PART THREE

SWISS IN AMERICAN LIFE

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Vevay, Indiana, and Chabag, Bessarabia: The Making of Two Winegrower Settlements

Some philosophers insist that history as written and taught is little more than "a fable agreed upon."[1] Not that they accuse historians of inventing their data; they stress, rather, that as humans, they too are epistemologically bound to use "paradigms," "disciplinary matrices," or "frameworks of knowing," thus transforming their stories into reconstructions.[2] The practitioners of migratory history are no exception to this observation. Although they follow a variety of competing interpretive models, one paradigm predominates in American immigration history as well as in general consciousness. It may be called the crisis view of migrations. The catalogue of disasters that allegedly drove people to promised lands includes economic disasters, social upheavals, political convulsions, and religious persecutions.[3] Although not without occasional foundation in fact, this paradigm falls short in doing justice to people on the move and overlooks not only the complexity of motivations, but also the concerns of statecraft. An inquiry into the emergence of Vevay, Indiana, in 1803, and of Chabag, Bessarabia, in 1823, may illustrate this view. First the essay features the founders of the two colonies, then describes the beginnings and early decades of each of the two settlements and, finally, probes the historical contexts within which Vevay, Indiana, and Chabag, Bessarabia, emerged.

I

Although a generation apart, the two men who founded Vevay in North America and Chabag in South Russia had grown up in the same region. Jean Jacques Dufour, born in 1767, was a citizen of the village of Chatelard in the parish of Montreux on the northeastern shore of Lake Geneva.[4] Louis Vincent Samuel Tardent, born in 1787, was raised in Vevey, a town situated about four miles west of Montreux, although he was a citizen of Ormont-Dessous in the Ormont Valley in the neighboring district of Aigle.[5] In prehistoric times lake dwellers had inhabited the

region, later Vevey was a Roman vicus. In its vicinity vines have been cultivated at least since the sixth century.[6]

Thus both Dufour and Tardent grew up in a land of winegrowing where, however, only "exacting and sustained work" guaranteed success, as the pamphlet of Vevey's 1819 wine festival declared. In Swiss regions, viticulture demanded five times more labor than agriculture and included twenty to twenty-five different processes such as cutting and binding of vines, several cultivations of the soil, care of foliage, and harvesting. Yet autumn was a season of pleasure when with great rejoicing the grapes could be harvested that had escaped "the triple scourge" of "frost, steady rain, and hail."[7]

The region's beauty is deservedly famous, and towns such as Montreux, Caux, and Leysin rightly enjoy international renown.[8] In 1802, for instance, a British traveler noted that Vevey was situated "in a small plain close to the waters [of Lake Geneva], and everywhere else environed by vineyards." The evening view from the church was especially stunning; there "you overlook this neat well-built town," the visitor observed. "You behold the brilliant surface of the lake . . . [and the] abrupt rocks of the Mellerie which nothing can brighten." Yet to the east, in "the mountains of the lower Valais, a spot of perennial snow guides the eye to something cheerful among those enormous masses of shade."[9]

The area was not only beautiful, however; it was also "placed between the south and the north of Europe, at the crossing of the greatest routes," as Frédéric César de la Harpe (1754–1838) explained. "We are passably informed about goings on," he declared. "Some sixty scientific, literary, and political journals in four languages provide us with a nearly complete collection of circulating truths and lies, yet without disturbing the public peace."[10]

Why then would men like Dufour and Tardent leave such an enchanting world? Neither was poor, and the families of both were economically established and socially respected. Dufour's father owned substantial properties and his grandfather had served as judge and mayor.[11] Throughout the nineteenth century members of the Chatelard branch of the Dufours served as professors at the University of Lausanne or were members of the medical profession.[12] Louis Tardent, too, was a recognized teacher of botany and a member of national and cantonal associations for the promotion of the natural sciences.[13] He owned a library of some four hundred books which he was to take along to Bessarabia,[14] and his grandfather had served as a "regent" of the college of Vevey.[15]

In his book on wine growing, published in 1826 in Cincinnati, Jean Jacques Dufour explained what had prompted him to found a new Vevey. At fourteen he read the newspapers "which were full of the American Revolutionary War, and contained many letters from officers of the French Army aiding the Republicans, which complained of the scarcity of wine among them." A study of maps had shown him that

America was in the parallel of the best wine countries in the world. . . . I

> then made the culture of the grape, of its natural history, and of all that was connected with it my most serious study, to be the better able to succeed here. It is that resolution which made me a vine-dresser, although some may think that I am not fit for it, being maimed in my left arm.[16]

No such declaration is available for Tardent. Yet Frédéric César de la Harpe remarked to Czar Alexander I (1777–1825), whom he had served as tutor, in a letter of 22 December 1819, that the veterinary François de Saloz (1774–1881)[17] had spread the word about "neglected crown vineyards" in Bessarabia. Several people had inquired of de la Harpe, therefore, if the Russian "government would be disposed to deal with them concerning their cultivation." They also sent Tardent to him whom he knew as a botanist. Since he did not know the facts, de la Harpe explained to the Czar, he could not respond to their query, but encouraged those interested to contact Aleksey Bakhmetiev (1774–1841), Bessarabia's governor general from 1816 to 1822.[18] De la Harpe then added:

> The ease for the cultivators to arrive in your Southern provinces on water, makes them prefer those [lands] to Brazil or America if they were assured of improving their lot by their efforts after arrival and of being allowed to return freely to their native country, an assurance from which very few would profit, but which would establish a circulation of individuals profitable to both countries.[19]

Between 1817 and 1822 emigration had been a much discussed subject in Switzerland. In 1819 over two thousand people left to establish a Nova Friburgo in the Portuguese king's South American domain.[20] Proposals of founding a twenty-third canton abroad were tossed about in the press, and one reader exuberantly proposed that the Swiss government should "negotiate with Austria for Dalmatia, Croatia, and the Banat; with Piedmont for the island of Sardinia; with England for Canada; with Russia for Poland, Bessarabia, and the Crimea." Another reader submitted detailed calculations concerning the cost of "the formation of a colony and a canton in America."[21] Tardent was too knowledgeable to revel in such gradiose schemes; instead he pursued the Bessarabian venture with the skill and tenacity of a seasoned entrepreneur and pragmatic leader who loved to be in charge and to deal with people of influence.[22]

II

On 20 March 1796 Jean Jacques Dufour set out on his journey to implement his youthful dream. A travel ledger details his monetary and commercial dealings and charts his extensive travels between March 1796 and October 1801.[23] At departure he carried "736 pounds in cash," also "two notes against Isenschmid, Kinkelin and Roupp of Bern" for 2,000 pounds which he used in Paris to purchase jewelry, clothing and fifty-nine silver and gold watches.[24] He took passage on the brig *Sally*, bound for Wilmington, Delaware, where he paid duty on his goods on

12 August. During the next two years Dufour engaged in trading and traveled from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, Kaskaskia, and St. Louis.[25] He was tempted to become a merchant, yet remained determined to introduce viticulture in the United States and to find a suitable place for the founding of a winegrower settlement.[26]

In the fall of 1798 Dufour went from Pittsburgh to Lexington, Kentucky, then on to Frankfort; he met John Brown (1757–1837), a United States senator, who actively furthered the newcomer's plan.[27] With his encouragement and the financial backing of several other people, Dufour selected 630 acres in Jessamine County at the "Big Bend of the Kentucky river four miles above Hickman creek."[28] A joint stock company was formed that issued two hundred shares at fifty dollars each. "Forty of the shares," Dufour explained, were to be his as "salary to conduct business" until the vineyard became productive. Then he was entitled to keep $1,000 per year from the profits, "and nothing if there should be none, so that the subscribers put their money and . . . [he his] time at stake." The 160 shares of fifty dollars each were to be used as follows:

For 633 acres of land	$ 633
For 5 families of Negroes	5,000
For tools, victuals and other support until the place would be productive	1,000
Expenses of getting wine scions	800
Incidental Expenses	567
	$8,000[29]

In the spring of 1799 Dufour began his vineyard. He planted five acres with thirty-five different species of vines which he had obtained from Baltimore, New York, and Spring Mill near Philadelphia. He proudly named his place of settlement "First Vineyard" and in 1801 paid "taxes on 633 acres of land, . . . on two white males, seven slaves, and two horses."[30] He also informed his father about his success whose sons and daughters now readied themselves to join their oldest brother. On 13 Janaury 1801 Jean Jacques Dufour, Sr., transferred his parental authority to the oldest son, declaring him his siblings' "second father" who was to do "all in his power to advance their welfare . . . , [to] teach them to work, each according to age and sex, accustom them to industriousness and diligence, . . . to turn them away from laziness, idleness, sloth, pride, debauchery, and evil passions." He was to instruct them in the Christian faith and they, in turn, were to "show him honor, respect, submission, obedience and loyalty."[31]

Early in 1801 seventeen people, six of whom were Dufours,[32] left Vevey for La Rochelle where they took passage on the ship *Woodrop* on 20 March.[33] They set sail on 25 March and reached the "southern point of the Newfoundland Banks" in the early afternoon of 10 April. The ocean crossing had taken but sixteen days, yet some violent storms slowed the coastal journey southwestward so that the James River "about three hours from Norfolk" was not reached until the evening of

30 April. The journey had been good, the chronicler noted, and added somewhat rashly: "With a good ship not very heavily loaded and with good sailors to manage, there is no danger in crossing the sea at all between equinox and autumn."[34]

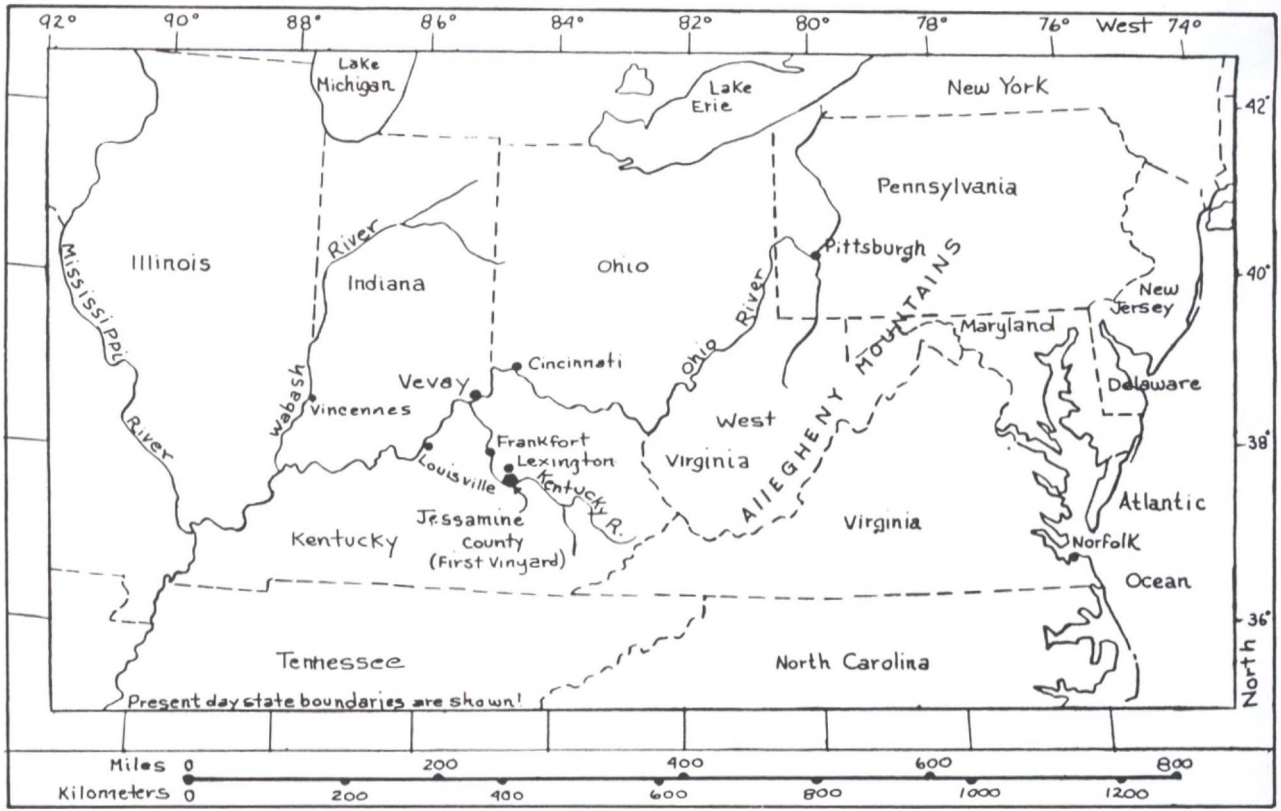
From Norfolk the immigrants traveled by wagon over the Alleghenies to Pittsburgh where they took a boat down the Ohio. In Marietta they met up with John James Dufour on 18 June and continued their journey to Maysville. From there they went overland to Lexington, Kentucky, which they reached on 3 July. Three days later they arrived at the First Vineyard and were all admitted into free and equal partnership in the Vineyard Association.[35] They planted the vines they had brought from their native Vevey and, as John James Dufour wrote, for "three years we were in full expectation and worked with great courage—a great many species of vines showed fruit, the third year." But then disaster struck. The plants sickened and died from *phylloxera vitifoliae*, some stocks of Cape and Madeira excepted.[36]

The "First Vineyard" had failed, the Kentucky Vineyard Association dissolved, and the undertaking became the sole responsibility of the immigrants. Although some held out on the Kentucky property until 1809, the winegrowers decided to try again some fifty miles north on the Ohio, not too far from where the Kentucky River joins that stream and in an area that was added to Indiana Territory in 1802. Supported by Senator Brown, John James Dufour petitioned Congress on 15 February 1802 for a land grant of 2,500 acres. The Senate approved the proposal on 17 March, the House on 30 April. The Act of Congress, passed on 1 May, read in part:

> . . . to encourage the introduction and to promote the culture of the vine in the Territory of the United States . . . it shall be lawful for John James Dufour, and his associates, to purchase any quantity not exceeding four sections . . . at the rate of two dollars per acre, payable without interest, on or before the first day of January, 1814.

The land could be registered and paid for at Cincinnati and a "six percent discount shall be allowed on any payments which shall be made before same become due."[37] The winegrowers acted with dispatch. They selected 2,500 acres under the congressional dispensation, added some 1,200 acres under outright purchase, and called their colony "New Switzerland"; it was situated about eight miles northeast of the mouth of the Kentucky River on the north side of the Ohio. Indian Creek which ran through their purchase was renamed the Venoge.[38]

On 20 January 1803 the winegrower families Mennet, Raymond, Deserens, Gex, and Obousier joined New Switzerland and concluded with the Dufours "A Covenant of Association for the Settlement of the Lands of Switzerland on the Ohio River." The document stated that they, "vine dressers by trade or sons of Vine dressers, forming exclusively this association," had agreed "to plant the vine and make their cultivation their principal business." Of the land purchase, 2,509 acres



Map 1: The Old Northwest.

were to be divided into thirteen shares of 193 acres each. It was agreed, further, "that each lot shall meet the river" and,

> to establish order from the beginning, . . . to leave a road 100 feet in breadth along a line run on the second bank, which shall be planted with four rows of trees at 33 feet distance, and fronting said road shall the buildings be placed.[39]

Thus the second, much larger winegrower settlement emerged. Houses were built, fields cleared, cornfields and orchards planted, and vines set out. The first wine was made in 1806 or 1807 and judged to have been "of very good quality."[40]

In 1805 John James Dufour returned to his native Vevey to settle financial matters and get his father's approval for arrangements made between him, his brothers and sisters, and in-laws. He may also have hoped to convince his wife to join him, but without success.[41] Their son Daniel, however, did join New Switzerland probably in the 1820s after having attended a military school in Paris.[42] The War of 1812 delayed John James Dufour's return to Vevay, Indiana, and during his eleven years absence, the colony's leadership passed to John Francis Dufour. It was he who successfully petitioned the postmaster general that a post office be established in New Switzerland which occurred on 23 March 1810; it was named Vevay although the town proper was not laid out until 1813.[43] On 7 September 1814, the territorial legislature carved a "new county out of the counties Dearborn and Jefferson," to "be known and designated by the name and style of the county of Switzerland" and with Vevay as county seat.[44] Thus despite his absence, John James Dufour's youthful resolve had become a reality.

III

If the Dufour undertaking initially had been primarily a family affair, Louis Vincent Tardent tried from the start to gain official approval for his plans. On 22 June 1820 he reported to the authorities of the canton of Vaud that there "exists in the South of Russia a vineyard that offers advantages and resources to a certain number of winegrowers." He had approached "his Majesty, the Emperor of all the Russias," and the monarch had, in his munificence, given him a positive reply. The project was, in his view, of genuine interest to the government. "Your approbation," Tardent declared, "will decide the success of my enterprise which I deem to become very useful to those who will partake in that small establishment."[45]

To muster the right people, Tardent had drawn up a document titled "Mode of Subscription" which contained twenty-one articles. A first article requested the deposition to a common fund from each potential member of the intended colony. A second provision stipulated that the interest would be used for those in need, a third that the amount was not refundable. The document further specified that the distribution of "vines, meadows, and fields" would be proportionate to the number of persons in a family, that each needed a baptismal certificate and would

be able to leave the colony at will. Once thirty or forty subscribers had been gained, a commission consisting of a chairperson and four adjuncts were to be elected by those assembled and were to serve without pay. The commission was given these tasks:

> To keep records of the costs of the journey, to be apportioned after arrival;
> to distribute vines, meadows, pasture and fields;
> to draw up rules and regulations subject to approval of all subscribers;
> to select the site, form, and extent of the future colony and to make sure that it was built "in a pleasing manner";
> to set the date and place of departure.

Each member was to take along a family Bible, a book of Psalms and a catechism for each child, also a rifle and farming equipment. Nobody would be allowed to sell property to a stranger without previous approval of the commission. Four subscribers were to be sent to Bessarabia to inspect possible sites and to insure their quality and size. Article twenty-one was perhaps the most important:

> The subscription is available only to those who are known to be honest and capable winegrowers and who can prove that they possess what was needed for the cost of transport and establishment [in the colony].[46]

On 5 July 1820 the cantonal government denied Tardent its support, viewing his enterprise as "a merely particularist undertaking."[47] On 13 August a group of potential emigrants met nevertheless and decided to grant Tardent a travel allowance of eight hundred francs for going to southern Russia to inspect the available lands and select a site of settlement. Soon thereafter Tardent left for Odessa where he contacted the local authorities and influential compatriots. In the late summer of 1821 he sent word to Vevey that good land had been granted and a first contingent of settlers should get ready for their move early the next year.[48]

On his return in April 1822, Tardent and his associates drew up a new document titled "Convention of the Colonists of Akkerman" and had it notarized on 18 June. It incorporated the agreements reached between Tardent and Ivan N. Inzov (1768–1845),[49] the new governor general of Bessarabia. It was "to provide all the solidity and confidence possible to the emerging community." The earlier provisions were included or modified, others added. Article two, for instance, specified:

> Nobody will engage in seeking or accepting any kind of privilege or title which might interfere with the freedom of his associates or put any kind of onerous obligation on them.

Also the right of members to import or export any commodity was made explicit. The village administration was to consist of a general council, composed of all members having reached age twenty-three, and of a village executive consisting of a mayor and two adjuncts. The executive body was to implement these tasks:

Map 2: Bessarabia.

> To draw up police regulations, subject to council approval; to administer communal affairs and the laws of the village with annual reports to the general council; to negotiate with the governmental authorities.

The document further specified that each colonist was to pay one hundred francs into the communal fund and that the first group arriving in Akkerman would approve the site. All were to live in the village, and domestics could become members after six years of satisfactory service. A key provision repeated that only Swiss could join who were known to be honest and capable agriculturalists.[50]

In the late summer of 1822 some thirty emigrants left for southern

Russia. The group consisted of the families Louis Tardent and Jacob Samuel Chevalley, of Jean Louis Guerry and Jean Louis Plantin, two married men, and of Henri Berguer, François Noir, George Amadée Testuz, and Henry Zwicky.[51] They traveled by wagon from Vevey to St. Gallen, from there to Munich and Vienna, then via Bukovina to Kishinev. "Our journey has been happy and . . . none of us has encountered any calamity," Tardent reported. One wagon proved defective when they reached St. Gallen and some fifty miles outside of Vienna Juste Chevalley broke his leg. His sister Suzanne seemed to waste away from severe diarrhea, but recovered fully two months later.[52] After arrival, furthermore, Tardent's horses perished, for him a severe setback.[53]

In Bessarabia's capital Kishinev, Governor General Ivan Inzov who chaired the czar's Protective Committee for Foreign Settlers from 1818 to 1845,[54] received the newcomers, in Tardent's words, "like his children" and arranged free winter lodgings for them in Akkerman.[55] In the spring 1823 the winegrowers received 4,310 acres adjoining the village Posad Chabag, located about six miles south of Akkerman. They were presented with a plan of settlement which, as Tardent wrote, "pleases us fully and makes us anxious to put it soon into operation." The houses were to be about three hundred yards apart along rectangular streets. The only change the colonists requested was, "that for good effect, each building face the street rather than the corner or side lot."[56] The site was a good choice. Its fertile sandy soil was well suited for vineyards, meadows and pastures. Produce could be sold in nearby Akkerman, day laborers hired from the neighboring Posad Chabag, and the Liman formed by the Dniestr and resembling a fresh water lake was rich in fish and offered various recreational opportunities. Like Dufour's New Switzerland of 1804, Tardent's Helvetianopolis[57] was off to a good start.

IV

Ten years after the founding of New Switzerland on the Ohio, a Swiss newspaper reported in detail about its success. By 1813 each of the winegrower families had a dwelling surrounded by vineyards and pastures. Daniel Dufour's house, for instance, stood "in the midst of a wide tract of over two hundred acres . . . , the richest and most beautiful of all." His wife, furthermore, was busy making straw hats which she knew how to market "even in faraway places." They owned cattle, made butter and cheese, and gained sugar from maple trees. According to the 1813 report, Jean Daniel Morerod was the most successful proprietor whose vineyard in that year yielded over seven hundred gallons of wine. He had begun with eighty saplings, in 1812 he had 1,200 vines and "sold 200 gallons of wine, each for about two piasters." Next came the properties of Bettens, Golay, the Siebenthals, and of Luc and Gex Obousier. The latter, too, had "a very fine property, a good house, a barn and excellent land with vines" as did the Raymonds.[58] The homesteads "fronted the river about four and a half

miles'' and their wine ''was thought by good judges, to be superior to the claret of Bordeaux.''[59]

Year after year wine production increased. In 1812 some 800 gallons were produced, 7,000 in 1818 and, at the height of the grape culture more than 12,000.[60] When Thomas Hulme visited the winegrower colony in 1817, he praised it as ''a very neat and beautiful place,'' inhabited by about a dozen families. They ''planted vines in rows, attached to stakes like espaliers, and they plow between with a one-horse plow.'' Each family also worked a farm so that their wine was the principal cash crop. Hulme bought two gallons ''at a dollar each, as good as I wish to drink,'' he declared.[61] With the passing of the first generation, however, viticulture declined in favor of ''raising corn and potatoes'' so that by midcentury ''but little wine was made.''[62]

The region also grew considerably in population. In 1812 what is now Switzerland County had some nine hundred people, in 1816 it counted 377 males above twenty-one and a ''total of 1,832 inhabitants.''[63] They were ''emigrants from every part of the Union, & as various in their customs and sentiments as in their persons.''[64] Samuel R. Brown characterized the Swiss winegrowers as ''a temperate, industrious and polished people, fond of music and dancing, and warmly attached to the United States.''[65] Families tended to be large, and by midcentury the Dufours alone had grown to more than one hundred and fifty people.[66] Immigrants intermarried with native-born white Americans from the start; John Francis Dufour, for instance married Mary Critchfield on 12 September 1805, who was born 11 March 1789 in Surrey County, North Carolina.[67] Property rights were shared equally among the Swiss winegrowers, and Jean D. Morerod, for example, specified in his will: ''And I hereby constitute and appoint my dear wife Antonia Morerod sole executrix of this my last will and testament, and guardian over the persons and property of my minor children, without having to account to any person.''[68]

Samuel Brown's 1817 ''emigrant directory'' found Vevay proper to be ''a delightful village,'' forty miles ''nearly equidistant from Cincinnati, Lexington, and Louisville'' as the crow flies. It had ''eighty-four dwelling houses, besides thirty-four mechanics shops . . . , a courthouse, jail, and schoolhouse of brick.'' A market house and a church, also of brick, were being built. The town had ''eight stores, three taverns, two lawyers, two physicians, and a printing office printing a weekly newspaper called the Indiana Register.'' The library had three hundred volumes, and a literary society united ''several persons of genius, science, and literature.''[69]

The winegrowers were also politically active, especially John Francis Dufour, the founder's brother. He successfully engineered the establishment of a post office, of a separate county named Switzerland, and of Vevay as county seat and meeting place of the circuit court. In 1815 he was trustee for the leasing of the school section in Jefferson Township and he paid with his brother Daniel Dufour the uncollected amount for the subscription of public buildings in the town of Vevay. In the same year he brought the printing shop of William C. Keen to the town and

personally paid an outstanding mortgage of two hundred dollars that had imperiled the move. From 1816 to 1820 he owned the weekly *Indiana Register,* in 1817 he was appointed trustee of the Vevay branch of the state-chartered Bank of Vincennes and, in 1818, Vevay's agent for the Ohio Canal Company. Although a Genevan Calvinist, John Francis Dufour gave a bond for a deed to the newly formed Baptist congregation, and from 1839 to 1847 he served as judge of the probate court.[70] None of the other winegrowers were as vitally involved in the affairs of town and county, but Elisha Golay served as captain of the militia and, in 1814, as county surveyor. John Francis Siebenthal was sheriff from 1814 to 1817 and again from 1822 to 1826, and he served as tax collector from 1814 to 1820 and again in 1828.[71] In state and national politics the winegrowers were Jeffersonian Democrats and, after 1824, supporters of Henry Clay and Andrew Jackson.[72]

In religious practice the Swiss newcomers stayed aloof, at least in the first generation. Perret Dufour, Vevay's chronicler, who was born in the First Vineyard in 1807 as the oldest child of John Francis and Mary Dufour, reported that his uncle "Daniel from the time of his first coming to the colony in 1804 until as late as 1817 was in the habit of reading a sermon to the colonists every Sunday." A Presbyterian church was not built until 1828 on land donated by Daniel Vincent Dufour, the founder's son.[73] Thus the Swiss immigrants finely balanced their ethnic separateness with an active civic involvement and had friendly contacts with native-born white Americans as well as Scottish and Dutch foreign-born who eventually settled in Vevay's environs.[74]

V

Like the winegrower colony on the Ohio, the one on the Dniestr also took definite form within a generation. The Protective Committee for Foreign Settlers[75] allotted some 4,300 acres to the new settlement which, the Russian authorities hoped, would eventually attract sixty families. In the spring of 1823 the Swiss newcomers restored the neglected vineyards and planted 30,000 saplings in rows of about four feet apart just as those in Vevay, Indiana, had done, so that a one-horse plow could move between the rows. Yet the settlers soon realized that size and quality of grape harvests fluctuated widely from year to year as did those of wheat, barley, millet, and flax. The colonists also raised cattle, sheep, pigs, and horses, and even experimented with silkworms. As in Vevay, Indiana, the emerging mixed economy of the village protected them from the risks of a monocultural orientation.[76]

Also Chabag, which Louis Vincent Tardent had intended to call Helvetianopolis,[77] soon grew in size. Between 1823 and 1831 twenty-five more families joined the initial settlers; after that year frequent inquiries about settlement opportunities were received, especially from neighboring German-speaking colonies like Alexanderhilf, Grossliebenthal and Worms. Yet only ten families actually joined of whom four were from Württemberg, four from Switzerland, one from Prussia and one from Alsace; they had names such as Alwin, Heintzelmann, Heingstler,

Jundt, Singeisen, Stohler and Wagner,[78] and formed the nucleus of a group that was German in language and Lutheran in religion. Tensions especially as to the schooling of their children emerged, but were solved amicably by making Russian the village's common language and by fostering at the same time French or German according to a child's ethnic origin. By 1841 about forty families lived in Chabag, by 1850 fifty-three.[79]

For the first nine years Louis Vincent Tardent dominated the administrative and political affairs of the colony. He issued directives, set fines for trespassers, and negotiated with the authorities. At the time of joining he requested 150 roubles from each family for the village treasury. Families such as the Golders, Kalenbergs, and Konderts left the colony, others like the Huguenins and Mermods were expelled.[80] In 1830 Tardent's one-man rule came to an end. Jacob Gander, whose family had arrived the year before, was formally elected mayor, Louis Hachler and Frédéric Kiener village councilors. Besides administrative functions the mayor's office also had minor judicial powers and prepared contracts for village appointees such as coachman, guardian of vineyards, fields, or boats.[81]

Although initially intended as a village exclusively for Swiss winegrowers, centrifugal tendencies soon became dominant; the villagers mingled freely with Ukrainians, Russians, Greeks, Turks, Moldavians, Bulgarians and Germans. Appointments of teachers and ministers proved difficult because few of the villagers were prepared to meet the cost for their services. Even such a practical matter as communal fire insurance found insufficient support. Chabag's people wanted to live off the community, but not for it, as one scholar observed. To become prosperous seemed to be of paramount concern, communal cohesion of only secondary importance.[82] As in Vevay, Indiana, a church was built late, more than two decades after Chabag's founding. At the groundbreaking in 1846 five commemorative coins were deposited in the foundation that intimated the community's multiple relationships. One coin was

> of the Canton of Vaud, because most of the colonists were Vaudois; one of Geneva, center of Calvin's Reformation; one of Zurich . . . , of first rank in the Swiss Confederation, because the colony was Swiss; one of Turkey because the village name was Turkish; one of Russia because the colony was in that empire.[83]

Within a generation Chabag had become part of the complex ethnic and linguistic world of Bessarabia; it had been planted in a region of transit that had served as a "highway for Scythians, Slavs, and Mongols, a battleground for the Russian and Ottoman empires and a prize in the contest between Russian and Romanian patriots."[84] Gradually Chabag's vocabulary, diet, and customs became permeated not only by German and Russian, but also by Turkish and, later, Romanian elements.[85] In contrast, by the third generation the winegrowers of Vevay, Indiana, had become monolingual and fully Americanized in cultural orientation.[86]

VI

Why were these winegrowers of the early nineteenth century welcome in the United States as well as in Russia? Both immigrant groups were to build their settlements in parallel racial and national-ethnic contexts and to help fulfill major needs of their respective states. At the end of the American Revolution in 1783 the United States was an Atlantic coastal nation soon to be engaged in a century-long continental conquest. "President Washington's Indian War," as a scholar named it, waged from 1790 to 1795, was the conquest's first act and secured what is known in white history as the "Old Northwest Territory (embracing modern-day Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin) . . . , long the domain of various Indian nations." When John James Dufour arrived in 1797 in what is now "the heartland of the United States," it was a recently "conquered territory" in a war that was "as vicious and bitterly fought as any conflict in the nation's past."[87] Effective indigenous power collapsed except in the region's northwest where twenty-five years later the so-called Black Hawk War fully secured exclusive white dominance and set the stage for further, trans-Mississippi conquests.[88]

When the Swiss winegrowers started their New Switzerland and then the town of Vevay, they were only marginally touched by these events. From the winter of 1810 to the spring of 1812 sporadic indigenous attempts to halt white expansion and possibly to reconquer lost territory caused the colonists to be on the alert, as Perret Dufour reported, and all were to "meet at one house to pass the night and have sentries posted; this was kept up for some time, the men working through the day in the fields and clearings." The captain of the militia, Elisha Golay, furthermore, had received orders to activate his company "by voluntary enlistment."[89] His men scouted the western and northern boundary of Jefferson County and built a blockhouse that could "most securely and conveniently accommodate a detachment of from forty to fifty men including officers." During the War of 1812 fourteen men from New Switzerland joined a company of rangers "to guard the frontier."[90] Thus the Swiss of Vevay had become, if ever so marginally, agents of empire for the nation in which they had settled; theirs was one minor outpost of a nation in conquest, and they played a twofold role in the struggle between the indigenous defenders and the invaders from the east to whom they belonged: By creating vineyards, farms, and a village, they helped make the white advance irreversible and expand the white agricultural frontier, thus implementing, if ever so modestly, a national need, as Jefferson observed: "Our country wants nothing but skillful laborers to raise with success wine, oil, and silk."[91]

Also Tardent's enterprise was embedded in a nation's conquests that transcended and eluded the winegrowers' personal motivations. Russia's 1812 annexation and constitution of Bessarabia as a separate administrative unit of the empire to be bounded by the Prut to the east, the Dniestr to the west, and the Danube to the south, was part of a centuries-long thrust towards the Bosporus.[92] Thirty thousand Roma-

nian-speaking families lived in the region's northern two-thirds, whereas the southern third had been virtually depopulated "by the expulsion of the Turks and Tartars living there during the 1806–1812 war."[93] Thus also Chabag's people helped to fill a void created by conquest and were a small contingent in the repeopling of Russian Bessarabia's southern tier. In contrast to the winegrowers on the Ohio, however, they were spared any direct involvement in the conduct of war.

Yet Chabag's winegrowers served a further purpose and contributed to what the Romanian historian Alexandre Boldur called "allogénisation," that is a state-directed alienation process.[94] Between 1818 and 1842 twenty-four settlements of mostly German-speaking foreigners had been created in lower Bessarabia, involving some ten thousand people and the granting of nearly 350,000 acres of crown lands.[95] Just as Vevay, Indiana, was enmeshed in an Americanization process, Chabag on the Dniestr was part of a process of Russification. It entailed, in Boldur's view, that the foreign settlers had "nothing in common with the native Moldavian people," that the newcomers effectively reduced indigenous numerical and cultural strength, and that they formed the nucleus of a people wholly dependent on the Russian government.[96] The Chabag settlers helped fulfill those aims, but did more: they too were part of an agricultural frontier, brought to Bessarabia in conformity with the physiocratic claim "that only the productive class cultivating the land produced a net product."[97]

VII

This brief inquiry into the making of Vevay, Indiana, and Chabag, Bessarabia, allows several interpretive conclusions. First, in the founding of each settlement the force of the leading personality stands out. It was John James Dufour's youthful resolve and Louis Vincent Tardent's determined ambition that shaped the establishment and initial decades of the two colonies. Learning, relative wealth, status, and expertise in the ways of government were assets of both founders and gave them access to those in power who were willing to grant both settlements most favorable terms.

Second, the migration of neither group was rooted in crises, whether personal, regional, or national. Both founders and the families that joined them were well-to-do or of a middling sort. Dufour's people seemed to have remained untouched by the shock waves of the French Revolution which were to topple also the anciens régimes of the Swiss cantons. The winegrowers cherished their native land's democratic ideals[98] and referred to Europe's post-1815 political reaction only in most general terms on the occasion of General Lafayette's 1824 visit to the United States.[99] Also Tardent's group remained silent as to the pre-1848 political events that transformed the Swiss polity from a league of states into a federal state.[100] The years before their move had been economically prosperous and the 1819 winegrower festival displayed an optimistic and self-assured mood. Only one complaint surfaced, the lack of available and affordable land for winegrowing in Vevey's environs.[101]

Third, the winegrowers seem to have been in tune with both political systems of their respective countries of destination, but viewed them as secondary to personal considerations. Dufour strove for a place in history by introducing viticulture into the newly formed United States of North America. He did not know that numerous previous attempts had also been hampered by phylloxera and fungi that harmed most imported vines if they were not grafted on indigenous varieties, a fact not recognized until the mid-nineteenth century.[102] As far as American political institutions were concerned, the Swiss settlers found them fully compatible with those they had known in their native country. Chabag's people seem to have been just as content with the political institutions of czarist Russia. Tardent had nothing but praise for the authorities' foresight and concern, and Jacob Gander, Chabag's first elected mayor, wrote the communal authorities of St. Saphorin that "neither negligence nor disorder reigned" in his jurisdiction. A settler, Gander declared, "by adopting the fatherland which we [now] inhabit, has become a Russian subject, thus must be judged by the norms of that land." Gander insisted that Chabag's relationship with the Protective Committee for Foreign Settlers in Kishinev was the same as that between St. Saphorin and the cantonal authorities in Lausanne.[103] Russia gave Chabag's people what they had desired: access to fertile land for winegrowing, a basis for economic prosperity, freedom of movement, and the preservation of ethnic uniqueness within the framework of Russian culture. Neither group had been driven by America fever and, as strange as it may sound, despite positive news about the winegrowers of Vevay, Indiana, the Chabag group had preferred Czar Alexander's Russia to Thomas Jefferson's America.[104]

Fourth, both immigrant groups built their settlements in parallel racial and ethnic-national contexts. The United States and Russia were then both nations in conquest; both had just created new administrative units, the one the territory of Indiana, the other that of Bessarabia; both successfully fought rival powers intent of controlling those units, Great Britain in the case of the United States, Turkey (and, later, Romania) in the case of Russia; both had driven out indigenous peoples, the Americans people such as the Shawnee and Delaware, the Russians the Crimean Tartars; both victors fantasized the vanquished into bellicose and savage tribes that supposedly knew neither the arts of peace nor of civilized war.[105]

In sum, the making of Vevay in America and Chabag in Russia shows that human migration is shaped by a complex interplay of personal concerns and the aims of statecraft. Most often individual goals did not include escape from bad conditions, but the search for leadership as for Tardent, the hope for a place in history as for John James Dufour, or the winegrowers' quest for elemental satisfaction that derived from the transference of a familiar pursuit like viticulture into new domains. As long as immigrants felt assured, furthermore, that they could pursue their personal goals unimpeded on the familial, village, and district level, they readily gave allegiance to a republican as well as an autocratic polity. They embraced, finally, reasons of state such

as the dislocation or encirclement of indigenous peoples unhesitatingly as their own as soon as their communities seemed threatened by indigenous strategies of resistance. This made the newcomers not only architects of their own personal, familial, and communal destinies, but also partners in the pursuit of national goals as defined by governmental elites. The private and the public, the personal and the collective quests thus were inseparably to merge.

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Notes

[1] Michael E. Hobart, "The Paradox of Historical Constructionism," *History and Theory* 28 (1989): 43; reference to Jack W. Meiland, *Scepticism and Historical Knowledge* (New York: Random House, 1965).

[2] Hobart, "Paradox," 44.

[3] Studies in that tradition include Moses Rischin, ed., *Immigration and the American Tradition* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1976); William S. Bernard, *The United States and the Migration Process* (New York: American Migration and Citizenship Conference, 1975); Thomas J. Archdeacon, *Becoming American: An Ethnic History* (New York: Free Press, 1983); David M. Reimers, *Still the Golden Door: The Third World Comes to America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985).

[4] Heidi Gander-Wolf, *Chabag: Schweizer Kolonie am Schwarzen Meer: Ihre Gründung und die ersten Jahrzehnte ihres Bestehens* (Lausanne: Multi-Office, 1974), 37. This is the key work on Chabag (also called Schaba or Schabo) and contains numerous primary documents, mostly in French. Valuable is also André Anselme, *La colonie suisse de Chabag (Bessarabie): Notice historique 1822–1922* (Cetatea Alba [Akkerman]: Imprimerie 'Le Progrès,' 1922). For the larger context see Carsten Goehrke, et al., *Schweizer im Zarenreich: Zur Geschichte der Auswanderung nach Russland* (Zurich: Hans Rohr, 1985).

[5] Perret Dufour, *The Swiss Settlement of Switzerland County, Indiana,* intro. by Harlow Lindley, Indiana Historical Collections, vol. 13 (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Commission, 1925), 7. This is a key work on Vevay, Indiana, written by the American-born son of one of the first settlers and critically edited with much additional documentary material; see also Perret Dufour, "Early Vevay," *Indiana Magazine of History* 20 (1924): 1–36; 194–220; 308–45; 364–99. Valuable, if partly conjectural detail offers Julie le Clerk Knox, *The Dufour Saga 1796–1942: The Story of the Eight Dufours Who Came from Switzerland and Founded Vevay, Switzerland County, Indiana* (Crawfordsville, IN: Howell-Goodwin Company, 1942). On Knox see "Honoring a Long-standing Contributor: Julie le Clerk Knox," *Indiana Magazine of History* 51 (March 1955): 55–58.

[6] On viticulture in Switzerland see *Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz* (Neuenburg, 1934), 7:457–58; on Vevey, ibid., 235–38; on Montreux, ibid. (1929), 5:152–53, cited hereafter as *HBLS;* the general historical context of viticulture for German lands is sketched by Alan Mayhew, *Rural Settlement and Farming in Germany* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1973), 87–89, 102–4, 170, 173. He stresses the labor-intensive, highly skilled and profitable nature of viticulture.

[7] *Description de la fête des vignerons, celebrée à Vevey, le 5 août 1819* (Vevey: Chez Loertscher et fils, 1819), 3. The festival was organized by the "Venerable Abbaye de l'Agriculture," a winegrower society dating from the sixteenth century. Its main objective was the supervision and improvement of viticulture. The festival combined elements of the submerged cult of Bacchus, patriotic lore, and the celebration of winegrowing; on the Abbaye see *HBLS* (1921), 1:44.

[8] See, e.g., Margaret Zellers, ed., *Fodor's Switzerland 1979* (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1979), 205–7.

[9] William James Macnevin, *A Ramble Through Swisserland* [sic], *in the Summer and Autumn of 1802* (Dublin: J. Stockdale, 1803), 188–89.

[10] Jean Charles Biaudet et Françoise Nicod, eds., *Correspondance de Frédéric César de la Harpe et Alexandre Iier* (Neuchâtel: A la Baconniere, 1980), 3:644.

[11] P. Dufour, *Swiss Settlement*, 221.

[12] *HBLS* (1924), 2:760.

[13] Gander-Wolf, *Chabag*, 220–21: "Convention Colons d'Akkerman," 18 June 1822.

[14] Anselme, *Colonie Suisse*, 24.

[15] Gander-Wolf, *Chabag*, 37.

[16] John James Dufour, *The American Vine-Dresser's Guide, Being a Treatise on the Cultivation of the Vine and the Process of Wine-Making; adapted to the Soil and Climate of the United States* (Cincinnati: J. S. Browne, 1826), 7; cited in P. Dufour, *Swiss Settlement*, 12–13.

[17] Jean François Saloz, chief veterinary of the administration of Cherson, Russia; see *HBLS* (931), 6:21.

[18] On General Bakhmetiev's Bessarabian tenure see George F. Jewsbury, *The Russian Annexation of Bessarabia: 1774–1828*, East European Monographs, vol. 15 (Boulder, CO: East European Quarterly, 1976), 97–109, 119–26.

[19] Biaudet et Nicod, eds., *Correspondance*, 3:416.

[20] Martin Nicoulin, *La Genèse de Nova Friburgo: Emigration et colonisation suisse au Brésil, 1817–1827* (Fribourg: Editions Universitaries de Fribourg, 1973), is an authoritative monograph.

[21] *Der aufrichtige und wohlerfahrene Schweizer-Bote* 15 (29 January 1818): 34–35; (5 March 1818): 75–76; (2 April 1818): 105–7; the influential weekly was edited by Heinrich Zschokke, a naturalized Swiss from Germany; it offered excellent coverage on emigration; see Leo Schelbert, "Die Fünfte Schweiz in der Berichterstattung des 'Aufrichtigen und Wohlerfahrenen Schweizer-Boten,' 1804–1830," *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde* 67 (1971): 83–114.

[22] Gander-Wolf, *Chabag*, 60–65 passim, based on his correspondence.

[23] P. Dufour, *Swiss Settlement*, 234–347; French original with English translation.

[24] Ibid., 234–35.

[25] Ibid., 8.

[26] Ibid., 13; quoted from J. F. Dufour, *Vine-Dresser's Guide*, 7.

[27] On Brown see *Dictionary of American Biography* (1929), 3:130.

[28] P. Dufour, *Swiss Settlement*, 9.

[29] Ibid., 14; the price of less than $1.25 an acre was quite favorable; for a discussion of the issue see, e.g., Paul W. Gates, *Landlords and Tenants on the Prairie Frontiers: Studies in American Land Policy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1973), 9–11, 140–42. He accepts the view that "unimproved wild land remote from settlements . . . had little or no value. It was the pioneer who gave value to the land . . ." (11).

[30] P. Dufour, *Swiss Settlement*, 14; Knox, *Dufour Saga*, 33; a visitor's view of the First Vineyard in 1802 in F. Michaud, *Travels* (London 1805), chap. 15; reprinted in Reuben G. Thwaites, *Early Western Travels 1743–1846* (Cleveland, OH: Arthur H. Clark, 1905), 3:206–10.

[31] See facsimile in P. Dufour, *Swiss Settlement*, 218; translation, 219.

[32] The members of the emigrant group were: Daniel Dufour (1764–1854) and his wife Françoise (1777–1865); Jeanne Marie Dufour (1779–1861); Antoinette Dufour (1781–1859); Jean François Dufour (1783–1850); Susanne Marguerite Dufour (1785–1860); Jean David Dufour (1783–1845); Peter Boralley, his wife, and their son Peter (†1854), and daughter; Philip Bettens, his wife and daughter; Jean Daniel Morerod (†1838) who married Antoinette Dufour in 1802; François Louis Siebenthal and son Jean François; see Knox, *Dufour Saga*, passim. P. Dufour, *Swiss Settlement*, 11, gives 1 January as the date of departure which seems unlikely since the document transferring parental authority to Jean Jacques Dufour is dated 13 January. It appears more likely that they departed in late February or early March.

[33] See [Anon.], "The Ocean Crossing of Vevay's Founders," *Indiana Magazine of History* 35 (1939): 192–93; the rendition *Voodsop* for the boat's name appears to be a misreading for "Woodrop"; Joseph Woodrop Sims was a wealthy Philadelphia merchant; the firm is also given as "Woodrop & Sims, merch't"; see William H. Egle, ed., *Provincial Papers: Supply and Tax Lists of the City and County of Philadelphia for the Years 1779, 1780, and 1781* (Philadelphia: WM. Stanley Ray, 1871), 207, 289, 646; see also *Pennsylvania Magazine of*

History and Biography 30 (1906): 162, 18 January 1794 entry in "George Washington's Household Account Book."

[34] "Ocean Crossing," 194.

[35] For the route traveled see John A. Jakle, *Images of the Ohio Valley: A Historical Geography of Travel, 1740–1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 169; map drawn by Miklos Pinther; see also P. Dufour, *Swiss Settlement*, 303, J. J. Dufour's entry of 9 June and 6 July.

[36] P. Dufour, *Swiss Settlement*, 14; quoted from J. J. Dufour, *Vine-Dresser's Guide*, 7; the small greenish insect is native to North America and attacks roots or leaves. North American vines, however, are resistant to the predator.

[37] See *The Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States*, Seventh Congress, 11 (Washington; Gales and Seaton, 1851): For the action of the Senate see cols. 188, 199, 200; for the action of the House see cols. 1018, 1025, 1126–27, 1253; for the final act cols. 1355–56. Since J. J. Dufour was prevented from returning to the United States from Vevey, Switzerland, due to the War of 1812, he successfully petitioned Congress to extend the deadline for payment that became due in 1814; the extension was granted for five years, but Dufour settled the account by 1817 at two dollars per acre and six percent interest; see *Debates and Proceedings*, 26 (1854), cols. 157–58; 470–71.

[38] P. Dufour, *Swiss Settlement*, 16–17; in between these pages a facsimile of a map with sections; the river name "Indian Creek" is crossed out and replaced by "Venoge," a river entering Lake Geneva's northern side west of Lausanne.

[39] See ibid., 19–21, for full document.

[40] Ibid., 25.

[41] Knox, *Dufour Saga*, 27.

[42] P. Dufour, *Swiss Settlement*, 17, 20, 307; details on Daniel Vincent Dufour in Knox, *Dufour Saga*, 7, 29, 33.

[43] Documents in P. Dufour, *Swiss Settlement*, 26–28.

[44] See "An Act for the formation of a new county . . . ," of 7 September 1814, in Lewis B. Ewbank and Dorothy L. Riker, eds., *The Laws of Indiana Territory 1809–1816* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1934), 538–42.

[45] Document in Gander, *Chabag*, 213–14.

[46] Ibid., 216–19.

[47] Ibid., 220.

[48] Ibid., 44–45.

[49] General Ivan N. Inzov (1768–1845) served as chair of the Protective Committee for Foreign Settlers in Southern Russia from 1818 to 1820; he was governor general of Bessarabia from 1821 to June 1823; see Jewsbury, *Annexation*, 127–31, for a portrait of Inzov's activities. In July 1823 Michael S. Vorontsov (1782–1856) became South Russia's and Bessarabia's first civil governor general; see ibid., 146–51; also L. Hamilton Rhinelander, "Vorontsov, Mikhail Semenovich (1782–1856)," *The Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History*, Joseph L. Wieczynski, ed. (Gulf Breeze, FL: Academic International Press, 1986), 43:50–55.

[50] Gander-Wolf, *Chabag*, 221–24.

[51] Ibid., 48.

[52] Ibid., 49–50, letter of Jacob Chevalley.

[53] Ibid., 66, letter of Tardent, dated 17 March 1823.

[54] The Protective Committee for Foreign Settlers [popecitel'nyj komitet ob inostrannyck poselencach] was established 3 March 1818; its seat was moved to Kishinev on 14 January 1821, because its chair, Ivan Inzov, had also been named governor general; see Erik Amburger, *Geschichte der Behördenorganisation Russlands von Peter dem Grossen bis 1917* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1966), 251.

[55] Gander-Wolf, *Chabag*, 66, letter of Tardent, 17 March 1823.

[56] Ibid., 53, Tardent to a Mr. de Guldenschantz.

[57] Ibid., 66; the name was not adopted.

[58] *Schweizerische Monathschronik* (1816), J. J. Hottinger, dem jungeren, ed. (Zurich: J. J. Ulrich, 1817), 1:30–32, 46–48.

[59] Samuel R. Brown, *The Western Gazetteer, or Emigrant's Directory* (Auburn, NY: Robert Taylor, 1817); quoted in Harlow Lindley, ed. *Indiana as Seen by Early Travelers* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Commission, 1916), 154–56.

[60] P. Dufour, *Swiss Settlement*, 33–34.

[61] Thomas Hulme, "Journal," in William Cobbett, *A Year's Residence in the United States of America* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1964), 257–58.

[62] P. Dufour, *Swiss Settlement*, 363.

[63] Charles Kettleborough, *Constitution Making in Indiana*, vol. 1, *1780–1851* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Commission, 1916), 69.

[64] Ibid., 72.

[65] Brown, *Western Gazetteer*, 15.

[66] P. Dufour, *Swiss Settlement*, 363.

[67] Knox, *Dufour Saga*, 48.

[68] Ibid., 122, 164–65; the partible inheritance system and a woman's unimpeded inheritance rights appear to have been a transfer of Swiss traditions; the complex general issues are addressed in Jack Goody, et al., eds., *Family and Inheritance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), esp. 10–36, 96–111.

[69] Brown, *Western Gazetteer*, 155; see also John Scott, *The Indiana Gazetteer or Topographical Dictionary* (1826; repr. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1954), 117. By water Vevay was "100 miles . . . below Cincinnnati, 18 above Madison, and 95 southeast from Indianapolis." For photographs of buildings see Janet Miller, et al., eds., *An Architectural and Historical Survey of Switzerland County* (Vevay: Switzerland County Junior Historical Society, 1969), esp. 6–10.

[70] P. Dufour, *Swiss Settlement*, passim; "Index," 418.

[71] Ibid., "Index," 421, 439.

[72] Ibid., 19; 162–66; William H. Crawford who had selected the Genevan Albert Gallatin as running mate in the 1824 presidential election received no support in Vevay; see ibid., 164.

[73] Ibid., 63, 69, 64.

[74] Ibid., 73–74.

[75] See note 54.

[76] Gander-Wolf, *Chabag*, 96–137.

[77] Ibid., 66; letter of Tardent of 17 March 1823.

[78] Ibid., 69–70. On German settlements see "Bessarabia," *Handwörterbuch des Grenz- und Auslandsdeutschtums*, Carl Petersen et al., eds. (Breslau: Ferdinand Hirt, 1933), 390–422.

[79] Gander-Wolf, *Chabag*, 157–63.

[80] Ibid., 61–64.

[81] Ibid., 78.

[82] Ibid., 81, 93.

[83] Ibid., 191, 193; photograph of church.

[84] George F. Jewsbury, "Bessarabia," *Modern Encyclopedia of Russian and Soviet History* (1977), 4:84.

[85] Gander-Wolf, *Chabag*, 198–99. See also Shirley Fischer Arends, *The Central Dakota Germans: Their History, Language, and Culture* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1989), 24–29, esp. 29: Interview with E. Riethmuller.

[86] Teaching school in French seems to have ceased by about 1815; Perret Dufour, John Francis Dufour's son, was taught in English in the Hewed Log Seminary whose trustees were "John Dumont, Phil Averil, Elisha Golay, Daniel Dufour, and James Rous"; see Effa M. Danner, *Educational Development, Early Schools and Teachers at Vevay, Indiana*, Carolyn Danner Beach, ed. (Vevay: The Switzerland County Historical Society, 1974), 1, 3; see also P. Dufour, *Swiss Settlement*, 195–96.

[87] Wiley Sword, *President Washington's Indian War: The Struggle for the Old Northwest, 1790–1795* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), xiii; this monograph disentangles the complex events.

[88] See Anthony F. C. Wallace, "Prelude to Disaster: The Course of Indian-White Relations Which Led to the Black Hawk War of 1832," in *The Black Hawk War 1831–1832*, vol. 1, *Illinois Volunteers*, comp. and ed. by Ellen M. Whitney (Springfield, IL: Illinois State Historical Library, 1970), 1–51.

[89] P. Dufour, *Swiss Settlement*, 31.

[90] Ibid., 32, 33.

[91] *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson,* Julian P. Boyd, ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), 2:211.

[92] See Michael Rywkin, ed., *Russian Colonial Expansion to 1917* (London: Mansell, 1988), esp. 103–38, for the general context; within it, however, the annexation of Bessarabia was "a relatively unimportant episode"; Jewsbury, *Annexation,* 1.

[93] Jewsbury, "Bessarabia," 85.

[94] Alexandre Boldur, *La Bessarabie et les relations russo-romaines: La question bessarabienne et le droit international* (Paris: Librairie Universitaire, 1927), 142.

[95] Petersen, ed., "Bessarabien," *Handwörterbuch,* 398–99; see also Adam Giesinger, *From Catherine to Krushchev: The Story of Russia's Germans* (Winnipeg, MB: Marian Press, 1974), 118; map 119.

[96] Boldur, *Bessarabie,* 142.

[97] Joseph J. Spengler, "Physiocratic Thought," in *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,* D. L. Sillls, ed. (New York: Macmillan and Free Press, 1968), 444; Petersen, ed., *Handwörterbuch,* 400; Roger Bartlett, *Human Capital: The Settlement of Foreigners in Russia 1762–1804* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 230: The Russian rules of 1804 "focussed firmly on the cultural and didactic role of foreign settlers."

[98] See Shirley S. McCord, ed., *Travel Accounts of Indiana 1679–1961* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1970), 93, the comment of William Tell Harris of 30 September 1818: "They still preserve the remembrance of that land, in its language and its pastimes, and in their houses are seen prints illustrative of its history, particularly that recording the enthusiasm caught by the people, as resulting from the well-known exploits of the heroic William Tell."

[99] P. Dufour, *Swiss Settlement,* 395.

[100] See Edgar Bonjour, et al., *A Short History of Switzerland* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), 211–56; James Murray Luck, *A History of Switzerland* (Palo Alto, CA: SPOSS, 1985), 275–385.

[101] Gander-Wolf, *Chabag,* 197; based on François Recordon, *Statistique du Canton de Vaud* (Lausanne, 1829), 93–94; the vineyards belonged to Europe's most expensive cultivated land.

[102] On viticulture in North America see Vincent P. Carosso, "Wine and Winemaking," *Dictionary of American History,* rev. ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976), 7:305; a scholarly monograph is David J. Mishkin, *The American Colonial Wine Industry: An Economic Interpretation* (New York: Arno Press, 1975); on Vevay, IN, see Thomas Pinney, *A History of Wine in America: From the Beginnings to Prohibition* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1989), esp. 117–26.

[103] Gander-Wolf, *Chabag,* 72–73.

[104] The "America fever" view is critiqued by Frank Thistlethwaite, "Migration from Europe Overseas in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," *Eleventh International Congress of the Historical Sciences, Rapports* (Goteborg: Almquist and Wiksell, 1960), 5:32–60.

[105] See Edward Lazzerini, "The Crimea under Russian Rule: 1783 to the Great Reforms," in Rywkin, ed., *Russian Colonial Expansion,* 123; P. Dufour, *Swiss Settlement,* 1; Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), esp. 98–115; Ronald Takaki, *Iron Cages: Race and Culture in 19th-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), esp. 55–65.