme, la plus convenable à la santé, à la fécondité." 128 good economic conditions make early marriage and large families possible.

The only thing missing under these advantageous conditions is a certain unity and a national feeling. There he asks for a common public education which it should be the duty of the government to provide. "L'homme naît avec un germe de vertu" 129 and so "des gardiens plutôt que des précepteurs" 130 are needed. "Il s'agit moins d'enseigner le bien, que de garantir du mal. La bonne éducation vient trop tard, chez des peuples corrompus. Les vices...sont passés en mœurs dans la société." 131 Reynal even goes so far as to say: "Les hommes sont ce que le gouvernement les fait." 132

128 Ibid., IV/13/XXXIV, p. 363

129 Ibid., IV/19/XIV, p. 687

130 Ibid., IV/18/XXXV, p. 369

131 Ibid., IV/18/XXXV, p. 369

132 Ibid., IV/19/XIV, p. 691

II. Intellectual View of Revolution

B. Society and Government

At the close of this chapter we have reached the cardinal point of Raynal's writing and we hope that we were able to show already in our preceding outlines how important he thought the government. An extensive treatment of this question in one chapter would exceed the limits of a thesis with our present topic. So I shall base this chapter on previous descriptions and try to show the general attitude.

From his immediate experiences in France comes his hatred against absolute power of the sovereign. As the king is on his throne by divine right, he sees the only way to limit his power in attacking the church which sanctified his position. Locke and the philosophers who attacked the divine right of kings were his authorities in philosophy.

He regards all human beings as basically equal:

"...les distinctions de la naissance sont de convention, et...tous les hommes, sans exception, sont frères, enfans du même Dieu." 133 And if there is no inequality why should the king who receives all his obedience from the people, why should he not "accorder de lui seul tous les droits de l'autorité." 134

133 Ibid., I/1/VIII, p. 55

134 Ibid., IV/16 X, p. 118

It is a statement which may be said to be:

"Le bien et le salut des peuples, voilà la suprême loi
à laquelle toutes les autres dépendent, et qui n'en reconnoît
point d'autre. C'est là, en effet, la véritable
véritable loi fondamentale de toutes les sociétés." 135

This seems to be realized and proved to him best of
all in the British Revolution of 1688, where the people
replaced a sovereign whom they did not like by one of
their choice without shedding a drop of blood. Therefore
he praises England as the outstanding example most pro-
gressive towards freedom for the people.

America is his hope for the next step. The first
positive fact in this direction is: "L'Amérique Angloise
fut assez sage ou assez heureuse, pour ne pas admettre
une puissance ecclésiastique." 136 Having a Presbyterian
background "toutes les affaires, qui, dans d'autres
régions, ressortissent d'un tribunal sacerdotal, furent
portées devant le magistrat ou dans les assemblées nation-
ales." 137 Advantages and disadvantages are discussed
freely.

The duty of the government toward savages who do not
have any experience and are incapable of ruling themselves

135 Ibid., IV/16/X, p. 118

136 Ibid., IV/18/XXV, p. 364

137 Ibid., p. 364

13: "I... le gouvernement... les colonies par l'autorité du roi à l'égard des colonies." 132

Reynal gives us an account of the different major types of government instituted by Great Britain in North America: The first group is the "gouvernement royal" with a governor at the top and with the supreme influence exercised by the king of England as, for example, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia.

A second group was owned by proprietors, "seigneurs avides", with "une autorité sans bornes." 139

Only Maryland and Pennsylvania remained for any time under such a status.

The last group had so-called charter governments. It was originally the status of all New England provinces but finally only Connecticut and Rhode Island had charters.

He says in general: "On peut le regarder comme une pure démocratie. Les citoyens élisent, déposent eux-mêmes tous leurs officiers et font toutes les lois qu'ils jugent à propos, sans qu'ils aient besoin de l'approbation du monarque, sans qu'il ait le droit de les annuler." 140

The only exceptions to those general types of government were Canada and Florida. They were under military authority, and got their orders direct from London.

133 Ibid., IV/18/XXV, p. 355

139 Ibid., p. 356

140 Ibid., p. 357

the task of the new political system was to
their citizens and used to introduce "esprit (sic) de
esprit particulier et local chez une nation qui s'établit,
esprit d'union au dedans, et le paix au-dehors." 141

The colonies, which observed those tasks of a good govern-
ment proper. In such a state "toutes les facilités
sont ouvertes aux précaution du législateur qui veut
épurer le sang et les mœurs d'une peuplade." 142

Raynal saw here in a new country an important task
for education to make necessary corrections in morals and
to unite those different religious groups and nationalities.

Speaking about the foundation of an institute of
higher learning at Philadelphia, he mentions with joy:
..."la théologie sera seule à jamais exclue d'une académie
consacré à l'instruction d'un peuple qui admet tous les
cultes, qui n'en reconnoît point de dominant, et qui,
même n'en exige aucun. Ce sera l'unique contrée de
l'univers où l'on ne se battra pas pour des mots, où l'on
ne^u/heira point pour des objets incompréhensibles." 143

The conditions were good for a peaceful development
of the American colonies, as the general picture has shown.

141 Ibid., IV/IX/XCV, p. 368

142 Ibid., p. 370

143 Ibid., IV/18/VI, p. 296

III. American Revolution

Introductory Remarks

We know from Regnal's different editions that he watched the quarrels between Great Britain and her American colonies closely from the beginning. He recognized the needs and rights of the American settlers but according to his moderate attitude, which we could show more than once, he could not recommend the taking up of arms against the mother country.

His opinion changed when the war was started and his 1780 edition includes for the first time the section about the American Revolution which appeared as above mentioned, in separate editions, too. ¹

As Thomas Paine indicates in his letter, Regnal was often not well enough informed and had "wrong" conceptions about many things. ² But here it is our task to see how he succeeds in representing the different points of view of the major powers involved.

¹ Ray (Bibl. Critique, p. 53) regards the contention that those passages were stolen as a promotional stunt of Regnal.

² Thomas Paine, Comp. Writings, II.

III. American Revolution

1. British Point of View

As Deschamps quotes L'Encyclopédie: "Les colonies sont formées par la métropole et pour la métropole." ³ This was the general opinion of the colonial powers in the 18th century. We saw the results of this thinking in Great Britain in the strict regulations for all commerce with the colonies and we heard about the difficulties coming up as a result of the long distances from the mother country and the high freight rates caused by those unnatural restrictions.

In many respects the colonies already enjoyed too much freedom and had grown too wealthy. England herself was not well off, at the end of a long and bloody war in 1763, and she decided to ask her colonies for help. "Cette vue étoit sage et juste," ⁴ says Raynal, but he did not agree with the way in which they handled the question. "Le ministère Britannique...saisit le moment d'une paix glorieuse pour exiger une contribution forcée de ses colonies." ⁵

The result was the Stamp Act, which was finally revoked after two years of convulsive agitation. Yet Great

³ Quoted by I. Descherps, p. 311.

⁴ Indes, IV/18/XIXVIII, p. 377

⁵ Ibid., IV/18/XI, p. 382

England did not like it: In 1767 that revenue which could not be obtained by the Stamp Act had now to be raised by taxes on glass, lead, paste-board, colours, paper-hangings and tea, which were shipped from England to America. England tried to explain that it could lay on her exports the duties which her interests demanded and that she did not intend to forbid the fabrication of these goods in her colonies. On the other hand everybody knows that there were no provisions and factories in the colonies to produce those goods. After years of struggle and without any revenue from any one of the taxes England gave satisfaction to the Americans in 1770, who insisted upon a general and formal renunciation. Tea alone was excepted in order to show the superiority of the mother country over the colonies. The ministry believed that the disposition of the new world was altered, when in 1773 they ordered the collection of the duty upon tea.

After the Boston insurrection the ministry, seeking revenge, seized too eagerly upon the circumstances of this understandable excess, and required the Parliament to punish it severely. The port of Boston was therefore closed in March, 1774, by an order of Parliament. England hoped to break in this way the union of the different establishments. She was mistaken, and after heavy debates all hope of reconciliation vanished. She sent troops to America and in the night of April 18, 1775, the armed conflict began.

in English is even more exaggerated than in French arguments of both sides. In his pictures for instance the orator who gives the arguments for England and the crown is a mad heronier who cries: "Contre des sujets rébelles, la plus grande faute est la lenteur, toute modération est faiblesse," ⁶ and who concludes his speech with a call to arms: "Armez-vous. Vengez vos droits offensés. Vengez votre grandeur trahie." ⁷ The result is that "Les sophismes d'un rhéteur véhément appuyés par l'influence du trône et par l'orgueil national, étouffent dans la plupart des représentans du peuple le desir d'un arrangement pacifique." ⁸

England underestimated her opponents and found out that it could not win the war. So she sent out agents who offered everything but independence to those same Americans who were asked two years ago to submit unconditionally.

This is the state of affairs seen from the British point of view at the moment when Baynal closes his 1780 edition.

⁶ Indes, IV/18/XLIII, p. 409

⁷ Ibid., p. 411

⁸ Ibid., IV/18/XLIV, p. 411.

III. American Revolution

2. American Point of View

The Americans naturally look at those affairs from a different standpoint. From the days of the Pilgrim Fathers they never had the intention of separating from England. Until now the British ministry never had recourse to the English colonies in North America without obtaining the succour it asked for.

But - and here comes the decisive point - this succour was granted in gifts and not in taxes. The concession of it was always preceded by free and public deliberations in the assemblies of each establishment.

"Les principes de tolérance et de liberté établis dans les colonies anglaises en avoient fait un peuple différent des autres peuples." ⁹

Those provinces were "accoutumées à regarder comme un droit cette manière de fournir leur contingent en hommes et en argent." ¹⁰

So they refused to pay taxes which were ordered from London by an assembly where they had no representatives. "Les peuples s'appuyent de la nature de leurs chartes; ils s'appuyent plus solidement encore sur le ~~droit~~ droit qu'ils

⁹ Ibid., IV/18/XI, p. 334

¹⁰ Ibid., IV/18/XXXIX, p. 379

not happen. Mais le Congrès sera tenu de son
aveu ou de celui de ses représentants." 11 And the
Americans "se montrent jaloux de défendre un droit légi-
timaire qui semble être le garant le plus sûr de tous les
autres." 12

After the declaration of the Stamp Act they renounced
by unanimous agreement the consumption of whatever was
furnished them by the mother country, until such time as
they had withdrawn this illegal and oppressive bill. And
when England introduced the above-mentioned export taxes
on important goods which they could not manufacture them-
selves, "les colons voient clairement que le gouvernemen-
tent les tromper; et ils ne veulent pas l'être. Ces
soudaines politiques leur paroissent ce qu'ils sont, le
masque de la tyrannie." 13

The dispute about the tea tax took on an unexpected
importance: "C'est la lutte du Congrès de l'Amérique
contre le parlement d'Angleterre, d'une nation contre une
nation." 14 But it was not before all hope of a reconcil-
iation had vanished and before Great Britain had started to
send troops that this other hemisphere prepared for its

11 Ibid., p. 330

12 Ibid., p. 332

13 Ibid., IV/13/XI, p. 333

14 Ibid., IV 13/XII, p. 339

reference and that its citation is not a violation.

Now the Americans everywhere expelled their governors and other agents of England. Even in churches liberty lifted up its voice in defense of the privileges of an oppressed people: "Le cri de la religion renforce celui de la liberté." ¹⁵ And if a free people invokes heaven against oppression, "...il ne tarde pas à courir aux armes" ¹⁶

The common danger unified them. What happened to Boston to-day might happen to another colony to-morrow. Pamphlets were distributed all over the country: "Réveille-vous donc, ô Américain!" ¹⁷ And British pretensions were answered: "Vous êtes la mère-patrie: mais loin d'encourager nos progrès, vous les rebutez; vous enchaînez nos bras, vous étouffez nos forces naissantes." ¹⁸ Americans pointed out that "...il y un tems où l'autorité des pères et des mères sur leurs enfans cesse; et ce tems est celui où les enfans peuvent se pourvoir par eux-mêmes." ¹⁹ After having been driven to this point they felt ready to assume their own responsibility.

A wise Englishman is he, who recognizes this fact. Fajnal makes him say, among others: "...nous confessons

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 386

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 387

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 388

¹⁸ Ibid., IV/XLII, p. 400

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 389

que nos présentations ont été fautes et les principes
barbares. Oubliez-les comme nous...soyez libres...Formez-
vous des constitutions adaptés à votre climat, à votre
sol, à ce monde nouveau que vous civilisez...Vous nous
recevrez alors en qualité d'amis et de frères." 20 Yet
at that time England thought otherwise as we heard.

American chances for a victory were as bad as the
English ones were. America had no trained army and supply
was lacking. American looked for friends and Raynal says
with his typical national pride: "Les seuls Français, qui
osent tout, osèrent braver les inconvénients de cette
liaison." 21

20 Ibid., IV/18/XIIII, pp. 405-407

21 Ibid., IV/18/XIVIII, p. 433

III. American Evaluation

5. French Point of View

"Why was France going to fight?" is Fay's question, and here are answers and Fay's conclusion: "To weaken England, it is most frequently answered. To destroy her, it is sometimes said. The treaty of alliance proves that France's only immediate objective was the independence of the United States."²² He continues: "It was French civilization that they wanted to see triumph and whose prestige they wanted to restore by associating it with the most important event of the times." ²³

Abbé Raynal does not see the interference in quite such an idealistic light and says about France: "La France commençoit la guerre avec des avantages inappréciables. Le lieu, le tems, les circonstances: elle avoit tout choisi." ²⁴ He takes every opportunity to criticize the action of the French government and says about the alliance, "que le bonheur de l'humanité n'y a point de part." ²⁵ And he continues, with his view directed always towards his beloved France: "...si l'amour de la justice

²² Fay, Revolutionary Spirit, p. 101

²³ Ibid., p. 104

²⁴ Ibid., IV/28/XIX, p. 440

²⁵ Th. Paine attacks him on this point in his "Letter, Vol. II, p. 238 ff.

est d'être la reine de l'Europe, elle avait après l'acte le premier article de sa convention avec l'Angleterre que tous les peuples opprimés avaient le droit de s'élever contre leurs oppresseurs. Mais cette maxime qui forme une des lois de l'Angleterre...est trop étrangère à nos gouvernemens faibles et corrompus, où le devoir est de se offrir, et où l'opprimé doit craindre de sentir son malheur, de peur d'en être puni comme d'un crime." 26

France could not go that far but it strengthened the American position together with Spain.

Raynal demands that the allies hasten their attacks and not give time for the forming of new positions. But he never forgets his advice that they should be moderate and "s'arrêtent sur-tout à propos..." 27 "Apprenez que la gloire de conserver vaut encore mieux que celle de détruire," 28 is always his general attitude. He would like to see a strong France beside a strong England and a balance of power is his image for the happy future of America, too.

26 Ides, IV/13/XIX, p. 446, 447

27 Ibid., p. 453

28 Ibid., p. 443

IV. Influence of the Discovery of the New World on America's Future

Regnal considers as extremely important the influence of the discovery of the New World. Besides the technical improvements in navigation and the enlargement of our knowledge in geography, astronomy, medicine, and natural history, "les voyages sur toutes les mers ont affaibli; la morale nationale, inspiré la tolérance civile et religieuse; ramené le bien de la confraternité originelle; inspiré les vrais principes d'une morale universelle fondée sur l'identité des besoins, des peines, des plaisirs, de tous les rapports communs aux hommes sous toutes les latitudes; amené la pratique de la bienfaisance avec tout individu qui la réclame, quelles que soient ses mœurs, sa contrée, ses lois et sa religion ..."¹

Yet it would not be Regnal if he did not give the other side of the picture, too. "Mais en même-temps les esprits ont été tournés vers les spéculations lucratives. Le sentiment de la gloire s'est affaibli. On a préféré la richesse à la célébrité; et tout ce qui tendoit à l'élévation a penché visiblement vers sa décadence."²

¹ Indes, IV/19/XV, p. 702

² Ibid., p. 702

...the foundation of the colonies had created a type of people "dégradés...ils acquièrent des richesses en échange de leur vertu et de leur santé." ³ One evil led to others: "Cette soif insatiable de l'or a donné naissance au plus infâme, au plus atroce de tous les commerces, celui des esclaves." ⁴

The most important part of all this development seems to be the foundation (to Pagnel) of the British colonies in North America and their growing up to a new nation. Many of the above mentioned evil consequences of the discovery are there on the best way to be remedied.

A new agricultural society sets to him a sound basis for the overcoming of all difficulties by a wise government. "Il faut la paix et la sûreté aux monarchies; il faut des inquiétudes et un ennemi à redouter pour les républiques." ⁵

There as in Europe he wants to have a balance of power and therefore he advocates the creation of an equal second state in America. He is quite realistic as far as predictions for the future are concerned: "Sans doute, il est possible à des esprits attentifs et réfléchis de prévoir quelques événements^{ch}; mais pour une conjecture heureuse, combien d'erreur!" ⁶

³ Ibid., p. 704

⁴ Ibid., p. 704

⁵ Ibid., IV/18/II, p. 455

⁶ Ibid., IV/17, p. 160

the only present-day evidence it could not make much sense to dwell upon his "errors" or "wrong" predictions. At this time only a small part of the large continent was known. It seems to him, as if all good land is nearly distributed and that "l'émigration sera plus favorable aux manufacturiers et aux artistes, sans que peut être ils aient rien gagné à changer de patrie et de climat." ⁷ Naturally he is quite uncertain about the future population of America and says after explaining the difficulties of such a calculation: "Si dix millions d'hommes trouvent jamais une subsistance assurée dans ces provinces, ce sera beaucoup." ⁸

Fay seems to doubt the sincerity of Ragnal's advice to the Americans.⁹ Maybe the language sounds strange to us, but we are sure he is really concerned with their welfare when he means what he says in the closing chapter of his 18th book. "Peuples de l'Amérique Septentrionale, que l'exemple de toutes les nations qui vous ont précédés, et sur tout que celui de la mère-patrie nous instruisse. " He warns: "Craignez l'effluence de l'or qui apporte avec le luxe la corruption des mœurs, le mépris des loix, craignez une trop inégale répartition des richesses qui montre un petit nombre de citoyens opulens et

⁷ Ibid., IV/13/III, p. 458

⁸ Ibid., p. 459

⁹ Fay, Rev. Spirit, p. 195

que d'illuminer le ciel pour la mission: l'indifférence
l'insolence des uns et l'avilissement des autres. Garant-
issez-vous de l'esprit (sic) de conquête. La tranquillité
de l'empire diminue à mesure qu'il s'tend. Ayez des
armes pour vous défendre, n'en ayez pas pour attaquer."
Then he shows the way to a peaceful and prosperous life.
"Cherchez l'aisance et la santé dans le travail, la pro-
spérité dans la culture des terres et les ateliers de
l'industrie; la force dans les bonnes mœurs et dans la
vertu. Faites prospérer les sciences et les arts qui
distinguent l'homme policé de l'homme sauvage." And how
modern sounds his demand for public education:

"Sur-tout veillez à l'éducation de vos enfans. C'est
des écoles publiques, n'en doutez pas, que sortent les
magistrats éclairés, les militaires instruits et courageux,
les bons pères, les bons maris, les bons frères, les bons
amis, les hommes de bien. Par-tout où l'on voit la
jeunesse se dépraver, la nation est sur son déclin. Que
la liberté ait une base inébranlable dans la sagesse de
vos constitutions, et qu'elle soit l'indestructible
ciment qui lie vos provinces entre elles." And he con-
cludes with his wish for tolerance:

"N'établissez aucune préférence légale entre les
cultes. La superstition est innocente par-tout où elle
n'est ni protégée, ni persécutée; et que votre durée soit,
s'il se peut, égale à celle du monde." 10

10 Indes, IV/18/III, p. 459

Le malheur d'aujourd'hui ne doit pas être une tache
dont on ne peut se débarrasser dans le futur. If she complies
with his advice, she will become the lastest nation of
the world. "On va jusqu'à craindre que l'Europe ne trouve
un jour ses maîtres dans ses enfants."¹¹

Raynal feels it a pity that he could never visit
this country himself. "Contrée héroïque, mon âme avancé
ne me permet pas de te visiter.... Je mourrai, sans avoir
vu le séjour de la tolérance, des mœurs, des lois, de la
vertu, de la liberté."

But his best wishes will always be with this young
and hopeful country and he closes, "mes dernières paroles
seront des vœux adressés au ciel pour ta prospérité." ¹²

¹² Ibid., IV/18/XIV, p. 417, 418

17. The Reception of Reynal's Picture of America

A. Distribution and Importance of Reynal's Work

From the above mentioned number of editions, translations, abridgments and imitations we may imagine how widely Reynal's work was distributed. None of the experts like Fay in his Bibliographie Critique, or Tanguère in his Bibliographie Critique de l'Œuvre de Reynal dares to estimate approximate numbers of printed copies. So Tanguère concludes, "Si donc, il est impossible d'évaluer exactement le nombre totale des exemplaires de l'Histoire des Indes, on doit croire avec tous les contemporains, que le succès de l'ouvrage fut considérable." ¹

To-day we are surprised about this success. Yet it shows that the book came out in the right moment and satisfied major tendencies and interests of his age - and as important book of his age it will remain forever. At least Grimm and many other contemporaries thought so: His enemies "...ne lui ôteront point le rang qu'il occupera toujours parmi les écrivains les plus distingués de la nation..." ²

We have too many documents which show how highly Reynal was estimated in his age and therefore we think

¹ Tanguère, Bibliographie Crit., p. 4

² Grimm, v. 12, p. 500

that the few exceptions of people like "Jean-Jacques" who use tricks to become known. It is natural that good businessmen - that seems to be Turgot's impression of him - advertise their products, but they must also be good if they are to sell; - good at least according to the taste of the time concerned. A few recommending words in the preface would not do it alone.

That Raynal attempted to make his work known and to make people so interested in it that the number of readers enforced its entrance into "des bibliothèques les plus orthodoxes et les plus sévèrement gardées" is true. His many extracts, abbreviations, and imitations escaped the condemnation of the complete work.

Summarizing Raynal's effort we read in Turgot: "Il vit ses efforts couronnés par un énorme succès de librairie, tandis que les meilleurs juges, admirant, blâmant ou discutant, s'accordaient à voir dans l'Histoire des Indes, un de nos livres essentiels." ⁴

³ Turgot, Précurseur, p. 292

⁴ Ibid., p. 293

IV. The Reception of Raynal's *History of America*

B. His Critics and Opponents

Raynal had so many critics and opponents that this chapter could easily fill a book of its own. So it cannot be our intention to go into detail but to give a short review of the most significant ones. Their large number alone shows how important they think his work to be. An official order of the King's Council released Dec. 9, 1770, prohibited the sale of the Histoire des Indes in France. Yet as Fay says, "...le gouvernement n'avait pas exécuté ce verdict avec beaucoup de sévérité, et le livre pénétrait partout."¹ A second and more severe condemnation followed in 1781 by the Cour de Parlement and by the Faculté de Théologie. Yet the work continued to sell in spite of these orders by the state and the faculty of theology.

Other official sources, for instance, the French minister in Philadelphia and the American government, did not use open suppression but tried to correct Raynal's picture by hiring private persons for counter publications.

Thomas Paine, for instance, writes his "Letter to the Abbé Raynal" in 1782 at the instigation of the French minister in Philadelphia, from whom he was receiving a pension.² Paine defended America against the erroneous

¹ Fay, Bibliographie Critique, p. 43

² Fay, Revolutionary Spirit, p. 196

impressions contained in the Abbé Raynal's Revolutions d'Afrique which had appeared in an English translation in London in 1751. Paine's letter was very expatriotic and showed strong anti-British tendencies. It furnished some information about the American Revolution to which Raynal had no access at all and clarified a few obvious errors. Objectivity was sometimes missing.

Much more exact in its information was an unofficial publication of the American embassy, published in an effort to counteract the false impressions propagated by various European authors: Mazzei's Recherches historiques et politiques sur les Etats-Unis.³ The third volume gave detailed corrections of Raynal's errors and contradictions. Fay judges the influence of Mazzei's work: "Il est important comme pièce documentaire, mais il n'eut aucun succès et ne fit une effet sur le public."⁴ Raynal's work found its most objective private criticism in Grimm's Correspondence. Commentaries on old as well as announcements of new editions may be found there, and we get some information about Raynal's influence in France as well.

Another group of writings concerned with Raynal were attacks by his enemies. In 1782 a "Lettre Philosophique à Monsieur l'abbé Raynal" appeared which was purportedly

⁴ Fay, Bibliographie Critique, n. 65.

written by a "Jansenist" but only to try to ridicule and attack his character, his doctrine and his errors. ⁵

Yet the strongest attack against Raynal was launched in another anonymous pamphlet published in 1791 under the title, "Raynal démasqué". We are sorry that we could not get hold of it and so we will have to depend upon Salone's judgment: "On aperçoit vite que cette critique sans merci s'inspire de la haine politique. Sa lettre à l'Assemblée nationale fait scandale," ⁶ and Raynal was mercilessly attacked.

In addition, there were the many critical notes in newspapers, magazines, etc. ⁷ and in general works about this period, for instance, Jones, Fay, Echeverría. We have a biography written by Lunet ⁸ and the already mentioned works of Salone and Tenguère. Salone shows Raynal's influence upon France's attitude toward Canada, and Tenguère sees in him one of the first journalists. The importance of Raynal for his age is at no time doubted by this group, the last devoting serious and competent attention to him.

⁵ Anonymous, Lettre Philosophique à Monsieur l'abbé Raynal.

⁶ Salone, p. 8

⁷ Note in Monthly Review, 2nd Series, June 1792, p. 219, in connection with his remarks about the slave trade.

⁸ Lunet, Biographie de l'abbé Raynal.

IV. The Reception of Raynal's Picture of America

C. France

Everybody who is familiar with the trends of the 18th century in France will be able to imagine how influential a work with such a wide distribution was. Fay says after careful investigations: "On est donc en droit de voir là le plus important document bibliographique sur les Etats-Unis entre 1770-1776." ¹ After 1776 the number of publications concerned with America goes enormously up, but for the period from 1776 - 1793, "Raynal continuait à occuper une place très en vue." ² He is at least until 1790 regarded as "une indiscutable autorité" in his field. Echeverria phrases it this way: "Raynal remained for a long time the gospel on America." ⁴

Paine's above-mentioned letter proves how highly important he thought Raynal's influence on the picture of America in France: "The least misinformation or misconception leads to some wrong conclusion, and an error believed becomes the progenitor of others." ⁵ As an example of how his view of America influenced an individual

¹ Fay, Bibliographie Crit., p. 43

² Ibid., p. 53

³ Ibid., p. 43

⁴ Echeverria, p. 88

⁵ Paine, vol. II, p. 214

...on, the case of Chateaubriand was called. He described it as an exact image of the United States. But let him speak on his own behalf: "Pour la foi des livres et des intérêts, au seul nom des Américains, nous nous enthousiasmons de ce côté-ci de l'Atlantique. Nos gazettes ne nous parlent que des Romains de Boston et des tyrans de Londres. Moi-même épris de la même ardeur, lorsque j'arrivai à Philadelphie, plein de mon Raynal, je suis en grâce qu'on me contrât un de ces fameux quakers, vertueux descendants de Guillaume Fern. Quelle fut ma surprise quand on me dit que, si je voulais me faire duper, je n'avais qu'à entrer dans la boutique d'un frère." 6

Yet it is not only by his own work that he influences contemporary thought. He established also a literary contest at the Academy of Lyons with the following subject: "Has the discovery of America been useful or harmful to mankind? If benefits have resulted from it, by what means may they be preserved and augmented? If it has produced evils, by what means may they be remedied?" Another proof for Raynal's positive criticism and his belief that evils can and must be remedied. The prize consisted of 1200 livres but was never awarded. Numerous replies were submitted but none was found satisfactory. 7

6 Chateaubriand, Oeuvre complet, t. I, p. 211.

7 Fat, Rev. Spirit, p. 195 ff., and Raynal, Coup d'oeil sur les quatre concours. It was not possible to obtain this publication.

During this excellent period in regard to the public opinion was easily moved in favor of the Anglo-Americans. Ray summarizes this tendency of the age: "It was like a Utopia, almost unreal and yet half true. De Pauw's picturesque discussions, Reynal's sensational book, the theories of the Encyclopedists, led people to seek eagerly everything that might come from the colonists and to form the most flattering conception of them as an agricultural, philosophical, courageous, pious, reasoning, and happy nation. ..."⁸

⁸ Ray, Rev. Spirit, pp. 22, 23

17. The Reception of Raynal's *History of America*

D. Europe

The leading figures of the "Age of Enlightenment" in France exercised an enormous influence upon the intellectual life in Europe. From this point of view and from the fact that so many editions of Raynal's work were printed in different countries of Europe, that so many translations and abbreviations existed, we may imagine the importance of his view of America for a large number of European readers.

"On a vu quels honneurs lui décernent, même en le réfutant des écrivains aussi considérable que Gibbon et Robertson. Il est mis au même rang que les grands philosophes du XVIII^e siècle par l'opinion italienne."¹

And speaking about "La Révolution de l'Amérique" Fay mentions "...tous les journaux la citèrent et la discutèrent."²

In England he and his work were well known. "En effet, Raynal, membre de la Société royale de Londres, était fort apprécié en Angleterre où il fit plusieurs séjours et où il fut l'objet des attentions les plus flatteuses..."³

Karsten, his German translator, who wants to give "einen brauchbaren Auszug" says: "Aber der Werth des

¹ Turgère, Précurseur, pp. 425, 426

² Fay, Bibliographie Critique, p. 53

³ Turgère, Précurseur, p. 231

regelmäßigen Einkünfte sind, wenn schon die Veranschaulichung politischen Urtheile des Verfassers eröffnet. Verschiedene neuere Revolutionen in dem Zustande der handelnden europäischen Mächte haben schon durch die Erfahrung bestätigt, wie richtig der forschende Blick des Abt Raynals den Zusammenhang und die ganze Verbindung ihrer politischen Verhältnisse durchschaut hatte." ⁴

Kraus reports about a German translation of Raynal's "Révolution de l'Amérique" which "waited for Franklin's judgment as to its intelligence and impartiality." ⁵

The fact that Frederick the Great asked Raynal for his opinion about the peace of 1763 and Raynal's "considération sur la paix de 1763" is another sign of his reputation in questions concerned with America.

⁴ Warsten, Europens Handel mit beyden Inden, n. 6

⁵ Kraus, Literary Relations between Europe and America in the 18th Century, p. 223

IV. The Reception of Raynal's Picture of America

E. America

No wonder that Raynal's name became known in America, too. After all it was this country which he pictured as a shining example for Europe's nations. Turgot mentions an estimated number by a contemporary of 25,000 copies of Raynal's work as exported to America,¹ but he does not mention anything else about Raynal's reception in America.

A look, for instance, into the catalogue of the library of John Adams shows nearly all important French writers of the age represented. Raynal's early works and a five-volume translation by J. Justamond of the "Philosoph. and Pol. History of the Settlements and the Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies" are also mentioned.²

Yet soon America has her own version which is entitled "Sentiments of a Foreigner on the Disputes of Great Britain with America", and appears in 1775 in Philadelphia.³ Ray calls it "un résumé et la réunion des opinions de Raynal sur la querelle anglo-américaine." And he continues: "Ce petit livre qui se trouve aujourd'hui dans un grand nombre de bibliothèques américaines, semble avoir

¹ Turgot, Bibliogr. Critique, n. 43

² Catalogue of the library of John Adams, pp. 22, 33

³ See Quérard, La France littéraire, Paris, 1835, t vii, n. 47

eu beaucoup de succès dans le Nouveau Monde. Il fut imprimé et publié au moment où s'assemblait le premier Congrès continental et où les discussions sur l'attitude à tenir vis-à-vis de l'Angleterre faisait rage en Amérique." 4

Paine's Letter and Mazzei's book show the extent to which Raynal was sought after by Americans as a propagator of a picture of their country. Grèveoeur dedicated an edition of his "American Farmer" to Raynal and says: "You viewed these provinces of North America in their true light, as the asylum of freedom, as a trade of future nations and the refuge of distressed Europeans ..." 5

Raynal was in 1786 among the 21 Frenchmen of the 55 members of the Academy of Philadelphia. 6

The letter of the Philadelphia Quaker and Raynal's answer show that he was well known for his attitude toward the Quakers and the slavery question. 7 An article about the "Slave Trade" in the 1792 Monthly Review says: "the cause of humanity and liberty receives great support from his pen." 8

⁴ Fay, Bibliograph. Crit., p. 41

⁵ Grèveoeur, Letters from an American Farmer

⁶ Fay, Rev. Spirit, p. 214

⁷ Baxter's Directions, p. 8 ff.

⁸ Monthly Review, 2nd Series, p. 219

The index together with the following pages
Index of French literature in American magazines show
the name Gayot often in connection with reports about
questions of natural history or about other countries. ¹⁰

⁹ A. Jaffe, French Literature in American Magazines, 1747-1800.

¹⁰ G. Joyeux, French Thought in American Magazines, 1800-1848.

CONCLUSION

In reaching a solution to the problem posed by a study of Abbé Raynal and America, there was one important difficulty to be overcome. Raynal is generally no longer read, and therefore all information about him is second hand; sometimes the researcher is under the impression that those who wrote about him did not or could not read his work.

It seemed best, therefore, that this paper talk less about Raynal than to let Raynal speak in his own language whenever possible, a manner of presenting a to-day nearly unknown author that has a double advantage: all mistakes in translation and to a high degree in interpretation can be avoided; and the reader may get an impression as to how the author's work sounded in his times. In the case of books written in French, the language is without doubt a very important part of a publication, as in Raynal's Histoire des Indes. In order to understand the author, one must try to take the taste of the time in which he wrote under consideration. A man is nothing without the background of his century.

The point of this study is, therefore, to show Raynal both as a Frenchman and as a child of the Enlightenment, of an age in which Rousseau's call "Back to nature!" was clearly heeded and in which, in addition to a sentimental tendency, a strictly scientific attitude tried to dominate

ature; a time in which man revolted against all supernatural powers and in which heavy attacks against existing churches and especially against the Roman Catholic Church were launched; a time in which man recognized his power, rebelled against all types of dominance in state and church and wanted to be free, wanted to organize his own affairs and wished to have a say in the affairs of the state. These tendencies of the 18th century are everywhere reflected in Raynal.

The especially high pressure exercised by the intolerant Catholic Church and by the absolute monarchy in France with all its entrenched feudal institutions, made the desire for a change and relief stronger than in other countries. Patriots like Raynal employed all possible means to bring these about. Flattery could not help any longer. In order to appear impartial, these men were especially critical of their own nation. Listen to Raynal's attitude toward his critics: "S'ils découvrent que je me sois relâché avec les François de la sévérité avec laquelle je les ai traités, je consens qu'ils me rangent au nombre des flatteurs qui, depuis deux mille ans, ont empoisonné les peuples et leurs souverains..."¹

But his desire to avoid flattery detracted nothing from his patriotic sentiments. For him France was and

¹ Idées, I/4, p. 399, Introduction

would remain, "...une nation si douce, si fière et si généreuse."² He tried to analyse her present difficulties and in his active attitude he was always looking for a way out of those miseries.

Searching for examples, he found one in the new, swiftly developing British colonies in North America, following their course from colonies to an independent nation and presenting the United States as such in his 1780 edition of the Histoire des Indes.

Raynal tried to comply with the desire of his readers for descriptions of exotic countries. Here he could show the "noble savages" in their state of nature, and with the evil influences of the white man, who tried to exterminate them and who made fellowmen, who had a different color of the skin into his slaves while he pretended to be a Christian.

A deep respect for the personality of his fellow man - a strong humanitarian attitude - is presented in those pages. No wonder, then, that Raynal overstressed the moral goodness of the Quakers. He had an idealistic picture before his eyes, reflected in his work.

Like many of his contemporaries, Raynal was first of all interested in the American political experiment;

² Ibid., IV/17/XV, p. 223

the people of the world to a bloody revolution. Turgenev himself agreed as previously shown, that many passages in Raynal were written by Hildeot - it might be logical to assume that the offending ones, emphasizing the revolution, came from the same pen. The general tone of Raynal, nevertheless, is one of understanding, tolerance, and peace.

All this Raynal saw in America, where the best conditions existed for the growth of a strong and healthy people. An agricultural society offered a place to live, to work, and to find peace to all people of the world, regardless of nationality, race, and denomination. The chances for an undisturbed, slow, but steady development were good.

Raynal believed that economic phenomena would bring about that moral reformation so urgently needed by Europe, and that America would have to play an important part in it. His closing words to the Americans comprise a completely optimistic statement of his faith in the future of American culture if it were able to avoid corruption.

Raynal's view of America, re-evaluated to-day, has a modern ring. After criticizing many minor details, his predictions have for the most part come true, though some things such as peace, tolerance, and a mutual human understanding that Raynal asked for, we have not yet achieved. And most of all, the world has again reached that decisive point where its future depends to a large extent on America,

and popularized the idea.

It was Turgot, of course, who spread and popularized in his own day the idea that he thought America represented; his influence on the European, and particularly the French, view of America should never be underestimated. Though he saw the picture dimly at times and details may have escaped him, it was nevertheless an excellent and meaningful example for his nation and his age.

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